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**AUTHOR** David  
NEAVE

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ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA

1858 - 1900

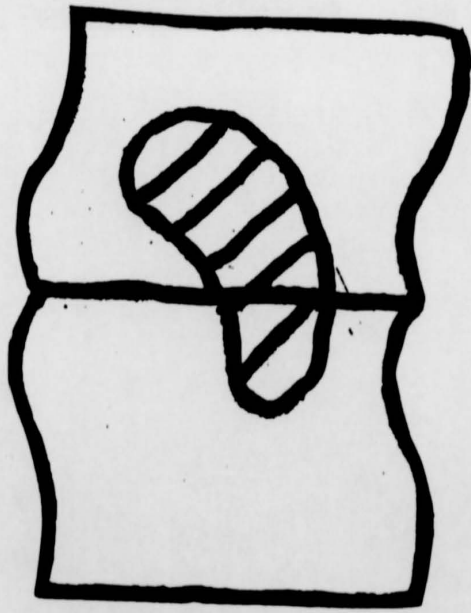
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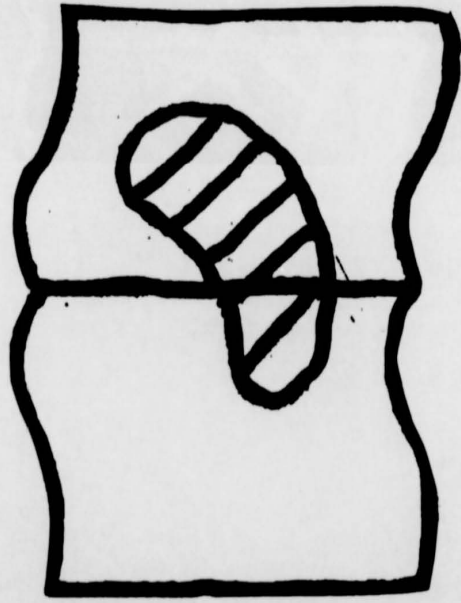
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS \* ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA 1858 - 1900

David Neave

M.Phil. Department of History, University of York 1974

Both contemporary commentators and more recent historians of East and Central Africa have praised the distinctive approach of the Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa to mission work in Tanzania, Malawi and Mocambique in the second half of the nineteenth century. They have pointed to the sympathetic attitude of the missionaries to the African and his way of life, to their austere living standards, high educational ideals and a leadership based in Africa. This study examines critically such a view of the missions work and reveals a contrast between the theory of mission expressed in the writings of the leading missionaries and the actual work carried out. In trying to create an African church with as little interference as possible with African society the missionaries found themselves in a dilemma for it was impossible to train clergy, the basis of the church, to the standards of their British counterparts, which was achieved, without inculcating also Western ideals. Similarly although confirmed in a policy of non-involvement in secular power, following embarrassing involvement in tribal politics on the Zambezi by the first party, the missionaries found it impossible ~~to~~ not to take on judicial and peace keeping roles in the unstable state of affairs at that time, and also ~~to~~ in the face of German and Portuguese annexation of their mission field the missionaries were unable to suppress ~~express~~ a latent nationalism.

The mission, founded in 1858 in the wake of David Livingstone's tumultuous reception at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, was closely identified with the high church wing of the Anglican Church from its inception. This relationship with both the universities and the Anglo-Catholic party provided the mission with widespread, if somewhat partisan, support and many dedicated and well educated missionaries. For many the work in Africa was a natural expansion of the Catholic Evangelicalism practised in English ~~alum~~ parishes.

In the ~~appendices~~ biographical details of all the missionaries who went out before 1901 is provided and a preliminary list of the remarkable number of works on and in African languages produced by the missionaries.

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## PREFACE

These studies of aspects of the history of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa are the result of many years researching into the large collection of manuscripts and printed works relating to the mission, housed in the offices of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and elsewhere. The mission has been part of my life since birth as both my parents, my aunt and numerous family acquaintances were then, or had been, members, and visits to former missionaries and attendance at the UMCA's annual anniversary meetings were very much part of my childhood and youth. My interest in the history of the mission was aroused by the discovery of the close connection between it and my home county of Lincolnshire, and fuller research into the lives of Tozer, Steere, and Alington followed, leading to a wider interest in the UMCA and its missionaries. I make no apology for this being an unfashionable study of mission history, studied as it is from the point of view of the English missionary, for although in the past the part played by Europeans in the creation of the African church has been over-emphasised, there is still a need for closer study of the missionary movement and its participants. What follows does not purport to be a history of the mission, for that is fully recorded, if in a somewhat biased form, by A.E.M. Anderson-Morshead, G. H. Wilson, and A. G. Blood. Circumstances have prevented any research in the field, and in the light of other work being undertaken on the UMCA in Malawi by R. G. Stuart and P. Elston, it has been thought sensible to concentrate more on the impact of the mission in Tanzania.

I am greatly indebted to my mother for her initial encouragement and her loan of numerous printed works relating to the mission. My aunt Mrs. I. Quincey, Miss E. Nugee, Miss A. Mozley, Fr. C. N. Frank, Canon T. H. Hicks, and the late Dr. W. Wigan, all former members of the mission, have readily loaned material or answered questions, for which I am most grateful. Miss Harrison, in the days when the UMCA records were kept in a cupboard in Central Africa House,



and Mrs. I. Pridmore, the former archivist of the USPG, have given unstinted assistance. I must also record my gratitude to the Librarian of the USPG, Miss Holland, to the Librarians and staff of the Brynmor Jones Library, Hull University, and Rhodes House, Oxford, to the archivists and staff of the Lincolnshire Archives Office, and the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, to Canon P. B. G. Binnall, Mrs. Margaret Scarr, Mr. Basil Ward, Rev. J. C. Weller, Mr. T. Young of York for the loan of books from his African collection, and my sister Mary Pepper for research on the Devon background of certain missionaries. I must also record the assistance of my supervisor Harry Wilson. I have been sustained above all by the patient encouragement of my wife, who also struggled through the manuscript correcting my many grammatical errors.

Keldgate, Beverley. February 1974

Note on name of Mission

In 1859 the mission was known as the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa, to which were added the names Dublin, in February 1860, and Durham, by the following October. It remained the OCDD Mission only until early 1862 when Durham and Dublin Universities withdrew their support. Thereafter for the next 20 years it was generally known as the Central Africa Mission (CAM), or from 1865 the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA). The former title though used concurrently with UMCA, was particularly used for financial matters as the SPG administered the missions Central Africa Mission Fund. When this association broke down in 1881 the title UMCA was adopted for publications and all official business.

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For my mother and aunt and in

memory of my father



CHARLES FREDERICK MACKENZIE  
BISHOP 1861-2



WILLIAM GEORGE TOZER  
BISHOP 1863-73



EDWARD STEERE 1863-82\*  
BISHOP 1874-82



CHARLES ALAN SMYTHIES  
BISHOP 1883-94

Plate 1. Bishops Mackenzie, Tozer, Steere and Smythies  
from G.H. Wilson, The History of the Universities' Mission  
to Central Africa, UPCA, 1936  
\* denotes years of service in mission

## INTRODUCTION

In general the missionary societies who entered Africa from Britain in the nineteenth century tend to be regarded as a single body; little attention has been paid to the differing backgrounds and beliefs of the various societies and their agents and thus the elucidation of their impact on the indigenous society is hampered by lack of information. Very rarely in studies of the European penetration of Africa are the great differences in philosophy and approach of the various missionary societies alluded to, and the more fashionable studies of African history from the African point of view are understandably prone to club all missionaries together as one group. Inconsistencies in the actions of missionaries are explained by the idiosyncracies of personalities rather than by the religious, social and economic background of the sending body and its agents. Because the basic source material for much nineteenth and twentieth century African history is the unprinted writings of Christian missionaries it is very necessary that the historian using such works be aware of the attitudes and beliefs of the writer. Increasingly with the production of detailed studies of the records of certain societies the importance of different methods of approach to mission work in relation to the results achieved is being clearly shown, and the basis for the different approaches can be traced to the background of the mission and the missionaries themselves.<sup>(1)</sup> This study is an attempt to look at one well known missionary society, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and trace its foundation and the basis for its particular approach to mission and to say

---

(1) e.g. A. C. Ross, "The Origins and Development of the Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, Nyasaland, 1875-1926": Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1968.  
K. J. McCracken, "Livingstonia Mission and the Evolution of Malawi 1875-1939", Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1967.  
M. Wright, German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands. Oxford. 1971.

something about the implementation of its declared philosophy in a belief that such information will be of use to the African historian as well as the student of nineteenth century ecclesiastical and social history.

Both contemporary commentators and recent writers on the impact of Europeans in East Africa have remarked on the unusual approach of the UMCA to missionary work compared with that of other protestant missions at work in East and Central Africa in the late nineteenth century. The factors which made the mission's approach stand out from the great mass of work going on were numerous. Canon Isaac Taylor<sup>(2)</sup> in 1888, then in the midst of his notoriety with regard to his views on the relative merits of Christianity and Islam, penned an article entitled 'The Great Missionary Failure' which appeared in the Fortnightly Review in which he strongly criticised current methods of missionary work, laying especial emphasis on the high expenditure and the comparatively insignificant results of the Church Missionary Society.<sup>(3)</sup> This article was followed two months later by another in which he expanded his study of missionary finance by comparing the income and expenditure of the CMS and the UMCA. He pointed to the latter as an exemplar of the correct approach to mission work:

The true principle of missionary effort is . . . exhibited in the Universities Mission to Eastern Africa (sic). None of their missionaries receive any stipend; their passage out and home is paid, and they are allowed to draw £20 a year for clothes. It is their privilege to be allowed to work for the love of God and man. We find men of high endowments, and many of them of fair university attainments, sacrificing a career at home, and giving themselves, with high-minded devotedness to the work. Hence we get real results.<sup>(4)</sup>

---

(2) Isaac Taylor (1829-1901) archaeologist and philologist, Vicar of Holy Trinity Twickenham, 1869-75; Rector of Settrington, Yorks. 1875-1901; Canon of York 1885. "A lover of controversy and paradoxical statement". D.N.B.

(3) Fortnightly Review July-Dec. 1888, pp. 488-500

(4) I. Taylor, 'Missionary Finance', Fortnightly Review, 1888, pp. 581-592

He commented favourably on the mission's system of unpaid local secretaries, on the management of the mission by the bishop in Africa, and on the celibacy of its agents and their desire to accept the outward features of native life and live simply. Taylor as an Anglican priest, though critical of much mission work, may be seen as a biased commentator, but similar views of the UMCA were held by the agnostic administrator H. H. Johnston who witnessed missions at work in the field.

In a chapter in British Central Africa Johnston reiterates some points he had made on missionaries some ten years before in the Fortnightly Review for November 1887.<sup>(5)</sup> Though he valued the work missionaries were doing in civilizing the African he was critical of their approach and attitudes to their task. He particularly attacked the cant produced by many missions in their publications and also the unrealities of the situation of the married Protestant missionary in the African bush. He paints a tragi-comic picture of the weary traveller receiving hospitality at the hands of a missionary and his wife and their pathetic attempts to retain certain Western standards in their life style as well as the ludicrous results of their efforts to Europeanise the natives around them in speech and dress. This he contrasts with the way of life of the celibate missionaries of the UMCA and Roman Catholic missions who were not troubled by family affairs. The visitor to one of their stations 'will have a very pleasant experience'; from the Roman Catholics he will receive good food, and from the Anglicans 'he will derive more of the impression that he is staying at a college, a college where there is very plain living and high thinking', the UMCA missionaries not keeping a good table or caring sufficiently for their creature comforts:

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(5) H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, 3rd ed. 1906, pp. 189-206



Their houses are often of poor construction untidy and unattractive: it is obvious that they are under no care of womankind. The missionary snatches his meals hastily, scarcely tasting what goes down his throat. On his untidy bureau there will be at one and the same time the newest philosophical treatise from England and an ugly tin teapot of over-stewed tea. (6)

From the UMCA mission stations Johnston received intellectual refreshment, no religious cant and a sensible approach to African language and dress, which contrasted favourably with the more general Protestant approach. (7)

Three recent historians, Roland Oliver, H. A. C. Cairns, and John Iliffe have all similarly stressed the distinctiveness of the UMCA's approach to mission work. (8) Cairns, who has examined the mission's philosophy and background more closely than any other historian, comes to the conclusion that 'the UMCA as a body was unique in its approach to African culture and society'. (9) He stresses the importance of Bishops Tozer and Steere in formulating this approach by which the mission 'attempted to make a distinction between civilization and Christianity, and tried to blend the latter with a tribal way of life'. (10) John Iliffe in paying particular attention to the educational work of the UMCA in Tanzania brings out another distinctive feature of the mission's work, which with its desire to produce a highly educated native ministry, created Tanzania's first educated elite. Roland Oliver in investigating the whole sweep of missionary involvement in East Africa sees as unusual the UMCA's independence from British-based control, its limited geographical areas, and its celibate and unsalaried agents. And

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(6) *ibid.*, p. 201

(7) Johnston approves of the missions dressing its pupils in Arab dress rather than European. *ibid.*, p. 202

(8) R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, London: Longmans, 1952  
H. A. C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965  
John Iliffe, Tanzania Under German Rule 1905-1912, Cambridge University Press 1969

(9) H. A. C. Cairns, *op. cit.* p. 221

(10) *ibid.* p. 219



while comparing the similarity of the simple life style of the UMCA missionary with that of the Roman Catholic he finds a contrast between the two with regard to temporal authority which the UMCA attempted to keep to a minimum.

Unique or not the UMCA's approach to mission was distinctive. The mission philosophy evolved in the 1870s survived into the 1940s and the observations of Johnston quoted above were echoed by those of Oliver following his visit to East Africa in 1949-50:

Outside the Roman Church only the Anglo-Catholic missionaries of the U.M.C.A. practised the same simplicity. They too lived unencumbered by the family ties which so complicate the life of the European in the tropics. They too planned their parish centres in such a way that they could be handed over to Africans without any material alterations. The European parish priest of the Universities Mission living beside his church in a house of mud and thatch without wood in the doorways or glass in the windows, often quite alone and without speaking English for weeks on end, represented indeed the very extreme of missionary assimilation to the environment.(11)

What were the reasons for the mission pursuing such a policy? How realistic was it and to what extent do the actions of the mission illustrate its implementation? It is these questions which this study of the UMCA attempts to answer. At the seminar on 'Christianity in Tropical Africa' held at the University of Ghana in April 1965 a call was made for studies of the assumptions and the aims of the home-bases of missionary societies, for:

in order to understand the distinctive impact of various missions it was necessary to see as fully as possible their separate backgrounds of conviction, prevailing religious temperament, type and style of piety, avowed objectives, and the ways and means of carrying these into effect. All these factors form part and parcel of an influence which could otherwise be completely misunderstood and misinterpreted.(12)

And it is hoped that the following chapters go some way to explaining the distinctive impact of the UMCA.

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(11) R. Oliver, op. cit., p. 242

(12) C. G. Baeta, Christianity in Tropical Africa, 1968, p. 4

MISSION AND MISSIONARY BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I. Founding and Inspiration of Mission

1. MISSIONARY WORK AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

In the mid-nineteenth century the Church of England, as a body, was only engaged in missionary work through its connection with the two great private societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society.<sup>(1)</sup> However neither of these organisations could be said to be the mission of the Church in the same way that the Baptist and Methodist Missionary Societies represented those bodies, or the London Missionary Society represented the Congregational Church. The SPG was scarcely missionary and the CMS was the mission of the Evangelical party rather than the Church, and though by 1850 both societies were working in closer association with the home episcopate, tensions still remained between them and the bishops.<sup>(2)</sup>

The SPG had been founded in 1701 to provide and maintain clergy for service in 'Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas, belonging to Our Kingdom of England'. Its attentions were directed almost solely at the colonists; the conversion of the surrounding heathen was to be only incidental to the main work.<sup>(3)</sup> In the colonies livings were to be endowed and the subjects of the Crown were to have the same provision as in their home country, and in plantations and factories chaplaincies were to be established and maintained by the Society. This policy of ministering to the British subject abroad was still the chief aim of the SPG in the mid-nineteenth century. In a sermon preached in Manchester in 1863 by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, in aid of the Society, he summed up its principles as follows:

- 
- (1) The SPCK had abandoned direct missionary work in the mid 1820s. For a discussion of the work of these societies and their relationship with the Established Church see H. Cnattinus, Bishops and Societies A study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion 1698-1850, SPCK 1952
- (2) Cnattinus, op. cit., p. 233. Dissatisfaction with the C. of E's mission work was particularly strong in the High Church camp. Bishop Tozer commented 'Nothing can well be more unsatisfactory than the whole length and breadth of our present Mission organization C.M.S. plainly anti-episcopal, S.P.G. great with factions and dry as dust'. USPG/UMCA A/1/1/96 Tozer to Steere, Zanzibar March 21st 1871
- (3) H. Thompson, Into All Lands, 1951 p. 17

Instead of picking at will spots upon the earth to which it will send out its missionaries to bear the Gospel message, it lays it down as a primary proposition that where the nation touches heathendom the nation incurs the double responsibility - first, of securing for its own poor emigrants the ministrations of the Word and Sacraments as they are ministered at home; and next, the responsibility of conveying to the heathen people around them the blessed message of the everlasting Gospel. (4)

The mission to the heathen was forced by lack of men and money very much into second place. Bishop Gray of Capetown was appointed in 1846 and had as his aim first 'the proper care of the white people, and next that of the coloured' but it took much of his energy and most of his money to fulfill the first task, for initially he only received grants from the S.P.G. for white work.<sup>(5)</sup> The S.P.G. termed its agents "missionaries" and in 1851 had 1,160 missionaries, lay teachers and students at work in Newfoundland, Bermuda, Canada, West Indies, Guiana, South Africa, India, Ceylon, Borneo, Australia, New Zealand, Seychelles, and Tristan da Cunha.<sup>(6)</sup> The majority of the agents were however colonial clergy rather than missionaries as Bishop Tozer commented to Steere 'to call such a post as ... Curacy at St. John's Capetown, a Mission and the holder of it, a Missionary, is an abuse of language neither more nor less.'<sup>(7)</sup>

The S.P.G. saw itself as the official missionary society of the Church. Its affairs were administered by a board of which the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland and every Colonial bishop were without exception members. From 1846 its missionaries were chosen by 'the Archbishops'

- 
- (4) 'Upon the Principles and Mode of Working of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts' H. Rowley (ed) Speeches on Missions by Bishop Wilberforce, 1874 p. 5
- (5) H. P. Thompson, Into All Lands, p. 291. The policy was defended by one priest for if the white were neglected, their bad example would hinder every effort to win others. 'The masters are the missionaries for good or evil of the people in their employ... The trader is more powerful than the clergyman, the farmer is like a patriarch among the agricultural labourers, and the English mechanic is most influential by his example' *ibid.* A similar view was taken by the country clergy in England who believed their troubles would be over if they had the support of the landowners and farmers.
- (6) H. P. Thompson, *ibid.* p. 117
- (7) USPG/UMCA A/1/1/96 Tozer to Steere, *op. cit.*

Board of Examiners', appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London; this board was set up in order to prevent the S.P.G. from being considered an organization supporting one faction within the Church. Its agents 'went out as approved emissaries of the Church not of the Society'.<sup>(8)</sup> It proudly claimed to be 'not a Society of a party but of the Church'.<sup>(9)</sup> The connection between the S.P.G. and the State was always close, depending partly on government grants for some of its work and until 1856 'Royal Letters' were an important source of funds, bringing in about £10,000 each year.<sup>(10)</sup> This close alliance with Church and State was the cause of the S.P.G. being as 'dry as dust'. Through its broadness and official character it lacked life; to many its lack of party attachment was its main appeal but to others this had the opposite effect. The same could not be said of the Church Missionary Society:

The Church Missionary Society has a character which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has not. It is not a Church society, but an association of a section of Churchmen to whom their specialities appear to be matters of vital importance. They have, therefore, an unction and a party sympathy which a more broadly constituted society is likely to lack. (11)

The C.M.S., founded in 1799, was clearly and openly the missionary society of the Evangelical party within the Church of England. Its founders included both clergy and laymen and the society found little favour from the leaders of the Church. The contrast with the approach of the S.P.G. to missionary work can be seen in the initial resolution of the C.M.S. which declared that it is the duty of every Christian to propagate the Gospel to the heathen, and that as the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. limited their care to America and the West Indies some

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(8) H. P. Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 113

(9) Wilberforce Speeches on Missions, *op. cit.* p. 4-5

(10) A Royal Letter was a 'brief' issued under Royal Patent inviting parishes to contribute to deserving persons or needs. Queen Victoria was Patron of S.P.G.

(11) R. M. Heanley, Memoir of Bishop Steere 1888, pp. 300-301 quoting letter from Steere to 'The Guardian' June 1881 on 'Special Missions and S.P.G.'.



other Society was needed for Africa and other heathen lands.<sup>(12)</sup> The C.M.S. though seeing itself as attached to the Church of England, wished in no way to come under the control of the Church, and wanted to be free to choose its own missionaries and where they should be sent and wanted to control them in their work without episcopal interference. The fact that the society was more Evangelical than Anglican is best shown when it comes to their missionaries; difficulties in obtaining candidates led it to look to a missionary seminary in Berlin for recruits and these were Lutherans. During its first fifteen years it sent out twenty-four missionaries of which seventeen were Germans and only seven English, it was not until 1813 that English bishops were persuaded to ordain candidates for work overseas under the Society, and not until 1841 that it received the blessing of a fair proportion of the episcopacy when in that year the two archbishops and seven other bishops became members of the Society.<sup>(13)</sup>

The Evangelicals of the C.M.S. introduced to the Church a whole new approach to missionary church, an enthusiasm only to be found in the nonconformist missionary societies. In the words of Professor Best 'Evangelicals virtually invented modern missionary work'.

Enthusiasm for missions among the Evangelicals was huge and we may well wonder why. Partly, I suppose, because the missionary world was remote and romantic; partly because heathens who bowed down to wood and stone were rather more exciting than local lapsed Christians who were often dirty, drunken and dangerous. Overseas missionary work was a kind of challenge more bearable, perhaps, to the educated mission-minded Evangelical than the contemporary equivalent of taking the road to Wigan pier. Moreover the hastening of the Second Coming, which by some readings of Scripture had to wait until the Gospel was sounded among all nations, encouraged Evangelicals more than it encouraged others to undertake overseas missions among the pre-Christian heathen. Whatever the reasons, the result was the well-known one that Evangelical communities were passionately interested in missions;

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(12) E. Stock, History of the C.M.S. p. 68 Initially C.M.S. was known as The Society for Missions to Africa and the East.

(13) E. Stock, History of C.M.S. Vol. 1 pp. 81-91 D. Newsome, Parting of Friends p. 217

subscribed to them; read about them; listened to lectures and sermons about them, undertook missions themselves. (14)

The Evangelicals knew well how to raise public support and by the 1830's the C.M.S. was receiving something like £80,000 a year in voluntary contributions while the older society, the S.P.G., only about £10,000. (15)

The Oxford Movement and the revival in church life which it brought about had important effects on the missionary work of the church. The C.M.S. and the S.P.G., though far from satisfactory, were not without their supporters from all sides of the church; at Oxford the C.M.S. Association numbered amongst its subscribers J. H. Newman and others who were later Tractarians in the 1830's (16) and their sympathiser Samuel Wilberforce wrote in 1833 that the C.M.S. was his 'favourite society - so thoroughly Church of England, so eminently active and spiritual, so important for a maritime nation, whose eminence has led her to carry the devil's missionaries everywhere'. (17) He was active in preaching for this society as well as the S.P.G. and the deputations he carried out for the latter were considered the most successful they ever had. The S.P.G. had supporters from both the Evangelical and High Church wings as it was made painfully aware when the society's secretary was incautiously led into assuring a strongly Protestant audience at Cheltenham in November 1842 that the S.P.G. would not send out 'clergymen to disseminate the doctrine that Oral Tradition is superior to Written Tradition, that the writings of the Fathers are superior to the Word of God'. This brought a letter of protest to the Times

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(14) G. Best, 'Evangelicalism and the Victorians' in A. Symondson The Victorian Crisis of Faith p. 52

(15) H. P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 108

(16) E. Stock, *op. cit.*, Vol. II p. 54 J. H. Newman was a subscriber 1825-35 and co-secretary in 1830

(17) D. Newsome, The Parting of Friends, p. 172



from a Tractarian supporter, followed by an attempt of Campbell to deny that his words bore the meaning put upon them, then followed threats from leading Evangelicals, including Bickersteth, secretary of C.M.S., to resign their membership of S.P.G. This affair and others which arose in the following three years led the Society to set up the 'Archbishops' Board of Examiners' in order to show that it espoused neither party.<sup>(18)</sup> Similarly the growth of parties within the church pushed the C.M.S. closer into the Evangelical camp and under the secretaryship of Henry Venn it took a firm stand on many issues missionary and otherwise when it felt that the High Churchmen were threatening the Established Church of England. This doctrinaire attitude lost it many of its broader-minded supporters.<sup>(19)</sup>

There were more positive results of the Oxford Movement in relation to missions than merely driving the existing societies to consider more closely their party alliances. The Movement had been an answer to the threat that was seen to be facing the Church of increasing Erastianism, a growth in State interference in, and dominance of the Church of England, and the spread of latitudinarianism. To the High Churchman in 1833 the problem was very real:

We knew not to what quarter to look for support. A Prelacy threatened, and apparently intimidated; a Government making its powers subservient to agitators who avowedly sought the destruction of the Church. The state so long the guardian of that Church now becoming its enemy and its tyrant. Enemies within the Church seeking the subversion of its essential characteristics and what was worst of all—no principle in the public mind to which we could appeal. (20)

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- (18) H. P. Thompson, op. cit. pp. 113-115 The other 'affairs' concerned the Tractarian sympathies of Ernest Hawkins, assistant secretary of S.P.G.; the supposed withdrawal of Pusey's name from list of proposed members by Archbishop Howley the President in 1845; and the criticism by Daniel Wilson the Evangelical Bishop of Calcutta of the views of some of his clergy sent out by the Society.
- (19) E. Stock, op. cit. Vol. II pp. 3-34.
- (20) William Palmer A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times (1833), p. 99 quoted in Symondson (ed) Victorian Crisis of Faith p. 73.

The Movement provided a principle, and on the secession of Newman to Rome in 1845, though this was a bitter blow, Manning was able to consider that the Movement had been successful. 'It is almost incredible that a body, which fifteen years ago was elated at being an Establishment should now be conscious of being a Church'.<sup>(21)</sup> The Tracts for the Times provided for a new Church consciousness, giving the Church and in particular the clergy a new awareness of their position and an assurance not to be found in the earlier defensive attitude.<sup>(22)</sup> The 'Apostolics',<sup>(23)</sup> through their study of the Fathers sought to show that the Church of England was the true continuator of the apostolic tradition, and this belief gave the Church a new realisation of its responsibility to spread the authority of the British Crown 'the most powerful instrument, under Providence, of maintaining peace and order'.<sup>(24)</sup>

It is because we feel convinced that our Constitution is a blessing to us, and will be a blessing to our posterity .... that we are desirous of extending its influence, and that it should not be confined within the borders of this little island; but that if it please Providence to create openings for us in the broad fields of distant continents, we shall avail ourselves in reason and moderation of those openings to reproduce the copy of those laws and institutions, those habits and national characteristics, which have made England so famous as she is. <sup>(25)</sup>

There was little direct involvement in missionary societies and mission work by the early followers of the Oxford movement, though Pusey, Newman and Keble all supported mission work, the latter subscribing heavily towards the mission schooner, the Southern Cross, for the first Tractarian mission hero John Patteson of Melanesia.<sup>(26)</sup> In its early days however the movement was much more concerned with the issues at home, but in the second

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- (21) David Newsome, 'Newman and the Oxford Movement' in Symondson (ed.) op. cit. p. 74.
- (22) The defensive attitude was to be taken up by the new Evangelicals.
- (23) The name given by the Tractarians to themselves, Symondson, p. 79.
- (24) Earl Grey. The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration (1853) Vol. 1. pp. 13-14 quoted by M. Warren, 'The Church Militant Abroad' in Symondson (ed.) p. 60.
- (25) From a speech made by Gladstone in 1855, quoted by M. Warren, *ibid.*
- (26) S. Waddy 'The Oxford Movement in the Empire and in the Mission Field' in N. P. Williams and C. Harris, Northern Catholicism, London: SPCK. 1933 pp. 123-124.

phase of the movement between 1845 and 1857, a period which has been described as 'the dispersion', the leaders became more evangelistic and outgoing and their ideals spread rapidly throughout Britain and the Colonies. (27) The Anglican Church became infused with the Catholic spirit - parochial evangelisation, the founding of religious communities, a more spiritual training of the clergy and the encouragement of regular confession were all aspects of this second phase, and it directly led to an involvement in mission work. (28) The fervour of the Tractarian clergyman at work in his English parish was not quelled when he removed to the mission field and increasingly as men inspired by the movement were appointed overseas they saw the opportunity of implementing its ideals there. Two such men were Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown and George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand who between them did more than anyone else to involve the High Church in missionary work. However mission work never became as closely identified with the Anglo-Catholic party as it was with the evangelicals; the slum-parish rather than the mission field is seen as the centre of 'Catholic Evangelicalism'. (29) But its appeal was as direct to the Anglo-Catholic as to the Evangelical; the missionary could re-live the Apostolic age far easier than a priest in Britain, for educating the heathen to the Christian faith was far more satisfying to the idealistic 'Apostolical' than working amongst lapsed Christians surrounded by sectarian squabbles. The attraction of the direct and heroic nature of mission work is displayed in the following quotation from a letter written by Edward King, the Anglo-Catholic Bishop of Lincoln, to one of his chaplains:

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(27) C. P. S. Clarke, The Oxford Movement and After, London 1932.

(28) D. Newsome, The Parting of Friends, p. 319.

(29) D. Voll, Catholic Evangelicalism.

I am off to China by the first boat! Will you come? I am just back from the meeting where a beautiful C.M.S. missionary straight from China has been preaching - at least what I call preaching - talking the Gospel with all the fervour of a living missionary. Most crushing! Eleven years and no results, and five deaths! Then three converts, and then another death! Then another year, and then 7,000! And such beauties! My dear child, if you and I get just in, it will be only by holding on to the extremist tip of one of their pigtailed! Certainly those C.M.S. people have got a hold of 'the Faith in Jesus', which is most refreshing and vivifying .... We must really wake up. (30)

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(30) R. W. Randolph (ed.), Spiritual Letters of Edward King (1910) p. 116  
H. P. Liddon, Canon of St. Pauls wrote in a similar vein of a visit from J. P. Farler in 1878, describing him as 'a person of Apostolic proportions, quite a refreshment in all ways'. J. O. Johnston, Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon, (1904) p. 226.

## 2. MISSIONARY BISHOPS

The High Churchman did not want to reproduce a replica abroad of the Church as it was in England, but a replica of the Church as they believed it should be, and their involvement in missionary work was aimed at achieving this goal. However the missionary work of the Church being undertaken in the mid-nineteenth century hardly fulfilled their ideal; there was little 'apostolical' to be seen in the work of most of the agents of the S.P.G., and the closeness of contact between this Society and the State was far from healthy for the Church; the C.M.S. though being more 'missionary' had little love for the authority of the Church and was not averse to employing ordained Lutherans to further its work, and in addition the CMS missionaries' approach to spreading the Gospel smacked of the enthusiasm of the 'delirious artisan' and thus was distasteful to a follower of the Tractarian belief in 'reserve in communicating religious knowledge'.<sup>(1)</sup> This doctrine and the high regard for episcopal authority and the sacraments coloured the High Church approach to mission. The most unsatisfactory aspect of contemporary and past mission work was with regard to episcopal authority, and the lack of it or its close connection with the state were matters of great concern.

The spread of the Church of England overseas can be dated from 1607 when the Government made provision for Anglican worship for the English settlers in Virginia. The Government orders then issued commanded that the leaders of the Virginia expedition should ensure 'that in the new colony the Word and Service of God were preached, planted and used according to the doctrine of the Church of England.'<sup>(2)</sup> Thus a church similar in organization to that in

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(1) Isaac Williams wrote two of the Tracts for the Times On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge. The impact of this on the work of the UMCA is developed further in the section on education.

(2) G. W. D. Addleshaw 'The Law and Constitution of the Church Overseas' in E. R. Morgan and R. Lloyd (eds.) The Mission of the Anglican Communion (1948) p. 77.

England developed in the colonies, but it developed without, at first, any episcopal supervision. This was remedied in the reign of Charles II when the colonies came to be regarded as under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, but he hardly provided adequate episcopal supervision for the growing church - he could license the clergy and provide commissaries to supervise their behaviour, but the colonies were still deprived of confirmation, and their clergy had to be ordained in England. Thus a true Anglican church could not be fully established, though the colonies were seen to be bound by the Ecclesiastical Law of England. But a change came with the American War of Independence following which in 1787 the first Church of England diocese was established outside the British Isles. In that year Charles Inglis was consecrated first Bishop of Nova Scotia and also two Bishops were consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel for the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. But only slowly did the Church in England see the necessity of diocesan organization overseas and by 1837 there were only seven overseas dioceses, two in Canada, two in the West Indies, two in India and one in Australia, and these had been appointed with inadequate powers by Letters Patent from the Crown. The colonial bishop was an appointment of the Church and State jointly, as these institutions were seen in England as inseparable, the bishop being sent not in order to plant the Church but in order to administer something that had already taken root. (3)

The Oxford Movement provided a whole new outlook on the role of the bishop, laying great stress on the Apostolic Succession, and reviving a belief in the divine nature of episcopal authority and increasingly advancing the view that the bishop should be found where the work of the Church was just beginning rather than where it had become firmly established. The bishop was to be the

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(3) G. W. O. Addleshaw, *op. cit.*



forerunner in the mission work of the Church. The Bishop of New Jersey had led the way in 1835 in a sermon on 'The Missionary Bishop' which was 'a new office in the Church - a bishop sent forth by the Church, not sought for of the Church - going before, to organise the Church, not waiting till the Church has partially been organised - a leader, not a follower.'<sup>(4)</sup> This was taken up in 1837 by Samuel Wilberforce, then Rector of Brightstone, Isle of Wight who was well versed in the history of the Church in America, who consulted Newman about the possibility of consecrating a bishop to be sent out amongst the heathen. Newman's reply was as follows:

Doubtless, the only right way of missionary-izing is by bishops and the agitation of the question must do good. Perhaps you are hardly called upon ever to say how it is to be done in the case of a given society, as the Ch. Miss. - it being at once a sufficient object at first to make out the duty, and, when it is made out, to fulfill it being other persons' concern quite as much as yours . . . . One should like to try the powers of at least colonial bishops to do without the State . . . I am exceedingly glad you are stirring the question, and think it a very happy thought. The very stirring it will be of great use.' (5)

And Wilberforce did stir it for the next 25 years, the establishment of colonial bishoprics and the introduction of missionary bishops forming two of his chief concerns amongst the many causes he undertook. He involved a number of his friends and colleagues in his schemes and in 1838 Henry Manning suggested the following form of wording for a proposal to be sent by Wilberforce to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

Episcopacy is the universal rule of the Church of England both at home and in the Churches placed by her in our colonial possessions...  
 ... all our labours in Colonies must be under the same, and ...  
 ... Episcopacy is the absolute, indispensable condition to the future communion of the Church of England and the Churches we may hope with God's blessing to plant among the heathen. (6)

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(4) D. Newsome, Parting of Friends p. 217.

(5) D. Newsome, The Parting of Friends, p. 217.

(6) *ibid.*

These moves by Wilberforce coincided with similar ones by Bishop Blomfield and others which established the Colonial Bishopricks Fund in 1841. Blomfield in his open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury which first mooted the idea of the fund had stressed the importance of the bishop being a pioneer and that the presence of a bishop was necessary to enable the achieving of a complete Church life with confirmation and ordination. (7) The fund which was founded with the support of the SPCK, SPG and CMS led to a great expansion of overseas Anglican bishopricks and by 1853 there were 27. All were appointed by Letters Patent and thus all were attached to British territories, no provision being made for missionary bishops to other lands. However in that year two bills were introduced into the House of Lords by Bishop Wilberforce, one the Colonial Churches Bill 'proposed to authorize bishops, clergy, and laity in the Colonies to meet together and make whatever ecclesiastical regulations they might deem necessary, provided that the standards of faith and worship and the supremacy of the Crown were duly maintained'<sup>(8)</sup>, and the other the Missionary Bishopricks Bill which was aimed at obtaining legal sanction for 'the Church to head missions to the heathen with English bishops of English consecration, and without the commission of the Queen.'<sup>(9)</sup> Both Bills passed the Lords but owing to vigorous opposition principally engendered by Henry Venn of the C.M.S. they were defeated in the Commons. Venn, who held very strong views on the merits of ecclesiastical Establishment in England, 'was reluctant to see bishops appointed abroad without any constitutional checks upon their authority'.<sup>(10)</sup> Both the bills were aimed at obtaining for the church overseas a large amount of self government, necessary

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(7) G. W. O. Addleshaw, op. cit. p. 83.

(8) E. Stock, History of C.M.S. Vol. II p. 13.

(9) S. Meacham, Lord Bishop, The Life of Samuel Wilberforce, 1970. p. 252.

(10) M. Warren (ed.) To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn, 1971 pp. 25-26.



in both cases, for in the colonies it was far from realistic to regard the Church as established and the Letters Patent gave the bishop autocratic powers with no legal authority to consult his clergy and laity in synods in order to regulate the Church affairs, and as regards missionary bishops there was no legal machinery for their appointment to work outside British territory as the Letters Patent were not valid.<sup>(11)</sup> However, eminently sensible as they were for the extension of the Church overseas, both bills enraged the Evangelicals who saw them as threats to the Royal Supremacy and as the work of popish sympathisers. Sir James Stephens, brother-in-law of Venn, wrote a letter to A. Kinnaird, who led the opposition in the Commons, in which he claimed that the professed object of the Missionary Bishops Bill, 'to enable English prelates to consecrate British Subjects to act as Bishop in any foreign or heathen country', was not the real and true object which was 'a desire to establish an English episcopate which shall not acknowledge the royal supremacy'.<sup>(12)</sup> The defeat of the bills was a blow to High Churchmen interested in the expansion of the Church, but it did not deter them from continuing to advance their views and gradually take what steps they could towards self-government. Particularly active were Selwyn and Gray, both of whom had been appointed to sees founded by the Colonial Bishops Fund.

Selwyn on his appointment to the Bishopric of New Zealand saw the necessity of the Church there gaining self-government from the state:

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(11) An Act which created the see of Jerusalem in 1841, had made it possible to consecrate a bishop for a see outside Her Majesty's dominions, but for the sole purpose of shepherding British subjects who might have gone there to reside. The Government refused to sanction the appointing of a bishop to New Zealand until it became a British Possession. The desire to consecrate a bishop for Borneo (a major object of the Missionary Bishops Bill) led to the farcical situation whereby an insignificant island named Labuan ceded by Rajah Brooke to the British Government had a bishop consecrated for it in 1855. O. Chadwick, Mackenzie's Grave, pp. 20-21.

(12) R. G. Wilberforce, Life of Bishop Wilberforce, Vol. II, pp. 201-202.

My desire is, in this country, so far as God may give me light and strength, to try what the actual system of the Church of England can do, when disencumbered of its earthly load of seats in Parliament, Erastian compromises, corruption of patronage, confusion of orders, synodless bishops, and an unorganized clergy. None of these things are inherent in our system, and therefore are not to be imputed as faults. (13)

With this object in view Selwyn steadily progressed towards synodical government though without official sanction; he held his first informal synod in 1844 and the first General Synod of the Church of the Province of New Zealand took place in 1859.<sup>(14)</sup> Robert Gray similarly worked towards synodical government in South Africa<sup>(15)</sup>, but the most important contribution he made towards the expansion of the Church overseas was with regard to missionary bishops. Appointed as first Anglican bishop of Capetown in 1848 Gray was from the first aware of the great need for missions in Southern Africa and he saw it as his role to ensure that the Anglican Church was effective in this field. He worked at first for the provision of further colonial bishops in the area and in 1853 the bishoprics of Grahamstown and Natal were created. Then he turned his attention to the area outside British territory and considered that the best way of evangelising the area was by missions sent from South Africa under the leadership of a missionary bishop. Knowing Wilberforce's views from an earlier visit<sup>(16)</sup> to England Gray turned to him for advice and in 1855 in a letter

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(13) W. Tucker, Life of Bishop Selwyn, vol. I, pp. 199-200.

(14) E. Stock, History of CMS, vol. II, pp. 87-91. In Australia and Canada the bishops proceeded to organize synods, John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto summoned a synod a few months after the 1853 Bill was thrown out and in the states of Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania the bishops obtained Enabling Acts from the State Legislature which gave them the right to hold synods.

(15) P. Hinchliff, 'Laymen in Synod: An Aspect of the Beginnings of Synodical Government in South Africa' in G. J. Cuming and L. G. D. Baker Councils and Assemblies.

(16) In April 1853 Gray had been present at a meeting in London when Wilberforce had spoken 'Upon the Extension of the Episcopate in the Colonies' in which he had stressed the necessity of 'planting the church under Bishops' and how by so doing the Church is following the apostolic model and acting upon Scripture, 'in the apostolic times, when there was only one order in the Church, it was the order of the Episcopate . . . the Presbytery and the Diaconate were evolved out of the Episcopate'. H. Rowley (ed.) Bp. Wilberforce's Speeches on Missions pp. 294-295.

enquired:

Will you tell me -

I. Would it be an infringement of my oath to the Archbishop if we, as a Province, consecrate a Missionary Bishop ourselves?

II. Or of any Canon of the Church?

III. Or of any law to which the Church of England may be supposed to have given her consent?

IV. Has the Church at home now the power of consecrating a Bishop for other than British possessions?

V. What is to be done if she is bound by Acts which Parliament has declined to repeal, and I by the Canons of the Church? Is Africa to remain unevangelised?..... (17)

Wilberforce's answer is unknown but most likely it held out little hope for a speedy solution to the problem of the consecration of missionary bishops, and three years later in 1858 when Gray paid a visit to England the establishment of missionary bishoprics in Africa was an object of importance on his agenda. He brought the subject up again and again in his first four months in England; at the Colonial Bishop's Council, at the S.P.G. Anniversary Meeting, in conversations with Bishop Wilberforce and at a special meeting to discuss the question attended by the Colonial Bishop's Council held at the House of Lords. (18) No great progress was made; support existed for Gray's schemes but so did opposition. Recording the meeting of the Council of Colonial Bishops, Wilberforce wrote:

The Bishop of Capetown said that there was no chance of evangelising Africa by sending out separate priests. We had not money to pour out on clergy as they had at Sierra Leone or in New Zealand: the course he should recommend would be to 'put down a Bishop for him to collect clergy around him; then each Bishop so sent out would take the oath to the Metropolitan and the clergy to him; by this means centres would be formed, each centre under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan. (19)

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(17) C. N. Gray, Life of Robert Gray, 2nd edition 1883 p. 167 n.1.

(18) *ibid.*, pp. 166-168.

(19) R. G. Wilberforce, Life of Bp. Wilberforce p. 378.

At the meeting Wilberforce proposed the following resolution:

That we understand the question brought before us by the Bishop of Capetown on behalf of himself and the Bishop of Natal to be, whether we, as Bishops of the Church of England, approve of his and his suffragans (if they legally can do so) consecrating Bishops to head aggressive missions in the parts of South Africa which are exterior to the Queen's dominions. Such Missionary Bishops to take the oath of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury as their Metropolitan Archbishop and to be subject, with their Presbyters, to the rules and canons of the Church of England, to subscribe to Her Articles and, so far as may be, to Her formularies.

We reply that we should rejoice to see such missions headed by such Bishops, and that we conceive that they should be under the Metropolitan jurisdiction of the Bishop of Capetown and the supreme jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury and be subject to any rules hereafter to be laid down for the ecclesiastical government of the Province. (20)

The resolution however was not carried as the bishops were evenly divided six against six. Vigorous opposition came from the Bishop of London, who doubted the usefulness of bishops in the mission field and feared there would be great danger of injuring the connection between the Church and State which was the Church's greatest blessing.<sup>(21)</sup> The opposition of the C.M.S. to such a move was voiced by the Bishop of Winchester.<sup>(22)</sup>

Getting nowhere by formal approaches to the bishops, Gray all of a sudden seems to have taken the plunge on his own and on a visit to Cambridge on October 31st he met the Rev. William Monk the secretary of the Cambridge University Church Missionary Union and learnt of the enthusiasm at the University for a mission to the Zambesi. Gray took this up and on the following day at a public meeting in Cambridge he first laid the foundation for the U.M.C.A.

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(20) *ibid.* p. 379.

(21) *ibid.*

(22) Bishop Wilberforce summed up the meeting in his diary as follows:  
 May 15. - Discussion at S.P.G. on Missionary Bishops. 6 and 6. A painful occasion. Bishop of Winton awed by the Church Missionary Society: Archbishop by Bishop of Winton: London, fearing for 'episcopacy without prelacy:' Carlisle and Ripon utterly disbelieving in Christ's appointment. Alas! alas! Lord forgive them - They know not what they do; and visit it not on Thy Church in this land. *ibid.* p. 378.

I proposed the formation of a Committee for establishing a Mission along the Zambesi, and offered to co-operate, urging that the Church should do at least as much as the Independents, who have already raised £7,000 and sent forth six missionaries. Proposed that Cambridge should take the lead in this matter, and send forth six men, presenting one to the African Bishop for consecration . . . Livingstone made a great impression at Cambridge, and left this work to the special charge of the University - this was my reason for urging it. (23)

A bold step had been taken, but by linking his desire for missionary bishops with the University's enthusiasm for a mission to Central Africa he had managed to get some powerful support for a scheme that otherwise would have been bogged down by the indecision of the episcopate. (24) Wilberforce naturally enough gave his utmost support to the idea and on 'making a generous contribution to the funds, stipulated the condition that a bishop should lead the enterprise'. (25) But all was not to be clear sailing, opposition to the proposal came from a number of quarters, in particular from the Evangelicals, the Church Missionary Intelligencer condemned the proposal with much vehemence, and by many within the church it was looked on as a Puseyite extravagance. (26) Gray approached the Colonial Office for permission to consecrate a missionary bishop and in November 1858 Lord Carnarvon told Gray that though the law officers of the Crown held it to be doubtful whether an English bishop could legally consecrate another bishop for a country outside the dominions of Her Majesty, no opposition would be offered if he did so, but any bishop so consecrated would not be able to perform

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(23) C. N. Gray, Life of Robert Gray, p. 172.

(24) Initially Gray's proposals for missionary bishops was for areas contiguous to British possessions in South Africa.

(25) O. Chadwick, Mackenzie's Grave, pp. 22-23.

(26) E. Stock, History of C.M.S., pp. 19-20.



legal acts of an episcopal nature within the Queen's dominions. To this was added the restriction that he might not consecrate on British territory.<sup>(27)</sup>

In May 1859 this restriction was lifted, and in the following November Archdeacon Mackenzie was chosen by the Oxford, Cambridge and London Committees of the Central African Mission to head the mission as Bishop.<sup>(28)</sup>

Still there were problems to be overcome before Mackenzie could be consecrated, Gray wished for the allegiance of the bishop to be to the See of Cape Town and was hurt when in February 1860 he received a letter from Mackenzie intimating that:

the Bishop of London will approve if he is consecrated in England and asks my views, adding that he would then be under Canterbury, and not in this Province. I reply that I see no objection to his consecration in England; but that I protest against his separation from this Province on very many grounds. I have written a formal protest to Archbishop. It is a very important question. (29)

The subject of Missionary Bishops came before both Houses of Convocation in June 1860, and a report was adopted after which Wilberforce moved the following resolution:

That this House having heard, with thankfulness to God, of the prospect of a Mission being led by the Venerable Archdeacon Mackenzie into Central Africa, desires to express their deep interest therein, and their hope that the Bishop of Cape Town and his Comprovincials may be able to see fit to admit the head of this Mission into the Episcopal Order before he be sent forth to the heathen. (30)

Mackenzie arrived at Cape Town as yet unconsecrated on November 12th, five days later Gray was writing to his son 'I am engaged in writing long letters to my Suffragans, who are at the last moment raising all sorts of questions and difficulties respecting the consecration'.<sup>(31)</sup> In addition the Foreign

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(27) O. Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 21 footnote.

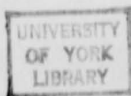
(28) R. G. Wilberforce, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 422.

(29) C. N. Gray, *ibid.*, p. 180.

(30) C. N. Gray, *ibid.*, p. 184.

(31) *ibid.*, p. 184.

Office needed the diocese to be defined for the license, and there were protests at home from the Crown lawyers, Bishop Tait of London, Lord Shaftesbury and the Evangelical Record about the consecration.<sup>(32)</sup> At last after many delays the Bishops of Capetown, Natal and St. Helena consecrated Mackenzie 'Bishop of the mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire' in Capetown Cathedral on January 1st 1861, the first Missionary Bishop of the Church of England. It was a triumph for both Bishops Gray and Wilberforce, the culmination for the latter of 25 years of pleading for the cause.



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(32) *ibid.*, p. 184 and E. Stock, History of C.M.S. pp. 20-21.



### 3. LIVINGSTONE AND THE UNIVERSITIES

Though the campaign for the establishment of missionary bishoprics would seem to be the most important factor in leading to the founding of the U.M.C.A., it was the impact that Livingstone had made on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1857 that provided the inspiration and support for the mission. Already before Livingstone's visit interest in missionary work had been growing at the universities and an increasing number of graduates were offering themselves for service overseas. The first graduate missionary went out for the C.M.S. in 1815, and then in the period 1815-48 thirty-one went from Oxford, Cambridge and Durham, and exactly twice this number went out in the thirteen years 1849-61.<sup>(1)</sup> This upsurge in interest probably owed much to the revival of church life and by no means all the C.M.S. missionaries were strict Evangelicals, but there was little involvement of the High Church party. Well-supported C.M.S. Associations were to be found at Cambridge from 1818 and Oxford from 1825 and at both Universities various other missionary associations grew up, including the Oxford Junior University Missionary Society founded about 1829.<sup>(2)</sup> These were basically Evangelical societies with a fairly general support among the Church-minded undergraduates and done initially but by the late 1840's they had begun to take on a party character, and High Churchmen dropped their subscriptions and mission work was equated with Evangelicalism. However in 1854 the visit of Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand to Cambridge did much to alter the stereotyped attitudes to missions and missionaries.

Selwyn while on a fund-raising and recruiting tour of England preached four famous sermons at Great St. Mary's Cambridge. The sermons commanded a

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(1) E. Stock, History of the C.M.S., Vol. II, p. 53.

(2) E. Stock, *ibid.*, pp. 53-55; W. Monk, Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, p. 323.

vast audience and were a great influence on a number of undergraduates, and a member of the congregation reported the 'crush was tremendous; one man had his arm nearly broken, another was lifted off his feet, a third was carried out in a fit etc. The Bishop's appeals have had some effect, for two or three University men are thinking of offering to accompany him back to New Zealand.<sup>(3)</sup> The first two sermons affirmed that the best of all expressions of Christian belief is 'Christian work'; the third called for young men to offer themselves to the Archbishop for Colonial service and the fourth appealed for work amongst the heathen. Selwyn as we have seen wished to establish an ideal Church in New Zealand, one unfettered by Erastianism and Establishment and thus his appeal was especially directed at, and had the most appeal for, the ardent young Tractarian sympathiser. To Selwyn the mission-field was:

the great outlet for the excited and sensitive spirit of the Church at home. There are minds which have placed before them an ideal perfection which can never be realised on earth. They burn with a zeal for God which cannot bear to be confined. Such men would be the very salt of the earth if they would but go out into the mission-field. (4)

Amongst those so inspired was Charles Frederick Mackenzie, who took up the call and accepted an invitation to become Archdeacon of Natal.<sup>(5)</sup> Selwyn showed also the missionary and especially the 'missionary' bishop as an 'apostolic figure.

England was accustomed to bishops who were 'grandees', who rode in carriages and mingled easily with dukes, churchmen of dignity and smooth hands . . . Selwyn navigating his little boat through the Melanesian islands, wearing seaman's clothing, sleeping in the open, cooking his own meals, hauling on cables, digging with his spade, jumping ashore upon islands where no white had landed before, landing without knowing whether he would be greeted by curiosity or a bludgeon - this was the portrait of a 'missionary bishop', this was indeed a planting of the church 'in its integrity'. (6)

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(3) V. H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, 1964, p. 318.

(4) S. C. Carpenter, Church and People 1789-1889, pp. 439-440.

(5) H. Goodwin, Life of Bishop Mackenzie.

(6) O. Chadwick, Mackenzie's Grave, pp 22.

Educated at Eton and St. John's College Cambridge, of which college he was once a fellow, brother of Canon William Selwyn soon to be appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, George Augustus Selwyn was eminently respectable, not a 'didactic artisan' but a missionary acceptable in the best circles, and as such he was important in changing the image of the missionary at the Universities in particular. (7)

The extended interest in missionary work brought about by Selwyn's visit was marked by the founding in 1856 of 'The Cambridge Church Missionary Union' which paved the way for Livingstone's appeal to the University the following year.<sup>(8)</sup> The Missionary Union which had ninety-two members at its inception was 'officered and mainly conducted by undergraduates' the Secretary being the Rev. William Monk, curate of St. Andrew the Less, Cambridge.<sup>(9)</sup> Monk, the son of a Berkshire linen-draper, had entered St. John's College, Cambridge. at the late age of 25 in 1851, and he had a successful university career culminating in a 1st Class in the Moral Science Tripos in 1856. He had been ordained deacon at Ely in 1855 and the following year priest.<sup>(10)</sup> At St. Andrew the Less he found himself 'in the midst of the turmoil, labours and ceaseless cares inseperable from the daily life of a laborious clergyman in a poor parish';<sup>(11)</sup> but he still found time to be interested in many subjects and to belong to certain London societies.<sup>(12)</sup>

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(7) Dictionary of National Biography

(8) W. Monk, Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, p. 323.

(9) E. Stock, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 55-56. At St. Andrew's he served under the Rev. J. H. Titcomb who later became first bishop of Rangoon (1878-82), D.N.B.

(10) Alumni Cantabrigiensis.

(11) W. Monk, op. cit. 2nd ed. 1860, p. 8.

(12) He was a F.S.A. and F.R.A.S. Alumni Cantab.

And it was on one of his visits to a society meeting in London in May 1857 that he first met David Livingstone, who having returned from Africa the previous December was being feted as Britain's greatest explorer. Monk on behalf of the Missionary Union pressed Livingstone to visit Cambridge to speak and elicited a promise of so doing in November or December.<sup>(13)</sup> The publication of Livingstone's Missionary Travels and its immediate acclaim, possibly stimulated Monk to pursue his attempts to get the explorer-missionary to Cambridge, and early in November an extended correspondence on the subject took place between the two men culminating in Livingstone's visit on the 3rd-5th December 1857. He was the guest of Monk who managed to persuade the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Philpott to preside at a meeting in the Senate House on the afternoon of 4th December which was attended by a large audience who heard Livingstone give his much quoted speech:

He came among us without any long notes of preparation, without any pageant or eloquence to charm and captivate our senses. He stood before us, a plain, single-minded man, somewhat attenuated by years of toil, and with a face tinged by the sun of Africa . . . . While we listened to the tale he had to tell, there arose in the hearts of all the listeners a fervent hope that the hand of God which had so long upheld him would uphold him still, and help him to carry out the great work of Christian love that was still before him. (14)

The speech contained descriptions of the country, its people, their habits and religious life, coupled with a general description of his life and work, and an outline of his ideas for the introduction of Christianity and

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(13) W. Monk, op. cit., p. 326.

(14) 'Prefatory Letter by Professor Rev. Adam Sedgwick' W. Monk, op. cit., p. 54. A more prosaic description of the meeting comes from the pen of an undergraduate H. B. Swete, who told his sister 'we have heard the lion roar . . . . Livingstone came up here to visit a friend; and our good Vice invited him to lecture before the University, putting the Senate House at his disposal. So at 2 o'clock on Friday last you might have seen the Senate House thronged, the pit with M.A.s and ladies and galleries with undergrads . . . There was a picturesque simplicity about this Saxon which won the heart of the oldest don present. He told us something of his travels, of the manners of the natives and of the facilities offered by the country to commerce and ended with a heart encomium upon the CMS and an appeal to the University for hands . . . What we Cantabs liked best in him was the Catholicity of Spirit; no parts of his lecture calling forth such hearty applause as those in which he disclaimed sectarianism, and generously acknowledged the fruits of even Jesuit labours in Africa.' W. H. Green, *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge 1906*, p. 321.

commerce into Central Africa. He appealed for missionaries, deploring the fact that the C.M.S. had had to go to Germany for its recruits:

The sort of men who are wanted for missionaries are such as I see before me - men of education, standing, enterprise, zeal, and piety. It is a mistake to suppose that any one, as long as he is pious, will do for this office. Pioneers in everything should be the ablest and best qualified men, not those of small ability and education.

He then described the benefits and satisfaction of mission work and ended on this stirring note:

I beg to direct your attention to Africa - I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open; do not let it be shut again! I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I LEAVE IT WITH YOU! (15)

This paragraph became the text on which the U.M.C.A. was founded but there was nothing in the speech that could be termed a proposal for a University Mission to Central Africa. The speech called for educated missionaries and directed the Universities' attention to Africa but it made no concrete proposals for the establishment of a mission, the budding missionary inspired by the speech had no definite place to turn, Livingstone was a 'loner and had no intention of collecting a body of companions as had occurred with Selwyn three years before. The only direct result of the speech and one the following day in the Town Hall before the Mayor and Corporation of Cambridge, was their publication in book form by William Monk in the summer of 1858. Monk on his own suggestion had requested permission from Livingstone to publish the lectures 'with the understanding that an attempt should be made thereby to prepare the way for sending out a Cambridge Mission to Africa, and

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(15) W. Monk, op. cit., pp. 145-168 Capitals as in original. The Cambridge meeting is described in some detail in P. Elton, 'Livingstone and the Anglican Church' in B. Pachai (ed.) Livingstone Men of Africa, pp. 61-85.



for keeping up an interest in the cause'.<sup>(16)</sup> The lectures as published were prefaced by a lengthy letter of some 90 pages by Professor Rev. Adam Sedgwick, Woodwardian Professor of Geology, and were thus given an official stamp. The book was a fair success and a longer second edition was produced in 1860. The work fulfilled its intention and kept alive the interest in Livingstone's work at the University and when Monk met Bishop Gray on 30th October 1858 at dinner with Dr. Atkinson, Master of Clare College he was able to show the Bishop the enthusiasm that existed for following in Livingstone's footsteps. On November 1st, Gray linking his desire for missionary bishoprics attached to the See of Capetown, with the enthusiasm of the University of Cambridge for supporting mission work along the Zambezi he proposed the establishment of the Universities Mission to Central Africa.<sup>(17)</sup>

The literature of the U.M.C.A. goes to some lengths to identify its foundation with David Livingstone. On its earlier publications the line 'proposed by Livingstone 1857' was usually to be found under the title of the mission, and you find a leading supporter calling it 'Dr. Livingstone's Central African Mission',<sup>(18)</sup> the more recent short popular mission histories such as In Livingstone's Trail and I Leave It With You laying stress on the connection.<sup>(19)</sup> Livingstone is looked on as the founder of the mission, and little is said of the more important roles played by Bishop Gray and William Monk. Without doubt his speeches at Oxford and Cambridge provided the enthusiasm for the mission but he took little part in its planning and wanted

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(16) Monk it would seem was the proposer of a Cambridge Mission to Central Africa, W. Monk, op. cit., p. 327.

(17) *ibid.*; C. N. Gray, Life of Robert Gray, p. 172.

(18) R. G. Wilberforce, op. cit., p. 422.

(19) In Livingstone's Trail Revised by Phyllis Benham UMCA 1939; I Leave It With You The Story of U.M.C.A. by Isabelle V. Fremont, Enlarged and revised edition 1957.



educated missionaries for Central Africa; the recruiting, organising and support of such missionaries were however to be left to others. The Presbyterian Livingstone was not looking for a sectarian mission: 'Provided Christianity was taught to the African, what did it matter who taught it'.<sup>(20)</sup> The call to the Universities was only one of many that he made during his stay in England. He was pleased at the response of the Universities, and he readily complied with requests for advice on the venue of the mission and on the qualifications and attainments necessary for a missionary:<sup>(21)</sup>

We have heard of a mission for the Interior from the English Universities, and this is the best news we have got since we came to Africa. I have recommended up the Shire as a proper sphere, and hasten back so as to be in the way if any assistance can be rendered. I rejoice at the prospect with all my heart, and am glad, too, that it is to be a Church of England Mission, for that Church has never put forth its strength, and I trust this may draw it forth. I am tired of discovery when no fruit follows. (22)

He later felt honoured when he discovered the head of the mission was to be a bishop. On the mission party reaching the Zambezi, Livingstone virtually took command, and as is recounted below his enthusiasm and expectations were a major factor in the failure of mission on the Shire. Livingstone provided the impetus and venue for the Church of England's first true missionary enterprise, but when, in consequence of the disasters brought about by the siting of the mission, it was withdrawn by Tozer from the Zambezi to Zanzibar, Livingstone washed his hands of the whole affair referring to the move as a 'cowardly retreat', and 'ever afterwards Livingstone regarded Tozer and the Universities

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(20) O. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

(21) W. Monk, *op. cit.* pp. 303-304; T. Jeal, Livingstone, p. 234, quoting letter from Livingstone to Secretary of UMCA 29/11/1860 in National Archives of Rhodesia, and to the Bishop of Oxford Nov. 1860 printed in J. Waddington, Congregational History, Vol. 4, p. 449.

(22) Livingstone to James Young, nr. Kalozi 22nd July 1860 in G. Blaikie, Life of Livingstone, 1910, p. 230.

Mission with a settled contempt, pursuing them with a searing malevolence that is to be explained only by the intensity of his disappointment in them'.<sup>(23)</sup> The contact between the U.M.C.A. and Livingstone was tenuous and shortlived but it left its mark on the public image of the mission.<sup>(24)</sup>

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(23) J. Simmons, Livingstone and Africa, 1955, pp. 103-104.

(24) In contrast the part played by the Rev. Wm. Monk in the founding of the mission has received little recognition, and it seems likely that in the light of later events his name was purposely left out of the annals of the mission, for his association with the UMCA ended on a somewhat embarrassing note. In 1866 he was requesting from the committee money which he claimed he had expended, and in default of the committee responding he applied to seven subscribers to the mission for their regular contribution pretending that he was acting on the mission's behalf. The General Committee on learning this 'entered into correspondence with him declaring that if he ceased such action the committee will consider it unnecessary to take further steps in the matter'. It is not surprising that when a year later Monk asked to be allowed to undertake the post of Hon. Secretary for the mission in his area, his offer was declined. And thus he disappears from the history of the UMCA. USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes May 9th, 1866 + 10th April, 1867: Sub. Committee, 28th February, 1866.

CHAPTER 2. Establishment, Organisation and Support

1. ESTABLISHMENT AND INITIAL SUPPORT

Following the meeting at Cambridge on November 1st 1858 William Monk, at the request of Bishop Gray, undertook the formation of a Committee 'for establishing a Mission along the Zambesi'.<sup>(1)</sup> He received immediate support from a number of influential members of the University including the Masters of Magdalene and Clare Colleges; John Grote, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Vicar of Trumpington; William Selwyn, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; William Emery, Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College; W. C. Sharpe, Vicar of All Sts. Cambridge, and Charles Hardwick, Archdeacon of Ely. From the start Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, showed great interest in the proposal. The Cambridge Committee met for the first time on November 23rd and a resolution was passed to invite members of the University of Oxford to co-operate 'to take steps towards the establishment of a Mission to Central Africa, chiefly to the regions discovered by Dr. Livingstone' and in the event of such co-operation being obtained the Mission be called 'The Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa'.<sup>(2)</sup> In March 1859 the University of Oxford held a preliminary meeting and agreed to co-operate and a large and influential Committee of sixty-three leading members of the University was formed. This was followed in May by a great public meeting held in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford under the chairmanship of Bishop Wilberforce, at which resolutions were passed on the make up and organisation of the Mission, which should consist 'as soon as practicable, of a Bishop and a number of assistant clergy' and be connected with the Society for the Propagation of the

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(1) C. N. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 172; W. Monk, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

(2) W. Monk, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-329; Alumni Cantabrigienses Archdeacon Hardwick (1821-59) died the following August by falling over a precipice in the Pyrenees.

Gospel in Foreign Parts. It was resolved also to form a London Committee which took place soon after.<sup>(3)</sup>

The climax of the year of preparatory work came on the 1st November 1859 when there was 'a most wonderful gathering, 2,500 people'<sup>(4)</sup> at the Senate House, Cambridge in support of the Mission. At the same time Bishop Wilberforce, Mr. Gladstone, Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape and Rt. Hon. S. H. Walpole, M.P. were given honorary degrees of Doctor of Law, and these four prominent churchmen played an important part in the day's proceedings, the principal resolution of which proposed by Wilberforce and seconded by Grey was as follows:

That the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa is entitled to especial support not only because there is great reason to hope for a very favourable reception of the Gospel on the part of the natives of Central Africa, but also on account of the important bearing which the proposed operations of the mission have upon the civilization of Africa and the ultimate extinction of the slave trade. (5)

The following day the members of the three committees met and chose Archdeacon Mackenzie to head the mission and passed a number of important resolutions which laid down the plan for the working of the mission:

I. That the plan of this Association be the establishment of one or more stations in Southern Central Africa, which may serve as centres of Christianity and Civilisation, for the promotion of the spread of true religion, agriculture, and lawful commerce, and the ultimate extirpation of the slave-trade.

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(3) *ibid.*, pp. 328-330. At Oxford amongst the influential supporters were Dr. C. A. Heurtley, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; Edward Hawkins, Provost of Oriel; Dr. Williams, Warden of New College; Rev. J. W. Burgon, Fellow of Oriel (later Dean of Chichester); Rev. F. Meyrick, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Captain Montagu Burrows (later Chichele Professor of Modern History); and Rev. Wm. Ince, Fellow and Sub-rector of Lincoln College (later regius professor of divinity).

(4) R. G. Wilberforce, *op. cit.* p. 422.

(5) W. Monk, *op. cit.*, p. 332; R. G. Wilberforce, *op. cit.* p. 422.

II. That to carry out this plan successfully, the Association desires to send out a body of men, including the following:-

Six Clergymen with a Bishop at their head, to be consecrated either in this country, or by the three Bishops of Southern Africa; a Physician, Surgeon, or Medical Practitioner (1), and a number of Artificers, English and Native, capable of conducting the various works of building, husbandry, and especially of the cultivation of the Cotton Plant.

III. The Association contemplate that the cost of establishing such a mission, cannot be estimated at less than £20,000, with £2,000 a year, promised as annual subscriptions to support the mission for 5 years to come.

IV. That the Secretaries be desired to open communication at once with the other Universities, with the clergy and friends of missions at large, and with the great centres of manufacture and commerce, to invite them to aid by their funds, counsel, and co-operation, in carrying out this great work for the mutual benefit of Africa and England. (6)

A General Committee, consisting of all the members of the five local committees<sup>(7)</sup> was established as the governing body of the mission and it held its first meeting at the S.P.G. headquarters, 79 Pall Mall on Friday 9th December 1859 with Bishop Wilberforce in the chair with the following present<sup>(8)</sup>: Archdeacon Mackenzie; Hon. Arthur Gordon<sup>(9)</sup>; Sir Walter James, bart.<sup>(10)</sup>;

(6) W. Monk, op. cit., p. 333; ~~compare with Constitutions of 1860 and 1895 in Appendix.~~

(7) By the end of 1860 Oxford and Cambridge had been joined by the Universities of Durham and Dublin.

(8) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Vol. I, 1859-1865.

(9) Hon. Arthur Charles Hamilton Gordon (1829-1912); son of fourth Earl of Aberdeen. Trinity College, Cambridge; President of the Union 1849; Private Secretary to his father as Prime Minister 1852-5; M.P. for Beverley 1854-7; Governor of New Brunswick 1861-6; of Trinidad 1866-70; of Mauritius 1871-4; of Fiji Islands 1875-80; of New Zealand 1880-82; and of Ceylon 1883-90; created Baron Stanmore 1893; friend of Samuel Wilberforce, Charles Kingsley and Roundell Palmer, 1st Earl Selborne; a high churchman.

(10) Sir Walter Charles James, bart. (1816-93) a prominent layman and founder of Missionary Union of St. Augustine; raised to peerage in 1884 as Lord Northbourne.



Rev. T. Jackson, Rector of Stoke Newington; The Dean of Westminster<sup>(11)</sup>;  
 Rev. J. S. Perowne<sup>(12)</sup>, Lecturer in Divinity, Kings College London; Rev. Dr.  
 Jelf, Principal of Kings College, London<sup>(13)</sup>; Rev. H. Howarth, Rector of  
 St. George's, Hanover Square; Rev. John Lawrell, Incumbent of St. Matthews,  
 City Road; Rev. Wm. Tennant, Vicar of St. Stephen's Westminster; Rev. Henry  
 Cummins, Rector of St. Alban's Wood Street; Charles J. Selwyn, M.P.<sup>(14)</sup>; and  
 Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of S.P.G. In addition there were present on  
 deputation from Cambridge, Rev. George Williams, Fellow of King's College and  
 Dr. Atkinson, Master of Clare and from Oxford Professor Heurtley and Captain  
 Burrows. A galaxy of London incumbents and prominent churchmen, the emphasis  
 was very much on the clergy with a scattering of laymen with High Church rather  
 than Evangelical leanings. Typical of the latter were Alexander James  
 Beresford-Hope, a Tory M.P. who founded St. Augustine's Missionary College at  
 Canterbury in 1844, built All Sts. Margaret Street in 1849 and established the  
Saturday Review, Henry Hoare (1807-66), a partner in Messrs. Hoares Bank and an  
 active and devoted lay worker for the church, and Sydney Gedge, (1829-1923) a  
 solicitor, who was later Clerk to the London School Board, an M.P. and licenced  
 preacher in the diocese of London and Southwark; these three all became members  
 of the UMCA General Committee in 1859. To these can be added the following  
 laymen who all attended General Committee meetings in the first three years of

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- (11) Richard Chevenix Trench, (1807-1886) professor of divinity at Kings College,  
 London 1846-58; dean of Westminster 1856-63; archbishop of Dublin 1863-86;  
 a broad churchman.
- (12) John James Stewart Perowne (1823-1904) Lecturer in Divinity at King's  
 College, London; vice-principal of St. David's College, Lampeter 1862-72;  
 Dean of Peterborough 1878-91, Bishop of Worcester 1891-1901.
- (13) Rev. Dr. Richard William Jelf (1798-1871), of Christ Church, Oxford;  
 Principal of King's College, London 1844-68; he was one of the doctors who  
 condemned Pusey's sermon in 1847.
- (14) Charles Jasper Selwyn (1813-69), brother of Bp. G.A. Selwyn of New Zealand  
 and Lichfield; M.P. for Cambridge University 1859-68; appointed solicitor-  
 general and knighted 1867; Lord Justice of Appeal and Privy Councillor 1868.

the mission's existence: Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony; Major G. Sabrie, President of the Royal Society; Charles W. Giles Pullen M.P.; Chancellor Phillimore; Rt. Hon. Lord John Manners, M.P. (later 7th Duke of Rutland); Rt. Hon. J. R. Mowbray, M.P.; Rear Admiral R. M. Washington; Francis Galton<sup>(15)</sup>; Sir Roderick Murchison, President of the Royal Geographical Society and Director General of the Geological Survey; and Edward Akroyd. Other ecclesiastics who attended committee meetings in the early days were: John Lonsdale, Bishop of Lichfield; G. A. Turner, Bishop of Chichester; Alfred Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff; Archibald Campbell Tait, Bishop of London; Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury; Robert Eden, Bishop of Moray and Ross; Thomas Vowler Short, Bishop of St. Asaph; Harvey Goodwin, Dean of Ely; William Ince, Sub-Rector of Exeter College; Edward Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford; Rev. H. Bailey, Warden of St. Augustine's College Canterbury; and the Rev. John Kempe, Rector of St. James Piccadilly 1853-95.

Many others could and did attend Committee meetings and the above lengthy list, though not complete, does give a clear picture of the multifarious character of the Universities Mission's Governing Body and of its supporters in the period 1858-64. In those years, as the mission was becoming, or more correctly failing to become, established, support came from many different quarters. The three main factors that had led to the founding of the mission - the effects of the Oxford Movement, the Universities' interest in mission work, and the appeal of Livingstone, enabled men of diverse opinions to give their support. There were laymen and clergy with Tractarian sympathies<sup>(16)</sup>, moderate

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(15) Francis Galton (1822-1911) grandson of Dr. Erasmus Darwin; explored Damaraland, received Gold Medal of R.G.S. in 1853; author of Tropical South Africa 1853; General Secretary of British Association 1863-67; founder of the science of 'eugenics'.

(16) e.g. Samuel Wilberforce, Robert Gray, Ernest Hawkins, H. Bailey, John Lawrell, etc.

and broad University churchmen<sup>(17)</sup>, laymen concerned with exploration and discovery<sup>(18)</sup>, and those who saw the mission as primarily an anti-slavery body<sup>(19)</sup>. Though the High Church strand within the mission was present from the beginning it was by no means dominant in these early years, as there was a large proportion of broad or moderate churchmen and a sprinkling of Evangelicals. The mission as originated was far from being partisan; it was a Church mission in the same way that the S.P.G. was a Church missionary society<sup>(20)</sup>. It had many representatives from the episcopate and could cite as its supporters the incumbents of the most fashionable churches in London, namely St. George's Hanover Square and St. James' Piccadilly.

The General Committee, though covering a fairly broad spectrum of interests, was, as has been said, very much dominated by the clergy and even the majority of the laymen, excepting those concerned with exploration, were there as churchmen rather than representing some other interest. For a mission whose avowed aim was to introduce 'Commerce and Christianity' into Africa, and whose missionaries were to teach the natives skills to provide an alternative trade to slaving, it is indeed surprising that there was only one representative of the industrial and commercial world who appears to have attended any General Committee meeting. He was Colonel Edward Akroyd, a

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- (17) e.g. William Ince, Edward Hawkins, R. W. Jelf, Dr. Atkinson, Professor Heurtley, etc.
- (18) e.g. Washington, Murchison, Sabrie, Grey, Galton and J. Lyons McCleod, F.R.G.S., formerly Consul at Mozambique, author of Travels in Eastern Africa 1860 (reprint 1971).
- (19) In particular may be mentioned Lord Brougham, but it was also an aspect of Samuel Wilberforce's interest in the mission. Charles Buxton, M.P. (1823-71) son of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton donated £50 to the mission in 1861. Annual Report 1861.
- (20) To High Churchmen Livingstone was far from their ideal figurehead for a Church mission. Not all were happy with Livingstone's dissenting background and Keble wrote to Moberly concerning Robert Phillimore's candidature for the Oxford University seat 'Before I commit myself to R.P. I should like a little explanation of what he said at Oxford of Doctor Livingstone being a successor to the Apostles, or some such thing'. G. Battiscombe, John Keble, 1963, p. 340.

Yorkshire mill owner, who is best remembered for his planned industrial villages of Copley and Akroydon near Halifax.<sup>(21)</sup> This provides a significant contrast with the later Free Church of Scotland mission to Livingstonia which had similar aims but was controlled not by clergy but by Glasgow industrialists, who ran the mission and supplied it plentifully with funds.<sup>(22)</sup> Though having virtually no representation on the Governing Body of the U.M.C.A., the industrial areas, particularly Liverpool, Manchester, Halifax and Leeds, made significant contributions to the funds of the mission in the first two years. (see Table 1). These donations and subscriptions were the result of the activity of Bishop Wilberforce on a sub-committee 'appointed to assist the Head of the Mission in organising a scheme to appeal to the Country for funds':

The best way of moving the large towns, commercial and manufacturing was considered, and it was determined that it would be highly desirable to procure a Committee of laymen in such of the leading ones who should assist the Committee in the arrangements for sermons and meetings, and in Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Halifax, Nottingham).. Bishop of Oxford offered to visit three of the largest and most important towns in the provinces and to advance the cause of mission. (23)

He also stated that he would try to obtain the assistance of Lord Brougham. Brougham the former Lord Chancellor, then aged 82, a respected and popular man in the north of England, and Bp. Wilberforce gained his support through

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- (21) F.P. de Costebadie, History of the Aykroyd of Aykroyd, Privately printed 1934  
(21) N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Yorkshire: West Riding, 1959, pp. 62,64.
- (22) 'Large sums were supplied by James White of Overtoun, the owner of a vast chemical manufacturing works at Rutherglen, James Stevenson, the founder of a rival firm of chemical manufacturers, James Young, Livingstone's friend, owner of the enormous 'Young's Paraffin Light and Mineral Oil Company, and Alexander Stephen owner of a shipbuilding firm.... White's son, John Campbell White, was giving over £600 a year in missionaries salaries alone in the 1890's. It is estimated that by his death in 1908 Livingstonia had received £50,000 from him'. K. J. McCracken, 'Livingstonia as an Industrial Mission 1875-1900. A study of commerce and Christianity in Nyasaland' in Religion in Africa, University of Edinburgh. 1964, p. 76.
- (23) USPG/UMCA Executive and Sub-Committee Minutes Vol. 1 1859-1865. 1st meeting on Dec. 21st 1859.

his long family connection and the stress he laid on the anti-slavery aspect of the mission's intended work. On May 23rd, 24th and 25th 1860, Wilberforce and Brougham addressed crowded meetings at Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds respectively. In these three great northern cities was to be found a substantial part of Britain's wealth, and the appeal of Wilberforce to the merchants and manufacturers was for assistance with this mission which joined commerce with Christianity. The extermination of the slave trade by the introduction of lawful commerce, coupled with Christianity, was the main theme.<sup>(24)</sup> Support was forthcoming and a number of offers of donations of £100 came from Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the first year's list of donations and subscriptions<sup>(25)</sup> records £100 from the Manchester banker Sir Benjamin Heywood, and £50 each from his two sons Arthur and Oliver, while J. C. Harter of Manchester donated £100 and Miss Atherton, the daughter of a Manchester merchant, £150. At Liverpool William Brown (later Sir William, bart.), the banker, gave £50<sup>(26)</sup> and at Leeds, John Gott (1791-1867), owner of the great mills of Benjamin Gott, gave £50. In all some £1,180 was received from Liverpool, £740 from Manchester, £260 from Halifax, and £200 from Leeds, and £950 from Edinburgh. These were not insubstantial amounts but more could have been hoped for; they were considerably less than was received from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The largest single donation received by the mission in 1860 was £500 which came anonymously via the Rev. J. Ross, the High Church Vicar of St. Mary's Haggerston, followed by that of Miss Burdett-Coutts, 'the richest

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(24) H. Rowley (ed.) Speeches on Missions by Bishop Wilberforce, 2nd ed. pp. 187-216.

(25) UMCA Annual Report 1861

(26) In 1860 he gave the town its public library and museum.



heiress in all England' and benefactor of Church of England, who contributed £200. In the Oxford University list, Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., M.P. (later 1st Earl Selborne) and the Rev. R. Creswell of Worcester College gave £100, John Keble and Henry Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter £50, and an un-named undergraduate of Magdalen College £190. At Cambridge the largest donation (£100) came from Henry Hoare, the undergraduate son of the banker.<sup>(27)</sup> In the first two years almost £20,000 was received by the mission. Thus by the end of 1860 the mission's home organisation was successfully established and the first party of missionaries had sailed for Africa.

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\* (27) UMCA ANNUAL Report 1861.



2. ORGANISATION, FUND RAISING AND PUBLICITY.

On May 24th 1860, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce spoke at Liverpool on the following resolution:

That the Oxford and Cambridge Mission is entitled to the general support at this particular time, not as a new Society interfering with others already engaged in missionary work, but as temporarily organised, with the special view of meeting a want for the supply of which no other organisation at present exists; and this meeting, therefore undertakes to use its best endeavours to assist in acquiring the necessary funds. (1)

He went on to stress that it was not a new Society, for there were two great objections to the multiplication of societies, firstly the waste of funds and secondly the growth of rivalry and party spirit. Little expense was involved in the work of the Oxford and Cambridge Mission:

We meet in the room of the Gospel Propagation Society for which we pay nothing; we use their paper, for which we thank them; employ their pens, for which we are grateful; write with their ink, and make the best use we can of it. The whole expense really that we incur is that we have for six months engaged one clerk at a pound a week.

And as for rivalry:

If it pleases God, to prosper the mission, our plan is to let it fall back, if it should become in any degree permanent upon the Gospel Propagation Society, and to invite the other great Missionary Society of the Church (C.M.S.) to use its field as one where their missionaries may labour. (2)

Such was the idea, the mission was to be the Church acting without the instrumentality of a society. It was to be a brotherhood of Anglican missionaries acting without the cabals of a home organisation. This was a revolutionary move in the field of missionary work and idea had its origins in the Oxford Movement with the desire for the Church to control its own affairs, the Church being the Bishops and clergy, not an organisation

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(1) H. Rowley (ed.) Speeches on Missions by Bishop Wilberforce, 2nd ed. p. 201.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 202.

established by the Church. The head of the mission was the bishop in Africa not the chairman of the home body.

From the start the originators of the mission in England<sup>(3)</sup> saw it being 'founded in concert with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts',<sup>(4)</sup> and the S.P.G. secretary and a number of its committee were members of the UMCA General Committee. In October 1860 the S.P.G. was assisting the mission in the following ways:

By receiving subscriptions for the Mission keeping account of the same in the form of a special fund and paying the money over quarterly to the credit of the Mission at the Bankers appointed by the Treasurer of the Mission.

By allowing the Committees to meet at the office of the Society.

By admitting into the Publications of the Society information received from the Head of the Mission concerning the progress of the work. (5)

All seemingly for no payment, though by this time the mission had an Honorary Secretary. T. Parry Woodcock and a Treasurer, Henry Hoare.<sup>(6)</sup>

The increase in funds and correspondence made it necessary for changes to take place and in November 1860 a second Honorary Secretary, Sydney G. R. Strong, a solicitor, was appointed and he provided the mission with a room at his office at 5 Mitre Court, Temple, and for the next seven years this was the headquarters, though committee meetings continued to be held at 79 Pall Mall, the S.P.G. offices.<sup>(7)</sup> In addition there was a treasurer's

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(3) Though Bishop Gray who had had much trouble with the C.M.S. and S.P.G. probably hoped it would function without too close a co-operation.

(4) UMCA Constitution 1860. In March 1859 the Oxford Committee had passed a resolution 'that the funds collected be placed at the disposal of the S.P.G.' W. Monk, Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, 2nd ed. p. 330.

(5) Minutes of General Committee 3rd Oct. 1860. USPG/UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes Vol. 1.

(6) Both appointed in 1859.

(7) On death of Strong in 1862, mission allowed use of room by widow.

clerk, who was in daily attendance at Mitre Court from ten to five to receive donations and subscriptions<sup>(8)</sup>, and in November 1860 the Rev. George Hunt Smytten was appointed paid Organising Secretary.<sup>(9)</sup> Smytten was to have been one of the original mission party accompanying Mackenzie but ill-health caused him to withdraw, though he was retained by the mission on a salary of £200 per annum to preach and speak for it throughout the country. Thus by the end of 1860 the UMCA was moving away from its original idea and was establishing all the trappings of a separate society. The General Committee was holding frequent meetings; this and the various sub-committees of finance, salary and outfit, and organising<sup>(10)</sup> were the most active in running the home affairs of the mission, particularly in relation to fund-raising, the selection of staff and their payment.

In January 1861, Smytten resigned as Organising Secretary and he was succeeded in May by Rev. Alfred Y. Bazett<sup>(11)</sup> who resigned after six months, when the post was advertised. What was required was an Organising Secretary:

Whose duty shall be over and above the ordinary office work, to put himself into Communication with the Bishops, Clergy and laity with a view to hold meetings, preach sermons, and excite an interest wherever it may be possible on behalf of the mission and fulfill such duties as are expected from an Organising

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- (8) 'This Treasurer's clerk was that Mr. Marshall, who in after years so heavily robbed the A.C.S., to the tune of some £12,000 with which he maintained two wives and two households. After this he served her Majesty under compulsion, at Portland' USPG/UMCA R. M. Heanley to Miss Ashton June 8th 1904.
- (9) George Hunt Smytten (1822-1870) Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, B.A. 1848; ordained deacon 1848; priest 1849. Curate of Ellingham with Alnwick, Northumberland 1848-50; Rector of Hawksworth, Notts. 1850-59. Author: Mission Songs and Ballads and several well known hymns, including Forty Days and Forty Nights. Died suddenly at Frankfurt on Main Feb. 21 1870. Alumni Cantabrigienses.
- (10) To these were added Executive and other committees which led in 1864 to a complaint of the multiplicity of committees. USPG/UMCA Executive and Sub-Committee Minutes 1859-1865.
- (11) Alfred Yond Bazett (1815-1900) Trinity College, Cambridge. B.A. 1837. Ordained deacon 1838; priest 1839. Held various curacies. Rector of Quedgely, Glous. 1861-76. Resided latterly at Shanklin, Isle of Wight. Died there Dec. 1900. Alumni Cant.

Secretary of the S.P.G.F.P. to the satisfaction of the Hon. Secretary. (12)

Though it was an exacting task there were forty-nine applicants for the post because a salary of £200 was offered. On a vote the Rev. J. J. Halcombe was selected in February 1862<sup>(13)</sup> To him fell the difficult role of enlivening new interest in the mission as the initial support was beginning to drop away. At Cambridge the committee was in a state of inactivity, though critical of the increasing home expenditure of the mission<sup>(14)</sup>. The death of Bishop Mackenzie in January 1862, and the revelations concerning the 'Ajawa wars' at the meeting at Oxford in July 1862 were bitter blows to the progress of the mission<sup>(15)</sup>. Following the latter meeting leading members of the General Committee, Sir Roderick Murchison, Admiral Washington and Dr. Goulburn<sup>(16)</sup> resigned and the Universities of Dublin and Durham withdrew from their association with Oxford and Cambridge. Strong criticism came from unexpected sources, particularly Dr. Pusey and the church papers, the Guardian and the Colonial Church Chronicle.<sup>(17)</sup> Letters of criticism came in from all over the

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(12) USPG/UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes Vol. 1 meeting on 13th Nov. 1861.

(13) John Joseph Halcombe (1832-1910) Charterhouse and Magdalen College, Cambridge 1850-55. Ordained deacon 1857; priest 1858; Curate of Hanover Chapel, London 1857-59; of Wimbledon, Surrey 1859-60; Reader and Librarian of Charterhouse 1862-74; Rector of Balsham, Cambs. 1874-1910; founder and first secretary of Curates Augmentation Society, and founder and editor of magazine Mission Life. Died Jan. 1910. Alumni Cant. and Central Africa 1910 p. 79.

(14) USPG/UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes 11 Dec. 1861 + 14 May 1862.

(15) O. Chadwick, op. cit. pp. 190-193.

(16) Edward Meyrick Goulburn (1818-1897) Headmaster of Rugby 1849-57; incumbent of Quebec Chapel Marylebone 1857; dean of Norwich 1866-89.

(17) O. Chadwick, op. cit. pp. 190-193. and USPG/UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes 1862.

country, subscriptions were terminated and support fell away. The Rev. J. A. Cheere wrote two letters to the Hon. Secretary and informed him that his subscription of five years standing would cease. Mr. John Smith, the secretary of the local committee at Aberdeen, informed Mr. Woodcock that he had only one pound left and that 'the death of Bishop Mackenzie seems to have dissolved the tie which connected that quarter with the Mission'.<sup>(18)</sup>

Such was the position when in September 1862 William George Tozer was chosen as head of the mission in succession to Mackenzie. He was a most practical man but at first did little to improve the situation, though the deputation work carried out by him, Steere and Alington and the support from Lincolnshire boosted the funds and meant that income just exceeded the heavy expenditure of 1863.<sup>(19)</sup> He also persuaded his friend Rev. J. W. Festing<sup>(20)</sup>, Assistant Curate of Christ Church Westminster to take on the vacant post of one of the Honorary Secretaries, in order to release the organising secretary for more active work. However it was an uphill struggle and in May 1863 he was complaining of 'want of success'<sup>(21)</sup>; his task was not made easier in 1864 by the removal of the mission to Zanzibar. Some original supporters saw it as a betrayal of the memory of Mackenzie and were openly critical<sup>(22)</sup> and to

(18) USPG/UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes Vol. 1 11 Feb. 1863.

(19) Total income was £4,390 and expenditure £4,115.

(20) John Wogan Festing, (1837-1902) Trinity College, Cambridge B.A. 1860; deacon 1860; priest 1861; Curate of Christ Church, Westminster 1860-73; Vicar of St. Luke's Berwick Street, London 1873-78; Vicar of Christ Church Albany St. London 1878-90; Prebendary of St. Pauls 1888-90; Bishop of St. Albans 1890-1902; Hon. Sec. UMCA 1863-82; Treasurer 1882-90; President and Chairman 1892-1902.

(21) USPG/UMCA Executive and Sub-Committee Minutes 8 May 1863.

(22) E.g. Rev. George Williams in letter to Colonial Church Chronicle May 1865 p. 201.

Livingstone it was a 'dastardly retreat', a view he communicated to many in Britain<sup>(23)</sup>. Income dropped sharply, and by 1866 it was £1,552, only a third of what it had been three years before.<sup>(24)</sup> The Oxford and Cambridge Committees suggested in April 1864 that the management of the mission should be transferred wholly to the S.P.G., but this was dropped, though raised again in 1866 by Cambridge alone.<sup>(25)</sup> The situation had reached such a parlous state in 1866 that Tozer returned to England principally to attempt to sort out the home affairs of the mission. In that year home expenditure accounted for nearly half the income, and virtually nothing was available for Africa.<sup>(26)</sup>

Tozer's first task therefore was to cut home expenditure and this he did by abandoning the system of paid officers; Rev. J. J. Halcombe was released from his post<sup>(27)</sup> and Tozer's friend Reverend William Forbes Capel<sup>(28)</sup> offered to act, at the Bishop's request, as Honorary Organising Secretary. Also an agreement was made with the S.P.G. whereby the headquarters of the mission were transferred from Mitre Court to the S.P.G. Offices at 5 Park Place, St. James:

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(23) Livingstone to Maclear, 5th July 1864 in J. P. R. Wallis The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone p. 386.

(24) see Table II.

(25) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes 18th April 1864 and 9th May 1866.

(26) Income was £1,552, home expenditure £705.

Early in 1866 the Hon. Secretaries had received letters from Dublin, Lincoln, and elsewhere reporting a decreasing interest in mission. USPG/UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes 28 Feb. 1866.

(27) He was given £150. Halcombe it seems was generally blamed for high home expenditure, but it was later thought possible that the Treasurer's clerk, Marshall could have been misappropriating some of the funds. USPG/UMCA Heanley to Miss Ashtor 1804.

(28) see Appendix I Biographical Details of Missionaries.



The Society (S.P.G.) undertakes to receive and pay money on account of the Central Africa Mission: to prepare for publication the lists corresponding with the monies received: to allow the Central African Mission the services of a Copying Clerk for not more than one hour per diem: to give the Secretaries of the C.A.M. access in office hours to a room set apart for occasional conferences, and to the Board Room at times convenient to the Society. The C.A.M. undertakes to reimburse the Society by payment at the rate of £50 per annum, to encourage the transmission of all their income through the Society: to make known their wish that all collections in aid of the C.A.M. should be in addition to and not in substitution for, collections customarily made for S.P.G.; and to consult S.P.G. before summoning a Meeting in the Board Room. (29).

By this means Tozer was able to cut home expenditure from £705 in 1866 to only £54 in 1867, and the average for the next eight years was £73. But it did mean that the mission was again closely allied with the S.P.G., though it 'was in no wise merged with the S.P.G., the Committees of the two societies remaining perfectly distinct'<sup>(30)</sup>, and that they no longer had the services of an active organising secretary. Capel did the greater part of his work from his own house at Cranleigh, near Guildford and although he worked hard, the mission probably suffered. Halcombe's magazine Mission Life also ceased to be the official organ of the U.M.C.A.<sup>(31)</sup>

In the following seven years there was a great lull with regard to the mission both at home and abroad, though odd spurts of activity in Africa, such as the opening of Magila, caused expenditure to exceed income. The General Committee became a much smaller body, consisting mainly of 15 elected members, and in February 1868 it was elected to stand for five years. From that date until May 1871 no General committee meetings are recorded, and the last regular executive committee meeting took place on July 13th 1869.<sup>(32)</sup>

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(29) USPG/UMCA Executive and Sub-Committee Minutes 5th July 1867.

(30) USPG/UMCA Heanley to Miss Ashton 1904.

(31) For details of this publication see below. p.56

(32) USPG/UMCA General and Executive and Sub-Committee Minutes.

The appointment of Edward Steere as Head of the Mission in 1874 and the revival of interest coupled with the great increase in the number of missionaries<sup>(33)</sup> required a change in Home Organisation and with the resignation of Capel in 1875 in order to join the mission in Africa, a paid organising secretary was again appointed. This was Rev. Cecil Deedes<sup>(34)</sup> who worked chiefly from Bramfield, near Hertford<sup>(35)</sup>. His health giving way after a year in office he resigned and was succeeded by Rev. Robert M. Heanley<sup>(36)</sup> in the spring of 1877, who received a salary of £250 per annum plus travelling expenses. A most enthusiastic secretary, just what the mission needed at that moment, he later commented on his work:

The Organizing Secretary was constantly going off on deputation work, I travelled at least 50,000 miles from Berwick on Tweed to Treverbyn in the Cornish mining district in three years and a half; and when back at the Office had to bustle around and make others do the same. A little enthusiasm goes a long way when face to face with routine work. I was at least enthusiastic, and when I went down into the basement and talked to the packer C.A.M. handbills, leaflets, reports, boxes, etc. were readily packed and despatched, when a mere order from upstairs about S.P.G. matters got left over till next day, or even the day after. (37)

It was Heanley's activity in publicising of the spreading work in Africa that

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- (33) In 1875 alone 21 missionaries went out almost as many as went out in the ten years of Tozer's episcopate.
- (34) Rev. Cecil Deedes (b.1844) Brasenose College, Oxford, B.A. 1866; Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford 1868-73; Rector of Wickham St. Paul, Essex 1882; later Canon of Chichester. Alumni Oxoniensis.
- (35) The Mission still retained the use of a room at S.P.G. headquarters which had moved to 19, Delahay Street, Westminster in 1871 (Thompson, Into All Lands p. 111).
- (36) Robert Marshall Heanley (1846-1915) Queens College, Oxford. B.A. 1871., M.A. 1885; deacon 1871; priest 1872. Curate of Exton 1871-74; of Burgh le Marsh, Lincs. 1874-77; Organising Secretary UMCA 1877-80; ~~Editorial~~ Editorial Secretary 1880-1915; Rector of Wainfleet All Saints, Lincs., 1880-89; Vicar of Upton Grey, 1889-98; Rector of Weyhill, Hants., 1898-1915. 1st Editor of Central Africa, Author, Memoir of Bp. Steere.
- (37) USPG/UMCA Heanley to Miss Ashton June 8 1904.

contributed largely to growth of the annual income from £3,169 to £9,697 and thus prevented the expansion in the Magila, Masasi and Nyasa regions from being curtailed. However the increasing income and use of the staff of the S.P.G., as evidenced by the above extract, were the cause of relations between the two bodies reaching a crisis in 1881.

In 1879 Canon William Thomas Bullock, the Secretary of the S.P.G., died and was succeeded by his assistant Rev. W. H. Tucker, who immediately began to look at the Special Funds the Society administered and he came to regard the U.M.C.A. as 'a young cuckoo growing too big for the parent nest' and the mission was requested in May 1881 to find other accommodation and its own treasurer as the work had increased so much.<sup>(38)</sup> This came as a shock to the Committee and Steere wrote a letter in which he strongly condemned S.P.G.'s seemingly partisan attitude, when the Society should in fact have been taking under her wing all the missionwork of the Church of England.<sup>(39)</sup> Offers of accommodation came from Canon King at St. Stephen's House, Oxford and from Lady Elizabeth Clements who offered a room in her home at 44 Grosvenor Street, but both were declined and to the indignation of Tucker they obtained an office at 14 Delahay Street, opposite the S.P.G.<sup>(40)</sup> Relationships with the S.P.G. were in a state of decline for a number of years after this incident; in May 1882 Tucker withdrew from the UMCA Committee, and in June the mission felt it necessary to ask their Chairman the Bishop of Carlisle 'to obtain a distinct assurance that the attacks made on us should cease'.<sup>(41)</sup>

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(38) USPG/UMCA Gen. Committee Minutes May 3rd 1881.

(39) R. M. Heanley, Memoir of Bishop Steere, pp. 298-304 Letter printed in The Guardian 8th June 1881.

(40) USPG/UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes May 16th 1881.

(41) *ibid.*, June 23rd + July 26 1882.

The published attacks by Tucker on the mission and special funds in general continued throughout 1883, and in October 1884 Heanley introduced the following motion at the General Committee meeting:

'The Committee of the U.M.C.A. feel constrained to call the attention of the Standing Committee of S.P.G. to the public attack made on the Mission by name, by their Secretary's paper, at the Carlisle Church Congress. (42)

The motion was withdrawn possibly because both committees had certain members in common, but relations remained strained and luckily the two bodies' paths did not cross in the mission field.

On the severance of the connection with the S.P.G. the mission by necessity increased its home organisation and became in all but name a missionary society. Rev. W. H. Penney (43) who had succeeded Heanley in 1880, was joined in 1881 by the Rev. J. M. Moss of Blundell Sands, who took over the responsibility of the Northern Province, and the Hon. Secretaries Festing and Woodcock became the mission's treasurers (44) and Heanley the Editorial Secretary. The General Committee became a much more active body and with Waller as one of their number the increasing involvement of European powers in Africa and the growing number of missionary societies of all denominations provided the committee with much material for discussion and action. (45) The Oxford and Cambridge Committees, the founding bodies of the mission, still existed but played a very minor part in its running. (46) The constitution

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(42) *ibid.*, Feb. 6th 1883 + Oct. 29th 1884

(43) Wm. Henry Penney; (1841-1910) Worked in the city before going to Oxford in 1874 at age of 33; B.A. 1877; Vicar of Northmoor, Oxford 1879-80; Organising Secretary for UMCA Sept. 1880 to March 1890.

(44) They ceased to be Hon. Secretaries in 1883 in which year a third treasurer, Isambard Brunel, son of the engineer, was appointed. UMCA Annual Reports. Also in 1881 C. J. Viner was appointed Lay Secretary of Mission <sup>checked</sup> 1909.

(45) D. O. Helly, "'Informed' Opinion on Tropical Africa in Great Britain 1860-1890" African Affairs, 68, July 1969. See also section below on 'Mission and State'.

(46) USPG/UMCA B1/6 Minute Book of the Oxford Committee of the U.M.C.A.

still allowed for their Chairman, Treasurers and Secretaries to be members of the General Committee, but it was now dominated by the fifteen elected members who by 1890 were all High Churchmen including Rev. E. F. Russell, Rev. W. B. Trevelyan, Rev. C. E. Brooke and the leading Anglo-Catholic layman Viscount Halifax. As the mission became increasingly identified with the Anglo-Catholic party<sup>(47)</sup> so its income and support grew; the receipts in 1900 were almost £30,000 and the Secretary Rev. Duncan Travers,<sup>(48)</sup> who had been appointed in 1890, headed a staff of five regional organising secretaries, two lay secretaries and two honorary editorial secretaries, as well as a large office staff.<sup>(49)</sup> A new office was built at 9 Dartmouth Street and opened in May 1897.

The growth in income and in numbers of missionaries can be attributed to the increasingly efficient home organisation; by the 1880's and 90's the General Committee's purpose was no longer to raise funds - that was taken over by the paid organisers and a vast body of voluntary helpers. The principal source of income was no longer the Universities but the parish, and in particular the Anglo-Catholic parish which was supporting the UMCA in the same way that the Evangelical parish supported the C.M.S. The S.P.G. had to be content with what was left. The parishes were grouped into their diocese and annual lists of diocesan totals were issued as an incentive to

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(47) For discussion of the Anglo-Catholic aspect of U.M.C.A. see below.

(48) See Appendix I Biographical Details of Missionaries.

(49) The regional secretaries in 1900 were: for the West of England, Rev. F. R. Hodgson appointed 1892; for the Midlands, Rev. F. A. Wallis appointed 1895; South, Rev. W. E. Philpotts, post created 1897; for the Northern Province, Rev. H. W. Trott, post created 1881; and for the Eastern Counties, Rev. W. C. Piercy, appointed 1900.



areas whose contribution was falling.<sup>(50)</sup> The lists published between 1882 and 1899 clearly show that the greatest support for the mission came from the South of England, and as would be expected the largest amount in each list came from the diocese of London: £1,483 in 1882 and £6,094 in 1899, followed by Oxford (£440 and £1,635) and Canterbury £422 and £1,978). The top ten dioceses in 1899 were London, Canterbury, Oxford, Chichester, Rochester, Exeter, Winchester, Worcester, Bath and Wells and Manchester, the first eight all contributing over £1,000 each.<sup>(51)</sup>

Missionary boxes, special sermons and above all missionary meetings with speeches by missionaries on furlough were the principal means of raising funds, but the magazine Central Africa records many other less formal methods, from mammoth missionary sales to Mrs. Hodgson's<sup>(52)</sup> sale of brown dolls dressed in African costume which began in 1886 and by which means she raised over £2,000. A barrister cousin of Bishop Smythies offered 'to give lectures etc. of a refined character in school rooms and parish rooms; the mission to receive half the net proceeds',<sup>(53)</sup> and a lady in Bournemouth wished to dispose of 'some pairs of gentlemen's socks - hand knitted' for the benefit of the mission.<sup>(54)</sup> One welcome visitor at the London office was the

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(50) Contributions on a diocesan basis only developed slowly possibly because of the attitude of the S.P.G. In 1860 the diocese of York had its own committee and hon. organising secretary, with some 34 secretaries promoting the mission in ten districts. UMCA ANNUAL Report 1861 In July 1861 it was 'Resolved that the organising Sec. be desired to commence a system of organisation by Diocese avoiding as far as possible the agency already employed to S.P.G.' UMCA Sub-Committee Minutes July 1861.

(51) In 1899 the contributions of Oxford University (£427) and Cambridge University (£365) lay 27th and 31st in a total list of 40, and they were little different to their totals in 1882, Oxford £395 and Cambridge £357 when they came 5th and 7th in list. UMCA Annual Reports. The Oxford Movement had little following in the north of England. O. Chadwick The Victorian Church II. p. 319.

(52) see Appendix I Biographical Details of Missionaries.

(53) Central Africa 1888 p. 13.

(54) *ibid.*, 1890, p. 186.



Rev. R. S. Hunt, High Church Vicar of Markbeech, Kent: 'many times has be paid us a visit, and taking out a roll of £100 notes has with very few words left one or more of them and then has passed quietly on his way to do the same elsewhere'.<sup>(55)</sup> Though the mission was not fortunate to receive immense legacies like those of Robert Arthington to the L.M.S. and the Baptist Missionary Society,<sup>(56)</sup> what gifts it did receive were welcome additions to the annual income. They included the £9,000 from Rev. C. A. Janson, who left all his property to the mission<sup>(57)</sup>, £3,000 from Mrs. Coombes of the Clarendon Press, Oxford; £2,498 from another missionary, Rev. Montague Ellis Viner<sup>(58)</sup>, £250 from Canon Liddon of St. Pauls and the £2 3s. 6d. from a Northamptonshire farm labourer.<sup>(59)</sup>

The income of the General Fund was supplemented by various special funds which had the added benefit of encouraging an interest in the mission through concentrating on specific aspects of the work. Principal amongst these was the Children's Fund, but in 1881 there were also the following: Ladies' Association, Drug Fund, Magila Fund, Slave Market Church Fund, Nyassa Fund, Mbweni Church Fund and the Prayer Union.<sup>(60)</sup> The Children's Fund was particularly popular and in 1898 brought in £4,128. By the scheme individuals, or parishes, or mission associations, etc. payed £7 per annum to become the patrons of a child whose support in one of the Mission Schools they entirely provided.<sup>(61)</sup> The Ladies' Association, founded in 1874 by Miss Uthwatt of

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(55) *ibid.*, 1904 p. 175; G. Wakeling. The Oxford Church Movement p. 169.

(56) The L.M.S. received £373,000 and the B.M.S. £466,000, G. Moorhouse, The Missionaries, 1973, p. 162.

(57) Central Africa, 1884; see Appendix I Biographical Details of Missionaries.

(58) C.A. 1903 p. 157 and Appendix.I

(59) Liddon was a Vice President and life long supporter of mission. The farm labourer came from the parish of which the father of the missionary Rev. Wm. Porter was vicar. C.A. 1890, p. 165.

(60) UMCA ANNUAL REPORT 1881.

(61) Anderson-Moreshead, 2nd ed. 1899. p. 460.

Buckingham, later Lady Campbell, supported women teachers without patrons and provided school and needlework material for girls.<sup>(62)</sup> In addition to the above groups Miss Clara Herring founded, in 1890, the Coral League which by 1898 had 17,000 members, and was especially aimed at children and others who could only contribute small sums of money.<sup>(63)</sup> These and other short-lived funds and associations, all founded and run by volunteers, were of immense value in encouraging support for the mission.

The UMCA, in common with all missionary bodies, was well aware of the importance of publicity and it was most active in bringing its work before the public. Possibly because of its initial reluctance to become a separate society it was slow to establish its own periodical which formed the main organ of most societies. In the beginning its work received fairly full coverage in publications such as the Colonial Church Chronicle and the S.P.G.'s Mission Field as well as the church newspapers the Guardian and Church Times. Then in 1866 the organising secretary, Rev. J. J. Halcombe, launched on his own initiative Mission Life which for a short period acted as the UMCA journal. Unfortunately it was begun in a particularly lean time in the mission's history and the paucity of material led to the widening of the scope of the magazine and in 1867 it was re-entitled Mission Life or The Emigrant and the Heathen. At the reorganisation in May 1867, on the termination of Mr. Halcombe's secretaryship, it ceased to be the organ of the mission though it continued to include material on U.M.C.A.<sup>(64)</sup> Another journal, The Net

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(62) *ibid.*, p. 461

(63) *ibid.*, p. 460

(64) The magazine later changed its name to Church Work and Mission Life and in 1891 ceased publication. Mission Life 1st series 1866-84; 2nd series 1885-86; UMCA General Committee Minutes May 1867; Central Africa, 1891; *ibid.*, 1910 p. 79 In Memoriam John Joseph Halcombe.

cast in Many Waters: Sketches from the Life of Missionaries, founded in 1866 by Anne Mackenzie<sup>(65)</sup>, principally as the magazine of her Mackenzie Memorial Mission to Zululand, actively publicised the work of the UMCA, and for some years regularly printed the lists of donations and subscriptions to the Mission.<sup>(66)</sup>

The action of the S.P.G. in evicting the UMCA in 1881 was a direct cause of the launching of the mission's own monthly periodical Central Africa in 1883, with R. M. Heanley as editor until May 1904. The first issue of January 1883 contained the following editorial on the objects; it was founded:

in accordance with the wish of the late Bishop Steere,... that we should 'publish as often and as widely as possible at home what we are doing in Africa, and what we want to do,' and so at home as well as abroad, throw 'Light on the Dark Continent'. Hitherto this has been done in the shape of Occasional Papers in addition to the Annual Report; but the very fact of their being occasional, as well as their cost, has seriously impaired their effect. Constant complaints of want of regular information reach us from our friends, and the general public has scarcely, if at all, been reached.

It is the object of this magazine, which will be issued monthly, at the price of only a penny, to remedy this defect. Our own work will naturally occupy the greater portion of our space, but room will be found to record, from time to time, what others are doing to advance the cause of Christianity and civilization, both in the way of direct Missionary enterprise and of exploration and discovery.

Furthermore we desire by means of this publication to furnish regular topics for intercession and thanksgiving, that those who pray for us may pray with understanding; and we hope to secure for the Universities Mission the sympathies and support of many, who are apt to think that they are not 'rich enough' to take any part in Mission work.

And from then Central Africa and the Annual Report, issued every year since 1860, with the exception of 1865 and 1866, were the organs for disseminating material concerning the mission. Previously the Blue Books<sup>(67)</sup> and Occasional

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(65) see Appendix I Biographical Details of Missionaries.

(66) Later it became solely the magazine of the Zululand Missionary organisation. The Net 1866-83; C.A. 1883 Jan.; UMCA General Committee Minutes Dec. 5 1882.

(67) So called because they were bound in blue covers.

Papers had been the main source for 'parochial discussion'. The Blue Books, principally issued 1859-64 (although continuing until 1873) were small booklets containing full accounts of mission work, and the Occasional Papers were of a more varied character.<sup>(68)</sup> Altogether nineteen were issued between 1867 and 1882. Two of those issued in 1880 were entitled The Children's Paper and these were the first attempts at a publication specifically aimed at children and Sunday Schools. The idea was not permanently adopted until August 1885 when the first issue of a quarterly entitled The Children's Paper was printed, but owing to a complaint from the publishers of another magazine of the same name it became Children's Tidings for the second issue in November. It retained this title until 1891 when it was changed to African Tidings, as it was now aimed at all ages with only a single children's page. It was issued as a 'popular illustrated monthly, containing short brightly-written letters and articles that can be read by all'. At a ½d. monthly it was half the price of Central Africa and by 1898 its circulation had reached 19,500 copies.<sup>(69)</sup>

Though from the start the mission had published pamphlets, tracts, etc., it was not until 1896 that it began to produce longer hard-backed works, the first apparently being the Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim. Previously works such as Henry Rowley's The Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1866, and Twenty Years in Central Africa, 1881, A. C. Madan's Kiungani or Story and History from Central Africa, 1887, R. M. Heanley's Memoir of Bishop Steere, 1888, and J. Cooke Yarborough's The Diary of A Working Man in Central Africa (n.d.), had been published elsewhere but sold by the

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(68) Full list of Occasional Papers in Appendix. Bibliography D. Printed sources

(69) Children's Tidings and African Tidings; advertisement in Firminger Missionary Sermons, 1898.

mission.<sup>(70)</sup> The Life of Steere was taken over by the UMCA from George Bell and Sons for the third edition in 1898. Other missionary societies and publishers of tract literature had been producing highly successful popular mission stories for many years before the UMCA entered the field, but when it did the quality of the works made an immediate impact. The flood of books from the UMCA after 1896 is partly accounted for by the availability of highly talented authors, particularly Gertrude Ward, who wrote The Life of Bishop Smythies, 1898; Letters from East Africa 1895-97, 1899; and edited Letters of Bishop Tozer 1863-74, 1902 and The Golden Ship and other Tales.<sup>(71)</sup>

Particularly successful was The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1859-96 by Miss A. E. M. Anderson-Moreshead, 1897 which contained a preface by the writer Charlotte Mary Yonge<sup>(72)</sup> which was the first of a spate of missionary society histories which came out at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>(73)</sup>

The mission did not produce in this period popular books exclusively aimed at children, but in 1901 in conjunction with the S.P.C.K. they published A Suffolk Boy in East Africa, the tale of Samuel Speare, which appeared in the form of the tracts produced for Sunday School prizes for which it was no doubt intended. It became the inspiration which attracted not a few laymen to the

(70) The mission received £35 for every 1,000 copies of the 2nd edition of Harvey Goodwin's Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie.

\* ~~(71) A full list of works published by U.M.C.A. up to 1908 appears in Appendix~~

(72) C. M. Yonge had written a short life of Bishop Mackenzie published in her book, Pioneers and Founders or Recent Workers in the Mission Field, Macmillan, n.d.

(73) e.g. E. Stock, History of C.M.S. 1899; R. Lovett, The History of the L.M.S. 1899 and C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of S.P.G. 1901.



Mission.<sup>(74)</sup> The importance of mission literature in promoting the cause and recruiting missionaries is evident from many published and unpublished remarks. Frank Weston was particularly influenced by the Memoir of Bishop Steers.<sup>(75)</sup>

Mission literature was much utilised by other writers, R. M. Ballantyne's novel Black Ivory: A Tale of Adventure among the Slavers of East Africa 1873,<sup>(76)</sup> drew extensively on Rowley's History of the UMCA, 1866, and in his Violet Fairy Book, 1901 Andrew Lang rewrote three stories which had been translated from the Swahili and published by Steers.<sup>(77)</sup>

Publicity material was by no means confined to literature and by the end of the century lantern slides, photographs and other 'visual aids' were being sold or loaned by the Mission. There was also produced an annual Almanack and early this century a game for children called Quartette which told the story of the mission.<sup>(78)</sup>

- (74) Conversation with Wilfred Henry Elliott Jan 1973 a layman who went out in 1947 thus inspired.
- (75) H. M. Smith, Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar p. 26. My father Joseph Neave (1886-1947, UMCA Missionary 1932-38) records how he was first drawn to the mission by having extracts from Central Africa read to him when a child. Mss.
- (76) Black Ivory contains in footnotes extracts from Rowley's book, and on p. 187 Ballantyne makes the following remark concerning it. 'We can heartily recommend this to the young - ay, and to the old - as being, next to the Adventures of Williams in the South Seas, one of the most interesting records of missionary enterprise that we ever read'.
- (77) Rider Haggard, who wrote a short life of Steers, and C. M. Yonge were other popular writers attracted by the mission. W. H. G. Kingston seems possibly to have used mission literature for his Ned Gerth; or Made Prisoner in Africa, A Tale of the Slave Trade, SPCK, n.d.
- (78) Other missions had produced similar children's games, including: What Next? a card game devoted to the lives of missionaries including Mackay of Uganda; A Missionary Tour of India: a game for young people; C.M.S. issued Missionary Outposts - an instructive round game for children; and there was also Missionary Lotto; a game for Winter Evenings. G. Moorhouse, The Missionaries, pp. 165-166.



The publications of the UMCA, as with any of the societies, were primarily aimed at increasing support and were therefore not always accurate in recounting the affairs of the mission in Africa. Ever since the outcry over the 'Ajawa wars',<sup>(79)</sup> the mission had been careful to scrutinize all literature that went out in its name. One only has to look through the letters received from Africa with sections thought unfit for publication bracketed by the Secretary to realise how much censorship went on. Publicity, as with fund-raising, was primarily the work of the home organisation, and as such received frequent criticisms from the missionaries in the field:

Let me ask you to caution your Organizing Secretary (with whom I always regret to say that I have no direct communication of any kind), in putting too much trust in such sanguine enthusiasts as Dr. Krapf. On the cover of his (the Secretary's) Blue Book for this year (which in many ways is such a capital and well worked out little tract) that wildest of schemes of 'a chain of Christian settlements across the whole continent of Africa' costing £5,000 a year, is spoken of as something tangible. It is the merest folly to endorse in any way such castle buildings as these, or even to appear to treat them as though they came from any but a diseased state of a most estimable mind. I should be more satisfied too if it could be made plainer what were my own sentiments and what those of the compiler of the Blue Book. The sensational chapter (IV) on the Slave Trade, is, like all exaggerations, likely to injure the very cause it aims at helping. (80)

Anderson-Moreshead's History found many critics. 'It is not nauseating eulogy and "gush" that we want, but a true history of work, and events, and failures',<sup>(81)</sup> wrote the Bishop of Nyasaland on reading the new edition produced in 1909, and these are sentiments that would have been echoed by many workers in the field. But bad publicity had had its effect in the past and there were many at home eager to discredit missions, and an Anglo-Catholic mission in particular, so when in 1881 Chauncy Maples wrote an article for Mission Life in which he

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(79) Foreseeing which the General Committee had felt it necessary to decline giving Mrs. Rowley permission to publish her husband's journal. UMCA Gen. Comm. Minutes July 4th 1862.

(80) Tozer to Woodcock, Zanzibar September 27th 1865: Letters of Bishop Tozer p. 150-151.

(81) My Apologia -Gerard Nyasaland, Likoma Oct. 1st 1909 USPG/UMCA 65-16.

alluded to a trial that had taken place at Masasi, Steere felt it necessary to issue an order 'that no member of his staff should publish any article on subjects connected with the Mission which had not previously been submitted to himself, the secretary, or the committee for perusal'.<sup>(82)</sup> Steere, though advocating censorship, did not want to replace accurate descriptions of the mission at work with the 'cant' which was so roundly condemned by H. H. Johnston in his book British Central Africa, and a perusal of the publications of the mission shows to what small extent such material was allowed to creep in.<sup>(83)</sup> Reports from the mission contain many straightforward descriptions of the work and none of the sentiment so often found in Evangelical publications of the period, though some of the material penned in the London office with an eye to subscriptions and the Sunday School market aimed to rouse the emotions of the Victorian Christian household.

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(82) E. Maples, Life and Letters of Chauncy Maples, p. 177.

(83) For Steere's views on publicity see R. M. Heanley, op. cit. pp. 206-208, 383-9. H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, pp. 190-192

### 3. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MISSION

As has been already stated the UMCA was not founded as a missionary society ruled by a Secretary and a Home Committee with a headquarters in Britain, but as a mission with the Bishop in Africa as its head, supported by finances collected by a committee in England:

By the Constitution of the Central African Mission the executive is vested 'in the Bishop and such English priests as he may have with him in Africa.' The committee at home profess to exercise no kind of control over the missionary body. They forward all money collected for the Mission in England, and receive in return a detailed statement of the yearly expenditure for the satisfaction of the subscribers. It is rightly thought that the disposal of public money should always be publicly accounted for by those to whom it has been entrusted. Our Mission, therefore, is a society of missionaries, warmly supported at home by many friends and contributors, who on their part are willing to leave the whole conduct of the work unreservedly to the Bishop and his Clergy.

All Mission business is transacted in Chapter where practically every clergyman has an equal vote, although on questions of finance a veto may be claimed by such priests as are in English Orders. (1)

This original approach owed its origins to the Oxford Movement, and Tozer in appealing to the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity at Oxford for its support stressed the Catholicity of the Mission's government: 'The Bishop . . . and not a Home Committee representing the subscribers, must be the centre of authority in all missionary work - but I would have the Bishop act in concert with his Clergy as was always the case in old times'. The High Churchman did not want to be 'governed by a paternal committee in London - Episcopal in name, but too often Presbyterian in fact'. (2) But it was not only from a doctrinal point of view that it was better to have the Bishop in Africa in control as Steere pointed out in his Ramsden Sermon in 1877:

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(1) Letter from Bishop Tozer to the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, Oxford, Zanzibar, March, 1869 reprinted in G. Ward (ed.) Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 195.

(2) *ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

Missions sent out by a Society in England, and managed by a Committee at home can never be quite satisfactory. A man sent out to a particular work feels that he has that work chiefly, or only, to do, and to do it to the best of his ability, his conscience tells him that his direct duty is to satisfy his Society.

But it cannot be that people at home, some of whom, perhaps most, have never seen a station among the heathen, can be awake to all the opportunities and dangers which would be evident on the spot. A great opening may close before the news of it gets home. An emergency may become a failure before anyone is awake to it. (3)

To both Tozer and Steere the ideal method of mission work would have been through the establishment of a brotherhood where the work would be treated as a vocation, where a 'corporate conscience' would develop and the work would be seen by the missionary to be his and not the society's.<sup>(4)</sup> They would not have agreed with Cairns that there was something positive in the fact that 'the link with a base in Britain enhanced the missionary's feeling that he was an emissary with a specific task, a representative of a religious society whose moral and spiritual values it was his function to spread.'<sup>(5)</sup> This they believed was a hindrance.

A far greater hindrance and one which affected nearly every missionary body resulted from the distance and lack of communication between the base and the mission field. The UMCA had already experienced this, for when Tozer decided to remove the mission from the Zambezi and eventually to Zanzibar, the General Committee was exercising a stricter control over affairs in Africa and the delay in decisions made either by the Bishop or the Committee

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(3) R. M. Heanley, A Memoir of Bishop Steere, p. 208.

(4) 'For the most part societies insist on it that the work is theirs and plume themselves on their zeal, their liberality, their faith, their thankfulness, etc., etc., and speak in their reports and on platforms of 'your missionary' at this place and at that. The end of it all being that the missionary accepts the position assigned, takes his salary like any other servant, and the zeal and spirit, and faith and self-denial so loudly proclaimed in the ears of subscribers is but the verbiage to distinguish this from any other mercantile transaction'. Tozer, p. 158; Memoir of Steere pp. 298-304; USPG/UMCA A/1/1/96 Tozer to Steere, Mch. 21st 1871.

(5) H. A. C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, p. 54.

reaching the other party caused a great deal of confusion. Certain members of the Committee having agreed that the mission should be sent to Zululand were extremely annoyed to find that Tozer had settled at Zanzibar, and they promptly resigned. Tozer arrived at Zanzibar on August 31st 1864, but was able to do little until seven months later when he received the approval of the General Committee on March 20th 1865.<sup>(6)</sup> This of course was a special case involving a major change in the work of the mission and fortunately the UMCA did not undergo any further delays of this nature, but for many other bodies rule by the home committee was the norm. For instance in the case of the Free Church of Scotland Mission at Livingstonia:

General questions of policy were determined by the sub-committee (in Scotland) but its influence was clearly circumscribed in practice by the effects in Africa both of the local environment, and of the beliefs of the leading missionaries. Even in the mid-1880's it took from two-and-a-half to three months for instructions to reach the mission, and not one member of the committee had personal experience of conditions at the lake. (7)

As is stated in the above passage, though a home committee may endeavour to have control over the doings of its missionaries many thousands of miles away, in practice decisions had to be taken by the man on the spot and approval sought later. Sometimes, of course, they were not approved and then the benefits of having the authority near at hand could be seen. However in practice the position of the UMCA was not as different as one would expect, as the running of the mission still depended on the receipt of sufficient financial aid, both for the passage money of the missionaries and the work in Africa and this was controlled by the General Committee. In fact until 1867 they controlled the spending as well as the collecting of the funds, but in that year it was agreed to send all money collected (except a

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(6) Letters of Tozer, pp. 75-105; Colonial Church Chronicle, May 1864, April + May 1865.

(7) K. J. McCracken, 'Livingstonia as an Industrial Mission' in Religion in Africa p. 81.

little to cover home running costs, etc.) direct to the Bishop at Zanzibar.<sup>(8)</sup> This meant that the bishop had control of how the money was spent, but he clearly still depended on the committee to provide him with enough. When in 1876 there was a financial crisis and the committee proposed the abandonment of Magila and a reduction of the establishment at Zanzibar it looked very much as if they were taking over the running of the mission; fortunately Steere proposed the abandonment of salaries and the reduction of the reserve funds instead and the crisis was temporarily overcome. A similar threat of interference was faced by Bishop Smythies in July 1884 and he had to assert the independence of the mission, stating 'he would not have accepted the post if he thought it would be run by a committee'.<sup>(9)</sup>

The rapid expansion of the mission and the founding of the second bishopric for Likoma made some change in the government of the mission inevitable and in May 1895 a revised constitution was published, the second paragraph of which contained the following statement: 'The General Committee .. .. shall make annual grants of money to each Bishop, at its discretion, for the service of the Mission in Africa'. This invested the committee with the power to control the work in Africa and it caused consternation among the missionaries. Archdeacon Jones-Bateman, then in England, read a paper before the General Committee on December 3rd 1895 in which he stated:

As these words stand, a majority of the Committee became annually the arbiters of the proportion in which the offerings of the Church at home, sent out to us in Africa, should be divided between the two Dioceses of our Mission. It is not hard to see that a Committee in London with this power is able to govern the action and force the hand of either of our Bishops in the matter of the

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- (8) Since 1865 Tozer had been pressing to have control of the spending of the funds. USPG/UMCA Executive and Sub-committee Minutes 28th Feb. 1866.
- (9) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes July 2nd 1878; Letters of Smythies, Bound Volumes 1877-85, July 13 1884.



expansion or contraction of their work in Africa. (10)

And he pleaded for 'the continued existence of the great principle of our Mission that all things African should be directly under the control of the African Episcopate'. But of necessity the constitution remained as laid down on May 1st 1895 and the General Committee as foreseen played a greater part in the affairs of the mission, and it was on account of its (or more truthfully the Secretary's) increased control of expenditure that Bishop Richardson<sup>(11)</sup> and later Bishop Trower felt compelled to resign.

We call ourselves a Catholic Mission. The Catholic ideal is that the Bishop is the Head and Ruler of his Diocese and staff. He is held responsible for the direction, organisation and (in our case) expenditure of the Diocese. This in words is emphasised and insisted on with us. When Lord Overtoun came to Mr. Travers saying 'Stop this bishop of yours; he is invading our Sphere', he was told 'the Bishop is Ruler. It is not the custom of the Church to interfere with his Government of his Diocese'. Lord Overtoun added: 'Ah, but you hold the purse'.

Responsibility and authority must go together. The holding of the purse was soon to be emphasised: 'You are overdrawn £1,600. The Treasurers wish to remind you that they have twice paid your debts. Your allowance is £10,000, and if you don't like it, you can ask the subscribers to alter it.' The spirit shows itself in such messages sent to me through the Secretary. (12)

There were also complaints that Zanzibar was favoured at the expense of Likoma, and that the committee decided to which diocese missionaries should be sent.

USPG/UMCA

- (10) A 1 (VII) Paper read by Archdeacon Jones-Bateman to the General Committee Dec. 3rd 1895, printed.
- (11) On it being learnt that Bp. Richardson had a large overdraft, a strongly worded letter placing the responsibility on him was sent on April 18 1899 by the Gen. Committee. On July 1st he sent in his resignation 'I cannot but think that I ought to seek to be released from an office of which I cannot discharge the duties efficiently or cope vigorously with all its problems'. USPG/UMCA Gen. Committee Minutes April 18 + Oct. 17 1899. In 1897 Travers had sent Richardson a long letter of complaint concerning the condition of affairs in Zanzibar. USPG/UMCA AI (VII) 304-312.
- (12) USPG/UMCA/65-16 My Apologia - Gerard Nyasaland Likoma Oct. 1st 1909. Lord Overtoun of Church of Scotland Mission, Livingstonia.

Though the expansion of the mission led to firmer control of expenditure from London it did have the effect of increasing the growth of synodical government within the dioceses. Tozer had implemented a system of a rule by Chapter and there were frequent Chapter meetings in the period 1868-70, but these were apparently dispensed with by Steere.<sup>(13)</sup> However on the arrival of Bishop Smythies the system of periodic Synods was begun, the first being held at Zanzibar on May 5th 1884 when eleven clergy and two laymen were present, the latter taking no part in decisions.<sup>(14)</sup> Further regional synods were held at Likoma, Newala, Magila and Zanzibar between July 1887 and February 1888, and a second general Synod at Zanzibar in June 1893 when African clergy were present and took part in proceedings.<sup>(15)</sup> In all these early synods laymen, but not of course women, were present but with the increase in Anglo-Catholic practices after the arrival of Bishop Richardson, at his Sacred Diocesan Synod in 1896 they were excluded. The practice and constitution of this Synod had been carefully worked out by Archdeacon Farler and Rev. Wk. Firminger, who consulted 'several eminent canonists' in England and the latter paid a special visit to the Bloemfontein Diocesan Synod.<sup>(16)</sup>

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(13) USPG/UMCA Volume entitled Chapters and Synods in cupboard in search room. When in England in 1870 Steere had penned a letter to the local press very much in favour of 'representative church government' and calling for a greater involvement of the laity in the running of the church. It is interesting to note that when he was bishop in Africa he chose to exercise a paternal despotism. MSS. Binnall H. E. Smith Newspaper Cuttings. Little Steeping.

(14) G. Ward, *Life of Bishop Smythies*, pp. 233-262; Anderson-Moreshead, pp. 473-474. Not all were at once pleased by the attitude of Bishop Smythies. Farler remarked to Penney how he 'liked Bp. Steere's old sharp, short decisive method .... Bishop Smythies' system is different, he trusts to argument, interviews, treating tenderly, etc.' Steere insisted upon due obedience to immediate superiors. USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 565-568.

(15) Diocese of Zanzibar, Acts of the Synods 1884-1903.

(16) Anderson-Moreshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 473-476.

At Limoma laymen were represented at the equivalent Diocesan Conference held in April 1899.<sup>(17)</sup>

The growth of synodical government within the dioceses led the clergy to question the method of appointment of Bishops for this was one respect where the General Committee very clearly interfered with the running of the mission. In all cases of vacancies the choice of Bishop was made by the committee and then submitted to the Archbishop. Naturally enough the clergy hoped for a say in the choice. Acland Hood wrote from Newala to Travers on hearing of the death of Smythies:

I am afraid that I must take it for granted (as we are in the English Church) that canonical methods will be set aside, and the Committee or others will select a successor, without having been first asked to do so by the Priests of the Mission. I wish to protest against such uncanonical proceeding. All Catholic precedents point to the power of selection resting with the priests of the mission, who of course, might wish to ask the Committee, or the Archbishop to consent to act for them. I have no doubt that this protest is futile, but I feel it to be my duty to make it. (18)

And at the Synod in 1896 the priests of the diocese of Zanzibar passed a resolution claiming 'for themselves as the Catholic right of the Priesthood, the right to elect their own Bishop whenever the see may be vacant.'<sup>(19)</sup> But this was not granted although in the choice of a successor to Smythies each priest in the diocese had been asked his opinion by the London sub-committee. A change did come in the selection of Bishops, for the successor to Bishop Richardson and all subsequent appointments were made by the Archbishop of Canterbury after consultation with the committee.<sup>(20)</sup>

The government of the mission lay constitutionally in the hands of the Bishop, and, with the growth of Synods, his clergy, but throughout the period the control of finances and the choice of Bishops gave the General Committee an effective authority over affairs both in England and Africa.

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- (17) USPG/UMCA AI (XI) 480 Introductory words spoken at a conference of Clergy and Laity held at Likoma April 24 1899 by J. E. Hine, Bishop of Likoma.  
 (18) USPG/UMCA AI (VII) 204-5 Acland Hood to Travers June 7th 1894.  
 (19) USPG/UMCA AI (VII) An Account of the Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar, 1896, printed p. 18.  
 (20) Anderson-Moreshead, 5th edition, 1909. p. 420.

CHAPTER III. The Missionaries

1. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE VICTORIAN MISSIONARY

The founding of the UMCA coincided with the great change that occurred in the British missionary movement in the middle years of the nineteenth century, the change that transformed it from a poorly supported sideline of the churches to an extremely powerful force for the introduction of Christianity and Western Culture throughout Asia and Africa. The transformation is admirably outlined by Max Warren:

'the modern missionary movement in the first part of the nineteenth century was essentially a movement of the petit bourgeoisie. There were aristocratic well wishers; here and there a wealthy business man made fairly generous subscriptions; and the articulate leadership was drawn, not unnaturally, from the more highly educated echelons of the middle class - that solid mass of respectability, to accepted membership in which most people in the nineteenth century aspired, and an increasing number achieved. But the hard work of being missionaries, the actual laying of the foundations of new Christian communities in Asia and Africa, was to a very substantial extent the achievement of men who could make no claim to the learning of the schools, who had few economic resources behind them, but who possessed great courage, considerable natural ability, and, for the most part, a burning spiritual conviction that they were called to Mission.

With the middle of the century a change took place. Every sending society can record offers of service from men who had acquired not only secondary education but also university degrees. They might still be in the minority but they were so significant a minority that they stamped the whole character of the missionary movement, giving as they did a wholly new content to evangelism by their emphasis first upon the importance of education and later by being the pioneers, at least in Asia and Africa, of western scientific medicine. (1)

The early nineteenth century missionary was looked on with disdain and distrust as the great missionary work was being undertaken by 'ignorant, unlettered, uncommissioned men' (2) largely drawn from the ranks of the skilled artisans. The majority of the missionaries sent out by the LMS to the South

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(1) M. Warren, Social History and Christian Mission, pp. 54-55.

(2) W. Monk, Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, p. 129 prefatory letter by Rev. Adam Sedgwick. Sydney Smith scathingly wrote of the missionary as a 'didactic artisan' and 'delirious mechanic', quoted in Max Warren, Social History ..., p. 62.

Seas 'apart from clerical connections . . . . were closely associated with the more humble walks of life; they were gathered from pious congregations of artisans and tradesmen ..... from the lower middle and mechanic classes'.<sup>(3)</sup>

Those who went out in 1796 included five carpenters or cabinet makers, one tinplate worker, three weavers, one smith, one cooper and an assortment of small tradesmen; even two of the four 'ordained' men had a trade, one being a printer the other a blockmaker.<sup>(4)</sup> The barely literate missionary was far from being acceptable in English society; he might be praised for his zeal and his selfless labours for his fellow-creatures in distant lands, but he and the movement he represented held no position in society at home. The highly educated missionary with an upper class background was very rare indeed, and more often than not his primary role was as chaplain to a European community. The missionary movement was at that time an extension of the Evangelical revival, and the language and actions of the agents smacked of 'enthusiasm'.<sup>(5)</sup>

Their activities in India were blamed for unsettling the Hindus, by wishing to reform what in their eyes were intolerable practices, and thus being a direct cause of the Indian Mutiny.<sup>(6)</sup> However in the years following the Mutiny the missionary began to be seen in a more favourable light by both churchmen and statesmen, and increasingly men were recruited who, because of their educational and social background, were acceptable in the highest ranks of society. This alteration can be attributed to two main factors, the

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(3) W. N. Gunson, Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860 (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Canberra) quoted in M. Warren, Social History ... p. 39.

(4) Warren, op. cit. p. 41.

(5) Sedgwick describes missionaries being looked upon as 'brain-heated fanatics ... who have been heating their imaginations among crude prophetic visions, and pillowing their souls on empty dreams'. W. Monk, op. cit. pp. 129,131.

(6) Warren, op. cit. p. 72.



actions of David Livingstone and the Oxford Movement.

Livingstone, though himself of course of working class background, captured the imagination of all classes, his speeches and writings bringing his missionary work and explorations to the notice of all. The publication of his Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa in 1857, with his speeches to packed halls at Oxford and Cambridge in the same year, and his lonely death in Africa in 1873 are the two most important cornerstones in the development of the missionary movement in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first gained for him, and for the movement as a whole, the respect of men of learning, and the friendship of statesmen, church leaders and members of the landed aristocracy, and the second won for him and many of his fellow missionaries the hearts and sympathies of the Victorian public.<sup>(7)</sup> The Oxford Movement's impact was less dramatic and more gradual; slowly the movement had revitalised the Church of England. Unlike the Evangelical revival, which gave birth to the modern missionary movement, it was an academic inspired revival which was led from the top, whose message and publications were aimed not at the working class but at the educated. However its result was to make the Church of England more aware of its missionary responsibility both in the slums at home and among the heathen abroad, and to bring about the involvement of the University educated man in the expansion of the work of the church. A sense of social responsibility was introduced into the church life of Britain which spread through all the degrees of churchmanship in the established church as well as through the nonconformist bodies. Thus the two unlikely allies of Livingstone and the Oxford Movement raised the image of the missionary from that of a 'delirious mechanic' to that of a heroic educated Christian acting

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(7) 'The Missionary as Hero' was undoubtedly the image that recruited most candidates for the mission field in the latter part of the century, predominantly inspired by Livingstone's death.

as a pioneer of civilization within the Empire and beyond.

The rise in the number of better-educated missionaries in the second half of the century is important but it must not be overstressed; though they were instrumental in changing the public attitude to the body as a whole they were only a very small fraction of all the missionaries sent out from Britain. In general they were still drawn from the lower middle or working classes. Rotberg says of the missionaries who went to Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924 'they were of predominantly working-class backgrounds...as a group they were descended from craftsmen or tradesmen, and occasionally from fishermen, farmers or graziers'.<sup>(8)</sup> This was particularly true of the nonconformist and evangelical missions, which although they included graduate members from London or Scottish Universities, remained on the whole less well educated than the missionaries of the three leading Anglican societies, the S.P.G., CMS and UMCA. As one would expect, missionaries who had been to Oxford and Cambridge were virtually to be found only in these three societies.<sup>(9)</sup>

Little work has been done on the social background of missionaries, and studies usually just touch on their educational background, which though important, needs to be married to their home environment to get a true picture of the earlier influences on the missionaries' beliefs and attitudes. McCracken in his study of the Livingstonia Mission 1875-1900, however, provides the following analysis of the missionaries:

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(8) R. I. Rotberg, Christian Missionaries and the creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924, 1965. p. 161.

(9) 'the whole atmosphere of both Oxford and Cambridge was aggressively Anglican; indeed, Dissenters from the Church of England could not take a degree at Cambridge till 1856 and could not matriculate at Oxford till 1854, while the various posts and distinctions in either University were not generally thrown open to them till 1871'. G. Kitson Clark The Making of Victorian England, p. 257.

With the exception of a few sons of ministers, like Bain, Fraser and Innes, they came in general from lower middle-class families, and were brought up in environments that tended to laud the practical and down-to-earth at the expense of the visionary: Laws was the son of a cabinet-maker and worked for a time as an apprentice to that trade; Steele, an orphan from the Buchanan Institute, Glasgow, worked in a shoe-shop run by his brother; Black, the son of a village schoolmaster spent some time as a joiner before entering an architect's office. The qualifications they looked for in their fellows were practical and professional rather than academic. Seven of the thirteen ordained missionaries took degrees in medicine .....Though the ordained and medical missionaries came largely from rather humble backgrounds, all twenty-three of them went either to the University, or its equivalent, the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in Edinburgh. They were products of the Scottish democratic system which permitted boys of ability and perseverance from working or lower middle-class stock to get a comparatively cheap university education to qualify them for the professions, particularly medicine and the church. (10)

The missionary who was a lower middle class graduate of a Scottish University was very different from the upper class graduate of Oxford and Cambridge. Their home environment and education led them to pursue divergent missionary policies which were to have lasting effects on the Africans with whom they came into contact. The Free Church of Scotland Mission at Livingstonia, though having about a third of its missionaries with a higher education, was predominantly an industrial mission with only 13 of the 76 missionaries who went out by 1900 being ordained, while there were 31 artisans and at least six others with basically technical jobs. This contrasts with the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre where there were only 16 artisans out of the 56 who went out by 1900, while there were 9 ordained missionaries, 8 doctors, 7 teachers and 13 ladies.<sup>(11)</sup> With the former the support for the mission and the missionaries' own background was more closely allied with trade and industry, while the other had a closer connection with the Church

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(10) K. J. McCracken, 'Livingstonia as an Industrial Mission 1875-1900' in Religion in Africa, pp. 81-82.

(11) *ibid.*, p. 80.

itself. Home environment was important but what governed it was very clearly the mission's churchmanship and support, and this above all else is illustrated in the case of the UMCA.

## 2. THE BACKGROUND OF THE UMCA MISSIONARY

In the period 1860 to 1900 370 missionaries went out to Africa in the service of the UMCA; 98 were ordained members of the Church of England, 117 were women (including 9 nuns) and 155 were laymen. An attempt has been made in Appendix I to gather biographical details concerning each missionary in order to draw some conclusions on their background and work. In the tables an analysis has been made of certain aspects of the missionaries' background, but this is however far from being complete, owing to the paucity of material relating to the laymen and women, and the material, as was the Mission, is clerically biased. However something can be said which I hope will modify the accepted view of the UMCA missionaries as 'drawn from the upper and upper middle classes of British society', who 'tended to be well educated, frequently at the better public schools, followed by Oxford or Cambridge',<sup>(1)</sup> or even more exclusively that 'they came mainly from the English aristocracy and that most of them possessed private incomes'.<sup>(2)</sup>

There is undoubtedly a certain amount of truth in the above generalisations as will be shown, but a glance at the tables indicates that they can only be applied to (at the most) a third of the missionaries. Few indeed had their origins in the topmost strata of British society, the aristocracy.<sup>(3)</sup> If this is taken in its widest sense to include both the hereditary nobility and the country gentry, only about a dozen missionaries came from this background. Only two were the children of titled parents, Robert Fuller Acland Hood, fourth son of Sir Alexander Acland Hood, third

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(1) H. A. C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, p. 221.

(2) G. Freeman-Grenville quoted in C. G. Beata, Christianity in Tropical Africa, 1968, p. 9.

(3) G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75, 1971, p. 238.

baronet of West Quantoxhead, Somerset and John K. C. Key, the eldest son of Sir Kinsmill Grove Key, baronet who succeeded his father in 1899 to become the only titled member of the mission. Others however had titled connections: both Herbert Wilson and Charles Riddell were the nephews of baronets, Mackenzie was the grandson of one, and Cecil Robert Tyrwhitt a cousin, and the latter was also related to the Lords Berners, as was Herbert Wilson.<sup>(4)</sup> Bishop Smythies and Duncan Travers were the grandsons of Admiral Sir Eaton Travers.<sup>(5)</sup> Connections with the landed gentry were more numerous. At least two of the missionaries later inherited the family estates; Rev. William Lowndes the Hassall Hall estate in Cheshire and Rev. Charles A. Alington the Swinhope estate in Lincolnshire. Miss Mary Townshend was the eldest daughter of Major Townshend the head of a leading Cheshire family, and Miss Francis Ellershaw came from a similar background near Leeds.

The predominant background, as is illustrated by Table III, was however clerical, the majority of the clergy and women of whom we have details being the children of the Victorian parsonage, more usually a Rectory than a Vicarage. They were born at a time when the status of the clergy was at its highest (between 1830 and 1875) when a priest with a country living was socially acceptable, and a gentleman.<sup>(6)</sup>

At the beginning of the eighteenth century many of the clergy seemed to have formed a class, rustic in manners, primitive in outlook, which did not rank higher than the neighbouring farmers and tradesmen or the upper servants of the great houses of the nobility. As the century went forward many of them gradually assumed the status of gentry. Their style of

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(4) Burkes Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, 1889 and 1931.

(5) G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies. pp.1-2

(6) G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1971, pp. 247-249.



life changed, their standing in the county was enhanced, they were more often men with connections among the gentry or aristocracy, and they developed a culture which was a good deal more civilized, not only than that of their rustic predecessors but than anything that could have been understood by the more boorish country gentlemen of the past. Instead of concentrating, as their predecessors had tended to do, on rather crabbed theology, or on the cruder forms of sulky Tory politics, they began to take an interest in antiquarianism, or literature, in botany or scientific husbandry, or in local government and the very difficult social problems the country confronted at that moment. (7)

It was from this class of clerical gentlemen that half the missionaries for whom we know the occupation of father, came. Two were the sons of bishops, Rev. George Atlay the son of the Bishop of Hereford, and Rev. William Harrison the son of the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, while many others came from excessively clerical families. Rev. J. S. C. Wood was the son of a priest and three of his brothers were ordained, one becoming a missionary in South Africa and another in India; Rev. Wm. Porter's grandfather was Bishop of Clogher, and his father and brother were priests; similarly Rev. P. Jones-Bateman's father and two brothers were priests. These examples could be multiplied<sup>(8)</sup> many times. Something must be said here about the Rev. Charles Argentine Alington, a member of Bishop Tozer's party in 1863, an archetype of the clerical gentleman. His family had been long established as landed proprietors in Lincolnshire and were related to many of the county's leading families; in addition numerous members of the family had taken Holy Orders including his great-grandfather, grandfather, three great uncles, four uncles, a brother in law, at least ten cousins and second cousins and three cousins by marriage. The family were lords of the manors of Swinhope and Candlesby and patrons of the livings of Swinhope and Stenigot in Lincolnshire, which livings were naturally occupied in general

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(7) G. Kitson Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885, 1973, p. 31.

(8) e.g. Rev. Wm. Lowndes succeeded his father as Rector of Little Comberton, Worcestershire, a living held by the family for 113 years.

by members of the family. His grandfather, Rev. Marmaduke Alington of Swinhope Hall, was rector of Stenigot, non-resident rector of Walsoken, Norfolk and 'for upwards of 50 years an able and active magistrate for the county of Lincoln', and his father was similarly an active magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for the county. Alington was educated at Southwell and Oakham Schools and Wadham College, Oxford, and on his ordination in 1851 he served as curate to an uncle at Crosby, being presented the following year by another uncle to the rectory of Muckton with Burwell. Following his final return from Africa in 1869<sup>(9)</sup>, during which period he continued as non-resident rector of Burwell, he was eventually presented to the family living at Swinhope in 1884<sup>(10)</sup> and six years later inherited the estate where for the last ten years of his life he was the 'squarson'. On his death the local paper included a lengthy obituary:

The late Mr. Alington was a Conservative in politics though to a large extent broad in his views on church questions and on various questions in connection with Temperance. Being himself a total abstainer he was also much interested in all Friendly Societies and movements for the well-being of the working classes. Generally his love for the country was great and on his own property he liked to be surrounded by animals and birds of all sorts who found him their zealous protector. Like most members of his family he possessed many sporting instincts, the Swinhope estate having for generations formed the favourite breeding grounds for foxes who helped in no small degree to supply the country round it with the required animal and it has been no uncommon thing for three or even four litters of foxes to be bred on the limited estate regardless of the destruction of the game and other damage. Mr. Alington, on his return home from Oxford, brought with him an old Oxford horse on which he enjoyed many a pleasant spin over his native hills. With the rod and gun he was also at home, and the skins and heads which he brought home from Africa amply attested the fact. Perhaps

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(9) Occasioned by the financial swindling and flight of his uncle Henry Alington Pye from Louth and by the death of Pye's daughter, the composer 'Claribel'. The Story of Claribel P. Smith, 1965.

(10) He succeeded his uncle Richard Pye Alington, (who was also Rector of Stenigot) a natural historian of national repute.

there is no more lovely little estate to be found throughout Lincolnshire than Swinhope, considering its size, with its trees and beautiful running streams, and the chief delight of Mr. Alington during his last long illness, was in trying to make as tame as possible the wild fowls and songsters and numerous black and gray rabbits which scamper about close up to the Hall door. ....As a clergyman Mr. Alington may be said to have always been a sincere friend to the sick and suffering, his help was always prompt and willingly given, he fully realized the great need in the present day of real active work and outspoken plain words. (11)

This was the missionary who established the first mainland station at Magila; 'aristocratic' indeed but I am sure very much the exception amongst those at work in the mission field.

A more typical environment was that of Rev. Edwin Heron Dodgson, brought up in a large Yorkshire rectory surrounded by his ten brothers and sisters. His father the Archdeacon was an active follower of the Tractarians, restoring the church and building a school in the parish, 'a man of deep piety and of a somewhat reserved and grave disposition'.<sup>(12)</sup> An almost identical home background was that of Mary Allen, the eldest daughter of the Rev. John Allen, Archdeacon of Salop and Vicar of Prees in Shropshire. She was raised with seven sisters and a brother in a newly-built Vicarage standing in a large garden 'in that secluded village among the richly wooded and fertile plains of North Shropshire'. Their upbringing was strict; at an early age they were expected by father to write out every Sunday what they could remember of his sermon, and most afternoons they

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- (11) MSS. Binnall. H. E. Smith Newspaper Cuttings; Swinhope; D. Neave, 'The Lincolnshire Connections of Lady Douglas-Home', Lincolnshire Life, Feb. 1964, p. 54. An incident which illustrates well Alington's approach to mission is recorded by Bp. Tozer in relation to a visit to Magila in 1868: 'The next day was spent in various ways according to the taste and capacity of the individual. Alington devoted his morning to killing and cutting up an ox. I went to the river and bathed and washed a pair of socks and did little else. Fraser wrote up a diary and did a little sketching, but like me, was evidently glad of a rest'. G. Ward, Letters of Bp. Tozer, p. 178. It was this approach that led John Kirk to remark to Waller in 1868 'Allington is quite the true missionary more so than any of them here'. Rhodes House Waller MSS III/36.
- (12) S. D. Collingwood, The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll, 1899; F. B. Lennon, The Life of Lewis Carroll, 3rd revised edition 1972.

devoted to visiting the poor.

From childhood our father taught us to make this a daily duty when not otherwise employed. Two of us together would be sent with broth in a little can made for the purpose, or with some dainty from the luncheon table to a sick person, and long before we were grown up he instructed us to sit by the bedside of the suffering and the infirm and read aloud a chapter from the Bible, choosing for us such as he thought would be most comforting. (13)

The sisters had the benefit of a governess followed by a finishing school in London, as well as 'our father's large and well-selected library and his advice in the choice of the books to read'. All of them left home to undertake 'definite philanthropic work', four of them training as nurses under St. John's Sisters in King's College Hospital, London, from whence Mary went to Scarborough as head of a 'convalescent home for ladies with limited means . . . many of them overworked governesses', before volunteering for Africa.<sup>(14)</sup> Many a latent missionary was to be found among the educated daughters of the Victorian parsonage engaged in philanthropic work in their father's parish.<sup>(15)</sup>

The legal profession, as acceptable in most cases as the church, was the occupation of a number of the fathers of UMCA missionaries; in fact those of four of the most influential, bishops Mackenzie, Tozer, Steere, and Maples. Mackenzie's father was a Clerk of Sessions in Scotland and Tozer's was a wealthy Devonshire solicitor, but Mr. William Steere was at his son's birth only 'in the humbler ranks of the legal profession'.<sup>(16)</sup> He was

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- (13) G. Grier, Our Sister Beatrice, p. 11; R. M. Grier, John Allen Archdeacon, 1889.
- (14) G. Grier, op. cit., pp. 12-16. Her younger sister Beatrice was a C.M.S. Missionary in Japan.
- (15) Caroline Thackeray had been 'used to a good deal of sick visiting in my late father's parish - and to parish work'. USPG/UMCA AI (VI) Miss Thackeray to Steere Aug. 16, 1877.
- (16) He was called to the bar seven years later. Mss. Life of Steere. USPG/UMCA AI (III)

distinctly a self-made man, with an insatiable desire for knowledge 'but without the means and leisure of gratifying it to any considerable extent'. Steere's parents separated when he was still quite young and he was brought up by his mother<sup>(17)</sup>, and he was sent to an excellent dissenting academy followed by the non-sectarian University College School and then University College itself. While at the latter his interest was aroused in church architecture and sacred music, and through these subjects he was led to an interest in theology. His upbringing had if anything been Evangelical and dissenting, his father looked 'for the life and soul of religion to the Ten Commandments', and thus he was very much attracted to the Tractarian movement. Though pushed into the law by his father he was

more often to be found in the Reading Room of the British Museum, or the Lambeth Palace Library, studying some obscure volume of philosophy, theology or church history than in his chambers. Besides the subjects of ecclesiastical history, theory, ritual and ornament, the vital questions of practice, of lay work, of the religious or contemplative life, of woman's true place and duties also occupied his mind. (18)

His reading led him to engage in church work in the London Slums, to found one of the earliest male religious communities, and eventually to seek ordination and following a few dissatisfied years in English parishes to go as a missionary to Africa. If Steere's father was a self-made man, he himself was very much a self-made missionary.

Maples, who perhaps was the most important of all the UMCA missionaries of this period<sup>(19)</sup>, was the third son and sixth child of a

(17) It is interesting to note how many UMCA missionaries were brought up by their mothers, cf. Frank Weston, W. P. Johnson, and C.A. Smythies.

(18) Mss. Life of Edward Steere. USPG/UMCA AI(III)

(19) That is up to 1900. The three missionaries who seem most to have influenced the work of the mission being Steere, Maples and Weston, but the latter's influence being felt most after 1900.



successful London solicitor and as such had a childhood that contrasts strongly with Steere's<sup>(20)</sup>. His childhood was spent in a characteristically Victorian upper middle class way, strongly influenced by his mother and awed by his father.<sup>(21)</sup> He was sent to a private school at Wimbledon<sup>(22)</sup>, then to Charterhouse. Holidays were taken on the Isle of Wight at Freshwater and Sea View, and spent in long walks and sailing on the Solent<sup>(23)</sup>. When he went up to Oxford it was said of him:

No brighter, happier, or -it must be added - more careless undergraduate could be found at Oxford. Perhaps it was his very versatility which prevented him from achieving any great distinction. He would settle down to what he called a good morning's steady reading, but presently he would dash from his seat and execute a brilliant fantasia - as often as not improvised - upon the piano, or he would rush out, with a hunch of bread in his pocket, and spend a long day in the woods. Then there would be talks far into the night, or till the day was breaking, leaving him much too exhausted to do any serious work the next day .... Church music took up a little too much of his time ... He was constantly to be found at Magdalen enjoying the splendid organ playing and the perfect singing of the choir .... In Theology, in which he took honours, he was certainly very much interested. And generally it was noticed that he was a man of wide reading, and especially well grounded in the English classics. (24)

'A man of the world in the best sense of the term' is how he was later described by one of his fellow missionaries.<sup>(25)</sup> He had seemingly been destined for the church from an early age, and before offering himself to the YMCA he 'had accepted a curacy at St. Leonards-on-Sea with the understanding

(20) Steere appears to have had a lonely and far from comfortable childhood.

(21) 'Only a few months before he started on his last journey, Chauncy said how strongly he felt that he owed all that was best in him to his mother.' E. Maples, Life and Letters of Chauncy Maples, Longmans 1897, p. 4.

(22) Spending Saturday and Sundays at Jenny Linds home. *ibid.* p.5

(23) E. Maples, *ibid.* pp. 5-6.

(24) *ibid.* pp. 8-10.

(25) *ibid.* pp. 1-2.



that he should in due course succeed the vicar, an old personal friend of his father', the next presentation to the living being in his gift.<sup>(26)</sup>

The upbringing of the other missionaries who came from middle class homes bears great similarities with either that of Maples or Steere. Herbert W. Woodward for instance came from a home where there was 'no very definite religious instruction', and his father, who worked in the Department of Geology and Mineralogy, died when Herbert was aged 11, after which he came under the care of his mother who attended a Congregational Chapel. Being articled at the age of 15 to his mother's relative the noted architect S. S. Teulon, he became interested in the study of ancient churches and monastic buildings and so was drawn to the Anglo-Catholic Church and church work.<sup>(27)</sup> Arthur Fraser Sim, the son of a senior Member of the Madras Council, was brought up in the Church and from his schooldays at Cheltenham College determined on ordination. 'Ere he left the School at Midsummer 1881, he occupied the unique position of Senior Prefect, Captain of the College Boat Club, and Captain of the College Football Fifteen; and by masters and boys alike he was universally esteemed as almost an ideal type of what a Schoolboy should be'.<sup>(28)</sup>

The English Public School and its ethos loomed large in the background of many of the clerical members of the mission. At least 60 had attended a public school of some standing<sup>(29)</sup>. There were old boys of six of

(26) *ibid.* pp. 11-12.

(27) G. Ward, Father Woodward of U.M.C.A., 1927. Hine, though coming from the family of a prosperous Nottingham hosiery manufacturer, had a similar background to Steere and Woodward. J. E. Hine, Days Gone By. 1924.

(28) Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim, 1896 p. 7.

(29) Headmasters Conference Schools listed in Whitaker's Almanack 1914.

the top nine public schools at work in the mission during the latter part of the 19th century; four each from Charterhouse and Rugby, three from Eton, Winchester and Westminster, and one from the Merchant Taylors School. Other leading schools well represented were Marlborough (five), Haileybury (3), Lancing (3) and Cheltenham College (3).<sup>(30)</sup>

Many of the women from clerical and middle class homes no doubt received an exceptional education for members of their sex at that period; many would have had governesses, some would have attended boarding and finishing schools and all would have received a broader outlook and knowledge from their home environment than was general from working-class homes. Probably the most highly educated woman missionary was Gertrude Ward, the daughter of an Evangelical London clergyman, and granddaughter of a wealthy Hull shipowner. She was the youngest but one of seventeen children and against her family's wishes she went to Somerville Hall, Oxford and took honours in English and Modern Languages, and then proceeded to Leipzig University where she studied music and became fluent in German. This was followed by a period of seven years in the fashionable literary society of London in the 1880s, during which time she was acting as overworked secretary and amanuensis to her sister-in-law the novelist, Mrs. Humphrey Ward. Though her father was described as a 'Bible Christian', over-fond of fox hunting, Gertrude was an 'extremely devout and extremely High Church Anglican', and dissatisfied with the social and intellectual life around her she offered herself to the UMCA, training as a nurse at St. Thomas's Hospital before going to Africa.<sup>(31)</sup>

Unfortunately we know little concerning those missionaries who

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(30) For ranking of schools see T. W. Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools, p. vi. Some missionaries had close connections with public schools, e.g. A. C. Highton was the son of a master at Rugby School who became Principal of Cheltenham College, and G.P.K. H. Du Boulay was the son of a housemaster at Winchester.

(31) Information from Basil Ward, a nephew, Jan. 1974, and Mrs. E. Huws Jones Nov. 1973, Enid Huws Jones, Mrs. Humphry Ward, 1973.

came from working-class homes. Samuel Speare was the eldest of the large family of a poor Suffolk farm labourer. He attended the village school but on his father becoming ill it was necessary for him to leave to work in the fields. However he also worked at the vicarage and as he showed an interest in the Church the vicar took him under his wing and with the help of Bishop Tozer placed him in the choir school of St. Andrew's Wells Street, London, one of the leading Anglo-Catholic churches.<sup>(32)</sup> Similarly Clement John Sparks, the son of a painter and house decorator, left school at the age of ten, at the age of fifteen became a server at St. John's Church, Frome, and with the aid of the assistant priest obtained a place at Warminster Missionary College.<sup>(33)</sup> The same could be told of William Cowey, the son of a Monkwearmouth miner, who came under the influence of Bishop Hornby; or of the group of working men from Roath where Smythies had been vicar. Almost all the laymen who went out came from a working-class background, the carpenters, printers, engineers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, most of the teachers and even one doctor, but we know little about them except their date of joining and when they died or resigned.

The social background of the UMCA missionary was therefore by no means as uniform as has been painted; though there were some who came from the English aristocracy, there were many more from the working-class. The significant feature however is that those whom we know most about were predominantly upper and middle class with a public school and University education. The existing information would lead one to think that the typical UMCA missionary had been comfortably brought up in a large family living in a substantial country parsonage with servants, pleasant grounds and a religious atmosphere; the men had gone to public school and University, where they had

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(32) A Suffolk Boy in East Africa, 1901.

(33) 'A Voice from the Past: Letters from Rev. C. J. Sparks' Central Africa 1928, pp. 30-33.

excelled in sports but not academically, and following ordination had worked for a short time in an English, preferably working-class parish;<sup>(34)</sup> the women were educated by governesses and then engaged in philanthropic work of some nature, either in the parish or as nurses elsewhere until they were over 30 when they offered themselves to the Mission following a family bereavement. That there were more missionaries who had been brought up in an urban terrace or back-to-back house, had left school by the age of ten and undertaken some hard manual occupation, the attendance at an Anglo-Catholic church and night school the only bright spot in their lives until under the influence of a priest they were inspired to be 'a missionary', tells one much about the Mission. The UMCA was elitist and the elite were the priests; the laymen were necessary but of no great importance, while women, because of their social background and work with the native women, were more acceptable. The unifying factor of the mission was its churchmanship, but this also resulted in the clearly marked groups of clergy, women and laymen, divisions more strict than those found in a non-conformist mission.

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(34) Examples are innumerable and one must suffice: Edward Sayres was born 1850 at the Rectory of Cold Ashton, in Gloucestershire, where his father who had just succeeded to the living was engaged in extending an already large parsonage and restoring the church. Edward was one of twelve children, four of whom died in infancy. Educated at a public school he proceeded to Exeter College, Oxford where he excelled at rowing and gained a B.A. in 1873. Ordained the following year he served as a curate for three years in a large parish in the mining area in East Cornwall, and after a year at Wokingham joined the UMCA. Invalided in 1880 he returned to Cold Ashton as curate under his father, where he pursued his hobbies of sketching, bookbinding, carving and the compiling of a flora of the area, succeeding to the family living in 1888 and dying at Cold Ashton Rectory in December 1914. (ex. inf his neice Mrs. M. Scarr, Lincoln Jan. 1973).

### 3. SELECTION, PREPARATION AND TRAINING

When the idea of a Cambridge Mission to Africa was first mooted, William Monk asked Livingstone what he thought were the qualifications and attainments necessary for a successful missionary, and received this reply:

It is a mistake to suppose that any pious man may do for a missionary. One of the founders of the London Missionary Society thought that 'a good man who could read his Bible, and make a wheelbarrow', was abundantly qualified. This was a great mistake. Missionaries ought to be highly qualified in every respect. Good education, good sense, and good temper are indispensable. If Christians send out poor ignorant agents, they act on the penny wise and pound foolish plan. (1)

These were the qualifications that appealed to the founders and missionaries of the UMCA. To Arthur Nugent West the man most suited to be a missionary was 'an Oxford or Cambridge one who has knocked about a little and then wants to give himself up to work in earnest'(2). In discussions on the subject of missionary training at the three Anglican Missionary Conferences of 1875, 1877 and 1894, the University was stressed as being the ideal training school. At the second conference, Professor Palmer spoke at length on the subject, claiming that the highest aims of a University college were in 'seeking to turn men out qualified for the service of God in any department to which He may call them - men with a habit of prayer, a habit of study, a habit of self-control in food and dress, in expenditure and amusements' and these, if fulfilled, produced missionaries of the most valuable kind. The subject of study did not matter:

There is, perhaps, no branch of knowledge which may not be of service to a missionary. Certainly, to make no mention of theology, which is his professional study, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of philosophy, history, philology, and the various branches of natural science ..... Other incidental

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(1) W. Monk, Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, 2nd ed. 1860 pp. 303-304.

(2) USPG/UMCA A. N. West to Mr. Searle, July 1873. West was just such a man, having 'knocked about' South America in search of ostriches and old silver, before becoming a curate at Buckingham.



contributions to the training of men - made by the conditions of life in our old universities. Ease of deportment towards others, courtesy of speech and manners, is no small thing for him to possess who is to win other men, and perpetually to encounter strangers; and this is gained almost insensibly by the man who lives among a crowd, the various elements of which stand in various relations of intimacy to him. Again, toleration, forbearance, sympathy, in the presence of moral and intellectual diversity, are lessons which a university life can hardly fail to teach .... Athletic sports themselves add their contributions, not only in training and hardening the muscles to row or walk hereafter to better purpose than victory on the river or the path, but because they habituate men to some forms at least of self-denial and teach them to sacrifice their private inclinations to the interest, whether real or imaginary, of the little community to which they belong. (3)

Throughout the published material of the UMCA this belief in the virtues of a university education is stressed. At the same conference, in a telling speech Bishop Steere stated: 'I have always said that we must look to the University for officers, though we may get the rank and file from other classes. Moral rather than intellectual power is important. But we must have men of the highest education possible to direct the effort of our rank and file'.<sup>(4)</sup>

University trained men were forthcoming and in the forty years under consideration a third of the male recruits were university graduates; of these 87, who constituted a quarter of all the members of the mission before 1900, 46 had been to Oxford, 26 to Cambridge, seven to London, five to Durham and one each to Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Dublin. This probably gave the mission a higher proportion of university trained agents than other societies at that time, but this fact owed much to the close link between the mission and the Universities

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- (3) Report of the 2nd Missionary Conference 1877 pp. 161-162. In 1894, Rev. B. R. Wilson echoed these words 'Breadth of sympathy and interest must be the marked characteristics of the colonial parish priest . . . to be gained by the more liberal education of one of our great Universities, where the social life, the recreation, the intellectual atmosphere, as well as the teaching of the schools, enable men to acquire that width of sympathy which above else they need'. Official Report of the Mission Conference of the Anglican Communion 1894 pp. 48-49.
- (4) Report of Missionary Conference 1877, p. 178. He went on, 'the great office of universities is to correct the narrow specialisms into which all men, and those interested in missions not the least so, are always prone to fall . . . surely the wider and sounder the education the better the missionary'. At the 1894 Conference Bishop Selwyn was quoted as speaking of the Universities as 'the Sandhurst for the staff officers' in the great missionary army. Report 1894 p. 39.



which were the basis of its foundation. It was a link which to some extent should have provided a far greater support, as a mission with the word 'Universities' in its title could be assumed to be more greatly dominated by the seats of learning than it actually was.

The view that the university provided the ideal training can be seen as a major cause of the UMCA's failure to pursue any policy with regard to the special training of its missionaries. In this it resembled many of the other English missionary societies in the 19th century, though its intellectual ideal was higher than most. What little that has been written on the subject reveals that other than theological training, virtually no other preparation was considered essential<sup>(5)</sup>: willingness and a sense of vocation were the main requirements of most missionary societies. In 1846 a shop assistant offered himself to the S.P.G. for work in South Africa, and he asked what training was necessary; there is no record of the society's answer, but little could have been required, for just over a year later he was at work as a deacon in Natal.<sup>(6)</sup> The C.M.S., with its Training College at Islington opened in 1825 and its Preparatory Institution at Clapham founded in 1868, appeared to be more active in this field than the other Anglican bodies. But the College at Islington had as its main aim the provision of a theological training so that the candidate could be ordained for the mission field, the courses provided taking on an increasingly higher academic level as the century progressed, and giving the student very

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(5) P. Hinchliff, 'The selection and training of Missionaries in the early 19th century' in G. J. Cuming (ed.) The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith, pp. 131-135; A. Hodge 'The Training of Missionaries for Africa: The Church Missionary Society's Training College at Islington 1900-1915' Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol. IV 1971 pp. 81-90; M. Warren, Social History and Christian Missions.

(6) P. Hinchliff, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

little practical training<sup>(7)</sup>. However the little that was given was more than the missionary colleges, which provided the S.P.G. with many of their candidates, gave<sup>(8)</sup>. The Anglican colleges of St. Augustine's Canterbury, founded 1846, St. Boniface, Warminster, founded 1860, St. Paul's Burgh and Dorchester both founded in 1878, were all set up as training centres for the mission field, but as Steere remarked:

It is . . . difficult to say what training means. Practically, men are taught, in as complete a way as time and their own abilities allow, those portions of a University education which are specially needed in order to pass the Bishop's examination for holy orders. To this is added - in various places - a little medicine, a little printing, a little joiner's work, and so on. Sometimes, a little teaching in some foreign language.

The chief teaching, however, of all Mission Colleges is directed not to make men specially Missionaries, but to qualify them for ordination. (9)

They were centres where men of little formal education could be trained for the ministry abroad. Candidates with a university education were accepted by all missions almost without question and sent to the mission field without further 'special' missionary training, whereas for laymen training was required, but only to enable ordination.

The UMCA made a certain amount of use of the missionary colleges;

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(7) A. Hodge, 'The Training of Missionaries'.op.cit., E. Stock, History of C.M.S. Vol. II pp. 70-81.

(8) H. Thompson, Into All Lands, pp. 237-238.

(9) Heanley, Memoir of Steere, p. 380. In 1877 the course of study at St. Augustines included 'in addition to Theology, Mathematics, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, the elements of Medicine and the study of Oriental languages'. Conference Report 1877.<sup>op.cit.</sup> Seventeen years later the intellectual training consisted of 'study of scripture, knowledge of dogmatics, Church History, liturgics, some elementary Greek and Latin classical authors, and of the outlines, at least, of other religious systems. Over and above, this there ought to be a knowledge of elementary medicine end surgery, of one or more Oriental languages, if he is going to India or Africa, and last, not least, Church music'. Conference Report 1894 p. 41. Lip service was paid to the need for special missionary subjects, but the need to pass ordination exams meant little serious study was made of them by the student.

15 of the missionaries had been to St. Augustine's, 11 to Dorchester, 11 to Warminster and one to Burgh, but there was much dissatisfaction with a system which turned out second-class clergy instead of first-class laymen. The subject of missionary training exercised the minds of both Tozer and Steere in the early days of the mission. In 1871 Tozer had written to his absent colleague in England advocating

'some better system of training missionaries and some recognised plan of seeking for them . . . Might not a few of us start a Society, whose first object would be to find candidates for Mission work, chiefly from the Universities, Theological Colleges, and the newly ordained, and bring them together for a probation into a religious community; in fact into a monastery. Here as soon as the novelty had come off, their earnestness and moral worth would be tested. They would find out whether they could endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus, etc., whether they could live at peace and in contentment with other men differently constituted from themselves.

What a boon such a previous life would have been to our men. To Drayton, Fraser, Handcock, Davis, you and I whereas all that was wanted was general respectability and willingness (the usual qualifications you seek in a maidservant) I quite tremble for such men as Wilkinson, going out to work of which he knows nothing, without the chance of testing in any way his capacity for it and though it won't do to talk about it, yet what an illustration was not the Zambesi Mission of the need of some training work for the better and higher stamp of men. This St. Augustines as at present can never do its energies are too much engrossed in supplying the defects of a previous education. (10)

Though this plan was aimed primarily at the educated man it bears great similarities to the plan formulated by Rev. Herbert Kelly twenty years later, for providing a community where boys without secondary education could be trained and given the opportunity to test their vocation for Church work at home or abroad. No hope of ordination or social advancement was offered<sup>(11)</sup>. The three principles of the community were '(1) Freedom of opportunity; (2) Thoroughness of education; and (3) Reality of sacrifice', and three conditions were laid down for those wishing to join:

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(10) USPG/UMCA A/1/1 Tozer to Steere Zanzibar March 21st 1871.

(11) H. Kelly, The History of a Religious Idea, SSM, 1898.

(1) A man must be ready to work without pay; and (2) therefore he must intend to live unmarried; (3) he must come simply to serve Christ, and be equally ready to take whatever place or work was assigned to him. (12)

It was on these principles and conditions that the Society of the Sacred Mission (SSM) was begun by Kelly in 1891, primarily to provide men for the Korean Mission. The scheme at once attracted the attention of the UMCA as ideal for the training of laymen, and through the generosity of one of the missionaries it undertook to maintain six students at the community, and so began a long association between the UMCA and SSM. The first man trained at the house, W. E. Russell, a printer, went out to Africa in 1893 and by 1900 nine others had followed; in addition one member of the mission, H. W. Woodward, had joined the community.<sup>(13)</sup> The success of the venture from the UMCA's point of view is clearly shown by the fact that the average term of service of the SSM trained men was 15 years, with only one, who was invalided home, serving less than five years. Of the ten who went out before 1900 four were eventually ordained, but of those who remained laymen, three served 18, 19 and 34 years respectively.<sup>(14)</sup>

Women very rarely underwent any special training before going to Africa, as it was expected that those who were teachers or nurses would be experienced enough for mission work, and those who had engaged in voluntary social or Church work were similarly acceptable.<sup>(15)</sup>

(12) P. F. Anson, Call of the Cloister, S.P.C.K., 1955, pp. 139-140.

(13) Anderson-Moreshead, 1899, pp. 461-462.

(14) The ten SSM trained missionaries were: J. W. Brent; C.W. Chilvers; A. Makins; J. R. Moffatt; F. W. Mellor; W. E. Russell; S. Sanderson; G. Sims; T. Steaurt; and J. C. White.

(15) Though at least three underwent some training at S. Denys Orphanage, Warminster and in 1881 Miss Sherratt consented to go, at the request of the mission, for a year's training at Shrewsbury Infirmary. USPG/UMCA Gen. Committee Minutes 1881.

I think I know more of school teaching than of anything else - something of housekeeping - and nothing of nursing, though I have been used to a good deal of sick visiting in my late father's parish - and to parish work. (16)

Such were the qualifications that Caroline Thackeray could offer Bishop Steere in 1877.

The non-existence of the correspondence which must have passed between candidate and mission means that little can be said of the motivation and selection of candidates. The formal arrangements for the selection of candidates were laid down in the 1860 constitution:

No missionary shall be sent out from England who has not been approved by the Head of the Mission, if in England; or, in his absence, by a Board consisting of four Clergymen, nominated by the Head of the Mission (one from each University), and of three other Clergymen to be from time to time selected by the following Archbishops and Bishop: viz, The Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Armagh, and the Bishops of London, Oxford and Ely. (17)

This was later amended to a Board of three clergy, one nominated by the Chairman of the General Committee and two by the Bishop under whom the candidate was to serve, thus placing the choice of candidates firmly in the control of the mission.<sup>(18)</sup> In addition, in the early days a medical examination by a nominated doctor was necessary, but as this was found to be inefficient a Medical Board, which undertook a more rigorous examination of the candidate, was substituted in 1894.<sup>(19)</sup>

The two methods of selection by the bishop when in England or by a Board of Examiners led to a number of problems, especially if the bishop

(16) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) Miss Thackeray to Steere, Roughton Hall, Aug. 16th 1877.

(17) UMCA Constitution 1860.

(18) UMCA Constitution 1895.

(19) D. A. Browne 'Review of the Work of the Medical Board 1894-1904' Central Africa 1905, pp. 10-16.



was not careful in his selection. Mackenzie, renowned for his impracticality, came to an agreement in 1860 with a 'mechanic' John Crofts of Birmingham that he should join the mission. However the Finance Committee discovered that Crofts had a wife and six children between the ages of 5 and 15 and so rapidly passed a resolution that 'even if there had been authority to appoint any Mechanic having a wife and large family, this Committee feel it imprudent and therefore inexpedient in the present position of the Mission, to send them out to the 'Cape of Good Hope', and the General Committee passed the matter to the medical referee Dr. Budd, who as they intended declared it medically unwise to send the wife and children out. But Crofts would not relinquish the engagement unless the Mission acted 'liberal towards him', which they did by offering £40 compensation.<sup>(20)</sup> In November 1862 Tozer accepted a carpenter named Marsh Pierson only to withdraw the acceptance three months later on discovering 'that some years ago Pierson had been confined in a lunatic asylum owing to 'his wild and extravagant notions on religious subjects'.<sup>(21)</sup> The Board of Examiners was possibly a better judge of the prospective missionary though the large number of 'failures' sent out in the first 20 years leads to some doubts of their effectiveness.<sup>(22)</sup>

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(20) USPG/UMCA Executive and Sub-Committee Minutes 28th Dec. 1860; General Comm. Minutes 6th Feb. and 20th March 1861. He apparently refused the £40 at first considering himself 'seriously trifled with'.

(21) General Committee Minutes Nov. 12 1862 and Feb. 11 1863.

(22) It is interesting to consider if the board would have accepted, on the recommendation of the Rev. H.C. Ogle, headmaster of Magdalen College Grammar School, Oxford 'the services as printer to the mission in Zanzibar of a graduate of the University: who had lost asuperior post through a grave fault but whose future good conduct and character he was prepared to vouch for', if the application had not been withdrawn. General Committee Dec. 9th 1879. On hearing of the proposal Bp. Steere wrote a strong letter condemning the idea.



Offers for service with the mission were few in the early days and this to some extent accounts for the 'failures'. Recruitment appears to have been best achieved as a result of preaching tours made by missionaries on furlough. And thus deputation work took up much of the missionary's stay at home:

the life of a missionary 'on a holiday' in England is hard work. So long as he has a voice to speak with or legs to carry him about he is sent north, south, east, and west to lecture or preach 'for the mission'. A missionary must be as ready to lecture to an audience of half-a-dozen people in a poky room as to a crowded assemblage of six or eight hundred people in a town hall. (23)

The tours of Steere and Smythies were most successful in gaining recruits. Particularly important was Steere's visit to England in 1874-75 which led directly to some 26 missionaries going out in the following two years, including W. P. Johnson and C. Maples who were attracted by a notice put up by the bishop in the Oxford Union; Miss Thackeray who heard Steere preach at a missionary meeting at her mother's home; and H. W. Woodward who met him at a meeting of the Guild of St. Alban: four people who did more than anyone else to lay the foundations of successful mission work on the mainland.

Many were influenced when quite young and joined the mission much later, Miss Nugee who had close contact with UMCA missionaries from the 1890s and was on the staff of the mission's Home Office from 1912-1938, concerned primarily with women candidates, confirms this impression:

The call came usually in two ways. Inspiration in childhood or youth through hearing from missionaries of the need - the results of slavery and witchcraft, the total lack of schools or hospitals, the belief in Evil spirits and no knowledge of the love of God etc. This led to a consciousness that God was calling one to go to Africa to help these people and to serve Him there - Sometimes children of 12 or younger would come (with a parent) to the Office and tell us this, or they would write - Did it last? Yes - These were usually the people who gave up everything and stayed in Africa 20, 30 or more

years. Several times when interviewing a nurse or teacher who came to offer to go, when I asked 'How long have you been thinking of this?' the answer would be - '.... came to our school and told us about it, and I have hoped to go ever since'. With men the call was often a little later - in their teens at a boarding school or at University - but always it was somebody told us of the need. (24)

The appeal of the mission field was closely linked with the desire for self-sacrifice present in many an Anglo-Catholic disillusioned by the humdrum nature of the work at home. The heroic martyrs of the mission field challenged many to leave their 'comfortable' English life:

We recalled Archdeacon Johnson, blind and worn in Nyasa; and the body of Chauncey Maples under the lake water; and Bishop Hannington, giving his life for the faith; and the white body of Patteson floating out in the lone boat, with the martyr palms laid by those who killed him, crossed on his breast. And many a lonely grave of those well known to us, hidden away in far corners of African jungles, came back on the imagination. Here was adventure: here was romance. (25)

It was a sense of needing to prove his devotion to the faith that led A. F. Sim to give up his work at St. Aidan's West Hartlepool and offer himself to the UMCA:

I only feel that I am doing here (at St. Aidan's) what many other men could do who could not go out to the Mission Field. I do not for one moment feel a bit worthy of being a missionary - rather, I feel exceedingly presumptuous in making the offer; but I believe I have a good constitution, and I think I shall be ready to fill any menial position . . . I have no ambition to have a living of my own, and no desire to settle down; and in the meantime one's youth is slipping by, and I should like to make the most of it that one can in God's service . . . . . One is always preaching about self-sacrifice, and this seems a call to put one's theories into practice. (26)

Within sixteen months of reaching Africa, Sim, aged 33, was dead.

(24) Miss E. Nugee to D. Neave 28th Jan. 1970.

(25) H. S. Holland, A Bundle of Memories, 1915, p. 234. See also S. Waddy, op. cit. pp. 118-9.

(26) Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim, p. 39.

One noticeable feature of the UMCA is the number of members who joined principally due to the influence of certain clergy; there were Alington and Steere who joined out of friendship for Tozer, and the two laymen from Tozer's Lincolnshire parish; Kate Tyndal housekeeper of W. F. Capel who accompanied him to Zanzibar; the six parishioners and a curate from St. Columba's Southwick, who came out with their former Vicar Bishop Hornby in 1893; and the nine men who went out from Roath in devotion to Smythies.<sup>(27)</sup> Taking the spiritual call to missionary work as understood, there often must have been a second inducement, 'perhaps innocent but after all worldly',<sup>(28)</sup> and for many it must have been friendship for another already decided. Other motives are identifiable - the layman's desire for increased social standing and possible ordination; the clergy's wish for freedom to practice the Anglo-Catholic faith; a woman's desire to get away to forget a bereavement or love affair; or just the chance of an exciting new life.<sup>(29)</sup>

Whatever the motive the number of candidates multiplied; in the decade 1865-74 27 missionaries went out, 1875-84 89, 1885-94 131, and 1895-1904 160.<sup>(30)</sup> And though there was such a dramatic rise in missionaries (and presumably also in failed candidates) the mission took no steps, except the small experiment with SSM, to implement any special

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(27) He was also accompanied by his cousin Duncan Travers. Smythies' curate the Rev. F. E. Nugee also offered himself to the mission, but withdrew before going out on marrying the Bishop's sister, Miss Smythies. Their daughter Miss E. C. Nugee was a member of the mission's home staff 1912-38, and her brother Brigadier G. Travers Nugee was the mission's treasurer 1948-55. Bishop Trower was a distant cousin. Ex. inf Miss E. C. Nugee, Reading Dec. 1969.

(28) H. Kelly, History of a Religious Idea, pp. 10-11.

(29) E. M. Nelson, 'The Attractiveness of Work in the UMCA', Central Africa, 1901 pp. 24-7.

(30) 1865 is taken as the commencing date for these figures, instead of 1860, because it was the year that missionaries first went out to Zanzibar.

training. Still the university graduate was looked on as the ideal candidate, but he was warned:

If any of you are thinking of joining the Mission and coming out to this diocese, do try and make as good an all-round man of yourself as possible. A university career does not help one much as a colonist - one has to turn round and be overseer to house-building, perhaps show even the men how to lay bricks; one has to look after cattle occasionally, be doctor, cook, and always a general servant. A man who has knocked about a bit, been to camp as a volunteer, knows something but even then there is still much to learn. To be handy with one's needle means the disappearance of much discomfort, and ironing and starching church and house linen is more than many of us learn. There is much vacant land, therefore learn gardening, so as to grow vegetables, and so vary the monotony of the table. Be able to row, paddle a canoe, or sail a small rowing boat; you will thus often secure speed and safety. A photographer can be of untold value to the Mission; so can one who can manage a magic lantern, and, better still, has one of his own. Be able to play the harmonium, teach the natives to sing; be able to drill them, and you will be great use to your station. Learn something of the language before you leave England; you can always get books from the office. You may find yourself at a station with no other gentleman, then you must remember that the Christian adapts himself to all classes of companions. (31)

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(31) 'To University men and others intending to go to Africa' A. G. De la Pryme in Central Africa, 1900 p. 7. This echoes the words of Dr. Laws of Livingstonia 'A missionary requires to be a Jack-of-all-trades, and those who would come out expecting to act the fine gentleman had better stay at home and save himself great discomfort and his companions much bad feeling', but this nonconformist had other views on the usefulness of a university background: 'A man who has been wrapped in the lap of luxury, has gone through school, college, and hall course, with little or no experience of human nature, but the most exact theories on the subject, would find himself out of his element here, especially should he be tinged with self-conceit and ideas of his own importance. What is needed is a man of good common sense and sound judgment rather than book-learning, though the latter is by no means to be despised'. W. P. Livingstone, Laws of Livingstonia, p. 107.

4. 'CONDITIONS OF SERVICE'

In the 1890s all who desired to join the UMCA were issued with a paper which included the following condition of service:

The Bishops are quite unable to offer any inducement in the way of salary or periodical holiday, ultimate pension or temporal advantage of any kind; it is necessary that those who join the Mission should do so with the single desire to live for, and willingness, if it be so, to die in, their work, because it is Christ's. (1)

Those "who may need the help" were offered a free passage to Africa, their board, lodging, and necessaries while there, an outfit allowance of £25 and £5 on arrival at Zanzibar, then from the end of the first year after landing an annual allowance of £20. It was hoped that those who could afford to do so would pay for their own passage and keep in Africa. Service in the mission was to be considered as 'voluntary' and so differed from the situation in most Protestant missionary societies at that time who were giving salaries equal to, or in advance of, what the missionary would have received at home. This unusual condition of service is one that the mission had been led to adopt out of financial necessity. The first party of missionaries had all been paid, Mackenzie had received £300 per annum, the other clergy up to £100, though Rowley only received £70, Dickinson the doctor £150, Waller, 'lay superintendent' £80 and Adams the 'agriculturist' £16.<sup>(2)</sup> They were not insignificant sums at a time when an 'upper middle class' income was considered to be about £500, and £300 was classed as a 'small mercantile income', though an agricultural labourer could hope to be receiving something in the region of £30-35 a year. The two laymen who went out from Burgh, Richard Harrison, a

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(1) 'Paper of Conditions for those who desire to join the Universities Mission' in W. K. Firminger, Missionary Sermons, UMCA 1898, pp. 119-120 and Anderson-Moreshead, 2nd ed. 1899, pp. 456-458.

(2) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Feb.-Oct. 1860, Nov. 1860, Jan. 1862.



baker/carpenter and Tom Sivil, a bricklayer, received £25 and £10 respectively, while the Devon carpenter Kallaway got £30.<sup>(3)</sup> All appear to have also received outfit and passage money, and if necessary an allowance for their family in England.

Increases in the stipend of the clergy were made in 1865, raising it to £200 for single and £250 for married men, and in 1876 by the investment of capital and £300 granted by the SPCK and £520 from the Colonial Bishops' Fund, a scheme was introduced which secured the Bishop's income at £300 a year without drawing on the mission's annual income.<sup>(4)</sup> However, such was the financial crisis in 1878, that Steere wrote to the Committee:

I have reduced all current expenses and I think you should for the present refuse to pay any out-passages or outfit. If necessary let us refuse all further payments by way of salary, that is payments to any newcomer. (5)

Missionaries already in Africa were encouraged to forgo their salary, and others voluntarily gave up all monetary claims they had on the mission. It was not until 1881 that the annual allowance of £20 seems to have been introduced, though payment for passage and outfit was resumed earlier. Probably the past experience of missionaries paying their own passage and expenses, and of the way that such men as Tozer and A. N. West had given to the mission rather than drawn on its slender resources, encouraged Steere and the committee to take the bold step of the abandonment of paid staff.<sup>(6)</sup>

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(3) Ibid. 12 Nov. 1862, 11 Feb. 1863; Executive and Sub-committee minutes April 14 1863. Miss Jones the schoolmistress who went to Zanzibar in 1865 received £40 p.a. *ibid.* 6 April 1865. Comparative Incomes from G. BEST, Mid-Victorian Britain, pp. 89-98.

(4) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes 1865, 1876.

(5) *ibid.*, July 2nd 1878 quoting letter from Steere 30 April 1878.

(6) Alington paid for his own passage though later made a claim for his salary. Gen. Committee 29 July 1863. Tozer spent at least £400 a year on the mission during his episcopate. Heanley, Memoir of Steere, pp. 126-127.



In any case it did not affect recruitment and to many 'its entire absence of pecuniary arrangements .... is what gives the C.A.M. its unique charm and attractiveness, the knowledge that the self-oblation of each and all the members is absolute... Out there, whatever their position in England, all live together and share and share alike.'<sup>(7)</sup>

However the position in Africa was far from reaching a communistic Utopia, though Tozer could write from Mount Morumbala in 1863:

We do everything for ourselves, even to washing our own clothes, and have abolished the idea of master and servant. We live in common each having a little round hut to sleep in. (8)

Social divisions were an important cause of the failure on the Zambezi: to Tozer 'the associating mechanics with missionaries' was a mistake, the two were incompatible.<sup>(9)</sup> This view of the division into two classes of laymen and clergy was one that was to remain with the UMCA till well into the 20th century, originating from the aim of the founders to plant a 'christian village' in Africa. The village was to be a copy of the ideal Christian English village with 'a rigid adherence to English class distinctions',<sup>(10)</sup> and a clear division of labours. 'Commerce and Christianity' were not seen as being introduced by one set of men but by two, Christianity would be introduced by the clerical missionary and commerce by the Christian artificer, and only the first was looked on as a missionary. The role of the layman had the 'twofold object of taking the 'serving of tables' off the hands of

(7) E. M. Nelson, Central Africa 1901 pp. 24-27.

(8) Colonial Church Chronicle, 1864 p. 141 Letter from Tozer to Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduate Committees, Morumbala Oct. 6th 1863.

(9) G. Ward, Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 50 Tozer to Woodcock, Morumbala Jan. 6th 1864.

(10) *ibid.* pp. 102-103.

the clergy, and of teaching the arts of peace to the natives<sup>(11)</sup>. The same attitude was still present in the 1890s; in the official history of the mission produced in 1897, under the discussion of the part played by laymen, the following passage occurs:

The storekeeping is a most important work. Without care, an upcountry Mission Station may be left without some necessary or comfort of life for long periods. When packing cases arrive from Europe, everything has to be looked through, and then repacked for transit up country into parcels not too large to be carried by a porter. All this takes time and care, well bestowed, but quite unsuitable for a priest, who should be teaching and serving the temple and not tables. (12)

The Anglo-Catholicism of the UMCA gave it a high view of the priesthood. The clergy of the Church of England had been exhorted by the Tractarians to 'magnify your office':

The office of the priest is great, almost too great for any man to bear, it is 'invested with a dignity of unequalled brightness', ~~through~~ the peculiarity of its direct link with Christ's apostles, it is raised incomparably above any 'other office or moral teacher or labourer in God's service'. This, however, is no badge of honour or rank to be proudly flaunted; it is rather a burden to be born with humility and awe. 'We magnify our office, not to exalt ourselves, but to abase; for it is ever seen that they who lay the least stress on the commission, lay the most on the person; and they that esteem highly(?) of the derived authority of Christ's ministers, exalt personal qualifications, intellectual or spiritual, into credentials of their ministerial office. (13)

This view inhibited the mission from allowing the laymen to pursue any directly evangelical work, regarding them merely as assistants. It is little to be wondered that the devout layman, on finding himself little more than servant once in the mission field, became dissatisfied and was brought into conflict with 'the missionary'. The unreality of the position of the layman (being officially classed as a missionary but treated as an unpaid servant) was obvious to all:

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(11) Anderson-Moreshead, 1899 pp. 462-463.

(12) *ibid.*, p. 463.

(13) D. Newsome, The Parting of Friends, pp. 203-204.

Admirable as I consider the voluntary system if all were gentlemen, it does not suit many of the class which we get out here such as Coggan and Kerslake, it makes them unwilling to obey, in private they maintain that as they are not paid, they are their own masters, and nobody has any right to make them do any work they object to. Of course with men of a higher type this difficulty never occurs, but I do find that these inferior men are more difficult to manage, great sticklers for what they call their 'rights', most unwilling to do anything beyond what they call their 'duty'. You are therefore on the dilemma of either letting things glide, or causing friction by insisting that 'duty' consists in doing and doing well everything which has to be done . . . These rough men, especially of the Coggan type, lower the respect for the mzungu and especially the general estimation in which we are held by the natives . . . Try to get, whether as laymen or priests, men of refinement and education. (14)

By some it was felt that if the layman was given a more missionary role the problem would be solved:

Kirk and Cook are on their way home. Our experience of laymen makes me think that it is most desirable that the mission should have a small training college of its own at home, where all laymen should stay for at least one year before being definitely accepted. That would give them a chance of useful training, the Mission an opportunity of testing them and would in the end involve great saving of money. Unless some such plan is adopted it seems almost best not to send laymen up here. They don't fit in and are a most expensive luxury; one (which in the case of schoolmasters at least) the native makes unnecessary - I fancy that we feel that a lay doctor would not be a help to the work unless he were a real missionary and like minded. (15)

Payment or evangelistic work might have helped to solve the problem but as the above extracts show, the conflict was class based, and what was wanted were 'like-minded' men, 'men of refinement and education', pleasant companions to help in Christ's work. Men brought up in the comfort of a middle class home and the companionship of college life were not unexpectedly discontent with spending months with only a carpenter or schoolmaster as company. 'I want intellectual and spiritual refreshment' was the cry that came from

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(14) USPG/UMCA AI (VI)/503-06 Farler to Penney, Magila Sept. 20th 1886.

(15) *ibid.* AI (VII)/204-5 Acland Hood to Travers, Newala June 7 1894.

Farler at Magila.<sup>(16)</sup>

That laymen could fit in, and that all clergy were not so 'class conscious' as Farler is evidenced by the figures relating to length of service in table II. Eleven laymen served in the mission for over ten years, that is, about 8.5% of all who went out and remained unordained during their time in Africa. Though this does show that some laymen could settle down, a comparison with the figures for clergy and women of whom 29% and 27% respectively served over ten years, and the fact that 53% of the laymen served less than the expected three years<sup>(17)</sup> indicates that most joined the mission without fully realising the implications. To many there must have been a hope of social advancement, and when this was not forthcoming they turned to other fields. There was Fred Chapman who left the mission to join 'French Charley' in running a billiard saloon in Zanzibar, John Morton who left to become a caravan leader and ivory trader, and many who went into government service.<sup>(18)</sup>

Undoubtedly, there were some who saw in 'Missionary work an easy mode of access to holy orders'<sup>(19)</sup>, and wishing to discourage such tendencies it was clearly stated in the conditions that:

Those who join as laymen must be willing to do lay work, and must not expect to be admitted to Holy Orders, unless they show special fitness for the office, of which their Bishop

(16) *ibid* AI (VI)/423 Farler to Randolph, Magila April 17th 1877. He complained of one of the laymen 'Gill has crooked eyes - building lines not straight has to pull them down again - he is most unartistic and cannot distinguish the ugly from the beautiful. He purposes to erect stone book shelves on either side of the Altar so as to face West and flank it with literature. He is most disappointed that I have some absurd objection to the scheme' *ibid* AI (VI) Farler to Steere Oct. 7th 1881.

(17) 'All persons joining the Mission without any special stipulation are understood to pledge themselves to remain in its service for three years at least.' Paper of Conditions ... Of the 71 who left within three years 18 had died in Africa.

(18) See Appendix I. Biographical Details of Missionaries.

(19) Heanley, Memoir of Steere, p. 380.

must be the judge; and Bishop Smythies wrote:- I wish it to be distinctly understood that no layman who could not be ordained at home must come out here expecting ordination. (20)

Twenty-two missionaries who went out as laymen were later ordained but the majority had been accepted on the above understanding, and some had chosen to be ordained in Zanzibar rather than England.<sup>(21)</sup> Others were hopeful of acceptance:

Will you tell Scrutton not to send anything for Whitty again - or execute any commission for him. He is heavily in debt here to all the tradesmen owing over Rx 1200 in Zanzibar, besides many debts in England and to Scrutton. And as far as we know he has no means of paying his debts. He also represents himself everywhere as the 'Revd.' Whitty which he is not, and not likely to be for some time to come. Things are coming out for him every mail, clerical suits, stoles, etc., etc. addressed to Revd. Whitty and from Scrutton as well. (22)

Whitty had been to Burgh Missionary College, but he was still a layman at his death in 1887 after five years in the mission.

Women, it would appear, had no illusions about their position in Africa, accepting that their role was, as it had been in England, helping the clergy in the tasks they could not undertake, tending the sick and training and supervising the girls and women.<sup>(23)</sup> Their main problems came in their relationships with other women missionaries<sup>(24)</sup> and in emotional affairs with

(20) Paper of Conditions .... Op. cit.

(21) Surprisingly, because there was quite a stigma attached to clergy ordained abroad, and they were usually recommended to serve a curacy in England before going out, so they would be qualified to return to work at home.

(22) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 447-50 Farler to Penney 1884.

(23) Though Hine did stipulate 'We want women with a mission vocation and a mission: not amateurs and fine ladies'. USPG/UMCA AI (X)/261-265. Hine to Travers Nov. 23 1897.

(24) 'Miss Fountaine .. engaged in a deadly quarrel with Miss Dawson our new arrival' ... 'Miss Pakeman wants to come out again, but she never could agree with anybody and these two have quarrelled and a third would really be beyond all becoming'. USPG/UMCA AI (I). Steere to Anne Steere 7 Mar. 1874; Steere to wife 7 May 1874.



clergy and laymen<sup>(25)</sup>. Again the conditions of service made provision for such occurrences:

Owing to the heavy cost of passage and the unsuitability of the climate, it is unadvisable to accept married men, except under the approval of the Bishops; and it is understood that any one who enters into a marriage engagement in Africa shall at least for a time cease to be a member of the Mission.

The ladies who offer must be over thirty years of age. (26)

The 'celibacy' advocated by the UMCA was again partly a result of its churchmanship, but it had not of course been part of the original plan. The 'Christian village' would have to be complete and the men were expected to be joined by their wives or marry once the settlement was firmly established. Indeed the young wife of Rev. H. Burrup was already on the Zambezi when she learnt of his death<sup>(27)</sup>. Bishop Steere also had left a wife at home with the intention that she should follow him.<sup>(28)</sup> Married couples did join the mission, but the deaths of Rev. G. E. Drayton, his wife and child at Zanzibar in 1867 and of Rev. G. H. Swinny, wife and child at Lake Nyasa 1887-8 provided the mission with ample cause to deter married men. Marriages did occur between missionaries, and in certain cases they were allowed to remain<sup>(29)</sup> but it was not to be encouraged:

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(25) 'I have to tell you a surprising piece of news. Pocket handkerchief ready:- Frederick W. Bradshaw of the mission has fallen deeply, hopelessly, desperately in love - with whom do you think? With Laura Winsor-Aubrey!! ... he means to go to England and work for her to make a 'ome for 'er - the feelings of K. Winsor-Aubrey Esq. of Bristol at sight of his new brother-in-law - or the public opinion of the 'county' families of Hampshire with whom Miss A. is on intimate terms? ... it beats anything the Mission has yet accomplished.' USPG/UMCA AI (X) 445-447 Hine to Travers 6 Mar. 1900 and many other examples, e.g. Davis and Miss Packe 1870 UMCA AI(I) Tozer to Steere 1870.

(26) '~~Paper of~~ Conditions *op. cit.*'

(27) O. Chadwick, Mackenzies Grave, pp. 106-7, 109-11, 116.

(28) Though it is apparent it was not just for the mission that he stayed 20 years separated in Africa.

(29) e.g. Rev. and Mrs. F. A. Wallis, Rev. and Mrs. F. J. Williams, Rev. and Mrs. F. R. Hodgson, Rev. and Mrs. J. Key.



We can only have a very limited number of married people, but long experience has convinced me that men are not in any way to be blamed for marrying, though we cannot undertake to provide for them if they do, and in many cases it would hinder our work by depriving us of their services. But we must put up with it. I am quite sure though it may be disappointing we ought not to speak of disliketo it. 'Every man has his proper gift of God. (30)

Most who married, left and were welcomed at other missions in Africa.

There were indeed many 'drawbacks', or so they were considered, to having women or married couples in the mission. Principally it was thought that the presence of women meant the need to lead a more luxurious and Westernised way of life, which suited the methods of some missions but not the UMCA. (31) The first women 'missionaries', Anne Mackenzie, Mrs. Burrup and Helen Tozer were all accompanied by their maids, and the following extract from a letter written by Miss Tozer to Mrs. Steere illustrates well the unrealistic way in which some of the early missionaries faced the life in Africa:

Now I must first tell you what I think our best plan will be for outfit, etc. - Kate is to go with me and the Bishop says you must have a maid too and then we can get rid of native woman servants in great measure . . . My dear the list I have from Thresher and Glennis is so expensive. I can't think of having anything from them - so I was thinking to buy my own calicoe and cut out the chemise and night gowns and get them made which would save half I feel sure. I counted up the smallest number of articles they said could be supplied for Zanzibar and it was £87 only for underclothes. Now I believe we could do it for £20 - anyhow let us buy together and prepare - I will get a nice lodging for you and me and we will set hard to work . . . Don't you think dear a couple of silk dresses and some of Llerner or Carmelite, and 2 perhaps of Muslin for evening wear when we go to tea with the Sultan - I mean to take so very little - I wish you would put down on paper the lowest number of linen we should want - I thought of taking the clothes I have on the voyage and packing my new things in 2 new tin boxes to be opened there. I fancy, 6 night gowns - 8 chemises - 4 white corded petticoats - 4 light coloured ones, 4 flannel thin, 8 under waistcoats, 12 stockings thin cotton or 6 white and 6 coloured, a large stock of pocket handkerchiefs 3 dozen at least. I shall wear caps . . . then we must have hats and bonnets I suppose, and sleeves and collars which can be got easily

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(30) USPG/UMCA Bound letters of Smythies. Smythies to Penney Dec. 29th 1886.

(31) See section on Mission and Education below for UMCA's views on Westernization.

and cheaply in London and some little nick-nacks etc. which we will make a list of when we meet. (32)

Mrs. Steere however never reached Zanzibar, having changed her mind about going on the quayside in England, and one feels that although Steere begged her to come for a few years this enforced release from a disappointing marriage was a great blessing to him and to his work in Africa.<sup>(33)</sup> The mission's experience of the presence of wives was far from happy, especially in the case of Owen Philips:

He (Owen Philips) is of no real use at all in the Mission, he will never learn Swahili - he cannot preach one little bit, and he made a regular mess of Kiungani having no power of ruling at all - Then his wife though a very nice woman, is not one little bit of a missionary, and to the disgust of everyone of us, used to go with her husband every day to lawn tennis - The Bishop will not have married clergy out here. (34)

One is made aware again and again that the UMCA was a mission designed for the ascetic. The university trained celibate Anglo-Catholic priest who could bear great hardship and deprivation was the ideal of the influential members of the mission. The priest 'so devoted to the field',<sup>(35)</sup> the doctor whose 'sole thought was gadding about to any outstation with his cigars, etc.'<sup>(36)</sup>, the 'un-read and far from brilliant' layman<sup>(37)</sup>, the 'hysterical female',<sup>(38)</sup> and the missionary 'with a vocation for boys',<sup>(39)</sup> were not wanted in the mission. The great figures of the mission at this

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- (32) USPG/UMCA/Helen Tozer to Mary Steere, Riseholme Nov. 21st 1864.
- (33) Mrs. Steere was a lady of 'nervous disposition' who survived her husband by less than a year, dying in the Lawn Mental Hospital in Lincoln. There is virtually no reference to Mrs. Steere in Heanley's Memoir or in other published works on the UMCA.
- (34) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) Farler to Penney Aug. 29th 1884. In addition Philips 'had taken to drinking large quantities of Brandy, which he ordered at the Expense of the Mission, even before breakfast he used to take brandy to help him get through Mattins, and use scent to try and disguise the smell' Mission received bill for £20 for Brandy and Champagne.
- (35) Alington USPG/UMCA AI (I) Tozer to Steere 7 Jan. 1870.
- (36) Ley, *ibid.* AI (VI) 550-556.
- (37) Winkley, *ibid.* AI (VI) 451-55.
- (38) Miss G. ? AI (X) 212-3 Hine to Travers June 1897.
- (39) O. Handcock, *ibid.* AI (I) Tozer to Steere Aug., 1870.

period are the ones that came nearest to the ideal; Steere, Woodward, the 'impossible' Johnson, Maples and William Porter. Of the last Hine wrote:

His methods and his ways of living were all his own. Nothing pleased him more than to go off for a week or two on the tramp among the villages; scantily equipped for the journey indeed - with a scorn for all material comforts, with the smallest possible supply of necessaries: a tin of sausages perhaps in one pocket (some of which often came back with him wrapped up in newspaper) and the last number of the Spectator in the other; so he travelled about, doing the work of an itinerating missionary, preaching and teaching 'ministering spiritual consolation' to the large and scattered flock in that district over which he had the care. (40)

This asceticism meant that the living conditions of many of the missionaries differed little from their native flock; only in the large stations such as Magila, Masasi, Likoma and of course Zanzibar were the houses substantially built, and it was only in this century that stone houses began to be the rule for the head stations. In 1885 Magila, the longest established mainland settlement, was described thus:

at present it consists of a two storey stone and mud house, a stone and mud church, refectory, kitchen, dispensary, and dormitory, and over these, rooms for ourselves with a verandah along the front; all made of stone and mud (red) with grass thatch, then there are mud and wattle huts for Christian natives. Umba, an outstation ten miles from Magila ... is a pretty little station of red mud and wattle with grass roof and enclosed in a stockade. There is also a mud church. (41)

And eleven years later a visitor commented:

People who imagine that a Missionary leads an easy life, with luxurious food, and little to do, should pay a visit to Magila or its daughter stations, and they would return with a far different idea. In fact, it is open to question whether in their wish to economise the Mission funds, the Likoma people are not too strict in the simplicity of their dwellings, and the Magil community too austere and self-denying in their food. (42)

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(40) 'Recollections of Canon Porter' Central Africa 1910 pp. 4-8.

(41) Early Called, 1887, pp. 38-45.

(42) R. Webb, A Visit to Africa, 1896 p. 59. In 1877 Farler wrote to Heanley from Magila 'The Bishop urges strict economy - It is impossible to live more barely than we do - when we get meat it's goat, goat always - of so tough.' USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 401-2.



Plate 2. Mission compound, Mkuzi, Usambara, opened in 1881. A typical  
UMCA mission station.  
from Maqila in Picture, UMCA, 1901

So different from the Church of Scotland Station at Blantyre, with its European houses, schools, church and vast plantations of coffee, tea, sugar and tobacco, 'a pleasing English Arcadia set in the middle of harsh African savagery. It is a place of roses and geraniums, pink-cheeked English children, large-uddered cattle and laying hens, riding-horses and lawn tennis ...'(43) and the Free Church Station at Livingstonia. You would not find a Scottish missionary spending Christmas alone in a crude mud hut struck down with fever with only rats for company.(44)

The simple life was not brought about entirely by necessity, luxuries sent out from England were rejected, and strong efforts were made by Bishop Smythies in particular to discourage the importation of anything which he considered unnecessary.(45) The life style of the UMCA missionary changed little between the 1870s and the mid-twentieth century as Miss Nugee recalled:

A large number of our Missionaries before World War I were very badly off indeed, and the conditions under which they lived (even in 1935 when I visited most of our stations and in Africa nearly 6 months) were so primitive and poor, that I do not think many people realised what it meant - a native hut - mud floor with perhaps a grass mat - a native bed - i.e. coconut fibre strung across wooden supports - a grass mat for mattress - a knitted patchwork quilt - sometimes sheets - but not always. A wooden chair - a table sometimes a few drawers,

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(43) R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 62 .quoting H. H. Johnston 1890. Farler was envious of the conditions at Blantyre: 'The Bishop speaks of Blantyre as being in capital order, all the Europeans with good houses, horses and donkeys for getting about. Herds of oxen, turkey, geese, good gardens and produce flourishing coffee plantations. Now Penney why are we not practical like this, why do not you at home urge this common sense way of living upon us - There they have a great strong central station, well supplied with men, a doctor and all that a civilized settlement needs. How different from our plan. I wish we could do as they do, we should have much better health and do more work. USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 469 Farler to Penney Sept. 1885.

(44) Early Called, p. 55.

(45) USPG/UMCA Smythies Letters Smythies to Penney June 19th 1885. On one occasion Smythies sent back earth closets, which had arrived, on the grounds that they were luxuries. USPG/UMCA AI (VI) Farler to Penney June 30th 1885.



but most things were better kept in a tin trunk because of white ants - If anyone did have money they were strongly discouraged from buying anything more comfortable - Why? Because as far as it was possible the aim was to try to live like the Africans - but even so we were thought to be immensely rich - we had more than one set of clothes, we had a few books - we had a lamp - albeit a farm hurricane lantern with one wick! and we wore shoes - and we had three meals a day. (46)

One woman missionary had all her dresses made of the same material to the same pattern in the vain belief that the Africans would not notice that she had more than one dress. (47)

Many missionaries found themselves soon after their arrival in Africa, alone on the mainland isolated from any other Europeans; some could cope with this but not all and many resignations must have been hastened by loneliness. Even where there were other Europeans some clergy felt the need of a more refreshing society than a humble layman could provide. (48) By the 1890s the UMCA had made it a rule that not less than two Europeans should be placed at any one station. (49) Isolation and simplicity may have been the best methods of pursuing mission work, but they no doubt contributed to the large numbers of deaths and serious illnesses that afflicted the mission in this period; 99 (27%) of the 370 missionaries who went out died in Africa, 45 (12%) dying within the first three years. (50) Few had the constitution of

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(46) Miss E. Nugee to D. Neave Oct. 15th 1969, and interview with Miss Nugee Dec. 11 1969.

(47) *ibid.*

(48) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 411-412 Farler to Maples Magila April 27th 1877. Not all could adapt as well to loneliness as W. P. Johnson who when he had to spend 18 days on an Arab dhow started an entomological collection and secured some 27 specimens of water insects and vermin. W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences, p. 31.

(49) R. Webb, A Visit to Africa, p. 15.

(50) See Table VI



Johnson or Steere, of whom it was said 'he looked the type of man who could live of the smell of a sardine tin for a week', many who were sent out had undergone insufficient medical examination and were unable to live in the tropics in such a spartan way. Others taking their cue from their elders were led into foolhardy acts; Charles Riddell's death of fever after two years' service was attributed to 'obvious imprudence, never home till after dark, frequently in wet clothes, which were unchanged' and George Du Boulay who died at Umba was said to be 'utterly regardless of simplest precautions'.<sup>(51)</sup> The mission medical staff tried to get the missionaries to improve their living conditions but it was an uphill struggle.<sup>(52)</sup> Improvements did take place with the increased medical staff towards the end of the century and also with regard to medical examinations of new candidates and of missionaries on furlough or invalided home. In 1894 a Medical Board was established under Drs. Browne, Ogle and Robb. In the ten years 1894-1904 257 candidates were examined and 59 were rejected on grounds of health, this seemingly had repercussions on the death toll and invaliding home for of the latter in the period 1894-99 were refused permission to return to Africa while in the following five years only three were similarly treated.<sup>(53)</sup>

The life of the UMCA missionary in Africa owed much to the idealism of the mission's leaders coupled with a class consciousness which led to the 'conditions of service' being for many too difficult to accept. Of those who left the UMCA some returned to England but at least 67 continued

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(51) UMCA Deaths Register.

(52) Dr. Howard worked hard to improve the standards, pressing for stone or brick houses and advocating the drinking of alcohol. USPG/UMCA 65-23 Notes and Criticisms on some stations in the Zanzibar Diocese 1905.

(53) O. A. Browne, 'Review of the work of the Medical Board 1894-1904' Central Africa 1905, pp. 10-16.

to work abroad, the majority joining some other missionary body in Africa or Asia; five went to the diocese of Zululand, and 21 to other dioceses in Southern Africa. The UMCA did not offer an easy life: 'the man or woman who offers for God's service in this land does not expect a feather-bed life - he has come out to rough it' (54). It meant that the UMCA missionary achieved a greater degree of identification with the African than any of his Protestant counterparts, a contrast which was still evident when Roland Oliver visited East Africa in the 1940s and compared the primitive life-style of the UMCA priest with that found on other Protestant stations where the missionaries

lived in comfortable bungalows set in spacious gardens and furnished, though modestly, in unmistakably European fashion. They travelled in motor-cars, albeit old ones. Their wives and families necessitated large domestic staffs and regular visits to Europe. They presented an example of Christian family life, but in an economic setting which was far beyond anything to which an African minister could aspire and in a family and racial privacy which only their domestic servants could penetrate. (55)

It is interesting to note that this life-style is no doubt what the founders of the UMCA envisaged with their dream of a Christian village in Africa.

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(54) A. G. De la Pryme, Central Africa, 1900 p. 7

(55) R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 242.



Plate 3. Kologwe, Zigueland, school boys with Rev.P.R.H.Chambers in front of building used originally as the church.

from East Africa in Picture, UMCA, 1900

5. ANGLO-CATHOLICISM AND THE UMCA

The connection between the High Church wing of the Church of England and the UMCA has been stressed a number of times in this study, and its importance to the thought and work of the mission clearly demands a fuller exposition. The UMCA was founded by a synthesis of Evangelicalism and High Churchmanship, the bringing together of the humanitarian view of the duty of man towards his fellows from the former, and the high regard for the episcopal office and the sacraments from the latter. Its chief promoter and first chairman of its General Committee, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, has been described as the living synthesis of the two religious groups, for in him came together the humanitarian ideals of his father the emancipator and a sympathy with the Tractarians in their defence of the Church.<sup>(1)</sup> The diverse origins of the mission made it possible for people holding a wide spectrum of religious views to support it in its early days, though to some both the mission and Wilberforce were 'Puseyite'; the supporters would not have classed themselves firmly with the High Church party.<sup>(2)</sup> By the end of the century however the mission was clearly identifying itself with the Anglo-Catholic party and was openly using an advanced form of ceremonial in its services.<sup>(3)</sup> The progression from what

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(1) O. Newsome, The Parting of Friends, pp. 318-19.

(2) The mission was seen as High Church by the Evangelicals of C.M.S. E. Stock, The History of C.M.S. pp. 17-21. And at the moment of the founding of the UMCA, Wilberforce was being seen as the leader of the 'Romeward movement of the Church', by many low church men owing to the affair over the 'ritual' at Cuddesdon college 1858-9, and the 'Boyne Hill controversy' concerning confession, 1858. see R. G. Wilberforce, Life of Bishop Wilberforce, 1881, vol. II and G. Chadwick, The Founding of Cuddesdon, 1954.

(3) e.g. the appendix in W. K. Firminger, Missionary Sermons, UMCA, 1898 writes of the mission being 'a distinct offshoot of the Catholic Church! ..employing a 'Catholic ritual'.

has been called 'the robust protestantism' of Samuel Wilberforce<sup>(4)</sup> to ritualism was principally brought about by the involvement of the missionaries in a phenomenon that has become known as 'Catholic Evangelicalism', (a term coined to cover the involvement of High Church men in the improvement of the social conditions of the working classes.<sup>(5)</sup>

In 1844 a leading Tractarian, W. G. Ward, published a book called The Ideal of a Christian Church, a work that led to the crisis of 1845 and to Newman joining the Church of Rome, in which, among other more dogmatic and ecclesiastical indictments, Ward condemns the Church of England for its neglect of the deplorable social conditions of the poor.<sup>(6)</sup> Ward put into print views that had already been exercising the minds of many young men attracted by the Oxford Movement, and a comparison of the pastoral work of the Anglican Church with that of the Roman Catholics through the devotion of its parish priests and religious orders to the poor, led some to join Rome but many others instead took a more active role in social work. The 1850s saw a sudden rise in the number of churches in London, many specifically aimed at providing for the working classes, and in these churches, such as St. Barnabas, Pimlico, St. Peter's, London Docks, St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, St. Alban's, Holborn, St. Bartholomew's, Moor Fields, and St. Andrew's, Wells Street, were to be found ardent High Church priests at work among the poor.<sup>(7)</sup> 'Catholic Evangelicalism' spread

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(4) D. Newsome, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

(5) D. Voll, Catholic Evangelicalism, (1963).

(6) G. Kitson Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885, 1973 pp. 84-85.

(7) O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. II, 1970, pp. 308-325.

outside the Metropolitan area throughout all the large provincial towns, and men such as Mackonochie, Lowder, Dolling, Stanton, Suckling, Russell and Wainright were universally acclaimed for their work. The close similarity of the work in a working-class parish and among the heathen in the mission field was evident and it was for this reason that many catholic Evangelicals felt a call to missionary work, and not a few of the UMCA missionaries came from this background.

Tozer and Steere had met in London in the early 1850s through their interest and involvement in the social work of the Church; Tozer as curate to Rev. Edward Stuart at the newly consecrated church of St. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square<sup>(8)</sup> and Steere as a layman worshipping at St. Matthews', City Road<sup>(9)</sup>. Both churches were conducted on Tractarian lines, and both were involved in work for the poor.<sup>(10)</sup> In 1853 Steere and some other young laymen at St. Matthews formed themselves into the 'Brotherhood of St. Mary' with the intention of doing missionary work where needed in the slum areas:

What can we do? What we must do is to assist the distressed; teach the ignorant; help the weak; reclaim the lost; this is what He requires at our hands, and what He requires He will enable us to perform. Several (laymen) are now desirous of living in a collegiate manner, intending to spend their lives and labours in works of love and charity, desiring only such a maintenance as may enable them to work most effectually ... They propose to settle themselves in a destitute district, where the parochial clergy shall need and desire their assistance. (11)

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(8) consecrated 1852.

(9) consecrated 1848.

(10) At St. Mary Magdalene's principally through the Sisterhood of the Holy Trinity which worshipped at the church at that time.

\* (11) USPG/UMCA AI (II) Steere's Letters. Steere to S. F. Palmer < 1854.



The following year the Brotherhood was merged into the Guild of St. Alban, a body which had been founded with similar aims at involving the laymen in church work.<sup>(12)</sup> Steere soon came to dominate the Guild, becoming the Provost and editor of its journal 'Church Work', and founder of the Guild's unsuccessful lay religious community at St. James' Tamworth.<sup>(13)</sup> However before leaving London, Steere had been active in the parish of St. Bartholomew's Moor Lane under the Rev. Wm. Denton, a man much concerned with the plight of the urban poor.<sup>(14)</sup> On receipt of a small legacy he had given up the Bar and 'selling all his books to feed the poor' like St. Dominic, had gone to live in the parish, where he conducted the evening school and carried out other evangelistic work.<sup>(15)</sup> It is probably that it was the feeling of a need to engage more actively in such work that led Tozer and Steere to leave their rural Lincolnshire parishes for the Zambezi in 1862.

The lives of most of the clerical and women members of the UMCA exhibit a similar participation in Catholic Evangelicalism, and many of the laymen recruited for the mission may be seen as results of this work. Smythies gained a great following during his twelve years' ministry in the vast parish of Roath, near Cardiff. First as curate, then as vicar he 'carried the message out into the crowded streets and lanes of the city; he was continually in the parish, visiting from house to house, and thus bringing influence to

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(12) Founded by a Birmingham doctor in 1851, it had as one of its objects 'To encourage the practice of Piety, Virtue and Charity - teach the ignorant, assist the weak, succour the distressed, console the afflicted, relieve the poor, visit the sick and help to bury the dead'. Rules of Guild of St. Alban. Hull Central Lib.

(13) see USPG/UMCA DB. P. Anson, Call of the Cloister, 1955, pp. 50-51.

(14) In 1861 he wrote a pamphlet entitled 'The Displacement of the Poor by the Metropolitan Railways'. Brit. Museum Library Cat.; G. Wakeling, The Oxford Church Movement, 1895, pp. 122-130 on Denton and St. Bartholomews.

(15) USPG/UMCA AI (I) Steere's Letters and Mss. Life of Steere.

bear upon a great number of persons. In particular he devoted himself to the boys; he loved to have them about him, threw himself enthusiastically into all their interests, their work and their play.<sup>(16)</sup> His influence caused nine of 'his boys' to follow him out to Africa. Hornby's seven years at St. Columba's Southwick, County Durham were spent in a like manner. Cecil Sherrard Pollard as curate in charge of St. Mark's Mission Church, spent some time in studying the social problems about him:

The object of my nocturnal expedition through the east part of London, was to see for myself the true state of the outside life in the streets, so that one can speak from experience, and not from mere hearsay. These are days of great social remedies, and before a cure can be wrought it is very necessary to discover the real character and extent of the disease. (17)

'To the sick and poor Mr. Pollard was priest, doctor, and friend'; he took up the temperance cause, started a drum and fife band, carried out regular house to house visitations of his whole district, worked hard with the choir and boys club, commenced 'tea parties' for old people, and on more than one occasion stopped a fight in the streets.<sup>(18)</sup> And during his three years in the parish he held a most successful parochial mission, the great instrument of the Catholic Evangelical.<sup>(19)</sup>

(16) G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies, 1898 pp. 12-20.

(17) J. M., Early Called: A Short Memoir with Letters (of C. S. Pollard), privately printed 1887, p. 11.

(18) *ibid.*, pp. 10-20. 'Muscular' Christianity was something very much present in Catholic Evangelicalism and amongst UMCA missionaries, cf. A. F. Sim below. Tozer was remembered for similarly stopping fights. Many missionaries had shown athletic prowess, e.g. W. P. Johnson was stroke of his Oxford college boat; Randolph was a rowing 'blue' at Cambridge; H. J. Hancock won 'a high place as a cox on the river' at Durham and H. C. Goodyear was 'one of the best and most popular forwards in the Birmingham and District Football Association' (from a Note in The Athlete 1887 relating to Goodyear).

(19) D. Voll, Catholic Evangelicalism.

We have been very busy all the week, from early morning till late at night; on the first Saturday of the Mission we were out at 4.30 a.m. in the Broadway distributing leaflets about the Mission to the early workmen, and those going by the workmen's trains; in all we estimate that we saw 1,200 men.

Last Saturday we were out at 6 a.m. for the later trains and clerks and business men. Every night I have been out with my Mission Band of between thirty and forty men, preceded by Cross bearer and lantern, inviting to the Mission, and on Sunday night we were joined by about one hundred and fifty men of the Church of England Working-men's Society with their cross and banners. It was a most picturesque sight; the men walked two and two, and on either side of them were boys carrying lanterns on poles; before starting, the procession stood in the aisle of the Church to receive the Vicar's commission. We then went through the streets, and addressed quite a thousand people in King Street, and came back to the Church where the people were packed like herrings, both at St. Paul's and St. Mark's, and numbers were unable to gain admission ..... (20)

The same enthusiasm is exhibited in the life of Arthur Fraser Sim, who served as curate at St. John's, Sunderland 1885-90, and St. Aidan's West Hartlepool 1890-94, His published letters<sup>(21)</sup> show him involved with night schools, Band of Hope, Bible Classes, weekly concerts, Communicants' Guild, Temperance work and the Church Army. His vicar at Sunderland recalled:

His influence over the very rough class of young men and lads that abound in the East end of Sunderland was extraordinary, and his powers of organization and continued maintenance of night school classes and of periodical concerts and gatherings for the lads were very great indeed .... One great element that contributed largely to his unbounded influence was his splendid health and great physical strength and skill in many branches of outside activity. (22)

Thus many UMCA missionaries had seen a need for the church to tackle the social problems around her, but few were like Frank Weston in believing that they were to be solved by the Church acting politically.

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(20) J. M., Early Called pp. 11-12.

(21) The Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim, UMCA, 1896.

(22) *ibid.*, p. 16 At Sunderland he dived into the River Wear and saved a drowning child, for which he received the Bronze Medal of the Royal Humane Society. *ibid.*

Weston, while at Oxford, came under the spell of Charles Gore of Pusey House and about 1891 he joined the Christian Social Union (23). But it was too cautious in its approach for Weston so he joined the more militantly socialist Guild of St. Matthew and actively engaged in political work, work which was extended when he went to London, first as a member of the Trinity College, Oxford Mission in Stratford-atte-bow, then as curate at St. Matthew's Westminster, where he became acquainted with the Socialist leaders who made a deep impression on him.<sup>(24)</sup> This Catholic Socialist background provided Weston in Africa with a more definite theory of mission than had hitherto come from the Catholic Evangelicalism.

It was not only the practical work of the Catholic Evangelicals and Socialists that attracted attention but also their forms of religious worship and in particular the increasing use of ceremonial. The Oxford Movement, with its stress on the historic church, and the Catholicity of the Church of England, led to a closer examination of the practices of the church. The Prayer Book, by the ornaments rubric, ordered that at the time of holy communion there were to be lighted candles on the altar and tradition vestments worn by the celebrant; it also allowed for voluntary confession.<sup>(25)</sup> But these practices had all but lapsed and the attempts to bring back their use were seen by many to be the work of 'Romanists', though to the Anglo-Catholic their use was part of the revival of Church life which had through neglect been allowed to lapse, a revival which involved an improvement in the tone and

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(23) The objects of which were: 1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice. 2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time. 3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love. G. Crosse, Charles Gore, Mowbrays, 1932, pp. 47-48.

(24) H. M. Smith, Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar, SPCK, 1926, pp. 9-23.

(25) G. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Vol. I. pp. 495-497; Vol. II. p. 315.

reverence of the services and a higher regard for the sacraments.<sup>(26)</sup> It was principally at those working-class London churches cited above that the first steps were taken in the reintroduction of vestments and ceremonial, owing primarily to the churchmanship of the priests but also the 'widespread belief that this was the way to draw in working people, a belief based on the experience of these churches. 'Some evidence showed, first, that the labourer was repelled from the old bald liturgy because it was dull and uncongregational; and secondly, that he came in noticeably larger numbers where he found ornament and colour and movement'. High churchmen and independent observers both agreed that a more elaborate service fulfilled the needs of the urban poor.<sup>(27)</sup>

In the same way that U.F.C.A. missionaries were involved in the growth of Catholic Evangelicalism, so they took part in the moves for increased ceremonial. At St. Mary Magdalen, Munster Square, during Tozer's first year as curate, incense was restored to use;<sup>(28)</sup> at North Kelsey he served under a vicar who was a pioneer in introducing ritual into the diocese of Lincoln<sup>(29)</sup> and at Burgh-le-Marsh he introduced practices which were to arouse the wrath of the Evangelical pamphleteers<sup>(30)</sup>. He also had a lifelong connection with the church of St. Andrew's Wells Street, where a

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(26) *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 321; R.C.D. Jasper 'The Prayer Book in the Victorian Era' in A. Symondson (ed.) The Victorian Crisis of Faith, pp. 107-121.

(27) O. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, Vol. II pp. 310-313.

(28) T. Dilworth Harrison, Every Man's Story of the Oxford Movement, p. 85.

(29) *ex. inf.* Canon P. B. G. Binnall, <sup>Lincoln</sup>.

(30) 'Here is another parish where the Ritualistic priests have it all their own way ... The choir is surpliced. Surplice in pulpit, from which thorough Romish doctrine is unblushingly taught .... furnished with all the paraphernalia of Ritualistic worship.' Cutting in 'Burgh le Marsh notebook' C. E. Smith collection in possession of Rev. B. G. Binnall.



processional cross had been first carried in 1846, and by 1867 it had become famous for elaborate ritual, having offertory, flowers, a mixed chalice, coloured altar frontals, and a cross and candlesticks on the altar.<sup>(31)</sup> No wonder that with such experience Tozer rapidly introduced an advanced form of ceremonial into the mission services in Africa<sup>(32)</sup>, which set the pattern for later developments. The defence of its use was to be the same as in England; that it was wanted by the worshippers and that it was of immense use in spreading the faith. In 1869 Tozer, writing of the ritual of the church in Africa, claimed that one should not declare any 'ceremonial excessive which serves to instruct the ignorant and to lead them that are out of the way to the Saviour's Cross'<sup>(33)</sup>. Thirty years later the moderate Bishop Hine in speaking to his staff at Likoma said:

I have sometimes thought that we make too much of preaching and teaching, as though that were an essential of worship, and no service complete without a sermon. Yet we must remember that though preaching has a large place and instruction is constantly needed, still these people can be taught largely through the eye and the great facts of Religion and some of the great truths of Revelation can be brought home to them perhaps better by ocular than by aural demonstration. (34)

And this was the experience of many of the missionaries. Farler reported to Steere in 1877:

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(31) T. Dilworth Harrison, *op. cit.* p. 81; O. Chadwick, *op. cit.* Vol. II.p.316.

(32) On Mount Morumbala in 1863 the little church was thus described: 'inside the effect is unusually good. All round the apse we have hung some of our barter blue cloth; and pinned seven of the pictures on it. A wooden corona lights it well up. Wither's altar cloth, Mr. Harris' beautiful brass altar desk and book, Miss C's linen, my own set of psalters and hymn books, and the dossal from Brighton, all combine to adorn the little place. Tozers Letters p. 39.

(33) *ibid.*, pp. 197-198.

(34) J. E. Hine, Introductory words spoken at a Conference of Clergy and Laity Likoma 1899. Though he was not long after to write: 'Bp. Smythies used to say that he thought ritual was really helpful to the African. I cannot myself say that I think so'. 'The Native African Church and the Ritual Question' Central Africa, 1904 pp. 11-14.



The people were much impressed with the festal character of the services at Easter ... In Procession ... the Neophytes followed immediately after the Cross Bearer, then the Choir, Banner and Clergy, after the priest came many of the Catechumens and Hearers, in all numbering over fifty. It was a great procession. I was vested in Cope and Sahera and Mabruki in tunics .... (35)

Ceremonial was introduced into the mission's services with little of the protest and persecution which faced similar moves in England. The mission was little affected by the passions aroused over ritual in the periods 1867-74, 1877-82, and 1898-1903<sup>(36)</sup>, though in the last period it was the subject of bitter attacks from the Church Association. Bishop Selwyn had appealed at Cambridge to the young Tractarian who was dissatisfied with the Church in England not to go into a monastery, but rather go to the mission field where he would find the true church unencumbered by Erastian compromises.<sup>(37)</sup> Many heard and the mission field became the hope of many Tractarians and their successors, as a place where they could create the kind of Church in which they really believed. It was in the colonies and missions that ritual could develop unhampered by the courts and the Public Worship Act. Farler wrote to Woodward from Magila in September 1877: 'I do not think the Church at home now can be in the most pleasant condition. We are certainly allowed here to work in peace without Persecution'<sup>(38)</sup>. And earlier he had written to a correspondent in England:

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(35) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) Farler to Steere, Low Sunday, Magila 1877.

(36) O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. II, p. 324.

(37) E. Stock, History of the C.M.S., Vol. II, p. 86; P. Hinchliff 'Laymen in Synod: An Aspect of the Beginnings of Synodical Government in South Africa' in Councils and Assemblies ed. by G. J. Cuming and L. G. D. Baker for S. African example.

(38) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 403-404 Farler to Woodward Magila Sept. 1877. In 1873 A. N. West had written 'we have not a ritual commission to limit the number of our Altar lights, etc.' *ibid* Letter of A. N. West.

Our ritual it is thoroughly Catholic, we have no aggrieved parishioners, no state made law, or divorce court judge to say the law of the church must conform to the wish of the state - We can therefore worship God as the Church commands and our conscience requires. On Good Friday and Holy Saturday we have the forty hours Adoration of the B.S. and most spiritually refreshing it is. (39)

However the innovations did not completely fail to arouse protests from some quarters. The criticism which gained the widest audience came in H. M. Stanley's How I found Livingstone:

Bishop Tozer, his disciples and choristers, and his flock have found excellent quarters .... The bishop in his crimson robe, and with his sacerdotal title, Missionary Bishop of Central Africa (why he should be so named I cannot conceive), has reached the bourne of aspiring priesthood, and is consequently ineffably happy. But the High Church (very High Church indeed) prelate in his crimson robe of office, and in the queerest of all head-dresses, seen stalking through the streets of Zanzibar, or haggling over the price of a tin pot at a tinker's stall, is the most ridiculous sight I have ever seen outside of a clown show. I as a white man solemnly protest against the absurdity ... Poor dear Bishop Tozer I would fain love and admire thee, were it not for this exhibition of extreme High Churchism in a place like Zanzibar. (40)

However the brash journalism of the 'Yankee' did not cause much stir. Steere, though having a similar background to Tozer, took a more moderate

- (39) *ibid.* SI (VI) 415-420 Farler to Allchin Magila Feb. 23rd 1877.
- (40) H. M. Stanley, How I Found Livingstone, 1872 p. 19-20. The 'queerest of all head-dresses' was presumably Tozer's mitre, which he had at least since 1868; Alington did believe he would wear it outside. USPG/UMCA AI (I) Alington to Miss Jones June 1873. Mitres were first worn in England after the Reformation by Bishop King of Lincoln in 1886 and by Bishop Mandell Creighton of London in 1897; both acts led to strong protests, the latter occasion sparked off the serious anti-ritual campaign of the years 1898-99. O. Chadwick; Edward King Bp. of Lincoln 1968 p. 16; The Victorian Church Part II pp. 353-355. Other travellers were similarly critical of the Anglo-Catholicism of the UMCA, particularly the explorer Thomson in his books Central African Lakes p.48 and Through Masai Land p.6. For comment on Thomson see W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences p.46. The L.M.S. missionary Dodgshun was amused by the mission's ritualistic propensities when he encountered them in Zanzibar in 1877, Zanzibar to Ujiji pp. 48-49. Sir John Willoughby in East Africa and its Big Game, 1889 declared that the chief occupation of the missionaries in Zanzibar was 'the observance of ritualistic exercises'. H. A. C. Cairns, *op. cit.* p. 213.

stand on ritual.<sup>(41)</sup> In a pastoral letter to the clergy of the UMCA in 1880 he felt it necessary to lay down certain rules on public worship, offices and ritual, and though not enforcing his views on the clergy he wrote:

I have no doubt in my own mind that the decisions which forbid the use of the vestments and ornaments mentioned in Edward VI's first book are mistaken in law, and will in due time be disowned by the Courts which pronounced them. I cannot therefore pretend to object to the use of chasubles or copes, or to the two lights on the altar. Nor do I object to a cross, though I do see many objections to a crucifix. In English usage after the Reformation the cope was practically adopted as the exclusively Eucharistic vestment, and the candles were not lighted. I would gladly have seen these customs authorized, and I intend to follow them in my own practice. One vestment is in itself as good as another, and a candle lighted in the daytime is to my mind an appropriate symbol of superstition, but certainly not of light. The mixing of water with the wine is so plainly a primitive custom, and is so far from being forbidden anywhere in the Prayer Book, that I should like to see it universally adopted. (42)

A moderate approach, though it must be remembered that the use of altar candlesticks and candles had been declared illegal by the Court of Arches in 1869 and 1875, Mass vestments in 1870 and 1875, an altar cross in 1854-7, and the use of a mixed chalice in 1870<sup>(43)</sup>. Steere was not against the introduction of some ritual but he expected 'a man honestly and fairly to

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(41) At Kingskerswell, Devon in January 1858 Steere and his vicar were the subject of a protest by a Churchwarden: 'Our Protestant Churchwarden has succeeded in raising a glorious row, and getting us censured by the Bishop about our decorations, because we hung up among the greens a little cut out of white velvet and sewed in red silk ... which he affirms to be the Pope's private banner. If it is, it only shows that he knows more of his Holiness than we did'. USPG/UMCA A1 Steere to Ann Steere 11th Jan. 1858. Two months later he wrote of his new non-resident Rector of Skegness: 'He is dreadfully afraid of being Tractarianised, but I don't intend to jump over the reading desk or stand on my head in the pulpit or even have two little boys to hold up the ends of my stole or sprinkle the people with a dolls broom or anything very particularly novel'. *ibid.* Mch. 1858.

(42) R. M. Heanley, Memoir of Bishop Steere, p. 378.

(43) O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Pt.2.

take the English Prayer-book as his guide, and not to treat it as an imperfect document, which has to be supplemented out of Roman or Medieval uses<sup>(44)</sup>. His attitude led to a charge of inconsistency in ritual matters being made against him by Chauncy Maples:

for though insisting that the Holy Eucharist, as the greatest act of Christian worship, requires, in order to its celebration with becoming dignity, such accessories as a more or less elaborate ritual supplies, he himself not only preferred to celebrate in the very plainest manner, but was also somewhat impatient if others showed signs of introducing any advance upon his own usage. (45)

Steele's views were those of a High Churchman of the 1850's and his long service in Africa meant that he was out of touch with the changes going on in England so that when in 1884 Smythies was appointed his successor many changes were inevitable. Smythies had introduced a high degree of ritual into his parish church at Roath and his introduction of certain practices and ceremonial into the mission led to dissatisfaction from some quarters. Rev. J. Key even contemplated removing to the C.M.S. mission in East Africa,<sup>(46)</sup> and supporters at home became worried over rumours that the Christian natives were having compulsory confession enforced upon them.<sup>(47)</sup> Confession for the Africans had been practiced since the mission became established at Zanzibar, and though not enforced had been encouraged.<sup>(48)</sup> However it would seem that moral pressure for the African to make his confession was increased on

(44) R. M. Heanley, op. cit., p. 432.

(45) *ibid.* p. 181.

(46) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) Key to Penney Mkuzi Dec. 9th 1888.

(47) USPG/UMCA Bound volume 'Letters of Bishop Smythies 1877-85' letter from Rev. W. H. Seward, Yaxley Vicarage, Eye, Suffolk 19 July 1884.

\* (48) Letters of Bishop Tozer; R; M. Heanley, op. cit., pp. 182-184.

Smythies' arrival, and although the prayer book made provision for private confession it was a subject that strongly aroused the passions of the Protestants: 'it suffered from all the suspicion which attached to popery and priestcraft and whatever was unEnglish',<sup>(49)</sup> and action was taken by the mission's home workers not to publicise its use in Africa.<sup>(50)</sup> Smythies took a great interest in the organisation and ceremonial of the services and was at great pains to ensure that all was correct: 'Every one had his appointed place and full directions given him in writing as to his duties. One to attend to the mitre, another to the staff, and so forth. All the vestments had to be carefully set out, and the bishop went over the whole service with us beforehand, so that no mistake should occur'.<sup>(51)</sup> It was due to the friendship of Bishop Smythies with the founder of the Sisters of Charity at Bristol that a few of the Sisters were sent to work at Magila in 1887, only to be withdrawn during the troubles in 1895.

On Smythies' death in 1894 it was hoped by some of the missionaries that a more moderate man would be appointed,<sup>(52)</sup> but in this they were seriously disappointed for though Bishop Richardson attempted to keep to the practices of his predecessors, he was pressed by some of the younger clergy into more advanced ways. T. C. Simpson, C. R. Tyrwhitt and W. K. Firminger, all of whom who joined in 1893, were looked on as extremists by older members of the mission.<sup>(53)</sup> The latter in particular was seen as the root cause of

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(49) O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, pt.1, p. 503.

(50) When in 1887 Farler wrote to Travers from Magila 'Many careless Xtians have been coming back lately, making their confessions, and really it would seem that the Holy Spirit is showing in many hearts', the words underlined were left out when the letter was printed in Central Africa. USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 525-26 Farler to Penny Dec. 1887.

(51) J. E. Hine, Days Gone By, pp. 120-121.

(52) USPG/UMCA AI (VII) 523-525 Firminger to Travers Zanzibar 28 Feb. 1896.

(53) *ibid.* AI (VI) 804-811 C. D. M. Thackeray to Mrs. Leeke Mbweni 30 Dec. 1896.



the problems that arose in 1895-96 when there was great concern both at home and in Africa at the direction the mission appeared to be taking. Madan resigned from the mission and Dale contemplated similar action.<sup>(54)</sup> Dale had written to Travers on the subject of Bishop Richardson:

he seems a thoroughly sound English Churchman of the High Church Type; not enamoured of the Roman system or with a hankering for Romanism. So far so good but yet that ordination service was far and away the most Roman and most ritualistic thing I have seen since I joined the mission, even avowedly drawn up and arranged on Roman lines. The Archdeacon, Madan, Hainsworth, Key and I were anything but delighted I should say and I believe the general feeling of the lay portion of the mission was one of disapproval - I fancy the Bishop scarcely realizes how great a difference of opinion existed among his clergy about such things. It was all so open and so public to that it was almost like a manifesto .... F's (Firminger) standard is quite different. It is modern and medieval Rome. It is Rome, Rome, Rome all day long. Take for instance 'The Assumption'. He was terribly indignant because someone had told our present Bishop that the late Bishop had refused to authorize it .... For F. it is enough that it is in the Roman calendar and he regards me as sinful because I do not observe it. (55)

In addition to sanctioning 'the tremendous ritual of the ordination', the bishop 'authorised the Angelus at Mkunazini, Reservation for the sick and compulsory genuflection at the words 'And was Incarnate'.<sup>(56)</sup> Firminger was sent letters urging moderation by both Travers and Father Puller of Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.<sup>(57)</sup> In reply to Travers he wrote:

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(54) *ibid.* AI(VII) 523-525; 494-496 Dale to Travers Kiungani June 2 1896.

(55) *ibid.* AI(VII) 241, Dale to Travers Kiungani Nov. 15. 1895.

(56) *ibid.* AI(VII) 505-509 Dale to Travers Zanzibar Jan. 29 1896.

(57) *ibid.* AI(VII) 521-522 Firminger to Travers Ash Wednesday 1896; 304-312 Travers to Bishop Richardson, 14 Delahay St. Jan. 7th 1897.



In regard to the ritual point, I am going to give you a lecture. Why instead of bewailing our excesses, do you not sift the truth of the tales that go home? .... It seems to me that the attitude of our friends is most curious. A layman whose career out here has been a trial to all concerned goes home, and says 'Do you know that last Maundy Thursday, Palmer, Hood, and Firminger all stood on their heads in front of the High Altar and whistled the Lord's Prayer backwards in honour of the Immaculate Conception and Transubstantiation of the Pope? Wasn't it terrible? I walked out of Church'. To which you all reply 'O how sad: the Mission will be ruined. (58)

But there were undoubted excesses and the letters at this period reveal a greater concern with the ritual question than with the mission work on the part of the Zanzibar clergy. Firminger in the above letter writes about ordering a 'baldachino' at a cost of about £500 to £700 and later writes at length concerning the decoration and vestments of Christ Church, Zanzibar<sup>(59)</sup>.

For a time the mission became divided into two clear camps and to the moderates it looked as if the bishop and the 'extremists' were planning a secession from the Church of England:

The Bishop has given me the impression .. that he will give in to Firminger and those of his way of thinking, unless those in the mission here and at home who are loyal to their own Church make a firm stand (60)

wrote Dale, and Woodward affirmed:

If things come to a head I am an 'Alt Katolick' where I was, whatever happens, I must be Catholic (not Roman) first and Anglican afterwards. If I don't believe in the infallibility of Rome neither do I of Canterbury or the Anglican body as a whole, but I don't say this is disloyalty. (61)

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(58) *ibid.* AI (VII) 523-525 *op. cit.*

(59) *ibid.*; 514-515 Firminger to Travers Mkunazini June 17th 1896.

(60) USPG/UMCA AI (VII) 505-509 Dale to Travers Zanzibar Jan. 29 1896.

(61) *ibid.* 511-512 Woodward to Child March 19th 1896. In the same letter Woodward stated that at Magila 'I believe teaching and ritual have been practically the same for 20 years. Except that the ritual is less erratic and the teaching on some points not so dogmatic.'

Things came to a head in October 1896 at the Synod held in Zanzibar where the divisions were openly aired during the six days proceedings.<sup>(62)</sup> The continued complaints of the moderates and a fear that the situation would seriously affect the support for the mission led Travers to take the unprecedented step of writing to Bishop Richardson concerning the 'condition of affairs in the Diocese of Zanzibar'<sup>(63)</sup>. The extravagances of some of the newer members of the mission were driving out 'old and tried workers':

we hear of a whole fortnight spent by a certain priest over the details of one particular Service, which included (from accounts to hand) an amount of ritual, which, while it must have exhausted those who took part in the Service would if it became known certainly tend to exhaust the sympathies of most of our supporters in England.

The blame was laid at the feet of two or three members of the mission who were:

very extreme persons who go out to work in Africa, because they can there follow out practices which they know would not for a moment be tolerated in England. (64)

What action, if any, was taken by Bishop Richardson is unknown but it appears that the resignation of Firminger and Tyrwhitt in 1897 cleared the air, though little change was made in the ritual of the mission.

The harmful publicity which the home officers of the mission feared came at the end of 1898, when the ultra-protestant Church Association felt it necessary to issue a four-page pamphlet condemning the UMCA for its

(62) USPG/UMCA AI (VII) An Account of the Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar 1896. At the beginning of the Synod the clergy were called on to profess their 'filial love and devotion to the Holy English Church, whose standards of Faith and of Doctrine we do accept and in whose Communion, we pray, by the grace of Almighty God to die:'

(63) *ibid.* 304-312 Travers to Bishop Richardson Jan. 7th 1897.

(64) *ibid.* In the letter it was stated that Dale was finding it impossible to stay in Zanzibar 'so long as the Services are carried on in the manner that now prevails'; that the character of the services prevented sailors from men of war in the harbour from attending; and that the up-country clergy were seeking the removal of Archdeacon Jones-Bateman from Kiungani as his teaching was not Catholic enough.

'Romanizing' tendencies, in order to 'convince the reader of the unscriptural nature of the work of this Mission, and to show that it is not entitled to the support of Churchmen'.<sup>(65)</sup> By reference to the Annual Report of the mission the author showed that the 'Committee and other officers' included thirty who were members of the 'Romanizing' English Church Union, (E.C.U.), and eleven members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament(C.B.S.), 'which is bringing back the Mass and Confessional into the Church of England'; and that of the missionaries sixteen belonged to the E.C.U. and nine also to the C.B.S., and Bishop Richardson and Archdeacon Griffin were in addition members of the 'secret' Holy Cross Society. Use was also made of Hazine Ya Sala Za Siri (A Treasury of Devotion produced by the mission in 1890, from which Sparshott took passages showing the attitude of the mission towards baptismal regeneration, the confessional and penance, the Mass, Masses for the dead, and intercessions of the Virgin Mary. This pamphlet came out at a time when in England the Protestants under Kensit were beginning their most violent attack on the Anglo-Catholics. The campaign against popery in the Church of England was sparked off by a number of events, including the negotiations between Lord Halifax and the Pope in 1894 with regard to the Catholic validity of Anglican orders, and the publication in 1897 of Walter Walsh's The Secret History of the Oxford Movement in which the 'Anglo-Catholic underworld' was unveiled. Both the action of Lord Halifax in treating with the Pope and the revelations of Walsh with regard to Anglo-Catholic societies and fringe movements shocked Protestant Anglicans, and close connections could be drawn between both and the UMCA. Lord Halifax, President of the E.C.U. was a Vice-President of the Mission and Walsh's book mentions by name Bishop Richardson and his membership of the C.B.S. and the S.S.C. (Holy Cross Society), and also Bishop Hornby's membership of the

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(65) The Universities' Mission to Central Africa by the Rev. T. H. Sparshott. Church Association Leaflet No. 261. Sparshott was Organising Deputation Secretary of the Church Association, and formerly a C.M.S. missionary in East Africa.

former.<sup>(66)</sup> The effect of the Church Association's public condemnation of the UMCA on the mission's support was probably only minimal, for by the 1890's support was mainly coming from Anglo-Catholic parishes and from people who were appalled by the fanaticism of the ultra-Protestants. However, it probably did help the mission to become even more identified with one party within the church, an identification which gave the mission strength rather than otherwise, but even so the home organisation was wary of stressing the connection, and Bishop Hine felt a more definite statement was needed for the sake of intending missionaries:

There is a feeling among some of these new men that they have been taken in by being sent here without understanding what they were in for in Ritual matters. De Jersey tells me for instance that had he known what our ritual was he would not have come here and being here now he will only stay till his two years is up and will then leave the mission. He was given to understand that if Zanzibar was 'high' Likoma was quite different. But he finds Likoma 'high' too ... The point he particularly referred to as objectionable is the ringing of the sanctus bell at the consecration - but other things e.g. 'vestments and all that' he seemed to include under his condemnation. Hence he wants to chuck up and go home as soon as he honourably can. It is a pity that men like this who are good fellows should come out under misapprehension .... What I feel is that we are a very definitely High Church Mission and we use vestments and incense, and practice confession and have prayers for the dead and so on and that men ought clearly to understand this before they are sent out here and that when they come they must be ready to fall in with our practices. (67)

By the early twentieth century all new recruits must have been well aware of the UMCA's position with regard to ritual. It had become the Anglo-Catholic mission, and as such could call for financial support and agents from the growing number of Anglo-Catholics. Other overseas dioceses such as Accra, N. China, Zululand, St. John's Kaffaria, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Capetown, Nassau, Antigua, and Qu'Appelle were Anglo-Catholic and received

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(66) W. Walsh, The Secret History of the Oxford Movement, popular edition, Swan Sonnenschein/Church Association 1899, pp. 53,55,158.

(67) USPG/UMCA AI (X) 284-285 Hine to Travers Likoma 22 June 1899.

support from the S.P.G. and their own supporting associations, but the UMCA was the only large missionary body which openly upheld 'Catholic Principles and taught the Catholic Faith'.<sup>(68)</sup> And during the episcopate of Frank Weston, Zanzibar became the centre of the Anglo-Catholic world - he was their head and their greatest spokesman.<sup>(69)</sup>

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(68) The Anglo-Catholic Congress, London 1923. The Society of SS. Peter & Paul. p. 102.

(69) 'The Unknown Layman', The Looking Glass of Lambeth, Philip Allan 1928 describes Weston as 'the great figure of the Catholic revival, and the clergy in London slums and country parishes regularly looked to Zanzibar for guidance and direction. In many respects Frank Weston was the greatest man that the English Church has produced for a generation'. p. 96.

MISSION THEORY AND PRACTICE



CHAPTER IV. EVOLUTION OF MISSION THEORY AND PRACTICE

The particular theory and practice of mission advocated and pursued by the missionaries of the UMCA was not based on the ideas of some home-based missiologist but evolved through the missionaries' own experience of work in Africa. The sense of mission present in the work of the Anglo-Catholic priest or layman amongst the poor and ill-educated in the rural areas and urban slums of Britain, was amended and refined when brought into contact with the African far removed from Western civilization. During the period under consideration there can be seen four distinct phases in the evolution of the UMCA's approach to mission, each clearly marked by a change in headship.

The first mission party under Bishop Mackenzie did indeed go out to Africa with a preconceived notion of how they were to proceed. Their policy of creating a Christian village in the years 1859-64 was based directly on the rhetoric of Livingstone in his prescription of the creed of 'commerce and Christianity' as the cure for the evils of the slave trade. The failure of this policy led to its complete rejection by bishop Tozer, who in turn promoted a scheme for the evangelising of Africa by the African, and between 1864 and 1874 his 'School of the Prophets' at Zanzibar was the mission's principal concern. The monotonous and uninspiring nature of this foundation work lost the UMCA many of its supporters, and failed to recruit adequate staff, a situation which was altered in the ten years that followed Steere's appointment as head in 1874. He conducted a more vigorous campaign, the main features of which were the great expansion on the mainland allied with the establishment of freed slave villages. The latter presented many problems with regard to temporal management and the last phase of the work in the 19th century was dominated by the abandonment of work with 'captive' Christian communities in favour

of direct evangelisation. The headship of the mission took on a more spiritual role after 1864 and the decisions on theory and practice of the work devolved on to the leading missionaries in the field.

The creation of an African church was the chief aim of the UMCA after 1864, and in this the Anglo-Catholics were in agreement with the principles held by the leading Protestant missiologists, Henry Venn of the CMS, Rufus Anderson of the American Board, and the German Gustav Warneck, though their direct influence on the mission is doubtful owing to conflicts in churchmanship.<sup>(1)</sup> The Protestant missions led by these three theorists exhibited, however, in Africa, very different methods of achieving their mutual goal from that of the UMCA, which despite some important inconsistencies allied theory more closely with practice, though this resulted in no greater progress.

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(1) For Venn see M. Warren, To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn 1971

For Anderson, P. Beyerhaus and H. Lefever, The Responsible Church and Foreign Mission, World Dominion Press, London 1964 (also includes sections on Venn, Warneck and others) and Warneck, G. Warneck, Modern Missions and Culture: Their Mutual Relations, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1888 and Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, 3rd ed. Edinburgh, 1901.

1. THE CHRISTIAN VILLAGE 1859-64

On the 31 January 1861 the first party of the Oxford, Cambridge, Durham and Dublin Mission to Central Africa reached the Kongone mouth of the Zambesi river on the HMS Sidon.<sup>(1)</sup> The party consisted of a priest, H. C. Scudamore, a 'lay superintendent,' Horace Waller, a carpenter, Samuel Gamble, an agricultural labourer, Alfred Adams and an African who had come from the Zambesi, had received a Christian education at Capetown and was returning as the mission's interpreter. A week later the HMS Lyra brought from Natal the head of the mission, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, newly consecrated bishop 'to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire', another priest, Lovell Proctor, a deacon, Henry Rowley, and two African labourers. Thus the first detachment was ready to proceed to the Shire river and to accomplish the object of the mission in the

establishment of stations in Central Africa, which may serve as centres of Christianity and civilisation, for the promotion of true religion, the encouragement of agriculture and lawful commerce, and the ultimate extinction of the slave trade. (2)

This was the straightforward brief for these ten men, clergy and 'european and African artificers'; they were to proceed into Central Africa and establish a Christian village. Well aware of their lack of experience they were prepared to put their faith in the advice and assistance of the inspiration of the mission, David Livingstone. And

(1) The story of the first three years of the UMCA's history has received much coverage in recent years, most fully in Owen Chadwick's Mackenzie's Grave, London, 1959, but there are shorter accounts in N. R. Bennett and M. Ylvisaker, The Central African Journal of Lovell J. Proctor, Boston, 1971, P. Elston, 'Livingstone and the Anglican Church', in B. Pachai (ed.) Livingstone: Man of Africa, 1973, and 'A note on The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: 1859-1914' in B. Pachai (ed.) The Early History of Malawi, London, 1972, and in the recent studies of Livingstone: D. Ransford, Livingstone's Lake, London, 1966; C. Northcott, David Livingstone: His Triumph, Decline and Fall, London 1973; and T. Jeal, Livingstone, London 1973

(2) Constitution of OCDD Mission to Central Africa 1860.

Livingstone in the first flush of pride at his plea to the universities being answered with a mission headed by a bishop, was willing to act as their guide and mentor.

At the meeting of Livingstone and the mission at the Zambesi mouth at the beginning of February 1861 the latter's dependence on the great explorer was clearly shown by Mackenzie's agreement to accompany him on an attempt to find a route to Lake Nyasa away from Portuguese territory via River Rovuma. Mackenzie was reluctant to abandon the Zambezi, which had been clearly shown by Livingstone to be navigable, in favour of less assured route to the Lake, but he knew that little could be done without the support of the Livingstone Expedition. For this reason three months were lost in a vain attempt to navigate the Rovuma and it was not until May that the whole mission party were conducted on a slow trying journey up the Zambesi, reaching the village of the friendly chief Chibisa on the Shire on July 8th. The journey provided the mission with the first of its many doubts of the wisdom of the exercise. The river proved far from easy to navigate, and the scenes of desolation that confronted them on the river banks made them doubt the fertility of the area. From Chibisis Livingstone took the party to the supposedly more healthy and fertile highlands. On the march to the agreed destination the expedition members came across a slave caravan, and the slave traders abandoned their charges at the sight of the English, leaving Livingstone with some 84 slaves on his hands. These he at once decided would form the nucleus of the Christian village, and in his words 'a great difficulty in the commencement of a mission was overcome,'<sup>(3)</sup> since he saw the missionaries as fortunate to have a dependent group with whom to begin work straight away. The mission party readily acquiesced in the scheme and the freed slaves and others who joined them, including a further group forcibly freed from a Yao slave

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(3) D. and C. Livingstone, Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries, (London, 1865) pp. 355-363?

caravan by Livingstone and Mackenzie on July 23rd, were placed at Magomero. Here on a peninsula a defensive station was established, at the suggestion of Livingstone, within the territory of the Nyanja chief Chigunda who readily welcomed the Europeans. The need for defence was made clear by the signs of Yao hostilities in the neighbourhood and the need to protect their new found dependents. Thus on July 30th Livingstone took his leave of the 'Christian village' having fulfilled his duty in seeing them settled. However the situation was far from ideal, and although the missionaries set to in clearing the land and building huts, the primary work was the erection of a stockade. The stockade was a sign of the insecure position in which they found themselves; already the attack on the slave caravan had shown that force was to be a necessary factor in their retention of their position in Central Africa. Although cautioned by Livingstone to refrain from becoming involved in tribal disputes, Mackenzie found that the requests from 'oppressed' Nyanja could not be dismissed and in August and November the missionaries led armed parties against the Yao.<sup>(4)</sup> In addition to problems produced by such action the missionaries found themselves isolated by Livingstone's inability to bring supplies and reinforcements nearer than the Ruo mouth, and Mackenzie's attempt to meet him there in January 1862 brought about his death on January 31st. This was the greatest blow to the mission which remained leaderless at Magomero for a further year, hit by fever and the deaths of three more members of the mission, affected by the famine that struck the area and faced with continual requests from the Nyanja for action against the Yao. The hostilities of the latter made Magomero untenable and in the spring of 1863 the station was abandoned for Mikarango at Chibisa's by the Shire. Here the remnants of the mission continued their struggle to keep alive,

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(4) For a fuller account of the mission's involvement in tribal politics see below pp. 279-324

and to feed and civilize their freed slaves, until on June 27th 1863 the station was reached by William George Tozer, the new head of the mission.

Tozer and his companions were already well informed of the problems that had beset the mission as the belligerent activities had received sharp criticism in England, and they were prepared for the possible necessity of abandoning the Zambesi and beginning afresh elsewhere. Matters however were worse than expected: further deaths had occurred and there was no evidence to disprove the rumour that had been reported to Steere at Quelimane, that 'the Mission party has not done anything as yet but vegetate in the country - they have not I am told attempted to teach anything,'<sup>(5)</sup> and Tozer at once determined on removing the mission to Morumbala, freeing itself of its adult dependents and females, and founding on Mount Morumbala a college for boys which was to be the 'true' door to Central Africa.<sup>(6)</sup> This abandonment of the Shire river and most of the freed slaves led to a great disruption in the mission, objections to the move coming from the pioneers. Waller was especially antagonistic and he took charge of the female dependants who wished to remain with the English and he, with the assistance of Alington and Livingstone, removed them to South Africa.<sup>(7)</sup>

Tozer's arrival brought with it an abandonment of the civilisation and commerce aspect of the original objects of the mission:

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(5) USPG/UMCA AI(III) Steere to Mrs. Steere June 20 1863 Quelimane see Tozer's Letters pp. 15-16

(6) Tozer's Letters, p. 21. Tozer to Woodcock, July 16th 1863

(7) Mackenzie's Grave. pp. 235-236



The civilization side of our scheme has not been a success, and there has been no field whatever open for the services of printer, tanner, shoemaker, or tailor, beyond the actual mission party. In fact, the attempt to transport a little piece of English civilization into the interior of Africa has proved abortive, and, considering all things, I don't think that we need grieve over the discovery; for in planting an English village here, (which was I believe, the original idea) you must take the bad side with the good, and you must run the risk of introducing English bad habits as well as English virtues, and when all is considered I fancy you will agree with me that purely missionary work, directed to the one end, and independent of commercial aspirations, presents the best augury for future success. (8)

To Tozer and Steere the mission failed because of the falseness in their view of the ideal of Christianity and civilization, and because of Livingstone's activities in misleading the mission into a belief of its accomplishment. Livingstone was seen as the villain of the piece, and Steere wrote 'it is high time he was recalled and well brought to book for his doings'. (9)

The disproportionate amount of blame levelled at Livingstone for the mission's failure is rather unfair, since the establishment of the Blantyre mission in the Shire highlands fifteen years later demonstrated that his scheme was possible. Mackenzie's mission had been a result of enthusiasm rather than carefully considered planning and Livingstone had not allowed for the inexperience and impracticality of the missionaries, nor for the greatly changed political situation on the Zambezi. Isolation, involvement in tribal politics, feeding and controlling a large party of freed slaves, and the lack of any obvious commerce for the English artisans led Tozer after a short lived attempt to settle on the unhealthy and deserted Mount Marumbala to abandon both Livingstone's scheme and the Zambezi. (10)

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(8) Tozer's Letters, p. 44. Tozer to Bp. of Capetown, Jan. 6 1864

(9) USPG/UMCA AI(III) Steere to Mrs. Steere, Mazar 28th June 1863

(10) Tozer's Letters pp. 47-51 Tozer to Woodcock Morumbala Jan. 6 1864

In May the mission party reached Capetown and the remaining members of the first party and the five working men were sent home, leaving the bishop, Steere and Alington to investigate a future site. Zululand, Madagascar, Johanna and South-West Africa were all considered and rejected by the beginning of June in favour of Zanzibar, and despite being unable to receive the home committee's approval the bishop set sail the following month. Zanzibar was chosen for two obvious reasons; firstly its suitability as a base for expansion inland as the great centre of East African trade, and secondly for its existing communications with Europe and the presence and support of a British Consul. Though acknowledging that a Muslim city was far from ideal as a base, Tozer saw its great potential and that the stable pro-British Government would provide an ideal place for settlement. Many of the problems that beset the first mission would be overcome and food and other provisions would not need to be sent out.<sup>(11)</sup> Steere and Tozer landed at Zanzibar on August 31st 1863 and began to lay there the foundations that were to bear fruit in a return to the mainland 12 years later. The move received little support in England where it was seen as an abandonment of Mackenzie's grave but the bitterest opponent was David Livingstone who, though willing to allow that Tozer was a more practical man than Mackenzie, never forgave him for his action in deserting the Zambezi in favour of an offshore island and his letters for the rest of his life contain acrimonious references to 'Bp. Tozer's dastardly retreat'. As late as November 1870 he wrote from the heart of Africa:

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(11) *ibid.* 55-60; pp. 66-72.

our fine, promising mission begun by good Bishop Mackenzie, has dwindled into the missionary Bishop of Central Africa, dawdling at Zanzibar, and taking a peep at his diocese on the main land, some forty miles off, with a telescope, then becoming sick and going to the Seychelles Islands to recover. He seems to act on Bunyan's principle . .

'He that fights and runs away  
May live to fight another day.'

He blames me for his dawdling, says he was connected with my expedition on the Zambezi, and when I left he had to follow. It must be failure of memory, for he never was connected with me on the expedition in any way whatever. Make me the Bishop of Central Africa and see how long the fear of death would keep me out of my diocese. (12)

And in 1872 he wrote disparagingly of the mission as 'a mere chaplaincy of the Zanzibar consulate'<sup>(13)</sup> The mission's abandonment of the Zambezi had been a bitter blow to Livingstone and his years of pondering on the subject in the loneliness of Africa had not softened its impact.

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- (12) Livingstone to Wm. F. Stearns, Manyema Country, Central Africa Nov. 1870 in N. R. Bennett, 'Livingstone's Letters to Wm. F. Stearns' African Historical Studies Vol. 1, 1968 p. 249. Stearns read the letter at a meeting of the American Geographical Society held in Nov. 1872 to honour Stanley.
- (13) Livingstone to Gordon Bennett. The Life and Explorations of David Livingstone London, Walter Scott, n.d. p. 538

2. THE 'SCHOOL OF THE PROPHETS' 1864-74

Livingstone's description of the mission as 'a mere chaplaincy' has a great deal of truth in it; this is revealed by close study of the letters of Tozer and Steere in the decade 1864-74. On arriving at Zanzibar the two missionaries had been welcomed by the European residents and they fast became part of the social group of consuls, naval officers, government officials, planters and traders to be found in this 'near civilised' city. The role of the mission was soon decided when on Sept. 18th they received from the Sultan at the behest of the Consul five freed slave boys. Tozer wrote to his sister:

I look upon this acquisition as almost a providential one, giving us work just when we wanted it, and opening out a prospect of securing the raw material without committing felony, which it seems it would be if we went into the slave market and bought children. (1)

Here was the nucleus of his school of the Prophets which he saw as being established on the island. The boys were to be trained as the native missionaries for the conversion of Africa, and girls were to be trained for their wives. This simple aim was that taken up by Tozer and Steere and pursued with little change for the next twenty years. The naval captain Philip Colomb who wrote a sympathetic account of the mission in 1873 summed it up as follows:

it may be said that the whole aim of the mission was at first to train native missionaries for despatch into Central Africa. Though some other aims have arisen through the action of time and circumstance, I understand that the Central African Mission would be glad to shake off every subordinate claim upon it, and to devote itself entirely to training, despatching to the mainland, and overlooking an army of native missionaries, who should confine themselves entirely to instructing the mind - chiefly the young mind - of the East African negro. The plan, when it can be completely carried out, is to establish stations on the mainland, each under charge of an English clergyman, who shall have under him more or fewer native teachers trained at Zanzibar, and that there shall radiate from the mainland station, the latter being one of many, radiating from Zanzibar. The

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(1) Tozer's Letters, pp. 81. Tozer to Helen Tozer Sept. 14-20 1864.

idea is that if Christian teaching can be so spread, settled government will follow, and then the useful arts, industry and commerce may be developed and thrive.

Such is the aim of the Central African Mission now. Theoretically it is complete. Logically it is without a flaw. (2)

And he formed a high opinion of the missionaries' determination in the drudgery of the training school for negro missionaries, seeing that it took a superior type of man to

slave at a routine task - a task with all the romance taken out before he begins - and continue it year after year without flagging and without any particular outward encouragement. (3)

Like the first party Tozer began work with freed slaves but here the situation was different - the freed slaves were seen as a means to an end and not an end in themselves. They were all young boys and manageable and the problems of temporal power did not arise at Zanzibar. The task was not looked on as amelioration of the lot of freed slave but as a source of supply for African teachers and clergy, and it was this view that persisted until 1972, during which period the mission received 105 freed slave children, 73 boys and 32 girls all of whom went to the mission's schools.

Virtually nothing other than educational work was undertaken in the period 1864-74 in the field of direct mission work. Nothing was done within the town as early on a negative attitude with regard to Mohammedanism had been decided upon:

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(2) P. Colomb, Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean, A Record of Naval Experiences, London, Longmans Green 1873. pp. 424-425. Philip Howard Colomb (1831-1899) Commanded HMS Dryad of East India Station 1868-70. Became a vice-admiral 1892 see D.N.B. In his book he provides a lengthy chapter on the UMCA which includes a most sympathetic assessment and defence of the mission policy if abandoning the Zambezi and of the work under Tozer at Zanzibar.

(3) *ibid.* pp. 426-427.

the faith of Mahomet is a marvellous dead weight against us, and I am inclined to think that the only way to act is negatively, so to speak, and to refrain from all hostile attacks. (4)

Tozer did however have hopes of influencing Mohammedans and converting Zanzibar in the long run.<sup>(5)</sup> Plans were also made for a school for the children of British Indians, though 'not aiming at proselytism, but at influence and the breaking up of ignorance and prejudice',<sup>(6)</sup>. The hopes of a return to the mainland were not forgotten in the early days and at the end of 1864 Usambara was being thought of as a likely place for a mission station; in 1866 Tozer was planning a trip to that area as soon as help should come<sup>(7)</sup>. However expansion of the mission work was curtailed by lack of staff for in the eight years 1865-72 only 19 missionaries joined the staff, only four of whom were priests, and all had either withdrawn or died by the beginning of 1874<sup>(8)</sup>. The few missionaries that were recruited were far from satisfactory and in order to supply the necessary manpower Tozer devised an unsuccessful scheme of missionary pupils:

My own idea is to take boys in hand early (if likely ones can be found) and assist in their education by sending them to Hurst (Montceux) or Warminster or other such schools, and so help them on their way to (St. Augustine's) Canterbury and in due course to Zanzibar. (9)

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(4) Tozer's Letters, p. 79 Tozer to Helen Tozer Sept. 14 1864

(5) *ibid.*, p. 99

(6) *ibid.*, p. 88

(7) *ibid.*, p. 100; p. 163. Later in September 1866 Tozer wrote how he would never rest satisfied 'until I find myself in some sense Bishop of the 'Tribes around Nyasa, and the adjoining country in Africa'. *ibid.*, p. 166

(8) In addition there were Rev. and Mrs. Drayton who rejoined in 1866 and died the following year, and Rev. C.A. Alington who rejoined 1867 and resigned 1869.

(9) Tozer's Letters, p. 164. Tozer to Miss Buller Zanzibar May 7 1866.



This scheme, which resulted in three young men joining the mission in 1866-69, had only one success, namely the form of Samuel Speare, who unfortunately died in 1873<sup>(10)</sup>. When there were enough staff Tozer took every opportunity to expand onto the mainland; the return of Alington, who was immediately dissatisfied with the role of schoolmaster at Zanzibar, enabled the long-awaited investigation of the Usambara country to take place in 1867, followed the next year by the establishment of a mission station at Magila. The withdrawal of Alington in 1869 meant the loss of an important missionary but as replacements came forward Tozer attempted to retain a foothold on the mainland. In 1879 Fraser was sent to Magila and met his death. The next year Pennell and Handcock went to the mainland, the latter dying on his return in September and in October 1872 Speare and Hartley followed him, both to die within fifteen months. So the lack of sufficient missionaries was the main problem and this can possibly be attributed to the inactivity of Tozer himself. The mission did not provide an attractive prospect, and the illness that had periodically affected Tozer since the days on the Zambesi made him a lethargic ruler unable to inspire support on his visits to England and in his appeals for help. Tozer and his colleagues were well aware of his failings: he wrote to Steere in June 1870

I seem to be the do nothing member of the community and I feel my deficiencies more and more. Still God can remove me when He pleases, and take the stumbling block out of the road. (11)

His illness increased and the effects of the cyclone which hit Zanzibar on April 15th 1872 and devastated the mission, coupled with

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(10) A Suffolk Boy in East Africa

(11) USPG/UMCA AI (I) Tozer to Steere June 23 1870

the serious illnesses which followed among the staff and boys, were the final blow.

He is utterly shattered knocked down and out of heart. His head so bad he can't bear the boys' voices, and gets irritable even at the cry of a cat, drags himself in and out to Chapel and meals; and then lies down in his chair and either turns white and sharp in the face, with the drops running down his forehead, or scarlet in colour, and as if all the blood were gone to the head. (12)

wrote Miss Tozer at the end of May 1872. Three months later Steere was to report:

The Bishop is in a very queer way, he does not manifest the slightest interest in anything of Mission work ... everything is at a standstill. (13)

Not surprisingly Tozer then went for three months to the Seychelles, returned to Zanzibar in December and went straight to England never to return. He resigned and then had second thoughts, but was informed by the Archbishop of Canterbury that as his resignation had been accepted it could not be rescinded. (14)

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(12) Tozer's Letters, p. 257 Helen Tozer to Miss Twining Zanzibar May 27 1872

(13) USPG/UMCA AI (II) Steere to Mrs. Steere Aug. 14th 1872

(14) USPG/UMCA AI (III) Steere to Mrs. Steere Jan. 15th 1873.

3. MAINLAND EXPANSION AND FREED SLAVE VILLAGES 1874-84

Tozer's resignation and Steere's assumption of control occurred just in time to save the mission from total extinction. Arthur Nugent West, who joined the mission in February 1873, informed a correspondent of the sorry state in which he found it on arriving in Zanzibar:

Dr. Steere, LLD is our head and we found him here alone, having been so for some time almost a year, now can you be surprised if the Mission is not a success and I cannot honestly say it approaches one? I know you don't think very highly of it ... the Town (Zanzibar) ... is a Mission Field in itself containing some 80,000 human beings, but here again honesty makes me confess we are not trying to do anything, but that must be looked on as a thing of the past, Dr. Steere is most anxious to work and if the new Bishop, of whose appointment we hope to hear, will but give him his support, it will be done ... Then is it hard to account for so little being done outside when there has been but one to undertake it all. If the Universities Mission to Central Africa is a failure and it has fallen very near it - it is the fault I think of the Universities, why will they not send us out men. (1)

Steere had served in the mission from 1863 to August 1868 when he returned to his Lincolnshire parish, but the plight of the mission and his friend Tozer led him to resign his living in January 1872 in order to rejoin the mission for as long as he was needed.<sup>(2)</sup> Steere's action was motivated by a number of factors but the principal would appear to be the unhappiness of his home life and the knowledge that through his translation work he could contribute something towards the success of the mission.<sup>(3)</sup> His

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(1) USPG/UMCA A. N. West to Mr. Searle Zanzibar July. 1873

(2) USPG/UMCA Steere to Parishioners of Little Steeping Jan. 1872 Printed; AI (III) Steere to W. Steere, 22 Jan. 1872; R. M. Heanley, op. cit., p.107

(3) *ibid.*, Steere's marriage to Mary Brown the daughter of the squire of Kinskerswell, Devon, where he had been curate in 1858 had, it would appear, been far from a success. The lack of children and her unwillingness to accompany him to Africa were a source of great disappointment to Steere. Her 'nervous illness', always a sore trial to him, ended in her death in Lincoln Asylum in 1883. Only eight of the 24 years of their married life were spent together. The marriage receives only a passing mention in Heanley's Memoir of Steere p. 101, but there is much material in USPG/UMCA AI(III).

life had been beset by failures and here he had a chance to prove himself. During the five years that he had served under Bishop Tozer his ability had made him the effective head of the mission, as even Livingstone was to remark in 1866 'Dr. Steere is the bishop - mission and everything',<sup>(4)</sup> His greatest achievements were in the mundane tasks of laying the foundations for the UMCA's great educational work, in producing works on the African languages, in translations and in the establishment and running of the mission's printing press.<sup>(5)</sup> He saw his role as that of interpreter of 'European thought to Negroes, and of Negro thought to Europeans' and not as a true missionary; this and his lack of any substantial 'private purse' which had enabled Mackenzie and Tozer and their friends to support the mission so liberally, led him to decline the bishopric initially in 1873.<sup>(6)</sup> However the inability of the General Committee to discover anyone suitable who was willing to fill Tozer's place persuaded him to accede to the Bishop of London's request in June 1874.<sup>(7)</sup> Steere was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on August 24th 1874 and he returned to Zanzibar in February 1875.

1875 was the turning point in the mission's history; up to that year the mission had been little more than a small body of men and women with a limited task before them, and the original founders of the mission had not envisaged it growing into the considerable organisation which it had become by the end of the century. The years 1875-82 saw the UMCA develop from a mission into a missionary society, and this was

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(4) Livingstone to Waller Bombay Jan. 1st 1866 Rhodes House Waller Ms. Vol. I f. 47

(5) see below

(6) Heanley, op.cit., pp. 125-126

(7) USPG/UMCA AI (III) Steere to Ann Steere 4 June 1874

principally achieved by the great growth in numbers of missionaries. In 1875 21 men and women went out, six of them being priests, and in the next seven years a further 40 joined them. Amongst these 61 were the men who were to have the greatest impact of the mission's future: J. P. Farler, H. W. Woodward, C. Maples, W. P. Johnson, F. R. Hodgson, W. C. Porter, A. C. Madan, P. L. Jones-Bateman and J. K. C. Key, and amongst the women Josephine Bartlett, Caroline Thackeray, and Dore Y. Mills. A number of reasons can be cited for the tremendous increase in the number and calibre of the missionaries after 1874, but initially the credit must go to Bishop Steere, who in the months after his consecration devoted himself to pleading the cause of the mission. He spoke or preached at the Church Congress at Brighton, at St. Leonards, at Windsor, St. Pancras, Wells, Warminster, Oxford, Manchester, Plymouth, Lichfield, in St. Pauls Cathedral, and in many other places all over England.<sup>(8)</sup> Tozer, when in England in the 1860's had not been idle, but the climate of opinion within the Anglican church towards missions had greatly altered. In 1872 had been initiated the churches' first day of prayer for missions,<sup>(9)</sup> and in 1875 was held the first Anglican Missionary Conference in London, to be followed by a second in 1877 at Oxford, 'the Universities being the natural centres of the Church of England's missionary work'.<sup>(10)</sup> In addition the Anglo-Catholic wing of the church was concerning itself more closely with missions.<sup>(11)</sup> But above all there

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- (8) USPG/UMCA AI (III) Steere's Letters Aug. 1874-Jan. 1875. Other mission supporters were active in pleading its cause in this period.
- (9) This had directly led to A. N. West offering himself for service.
- (10) Authorised Report of the Missionary Conference, London June 1875; Authorised Report of the Second Missionary Conference, Oxford 1877.
- (11) As a result of which the Cambridge Mission to Delhi was begun in 1877 and the Oxford Mission to Calcutta in 1880. E. J. Sharpe, Not to Destroy but to Fulfill, Gleerup, 1965, pp. 88-94.

was the great wave of enthusiasm for Christian missions triggered off by the dramatic death of Livingstone in Africa and his impressive funeral service in Westminster Abbey.

Who can forget that day? The lovely music of Purcell and Croft, the thrilling voice of Dean Stanley, the singing of the old hymn, 'O God of Jacob, by whose hand', as the body was carried from the door to the grave in the middle of the nave; and then the final burst of Handel's triumphant anthem, 'His body is buried in peace, his name liveth for evermore!' (12)

So wrote J. E. Hine who at the age of 17 attended the service and 12 years later offered himself to the UMCA. The impact of Livingstone's funeral has been much stressed in most works on nineteenth century missions. Oliver describes how

A hundred pulpits took up the tale of the missionary-explorer who had died on his knees, invoking in his solitude 'Heaven's rich blessing' upon everyone who would help 'to heal this open sore of the world'. A revolution was set in motion which was to bring a new kind of missionary into Africa and a new and more numerous class of subscribers on to the societies' lists. (13)

A corrective to this over-emphasis of Livingstone's part in stimulating an increase in missionaries and monetary support, rather than just enthusiasm and publicity, has been provided recently by Dr. Ross in his study of the Church of Scotland mission in the period 1874-1914.<sup>(14)</sup> Though Livingstone's death did result in the founding of both the Blantyre and Livingstonia missions, there is little sign of a wish on the part of church people in Scotland to become more directly involved in mission work. The financial and recruitment statistics of the UMCA reveal, however, a different picture and it is possible that Livingstone's appeal had far greater effect in England than in his home country.<sup>(15)</sup>

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(12) J. E. Hine, Days Gone By, 1924, p. 27

(13) R. Oliver, Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 34

(14) A. C. Ross, 'Scottish Missionary concern 1874-1914 A golden era?' Scottish Historical Review, Vol. LI, April 1972, pp. 52-72

(15) see Table II below.



The direct effect of Bishop Steere's speeches and sermons in inspiring men and women to offer themselves for service in Africa in the wake of his visits to England in 1874-5, 1877 and 1882, is well recorded<sup>(16)</sup>. Maples wrote of the first time he heard him:

He spoke for about an hour, and told in simple straightforward language the story of the Mission from its foundation. Yet although there were no rhetorical adornments about the speech, no vivid colouring, no striking appeals to the imagination and emotions, I can unhesitatingly say I have never, before or since, listened to a speech in which earnestness, simplicity, and true eloquence were so happily blended. (17)

The recent history of the mission however contained little to encourage support, as the Colonial Church Chronicle wrote of the time at Zanzibar:

It need surprise no one that interest should be deadened, that the work should seem common place'.<sup>(18)</sup> But Steere was looking to the future and recent events in Zanzibar had provided him with a blueprint for the mission which he was determined to put into practice. In December 1872 he had produced an essay on the 'Central African Mission: Its Present State and Prospects' which was published in England early the following year in which he stressed the future importance to the mission of work on the mainland, and in particular the possible expansion in the Yao and Nyasa regions, and also the share which the mission could take in the crusade against slavery.<sup>(19)</sup> It was while such ideas were foremost in Steere's mind that the Bartle Frere Mission arrived at Zanzibar. Frere's success, aided by Kirk, in persuading the Sultan to conclude a treaty with Britain whereby the export of all slaves

(16) see p. 96 below

(17) R. M. Heanley, *op.cit.*, p. 160

(18) Colonial Church Chronicle, 1874, p. 371

(19) E. Steere, Central African Mission: Its Present State and Prospects, London 1873.

from his dominions would be prohibited and all markets for the sale of imported slaves closed, provided the mission with a role in rehabilitating the freed slaves. The mission had been most critical of the policy so far adopted with regard to freed slaves, and in 1871 Steere had edited three papers by Tozer, Fraser and Christie on Zanzibar and the Slave trade in which both Tozer and Steere condemned the practice:

'Hitherto our men-of-war have landed their prize cargoes of slaves either at Aden, Bombay, Mauritius, or Seychelles. Aden seems to have received a larger number of freed slaves than either of the other depots, but at none of them are there any satisfactory arrangements for the proper care of these people' (20)

Almost half of the slaves freed at Aden between Jan. 1865-Jan. 1869 had died and if, as was proposed by the Report of the Slave Trade Commission 1871, slaves were freed and left to their own devices England would be acting with criminal negligence.

Everyone who can claim to be an authority seems to be agreed that the best measures in regard to the disposal of freed slaves would be to give them a home and a chance of maintaining themselves by the cultivation of the ground in some place on the African coast, where the freed slaves could in time develop into a free negro nation, and over this settlement there must be a special superintendent, responsible for the care of them, and with full power to punish when necessary.

Any measures short of this can only be in the nature of a makeshift. In any case, however, the British nation must provide temporary food and shelter, a safe protection, and a kindly but firm superintendence for all, for the sick medicine and care, and for the young a home and education.

If we will not provide such necessaries as these our interference with the East African Slave Trade can only serve to cover us with well merited disgrace. (21)

In the absence of government action Steere saw it as the duty of the missions to care for the released slave.<sup>(22)</sup> Bartle Frere taking this up in the prospect of a great increase in the number of released slaves

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(20) W. G. Tozer 'On the treatment of Freed Slaves' in **E. Steere (ed.), The East African Slave Trade, 1871**

(21) *ibid.* Introduction, E. Steere Oct. 1871

(22) Central African Mission: Its Present State and Prospects

pressed for the missions to open up freed slave settlements on the mainland.<sup>(23)</sup> Steere out of necessity felt impelled to act on this although he pointed out to Frere: 'to speak frankly I think our proper work is among the heathen in their own homes and not among released slaves.'<sup>(24)</sup> Already Tozer had purchased in 1871 an estate at Mbweni and in 1874 this was settled by the first party of released adult slaves; hitherto the mission had accepted only children, the prime object being the training of missionaries 'and only indirectly for the benefit of released slaves'.<sup>(25)</sup> But this work was seen by Steere as only the edge of the mission's work; in his speech at Oxford he outlined his vision of the expansion of the mission. He saw it his duty to tell the nations of Africa the good news:

Our East Africans are not nomads, dwelling in a wilderness or a desert, but settled cultivators who would gladly remain for many generations in one place. Each of these nations ought at least to have its own church, and its own bishop and clergy. As our preparation for this, we propose to send up first a small party of a few men of good judgment, to make acquaintance with the chiefs, and look through the country, to find the healthiest, most acceptable, and most central spot on which to make our chief settlement. As Africa is now we shall have to fix the site of future cities, as the monks did in England, and the English missionaries in Germany. People will soon gather round us, and, if we choose our place well, there they will remain. First of all, we will set up a great central school for the people of that language, and then whilst preachers go out from it to reach every part of the tribe, we will send up, as they can employ them, artificers and workmen who will teach the natives all that our civilization can give them. Thus a centre of light and life will be formed, and from it that whole people may be enlightened. . . . But how is such a work as this to be done? It is a question which you and I can well answer if we will. The question is not how can it be done, but who will join it? We have had hitherto four or five workers, we want twenty or thirty at the very least. We have raised hitherto some £2,000 a year, we want £10,000 for such a work as we ought to do. <sup>(26)</sup>

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(23) Correspondence Respecting Sir Bartle Frere's Mission to the East Coast of Africa 1872-73, pp. 117-140 Memorandum on Disposal of Liberated Slaves

(24) *ibid.* Steere to Bartle Frere Jan. 15 1873

(25) *ibid.*

(26) R. M. Heanley, *op.cit.* pp. 132-133.

It was this vision that inspired the potential missionary, not the prospect of teaching in the 'School of the Prophets' or working among the freed slaves at Zanzibar. And when Steere found that he had the men he did not wait to implement his plans: in July 1875 he re-established the mission at Magila and in September he left Zanzibar on an expedition to investigate the Nyasa country. Through the illness of his companions he was left to undertake the journey alone, a feat he achieved, and after making friendly contact with Mataka, the Yao chief near Lake Nyasa, he returned to Zanzibar in February 1876. The following June he revisited Magila with a newcomer, Rev. C. Maples, and then in October 1876, he left Zanzibar again for the mainland, this time with Rev. W. P. Johnson, W. Beardall and 55 of the freed slaves from Mbwani, to retrace his steps to the Nyasa country in order to plant a settlement there or on the route. The siting of the freed slave settlement was decided by the freed slaves themselves who, when they reached Masasi, determined to go no further. This combination of the care of freed slaves and expansion on the mainland was to prove an impossibility, but in the 18 months since his return from England Steere had completely changed the face of the mission. While holding to Tozer's views with regard to the training of native missionaries, he had established on a strong footing the freed-slave settlement at Mbwani under Rev. B. Randolph, and the mission in the Usambaras at Magila, he had prospected the Nyasa region and followed this up with the founding of Masasi. This rush of activity was superseded by a period of consolidation during which these new centres of work flourished. Attempts were made to expand too on Lake Nyasa, and Steere investigated the Zaramo country with a view to further expansion when men and money were available. However expenditure soon outstripped income and during the rest of Steere's episcopate no new centres were opened. His death in 1882 coincided with the crisis that

arose relating to the administration and defence of the freed-  
slave settlements, and the appointment of his successor heralded  
yet another change in the direction of the mission work.

4. DIRECT EVANGELISATION AND DEVOLUTION OF DECISION MAKING 1884-1900

The death of Steere and with it the severing of the last link with the pioneer period of the mission led to a new phase in the theory and practice of the mission. Initially the missionaries had gone out with a brief drawn up by the authorities at home; this proving a failure it had been dispensed with and during the episcopates of Tozer and Steere they, as heads of the mission, had decided on and closely directed policy, and though the last years of the century saw an attempt once again by the home committee to control general policy it also saw a devolution to the missionary in the field of decisions on mission method. This move owed much to the character of the bishops and the great expansion of the work.

The principal change brought about by the appointment of Bishop Smythies in 1884 was the abandonment of freed slave settlements on the mainland and a concentration of work on evangelising the indigenous African. The unreality of the hope to convert the African through the example of Christian freed slaves had become more and more evident, and things had been brought to a head by the attack on Masasi in 1882 by the Ngoni. An increase in evangelisation was made possible by the increase in income and staff which was, as usual, consequent on the arrival of a new bishop. The major advance was made in Nyasaland, where since 1881 W. P. Johnson had held the fort. The launching of the mission steamer Charles Janson in 1885 marked the beginning of the real expansion of work in this region. Likoma was established as the mission's headquarters and in 1886 Maples was removed from Newala to take charge. Mission work was hampered by the petty rivalry of many of the lakeside 'chiefs' and was not put on a secure footing until after the setting up of the British Administration.



The European occupation of East and Central Africa was looked on by the missionaries somewhat ambivalently. Initial opposition to European rule was replaced firstly by a patriotic desire for English overlordship which, when not fully achieved, gave way to an acceptance of the situation and a rejoicing at the benefits reaped from the settled state of the country which came with colonial rule. The relief from tribal disturbances and an acceptance by the Africans of the physical superiority demonstrated by the Europeans with force of arms led to an impressive increase in the number of converts and centres of work, which culminated in 1892 in the need for the formation of a second diocese based on Likoma, to administer Nyasaland and the western part of the mission's territory. The increasing European presence in the 1880s and 90s brought with it also a curtailment of the mission's unlimited expansion in certain areas, in the form of many other missionary societies Protestant and Catholic, British and Continental.

Until the 1880s relationships with other missions, Roman Catholic and Protestant, had on the whole been cordial. Close contact had been made with the Catholic Fathers of the Holy Ghost Mission in Zanzibar and Bagamayo<sup>(1)</sup> and with the CMS and United Free Methodists on the mainland to the north from the early days, and the increased number of missionary personnel passing through Zanzibar following the great upsurge of interest in missions after 1874 met with an unstinted hospitality and assistance from the Anglican mission.<sup>(2)</sup> A minor

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- (1) Steere noted that the Fathers viewed the protestant missions rather as 'fellow workers than as foreigners and opponents' USPG/UMCA Al (1) Steere to Secretary Sept. 3 1864.
- (2) e.g. for assistance to LMS see N. R. Bennett (ed.) From Zanzibar to Ujiji: The Journal of Arthur W. Dodgshun 1877-79, Boston University 1969 and Church of Scotland Mission see M. A. Pringle, Towards the Mountains of the Moon, Edinburgh 1884 pp. 360-373? In 1876 Steere commented to Festing: 'We are flooded with missions just now. The natives all suppose that their country is being mapped out for a grand military attack' USPG/UMCA Al(III) Steere to Festing May 6 1876

disagreement with regard to spheres of influence occurred with the Livingstonia mission at this period, but any delimitation of territories was dismissed by Steere:

As to compacts between Missionary societies I think them foolish because they can only hinder friends, and cannot hinder enemies. Of course we are glad to hear what anyone proposes doing, and have no intention of crossing their work, but we are not going to bind ourselves to leave any part of Africa in darkness because some day and somehow some other society proposes to send a mission there. We are not going to Livingstonia, and do not care to go anywhere within a day's journey of any other Mission. (3)

This refusal to recognise territorial claims by other missions remained the firm policy of the UMCA during the heated exchanges which took place in the years of missionary expansion which followed colonial rule. Particularly important was the disagreement with the Livingstonia Mission over the UMCA's occupation of Kota Kota on the west side of the Lake 1890-95<sup>(4)</sup> and that with the Lutherans over work in Usambara in the early years of the 20th century.<sup>(5)</sup>

Smythies' role in the history of the mission is not as an innovator but as a builder on existing foundations. He was supremely active in visiting the outposts of his far-flung diocese and in this way helped to establish the the Rovuma, Usambara and Nyasa missions as centres for the growth of a native church, with Zanzibar as the administrative and training centre. During his episcopate the mission became even more clearly committed to the creation of an African church, and the civilizing side of mission work faded even further into the background. Kiungani

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- (3) USPG/UMCA Executive Committee Minutes Dec. 9 1890 extract from printed letter from Heanley quoting Steere included in Agenda.
- (4) *ibid.*; USPG/UMCA B1/6 Minute Book of the Oxford Committee of the UMCA Dec. 21 1890; USPG/UMCA/65-19 Occupation of Kota Kota and West Side of Lake Nyasa 1890-95.
- (5) USPG/UMCA Tin Chest F.6 Lutheran Missions and work in the Usambara Country. The UMCA had assisted the Lutherans with teachers and literature when they first settled at Kisarawe and Tanga, S. von Sicard, The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania 1887-1914, Upsala 1970. pp. 86, 92, 93, 99 and 122.

became an effective instrument for the training of African agents for all parts of the mission.

Smythies was much more an episcopal overseer than a missionary; although while at the various stations he undertook whatever task was necessary, his continual journeys about his diocese prevented him from having the personal impact which his predecessors had. He and his successors Hornby at Likoma and Richardson at Zanzibar were all advanced Anglo-Catholics and therefore happy to act as spiritual fathers over the diocese rather than become involved in the minutiae of station life. This aloofness from the practical side of mission work was particularly marked in the case of Hornby and Richardson, preventing them from becoming successful missionary bishops.<sup>(6)</sup> Thus in this period the initiative passed from the heads of the mission to the missionaries at work in the field and the mission methods employed were formulated from experience. It was men such as Johnson, Maples, Hine and Woodward who in the last fifteen years of the century laid down the policy which was to be followed well into the twentieth century. They tended to act independently of the bishop and also of each other, but their background and churchmanship led them to similar conclusions. Johnson took a very independent line in his work and was a great cause of concern to both his superiors and colleagues. In 1897 Hine wrote to Travers:

W. P. J. (Johnson). Curious person is he. He cares I believe for nothing in the mission except his own work. Kota and Lik(oma), Un(ang)u and Mp(ond)as might well be dropped tomorrow and he would think nothing of it. So long as his steamer was going. (7)

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(6) For Richardson's deficiencies as a missionary bishop see Central Africa 1915 pp. 85-91.

(7) USPG/UMCA AI(X) 226-228 Hine to Travers Unangu July 14 1897. Maples had written to Penney in a similar vein 14 years before, *ibid.* AI (VI) 888-893 Maples to Penney, Kiungani 19 May 1883.

Though Johnson's dissociation from the mission was a problem, his methods of work differed little from the ideal propounded by Chauncy Maples in a paper entitled 'On the Method of Evangelising Uncultured Races', which was written in 1882 for the monthly journal of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.<sup>(8)</sup>

In the paper Maples pointed out that the greatest problem facing the missionary was to overcome the 'profound and polite indifference' to the Christian religion. This could not be tackled by someone entering Africa with preconceived notions on evangelising the heathen, but could be accomplished only by a close study of the native character, and close consideration in the light of this of the question 'What shall I tell them of Christ that I may draw them to Him?' Particularly important was the missionary's method of approach to the African:

If indifference to the word preached is, the main obstacle in the way of gaining acceptance for the Gospel, we must admit that at the outset at least much will depend upon the personality of the preacher himself. The very name by which all white men are known to these Africans is 'The strange one'. The European is essentially odd, or strange to them at first. His dress, his food and way of feeding, his manner, his temper, and his whole mode of life are utterly 'strange'. Some of the most ignorant of the natives after they have been accustomed to a white face for several years still look upon its owner as an uncanny being, somewhat other than human, and certainly not possessing passions and feelings like their own. And so long as he remains such a one to their thinking, it is hardly to be expected that exhortations to follow his faith, to worship as he does, and to fear God as he does, will come with any great force. No, the European missionary must become an African to win Africans. He must, so far as is consistent with his Christian principles, assimilate himself to them. He must especially guard against appearing peculiar and strange. He must, 'having no sense of his own dignity, think nothing below it'. Where he can adopt the native dress without giving offence to his own European brethren, as is possible in places remote from the haunts of white men, he should not be slow to do it. If it be possible to do so without injury to health, he should take native food and eat in native fashion. Above all, he should be careful always to think of his black flock as his brothers for Christ's sake, and do nothing and say nothing to encourage the idea that white races are necessarily superior to black ones. He must be sincere and thorough, more of the friend than the mentor, and

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(8) C. Maples, 'On the Method of Evangelising Uncultured Races', reprinted in E. Maples, Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples, 1899, pp. 175-188. For Johnson's methods see B. H. Barnes, Johnson of Nyasaland, pp. 130-141.

where he finds himself unable to love he must be careful to make no pretence of it. He must not look for gratitude or be anxious for his sympathy to be reciprocated. He will rarely be rewarded in this way, and still more rarely if he be one who craves these things. Many missionaries have a way of treating grown men as though they were children. None are quicker than the natives to discern this, and none more ready to resent it inwardly, though they always cleverly disguise this feeling. He who begins his work by patronising the natives may gain a kind of attachment to himself from them, but never their affection. No doubt adult Africans are often childish in some important respects, but they are men and they know it, and a missionary never gains real influence over them if he persists in treating them as babes. Freedom of intercourse between the missionary and his people, rendered possible only by a thorough knowledge of their language as they speak it, is the first essential to the conversion of a tribe. Trust and confidence in the missionary preacher, brought about by a feeling of thorough intimacy with him, soon leads on to a belief in his doctrine if only he is careful constantly and urgently to declare it. Let a body of natives once get really attached to a missionary for what he is to them, and not for what he gives them in the way of material things, and they will not be slow to follow his teaching. (9)

Such was the ideal, and in the years that followed many UMCA missionaries tried to emulate it, some successfully, but many deviated from it. Thus a major problem that confronted the missionary was his attitude to the African; it was easy enough thinking in England of going out to help the poor defenceless 'childlike' natives and free them from the darkness of heathenism, but the actual experience sometimes had a contrary effect. There were those like Helen Tozer with 'always some expression of disgust at black people to utter', in this case a dislike based on fear, as can be seen from the following extract from a letter written when she was in Zanzibar:

Alone in this huge house with twenty-three girls and a mass of black life outside. All over vigilance is needed for you hear no sound and suddenly see a creature standing by you, in bed or out, as it may be; but the blacks look so ghastly through a mosquito net that even our own children

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(9) Chauncy Maples op.cit., pp. 185-187

startle me. I have begun my rule with a faint heart, but my place will be to keep very much aloof from them. (10)

Others were accused of 'excessive adulations' of the natives which 'is our great mistake especially among the mission ladies. And in consequence they work on a material which they suppose is better than it really is'.<sup>(11)</sup> Even the most sympathetic missionaries were prone to expressions of intolerance with the African when faced with lapses from 'Christian principles': Farler wrote from Magila

It is very difficult to keep things straight when we are ill, as the natives have no idea of duty and will only work when you superintend them - we can leave nothing to the natives for they do nothing properly or carefully and they are most irregular having no idea of time. (12)

We want an English Schoolmaster here, I am not satisfied with Josiah's teaching power. (13)

The African is specially prone to sins of the flesh and it makes our great difficulty in forming good Christians. (14)

However, in general the picture of the UMCA attitude to Africans is a sympathy and attempt to understand their way of life and a belief in the ability of the African to become a Christian, and what is more, a belief that the education of African clergy in every way fitted them to run the Church in Africa with no lessening of the standards. This unusual approach, stressed in Cairns and reiterated by Christine Bolt<sup>(15)</sup>, would appear to be genuine and to have no undertones of a desire to keep Africans in their place and prevent them 'reducing cultural distinctions

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- (10) Letters of Tozer, op.cit., p. 275 Miss Tozer to Miss Twining Aug. 23 1872, see also pp. 269-271.
- (11) USPG/UMCA Letters from Africa 1894-97 Rev.C.Radford to C.J.Viner June 28 1896.
- (12) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) pp. 335 Farler to Professor - - -, Magila May 30th 1880.
- (13) ibid., p. 371 Farler to Steere, Magila Oct. 7th 1881
- (14) ibid., pp. 503-06 Farler to Penney Magila Sept. 20th 1886
- (15) H. A. C. Cairns, op.cit., pp. 218-21, C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, 1971, pp. 124-125.



between Africans and Europeans'. The UMCA was in Africa to evangelise, not civilize, and it clearly saw that the most genuine method of achieving this was to interfere as little as possible with the life of the African.

We cannot rely on temporal advantages to help our religion, we must not lean on the arm of flesh. How different our Lord's methods to ours! No persuasion or wheedling to come and be taught: we should almost say He repelled people. He put the hardships prominently before them: 'Take up the cross', 'Deny yourselves daily', 'count the cost'. There is great danger in getting people to become Christian without counting the cost. (16)

The mission did not wish to produce 'rice-Christians'; however when missionaries' actions resulted in a growth of interest in the mission, they naturally found it difficult to dismiss this interest as caused more by the desire of the African to materially benefit rather than a true acceptance of the gospel. Such an event was the feeding of the Bondei at Magila during the famine in the Usambara region in 1884.

The Bondeis are coming from all parts of the country to Magila to beg for food. Every morning there are some two hundred starving men besieging our store room and Mr. Woodward has all he can do to provide them with grain .... If therefore our friends will help us for Christ's sake to feed these hungry men for the next few weeks, the result will be a great ingathering of souls for God ... Providing food for these Bondeis in this year of famine will draw their hearts more towards us than fifty years of merely preaching - for practising is always better than preaching, and here we are practising the Gospel as well as preaching it. (17)

Undeniably their action was right and no doubt some true conversions followed, but here Farler is seeing the advantage of the temporal over the spiritual pull of the mission. This was an opportunity grasped, not a straightforward instance of using material benefits to tempt the African to give up his 'evil ways' and become a Christian, and though

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(16) Bishop Smythies quoted by F.R. Hodgson in The Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion, G. A. Spottiswoode (ed.) SPCK, 1894 pp. 395-402.

(17) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 434-435 Farler to Penney, Kiungani June 17th 1884.

rare, such an approach is not altogether foreign to the annals of the UMCA, as is shown by this extract from a letter of Mrs. Williams written in 1880:

There is a large family of children living in the next village to us. They are all more or less under our influence, all being attendants at church, school, and classes. When we first came the mother brought the baby to me with a horrid skin disease. I doctored it, and the places were healing beautifully, when I found that the child was wearing charms. I told her that I could do no more for it till they were removed. But it was no use; she refused to take them off, so I put the ointment away, telling her that as soon as she gave me the charms she could have it again. Eight months or more have passed since then, during which time the child has worn the charms and has been getting very much worse. Over and over again has the mother begged me to cure it, promising all sorts of things with the exception of the one I wanted. It has been very hard to see the poor little thing daily growing worse, and to hear its piercing screams when they put on native medicines, and yet do nothing to relieve it. Now I am only too thankful I did not yield. About ten days ago, the mother came, sat down in the porch, and placed the child in front of me, a perfect object, literally covered from head to foot. I told her once more that I could do nothing till she gave up the medicine of the devil. Greatly to my surprise she cried, 'Give me a knife', and immediately cutting off the charms from her child's neck gave them to me. I joyfully went in and prepared the ointment. You will be glad to hear that the healing has been very rapid; indeed, the child is nearly well. I heard one of the sisters telling some other girls about it yesterday, and she wound up by saying, 'The devil's medicine is no good'. I feel so thankful about it, and trust it may be the means of putting down charms there at least for a while. (18)

Few missionaries were so uncompromising with regard to 'African customs', though they realised that it was inevitable that in their endeavour to Christianize the African many aspects of native life must be done away with; the chief evils of slavery, polygamy, drunkenness, initiation dances and witchcraft were all at first considered incompatible with Christianity and every endeavour was to be made to eradicate them, though not by violent action as Maples stressed:

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(18) UMCA ANNUAL REPORT 1880-81, p. 33 extract from letter of Mrs. Williams, Kaule, Dec. 3rd 1880.

Nothing is more important for us here than to remember that it is of the essence of Xtianity not to destroy social order, political institutions, universal customs (even where they are not in accordance with the spirit of the gospel) by violent measures but rather by instilling true gospel principles and allowing them to work silently and surely: there is a great temptation to get a chief (say) who is himself accepting Xtian faith and doctrine to impose upon his people change of customs which he himself and for himself has accepted - but were we to do this, it wd. assuredly lead to a thorough and sudden disruption of the very society which as we trust Xtianity will consolidate and knit together in one great spiritual unity. On the question of slavery, as I conceive it, we as missionaries on a foreign soil where the custom is not only sanctioned but universally upheld and observed, have no right either to preach a regular crusade against slavery (I speak not of the slave trade) or to exhort them to practice manumission. (19)

It was only in the case of baptised Christians and hearers wishing to become Catechumens that 'customs' were to be definitely abandoned. The hearer with a number of wives who expressed a wish to become a catechumen must, before his acceptance, put away all his wives except one, and provide for the others; a catechumen or Christian lapsing into sin or a belief in charms was to be punished by exclusion from the ranks or by excommunication. (20)

This uncompromising attitude to African 'customs' became tempered as the missionaries became more knowledgeable with regard to African religious beliefs. With the mission's initial experience of freed slaves came a belief that the African had no religion, only what they termed 'witchcraft', a view typically expressed by Charles Yorke in 1880:

The religion of the Waboondei is simply devil-worship. Even those who profess Mahometanism still retain their old heathen customs. They sacrifice use witchcraft wear charms, and do in all aspects as the pure heathen ... It is impossible for a foreigner to dive into the very

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(19) USPG/UMCA AI (IX) 96-99 Chauncy Maples to Penney Newala Aug. 27 1883.

(20) e.g. Chief Semkali of Umba who was baptised carried out 'heathen and obscene rites connected with the giving of tribal marks' for which he was excommunicated. *ibid.* AI (VI) 463-463a Farler to Penney Kiungani Oct. 26th 1885; 456-456a Farler to Penney Zanzibar Nov. 24th 1885.

depths of their superstitions, but the longer one lives the more one learns. No God is acknowledged as the Giver of all good things, and therefore they have no idea whatever of praying to Him. (21)

And in 1882 Maples at Masasi wrote similarly that the Africans were 'supremely and hopelessly indifferent to all religion whatever'.(22) However as the missionaries' experience of life amongst the mainland Africans grew, so did their appreciation of the Africans' beliefs, and their attitudes showed a marked change as Professor Ranger has recently pointed out, so that by 1891

Maples had come to believe that God was seen by African peoples as the 'Personal Giver and Sustainer of Life'; their reason told them that God was Creator and they instinctively responded to his Holiness. The problem as he now saw it was how to base a moral code upon this sense of God. 'With Africans', he wrote, 'we feel that we have but to carry on their belief for them, to exhibit Him whom they already know their Creator as also the Author of the Moral Law.'

By 1895 he was ready to go further still. 'Those of us who have been able in a measure to study the African character from close acquaintance with it are convinced that it possesses many traits and qualities that only await the consecrating touch of Christianity in order to bring out and exhibit new sides of Christian life such as our Western and European natures have not in them to develop.' (23)

It was this growing confidence in the African's latent Christianity that allowed the UMCA missionaries to relax their approach to 'customs and practices'.

At the Synod in 1893 some progress was made towards allowing the more 'innocent' customs. Hine advocated circumcision on the grounds of

(21) C. Yorke 'The Waboondei: Their Social Habits and Customs' Mission Life, Vol. XI 1880 pp. 294-301, 329-339.

(22) E. Maples, op. cit. p. 178

(23) T. O. Ranger, 'Missionary Adaptation of African Religious Institutions. The Masasi Case in T. O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo The Historical Study of African Religion, London, 1972, p. 228.

health, and though some missionaries objected, others were in agreement so long as it was 'not done in heathen or Mohammedan rites'. Porter and Woodward at the same Synod stood out against the indiscriminate condemnation of 'ngomas' (dances, musical festivities); they considered most of them as harmless provided they were not carried on too late.<sup>(24)</sup> With regard to polygamy the UMCA developed a policy of allowing the wives of polygamists, to be baptised, though this was a matter of some controversy and at Synods in 1887 and 1888 it was recommended to abandon the practice though its continuance is evidenced by a similar recommendation on the part of Bishop Hine at Likoma in 1899.<sup>(25)</sup> It is also evident from the resolutions of the 1899 conference that missionaries were in the habit of making polygamists catechumens on the understanding that if they were to be baptised they must give up their wives.<sup>(26)</sup> Justification for such a policy was sought by equating heathen Africa with Old Testament times:

At first sight it might seem strange that the Old Testament is chosen in preference to the New as the basis of instruction for hearers, but the skilful teacher can appeal thus to the customs of the district, which in some respects resemble those of patriarchal times, can show the sinfulness of mankind, and consequently the need of a Saviour, and make more impression on the blank of the native mind. (27)

The allowance and the use of customs in order to ease the impact of Christianity thus became a feature of the UMCA, and when in 1904 the German missionary Nauhaus visited the mission's stations he was impressed

- (24) Acts of Synod 1893 Bishop Smythies and Farler were both hesitant about encouraging circumcision, Rev. Wm. Mercer was strongly against it, but Hine, Du Boulay, C. Majaliwa and P. Limo thought it was beneficial, the latter because 'boys liked to be circumcised otherwise they were subject to ridicule'.
- (25) Acts of Synods July 1887 to Feb. 1888; USPG/UMCA AI (XI) Introductory words spoken at a conference of Clergy and Laity held at Likoma April 24 1899 by J. E. Hine.
- (26) *ibid.*
- (27) R. Webb, A Visit to Africa 1896 p. 32.

by the Christianization of African customs discussed and practised at them. (28)

In turn the mission also attempted, where it thought fit, to Africanize its Christianity, which it did both by having worship in the vernacular, by composing African-style hymns and by lessening the association of whiteness of skin with Christianity. In 1899 Bishop Hine after visiting a newly built church wrote to Travers with an unusual request:

I want some peculiar ornament for it as it is to be a model church e.g. I want a large crucifix for the rood with Our Lord represented as a black man. I am writing to F. Russel about this. It sounds rather startling, but is quite right I believe. A crucified mzungu is not what would appeal to these people so much as a crucified native of Africa. (29)

In 1904 Nauhaus reported that the UMCA 'just preaches . . . No cultural improvement is intended'. (30) This was a rather sweeping verdict on a mission which perhaps had the highest educational standard in East and Central Africa at that time, but it does clearly show to what an extent the mission had moved from the primary object of its initial constitution. The combination of Christianity and Commerce was now far from its mind. Naples, in an unfinished paper on Missions and their aims, which was published in Nyasa News in December 1895 after his death wrote that the work of direct evangelizing was the one principal aim of all true Christian missionaries and that

all else - industrial departments, secular teaching - must be subordinated to it, or we swerve from the purpose and object of our mission . . . No mission should

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- (28) M. Wright, German Missions in Tanganyika, p. 99. The policy was carried even further and with great success by Bishop Lucas in Masasi in the 1920s see W. V. Lucas and E. G. Jones, Christianity and Native Rites, 1950 and T. O. Ranger 'Missionary Adaptation' op.cit.
- (29) USPG/UMCA AI (X) 298-301. Hine to Travers Kota Kota 2 Nov. 1899.
- (30) M. Wright, German Missions, p. 99.



be blamed because it bestows little care on industrial training, or even on higher education, if it is found to be doing its own proper work of direct evangelizing. To spend much of our own time in preaching, prayers, religious instruction, translation of the Bible, religious manuals and the like must be our principal care. Also before we train to industrial work, we must ever strive to train up teachers, by whom our own efforts to extend Christianity to the regions beyond can be supplemented and carried forward. (31)

Evangelizing and the training of African teachers and clergy now formed the work of the mission; the aim the creation of a native church. This aim, which had existed since 1865 when Tozer rejected the original constitution, was still as much in the mind of the mission in 1899, when Hine defined it to his laity and clergy:

What this Mission has always professed to aim at is the building up of a native Church: which does not mean the baptizing of a number of natives attached to the English Mission and working under its wing; but native in the true sense of the word: the Church of the people of the land, irrespective of European influence, and adapting itself to the special circumstances of the race and the country in which it exists. (32)

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(31) E. Maples, (ed.) Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples pp. 272-273

(32) USPG/UMCA AI (XI) Introductory words spoken at a conference ... at Likoma 1899.



Plate 4. Magila, Native Conference 1899. Seated in the centre of the group are the Revs. Petre Lime, Samuil Sehoza, and Samuil Chiponde.

from Magila in Picture, UMCA, 1901

5. THE ACHIEVEMENT

After over 30 years of attempting to found an African church it might be fairly asked of the mission what had it achieved, and this question was indeed posed by Frank Weston on his arrival from England in 1897, well-versed in the theory and practice of the mission. Statistically the situation was encouraging, for the annual census of adherents showed a remarkable increase in numbers since 1890, particularly in Nyasaland<sup>(1)</sup>, but the figures were no guide to the success or other wise of the UMCA, for the changed political situation was making its mark as Webb recorded in 1896:

During the time of my visit to Nyasa the furlough of the priest-in-charge had left Unangu to the care of a native deacon, and on the Sunday spent there by the visiting English priest an assembly of a thousand people gathered to hear his address. This sounds very encouraging, but its actual worth is another question. In the old days when the Missionary went amongst the people unarmed and defenceless, and the power of England was only regarded as equal to or less than the Arab power, he could feel that any cases of conversion were due to a conviction of the truth of his words, and a real desire to live up to the Christian standard. Now, when England is felt to be more powerful than the Arabs, and her trade and influence are rapidly extending through the district there is a danger that natives may wish to join the Mission for much the same reasons that the Japanese are said to look favourably on Christianity. (2)

Weston, however, on taking a critical look at the situation around him, saw little sign of the formation of self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing African churches<sup>(3)</sup> and he felt

(1) See Table XI.

(2) R. Webb, A Visit to Africa, p. 40

(3) Though there had been a great increase in the number of African clergy and teachers, and in Usambara since 1895 regular conferences of the African Christians had been held without European supervision. For picture of 1899 Native Conference see Macila in Picture, pp. 38-39.

impelled to publish in 1898 an open letter addressed to Bishop Richardson, in which he outlined the obstacles which the mission was placing in the way of its goal. The work, he stated, must be based on the following 'three great principles':

1. The manifestation of the Christ-like, as opposed to the European life.
2. The strengthening and upholding at every point of the African Teachers and Ministers.
3. The provision of a policy in view of the coming political development of East Africa. (4)

With regard to the first principle the missionaries, he stated, must be at pains not to conform to the African's mental picture of the typical European as one who 'largely given up to eating and drinking, needs a very great deal of personal service, and who has a prescriptive right to domineer over, and if need be to flog the unfortunate African'. He accused some UMCA missionaries of displaying these traits, and advocated less luxury with regard to food, less dependence on the service of Africans, and more hard work.

I am not blind to the mockery of passing from the luxury of a carefully-served house to preach to men about the Cross of the Servant of men . . . Where are we moving? To what end are we here? Is it Comfort or the Cross? Civilization only or the Gospel? (5)

The second principle was the cornerstone of the creation of an African Church, and though there were four African priests and nine deacons the UMCA, he claimed, must not deceive itself into thinking that it had thus achieved an African church. For there was no single self-supporting community gathered round these African clergy, and the attitude of the English members of the mission made such an achievement difficult.

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(4) USPG/UMCA AI (VII) printed items Some Remarks on Methods of Missionary Work being an open letter addressed to the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Zanzibar by Frank Weston, Chaplain of Kiungani, in the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (Private) p. 2.

(5) *ibid.*, p. 4.

(a) There is a tendency to hold up before the eyes of those whom we teach the exhaustless Bank of the Mission Funds. The Native Church is not generally the heart-offering of the Native Christians but rather the gift of English friends. Thus in the place of patient teaching, of gentle education with a view to forming the spirit of sacrifice in religion we, by our actions and our example, are really choking the better aspirations of the few, and condoning the natural selfishness of the many.

(b) Many European workers whom I have met, both at home and here, have convinced me that the idea that an Englishman must always be a 'Bwana Mkubwa' a Mighty Lord, to an African largely obtains in our diocese. I have myself witnessed gross discourtesies to African members of the mission staff; and I have heard of most just complaints against the over-bearing character of English workers. (6)

English workers were unwilling to place themselves under Africans at mission stations and Africans were deprived of a sense of responsibility.

Weston complained that African teachers were treated as mere chattals.

There is grave danger that we pervert the course of His call, so that in the place of real Native Priests we may produce only priests who are Africans living the lives and imitating the none too admirable characteristics of European missionaries. How can we train African priests in the spirit of brotherhood and true Christ-like independence of character if they are to be made the butts of our discourtesies, the tools of our own trivial plans, the victims of our own personal eccentricities? (7)

Finally Weston pressed for a need for the African Church to go out to the whole of the African community; it was the duty of the Church to minister to all and not to concentrate exclusively on the production of priests and teachers. If in the future the African church was to survive the mission must 'teach our people to be prepared for secular callings and help them to consecrate them'.

Of course it is pleasanter to have to deal with the patient Christian Teacher than to spend hours in coaxing into closer walk with God the somewhat independent lad who has left our school to be a clerk or a soldier.

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(6) *ibid.* p. 6

(7) *ibid.* p. 8.

But in sixty years time (to take a very wide limit) we shall be overcrowded with teachers, and the civil life will be holding out every bait that is tempting. What shall we do then? ..... We must teach our boys to be ready to make their own way in the competition which they must one day face. (8)

Such was the view of the mission's achievement by a young Christian Socialist, and in later years he was to wish that he had never written it, if his biographer is to be believed.<sup>(9)</sup> However much of what he had to say was upheld by Bishop Hine who, in his introductory words to the 1899 Likoma Diocesan Conference, similarly wrote of the mission's failure to create a real native church.

For years past, from the days of Bishop Steere, we have been asserting that we aim at founding a native African church, which shall be supported by the African people. And though the Mission has had more than thirty-five years of experience, we are as far as ever from realizing, or attempting to realize, this ideal. There can never be a native church in the real sense, if the native clergy look upon themselves like Englishmen, and demand to share in all English habits as their right .... There is hardly one place I believe in the whole of the Universities' Mission where the native Church does anything whatever for the support of its teacher. And we go on year after year content that so it should remain. It is time this false position of the Mission ceased. (10)

The reasons for this failure despite four decades of work can be seen partly in the impracticality of the ideal and partly in the actions of the missionaries themselves. No alien body could hope to

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(8) *ibid.* p. 9

(9) H. M. Smith, Frank Bishop of Zanzibar p. 29

(10) J. E. Hine, Introductory Words Spoken at Conference at Likoma 1899. Hine sympathised with Weston's letter but felt it a little hasty and pessimistic. In 1900 the UMCA General Committee in reply to a questionnaire on Native Church Organisation had felt compelled to answer that there were no Native Churches as yet within the mission's field of work, and although the congregations that existed were advancing towards self-support, self-extension and self-government this had not yet been achieved. USPG/UMCA B1/21 UMCA Draft reply to Committee of the United Boards of Missions of the Provinces of Canterbury and York questionnaire on Native Church Organization Jan. 1900.



create a native church without also inculcating the African with something of the alien culture and a desire to emulate the life-style of his teacher.

Only when Christianity has been so planted in the soil of heathen nations that it becomes naturalised there as a domestic growth, can a really independent native Christian Church be brought into being. The naturalisation required a shaping of the whole process of Christianisation of the people, of the social ties of the people .....Two leading dangers are specially to be avoided: the treatment of strange customs in a spirit of religious rigour and a confounding of Christianisation with Europeanisation or Americanisation. Pietistic narrowness brought with it the first of these dangers; the second lies in the cultural superiority and the national egoism of the conductors of missions: and both are favoured by lack of pedagogic skill in dealing with those who are the objects of missions. (11)

The missionaries of the UMCA were clearly aware of the dangers outlined above by Gustav Warneck, and the policy they pursued of employing and training African agents, of encouraging them and the European staff to lead simple lives as near as possible to that of their flock, of using vernacular languages, of Christianizing African customs and Africanizing Christianity went far to avert them. However the dilemma of the outsider wishing to ameliorate in some way the lot of the indigenous people without disturbing their way of life has no solution.

The presence of other Westerners in East and Central Africa, coupled with the instinctive Europeanism of its missionaries, prevented the UMCA from achieving its ideal, but the inconsistencies exhibited between the mission's theory and practice however, were not all unavoidable and as the following sections describe, in its educational work and in its attitude to native and European powers, the UMCA was itself responsible for actions which greatly hindered the creation of a true native Christian Church.

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(11) G. Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, 3rd edn. p. 104 quoted in M. Wright, German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941 p.4.

CHAPTER V. UMCA and Education

1. AFRICAN EDUCATION 1860-1900

During the second half of the nineteenth century there were two schools of thought amongst missionaries interested in the promotion of the education of the African. On the one hand there were those who advocated the introduction of Christianity and Western civilization, and on the other those who felt that Christianity should be introduced with the least disruption possible to the African way of life. This latter view was of recent origin and its basis is more complex than that of the former which had evolved during the years of missionary contact with native races in various parts of the world. Christianity combined with civilization was as much a part of the general view of early Victorian expansion as it was of the missionary view.

The Victorian belief in Britain's supremacy inculcated an assurance that they could improve the human condition everywhere, and the expansion of their civilization was a moral duty to the rest of humanity. Primarily it was to be expansion without empire. 'The earlier Victorians hoped to help the Oriental, the African and the Aborigine to help themselves', while the introduction of Christianity, commerce and civilization was to create 'the reforming Turkish pasha and the enlightened mandarin, babus who had read Mill, samurai who understood Bentham, and the slaving kings of Africa who would respond to the Gospel and turn to legitimate trade'.<sup>(1)</sup> This attitude led missionaries to introduce, without questioning its relevance, the European type of school with its strong emphasis on a literary education. For some years 'reading, writing and arithmetic, with a very imperfect acquaintance with the principles of the Christian religion, constituted the full extent of the

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(1) Robinson, R., Gallagher, J. and Denny, A., Africa and the Victorians, p. 4. Chapter 1. 'The Spirit of Victorian Expansion' provides an interesting study of this subject

school education'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Criticism in the 1840s of the 'bookish' nature of African education, together with the desire of some missionaries to create self-supporting Christian communities, led to the introduction of industrial training alongside the literary education.<sup>(3)</sup> Foremost among the advocates of combining literary and industrial education was Henry Venn, secretary of the Church Missionary Society 1842-72, who advocated a policy of sending Africans to England on industrial scholarships. His aim was to enable Africans through such training

to act as Principals in the commercial transactions, to take them out of the hands of European traders who try to grind them down to the lowest mark. We hope that by God's blessing on our plans, a large body of such Native independent growers of cotton and traders may spring up who may form an intelligent and influential class of society and become the founders of a kingdom which shall render incalculable benefits to Africa and hold a position amongst the states of Europe. (4)

This policy was allied to his belief in the 'euthanasia' of missions. He regarded 'the ultimate object of a Mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a Native Church, under Native Pastors, upon a self-supporting system'.<sup>(5)</sup> For the culmination of this object there needed to be trained not only native clergy and teachers but also native artisans and traders so that the Christian communities would be economically self-supporting from legitimate trades. The implementation of this policy in West Africa, particularly the founding of the Niger Mission under Bishop Crowther, the hostility of

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(2) Foster, P., Education and Social Change in Ghana (1965), p. 52 quoting a contemporary observer of Cape Coast schools.

(3) The Commissioner for the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa, 1842, remarked on the Cape Coast school: 'There is too much time employed in the school in the mere exercise of memory, too much of the mere teaching of words, and neglect of knowledge of things, and too little employment of the faculty of thinking and of instruction in the habits of industry'. Quoted in Foster, P., *op.cit.*, p. 52.

(4) King, K. J., Pan-Africanism and Education, 1971, p. 44.

(5) Venn, H. The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches.

certain European missionaries to it, and its final abandonment as a failure are recorded elsewhere.<sup>(6)</sup> However Venn's views were adopted, adapted and introduced with far more success in East and Central Africa.

David Livingstone thought that the joint introduction of commerce and Christianity into Central Africa would bring about the collapse of the slave trade. The teaching of European moral standards and of how to grow crops like cotton and coffee as an alternative to selling slaves were to have a remarkable effect on the African way of life. To him the 'diffused influence of white and Christian civilization' would be the christianizing force in Africa.<sup>(7)</sup> His plea for an industrial mission was, as has already been described, initially answered by the ill-fated Central Africa Mission under Bishop Mackenzie. However, following Livingstone's death, both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland took up the call, the latter establishing the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland in 1875 and the former the Blantyre Mission the following year. And it was here in Nyasaland that the policy of combining Christianity and Western civilization was promoted with most success, particularly by Robert Laws at Livingstonia and David Clement Scott at Blantyre.<sup>(8)</sup>

Both missions primarily aimed to provide an industrial training alongside a literary one, but because of the differing home support the emphasis on industrial training was greater at Livingstonia.<sup>(9)</sup> Laws

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(6) Ajayi, J.F.A., Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-91.

(7) Chadwick, O., Mackenzie's Grave, pp. 9-26.

(8) McCracken, K. J., Livingstonia Mission and the Evolution of Malawi, 1875-1939, Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge, 1967. Ross, A.C., The Origins and Development of the Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, Nyasaland, 1875-1926, ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1968.

(9) 'Livingstonia's home-links were with Glasgow shipbuilders and chemical manufacturers, Blantyre's by contrast were with Edinburgh clerics, distinguished leaders of the Church' McCracken, op.cit.

echoed Venn's words when he wrote that the Mission was founded to create a 'self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending Native church'.<sup>(10)</sup> To this end he set up a central institute, the Overtoun Institute, in which Africans were to be trained as artisans, teachers, evangelists and pastors. Scott, though having instructions to place an emphasis on evangelism and on the elementary forms of literary education that contributed to this end, saw the role of the Missionary as both the bearer of the Gospel and of modern culture. 'Scott held that since Africans were co-inheritors of modern culture it should be imparted consciously in the educational process'.<sup>(11)</sup>

One cannot help imparting the civilization one has received to those whose co-inheritance it is, and who certainly desire it . . . unless then he (the missionary) cut himself off from all that is human and declare himself an ascetic, or unless he fall below the appreciation of culture he must perforce take interest in and develop the people round him to the best of his ability.

He does not produce a non-native product, he only brings a civilisation before the native spirit not merely to develop a native Christianity, but to become a conscious member of the Catholic Church of Christ. (12)

Abd at Blantyre he 'went out of his way to train his teachers and other skilled men in European ways both in dress and manners'.<sup>(13)</sup> Both at Blantyre and Livingstonia education in all but the elementary stages was carried out in English, for both missions believed that English would become the 'lingua franca' of British Central Africa. Similarly they both were willing to act as suppliers of 'educated boys' to the increasing

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(10) Macdonald, R. J., A History of African Education in Nyasaland, 1875-1945. Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969, p. 53.

(11) Ross, op.cit., p. 97

(12) ditto, p. 103

(13) Macdonald, op.cit., p. 44.



number of Europeans.<sup>(14)</sup>

Similar attitudes were held in other parts of Africa and not only by Britons; in the German Cameroun, the missionary Alfred Saker believed that education should form the whole man, mind, spirit, and body, and that the missionary should be the pioneer of both the Gospel and the arts of civilisation. 'It was the confrontation with the Word of God that could produce a change of heart, and the introduction of Western culture, through axe, saw and hammer, which could produce a change in life'.<sup>(15)</sup>

Venn, Livingstone, Laws and Scott all aimed at establishing the civilized African Christian on his own feet as a leader in a new African society. Opposition to this view came from two very different groups within missionary circles; one felt that the African was not capable of attaining any great degree of education, and objected to the production of black Englishmen on racial grounds, the other believed that the African way of life should be as little disturbed as possible, and that the indigenous culture should be developed. The one group objected to the degree and purpose of education, the other to the method. Within the former were found the more fundamental Protestant missionaries, whose sole aim was evangelisation with little humanitarian concern for the Africans, and also those missionaries who sympathised with the views of the European trader and administrative official. Typical of their number was the Rev. Henry Townshend of the C.M.S. who strongly opposed the establishment of the Niger mission and the consecration of Samuel Crowther as Bishop.

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(14) *ibid.*, pp. 44-45, 53.

(15) Gelzer, D. G., 'Missions and Colonization: Education in Cameroun in the days of the Germans' Bull. of Soc. for African Church History III, 1-2, 1969-70.

If you want young men to go to the Niger, you must give them a white man as a leader. No opinion you can form, no statement you can make, no advice you can give will make them (i.e. black men) what they are not. They are not fit to be leaders at the present time. (16)

To him the superiority of the European was undoubted; Christianity could only advance under European leadership, for it would only thus receive the respect of the African. Allied to this was the contempt in which Africans who attempted to adopt Western manners, clothes, and names, were held by the increasing numbers of Europeans who entered Africa after 1880, by which time a new racialist attitude had developed.

It was partially to avoid this contempt that certain missionaries, imbued with the ideas of the growing study of anthropology, wished to concentrate on developing the indigenous culture where it did not conflict with Christianity. The German Paul Steiner in 1885 wrote condemning the creation of a 'Kultur Karrikatur' and stating that

it was Christianity's task to enoble what was uniquely African, to raise it to a higher level, to preserve the African's individuality, to give him his own national literature, to define his language, to develop an orthography, and to foster a sense of justice springing from the African soil insofar as it was not in conflict with Christian principles. (17)

This questioning by certain missionaries of the desirability of introducing an alien culture in the latter part of the century coincided with the growing conviction of certain educated Africans and Negroes 'that they must reject for their own people the conventional forms of western education'.<sup>(18)</sup> It was Edward Blyden,

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(16) Ajayi, *op.cit.*, p. 188

(17) Gelzer, *op.cit.*, p. 7

(18) King, K. J., *op.cit.*

James Johnson and Booker T. Washington who became their spokesmen. To Blyden there was no need for the African to imitate the West; Africa had a sufficiently valuable civilization of its own which Western education had obscured and debased in the eyes of students. Johnson used Blyden's arguments and attempted to persuade the C.M.S. to come more in line with them, managing to get the mission to condemn the adoption of European names at Baptism, but he had little success in persuading the African pastors to dispense with European dress.<sup>(19)</sup>

It was the third of these men, Booker T. Washington, who was to have the most profound effect on the development of African education. He had decided, when searching for an alternative to Western education for the Negro, that industrial training as practised at the Hampton Institute, Virginia was the most suitable. And Hampton became the model for his school for Negroes founded at Tuskegee, Alabama in 1881. These two institutions were to become the basis for much thought on African education for the next forty years. Washington in promoting an industrial, instead of an academic literary education, was educating the Negro with the return to his own community in mind.<sup>(20)</sup>

This admirably suited the Southern whites for 'it signified disavowal of all political ambition on the part of the Negroes, and a readiness to stay in the South as a steady labour supply'<sup>(21)</sup>; it also suited the European in Africa, whether he was an administrator or a missionary with a new found awareness of the needs of African society. Education was to be adapted to the needs of the community, and this meant, in a backward rural area, a concentration on sanitation, health

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(19) Ajayi, *op.cit.*, p. 269

(20) King, K. J., *op.cit.*

(21) King, K. J., *op.cit.*, p. 8

training, improved housing and industrial and agricultural skills and the removal of the more exotic subjects from the school time-table. This, combined with a concern for traditional society, became the policy advocated with the theory of 'indirect rule' in British territories in the inter-war years. This idea of 'African education' was carried out in its most advanced form by Hanns Vischer in Northern Nigeria, where in 1912 it was said of the system of education that he had founded

The black man knows that, far from wishing to impose upon him European forms of culture, his instructors want him to keep his African character .... Before any other result the well-being of the native, the development of native industry, the progress of native literature and of native ideas are considered paramount ..... When a pupil has finished his years of schooling he should be able to go back to his own people and take up his life with them with no feeling of being out of his element. (22)

By the 1920s the idea of the 'cultural adaptation' of schools to traditional society was being eagerly accepted by missionaries and administrators as an answer to the problems they were facing in the growing dissatisfaction of the educated African. It was a complete reversal of the belief, now a century old, in the benefits of introducing Western civilization and raising the African to its level, so he could be on equal terms with the European. Now the African was to be educated to keep his place in the order of things; some were to be trained for responsible roles but on the whole it was thought that they should be educated "to fulfill better what they most naturally were, 'a race of peasants living by and on the land'". (23)

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(22) Graham, Sonia F., Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919, 1966. p. 91

(23) King, K. J., *op.cit.* p. 19. quoting from M. S. Evans, 'Education among the Bantu of South East Africa' Southern Workman June 1912 in which he propounds an unsympathetic attitude to African ability.

## 2. UMCA'S ATTITUDE TO AFRICAN EDUCATION

Here an attempt will be made to discuss the attitude of the missionaries of the UMCA to the education of the African in the later 19th century in the light of the views held at the time and described in the last section.

The initial party of missionaries who settled up the Shire river had been given a two-fold educational task; they were to educate the native in the Christian faith as well as in 'civilized trades and industries', but principally they were to teach by example.

They intended to found a little agricultural village which would show the natives how to export cotton, which should teach them the truths of the Christian religion and the moral consequences thereof, and display in its corporate life the model of a Christian and a civilized community; and thus by their presence, their example, and their economy, would begin to destroy slavery. (1)

The formal educational process was minimal and though attempts were made to establish a school little progress was made. The mission, beset by innumerable difficulties, had little time or energy for training the African. When Bishop Tozer arrived in 1863 and surveyed the 'miserable failure' he at once formulated a mission policy that was to dominate thinking within the mission for the next forty years. He discarded the industrial element of the mission's work, coming out strongly against 'associating mechanics with missionaries',<sup>(2)</sup> and he decided that because of the unhealthiness of the climate the task of bringing the Christian faith to the people must be done by the Africans themselves who would suffer no ill effects.

When the mission was transferred to Zanzibar, its connection with the 'humanitarian' school of thought was severed; Christianity was to

(1) O. Chadwick, Mackenzie's Grave, pp. 17-18

(2) G. Ward (ed.) Letters of Bishop Tozer 1863-73, p. 50.

be dis-associated from Western civilization. The evangelising of Africa, not the creation of self-supporting Christian communities, took precedence. Tozer was

influenced by the conviction that the evangelization of Eastern and Central Africa must ultimately be entrusted to the care of a native ministry. To insist that Europeans are the only fitting instruments for this work would be to ignore the experience of all missionaries in tropical countries; and if the Central Africa Mission is to be free in future from feebleness on the one hand, and constant interruptions on the other we must regard the training of native teachers (and that in numbers proportional to the task before us) as a duty of primary importance. (3)

This view, which seems initially to have arisen from a concern over the unhealthiness of the African climate for the European, soon developed further and furnished with precedents from Holy Scripture and the practice of the primitive Church.

In the Acts of the Apostles the first deacons were certainly taken from 'the multitude of the disciples, 'and 'appointed', i.e. ordained by the Apostles and St. Paul is expressly said (Acts XIV 23) to have 'ordained elders in every Church', selected we may be sure from among the Christian converts belonging to each particular congregation. Thus the principle was established .... and henceforward it became a fixed rule 'that the first fruits of the Gentile converts were to be ordained to the Ministry'. (4)

Tozer in reflecting on missionary work throughout the world saw that one of its great weaknesses was 'the systematic employment of a foreign clergy' and its failure to train a native ministry. A native ministry would be the first step towards a self-propagating native Church, and this must be the aim of all missions, for as long as plans for Church extension were dependent on monetary support from the home country little headway would be made. Nowhere had a self-supporting church been established, and to Tozer 'this constant appeal for help to the nursing

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(3) Ward, G., Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 98

(4) Tozer, W., Letter to the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, Oxford 1869



mother at home betokens great constitutional weakness in the offspring.<sup>(5)</sup>

In this aim to produce a native Church Tozer's views were identical to those of Venn, Laws and Scott, but they differed greatly on the subject of what constituted a Native Church. To the latter it was virtually a Church on the Western pattern, the only difference being that the clergy and elders had black faces. To Tozer it was the assimilation of the Church into traditional society.

I think that there is a danger . . . in trying to make our converts black Englishmen instead of adopting all native customs and habits which are in themselves unobjectionable. An instance occurs to me in the selection of Clark, who was a shoemaker, as a member of the Mission. To go without shoes in England would I suppose never do, but to create a desire for them here, where they are unknown, and where their use would deprive the people of what almost amounts to a second set of hands, would be, me judice, the introduction of the very opposite of civilization. My boys can pick up a needle from the floor and place it in your hands with their feet, and one constantly sees men holding a knife with their toes and the like, while the naked foot for climbing purposes is manifestly superior to one cased in leather. I should say the same of dress and food and many other things. To anglicize the people in all these respects would be a very doubtful gain, and it is wonderful how much wisdom after a time you will discover in the use of customs which at first sight seem barbarous. (6)

The native minister was not to be trained in a way that would segregate him from his own people, and in outward appearance he was to differ in no way from those to whom he preached. His hut, his food and his dress would be all as before. It was only in the purity of his life and the steadfastness of his faith that he would differ from the heathen around him.

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(5) *ibid.*

(6) Wm. Tozer to John Jackson, Bp. of Lincoln, Zanzibar 7 Jan. 1865 in Ward, G. Letters of Bishop Tozer. pp. 103-04.

Tozer was not against the introduction of civilization as such, but against the introduction of the outward trappings of western life. To him civilization meant carrying into practical effect the command 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'. It was 'the rule of mutual co-operation and mutual forbearance which lies at the very base of all human society ... (it) may be reached by the very humblest of the sons of men .... Nothing can be so false as to suppose that the outward circumstance of a people is the measure either of its barbarism, or of its civilization'.<sup>(7)</sup> The Apostles were no less civilized than the modern Englishman or Frenchman just because they did not have such things as railways and telegraphs. To Tozer the introduction of Christianity necessarily involved civilization, but this need in no way interfere with the native's way of life. It was not however the missionary's task to encourage his converts to adopt the European way of life, or to foster a desire for mere material possessions.

This attitude to mission work devised by Tozer in the first years of the Mission's settlement in Zanzibar was to remain as the cornerstone of all future development by the U.M.C.A.; again and again in the writings of leading members of the mission these tenets are reiterated. Towards the end of his life Edward Steers succinctly summarised the policy of the Mission:

You know that the one great thing that we desired was to train up the Africans to teach their own people. We felt that an exotic Church was a thing that would perish before any cold blast, and that it was necessary to put it upon a sound native basis. We have, therefore, from the first steadily set our faces against any denationalization of the people of Africa. For this purpose we have been anxious to teach them in their own language, to accustom them to their own style of food and dress, as far as we could, in order to raise up a race of people who should not feel that they were strangers amongst their brethren, and a race of ministers

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(7) Tozer, W., Letter to Brotherhood of Holy Trinity, op.cit.

who should be able to exist upon the common food of the country, so that those who heard them might be able to maintain them. (8)

However, policy statements are one thing, their implementation another. In the section to follow describing in detail the educational work of the U.M.C.A. it will be seen to what small degree the theory was put into practice. Cairns, who rightly treats Tozer as important for his views on the missionary task, also credits him with consistency, but this is far from the truth.<sup>(9)</sup> Less than a month before he had written to the Bishop of Lincoln stressing the dangers of trying to make 'our converts black Englishmen'<sup>(10)</sup>, and had spoken of the need for literary education to be given by Europeans; 'I see no necessity for these to burden themselves with acquiring the native tongues. Indeed, the more thoroughly English they were the better.'<sup>(11)</sup> Similarly it is difficult to see how he could justify his action in 1866 of taking four African boys to England for two years' education in a Christian environment, as encouraging the native to be content with his traditional society. The preservation of the native way of life in the face of growing contact with Western civilization was unrealistic enough, and missionaries were aware of the conflict, but to believe that Africans educated in England would return contentedly to their former life seems incredible.

The inconsistency which is evident in the actions of leading UMCA missionaries throughout this period owes much to their social, religious

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(8) U.M.C.A. The Universities Mission to Central Africa - Twenty-first Anniversary. Abridged Account.

(9) Cairns, H. A. C., Prelude to Imperialism, pp. 218-221

(10) see above note 7 page 188

(11) Ward, G., Letters of Bishop Tozer, pp. 98-99.

and educational background. The missionaries were products of the re-birth of the ideal of 'Godliness and good learning' in which education and religion were inseparable. The educational reforms of the early 19th century had resulted in a dominance of the educational system by the Anglican clergy; at public schools and majority of the headmasters and junior masters were clergy and the Church exercised a similar control in other branches of education.<sup>(12)</sup> Educational and religious training were viewed as a whole, resulting not merely in the communication of knowledge, but in a quickening of the intellect, mind and spiritual life. The training was to make 'children into men', men adult in mind and ideals, and the UMCA missionary saw his role as transforming the heathen African 'child' into a Christian man.

The Anglo-Catholicism of the UMCA directly influenced its educational work and resulted in the control of the schools by the clergy and a belief that the ideal product of the system was an African priest, indeed the whole educational system was geared towards creating native clergy, but not inferior clergy. The African who was to become a priest must be given the highest possible education whose standards must not be lowered just because he was only going to work in Africa. The capabilities of the African were not questioned, he was seen as identical to the intelligent boy from the working class parish in England who, with the sponsorship of the vicar, had risen from choir-boy to server and through night school to missionary college or even university, finally being ordained. The annals of Anglo-Catholicism are full of such patronage, and a number of the U.M.C.A. missionaries had similar backgrounds.<sup>(13)</sup> Ideally these 'black Anglican clergymen' were to be

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(12) D. Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning. For missionaries educational background see above pp 84-5, 88-94, and Table V  
T. W. Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools

(13) e.g. Rev. Clement John Sparks, who left school at ten, worked as a painter, became a server at St. John's Church, Frome, encouraged by the curate he studied in the evenings, admitted to Warminster College, and then St. Augustines College, Canterbury. See Appendix.

indistinguishable from their white colleagues except in the wearing of native dress, eating native food, living in mud huts and speaking in the vernacular tongue. No effort was made to alter the education from a purely academic literary training.

Although there were a number of school-teachers on the staff, their role was solely to carry out the policy of the clergy<sup>(14)</sup> who saw as only natural their position as directors of education, being used to the church-dominated educational system of England. There the high church Anglicans took an active part in extending education, and in the 1860s, under Archdeacon Denison, they fought vigorously to keep control of education in the hands of the Church of England; later they were to fight against the establishment of non-sectarian board schools. Many of the missionaries had served as parish priests or curates in English parishes and as such had been very much involved in the development of education that was taking place rapidly at the time. William Tozer and Edward Steere are typical examples. Tozer in his early days as vicar of Burgh-le-Marsh, Lincolnshire, had acted as schoolmaster<sup>(15)</sup>, and had founded and was principal subscriber to a school at Winthorpe<sup>(16)</sup>. He was particularly remembered as an energetic promoter and teacher in the night school at Burgh. His neighbour, Steere, at Skegness was similarly active, sending all the parents in the village an open letter in which he wrote extensively on the school, in an attempt to make attendances more regular. On his removal to Little Steeping, near Spilsby, he found himself obliged to act

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(14) Women teachers however were allowed to run their schools with little interference from clergy.

(15) Neave, D., 'Letters of Edward Steere', Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, No. 2, 1967, pp. 63-72.

(16) Lincolnshire Archives Office. **Massingberd Album**

as schoolmaster and increased the attendance from 18 to 60, also building a new school and schoolhouse. During the winter months he ran a night-school for the small village, which averaged 24 pupils<sup>(17)</sup>. These two men were by no means exceptional in their interest in education, as the majority of the clerical missionaries would have had similar backgrounds. How did they see the role of education in relation to the work of the Church? Was their interest founded on sectarian grounds, and were they principally interested in religious education? Clues to their general attitude are provided in the letters and sermon notes of Steere.

It cannot be denied that he saw the prime aim of education as a force for the expansion of Christianity, 'the schoolmaster's work is a high and holy one';<sup>(18)</sup> it was through his work in wiping out ignorance that the first steps towards conversion were made.

To the ignorant superstition is a necessity. The world is full of wonders, strange sights and sounds. Those who know not God and His Laws invent witchcraft, and spirits, and ghosts to account for them. And are full of vain fears, and of strange wild customs and ceremonies to appease them. (19)

But he had no narrow view of education; he believed in knowledge for its own sake. In a letter on night schools he wrote:

The glory of our schools is the actual knowledge acquired in them, and not that little show of outward conformity which is too often the whole of their religious fruit .... The curse of this age is not irreligion, but hollow religion; and the way to remove this curse is to live in the real spirit of love, asking nothing, and giving all things; while the way to increase it, is to make temporal advantages a bribe for outward compliance. (20)

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- (17) E. Steere, To the Inhabitants of Skeeness, Epiphany 1859 and letters in USPG/UMCA A
- (18) Heanley, R.M. (ed.) Notes of Sermons Preached by Bp. Steere, Vol. III p. 321
- (19) *ibid.*, p. 319
- (20) Heanley, R.M., A Memoir of Bishop Steere, 1890, pp. 399-402.



He strongly condemned the quasi-religious night schools, which smacked to him of insincerity:

Why do boys and men come to us, but because they feel the want of secular knowledge and are anxious to have it supplied? Do we meet them honestly with the wish to supply it, or do we propose to them terms of barter, something after this fashion - you want to read and write, we want religious disciples; you listen to our catechizing, and we will teach you what you want to know. (21)

In a sermon on education he stressed its importance as a gift from God.

The gift of education has come to be more and more valuable in proportion to other gifts. Some people think this irreligious and wrong. But it cannot be, because it is God's will. He gave us this nature that we should go on growing in knowledge as well as in numbers. And I venture to deny that in fact this knowledge has added to irreligion. (22)

Anderson in his study of education in Kenya suggests that the Europeans, missionaries, officials and settlers saw the school primarily as an agent for socialising and were not fully appreciative of its function of mobility.<sup>(23)</sup> Steere however was fully aware of this role and felt that it should be pointed out to the underprivileged.

If you saw a rich man bring up his children without instruction you would see that he was wrong. But to them education is not so valuable as to the poor. Have we not seen capable men pushed aside for want of a little book knowledge? (24)

The middle and upper class background of the UMCA's clerical missionaries and their own training gave them a broad view of education and its value which was not general in Africa at that time.

(21) *ibid.*

(22) Heanley, R.M., Sermon Notes of Bp. Steere, Vol. III p.117

(23) Anderson, J., The Struggle for the School, 1970, p. 5

(24) Heanley, R.M., Sermon Notes of Bp. Steere, Vol. III p. 317.

The working-class evangelical missionary had little interest in education, for example the South African Baptists in Northern Rhodesia taught the African to read only because they "wanted their students to commit to memory 'selected portions' of Scripture and hymns".<sup>(25)</sup> Similarly the South Africa General Mission in Nyasaland was proud of the fact that its educational work had 'never been developed beyond the purpose for which it is immediately useful in enabling the people to read the word of God for themselves and to write'.<sup>(26)</sup> This would not do for the U.M.C.A. missionary who wished if possible to provide a broad range of subjects in the schools. In an article in Nyasa News, May 1895, a member of the mission wrote advocating a broadening of the curriculum, after discussing religious education, the three R's and musical drill to include 'Drawing, especially geometrical because of its utility in building, carpentry work, etc.' and went on to suggest the teaching of

Geography certainly but beginning with the particular district in which the school is situated, a ground plan of the school is the first geography lesson always, gradually working up on the synthetic method, enlarge the sphere till a knowledge of Africa has been acquired, then, and not till then, take in the other continents and proceed backwards on the analytic method. Our experience has been that the pupils take readily to Geography. History must be very carefully taught. British History in the usual acceptation of the term we would not teach at all. Biographies of illustrious men of all times and of all countries are much more valuable. The various kinds of Government in different countries and how they have evolved, the making and enforcing of laws, the theory of taxation might be taught with advantage minus their cobweb covering of wars and battles and dates. Science, but let it be very thorough and systematic, whether Physiology, Botany, Geology or any other. Let us have no dabbling, no superficial smattering, rather make no attempt at it at all. A knowledge of the processes of the various manufactures and industries of civilization might be given in the form of an object lesson, and in this, as in most of our teaching the Magic

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(25) Rotherg., Christian Missionaries. p. 108

(26) Macdonald, thesis, op.cit. p. 77.

Lantern should play a prominent part. (27)

These advanced views are by no means typical of the mission as a whole, but the belief in a broad-based education is. The missionaries had widely ranging interests; Chauncy Maples is possibly the best example, and his letters are full of references to music, English literature and science, especially geology. He was a man of wide reading, ready and able to discuss any subject. The literary interests of the missionaries cannot be overstressed and books were a major pre-occupation; they had some 120 books when they first arrived at Zanzibar, covering all topics from theology, literature and history to Turner's Cotton Planters Manual and The Young Pilgrim by A.L.O.E. (28) When fire destroyed much of the mission station at Likoma, including the church, in 1892 'the most heart-rending loss' was the library of 1,400 books (29). However the library was re-established and they were able to issue in 1905 a 226 page printed catalogue of the library listing some 4,500 works, 69 pages being devoted to theological works and 46 pages to literature and poetry. (30) In My African Reminiscences W. P. Johnson describes how on the first trip to Masasi, Steere read and talked about a guidebook to Spain and The Two Gentlemen of Verona. (31)

The desire to give the African a varied education led to some strange lessons in the bush schools. One missionary recalls coming across

(27) Nyassa News, No. 8 May 1895 pp. 248-54

(28) USPG/UMCA Green Desk. C.A.M. List of Books June 1864

(29) Anderson-Moreshead, A.E.M., History of the U.M.C.A., Vol. 1 p. 130.

(30) U.M.C.A. Library Catalogue for the Diocese of Likoma. 1905

(31) Johnson, W.P., My African Reminiscences, p. 21.

a native teacher trying unsuccessfully to get a pupil to pronounce Artaxerxes correctly, and that he remarked to the teacher 'It does not matter how he pronounces the name as long as he knows what he did'.

The reasons for the apparent lack of interest in industrial education can also be traced to the missionaries' upbringing; only a very small proportion of them had had any connection with trade and industry, and they thus found it difficult to develop this work. The parsonage or country house were not the ideal training ground for teachers of trades. Also science and industry were far from being accepted at the public schools as suitable careers. There was no demand for such training from upper class parents, and headmasters such as George Moberly of Winchester saw no value in the physical sciences 'as a matter of education and training of the mind'.<sup>(32)</sup>

The most successful trade developed by the mission was printing, which was closely allied to the missionaries' literary interests, Steere being the first printer. It seems however that in most cases their religious background rather instilled a dislike of promoting an industrial mission, as spreading the Gospel was the priority: Bishop Smythies counselled his missionaries not to take up industrial work while 'much spiritual work has to be done'.<sup>(33)</sup> And Bishop Hine, answering critics of the mission's policy, wrote:

Why waste time and money in teaching a few handicrafts which have to do with the things that are seen, when we are sent out to be witnesses of the things that are not seen and teachers of that which is eternal? .....  
The one great work is to make people Christians . . .  
To the world at large it is the civilizing side of mission work that appeals, as being 'something practical'.

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(32) T. W. Bamford, *op.cit.* pp. 86-115. Thomas Arnold of Rugby had earlier written 'Physical science alone can never make a man educated . . . it is only moral and religious knowledge which can accomplish this.' *ibid.* p. 92

(33) Spottiswoode, G. A., The Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion, 1894. pp. 395-402.

In the eyes of those who believe in Christianity, religion is the great thing in life, and they believe that it is infinitely more important that men be religious than that they be carpenters or builders or clerks, or even houseboys and cooks to English residents. We do right and good work in trying to raise up native teachers and from the teachers to draw, for further training, men for the sacred ministry. (34)

As has already been stressed, the educational policy of the mission was based solely on this aim, girls' education being begun only so that suitable educated Christian wives could be found for African teachers and clergy. It was this single-minded purpose of training the African for a specific role that constituted the major difference between the work of the UMCA and that of other missions in East and Central Africa. The Scottish missionaries in Nyasaland were bringing Christianity and civilization to the African in order to create a self-supporting Christian society, the fundamentalist groups were spreading the gospel and little else, and the Roman Catholics though creating Catholic communities were doing little in the way of formal education at this time.

The desire to educate the African in a way that would not disturb his traditional way of life was an admirable but unrealistic attitude. The very presence of the missionaries with their undoubted economic and social superiority would negate any attempt to shield the African from Western civilization. To do this, as D. C. Smith of Blantyre said, the missionary would have to become an isolated ascetic, a method strongly advocated by Chauncy Maples, and pursued by a remarkable number of the UMCA missionaries.<sup>(35)</sup> In the face of increasing Westernization action was taken to discourage African clergy and teachers from adopting Western clothes and customs, and more positive moves were made to understand the beliefs and customs of the African. But no matter what action was taken by the missionary to assimilate himself, the policy was destroyed

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(34) Hine, J. E., Days Gone By, pp. 117-118.

(35) See page 109-14 above.

when it came to the actual schooling. There were no signs of any attempt to adapt English school methods to the needs of the African. Language teaching was purely literature-based, and although exceptional progress was made in the study of vernacular languages, the adoption of Swahili as the teaching language meant that an alien language was the one used in much of the mission's field of work. The African schools differed little from the National School in an English village, or the English Public School, as H. H. Johnston remarked:

There is something very suggestive of the English public school about the Anglican missionaries. Athletics bulk largely and wholesomely in their curriculum. Their boy pupils are taught to play football and cricket and to use the oar rather than the paddle. (36)

The missionaries were on the whole trying to create African images of themselves and yet somehow make them content to stay in their traditional society. It is difficult to understand how the UMCA missionaries in this period were unable to see the inconsistencies of this policy.

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(36) H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, p. 201



### 3. EDUCATION IN THE VERNACULAR? LANGUAGE STUDY AND THE U.M.C.A.

The major dilemma that faced all pioneer missionary societies entering Africa was the choice of a language of evangelisation and education. Few, if any, of the early missions went out to Africa with any clear idea of the tongue spoken by the group among whom they were going to eventually settle. This was partly due to the almost complete ignorance of African languages, but also because the exact place of settlement was never known. With well over a hundred mother-tongues and numerous dialects in the area of Tanganyika<sup>(1)</sup>, no study of the language was worthwhile without a precise location in mind. For these reasons missionaries entered Africa ill-equipped for communicating to the inhabitants, and as the spreading of the word of God was their main purpose this was an obvious handicap. Thus the first task of the missionary, before beginning any educational work, was to learn the language of the people around him and to commit it to paper. Some were slow, some even incapable, and for many years they relied on interpreters, which had obvious drawbacks particularly if the interpreter was non-Christian or had little training in the faith. Very likely the interpreter, possibly not always understanding the missionaries' words, would decide what to say, and the missionary not understanding the language would be unable to tell if his message was being put across correctly or what impact it was having on the natives. However many missionaries did begin at once with language study, often with little training, and achieved remarkable success. The U.M.C.A. was particularly fortunate in possessing a number of gifted linguists amongst its missionaries and their contribution to the study

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(1) Abdulaziz, M. H. 'Tanzania's National Language Policy and the Rise of Swahili Political Culture', Whiteley, W. H. (ed.) Language Use and Social Change, 1971, pp. 160-165.

of African languages, and their translation work is most impressive.<sup>(2)</sup>

The first U.M.C.A. party at Magomero on the Zambezi worked hard at Mang'anja (Chinyanja):

The language is the object of our chief attention at present, and until we have attained that we cannot expect to do much. We have been successful in attaining some knowledge of it, far beyond what we could have looked for, and are daily advancing. The Bishop and Scude take the lead, and they make it their peculiar work, but it is a poor language and far from difficult. (3)

Bishop Mackenzie kept by him a notebook for words and phrases<sup>(4)</sup>.

However with the mission's changing fortunes and settlements little progress was made. In fact Mang'anja would have been of limited use as the language of evangelisation as the main tongue of the surrounding people was Yao.

The problem of the limited use of certain African languages and dialects was solved for the U.M.C.A. by the mission's move to Zanzibar in 1864 and the adoption of Swahili as the common language. They were not impressed by their initial contact with this language; Steere reported back to the Hon. Secretary of the mission that the common people speak 'Suaheli a sort of jargon sufficient for the expression of common wants and no more'<sup>(5)</sup> and Tozer pressed for the teaching of English to their first pupils.<sup>(6)</sup> But as they acquired a greater knowledge of Swahili their attitude changed and it was seen as the key

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(2) See Appendix V Language Studies and Translations by U.M.C.A. Missionaries 1860-1905.

(3) Bennett, N. R. and Ylvisaker, M., (eds.) The Central African Journal of Lovell J. Procter, 1860-64. 1971, p. 153.

(4) *ibid.*, p. 436.

(5) U.SP.G./U.M.C.A. AI/III Steere to Hon. Sec., 11/11/1864.

(6) Ward, G. Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 91.

to the conversion of East and Central Africa.

There is probably no African language so widely known as the Swahili. It is understood along the coast of Madagascar and Arabia, it is spoken by the Seedeas in India, and is the trade language of a very large part of Central or Intertropical Africa. Zanzibar traders penetrate sometimes even to the western side of the continent, and they are in the constant habit of traversing more than half of it with their supplies of Indian and European goods. Throughout this immense district any one really familiar with the Swahili language will generally be able to find some one who can understand him, and serve as an interpreter.

This consideration makes it a point of the greatest importance to our Central African Mission that Swahili should be thoroughly examined and well learnt. For if the members of the Mission can go forth from Zanzibar, or, still better, can leave England already well acquainted with this language, and provided with books and translations adapted to their wants, they will carry with them a key that can unlock the secrets of an immense variety of strange dialects, whose very names are as yet unknown to us. For they will not only be able at once to communicate with new tribes, but in mastering this really simple and far from difficult language they will have learnt how to set about learning and writing all others of the same class, since they agree with Swahili in all the chief respects in which it differs from our European tongues. (7)

Tozer was by no means a linguist so that the burden of studying Swahili and committing it to paper fell on Edward Steere.<sup>(8)</sup> Fortunately Steere was particularly well-trained for the task, having a lifelong interest in languages. From 1837 to 1842 he had attended a private school in Hackney known as the 'Madras House Grammar School', where he was taught by the principal, Dr. Alexander Allen, a brilliant linguist and philologist.<sup>(9)</sup> Steere later said that in those years Allen 'gave him a knack of dealing with languages which has been invaluable in Africa'.<sup>(10)</sup> In 1842 he moved on to University College Junior School,

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(7) Steere, E., A Handbook of the Swahili Language, Preface 1st ed. May 1870.

(8) Ward, G., Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 104

(9) Allen, Alexander (1814-42), philologist. See D.N.B.

(10) USPG/UMCA A.1(III) F. W. Steere, Mss. Biography of Bp. Steere.

London, where his interest in languages was encouraged, and he studied Greek, Latin, French, and German, though in no subject was he the star pupil. It is said that in his spare time he took up Chinese, and later while practising law he acquired a reading knowledge of Italian and Spanish.<sup>(11)</sup> This background gave him a technique for studying Swahili which was to prove invaluable.

On the mission's arrival at Zanzibar in August 1864 they found that although Krapf and Rebmann, the C.M.S. missionaries at Rabai and Mombasa, had been engaged in the study of Swahili for twenty years their work was of little use at Zanzibar.<sup>(12)</sup>

All the Europeans told us that Dr. Krapf's books were of no use at all, and indeed we found them very little help. Not because he had misconceived the language, but because he had been to some extent misled by a pedantic clique of so-called learned men in Mombasa, who induced him to accept as pure Swahili an over-refined kind of dialect, scarcely or not at all intelligible to the mass of the nation, and, further, because of a singularly confused style of writing and spelling, so that these works were of scarcely any use to a mere beginner. We started, therefore, almost independently.<sup>(13)</sup>

However the grammar and vocabulary compiled by Krapf, his translation of part of the Book of Common Prayer, the manuscript vocabulary of Rev. J. Rebmann copied by Bishop Tozer on his visit to Mombasa in November 1864, and the manuscript vocabularies collected by Mr. Witt and Mr. Schultz, representatives of O'Swald and Co. in Zanzibar, formed

- (11) Heanley, R.M., Memoir of Bishop Steere, pp. Frank, C. N., 'Bishop Steere and Kiswahili', I.N.R., 32, Jan. 1952
- (12) Krapf, J. L., Outline of the Elements of the Kiswahili Language with Special Reference to the Kinika Dialect, Tubingen, 1850. For further details on the early study of Swahili see Whiteley, W., Swahili: The Rise of a National Language, 1969.
- (13) Steere, E. in the Bible Society's Monthly Reporter, July 1862. In Nov. 1864 Tozer had gone to Mombasa with the intention of bringing back one of the C.M.S. pupils to teach them pure Swahili. USPG/UMCA A I ( I ) Steere to Hon. Sec., 11/11/1864.

the basis for Steere's researches. His work progressed rapidly, and he received particular help from Hami wa Tani and his son Mohammed, both of whom knew English and French well and were of pure Swahili extraction.

To the disinterested kindness of Mohammed, who, while confined to his house by sickness, allowed me to spend every Saturday morning in questioning him about his language, I owe all that is best in my knowledge of African tongues. (14)

As early as July 1865 Steere had begun to print the first pages of his collections for a 'Handbook of Swahili as Spoken in Zanzibar', and this was soon followed in 1866 by the publication of short tales printed in Swahili with the English translation and it was Steere's first excursion into the field of Swahili literature. A further collection of Swahili tales Hadithi za Kiunguja came out the following year, for which he was indebted to 'a very intelligent young Swahili' Hamis wa Kayi, and to a scholar Sheikh Mohammed bin Ali for some 'very famous Swahili poetry' which was printed with the tales.

By the beginning of 1867 he had begun seriously to undertake the translation of the Bible into Swahili and on his return to England in November 1868 he superintended the printing of a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Books of Ruth and Jonah, a Church Catechism and Reading lessons out of the Old Testament.<sup>(15)</sup> Thus the task proceeded, the early researches culminating in the publication of his famous Handbook of the Swahili Language in 1870, a work which was to go through numerous editions and be reprinted 17 times.<sup>(16)</sup> His equally well-known

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(14) Steere, E., A Handbook of the Swahili Language, 1870, Preface.

(15) Ward, G., Letters of Tozer, pp. 118, 122-25. A full description of the early development of the study of Swahili is given in the 1870 preface to Steere's Handbook

(16) Last reprinted in 1955, see Appendix V.

Swahili Exercises was the result of his second and much longer spell in Africa, a period during which much of his time was spent on the translation of the Bible and the production of teaching materials in Swahili.<sup>(17)</sup> His prolific output of translations, and works on African languages, was only halted by his death in Aug. 1882, when the role of mission linguist was taken up by the equally gifted layman Arthur Cornwallis Madan, a former senior student and tutor of Christ Church College, Oxford, who had joined the mission in 1880. Madan produced, amongst many other works in Swahili, an English-Swahili Vocabulary in 1884, and ten years later an English-Swahili Dictionary.

Though much of the time and energy of the linguistic-minded missionaries went at first into the study of Swahili and the writing of translations, this did not prevent them from making important contributions to the study of the mainland Bantu languages. It was realised from the start that although Swahili might be useful as a 'lingua franca' the initial contact with villagers would have to be in their tribal tongue. To this end Steere compiled, and published, with a view to the expansion of the mission on the mainland, collections relating to the Shambala (1867), Gindo, Zaramo and Angazidja (1869), Nyamwezi (1871), Yao (1871) and Makonde (1876) languages. Following the establishment of mainland stations studies were published by Chauncy Maples on Makua (1879) and Yao (1887), by H. W. Woodward on Bondel (1882) and Zigula (1896, 1902), by Miss M. E. Woodward on Chinyanja (1892, 1898), G. Dale on Bondel (1894), W. H. Kisbey on Zigula (1896, 1906) and H. Barnes on Chinyanja (1902). Considerable research on the latter language was undertaken by W. P. Johnson and between 1894 and 1899 at least 23 works, translations of parts of the Bible into Nyanja, were produced by him.<sup>(18)</sup>

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(17) See Appendix V.

(18) *ibid.*



In all at least 28 U.M.C.A. missionaries made a significant contribution to the study of African languages in the period before 1905. This remarkable record was probably unequalled by any other missionary body, and owes much to the social and educational background of the missionaries, most coming from homes in which a knowledge of languages would be encouraged. The male members on the whole had had good groundings in the classical languages at public school and university. Chauncy Maples in particular saw that his education had provided him with the very necessary training for language study.

I am busy now at translations from the Hebrew of the Old Testament (into Swahili) . . . Please observe that such work as this I could not have attempted unless I had had the advantage of a close study of the New Testament and some Hebrew knowledge at Oxford. (19) Of all the members of the mission under the Bishop Johnson and I are most fitted by education &c, to undertake the work of tackling the Yao and Makua languages, and of finally attempting translations in them. (20)

Their background made it inevitable that when they came to study an African language they would apply classical grammar to it. The missionaries were primarily looking at Swahili as a language of translation and not as a language in itself, forcing it into the straightjacket of an alien terminology on Swahili and seriously hampered its growth as a language. (21) The foreword to a small Swahili grammar produced by the mission in 1893 states:

English terminology has been freely used, because it is almost wholly derived from the original Latin, and practically the same as in general use among civilized nations. (22)

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- (19) Maples, E., Life of Chauncy Maples, p. 88, C.M. to Mother, 3/5/1877.  
 (20) *ibid.*, p. 84, C.M. to his mother, March 9th 1877.  
 (21) Whiteley, W. H., 'Swahili and the Classical Tradition', I.N.R. 52, 1959  
 (22) Maelezo ya Serifu ya Kiswahili, U.M.C.A., 1893. 'This little grammar in Swahili is followed within the same covers by a grammar of English in Swahili'. Whiteley, *op.cit.*

Unlike many missionary societies however the U.M.C.A. did not just see the native language as a vehicle solely for evangelization. Steere demonstrated in his three collections of Swahili stories, that there was a literature also to be studied, and A. C. Madan in Kiungani - Story and History from Central Africa brought together translations of 44 biographies and tales told by African boys from ten mainland tribes.<sup>(23)</sup> Africans were encouraged to write and translate; Samwil Chiponde, Cecil Majaliwa and Arthur Machaku were particularly active in this field.<sup>(24)</sup> The mission published the important Habari za Wakilindi, in three parts<sup>(25)</sup> and also three magazines in Swahili and Bondai and the first Tanganyikan newspaper, Habari ya Mwezi (1895). Contributions of poems and stories by Africans were frequent in the latter, and about 1904 a collection of African poems, chiefly from it, entitled Mashairi was published.

As has been mentioned, on Steere's return to Africa in 1872 he began the important work of producing school textbooks in Swahili. If anything more than reading, writing and religion was to be taught in the vernacular, special textbooks were needed. From the very first the use of books produced in England had presented difficulties:

Then come books, reading lessons, and so forth. What we have are so strangely unsuited to our Eastern notions. Ice and snow are for ever tripping one up. One sheet lesson begins: 'The Arabs do not live in houses of stone or wood as we do'; 'They do not stay long in one place,' etc. which is very confusing to our boys, who know that every stone house which they ever saw was built by and for the Arabs. On reading this one day an Arab exclaimed: 'How is this? Arabs always live in stone houses. It is the Bedouins who live in tents.'

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(23) Madan, A. C., Kiungani - Story and History from Central Africa. 1887

(24) See Appendix V.

(25) Printed at Magila 1895, 1905, and 1907. The history of the Kilindi rulers of Usambara.

and at once, poor fellow, his faith in the accuracy of English literature received a rude shock. (26)

Steere, followed by Madan and Weston, produced an array of textbooks on spelling, grammar, geography, arithmetic, English, history, geology, philosophy and singing from 1872 onwards. Popular works of literature, ranging from Aesops fables and Shakespeare to Kingsley's Heroes and Rider Haggard's Wizard, were translated into Swahili to be used as readers in the schools.

This proliferation of teaching materials in Swahili and the experience of the missionaries in it meant that Swahili became the language of education in the mainland schools rather than the vernacular or English. Swahili however was unsuitable for the initial evangelisation, as Maples reported to the secretary of the Mission soon after his arrival at Masasi:

The two languages spoken here are Yao and Makua. The first of the two is the one Johnson and I mean to address ourselves to and very hard it is. It is rather tiresome just as one was getting fluent in Swahili to have to begin upon a new language, but the people here do not understand Swahili altho it is the language of the future for all these parts. (27)

Almost identical reports came from the Usambara region:

I wonder if people realise one of the difficulties here in teaching, that is the necessary use of two languages at least - sometimes of a third to some extent? Swahili, Kibondei, and Kishambala! Our offices are chiefly in Swahili. Our instruction to be intelligible to the bulk of the people must be in Bondei and sometimes a Shambala word or expression makes things clearer to some of them. (28)

And to the greater part of the peoples of the Nyasa area Swahili was a completely unknown tongue, but this did not prevent the missionaries from using it in the schools there for some ten years. Its use was

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(26) Ward, G., Letters of Tozer, p. 153 27/10/1865

(27) USPG/UMCA A1(IX) C. Maples to Heanley, Masasi 3/8/1877

(28) USPG/UMCA A1(VII) Woodward to Child, Misozwe 10/12/1888.

justified by the lack of Chinyanja teaching materials, and they wished to refrain from using the Bible, which had been partially translated, as a school reading book.<sup>(29)</sup>

Swahili was found by many of the missionaries on the mainland to be more of a hindrance than a help, but force of circumstances led to its widespread use and this had a marked effect on it as a 'lingua franca'. All the pupils at Kiungani school at Zanzibar were taught Swahili as their main language and one finds freed slaves with varieties of origins, Nyassas, Bombas, Bisas, Makuas, Yaos, Zaramos, Sagaras, Gindos, Gandas and Nyoros, all talking and writing fluently in Swahili at the school. Some of the older ones retained some knowledge of their mother-tongue but on the whole it was forgotten.<sup>(30)</sup> This was to be expected of freed slaves uprooted from their homes, but in the 1890s when Kiungani became the central College for boys from the various mainland stations, it was found that the one unifying factor in the school was the Swahili which they had been taught in their school in the Nyasa, Usambara or Rovuma region. The much quoted extract from the letter of Yohanna Abdallah<sup>(31)</sup>, readily illustrates this point.

We are so many boys in this house (Kiungani), and of different tribes, Yaos, Makuas, Bondeis, Nyassas; but we all speak Swahili language. (32)

They spoke Swahili because they had learnt it in the mainland schools run by the U.M.C.A., not because the language had been spread far and wide by traders.

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(29) Maples, C., 'Likoma School', Nyasa News, Feb. 1894.

(30) Madan, A. C. Kiungani, op.cit. Eustace Malisawa a Yao by birth had to relearn the language on going to Masasi as a teacher from Kiungani.

(31) See Appendix II Native Clergy.

(32) USPG/UMCA A/5 Yohannah Abdallah to Isabel Hall 2/1/1894.

Not all missionaries working in East Africa looked so favourably on Swahili. The German Moravians and Lutherans in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika, the Lutherans in the Usambara region and other Evangelical-Lutheran groups all strongly objected to it on religious grounds, its close connection with Islam implying that the language itself contained subversive religious ideas. The Moravians at Tabora were forbidden by their home board to introduce Swahili into their schools, until 1906, because it was thought to facilitate the spread of Islam.<sup>(33)</sup> The Roman Catholics, except in the Lake provinces, the U.M.C.A., and the Bethel missionaries, all having spread from the Swahili dominated coast, did not see Swahili in the same light. To Steere the very fact that it was connected with a 'revealed religion' in Islam and also had great affinities with the African languages made it an ideal language for the spreading of Christianity.<sup>(34)</sup>

A boost for the U.M.C.A.'s dependence on Swahili as its 'lingua franca' came with the arrival of the German administration in 1890. Already the commissioner, von Wissman, had advocated a thorough understanding of local conditions and peoples, and direct communication through the language of the locale as the policy to be followed, his army (schutztruppe) adopting Swahili as its standard language. The Governor, von Soden, continued this policy by attempting to establish the administration on the existing commercial framework and cause as little disruption as possible. Swahili was at once chosen as the territorial language. All the auxiliaries of the administration, the soldiers, teachers, policemen, guides, interpreters, and junior

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(33) Wright, M., German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941, 1971 pp.108-115  
 Wright, M., 'Local Roots of Policy in German East Africa',  
Journal of African History IX, 1968, pp. 621-630.

(34) Steere, E., Handbook. op.cit. preface.

(35) The three works of Marcia Wright cited above. Abdulaziz, M. H. 'Tanzania's National Language Policy', op.cit. Whiteley, W. H., Swahili: The Rise of a National Language. Chapter IV.

officials (akidas and liwalis) were Swahilis or Swahili-speaking. Thus the language came to be given a prestige status as the language of administration, education and modernity. The acquisition of Swahili began to be of importance to the African for in some areas chiefs were deposed by the Germans because they did not speak it. With the coming of the Germans Swahili changed from the language of trade to the language of power. Missions, of course, benefitted from this, for the African sought knowledge of Swahili from their schools, and from 1898 it became technically possible for mission schools to receive a subsidy for adopting an official Swahili curriculum and allowing District Officers to conduct examinations. Secular schools were also established at Tanga, Dar es Salaam and Bagamayo in order to train up indigenous teachers and functionaries in Swahili and obedience to the German nation. The German language was only introduced later for the education of higher grades.<sup>(35)</sup>

In this immense expansion of the use of Swahili after 1890 the pioneering work of the U.M.C.A. in language study and translations was of great value to other missions and the administration. Already before the colonial period the mission had furnished expeditions with tuition and materials for the study of Swahili. In 1872 Steere had travelled back to Africa in the company of the Livingstone Search Expedition acting as their instructor in languages. The explorer Joseph Thompson had received tuition from Bishop Steere at Zanzibar in January 1879 before setting out for the Central African Lakes, and H. H. Johnston learnt Swahili in the Congo in 1882 from Steere's Handbook which had been lent him by H. M. Stanley.<sup>(36)</sup> Other examples

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(35) The three works of Marcia Wright cited above. Abdulaziz, M. H. 'Tanzania's National Language Policy', op.cit. Whiteley, W. H., Swahili: The Rise of a National Language. Chapter IV.

(36) Heanley, R.M., Bishop Steere, p.102. Thomson, J., To The Central African Lakes and Back, 1881, p.30. Spanton, E., In German Gaoles, 1917, preface.



could be cited. Many missionary societies made use of the U.M.C.A. publications and also had works printed by the mission. As early as 1867 they printed a Swahili catechism by Fr. Baur of the French Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Mission<sup>(37)</sup>, and in 1894 the mission printed at Nagila the first Lutheran Swahili Hymnal compiled by August Krämer working at Tanga<sup>(38)</sup>. The Lutherans in Zaramo used many of U.M.C.A.'s Swahili works including reading materials, liturgy for Baptism, and the Bible, and when their first Mission Inspector, Rev. C. Buttner produced his Swahili Grammar he based it on Steere's Handbook.<sup>(39)</sup> The mission was well aware of the widespread use of its translations and because of this at the 1893 Synod a resolution was passed to the effect that works translated by the U.M.C.A. into African languages should 'not reflect upon the beliefs of other Christians who held the Creeds so that our books may be read by them without appearing to be in any way controversial'.<sup>(40)</sup> The secular Government Schools depended on the U.M.C.A. for their teaching materials in Swahili, and the government did not begin producing its own Swahili schoolbooks until 1906.<sup>(41)</sup>

The dominance of the mission in this field and its remarkable output owed much to the early introduction of printing. If the mission had not had a printing press from the moment work began on

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(37) Saleh, Ali, 'Swahili as a language of Culture and Teaching', Présence Africaine, 78, 1971.

(38) von Sicard, S., The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania, 1970 p. 99.

(39) *ibid.*, p. 56.

(40) USPG/UNCA Archives Minutes of Chapter and Synods 1868-1893.

(41) Wright, M., 'Swahili Language Policy', *op.cit.*, p. 44.

language study at Zanzibar in 1864 it would have been greatly hampered by the necessity and cost of sending material to England to be printed. Ownership of a press meant that all sorts of material from parts of the Bible to Aesop's Fables could be run off and quickly disseminated. Cost was minimal because printing was used as an occupation for the unacademic pupils at Kiungani, supervision, proof-reading and sewing were all carried out by the missionaries, and an income was received by taking in work from the town of Zanzibar, (menus were printed for the Sultan, official forms and circulars for the foreign consuls, and bill headings for tradesmen). Once again it was thanks to Steere that the mission was able to begin printing. He had taught himself to print while working as a barrister in London and in 1852 he purchased a Hollzopffel printing press on which 'he printed labels for his scientific collections or any pieces of theological or philosophical value which attracted his attention.'<sup>(42)</sup> And so on arrival at Zanzibar he was able to employ the press which had been provided for the abortive Zambezi settlement. Work increased rapidly and by 1876 he was spending nearly the whole day in the printing office.

Every day he (Steere) used, soon after breakfast, to repair to the printing-office, where he remained till nearly noon, revising and correcting proof-sheets of his various Swahili translations, setting up the type himself not unfrequently, and often sewing together the pages of the little pamphlets and tracts, which were handed to him wet from the press . . . . After the midday meal he would bring a whole pile of freshly-printed matter into the general sitting-room, and handing round a few needles and some thread, would soon begin stitching together the tracts and books with a rapidity we vainly tried to equal . . . . In the afternoon he would again take his place in the printing-office, where he stayed until after school hours were over. (43)

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(42) USPG/UMCA A1 (III), F. W. Steere, *Mss. Biography of Bp. Steere*.

(43) Heanley, R. M., Bishop Steere, quoting Chauncy Maples. p. 163.

The importance of printing to the mission is shown by the establishment of a press at Likoma in 1889, and one at Magila by 1891.

We have seen that Steere was anxious to teach the natives in their own language in order to prevent denationalization, and this has been taken to mean that he held the advanced views on African education which were to be expressed by many missionaries in the 1920s. Edwin W. Smith, in The Golden Stool, claimed that 'any real education of the African involves the conservation and use of his language in all stages, from the lowest to the highest', and he quoted Diedrich Westermann as stating in 1925 that:

Language and mental life are so closely connected that any educational work which does not take into consideration the inseparable unity between African language and African thinking is based on false principles and must lead to an alienation of the individual from his own self, his past, his traditions and his people. If the African is to keep and to develop his own soul and is to become a separate personality, his education must not begin by inoculating him with a foreign civilization, but it must implant respect for the indigenous racial life, it must teach him to love his country and tribe as gifts given by God which are to be purified and brought to full growth by the new divine life. One of these gifts is the vernacular, it is the vessel in which the whole national life is contained and through which it finds expression. (44)

This states more fully a policy which Steere and Tozer were advocating, but finding impossible to put into practice. One of the most glaring inconsistencies between their theory and practice was in the use of the vernacular. Swahili was not the vernacular of the mainland tribes, it was an alien tongue imbued with an alien culture, but its use can be justified by its connections with the Bantu languages. It must be assumed that Steere considered Swahili as a vernacular language and that he was objecting to the use of English and other European languages. However the mission's desire to train up a cultured native clergy inevitably involved them in the teaching of English. No matter how

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(44) Smith, E. W., The Golden Stool, <sup>(1925)</sup> 193, pp. 300-301 quoting Westermann, D., 'The Place and Function of the Vernacular in African Education', International Review of Missions, Jan. 1925.

much work was put into the production of Swahili text books<sup>(45)</sup>, it was impossible to give the African an English-style higher education without studying books in English, and so from the beginning it had to be taught in schools, both at Zanzibar and on the mainland. At Magila, Farler wrote in 1881 'We have a special class for English, as English must be our classical language,'<sup>(46)</sup> but it was to be much more than that; it became the language of higher education. A study of the timetables of Kiungani College in 1894 reveals that every class studied English, and that the head class had as many as four English lessons a day.<sup>(47)</sup> Thus, far from helping the development of traditional society by teaching in the vernacular, the mission by its educational work was promoting what has been recently called 'The most insidious, least identifiable form of white oppression . . . It is through the English language that white norms, white ascendancy and anti-black myths are foisted upon black people.'<sup>(48)</sup>

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(45) In 1901, Frank Weston wrote in Swahili a book on Dogmatic Theology for the theological students. Smith, H. M. Frank, Bp. of Zanzibar p. 34.

(46) USPG/UMCA A1 (VI) Farler to Penney, Magila Oct. 4th 1881.

(47) U.M.C.A., Annual Report 1894.

(48) Review of Searle, C., The Forsaken Lover: White Words and Black People, in Times Literary Supplement, June 23rd 1972.

4. KIUNGANI AND THE CREATION OF A NATIVE MINISTRY

The creation of a native ministry was the avowed aim of the U.M.C.A. and all its educational work was directed at this result. A month after arriving in Zanzibar Tozer wrote of the mission headquarters: 'The work of this house will be the training up of boys for the ministry and some girls as suitable wives for them . . . Many, of course will fall below the standard of Holy Orders, and be useful in other ways,<sup>(1)</sup>. The first five freed slave boys, Farajallah, Swedi, Mabruki, Feruzi and Sangolo<sup>(2)</sup> and the four others that later joined them formed the basis for Tozer's 'missionary college'. He and Steere devoted much time and energy to their education and when in 1865 Miss Helen Tozer arrived at Zanzibar she reported:

The nine boys are perfect little gentlemen - nice soft manners, full of intelligence; they speak a little English with a pure accent, and understand all you say. Yesterday I gave them a singing lesson in chapel; they sang the *Glories* and two hymns in English very nicely, and their conduct is beyond all praise. I have seen two sums in addition and multiplication both right, and long rows of figures; and to-day I heard six of them read a card - the history of Joseph - in English and Swahili, and their answers to questions were quite beautiful, evidently attending to and understanding all the story. Two of the boys are Christians in will; and Kongo, the oldest, we always call the future Bishop - he is so good, steady, grave, and thoughtful. (3)

and she described the educational work in progress one morning:

Miss Jones is teaching the nine girls their 'one, two, three, four,' etc., and then a little of the Lord's Prayer. Dr. Steere has the second class in his room of the new boys; they are very slow in pronouncing some

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(1) Ward, G., Letters of Tozer, p. 88

(2) For Farajallah, Swedi and Mabruki see Appendix III. Africans educated in England. Robert Feruzi, a Nyasa, bapt. Aug. 24 1864, accompanied Stanley on his trip across Africa 1874-77. Later worked for mission at Zanzibar. Arthur Sangolo, a Yao, bapt. Aug. 24 1864.

(3) Ward, G., Letters of Tozer, p. 118.

of the numbers. He goes over and over 'Six, six, - seven, seven', with the utmost patience they say. The Bishop, with the first class, is in his room; they are reading. (4)

Work continued in this fashion for a number of years, hampered by frequent changes and shortages of staff and by disappointments over the pupils. However in 1870 Bishop Tozer was able to ordain George Farajallah and John Swedi to the specially created office of sub-deacon, and thus the first step in the creation of a native ministry had been achieved. By this time Tozer's 'missionary college' had begun to take physical shape for in 1867 he had purchased, with the help of students and others connected with Wells Theological College, a house and estate 1 mile south of Zanzibar. And in 1869 the boys school was moved out to this estate known as Kiungani, and so the foundations were laid for what was to become the foremost educational institution in East Africa before the First World War. (5)

Kiungani, 'the cradle of the African church', is considered to have commenced as a missionary college in 1871, when its chapel was consecrated. The lists of pupils which survive from that date record 653 pupils entering the school by 1900, the actual number at the school at any one time fluctuating between 50 and 100. (6) The school, though always considered primarily as a house for the training of boys for the ministry, was very slow to develop as such and its true role was that of a home for all the freed slave boys. In 1881 it was described as follows:

Kiungani is best described as a sort of Industrial School and Missionary College for boys taken from the slave dhows. The boys number about ninety, and are taught reading,

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(4) *ibid.*, pp. 123-124

(5) Anderson-Moreshead, pp. 54-55, 467-470

(6) U.M.C.A. School Lists, Annual Reports: The Register of the Old Boys of St. Andrews College, Kiungani and Finaki 1871-1931



writing, and arithmetic in Swahili. The most promising are taught English, and by degrees are made pupil teachers, teachers, catechists, readers and subdeacons. For those boys who show no capacity for learning there are various workshops, with English mechanics teaching them their craft. A printing press, a carpenter's shop with lathe, a forge, a tailor's shop, and a laundry in full work. (7)

This was an idealistic view for publication in a periodical in England; a more accurate picture is provided in a letter from J. P. Farler, three years later, when he was acting head of the school.

Here at Kiungani I go on pounding away trying to civilize the boys a little and check disorder. It is very hard work - there is no doubt that this ought to be recognised as a Reformatory pure and simple, for it is nothing else. As long as the industrial element which consists of the rougher and ruder boys is mixed up with the collegiate I don't see how we are to expect teachers of a high tone. (8)

However reforms were in the air in 1884 and with the arrival of the new Bishop, and of Rev. Percy Lisle Jones-Bateman a new era in the life of the 'college' began. Jones-Bateman was to serve the mission as principal of Kiungani for 13 years until his death in 1897. This long spell under a stern but efficient principal did much to improve a situation which had been partly created by frequent changes of staff at the school. Jones-Bateman, educated at Uppingham School and Clare College, Cambridge, brought with him the ideals and traditions of the English public school and he endowed Kiungani with this high standard of education and discipline. At Uppingham he had been much influenced by the teaching of its great headmaster Edward Thring (headmaster 1853-87) who believed that it was the duty of a school to educate all its pupils and not just to concentrate on its most brilliant - 'a place should be found for every boy, with work for him to do that he was capable of doing' - a creed which Jones-Bateman attempted to follow. He

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(7) USPG/UMCA A1 (III) Box 2/972 A Visit to Kiungani College 1880-81

(8) USPG/UMCA A1(VI) pp 441-42 Farler to Penney, Zanzibar August 1884

introduced a 'manly' spirit into Kiungani again derived from Uppingham where Thring had laid great stress on games and had provided the school with first rate playing fields and the country's first school gymnasium.<sup>(9)</sup> Jones-Gateman was a disciplinarian and on his death his colleagues and pupils were unanimous in their praise for his work but they also referred to his inability to make friends and the strict order he kept. He had a keen sense of duty and took great pains with the work at Kiungani, keeping a close eye on the boys when they had left the school.<sup>(10)</sup>

Bishop Smythies was unhappy with the situation when he arrived and quickly instituted reforms to give Kiungani more the atmosphere of a missionary college. The Diocesan Synod which met in May 1884, unanimously decided that 'A theological College should be established as soon as possible for the training of promising native boys for the work of the ministry.'<sup>(11)</sup> Evidently no-one looked on Kiungani as already fulfilling this role; the theological college was not to be physically separate from Kiungani, but it was to be administered separately under A. C. Madan, a former student and tutor at Christ Church, Oxford. Little came of this and the head class at Kiungani really became the training ground of the future clergy. But a major improvement took place in 1886 when the much maligned industrial boys were removed to Mkunazini and academic and industrial training were no longer carried on side by side. Gradually as the work expanded on the mainland the quality of the pupils at Kiungani improved, becoming not so much freed slaves placed indiscriminately in a theological college with

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(9) D. Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p. 270

(10) USPG/UMCA Staff List. Central Africa 1897

(11) USPG/UMCA Minutes of Chapter and Synods 1868-1893.

a vain hope of turning out Anglican clergy, but the children of free mainland Africans who had progressed through bush and central school and had already achieved some academic standing. The first pupils from the Usambara area entered Kiungani by 1882, from the Rovuma in 1885 and Nyasa in 1889. By 1892 40 of the 85 scholars were from the mainland and eight years later of the 90 pupils, 36 came from Usambara, 20 from Rovuma, 10 from Nyasa and the remaining 24 were either freed slaves or came from Zanzibar<sup>(12)</sup>. There was always strong feeling against the freed-slave element on the part of the later missionaries; Dale in 1895 wrote to the Mission Secretary stressing that released slaves should only be allowed into Kiungani after careful sifting<sup>(13)</sup>, and the annual report of 1894 proudly claimed that in that year no new released slaves had entered the school. Thus in the ten years from 1884 Kiungani had progressed from a boys' home to

entirely a High School for the further education of promising boys from our primary schools in all parts of the mission and a Theological College for those who show a vocation for becoming teachers or eventual clergy<sup>(14)</sup>

The 100 or so pupils at Kiungani in the 1890s were taught by seven or eight Europeans and they ranged in age from eight to twenty.<sup>(15)</sup> They were divided into eight classes according to educational attainments. The school timetable for March 1890 shows that the day was split into three main periods 7.15 a.m. to 10.30 or 10.45 a.m., 11 a.m. to 12 noon,

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(12) Anderson-Moreshead, p. 208 ; Ward, G. Bishop Smythies p. 159  
Maples, E., Life and Letters Chauncy Maples, pp 242-313 ; U.M.C.A.  
Annual Reports

(13) USPG/UMCA A VII/481-2 Dale to Travers, Kiungani 20 Aug. 1895

(14) UMCA Annual Report 1895

(15) Anderson-Moreshead, p. 469

and 2 p.m. to 5 p.m., with an additional period from 8.30 to 9.15 p.m. for the head class. A high standard was expected throughout the school:

When boys enter the 2nd Class they are expected to be proficient in Swahili Reading, in Geography to have a General knowledge of the World, having gone through all the 'Jografia', in Arithmetic to have gone through the first four rules, simple and compound Rule of Three, G.C.M. and L.C.M.; in English to have gone through the Third Reader, Indian Series, with Dictation and Translation from the same, to have worked at part, at least, of the Swahili Exercises, to have read the Church History (Swahili) Vol. I and to be acquainted with the subject matter of the Historical Parts of *Visa vya Kale*. (16)

The lessons were reasonably varied with geography, Church history, English, grammar and translation, Euclid and arithmetic, Arabic writing, Swahili, music, etc. No class spent more than three quarters of an hour a day on any religious subject, e.g. theology, learning the catechism, the Old Testament, or Hymns. The Head class, as well as one theology lesson, had daily maths and arithmetic lessons. They also had as many as four lessons in English in a day (spelling and dictation, reading, grammar and exercises, and translation and retranslation); only twice a week did they spend any time on Swahili. Each day was rounded off by an hour's music, followed in the evening by a lesson on a miscellaneous subject (astronomy, human anatomy, geology, meteorology, palaeontology, mechanics, etc.). A geography lesson occurred twice a week but this could be alternated with general history, Church history or a Swahili essay. (17)

The pupils in the head class acted as teachers in other classes in the school, in order to gain experience before being sent out into the mission field. Their role was similar to that of the pupil teacher in

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(16) U.M.C.A. Annual Report 1890 Kiungani School Time Table Mch. 1890

(17) *ibid.*, Kiungani Head Class Time Table March 1890; Anderson-Moreshead, p. 469.

the English village school, though they received more tuition. This was part of the probationary period for the theological student and was formulated by Bishop Smythies in 1886.

The elder boys will employ half their working time in teaching the lower classes, under the superintendence of the European teachers, and will themselves receive instruction during the other half. When it is thought advisable they will be sent on the mainland to teach in the village schools, say, for a year or more, to give them a sense of responsibility and test their powers of more independent work. They will, as a rule, live with the missionaries at the central stations. Then after this time of probation, they can return to complete their training at Kiungani if they are found to have a vocation for Holy Orders. Should it appear desirable, as will often be the case, that they should marry before completing their course of study there are houses near Kiungani which they and their wives can occupy. (18)

Pupils entered Kiungani at all levels and few passed through all the stages in the school from first to head class. Even boys from the freed slave community in Zanzibar would enter at a high level if they had progressed rapidly in the infants school at Kilimani. For instance Augustino Ramadhani, who in 1896 was in the first class at Kilimani, moved the following year to the 4th class at Kiungani and by 1899 had reached the Head class. Similarly James Kathibeni entered the 4th class in 1894 from the first class at Mukanizini Choir School. Michael Chikakota had a typical educational career for a mainland pupil; he first appears in the school lists in 1889 when he was in the 1st class at Likoma, but not yet baptised, two years later having been baptised he took the long journey to Zanzibar and entered the 3rd class at Kiungani. There he rapidly progressed to the Head class in 1893 where he remained for 3 years before returning to Likoma as a teacher, and following a spell as schoolmaster at Msumba he was made a Reader and returned as a theological student to Kiungani in 1899<sup>(19)</sup>.

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(18) Ward, G., Bishop Smythies, pp.70-71

(19) U.M.C.A. School Lists. USPG/UMCA. Ramadhani later became senior African teacher at Kiungani.



Something of the achievements of Kiungani in fulfilling the main role set it by the mission can be judged from the two full surveys made of the careers of 'old boys' by Jones-Bateman in 1890 and 1895. Under the heading 'What becomes of the lads that leave us' he classified their occupations in the annual report for the latter year. Of the 393 pupils whom he considered had passed through the school by 1895, 122 were no longer living, the remainder were divided up as follows:

In Holy Orders	7
Readers and Mission teachers	57
Master craftsmen	50
Overseers	11
Soldiers, sailors, and police	12
Servants and porters	39
Traders or salesmen	3
Temporarily employed	10
Field labourers and work people	36
Apprentices learning trades	28
In prison	2
Unclassified (employment unknown)	36

81% of those now living are living as professing Christians  
 1% have apostasised to Mohammedanism  
 0% have returned to their former heathenism  
 14% are living in a state of religious indifference though absolutely refusing Islam  
 4% - no evidence of their religious profession is to hand. (20)

Thus 64 of the 'old boys' were clergy or teachers, some 23% of those living<sup>(21)</sup>, which is quite a remarkable total when you consider the condition of the school before 1884. The greater part of these were pupils who had come from the mainland, and in detailing the careers of the 56 boys who went from Nyasa to Kiungani 1889-99, Bishop Hine recorded that 48 (86%) had become teachers and 36 (64%) were still working as such along the Lake in 1899.<sup>(22)</sup>

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(20) U.M.C.A. Annual Report, 1894-95; see also Annual Reports 1882-83 and 1890-91.

(21) In 1890 it was 17.5%

(22) Hine, J. E. Introductory words spoken at a conference of Clergy and laity, held at Likoma. April 24, 1899 Note B.



Kiungani was playing a major part in the creation of an African church, principally by a steady output of African teachers. In 1881 there were 21 Africans (39%) on the mission staff and 32 Europeans (61%); by 1891 there were 76 Africans (52%) and 72 Europeans (48%) and by 1901 the respective totals were 178 Africans (65%) and 99 Europeans (35%).<sup>(23)</sup> The number of African clergy included in the above totals had risen from one deacon in 1881, to two priests and a deacon in 1891, and five priests and eight deacons in 1901.<sup>(24)</sup> A native ministry steadily but slowly came into being, though after the initial burst of enthusiasm with the ordination of two of the first five boys as subdeacons in 1870 after only six years work the pace slackened. John Swedi was ordained deacon in 1879 and so became the first African clergyman, but he was no great success, and it was not until 1886 that Cecil Majaliwa became the second native deacon and four years later the first African priest. However the results of the improved condition of Kiungani were to be seen in the following years; in 1893 two deacons were ordained, 1894 one priest and two deacons, 1895 three deacons, 1897 one deacon, 1898 two priests and three deacons and in 1901 one priest and three deacons, and by the end of the last year 16 Africans had been ordained.<sup>(25)</sup>

These 16 were all trained at Kiungani, only three of them, Cecil Majaliwa, Petro Limo and Samuel Schoza receiving a higher education in England.<sup>(26)</sup> But Kiungani was far from being an ideal theological college

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(23) U.M.C.A. Annual Reports

(24) *ibid.* James Chala Salfey was one of the two priests in 1891

(25) See Appendix II African Clergy

(26) See following section. John Swedi only received a primary education in England.

as Frank Weston discovered on his arrival in Zanzibar in 1898.

Imagine Ely or Cuddesdon shifted into the midst of a large public school, the students being expected to reap the fruits of quietness in such a world of noise and movement. Or consider how the work must suffer when our staff, and that a small one, has this threefold work to do - little boys, teachers, candidates for Holy Orders, all thrown together to get what instruction and help they may. Why of course, those who are oldest and most trustworthy are left to themselves when any of the staff are ill'... So their work suffers. (27)

So he set to and planned a separate theological college. He drew up plans for the buildings and found a site at Mazizini between Kiungani and Mibweni which he acquired on a long lease. And after obtaining the consent of the Bishop in January 1899 he wrote to England for funds, and received £1,000, and building work began. St. Mark's College, Mazizini opened the following October with Weston as principal and eight students, a deacon, six readers and a would-be reader.<sup>(28)</sup> From this time Kiungani reverted to being what it always really had been, a secondary school.

By 1900, mainly owing to the existence of Kiungani College, the U.M.C.A. had progressed further than any other mission in East and Central Africa in the creation of a native ministry, except the C.M.S. in Uganda which worked under very different circumstances.<sup>(29)</sup> At that date there were some 320 ordained African clergy, some 285 working in West and South Africa which had had a longer contact with European missionaries and a tradition of native clergy.<sup>(30)</sup> Though in quantity the

(27) Maynard Smith, H., Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar, 1926 p.31

(28) *ibid.* pp.31-32. For a good description of the early days at Mazazini see USPG/UMCA DI/231B Canon Kolumba's Reminiscences

(29) They had 24 ordained Africans in 1900. Even here their first priest Henry Wright Duta had been educated at Kiungani 1881-82

(30) Philip Queque of the Gold Coast was the first African to receive Holy Orders in the Church of England in 1765 and from 1827 Fourah Bay College had been training Africans for the ministry. See Sundkler, B., The Christian Ministry in Africa, 1960; Parrinder, G., Religion in Africa, 1970; Neill, S., A History of Christian Missions, 196 .

16 U.M.C.A. African clergy were not numerous, in quality - as regards educational training - they were undoubtedly superior to the general African minister. As has already been stressed the U.M.C.A. were not prepared to have native clergy who were educationally inferior to their counterparts in England and so great pains were taken to give them a sound higher education. Certain other Protestant missions were well known for their willingness to produce an inferior clergy on the grounds that a university level education was unnecessary for a priest who was only going to work with people who probably had no formal education at all. This attitude, which is regarded by some to have a racist basis, has led to the problem of the 'Peasant Church' today.<sup>(31)</sup> The Roman Catholic church was not prepared to lower its standards, and the rigorous training and vow of celibacy required from its clergy are important factors in explaining why by 1910 that church had only ordained 25 African clergy (half in Senegal) in the preceding century, although its missionaries had been early advocates of a native ministry.<sup>(32)</sup> The training provided by the U.M.C.A. at Kiungani would have stood up well against that of an English missionary college; its academic content was almost identical being based on the Cambridge Voluntary Examination, the only adaption to the African situation being prolongation of the probationary period. It was not unusual for ten years to elapse between the student entering the Head class and his ordination as deacon.<sup>(33)</sup> The quality of the training is confirmed by the success of the three ex-Kiungani students who went to English colleges to complete their training.

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(31) For discussion of this problem see Hastings, A. Church and Mission in Modern Africa, 1967 pp. 230-233.

(32) *ibid.* p. 189

(33) Anderson-Moreshead, p. 467, U.M.C.A. School Lists.

5. AFRICAN EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

The most conflicting feature of the U.M.C.A.'s practical educational work, as regards its frequently expressed theory that as little as possible should be done to disrupt the African way of life, was the education of certain promising Africans in England. Between 1866 and 1894 at least 25 Africans from U.M.C.A. schools were taken to England for education. It was not unusual for Africans to be brought to Europe for training in the 19th century; explorers, merchants, members of the services as well as missionaries were all responsible for bringing a substantial number. In some cases, as with the C.M.S., it was a definite policy.<sup>(1)</sup> But this was not so with the U.M.C.A. and it was only at the whim and expense of individual missionaries, though sometimes with the help of special appeals in England, that this action was taken. The Africans brought home were usually the proteges of the missionaries who accompanied them; Bishop Tozer brought four to England, J. P. Farler and Miss Thackeray 3 each, Miss Ruth Berkeley and Sir John Key 2 each, and Bishop Steere and A. C. Madan one each.

The main motives appear to be a belief that a period of training in a Christian country would be an undoubted benefit to the African, and that the education received in England was superior to that which could be provided in Africa, partly because of frequent changes in staff and partly because of the atmosphere within which it took place. Underlying these motives was a personal concern for the individual African, a desire to do the best for him, and a feeling that other missionaries were incapable of training him correctly. In 1877 J. P. Farler wrote from Magila:

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(1) In the 1850s and 60s at least 9 Africans were sent by the C.M.S. from Nigeria to England and given industrial training and four others were trained in London and Edinburgh as surgeons. Ajayi, op.cit., pp. 144-147, 150, 152, 162.

I very much wish to bring Acland Sahera to England with me for education, he has surpassed his companions in zeal and earnestness . . . Acland is just the age when his character will be formed for good or evil. Two years of English training surrounded by Christian influences and removed from early associations will send him back an earnest useful native missionary, worth two Englishmen. (2)

Similar views were expressed five years later by John Key, then principal of St. Andrews College, Kiungani, when appealing for money to help send Henry Mnubi to England:

At present we cannot educate our promising young men to the standard to make them efficient clergymen . . . What I want is that he should have an English education, but the most important thing perhaps is that while he is at school or at missionary college, some clergyman, who would not mind a black child in his house, should look after him in the holidays and lead him to think higher thoughts, and teach him to be a true gentleman . . . If Harry Mnubi is not sent to England within nine months he will probably marry, and then be nothing more than a useful teacher. (3)

Unlike the C.M.S. and other missionary societies the prime aim of the U.M.C.A. was to give the Africans a literary education in England. Only four of the African boys were taken to England with any other thought in mind, namely Owen Makanyassa, brought home for further training as a printer 1874-5, and Hamisi, a Zanzibari and two Nyasa porters taken to Brixham, Devon for training as sailors in 1883.<sup>(4)</sup> There was no particular institution, similar to the C.M.S. Training College at Islington, to which the U.M.C.A. Africans were sent; it depended very much on the arrangements made by the particular missionary. The first Africans taken to England by Bishop Tozer in September 1866, George Farajallah, John Swedi, Francis Mabruki, and Connop Makanjilah were all apparently lodged with various English clergy and attended village schools. Similarly the girls who accompanied Miss Thackeray, as well as receiving

(2) USPG/UMCA A1 (VI) 394-97, Farler to Heanley, Magila, Oct. 13th 1877

(3) Central Africa, 1883, p. 68

(4) Makanyassa turned out a success as head printing boy at Zanzibar, but the other three not so; Hamisi worked for a time on the 'Charles Janson', but later became an elephant hunter. See Appendix III.



private tuition at the Hall, were said to have attended Roughton village school in Lincolnshire. Education in an English village school in the 1860s would not have been of a very advanced nature, and was presumably academically of a lower standard than that provided by the university trained missionaries in Zanzibar. The main 'benefit' of their stay must have been the contact with a 'Christian' civilization. But doubts on this score were voiced by the rector of Rickingham, Suffolk, who wrote of Francis Mabruki's stay:

Nothing could be more satisfactory than was this lad's conduct during the year he was with us in Suffolk. I well remember that when the idea of his coming to us and attending the National School was broached, all kinds of fears were afloat. He would corrupt the school children. He would runaway into 'the bush' and be lost. Our servants would leave us; indeed he was to be a veritable little bête noir, in all and every sense of the expression. A very few days however tended to show us that the fears of our friends were likely to run in quite a counter channel. Not that he should be the corrupter, but the corrupted. The boys, upon their arrival in England, asked one Sunday if all the people in England were Christians, and when told that of course they were, why did they ask such a question, they replied that they inquired because they had observed that many had not been to church all day. I well remember how shocked Francis was at seeing ill-behaviour at church, and his perplexity at the habit of some who sat through the prayers instead of kneeling. (5)

For the Africans sent to England between 1870-94 a better education was arranged, the younger ones being sent to church secondary schools; Hugh Peter Kayamba and Henry Nasibu to All Saints' School, Bloxham<sup>(6)</sup>, and Lawrence Hinksey Turi to St. John's School, Cowley, Oxford<sup>(7)</sup>, and the older ones to missionary colleges; Acland Sahera to St. Boniface College, Warminster<sup>(8)</sup>, Cecil Majaliwa and possibly Harry Mububi to

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(5) A Suffolk Boy in East Africa pp. 26-27

(6) A high church boarding school founded 1860

(7) School attached to the Community of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.

(8) Founded 1860.



St. Augustine's College, Canterbury<sup>(9)</sup>, and Petro Limo and Samuel Sehoza to Dorchester Missionary College<sup>(10)</sup>. These, unlike the four taken to England in 1866, had all had a number of years education at Kiungani and so were better suited for a higher English education, particularly those who had been at the school after 1886. Such a one was Samuel Sehoza who progressed well at Dorchester, and he was reported on as follows by the principal of St. Stephen's House, Oxford;

It has been necessary to make a very few allowances for the fact that English is not his native language, but with that exception (and perhaps a weakness in his Latin) his work compares well with that of many who are ordained in England. All his work is thoughtful and shows real intelligence. His knowledge of the Old Testament is full and accurate and his Doctrine paper really good. His translation of the Greek Testament is very fair. (11)

Sehoza was thus the ideal product, an African who could be accepted on equal terms with the clergy of England. However the majority of those educated in England were not considered by any means to have benefitted by the experience.

Bishop Smythies on his arrival in 1884 was most critical of the policy and at the Diocesan Synod held that year a resolution was passed to the effect 'that it is not desirable to send boys to Europe, if some means can be found of training them in Africa'.<sup>(12)</sup> But he had no intention of forbidding the practice:

(9) Founded 1860

(10) Founded 1878

(11) USPG/UMCA 86/129. The missionary J. G. Philipps, also a student at Dorchester, reported on at the same time, was said not to be 'up to the standard generally required at home'.

(12) USPG/UMCA Minutes of Chapters and Synods 1868-1893.

From the first I have doubted the wisdom of taking Africans to be educated in England, and do not expect a good result from it. Especially is this the case with girls, who marry young and are, I think, unfitted by their English experience for their life here. There may be something to be said for taking very promising boys who are to be teachers until we can give them a better education here, but that is the only case in which I can look for much good from it. However, if those who are interested in any children here ask to be allowed to take a child home with them at their own expense, I make no difficulty, chiefly because I think it is due to them, for their work's sake, to be allowed to use their discretion. But I wish it to be understood that I cannot sanction the employment of Mission funds for such a purpose, nor borrowing from them, nor is any appeal to go forth under my sanction for funds for such a purpose. I feel that there can be no adequate result in the children's lives from the large sum that would be expended. They would probably marry at once on their return, and find an African house a very unpleasant contrast to their English house. (13)

Similar objections had been voiced ten years before at the first Anglican Missionary Conference, when the Bishop of Edinburgh speaking on the subject of 'A Native Ministry - The Best Mode of Developing It', said as regards an education in England:

If the native remains long enough in this country to receive a thorough English education, his old associations are destroyed, he returns to his own country an Englishman in his feelings and habits, and the distance between himself and his fellow-countrymen is almost as great as if he had been of European descent. On the other hand, if he only comes for two or three years, he is seldom capable during that time of really appreciating, much less of assimilating, the advanced civilisation of this country. (14)

And the Rev. R. J. Mullins, Principal of Grahamstown Training Institution, added from his experience of English-trained Africans in South Africa:

After two or three years they return not worth a rush, and I blame the ladies very much for it. They ride about in carriages, and are petted at croquet parties, and become far too fine gentlemen to associate again with their fathers and mothers clad in blankets and living in clay huts. (15)

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(13) Ward, G., Bishop Smythies, pp. 57-58

(14) Authorised Report of the Missionary Conference, London 1875 pp. 5

(15) ibid., pp. 29-30.

Bishop Smythies' objections to education in England were based on the results so far achieved, and these were far from promising. Of the first four taken to England by 1885, one George Farajallah had died soon after being ordained sub-deacon in 1870, John Swedi had been ordained deacon in 1879 but he was far from a success and in 1881 was accused of seducing a teacher's wife<sup>(16)</sup>, Francis Mabruki ordained sub-deacon was inhibited from preaching for misconduct and left the mission, and Connop Makanjilah who fell into disgrace soon after returning from England, was restored but then turned to drink, was accused of theft and left the mission in 1875<sup>(17)</sup>. Similarly Farler's promising disciple Acland Sahera had been forced to leave the mission by 1885. The Galla priest, James Chala Salfey, who had had the longest and best English education of any before 1885, was described in 1883 as 'a feeble creature with his heart in England'<sup>(18)</sup>. It is hard to understand the Bishop's condemnation of women educated in England as we know of only two who had returned by 1885 and they both were still unmarried and working well as teachers at Mbwani.<sup>(19)</sup> Only two of all the men educated in England, Samuel Sehoza and Petro Limo, turned out a success in the eyes of the mission<sup>(20)</sup>, all the rest (except John Swedi and Owen Makanyassa) leaving or being dismissed from the mission service. But there is no evidence to show that their failure was due to their education.

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(16) USPG/UMCA AI(IX) 22-38 Letters re. John Swedi's trial at Masai 1881

(17) He carried on the work of spreading the gospel independently in Zigula, see Appendix III

(18) USPG/UMCA AI (VI) 888-893 Madan to Penney 14 May 1883

(19) Kathleen Mwachinja and Louisa Baada Riziki USPG/UMCA AI(VI) Miss Thackeray's Letters

(20) Even they had their failings, when they turned to trade. See Iliffe, J. pp.179-180

Undoubtedly the visit to England made the African dissatisfied with his lot and introduced him to a European way of life. The missionaries were disappointed in one of the number who on his return asked for sugar in his tea<sup>(21)</sup> and in July 1895 H. W. Woodward wrote of the newly returned Sehoza

I am rather troubled about Samuel Sehoza . . . . All this time he has not been able to get back to native food - when he has tried he has got seedy and the doctor orders him back to our table. (22)

But in some cases the missionaries were pleasantly surprised, as when Farler reported that 'Acland has of his own asked leave to wear Swahili dress, which I have graciously acceded him.'<sup>(23)</sup> And H. W. Woodward spoke at the 1894 Missionary Conference about the lack of ill-effects on Petro Limo:

I was curious to see what effect a residence in England would have on Peter. It has in no way un-Africanised him. At home he takes to his African dress or his white cassock; he can do without coffee; he does not, like a European, if he goes away for a night, require a box and a porter to carry it, but he just takes his staff and off he goes for a week without requiring help. (24)

Limo and Sehoza however were the last to go to England. The general lack of success of those educated in England and the improvement in the quality of the training at Kiungani and Mazizini meant that after 1894 until the mid 20th century it was exceedingly rare for a U.M.C.A. educated African to go to Europe.

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(21) Anderson-Moreshead p. 284

(22) USPG/UMCA AI(VII) 479-80 Woodward to Child July 26th 1895

(23) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 371 Farler to Steere Oct. 7th 1881

(24) The Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion 1894 pp. 507-508.

## 6. EDUCATIONAL WORK ON THE MAINLAND

Though no definite policy was pursued by the UWCA as it expanded its work on the mainland from 1875, an identical educational system evolved in each of the three regions, Usambara, Rovuma and Nyasa, which lasted until 1900. The system was based on central boarding schools at the main stations, which were fed by outstation and bush schools, and the cream of the pupils from the central school went on to Kiungani. Thus it was a three-tier education, elementary at the bush or outstation school, primary and lower secondary at the central school, and secondary and higher education at Kiungani. For a few there was a fourth level, education in England. As Kiungani had been the first educational institution founded by the mission, so the central boarding schools at Magila, Masasi and Likoma were the first to be founded on the mainland, the network of feeder bush schools developed later.

The beginning of uninterrupted work at Magila in July 1875 was an important landmark in the development of the mission, as it meant that for the first time (except for brief spells in the Usambara region before) work was being undertaken amongst a free people. At Zanzibar the freed slaves, who constituted the major part of the mission's followers, were dependent on the mission for work, food and shelter, but at Magila the people were free to reject or accept the teaching of the mission. Thus the problems of establishing a school were greater, but these were soon overcome by the redoubtable J. P. Farler. Work was begun with a small Sunday school with only some 12 pupils but soon Farler became an important figure in the region and his influence with the surrounding chiefs<sup>(1)</sup> enabled him to found a boarding school in October 1876<sup>(2)</sup>. In that month

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(1) In 1877 a council of Bondel chiefs offered Farler the Kingdom. Anderson-Moreshead p. 111

(2) USPG/UWCA A1(VI) 387-393 Farler to Steere, Magila Oct. 10th 1876.



Kibanga of Hondei requested him to teach 16 of his chief's sons at Magila, but Farler felt able only to take the six most intelligent ones, and these few formed the basis of Magila boarding school, which was to grow until it outnumbered Kiungani.<sup>(3)</sup> It became the central school of the region as the stations at Umba (1877), Mkuzi (1881) and Misozwe (1883) were started and schools opened<sup>(4)</sup>, and it provided a more advanced education with a wider range of subjects including geography, mathematics, theology and a special class for English.<sup>(5)</sup> The number of schools in the Usambara region rose from five in 1881 to 17 in 1900, and the number of boarders from 23 to 236.<sup>(6)</sup>

A year after the commencement of work at Magila, the freed slave settlement at Masasi was established some 500 miles to the south. This was an attempt by the mission to found a village of freed slaves from the settlement at Mbweni on Zanzibar Island, amongst their own people. Little attempt was made at first to work amongst the surrounding population, and the meagre schooling that was given was for the freed slave children only. However with the arrival of Chauncy Maples as priest-in-charge in 1877 a change was made and he immediately set out on a journey with the intention of securing local boys, preferably the sons of chiefs, as pupils for a school. He was successful and a school began with seven scholars, increasing to 18 two months later following a second journey of 250 miles by Maples. Like Farler he won the support of

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(3) ibid.; The number of pupils at Magila rose from 23 in 1881 to 70 in 1886, reaching 137 in 1900. USPG/UMCA AI (VI) and School Lists

(4) Both Mkuzi and Misozwe had boarders by 1889. UMCA Annual Report 1889

(5) USPG/UMCA AI(VI)

(6) Universities Mission to Central Africa, Leaflet 2. 1881 and UMCA Annual Report 1900.



the local chiefs, in particular Matola I, the Yao chief of Newala, who gave permission for a school to be opened in his village.<sup>(7)</sup> From the first Masasi school had to be principally a boarding school because of the distances from which many of the pupils came; for this and other reasons the schools at Newala and Chitangali also later took boarders.<sup>(8)</sup> The central school of the Rovuma region was that at Magila until after the Angoni raid in 1882 when it was moved to Newala. By 1890 there were 7 schools with 230 pupils including 87 boarders in the region, and ten years later the totals were 22 schools, 912 pupils but only 90 boarders.<sup>(9)</sup>

In the Nyasa region settled work was embarked upon in 1885 on Likoma island when Rev. George Swinny started a boarding school with aid of Kiungani trained teachers. By 1886 when Chauncy Maples arrived to take charge of the station there were 30 boarders. In that year the first school on the lake shore at Chia was opened and W. P. Johnson began his great work with the mission steamer Charles Janson (and from 1902 with the steamer Chauncy Maples) of founding and visiting numerous schools along the eastern shore between Ngofi and Msumba.<sup>(10)</sup> The number of lakeside schools visited by the steamer rose from seven with 385 pupils in 1890 to 30 with 1,089 pupils in 1900.<sup>(11)</sup> It was mainly because of this rapid increase in schools which could be supervised along the lakeshore that educational work saw a far greater development in the Nyasa region than anywhere else in the mission. The four schools with

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(7) Anderson-Moreshead; Life of Chauncy Maples and Journals and Papers of C. Maples

(8) UMCA Annual Reports; for other reasons see below

(9) *ibid.* In 1895 there were 150 boarders

(10) Anderson-Moreshead; Life of Chauncy Maples

(11) UMCA Annual Reports

only 105 pupils which existed in 1889, expanded to 47 with 1777 pupils eleven years later.<sup>(12)</sup>

Practically all the teaching at these numerous mainland schools was carried out by African teachers, male and female, who had been taught at Kiungani and the girls' school at Mweni. In 1900 there were some 146 African teachers at work in the mission's 97 schools, 25 of them female, and almost all of them trained at Zanzibar.<sup>(13)</sup> They were of varying quality and experience; some such as Kate Mabruki (Kadamweli)<sup>(14)</sup> and Eustace Malisawa<sup>(15)</sup> were of a high standard, others had had little more than a basic education and soon left to work on plantations, railways, etc. Those at work in Nyasaland in the 1900s were said to be able to teach 'arithmetic up to fractions, reading and writing, a little very hazy geography, and a smattering of English' as well as the vernacular tongue of Swahili, Chinyanja or Yao.<sup>(16)</sup>

Descriptions of these African-run mainland schools are frequent. Kolumba Mzigala in his reminiscences thus recalls his first contact with the school at Masasi run by Eustace Malisawa 'I saw . . . children gathered in a large hut, saying together "A.B.C.D...." over and over again with an older boy in front leading them. I was attracted and thought it was a song.'<sup>(17)</sup> The repetition of the alphabet was always the first work of these schools, and it could go on for three or four hours a day. The schools all began with little or no equipment:

(12) *ibid.*

(13) *ibid.* In 1884 H. W. Woodward was using Africans educated solely at Magila as teachers in Usambara. USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 939-40 Farler to Penney 1884

(14) Wife of Francis Mabruki see Appendix 3

(15) See Appendix 2

(16) Mills, D. Y., What we do in Nyasaland (1911) p. 99

(17) USPG/UMCA DI/231B Reminiscences of Canon Kolumba Mzigala.

When we started school (at Likoma) we had not anything to teach the boys with, no A.B.C. cards, no book of any kind, and we took to writing A.B.C. on the skin of a goat, and we cut out letters in old paper and pasted them on pieces of a box which we had pulled to pieces, and we had some numerals too; and we had no house to make school in and we taught the boys under the trees. (18)

However lack of equipment was not the main problem that had to be faced with the establishment of a school, namely the lack of pupils.

The last extract continues:

- At first when we start school the boys they were coming very well and they numbered seventy, and the girls forty-nine; but they soon dropped off when they saw that they were not going to be paid for coming, and they laughed at those who kept on; but we were not very sorry they went for we had the best and those who really wish to learn they were stopping still, and doing very well. (19)

Again and again this problem is voiced by the Europeans and the African teachers; Louisa Mnubi wrote to Miss Thackeray of her and her husband's work at an outstation near Masasi:

We get 14 boys who always come regularly they were 18 but two have been led away and they have left off coming and two have gone to Mlosi because it is the season for cultivating the ground. Oh bibi we have fears about those children who come every day to school, when their mother go to Mlosi to cultivate they will have to go with them - well all work will be undone, for now some read Easop's Fables, and some the 'Easy Readings' and some 'A.B.C.H.'. But some who do not come to school they talk folly to get the scholars not to come, but they try to persevere. Truly they will fall back into ignorance. (20)

The children themselves were usually willing enough to attend the school either out of curiosity or from a desire to learn but they were often hindered by their parents and relatives.

The other day a very bright little fellow begged me to let him live with us and I said I must see his father about it. A few days after the father came and said he

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(18) Ambali, A. Thirty Years in Nyasaland pp. 41-42

(19) *ibid.*

(20) USPG/LMCA AI(VI) 783-788 C. D. M. Thackeray to Mrs. Leeke, Mbuweni 25 Nov. 1890.

was quite willing for Sendahera to live with us but what wages were we going to pay him? (the boy is about eight years old) and what present would I give him for letting his son come here! This will show you the estimation in which education is held by the people. (21)

Faced with this attendance problem the missionaries saw two alternative solutions, to give attendance prizes or to try and get as many pupils as possible to be boarders. The first solution is one that has been condemned as bribery on the part of the missionaries but it was only the putting into practice of a policy that was pursued in England, where the attendance problem was equally acute. Those missionaries who had been associated with schools at home were accustomed to the idea of presenting some gift to those children who had attended well throughout the year; the prize was usually a book of a religious nature, and this was not looked on as bribery. Admittedly the type of prize and the frequency of the presentation were changed in Africa. Kolumba Msigala records that at Masasi school in the late 1870s 'At eleven o'clock the children who attended were given a lump of sugar and one of dates, with about five stones. Children came in great numbers for such a bait as this.'<sup>(22)</sup> Similar provision for food was contemplated by Farler at Magila in 1881 and he wrote to Steere for his advice.

We find it impossible to get the bulk of our children to come regularly to school. We give all our own children (boarders and dependents) one pice every day at noon to buy food instead of cooking a midday meal for them, and they have their rice and meat at night. Would it be well, do you think, to try the effect of giving the pice to all the native children who come to school as well as to our house children. Shall we try it out at our big school before we do it at the out-stations? If they come every day it would be less than 12/- per annum for each child, and we pay much more in England than that. (23)

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(21) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 335-342 Farler to Professor ?, Magila May 30th 1880

(22) Reminiscences of Canon Kolumba Msigala, op.cit.

(23) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 357-63 Farler to Steere Nov. 9th 1881.

This idea does not appear to have been taken up, though five years later it was said of the day school at Magila that it was only kept alive by the attendance prize.<sup>(24)</sup> It was only in the Usambara region that it became accepted to give prizes or gifts for attendance, and knowledge; at the 1893 Synod H. W. Woodward had to defend this policy in the face of criticism from W. C. Porter of Masasi.<sup>(25)</sup>

The boarding school also had its critics, but it was generally found to be the most acceptable and successful method of dealing with the problem of regular attendance as well as having the additional benefit of getting the pupil, boy or girl, out of the harmful influence of his heathen home. In time all the main schools on the mainland became boarding schools but not without some opposition. In 1878 Steere advised Chauncy Maples at Masasi not to take free boys as boarders<sup>(26)</sup>, but three years later he was advising Farler to take native boys as boarders in preference to freed slaves at Magila<sup>(27)</sup>; this inconsistency can possibly be traced to a change in attitude to freed slaves which took place at this time. Native boys were found to be far better material, and as many lived at a distance from the mission station, unless they became boarders they were unable to attend school at all.<sup>(28)</sup> Thus the central boarding school, under native teachers but with close European supervision, became the main

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(24) *ibid.*, 503-06 Farler to Penney, Magila Sept. 20th 1886

(25) USPG/UMCA Minutes of Chapters and Synods 1868-1893

(26) Life of Chauncy Maples p. 110 Maples wrote 'He counsels us against taking boys as boarders: this last point I shall contest with him. Day boys simply won't come except in the most desultory way possible, for their fathers and mothers are quite indifferent as to whether they come or not ...'

(27) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 357-363 Farler to Steere Nov. 9th 1881 and draft reply

(28) *ibid.*



educational institution of the mission. The bush schools who sent their best pupils to the central school were on the whole far from satisfactory.

Schools are the weak points, but this must of necessity be the case for a long time to come. Reader Hallal Chosi goes every morning to Lunguja a town near Uмба where there is a little wattle and daub school-chapel, but on the day of my visit the school consisted of only one small boy rolling upon a mat, the others had gone off to a dance. Deacon John Swedi goes for an hour every morning to keep school at Mfunte, but there was no school the day I went there so I cannot speak much about it . . (29)

But it was from such humble beginnings that a number of the leading schools had developed.

The commencement of school work at Kota Kota on the Western shore of Lake Nyasa is well documented and it provides a typical example of such work on the mainland. Arthur Sim<sup>(30)</sup> and the native teacher William Kanyopolea<sup>(31)</sup>, with his wife Monica, first settled at Kota Kota in September 1894, and after six months of careful preparatory work a school was begun the following March. There was an immediate response from the Africans with 50 boys and girls attending on the first day, and the number soon increased to 100 (90 boys and 10 girls). The children were drawn from the poorer inhabitants of the town, many of them being orphans. They were described as being tremendously keen:

They come at all hours to the place where the alphabet is hanging in the baraza, and go through their paces; it is a perfect delight to them to get a boy who knows his alphabet to teach those who don't. About twenty know their letters, big and small, and are now advanced to slates and syllables. Isn't this rather quick? This is the end of the fourth week, and I think nearly all of them

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(29) *ibid.* 345-349 Barler to Penney Magila All Soul's Day 1881

(30) See Appendix I; the following account is compiled from Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim, UMCA 1896

(31) For biographical details see Appendix III Africans Educated in England.



can go through their alphabet with only one or two mistakes. (32)

No rewards or attendance prizes were given, 'there is nothing to bring them to school except the novelty of the thing at present' (33). As mentioned above the learning of the ABC, which was repeated endlessly, constituted the initial work. Soon a time-table was worked out with 'first alphabet, then drill, then catechism, then sing-song and vowels and consonants, then more drill and so on' (34). For some 80 to 100 pupils the equipment was very meagre indeed with only one blackboard, one card of the alphabet and twelve slates; tables for writing on were constructed out of old flat-bottomed canoes. After two months' work steady progress could be reported; 40 boys were doing syllables, four or five were reading short words and also learning the multiplication table, and they were beginning to learn to write. (35) The attendance figures kept up exceedingly well and after six months A. F. Sim held an examination in which 75 boys took part. It consisted of

Reading, Writing and Scripture. Arithmetic only extends to counting so far with most of the scholars. On the whole I am well satisfied with their progress, especially as they began from nothing. So I gave three prizes for scripture, and to each scholar a prize for attendance; the prizes consisted of calico. (36)

Up to this time the school was solely a day school, but following certain disruptions, Sim was hoping to make it a boarding school.

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(32) Life and Letters A. F. Sim p. 201 April 6th 1895

(33) *ibid.*, April 25th 1895

(34) *ibid.*, p. 207

(35) *ibid.*, p. 216

(36) *ibid.*, Aug. 28th 1895 p. 253

I wish all my boys might be boarders, so as to take them out of heathen surroundings; but how this fits in with our policy I don't know. I don't suppose we want to break up family life, and our first duty to our neighbour is to honour parents. We cannot teach them to despise their homes and their elders. This seems a difficult and ticklish subject. (37)

He also planned to open a girls school under Monica Kanyopolea. But both these ideas had not progressed far when A. F. Sim died on October 29th 1895. The school continued to flourish - five years later there were 89 boys and 15 girls boarding at Kota Kota and by 1910 there were 300 pupils including 170 boarders. (38)

The system whereby the most promising of the pupils from the three mainland areas of Usambara, Rovuma and Nyasa went on to Kiungani for higher education lasted until 1900, in which year a separate teacher-training college was established on Likoma. This was the beginning of the breaking up of the mission into distinct diocesan units. During the 25 years of mainland education that preceded it, a unity had been forged between the educated Africans from the three widely separated areas who had met at Kiungani. The native boy from the mainland village had become the hope of the mission, which was no longer dependent on the freed slave rescued from a dhow. The African could leave his native village for training at Zanzibar and then return to his people as their teacher or priest. The freed slave was as much a foreigner as the European on the mainland; Eustace Malisawa, a freed slave, when going back to his people was unable to speak the native tongue. The successes of the mission, priests such as Samuel Sehoza, Petro Limo and Leonard Kamungu, were all Africans who had progressed from the bush school, through the central boarding school to Kiungani. The 12 to 15 years training given by this system was long and arduous but it did bring results, principally a growing staff of native teachers through whose work Christianity and education crept 'further and further into village after village on the mainland. (39)

(37) *ibid.*, p. 254 Aug. 29th 1895. (38) UMCA Annual Report 1895, 1900; What we do in Nyasaland p. 77. (39) Life of Chauncy Maples, p. 344



Plate 5. Miss Thackeray and African women teachers  
from East Africa in Picture, UMCA, 1900

7. GIRLS' EDUCATION

From the commencement of work by the U.M.C.A. in Zanzibar the education of girls as well as boys was considered of immense importance, but only for one oft-quoted reason; to provide Christian educated wives for the boys. In October 1864 Tozer wrote: 'The work of this house will be the training of boys for the ministry and some girls as suitable wives for them (at least I hope to see our way to this, so as to make the scheme more complete)',<sup>(1)</sup>. A much fuller exposition of this view was given over thirty years later by Gertrude Ward writing from Magila:

The great problem is to educate wives for the men - . . . Here, where two English ladies teach, there is a large girls' day school and it is proposed to start before long a boarding school, at a little distance away, for the purpose of freeing marriageable girls from the tyranny of heathen 'customs' at home, which interfere again and again with Christian laws of marriage. The girls, if living at home, have seldom courage and steadfastness enough to stand out against the pressure of parents and neighbours; if they refuse to take part in these 'works of darkness' they are threatened with the death of their first-born child . . . . So we have perpetual struggles going on, and often the husband is overruled by the wife - or rather by the wife's mother, who plays a tremendously important part in the domestic economy. To overcome this difficulty, it is thought that a boarding school might be started from which the girls might be directly married without the intervention of the mother-in-law. (2)

Thus girls' education was still part of the main theme of the U.M.C.A.'s work, the creation of a native ministry, 'for all the boys will marry, and unless they marry Christians, half the work will be undone for woman is the real influence in the home'.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Letters of Tozer, p. 88

(2) Ward, G., Letters from East Africa 1895-1897 1901, pp. 107-108

(3) Blood, A. G., History of UMCA, Vol. II p. 51 quoting woman teacher at Masasi 1911.

Work with girls began in May 1865 when the arrival of the first two women missionaries coincided with the acceptance of nine released slave girls. These formed the basis of the school founded by Miss Tozer and Miss Jones. By 1876, when the girls' school moved to Mbwani, (where it was under Miss Fountaine) there were 62 pupils, and the following year saw the arrival of Miss C. D. M. Thackeray. She was to devote almost fifty years and her private wealth to the education of girls at Zanzibar; Mbwani School became Miss Thackeray's school and under her care were produced a large number of capable women African teachers.<sup>(4)</sup>

As with the boys the emphasis at first was on a literary education, beginning with the interminable A.B.C., Lord's Prayer in Swahili and numerals, and developing to quite a high standard by the 1880s<sup>(5)</sup>. When the school was examined in 1886, as well as reporting favourably on the papers on the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the Nicene Creed, and on general scripture knowledge, the examiner reported that the geography and history of European countries was being taught including that of England, Germany, Holland, France, Switzerland and Athens.<sup>(6)</sup>

Anderson-Moreshead comments in her history of the mission:

Some will ask 'Of what use are these subjects to poor African girls who will never have to teach any one but more ignorant Africans?' We answer, 'Of what use are the same subjects to English girls, nine-tenths of whom never teach any one at all?'<sup>(7)</sup>

Naturally enough it was soon realised that a literary education was not

(4) Letters of Tozer; for Miss Thackeray see her letters USPG/UNCA AI(VI) 738-823

(5) Letters of Tozer, pp.123,133

(6) Anderson-Moreshead, pp. 285-6

(7) *ibid.*



suitable for all the girls, and Miss Thackeray planned the establishment of an industrial home:

I more than ever wish we had some outlet for those of our elder girls who are indifferent scholars, either from having come late into the house or want of capacity for books - there will always be a proportion of such - they both form a very troublesome element in the school, and (on their own account) might be far better trained and happier for the two or three years before they marry in an Industrial Home. (8)

And in 1884 on the arrival of the new Bishop an industrial section was established at Mbweni, and 12 girls were put under Miss Allen's charge; and in July that year they were taken over by Miss Ruth Berkeley who greatly developed the work in the next 13 years. The girls were taught cooking, laundry work, needlework, and mat plaiting, and in keeping with African custom, the women and girls also engaged in field work, road-making and building.<sup>(9)</sup> In 1894 there were 17 girls in the Industrial wing, six being trained in mat plaiting, four as dobie, three as hospital nurses, two as laundresses, one as a dispenser and one for general work. By 1900 when nursing training had been taken away from Mbweni, there were nine girls training to be laundresses, nine to be cooks and one a dispensary assistant.<sup>(10)</sup> A general education was given to the industrial girls for:

Great are the hopes that the boys who are teachers will take the educated girls (as wives), who can help them in their work. But, alas! even under Mission supervision, the course of true love will not always run in prepared channels, and the teachers sometimes think a girl who has learnt industrial work will make a better wife; so care is taken to continue their studies that, if necessary, they may help their husbands a little, even if they cannot take schools. (11)

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- (8) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 751-753 Miss Thackeray to 17 Feb. 1884  
The new Industrial Wing at Mbweni, opened in 1897, was paid for by Miss Thackeray
- (9) Anderson-Moreshead, pp. 280-282
- (10) USPG/UMCA School Lists
- (11) Anderson-Moreshead, p. 361 For an interesting note on the arranging of marriages for teachers see Farler to Steere Oct. 10th 1876 USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 387-393.



The African woman teacher was the principal product of Mbweni School and there were many excellent ones at work in Zanzibar and on the mainland before 1900. Kate Mabruki, Kathleen Mkwarasho, Louisa Mnubi and Bladina Limo stand out from the mission records, the last three surprisingly having all received some further education in England as had the husband of the first.<sup>(12)</sup> In the early years the numbers of female teachers was almost equal to that of the male teachers, in 1881 there were 10 male and eight female African teachers at work in the mission; however the latter had dropped behind by 1900 when the figures were 121 male and only 25 female teachers. This proportional decrease may be attributed to a noticeable lowering of the standard of girls' education by the mission, for in 1908 the African priests, Limo and Sehoza were calling for a superior education for girls. 'They said they did not want wives only to cook for them, they wanted wives who were educated, who were able to enter into their own ideas and interests'.<sup>(13)</sup>

It is probable that the women African teachers had their greatest impact in the Nyasa region, where by 1891 there were 18 at work at Likoma and on the lake shore; in one case a bush school was being run by a woman on her own.<sup>(14)</sup> These teachers, trained and supervised by European women of high quality, did much to establish the mission in the forefront of girls' education in Africa. When the Phelps-Stokes Commission

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(12) See Appendix 3 for biographical details. Even with the industrial girls there was the intention of further education for some in England: 'Miss Bashford desires to bring Nina Madisa and Neema Chonde with her in July. It is proposed to place them in the Industrial School at Clewer where they will be thoroughly trained in all household work, laundry work and cooking and in due time taught hospital nursing'. Central Africa 1885 p. 58

(13) Thackeray, C. D. M. 'The African Woman of the Future' Central Africa 1910 pp. 150-155

(14) UMCA Annual Report 1891

visited Nyasaland in 1925 they were impressed by the work of the U.M.C.A. in this field, claiming that it had 'been more successful in attracting girls to school than any other Mission in the Protectorate'. There were 4,544 girls and only 3,084 boys in its schools, and there was an excess of women over men in Church membership.<sup>(15)</sup>

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(15) Jones, T. J. Education in East Africa. 1925 pp. 200-201.

8. INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

The mission's attitude to industrial training has already been discussed above.<sup>(1)</sup> Although industrial training was never stressed by the missionaries, indeed by some it was severely criticised, it nevertheless of necessity played an important part in the educational work of the mission. Because of Tozer's attitude to the linking of Christianity and commerce little was done in the early days of the mission, a fact bemoaned by Arthur Nugent West soon after he arrived at Kiungani in 1873.

There is one element much wanting in the school and that is a purely industrial one - A few boys under Dr. Steere's instruction and supervision can use the printing press very laudibly, but that is all except of course digging in the garden - I want to see a carpenter, blacksmith, tailor, etc. added to the staff, and the boys given the mornings in school the afternoon at their trades, with the exception of those who are immediately preparing for ordination. (2)

Outsiders such as Sir Bartle Frere, also in 1873, similarly criticised the mission, especially when comparing it with the French Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost Fathers. Boys from the mission who had no desire to become teachers or clergy, left of their own accord and joined expeditions, or went to work on local plantations or with traders in the town.<sup>(3)</sup> Under Steere an effort was made to counteract this practice, boys wishing to go on expeditions were dissuaded, given a present and sent to a mainland station for a while,<sup>(4)</sup> and also an

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(1) See Section UMCA attitude to African Education  
of A, N, West

(2) USPG/UMCA Letters  $\swarrow$  West to Searle, Zanzibar, July 1873

(3) In 1872 three boys left the mission preferring service in the town; one, Gilbert, went to work for a Hindu milkman. USPG/UMCA AI/III letter from Helen Kirk Nov. 1872

(4) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 439-40, Farler to Penney, Zanzibar, St. Michael's Day 1884.

attempt was made to increase the provision for industrial training.

In 1881 it was reported of Kiungani:

For those boys who show no capacity for learning there are various workshops, with English mechanics teaching them their craft. A printing press, a carpenter's shop with lathe, a forge, a tailor's shop, and a laundry in full work. (5)

This was a somewhat rosy picture and in truth the industrial work did not amount to much. Even though there was a carpenter's shop all the furniture and other carpentry items for use in the mission were actually being imported ready-made from India until 1894.<sup>(6)</sup> The term 'English mechanic' was one frequently used for a layman who had joined the mission without any particular qualifications and so was given the task of looking after the boys when they were not at lessons. In the 18 years from 1864-82 only six so-called mechanics joined the mission; during Tozer's episcopate two carpenters neither of whom stayed a full year, and during Steere's a shoemaker, carpenter, mason and printer. However the next 18 years saw some 36 trained men join, 12 printers, 8 carpenters, 9 engineers, three masons, two builders, a brassfounder and a blacksmith.<sup>(7)</sup> As with all aspects of the work of the mission, the coming of Bishop Smythies marked a turning point in industrial education.

Smythies split the industrial element from those intending to be teachers and clergy at Kiungani and established them in a home at Mkunazini, and he inaugurated the scheme, which was put into practice by J. P. Farler in 1884-5, whereby boys were apprenticed to traders in the town, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters and tinkers, though they remained under the close supervision of the mission.<sup>(8)</sup> Under this method some

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(5) USPG/UMCA AI(III) Box 2 972 'A Visit to Kiungani College' 1880-81

(6) Anderson-Moreshead, p. 337

(7) UMCA Staff List

(8) Ward, G. Life of Bishop Smythies pp. 24-25, 70-71. USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 442, 463.

27 boys were receiving an industrial training in 1889.<sup>(9)</sup> However the scheme in the long run proved unsuccessful for many of the fundis (tradesmen) taught the boys little once they had received the premium of 20 rupees from the mission for the three years apprenticeship, and so a new one was devised by Herbert Lister in 1893. Lister

took the boys in hand, living with them in a house under the wing of Mkunazini, entering into their joys and sorrows, and sending them out by day to their trades, under Hindi, Banyan and Swahili masters; and so much are they sought after that, far from paying a premium, they are allowed to serve one year without wages, another for one-third of a man's wages, and the third year two thirds. (10)

And in 1896 it was said, 'there are now seventy of these boys, learning to be blacksmiths, tinmiths, silversmiths, masons, carpenters, cooks, washermen, brassworkers, bookbinders, and clock and watch cleaners.

Lister did much to alter the attitude to the industrial boys; formerly 'boys who were too stupid or too naughty to be teachers were sent to do industrial work', and it had been 'a sort of punishment'.<sup>(11)</sup>

In former days, when an Industrial boy went to court a girl at Mbweni, the girls said, 'Go away, you have been up to some tricks, or you would not be an industrial', but now the boys may have their pick of sweethearts. (12)

The quality of the boys and the rigidity of their supervision changed, but it was impossible to alter the basic attitude of the mission towards such secular work. They had to try and justify it by equating it with the work of monks in the Middle Ages:

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- (9) UMCA School Lists  
 (10) Anderson-Moreshead p. 338  
 (11) *ibid.*, p. 337-338  
 (12) *ibid.*, pp. 339-340.



when the workers in stone and wood, in metals and gems, were taught in their schools and gathered into Guilds? and if there was no printing office, was there not the Scriptorium with its careful copyists and painters? And shall any say that the work is secular, or be disheartened because some of the boys look on the Industrial Home as the goal of their desires? Whatever can be done for God's sake is God's work. (13)

The general mission attitude was that industrial work was not its role but something essential for those who could not reach the ideal of teacher or priest. This attitude did not go unnoticed by the Africans as Weston records: 'Over and over have Africans been made to feel that to refuse to be a Teacher is practically to resign the right to be treated as a Christian'. (14)

The missionaries at work on the mainland faced with a changing economy brought about by the increasing European presence, saw a need for industrial training for the African if he was to survive the change. Griffin writing to the Secretary of the mission from Magila in 1895 said:

We have great need of competent men to teach them useful trades. Otherwise there is nothing for them in the future but to become 'boys' to the Germans, or 'loafers' in the village. (15)

In Nyasaland both Johnson and Hine wanted to introduce industrial work 'by encouraging work the natives can do themselves for themselves' (16).

What I want to do is to start works which will benefit the people and not only save the pockets of the English interlopers. The ivory trade is getting less every year and the reason for the big coast safaris now slavery is done away grow less and less. The people need an opening for their energies and if we can help them to find one it wd. be good both for them and us. As Kalaji used

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(13) *ibid.*, p. 340

(14) Weston, F. Some Remarks on methods of Mission Work 1898

(15) AI(VII) 456-457 Rev. J.Griffin to Secretary, Magila Feb. 1895

(16) Anderson-Mereshead p. 465 quoting letter from W. P. Johnson to H. Waller.



to say to me 'You Wazungu stop our trade (slaves) you tax our ivory, you smash up our dhows and destroy our towns and kill our people. What do you give us in exchange? Certainly looking at the matter from a Yao point of view, we give them nothing in exchange. They think it hard times 'How are my people to live?' asks Kalenji 'You teach them to read and write; how does that help them to live?' (17)

Thus Hine, one of the greatest critics of industrial work,<sup>(18)</sup> did see a necessity for it in some circumstances. The U.M.C.A. did undertake a substantial amount of industrial education somewhat unwillingly and with little organisation or skill.

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(17) USPG/UMCA AI(X) 270-274 Hine to Travers Likoma, Christmas Day 1897

(18) see p. 195 above.

### 9. THE RESPONSE TO EDUCATIONAL WORK AND ITS RESULTS

The tables in the appendix provide a statistical record of the response to the educational work of the UMCA. The first illustrates the steady growth of the work in the mission's four main areas in the twenty years before 1900, indicating some interesting trends. In Zanzibar and on the mainland directly opposite the island there is only a minimal increase in the educational provision and response; this owes much to the increasing influence of Islam in the area and to the fact that much of the work was originally concerned with dependent freed slaves with little attempt at working with the native population. This contrasts greatly with the response in the Nyasa region, which has been discussed above<sup>(1)</sup>, and also with that in the two areas in German East Africa, Usambara and Rovuma. In the two latter regions initial response had depended to a great extent on the attitude of the local rulers, and in both areas the early missionaries had been successful in winning the confidence of the chiefs and their support for the establishment of schools. This dependence on native approval led to a determined effort on the part of the missionaries to educate the sons of chiefs and other members of leading families. In the Nyasa region however the position was very different; here the mission, though needing the approval of the rulers, was serving not them but dependent villagers who saw in the mission a means of protection from the ravages of tribal warfare. The people attracted to the schools were rarely members of strong chiefly families, were more likely to be, as at Kota Kota, the poorer inhabitants of the area.

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(1) see section Educational Work on the Mainland

The initial interest in the mission in all areas would be one of curiosity such as that expressed by Kolumba Meigala in the Masasi area when they first heard of the mzunqu

'Please, father, send us to Masasi to your brother Chief Kalanje, to see them. We hear they have long straight hair and long noses and wear trousers and eat eggs and spend their time telling countless stories about God in the villages about Masasi. (2)

On contact with the mission this curiosity was often converted to a desire to learn, and to become like the African priest or teacher who had the confidence of the European and an air of authority.

One day, when we came out of school, we said: 'Let's go on till we really know', and another said: 'Let's go on till we wear the cross'; for by now we knew that he who wore the cross (a catechumen) was one who really knew his teaching . . . The next morning we told the teacher that we wanted to be taught for the cross, and he was very glad and he taught us, and at the end of the month . . . we were made catechumens. (3)

From catechumen the path for the intelligent ambitious African would be, once he had become a Christian, to teacher, then reader, and deacon till finally some dozen years later he might be ordained priest. This was the picture painted by the mission - it offered no other occupation for the educated African, and in the years before colonial rule there was

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- (2) USPG /UMCA DI/2318 Canon Kolumba Meigala's Reminiscences  
 (3) Mabunde, M., An African David and Jonathan, U.M.C.A. p. 14.

virtually no other outlet for him,<sup>(4)</sup> but the arrival of the European administrator and trader altered the position. Job opportunities for the African who could read and write greatly increased both in the government and private sector. In German East Africa the evolution of a type of indirect rule meant that Africans were needed to fill the lower administrative posts, such as akida or jumbe, and as chiefs were required to act as tax collectors they needed some education. There were also posts as clerks on the railway or on plantations for the African, and for the less highly educated there was the army. This change in the situation presented great problems for the UMCA and other missions, for there was an increasing dissatisfaction with their lot on the part of teachers and clergy, and many left the mission for a more lucrative position elsewhere.

- (4) There was however one, serving as a personal servant to a European explorer or missionary going inland from Zanzibar. U.M.C.A. boys were in great demand. Possibly the most famous of the ex-Kiungani pupils who served so was Dallington Maftaa who accompanied Stanley for part of his tremendous journey across Africa between Nov. 12 1874-Dec. 13 1877. Maftaa had been rescued from a slave ship by HMS Daphne and presented to the mission 28 Nov. 1868; he was taught at Kiungani but 'had not been looked on as a great credit to the Mission' So he was willingly allowed to accompany Stanley. On reaching the court of King Mutesa of Uganda in Sept. 1875, he was requested to stay as scribe and translator to the king, a post he retained until 1881, when he was given a minor chieftanship. He is credited with the introduction of Christianity to Uganda; in April 1876 he had written to Bishop Steere, requesting Swahili prayers and 'one big black Bible' and equipment and a companion to 'teach the Waganda the way of God'. Later on the C.M.S. missionaries reported that he was leading 'a godless life, after all the teaching he got at the mission in Zanzibar' (Anderson-Moreshead, pp. 111-112; Gray, J., 'The Correspondence of Dallington Maftaa', Uganda Journal 30, 1 (1966) pp.13-24) Also accompanying Stanley on the same expedition was Robert Feruzi, a Nyasa who had been one of the first five boys presented to the mission in 1864, and who on his return was often of service to the mission. He was a noted caravan leader. (Anderson-Moreshead, pp.52-3) In 1877 Arthur Dodgshun of the LMS records how before he set out for Ujiji he called at the 'Boys mission at Kiungani - to try to get a boy as a personal servant. Bishop Steere provided him with William Senesi. (Bennett, N.R. (ed) From Zanzibar to Ujiji The Journal of Arthur W. Dodgshun 1877-79. Boston 1969 pp.47,49,57). As has already been mentioned, Steere tried where possible to dissuade the more promising boys from going on expeditions. (see p. above). In 1883 a Kiungani boy went with Mr. Stokes of the C.M.S. and another with Mr. Hannington to Uganda. Similarly 2 pupils who had been expelled and three others went as porters with C.M.S. parties in 1883-84. (U.M.C.A. Annual Reports 1883-84).

Tables VIII - X

in the appendix put the U.M.C.A.

contribution to education in German East Africa and Nyasaland into perspective<sup>(5)</sup>. Unfortunately there are no figures available showing the position at the end of the period in question, and by 1907 for Nyasaland and 1909 for German East Africa, the U.M.C.A. had fallen behind the schools and pupils of the better staffed and wealthier Catholic missions in G.E.A. and the similarly more prosperous Scottish missions in Nyasaland. What figures there are available for G.E.A. in 1900 reveal that at that date there were some 5,000 pupils at the schools of the Roman Catholic missions<sup>(6)</sup> compared with the 1,973 on the school lists for the UMCA schools in the Usambara and Rovuma regions<sup>(7)</sup>. The subordinate position of the U.M.C.A. is most noticeable in Nyasaland where in number of schools it lies fifth in the table and in number of pupils sixth, but its position as regards quality of education was much higher for it had some 21 Europeans as teachers. The superiority in numbers and achievement of the Livingetonia mission and its avowed policy of helping to supply the 'demand from educated natives to assist' the European administrators and traders,<sup>(8)</sup> and the similar policy of the Church of Scotland Blantyre Mission and its position in the area of greatest European settlement, the Shire highlands, meant that the educational work of these two missions and

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- (5) It must be remembered that a fair amount of the work of the U.M.C.A. Likema Diocese took place in Portuguese East Africa and so is not recorded in these figures.
- (6) Raum, G. F. 'German East Africa: Changes in African Life Under German Administration 1892-1914' p. 205 in Harlow, V. and Chilver, E. M. History of East Africa Vol. II
- (7) UMCA Annual Report, 1900
- (8) Macdonald, R. J. 'A History of African Education in Nyasaland, 1875-1945' p. 53.



their pupils came more forcefully to the notice of the administrators. Thus the U.M.C.A. played only a minor role in supplying the educated Africans needed in the early years of colonial rule; none achieved the prominence of some of their colleagues from the Scottish missions, and none were to have important roles to play in the early 'nationalist' movements, unlike their fellow U.M.C.A.-trained Africans in Tanganyika. However a certain number did take on work with the administration, as Sir H. H. Johnston reported in 1896:

The Universities' Mission since the beginning of 1894, has supplied a number of native printers to the Government Press at Zomba .... The ... Mission also affords a certain amount of industrial training and turns out native carpenters and masons, most of whom up to the present time have been working for the Administration at Zomba. (9)

And a Likoma boy held the post of telegraphist at Blantyre<sup>(10)</sup>. But on the whole there is very little information available on this aspect of the results with relation to Nyasaland. For German East Africa the material is much more extensive.<sup>(11)</sup>

Though the numbers of pupils attending U.M.C.A. schools in G.E.A. was less than that attending those of the Roman Catholic Missions at the turn of the century its position as regards educational work then, as it had been at the beginning of colonial rule, and throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, was supreme. This was due mainly to the existence of Kiungani, which has been described by John Iliffe as 'the first great school in Tanzania'<sup>(12)</sup> and whose pupils

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(9) Report by Commissioner Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B. On the Trade and General Condition of the British Central Africa Protectorate April 1, 1895 to March 31, 1896.

(10) Anderson-Mereshead p. 341

(11) Partially due to the work of John Iliffe, see below.

(12) Iliffe, J. 'The age of improvement and differentiation (1907-45)' in Kimembe, I. N. and Temu, A. J. A History of Tanzania, 1969. p.154.



'formed one of the most remarkable groups in Tanzanian history',<sup>(13)</sup>. In numbers and quality of education the ex-Kiungani pupils were long unique in the history of German East Africa. The school had started long before any other similar institution and its annual enrolment of some 90-100 pupils far exceeded any other secondary school in the country.<sup>(14)</sup> Particularly important was the college's multi-tribal character and the wide dispersion of its pupils throughout East and Central Africa. Iliffe has made a full study of the relationships between many of the former pupils and the part they played in what he calls 'The age of improvement',<sup>(15)</sup>. He draws particular attention to the fact that many of the former pupils who became prominent figures in the mission as priests and teachers and in public life as African leaders, were members of families of high status. The three main groups belonged to the Kilindi family rulers of Usambara<sup>(16)</sup> and the matrilineal families of Matola I, Yao ruler of Newala<sup>(17)</sup> and Barnaba Nakaam, Yao chief of Chitangali<sup>(18)</sup>. The first group had come in contact with the mission through the work in the Usambara region, while the latter two groups were the principal supporters of the mission in the Rovuma region. Though tribal kinship was an important factor in the formation of this close-knit elitist group, the pedigrees in the appendix and the material provided

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(13) *ibid.*

(14) 'the Lutheran seminary for teachers and pastors at Old Moshi on Kilimanjaro did not open until 1902, when it had nine pupils, while the Roman Catholic Central School at Kibeho probably opened at about the same date, and by 1913 had seventeen student teachers' Iliffe, *J. Tanganyika Under German Rule 1905-1912* p. 176

(15) *ibid.*, pp. 176-178

(16) See Appendix E<sup>U</sup>vo, Pedigree See

(17) See Appendix E<sup>U</sup>vo, Pedigree E<sup>U</sup>vo.

(18) Yohannah Abdallah (see Appendix 2), Danieli Uuufu (*ibid.*) and Francis Sapuli were all priests and all nephews of Nakaam.

by John Iliffe illustrate clearly that first and foremost these were men of improvement, more concerned with western education and the attainment of a western type civilization than with their tribal background.<sup>(19)</sup> This is shown by the intermarriage between members of high status families and educated freed slaves from Zanzibar; Petro Limo and Hugh Peter Kayamba, both members of the family of Kimweri the Great of Usambara, married girls who were freed slaves, the important factor no doubt being not their background but their high degree of education. The first pedigree in Appendix 5 shows the surprising relationships between eight of the Africans who had received an education in England. The most remarkable product of this group was Martin Kayamba, the son of two Africans educated in England, Hugh Peter Kayamba and Faith Kalekabula.<sup>(20)</sup> His father was at the time of his birth in 1891 a teacher at Kiungani and his mother a teacher Mbweni. He attended the boys' school at Kilimani 1895-96, 1899-1901, C.M.S. School at Mombasa 1896-99, Magila school 1901-02 and Kiungani College 1902-06. In his last two years at Kiungani he acted as teacher, but following a disagreement resigned and found employment in the British civil service in Kenya and Uganda until 1912. Then he returned to Zanzibar for two years as a teacher in the Government School, but again resigned and went to the Bondoi country as a trader. Following internment during the war he obtained a post in the District Political Office at Tanga, and he

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(19) Iliffe, Tanganyika under German Rule p. 177 has a footnote which illustrates the close-knit relationships; 'Augustine Ramadhani (senior African teacher at Kiungani) married the sister-in-law of Samuil Chiponde (senior priest at Zanzibar), who was brother of Leslie Matola (teacher in Pemba) and Daudi Machina (priest in Masasi) who himself married Florence Majaliwa (daughter of the first African priest). Augustine Ramadhani was a friend and classmate of Martin Kayamba (in British service in Kenya), whose godfather was Alfred Juma (senior African teacher at Tanga Government School) and whose godmother was Margaret Durham Mdee, mother of John Baptist Mdee (deacon near Dar es Salaam) and Samuil Mwinyipembe (teacher near Tanga).'

(20) See Appendix III.

gradually rose to the position of head clerk. His importance lies in his founding in 1922 of the Tanganyika Territory African Civil Service Association, the forerunner of the early territorial African political associations, and his visit to England in 1931 as the representative of educated Tanganyikans before a British parliamentary commission on the Closer Union of the East African territories.<sup>(21)</sup> He was very much a product of the age of improvement, and on his death in 1940 his obituary in the mission magazine Central Africa recorded:

Martin was the progressive son of a very progressive father, he was accustomed to town life and had never lived in an African village; I do not think he had ever worn anything but European clothes ever since he was a very small boy; consequently there were some people who were inclined to criticise him and to say that he was 'detrribalized' and too much out of touch with real African life and actual African conditions and outlook. (22)

Kayamba was far from being the ideal African Christian envisaged by Tozer and Steere, he was very much a 'black Englishman'.

The arrival of colonial rule and the increasing numbers of Europeans in East and Central Africa from the mid-1880s had early threatened the U.M.C.A.'s policy of attempting to educate the African without interfering with his way of life. Increasingly the mission priests and teachers were adopting European dress and style of life much to the annoyance of the missionaries who made repeated attempts to dissuade them. At the 1896 Zanzibar Synod a motion calling for the missionaries 'to encourage simplicity of life in the native clergy' was

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- (21) Kayamba, H. M. T. 'The Story of Martin Kayamba Mduzi, M.B.E., of the Bondai Tribe', in Perham, M. Ten Africans, 1936.
- (22) Central Africa, 1940, pp. 55-57; Typical of the criticism is the following from the radical Erica Fieh: 'Martin Kayamba will be . . . remembered as the selfish African who rose to the highest rank . . . in Government service but without being of any use to his race - the detached man whose history finished with poultry-raising in the Tanga District. We are not bitter - all we mean is that he never bothered about his African brothers and knew very little about them . . . Many of us remember Kayamba as the man who was fond of singing his own praises, the man who had the opportunity to go to London on a political mission but spent his time . . . sight-seeing and tea-partying'. Kusty, 29 June 1940 quoted in Iliffe 'The age of improvement' in Kimambo and Temu, History of Tanzania.

discussed at length, but it was 'dropped at the evident wish of the native clergy present', Majaliwa, Sehoza, Machina, Seyiti and Sedi.<sup>(23)</sup> And in his famous open letter of 1898, Frank Weston spoke strongly against Europeanising the clergy, and he was later to add 'If it is true that the African is going to wear a frock coat and top hat some day, it is no part of the Mission's duty to teach him to do so.'<sup>(24)</sup> And Bishop Hine wrote of this problem at length in 1899.

Among the native clergy (if I am rightly informed) there seems to be an increasing spirit of dissatisfaction at the position in which they find themselves. There is I deeply regret to say, a tendency to copy European habits of life in food and dress, - habits quite needless, and which if they become recognised as incidental to the clerical office, will render it impossible for the church in this land to be anything but an adjunct of the English occupation of the country; instead of being a national self-supporting institution. (25)

Hine saw as a partial solution to the problem the payment of an adequate, but not high, wage to the teacher and priest. The wages of native teachers had been discussed at the 1893 Zanzibar Synod when Archdeacon Jones-Bateman pointed out:

that with the Germans on the African coast any well educated boy could get higher wages than in the mission. He had pointed out to his boys (at Kiungani) the differences between the two occupations. He did not believe in giving high wages, small wages were more inducive to good work. (26)

But this was not generally the view of the boys and growing numbers

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- (23) USPG/UMCA A1(VII) An Account of the Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Zanzibar 1896. At the 1893 Synod a motion was passed by which the missionaries 'in bringing up all our African teachers, (should) strenuously discourage all Europeanisms and luxuries, which the Africans they will minister to will be quite unable to supply to them'. USPG/UMCA Minutes of Chapters and Synods.
- (24) USPG/UMCA A1(XVIII) Weston, memorandum for UMCA committee 25 March 1900.
- (25) USPG/UMCA A1(XI) 480. Introductory words spoken at a conference of Clergy and Laity, held at Likema April 24, 1899 by J. E. Hine, Bishop of Likema.
- (26) USPG/UMCA Minutes of Chapters and Synods 1868-1893.



left the mission service to work for the Europeans in various capacities. A look at Appendix 3 will show how a number of the more highly educated Africans chose to leave the mission, in particular Henry Nasibu, who threw up his post as a mission teacher at Kologwe to work as a clerk on a coffee plantation at Darema,<sup>(27)</sup> and Hugh Kayamba, a Reader in the Usambara region, who joined the Government service at Mombasa as a clerk in the Uganda Rifles, and later became a trader.<sup>(28)</sup> Charles Sulemani, the first Masasi convert, who became a Reader, left the mission in 1889 and entered the service of the German officials at Lindi, was killed when acting as a guide to the German expedition against Machemba.<sup>(29)</sup> Two boys from Newala school, Harry Bukini and Yohana Ungani, who went to Kilwa seeking work as houseboys with the Germans, established a school there during the bombardment and later enlisted as German soldiers.<sup>(30)</sup> Others obtained jobs on the Tanga railway as clerks, and some were fortunate in becoming teachers at Government schools and others akidas and akidas' clerks.<sup>(31)</sup> However on the whole

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- (27) The plantations in the Usambara region presented especial difficulties to the mission. 'In 1896 there were twenty-three plantations (in G.E.A.), eight at the coast and fifteen in the Usambaras. Asian labour, which at one time had been considered indispensable, was disappearing, while the demand for African workers was rapidly increasing' 5,000 Africans were employed in that year Raum, O. F. 'German East Africa: Changes in African Life Under German Administration' p. 190.
- (28) Perham, M., Ten Africans, pp. 173-181
- (29) A Makua, attached himself to the mission on 1876, baptised 1878, confirmed 1880 at Kiungani 1880, made a Reader. 1883 left mission and set himself up as 'a kind of petty chief' over slaves he had ransomed. Killed 1891. Maples, C., 'Charles Sulimani' in Journals and Papers of Rev. Maples pp. 203-211; see also 'Reminiscences of Canon Kolumba Maigala'.
- (30) 'Reminiscences of Canon Kolumba Maigala'.
- (31) Maigala in Pictures, 1901 p. 18; Smith, A. 'Missionary Contribution to Education' T.N.R. 60 p. 100. Archie Semanyi, a former Kiungani theological student became interpreter in Lushoto district office, and in 1908 Akida at Korogwe. Iliffe Tanganika under German Rule p. 184.

the English literary education and Anglo-Catholic background told against the UMCA educated African when seeking a post with the German administration, and so a number went north to Kenya for such work, among them the two Kayambas and Francis Mabruki.<sup>(32)</sup> The establishment of British rule in Tanganyika in 1918 gave the former students of Kiungani their chance, and many grasped the opportunity so that 'by 1925, a large proportion of the best jobs in the British civil service were held by former pupils of Kiungani'.<sup>(33)</sup> They were particularly suited to the work having reached a high standard of training in both English and Swahili. As has already been seen Martin Kayamba became chief clerk in Tanga Provincial Office; Leslie Matola became senior African teacher in the Dar es Salaam government school, his brother Cecil taught there also and their more famous brother Samuil Chiponde became interpreter in the High Court in Dar es Salaam.<sup>(34)</sup>

Chiponde had been one of the brightest hopes of the mission; a son of Matola I of Newala he had been ordained deacon in 1898, and priest in 1903, after which he became priest-in-charge of Zanzibar Cathedral. But in 1916 Bishop Weston found it necessary to suspend him for misconduct. He was only one of a number of African clergy, trained at Kiungani before 1900, who were suspended in the decade 1910-20; they include Chiponde's brother Daudi Machina, his father-in-law Cecil Majaliwa, the first African priest, and Yustino Mkandu.<sup>(35)</sup> Ostensibly they were suspended for acts of immorality, but conflict

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(32) See Appendix III for Mabruki

(33) Iliffe in Kimambo and Temu (ed.) *op.cit.*, p. 154

(34) *ibid.*, see Appendix 5 *Par.* 2

(35) See Appendix II.



between the more articulate African clergy and the missionaries had been simmering for a number of years. The tolerant attitude of the U.M.C.A. missionaries to the African which had been evident in the early years of the mission's work suffered to some extent with the increasing presence of Europeans in East and Central Africa. There was an increasing unwillingness on the part of the Europeans to give the African clergy the equality which they had been taught to expect. Weston to his disgust found this attitude prevalent on his arrival in Africa in 1897:

Many European workers whom I have met, both at home and here, have convinced me that the idea that an Englishman must always be a 'Bwana Mkubwa' a Mighty Lord, to an African, largely obtains in our diocese. I have myself witnessed gross discourtesies to African members of the mission staff; and I have heard of most just complaints against the over-bearing character of English workers. To be more specific is to run the risk of giving great offence. But I might perhaps specify the loudly proclaimed unwillingness of English workers to place themselves under the directions of an African on a mission-station; and also the inconsiderate action by which African clergy and teachers are on some stations deprived of that liberty of action which can alone build up a sense of responsibility. Again, I have myself seen that African teachers are treated as mere chattels of the Mission, no regard being paid to their best and highest interests if these clash in any way with the comfort or convenience of European heads of stations. (36)

And in 1900 he was receiving complaints from his students at Mkunazini that 'the English priests do treat them simply as servants' (37).

These Africans who did achieve independent commands as priests-in-charge of stations were naturally resentful at any attempt to place them under European control. Such was the position of Machina and Chipona; those at work at more isolated mission stations like Yohanana

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(36) USPG/UMCA AI(VII) Weston, F., Some Remarks on Methods of Missionary Work 1898.

(37) *ibid.*, AI (XVII) Weston to Maynard Smith 21 March 1900.

Abdallah, priest-in-charge at Unangu, P.E.A. were left alone. (38)

Weston though strongly defending the right of the African priest to be treated on equal terms with his white colleague, came into conflict with the African on the subject of what equality meant. To them it did mean to a large extent becoming Europeanised, as Chiponde was later to say in an oft-quoted speech:

It will be of no use to fight against the wave of civilisation. People can say what they like, but to the African mind to imitate Europeans is civilisation. I cannot explain the reason why, but there it is. And I believe, as far as my little knowledge of history goes, there is no colony in the British Empire where they have convinced their subjects otherwise. (39)

Any many of the native clergy rejected the U.M.C.A.'s plea for them to lead a simple primitive life. In 1908 Weston complained of

the commercial tendency of our native priests. They are nearly all making a lot of money - one by teaching, others in commerce . . . Sehoza and Limo have shares in a commercial undertaking and make each a hundred rupees a month . . . they rightly say that after all they have only invested money as do many priests at home. (40)

And Eustace Malisawa, priest-in-charge of Lungwena, retired early and 'spent the remaining years of his life at Lungwena in patriarchal fashion with his wife, surrounded by a large family and the owner of considerable wealth in cattle'; he was a freed slave whose education had given him the opportunity to become a petty chief. (41)

In general within the UMCA there was a disillusionment with regard to native clergy well illustrated by certain replies that the General Committee made to a circular on Native Church Organization in

(38) Stepson of chief Barnaba Nakaam: It was said of him by Hine on his death 'There was an aloofness about him in his relations to other native workers in the Diocese - they were mostly 'slaves' and he was a 'chief'.' Central Africa 1924 pp. 181-183

(39) Report of an educational conference, Dar es Salaam, 1925.

(40) USPG/UMCA AI(XVII) Weston to Travers 5 Dec. 1908.

(41) Central Africa, 1932, p. 212.

1900. The Committee, when asked if it would be desirable in present circumstances to appoint a native clergyman as assistant bishop, initially replied 'Decidedly not, in our case', an answer explained by replies to a former question in which the committee had stated that its native clergy 'work excellently under supervision' but 'they are deficient in moral robustness and need support', and 'they are inclined to acquiesce in a low moral standard'.<sup>(42)</sup>

This last section on the results of the U.M.C.A.'s educational work has perhaps dwelt over-much on what the mission would have regarded as its failures, despite which it had achieved something in progressing towards an African church, while African clergy and teachers were at work in large numbers by 1900 in all parts of the mission, and converts were rapidly increasing. But the unrealistic ideal African Church envisaged by Tozer and Steere, free from the trappings of Western civilization, did not materialise: indeed it was made more unobtainable by the mission's own educational work.

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(42) USPG/UMCA B1/21.UMCA Draft reply to Committee of the United Boards of Missions' questionnaire on Native Church Organization Jan. 1900.

Footnote An interesting side result of the mission's literary education was the habit of letter-writing which became almost a craze with the educated Africans. The agenda of the 1896 Synod contains the following proposal: 'With a view to putting some check on the immense correspondence between natives of the mission no such letters be sent unless bearing the signature of the Priest-in-Charge of the station or of some one delegated by him' USPG/UMCA AI(VII) Raum in his article in History of East Africa Vol. II has written of G.E.A. 'The civilized habit of letter-writing', which the Africans had contracted, contributed considerably to the 673,000 letters carried in the territory in 1900.' In the UMCA Archives there is a considerable number of letters from Africans.

MISSION AND STATE

CHAPTER VI. SECULAR POWER AND TRIBAL POLITICS - THREECASE STUDIES.1. INTRODUCTION

No missionary body entering tropical Africa in the period before colonial rule was able to completely disassociate itself from the exercise of temporal power or from involvement in tribal politics. Some missionaries chose to become involved, though the great majority would have preferred to remain aloof from such matters. But as a later missionary crudely put it, 'Many a little Protestant Pope in the lonely bush is forced by his self-imposed isolation to be prophet, priest, and king rolled into one - really a very big duck he, in his own private pond'.<sup>(1)</sup> Temporal power was assumed by the missionaries because of a need to keep some semblance of law and order on their mission stations and among their servants in mission caravans.<sup>(2)</sup> The right to exercise civil jurisdiction was seen as particularly necessary in the case of freed-slave settlements and on the large mission estates when the missionaries took on the sole responsibility for the good behaviour of their people, servants, freed-slaves or settlers. Even when a station consisted of little more than the mud hut of a missionary on the outskirts of an African village, he was forced into the position of a petty chief by being held responsible by his neighbours for the good behaviour of his adherents. Though a missionary may well wish to uphold the temporal power which he found existing at his place of settlement, his desire

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(1) D. Crawford, Thinking Blacks: Twenty-two Years without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa, (London, 1913) pp. 324-325, quoted in R. I. Rotberg, The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa, (Oxford, 1966) p. 10.

(2) It was on mission caravans that the worst excesses of summary jurisdiction by missionaries were experienced when there was fear of abandonment by porters.



to inculcate Western Christian ideals into the surrounding population led him to attempt to amend the existing codes.

Oliver states that only the three English missions, CMS, LMS, and UMCA made it a matter of policy to dissuade their missionaries from assuming civil jurisdiction and power in their stations in East and Central Africa.<sup>(3)</sup> The General Instructions of the LMS to its missionaries contained the following passages:

Do not allow yourself to be mixed up in Native politics. Do not in anyway accept civil office. Advise, suggest; and by advice you may help the people greatly. But do no more.

Encourage industry and lawful commerce in your people, but do not become personally involved in trading transactions; and have nothing to do with land. Great trouble, loss of influence and injurious collision with the people, will almost certainly result from neglect of this warning. While helping the natives by suggestions keep your hands perfectly free. (4)

These were quoted by Bartle Frere as a model for missionary behaviour in Africa, but he was unable to see the discrepancy that existed between this view and the principle he advocated 'that in Christian Missions nothing should be neglected which is necessary to the organisation of a perfectly civilised Christian Society.'<sup>(5)</sup> This principle was part and parcel of the British missionary movement's gospel of 'Commerce and Christianity'.

The greatest exponents of this gospel, the Scottish missions at Blantyre and Livingstonia, were far more realistic in their approach to the problem of civil power. It would seem that the Church of Scotland missionaries at Blantyre were given explicit instructions to act as 'rulers and judges over their domain'.<sup>(6)</sup> Within their growing

(3) R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 51

(4) L.M.S. General Instructions quoted in M. Bartle Frere, Eastern Africa as a Field for Missionary Labour, (London) 1874 pp.87-93

(5) ibid., p. 69

(6) M.R. Waldman, 'The Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre, Nyasaland: its political implications', The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History, Vol. II, 4, 1968 p. 300; A. C. Ross, 'The Origins and Development of the Church of Scotland Mission Blantyre Nyasaland 1875-1926' Ph.D. Thesis Edin. 1968.



Christian colony the missionaries showed little hesitation in acting as such until the revelations of the English traveller Chirnside were published. Chirnside visited Blantyre in 1879 and in a pamphlet he stated that the 'missionaries had ordered floggings so severe that one of the victims had subsequently died, and that a death sentence had been carried out with the aid of a native firing-squad with an incompetence too horrible to describe'.<sup>(7)</sup> These facts horrified the mission's home committee and the British public at large and a Commission of Inquiry was set up which substantiated the main charges made by Chirnside, following which certain missionaries were dismissed and new instructions to avoid civil power wherever possible were sent out.<sup>(8)</sup> Though 'after 1881, as before, the men on the spot at Blantyre involved themselves in almost all aspects of secular life'.<sup>(9)</sup> The Free Church of Scotland missionaries were outwardly more cautious in their approach to civil power, but in practice they were pressed into similar actions.<sup>(10)</sup> At Livingstonia

Laws attempted to follow a policy of non-involvement in local affairs, but he was often absent from the mission in the early days looking after the steamer and visiting important chiefs with the result that artisans, who were much less sophisticated in their dealings with Africans were frequently left for extended periods in positions of authority. Two members of the staff, Crooks and McCarris had to be dismissed for respectively striking and shooting at men in their employment, and all of them were active in intervening in local politics and in inflicting punishment on these under their protection. <sup>(11)</sup>

(7) R. Oliver, *op.cit.* pp. 59-60

(8) *ibid.*, p. 60; Waldman, *op.cit.* p. 300

(9) *ibid.*

(10) The active involvement of the mission in civil affairs is described in N. Long, 'Sandawe Mission Station and Local Politics 1878-86', *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, Vol. 32 1962, pp. 1-22 and in J. Van. Velsen, 'The Missionary Factor Among the Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland', *ibid.*, Vol. 26, 1960 pp. 1-22

(11) K. J. McCracken, 'Livingstonia as an Industrial Mission 1875-1900' in *Religion in Africa*, Edinburgh 1964, p. 84.

And incidents such as the following recorded in the Bandawe Mission Journal were not uncommon:

12 Jan 1880: 'Had to flog one of our herds (boys) for sneering. Previously I have not entered such cases, but as it may show others what has really been necessary and that there might be no hesitation about flogging evil out of the Atonga here (I am entering this case). It has always done good. 31 have been flogged, and it has had a better effect than all the moral lectures that could have been coined for them. (12)

Nor was interference in intra-village affairs; on one occasion the missionaries had three men arrested who had been involved in a fight at a nearby village. They were tried and each sentenced to 14 lashes and a fine of 8 fowls.<sup>(13)</sup> The Blantyre Controversy led the mission under Laws to pursue where possible a more neutral role in civil affairs.<sup>(14)</sup>

The difficulty of retaining a neutral position was faced by both the LMS and CMS. The CMS at Mombasa and at Bukerebe found themselves inextricably involved in local politics.<sup>(15)</sup> At Mombasa the problem arose from the behaviour of the missionaries at the freed slave settlement at Freretown, where in 1874 a colony of liberated slaves had been established under the superintendence of the CMS and with the support of the British Government. Within the settlement the civil jurisdiction was from 1876 in the hands of a lay superintendent whose actions in the early days far exceeded the powers granted to him by the CMS authorities in London. In 1878 the Secretary of the mission had ruled that its agents could only flog and imprison offenders as a last resort, and then only in

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(12) N. Leng, *op.cit.*, p. 8

(13) *ibid.*, p. 9

(14) W. P. Livingstone, Laws of Livingstonia, pp. 134-139, 169-176

(15) N. R. Bennett 'CMS at Mombasa 1873-1894', J. Butler (ed.) Boston University Papers in African History, Vol. 1, 1964. G. W. Hartwig, 'Bukerebe, The CMS and East African Politics 1877-78' African Historical Studies, Vol. 1 1968 pp. 211-32.

exceptional cases, but at Mombasa Superintendent Streeter liberally used such heavy punishments both on his own people and outsiders. This action led to the Sultan of Zanzibar requesting an inquiry which was led by Vice Consul Holmwood and resulted in Streeter being relieved of his post.<sup>(16)</sup> Further complaints with regard to the reception and retention of runaway slaves at Mombasa led Sir John Kirk to visit the mission stations in 1880. He found them fully prepared for a slave uprising and an attack from the Arabs: 'the mission houses partook more of the look of a military barracks than the teaching of Christianity. Over the missionary's bed hung two revolvers, there were Sniders and cartridge belt.'<sup>(17)</sup> The stations were in fact attacked in 1883 and during the Bushiri rising.

Such involvement in civil affairs and assumption of temporal authority was not altogether typical of the missionary situation throughout tropical Africa but it was possible wherever attempts were made to establish Christian 'colonies' without full regard to the existing political situation. In particular, as Professor Oliver points out, it was in the freed slave settlements and on the mission estates 'which developed into fully-fledged economic and political units, governed and directed by the missionaries, and more or less separated off from the surrounding tribes' that the use and misuse of temporal authority was most likely.<sup>(18)</sup> Land holding provided the missions with their most direct control over converts and as such was welcomed by many, particularly the Holy Ghost Fathers, the White Fathers and the Scottish missions.

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(16) N. R. Bennett, 'The CMS at Mombasa' op.cit.; A. J. Temu, British Protestant Missions

(17) A. J. Temu, op.cit., pp. 23-29

(18) R. Oliver, Missionary Factor. op.cit. p. 51.

Roman Catholics developed estates and plantations in order to support their proteges, the Presbyterians developed them as things desirable in themselves and acquired proteges in order to cultivate them. (19)

The creed of introducing Christianity and commerce side by side led to a natural desire to obtain land, land which would specifically belong to the mission, and on which permanent buildings could be erected and capital expended. The failure of the LMS at Linyati and the UMCA on the Zambezi had shown the necessity of acquiring sites where 'the mission agents would be able to live . . . in their own way, and free from pressures arising from either ignorance or ill-will',<sup>(20)</sup>. For these reasons the Church of Scotland Mission acquired at Blantyre an estate covering 2½ miles, and the East African Scottish Mission at Kibwezi purchased for 'forty doties, equal to about 160 yards of calico, in cloth and brass wire as agreed on and a present of equal value' a piece of land 10 miles square.<sup>(21)</sup> Holdings of this size were not uncommon and provided the missions with their own statelets.

Though the arrival of an European administration ended the necessity for missionaries to involve themselves in the jurisdiction of their people, the slow assumption of full control by the authorities left the missionaries as rulers of their stations in many cases well into the twentieth century. As Rotberg points out the agents of the London Missionary Society in Northern Rhodesia were particularly prone to exercising strict control over their dependent African and others in the

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(19) *ibid.*, p. 58

(20) T. Price, 'The Church as a Land-holder in Eastern Africa' Bulletin of the Society for African Church History, Vol. 1, No. 1 April 1963 pp. 8-13

(21) *ibid.*; In Southern Rhodesia the missionary bodies acquired vast farms as concessions from the British South Africa Company, E. K. Masingaidze 'The Christian Missionaries and the Acquisition of Mission Farms in Mashonaland', unpublished seminar paper, York 1972.



last years of the nineteenth century:

They felt impelled to settle conflicts that arose between Africans living on their land - conflicts that would ordinarily have been settled within the indigenous jural context. Soon they found themselves promulgating laws and judging and sentencing offenders ... Within their domain, the London missionaries promulgated a vast number of stringent regulations. Villages were to be kept clean; no villagers were to use the village enclosure, or their own huts, or the huts of others, for 'improper purposes'. No loaded guns were permitted. Guns were not to be fired within the villages. All children were to attend school. Everyone was ordered to take part in Christian worship on Sundays and on holidays. Breaches of these regulations were punishable by flogging, by work on the roads without pay, or by the forfeit of hoes and spears. The crimes of drunkenness, adultery, theft, blackmail, administration of the poison ordeal, attempted murder, and murder were all similarly punishable by floggings or by fines. The punishments were mandatory, and were carried out without trial whenever Africans were caught in corpus delicto or whenever they freely confessed to their crimes. But when an accused refused readily to admit to a misdeed missionaries transformed their verandahs into courtrooms and acted as prosecutor, defence attorney, judge, and jury all at once. They rendered decisions quickly and, if necessary, often administered the resultant punishments themselves. (22)

And though the LMS had warned its agents not to take up civil power, it found it necessary as late as 1904 to pass a resolution that no missionary should be involved either directly or indirectly in the flogging of adult natives for offences of any kind.<sup>(23)</sup> The home representatives of missionary societies were continually being shocked by what they regarded as excesses by their missionaries and throughout the last twenty years of the nineteenth century many attempts were made to press them to be more moderate in their dealings with the Africans. The actions of Bishop Mackenzie's party on the Zambezi, of the Mombasa affair and the Blantyre 'atrocities', had a definite effect on missionary finance and support. In the face of German criticisms of British missionaries

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(22) R. I. Rotberg, Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia, pp. 57, 59-60. See also R. I. Rotberg, 'Missionaries as Chiefs and Entrepreneurs: Northern Rhodesia 1882-1924', in J. Butler (ed.) Boston University Papers in African History, Vol. I Boston 1964.

(23) R. Oliver, op.cit. p. 59.

activities in East Africa Robert N. Cust, a member of the committees of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. wrote to the secretary of the UMCA.

I fear that it is true so far.

A. Missionaries in East Africa have usurped Judicial authority and acted in a way, which they never would have followed in India, and which is totally illegal.

B. Missionaries also have flogged, and even caused the death of Natives - This is an open secret

Your Bishop must know these sad facts, and deplore them - our duty is sternly to arrest this evil in our Missions.

A Missionary has no authority to exercise any civil power whatsoever - and if he lifts his hand and strikes a Native, he commits a great offence. I shall not cease my endeavours until this blot on mission work is got rid of - Bishop Hannington's Diaries prove that the practice does exist. (24)

However the resolutions of home committees were often impractical in the African situation and the missionary was led to act as he thought fit on the spur of the moment.

No missionary body would appear to have escaped some criticism of their agents' involvement in civil affairs, and the UMCA in the years after the settlement at Zanzibar was particularly sensitive on this issue, because of its unfortunate experience on the Zambezi, which showed them what could happen, and with this in mind the heads of the mission in the after years pursued a policy of non-involvement. Again and again the policy is stressed in public, being best summed up in the following observations made by Bishop Steere in the period after the Blantyre Inquiry:

A Missionary has no right to go with arms in his hands, and force his way into or through a country where he is expressly forbidden to enter. Into such countries he ought to go, but only with words and deeds of peace, ready to give up his own life for the faith, but under no circumstances to take the lives of others ...

In going into a foreign country the first object of the missionary should be to make his converts good subjects of



the State to which they belong. We find, in only too many places, that, instead of this, missionaries aim at forming independent communities. S. Paul taught the slaves whom he converted to serve their masters, especially bad ones, better than they had ever been served before. There have been modern missionaries, on the other hand, who proposed, in all good faith, to open a refuge for runaway slaves, and to put arms into their hands to shoot their old masters with. Missionaries ought to form a Church; what is sometimes formed is rather a Statelet. Forming a Church they have only really power to censure and to expel from communion; but this involves any kind of punishment which will be borne willingly rather than suffer expulsion. In this way it is possible to punish offences against Christian law by fines and stripes. The offender can always leave the Church if he likes..

That there is in Central Africa such a thing as a 'No man's land' is an error which needs everywhere to be strenuously denied. Every inch of land in Africa is subject to law, and to law which has the same substantial principles with European law, only that it recognises a number of social customs which are very un-European, and some of them very nasty and very wrong. These social customs the missionary must fight against; but one great reason why Mission converts, of the nominal sort, so often turn out utter reprobates is that they feel themselves freed from native law, without being really under the power of Christianity.

Our great effort ought to be to build up a native African state by supplying the great essential, so often wanting where Christianity is not, of a body of sober, God-fearing citizens. In my judgment missionaries ought to be absolutely forbidden to hold land except under some native authority, or to take the law into their own hands in any case of theft, or murder, or fraud, or violence. The law of all Africa clearly forbids all these things, and punishes them in a way which native opinion supports. The only capital punishment in the hands of a missionary is Excommunication; lesser punishments are penances endured willingly, or they are not true Christian Discipline. (25)

Thus wrote a lawyer and disciple of the Oxford Movement. This movement with its desire to sever the affairs of the church from interference by the state provided the UMCA with its belief in the Church upholding the authority of the state, but not taking on any of the functions of the state or interfering with it except as a critic or watchdog. Similarly the Church was not to become beholden on the state for thereby the state

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(25) R. M. Heanley, Memoir of Bishop Steere, pp. 326-328.

would have control over its affairs. This policy which was pursued in the years after 1863 (26) was maintained with little difficulty during the years when the mission work was concentrated on the island of Zanzibar under the strong authority of the Sultan and British Consul, but once a move was made to the mainland and attempts to implement it made at Magila and Masasi problems arose owing to the lack of a single strong authority<sup>(27)</sup>. But even so in principle the policy was maintained, and where possible temporal authority was secondary to the authority of the Church and the records of the mission abound with examples of missionaries restoring what they classed as the rightful authority of the church. At Newala, Maples wrote thus of the excommunication of an African Christian in 1885:

..... A very sad, yet very solemn and impressive, thing was enacted in our church last Sunday, namely, the solemn excommunication of an erring member of our flock. Here we are perfectly able to restore the ancient discipline of the Church to the great and inestimable benefit of the body of the faithful. And it is on occasions like the one I am alluding to that the power of the Church as a spiritual institution is emphasised and realised. Our Christians are holding no converse whatever with the excommunicated person, who in this way, by God's mercy, will probably be brought to realize the heinousness of her offence, and so be led to tears of penitance, which may at length issue in her restoration to Christ's kingdom, from which at the present time, though baptised, she is an outcast. (28)

And Farler records on his return to Magila:

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(26) Bishop Smythies was as anxious as Steere to uphold the mission's position of non-involvement in civil affairs. In 1890 he spoke of the great hindrance that temporal power gave to a missionary's proper spiritual work: 'I am quite sure the true way is to go to the tribes where we find them, to uphold the authority of the chief, to try to instil into his mind Christian principles, and to remind him continually that he holds his power from God, and is bound to give an account to Him for the way in which he uses it'. G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies, p. 171. Earlier he had written 'I dislike missionaries having civil power because for one thing, there must be punishment under their authority', USPG/UMCA Vol. Letters of Smythies 1887, Smythies to Penney April 23rd 1887.

(27) See below pp. 287-329 W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences, pp. 51-52, 126-30.

(28) E. Maples, Life and Letters of Chauncy Maples, pp. 241-242.

My three years' absence in England was fatal in many things, for the work has gone back considerably here, several of our Xtian natives had fallen into polygamy while others, communicants were keeping concubines. I found that several of our teachers and Xtian artizans here also were living with concubines even our Reader Ackworth. John Swedi drinks, and has just taken all his children to Zanzibar and had them circumcised. None of these things were known to Woodward, and rottenness was eating into the very heart of the Mission here. I have been working vigorously to restore and cleanse, by excommunication and by degradation, and now am getting things in hand again, but it is terribly trying and exhausting work. (29)

But try as they did to shun temporal power, the missionaries were not able to do so by their very presence as Europeans:

It has been said that we ruled in our village simply by Church Censure, but this is hardly correct. We were in the position of well-to-do squires, we had a fair amount of work to give out, and this was coveted. We were recognized as heads of the station by the headmen round; and in a greater or less degree the Consul at Zanzibar was felt to be behind us, as he was felt to be behind any head of a caravan which was manned with carriers from Zanzibar. (30)

The UMCA pursued no policy which involved the large scale purchase of land, wanting not to produce statelets but a Church, and Bishop Steere felt that the missionaries ought to be absolutely forbidden to hold land except under some native authority.<sup>(31)</sup> However by the end of the century it had a substantial quantity of land. In the region of Magila in the Usambara district the mission held by the 1890s a number of small estates, which covered 43 hectares at Magila itself, 63 at Misozwe, 28 at Korogwe and 8 at Mkuzi.<sup>(32)</sup> These holdings had been acquired slowly in the fashion described by Farler in 1877:

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(29) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) Farler to Penney Magila to Penney July 25th 1886 513-515

(30) W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences, pp. 126-127

(31) R. M. Heanley, Memoir of Bishop Steere, p. 327

(32) USPG/UMCA Deeds for land in Africa 1880-1930.

I have been buying farms, of which old bottles and pieces of soap have formed part of the purchase money. We now possess the whole hill and extend into the valley - I have bought four shambas at an average of 2 dollars each shamba. (33)

Such purchases were common also in Nyasaland where in the 1890s several pieces of land and rights of anchorage were bought, like the two acres acquired on the west side of the River Kebwe from Mataka for 30 fathoms of white calico, half a packet of white beads, and one bar of soap. (34)

On the mainland the mission's largest holdings were the islands of Limoma and Chizumulu, on which initially the mission acquired only a small area of land, but to the UMCA's surprise the claim of the whole of the two islands was granted to them by H. H. Johnston in 1893. (35) On the island of Zanzibar the mission had more substantial holdings, including the site of the slave market, Kiungani and the mission estate at Mbweni. This latter initially covered some 30 acres, and in 1874 supported some 22 freed slaves; by 1880 the estate had grown to 150 acres and was being developed and cultivated on economical grounds. At Mbweni the UMCA was pursuing a policy similar to many of the mainland missions, but although beset by problems from the unruly behaviour of the settlers, and from the reception of runaway slaves, it could happily leave the administration of its law and order to the British Consul. The transference of many of the freed slaves to a new settlement on the mainland at Masasi brought with it all the problems of the assumption of temporal power. (36)

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(33) USPG/UMCA A1(VI) Farler to Steere Magila, Low Sunday 1877, 405-410.

(34) *ibid.*, Deeds for Land in Africa 1880-1930

(35) *ibid.*, H. H. Johnston to W. P. Johnson Blantyre 17 Jan. 1893; D. S. Y. Mills (comp.) What We Do in Nyasaland, UMCA 1911, pp.16-18, 42

(36) W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences, pp. 36, 51-52.



In the following chapters the mission's involvement with tribal politics and civil administration are considered in three case studies; the first mission party's experience at Magomero, where they became actually involved in inter-tribal fighting; the mission at Magila where it found itself acting as a peacemaker between different factions of the Kilindi rulers of Usambara; and at Masasi where the freed slave settlement involved the mission in the exercise of temporal power and gave to its missionaries the role of chiefs.

## 2. MAGOMERO

As has been noted above, the siting of the first UMCA settlement along the Shire river was on the advice of David Livingstone. In 1858 the Zambezi expedition had turned its attention to this main tributary of the Zambezi, and by it had discovered Lake Nyasa. A further exploration of the Shire Highlands convinced Livingstone that this area south of Lake Nyasa was the ideal site for his intended Christian colony. 'Plant an English settlement on the highlands, he believed, and it would soon be self-supporting, it would open commerce for the African labourer, transform the economy of the region and so suppress the slave-trade'.<sup>(1)</sup> He even discovered a friendly Manganja chief, Chibisa, under whose protection the mission could settle. Thus the UMCA was directed to this area and Mackenzie consecrated 'Bishop of the mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire'. However between Livingstone's visit in 1858 and the settlement of the mission at Magomero in 1861 many changes had taken place in the political scene of the region. The missionaries found not the flourishing cotton-growing country inhabited by an industrious and intelligent race engaged in agriculture and metal-working which they had been led to expect from the writings and speeches of Livingstone, but a country wracked by tribal wars and the ravages of the slave traders.<sup>(2)</sup>

Unfortunately for Livingstone and the mission their intended

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(1) O. Chadwick, Mackenzie's Grave, p. 27-28

(2) Report from the Select Committee on the Slave Trade 1871, Examination of H. Waller pp. 65-70.



occupation of the Shire Highlands coincided with the migration of the Amangoche Yao into the area.<sup>(3)</sup> Before 1860 the region had been dominated by the Mang'anja, a section of the Maravi, who were 'well versed in the arts of agriculture, weaving, and the smithy, but politically rather loosely organized'<sup>(4)</sup>. Their settled industrious life had attracted Livingstone, but their political weakness made them also attractive to the Yao who were being driven from their homeland in the north of Mocambique by the Lolo, or Makua-Lomwe people.<sup>(5)</sup> These refugee Yao, though like the Mang'anja, matrilineal, matrilocal and agriculturists, were more aggressive and their traditional role of acting as middlemen with the Arab traders of the East Coast gave them distinct advantages over the Mang'anja.<sup>(6)</sup> At first they had principally traded in gold and ivory, but their eviction from their homeland led them to actively participate in the purchase or seizure of slaves, their knowledge of the East Coast traders providing them with a ready market in a period of increasing demand for workers for the French sugar plantations on the French Mascarene Islands and on Cuba, Zanzibar, Madagascar, and Comoro.<sup>(7)</sup> The Yao were not warriors but traders with guns, and they infiltrated rather than conquered the Mang'anja, as Livingstone related:

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(3) J. C. Mitchell, The Yao Village, pp. 24-25

(4) A. Holmberg, African Tribes and European Agencies, p. 225

(5) E.A. Alpers 'The Yao in Malawi' in B. Pachai, The Early History of Malawi, pp. 169-170

(6) E. A. Alpers, 'Trade, State and Society among the Yao in the Nineteenth Century', Journal of African History, 10 (3), 1969

(7) J. Duffy, A Question of Slavery, pp. 40-42

The usual way in which they have advanced among the Manganja has been by slave-trading in a friendly way. Then, professing to wish to live as subjects, they have been welcomed as guests, and the Manganja, being great agriculturalists, have been able to support considerable bodies of these visitors for a time. When the provisions became scarce, the guests began to steal from the fields; quarrels arose in consequence, and, the Ajawa (Yao) having firearms, their hosts got the worst of it, and were expelled from village after village, and out of their own country. (8)

By 1861 the infiltration had reached a crisis point for the Manganja; Mankokwe, the Rundo, or supreme chief of the Manganja of the area had little influence, and Chibisa the most warlike of the Manganja chiefs had left the Shire and was living at Doa on the Zambezi, between Sena and Tete, and so it was to Livingstone and the missionaries that they turned for help against the Yao. (9)

The destruction of the slave trade had been the principal object of the founding of the mission, but it was not envisaged that direct action would be necessary in order to fulfill it; the ultimate extinction of the slave trade was to be accomplished by the 'establishment of stations in Central Africa, which may serve as centres of Christianity and Civilization, for the promotion of true religion, the encouragement of agriculture and lawful commerce'. (10) However such a plan was based on the existence of a peaceful well-populated flourishing region under the control of an influential Manganja chief with an easy means of communication with the outside world via the Zambezi. But by the time the mission, under the guidance of Livingstone, had reached Chibisa's on July 8th after a journey of

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(8) D. & C. Livingstone, Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries, 1865 p. 497

(9) H. Rowley, Twenty Years in Central Africa, p. 37

(10) The constitution of the Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham Mission to Central Africa 1860.

sixty-nine days, the belief in the latter as the great highway for commerce and Christianity had been discounted by all, and the journey to Magomero in the Shire Highlands the following week dispelled any hope of the existence of the other necessary factors.<sup>(11)</sup> All round were seen the signs of slave raiding and tribal conflict, and on July 16th the mission party accompanied by the Livingstones and other members of the expedition came face to face with a slave caravan. Four of the slave drivers ran away at the sight of the English, but two were captured, one being recognised as the household slave of a Portuguese official, and the eighty-four slaves were released. The 'liberation' of these slaves and their acceptance by Mackenzie as his responsibility marked an important change in the policy of the mission.<sup>(12)</sup> The action of releasing the slaves had been Livingstone's, but the sense of achievement in striking a blow against the slave trade was felt by all, and Mackenzie wrote a note to Rowley who had been left behind at Chibisa's:

I am clear that in such cases it is right to use force and even fire, if necessary, to rescue captives. I should do so myself if necessary; but I think it more becoming our office to see the guns in the hands of others. Do you as you think best. (13)

The subject of the use of force and guns by the missionaries had been discussed a number of times before this instance and it was only with some hesitation that the majority accepted guns as a necessity. The information concerning the slave raids which they received on reaching Chibisa's is what principally decided the missionaries on the use of force:

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(11) H. Rowley, *Twenty Years in Central Africa*; O. Chadwick, *Mackenzie's Grave*; N. R. Bennett and M. Ylvisaker (eds.) *The Central African Journal of Lovell J. Procter*

(12) Rowley, *op.cit.* pp. 42-43; Chadwick, *op.cit.* pp. 46-48

(13) Chadwick, *op.cit.* p. 48.

These facts have raised a considerable discussion about the number of guns we ought to take with us, and also whether it would not be advisable to send for guns from England and arm the natives among whom we are going. The Dr. (Livingstone) strongly recommends the latter, and asserts that it would be one very efficacious means of driving out these slave traders, at least. The very report of our arms being in the country would keep them away. The Bishop has doubts about arming the natives for fear they should use the guns against each other; he would wait until they are better instructed. We, however, go well armed, and all intend to make use of them, if needs be, against the oppressors of those we now consider our people ... (14)

However what was initially seen as the defence of innocent Africans from the depredations of slave traders, soon became on the part of the missionaries an alliance with the Mang'anja against the Yao. The freeing of the eighty-four slaves was followed the next day by an expedition to free others in a nearby village, and five days later over fifty more were released. The meeting of the original slave caravan by accident led to the English taking serious offensive action against the Yao when they heard from the Mang'anja chief at Magomero that their camp was nearby and on July 23rd Livingstone and Mackenzie led an armed party against it. The latter reported the action succinctly to Procter:

We have been to the Ajowa village, & failing to bring them to a parler, & being fired on by them, we fired again, & after a stiff resistance drove them out & burned their village. (15)

This 'affray' showed the Africans that the English were the allies of the Mang'anja, and from that event the fate of the original mission was sealed; it was obvious to all that until peaceful relations were established between the two tribes little true missionary work could begin. Magomero was chosen as the site for the mission station in preference to more pleasant spots because it was situated on a narrow

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(14) Journal of L. J. Procter, p. 79 July 8th 1861

(15) ibid., p. 88 July 26th 1861.

neck of land and so defensible. And into this 'fort' were gathered the missionaries and the released slaves and all who wished to take refuge there. Once the mission was settled and a stockade begun Livingstone and other members of the Expedition returned to their boats and the missionaries were left to fend for themselves. They were at once besieged by messengers from surrounding Mang'anja chiefs requesting help against the Yao. By their compliance with Livingstone's actions the missionaries had placed themselves in an invidious position and they felt unable to refuse the request. On August 12th Mackenzie made the Mang'anja chiefs promise to agree to certain conditions relating to cessation of slave trading in return for which they would lead them against the Yao, and on the following day the expedition set off for the Yao village near Mount Zomba. By the time it was reached the Bishop was heading an army of a thousand Mang'anja. A conference with the Yao failed, a short battle ensued, a number of Yao were killed, the rest fled and under the direction of the missionaries a number of villages were burnt down. Mackenzie placed Waller in command of the battle but he did not hesitate to use his rifle:

In this fight I used my gun to the best of my skill, as did all the rest. We were only ten guns, and I thought it right to do all I could to rid the country of robbers and murderers . . . It is right to take up arms at the command of the civil magistrate. It was the cause of mercy to free the captives who might be in their camp. It was striking a death-blow to the slave-trade at its heart. It was not till after some deliberation that we came to this conclusion. I do not doubt now that it was right. (16)

Though this expedition was successful in driving away some of the Yao its effect was only temporary and soon the Mang'anja chiefs were again at Magomero with complaints against the Yao. On October 16th Bishop

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(16) Chadwick, op.cit. p. 58.



Mackenzie felt it necessary to send out a punitive expedition, this time the allies under the bishop numbering over a thousand and travelling forty miles north where they encountered a Yao camp and a large barracoen for slaves, which they burnt, releasing some captives. This the Third Ajawa war, as it was dubbed by the bishop, was the 'least laborious and really warlike' of the three expeditions against the Yao,<sup>(17)</sup> and was followed by peace, when missionaries were able to get down to the task of caring for their dependents who, owing to the wars, had risen to over two hundred.

The community at Magomero was far from the ideal Christian village which the promoters of the UMCA had envisaged as the principal goal of the mission. It consisted mainly of Manganja children with only a dozen male adults, and some sixty women most of whom had been married, including a number of Yao. Such a freed slave settlement presented many secular problems for which the missionaries were not prepared. Little or no direction would appear to have been given to the missionaries as regards their jurisdiction within their intended Christian village and from the first they took on the role of civil magistrates. Three of the men who were living at Magomero were accused of robbing a man near the station of his copper ring and other articles in the name of the mission:

on them judgement was passed by the Bishop: they were to be fastened to a tree and receive 7 lashes with a cord of four ends, Chasika suffered first in the middle of the village, but in the mean time the other two made off. They returned, however, at different hours in the day and were at once seized, bound and flogged, receiving 3 additional lashes for their flight. A good number of natives were present at the time, so that we hope the sight may have a good moral effect. (18)

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(17) Journal of L. J. Prester, p. 142 Oct. 19th 1861

(18) ibid., p. 125 Sept. 19th 1861.



Some time later a case of murder, a Mang'anja boy who had been thrown into the river by a Yao member of the village wishing to take possession of his garden, was the subject of a trial by jury of the accused by his own countrymen, with judgement passed by the missionaries. The punishment was expulsion with the threat of a severe flogging if he came near the village again.<sup>(19)</sup> Similarly expulsion was the fate of Williams, one of the Africans from the Cape who was found guilty of rape by the missionaries.<sup>(20)</sup> They were not averse to interfering in the affairs of neighbouring villages where they thought necessary, and after the mission had moved to Mikarongo Procter rescued an Achawa woman who as the slave of a deceased chief was tied up in order to be killed and buried with him.<sup>(21)</sup>

The move from Magomero to Kikarongo in April 1862 had been occasioned by the advances of the Yao in the Shire Highlands and the continual requests from the Mang'anja chiefs for help. Their lack of progress and their depleted condition determined the remaining missionaries to refuse all assistance and to regret their former actions which now made their position in the highlands untenable:

We are resolved, however, to have no more fighting, & if we find it going on to any extent, to leave this part of the country at once. The ill effects of our taking up arms at all is now only too apparent, in the destruction of our character as Missionaries & men of peace, & giving others an opportunity to commit acts of violence under our name, & so bringing our name into disrepute. I am now of opinion that missionaries ought to maintain a strictly neutral position between warring tribes, giving out their character & objects at once, & if they cannot maintain this, they ought to seek another sphere of labour where they can. (22)

This action was taken the following year when Tozer removed the mission to the more stable society of Zanzibar.

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(19) Rowley, *Twenty Years*, p. 148

(20) *Journal of L. J. Procter*, p. 396 Jan. 30th 1863

(21) *ibid.*, p. 294 July 28th 1862

(22) *ibid.*, p. 217 March 17th 1862.



Plate 6. Magila, The Quadrangle from the south 1894. The church at the north side, printing office, girls school, store-rooms, and quarters for the staff making up the east and west sides. The most complete of the early mainland stations with substantial stone buildings.

from East Africa in Picture, UMCA, 1900

3. MAGILA

On August 13th 1867 the Rev. Charles Argentine Alington accompanied by Vincent M'kono left Zanzibar to investigate the possibilities of the UMCA beginning work in the Usambara Mountains on the mainland behind Tanga to the north-east of Zanzibar<sup>(1)</sup>. Alington was not a man to be content with the mundane life of teacher and consulate chaplain at the mission's headquarters and his few months of 'idleness' since rejoining the mission in November 1866 had determined him on finding some independent work which would provide something more challenging for his 'sporting' temperament.<sup>(2)</sup> Usambara it would seem was chosen as his goal through familiarity with J. L. Krapf's Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours in East Africa, and R. F. Burton's The Lake Regions of Central Africa, and from conversations with Krapf's colleague Rebmann who had been on a visit to the UMCA during April and May 1867.<sup>(3)</sup> Both Krapf and Burton had been much impressed on their visits to Usambara between 1848 and 1857 by the effectiveness of the government of the Kilindi King Kimweri and the stability of his kingdom.

Kimweri, who has been described as 'certainly the greatest nineteenth century African monarch and statesman' in the area now known

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- (1) USPG/UMCA A1 ( V ) Zanzibar Mission Diary; for M'kono see Appendix III Africans educated in England
- (2) USPG/UMCA A1 ( III ) Steere to Mrs. Steere 2nd Aug. 1867; Tezer described Alington as 'unclerical and very devoted to the field' ibid A1 ( I ) Tezer to Steere 7th Jan. 1870. Amongst the Waller mss. at Rhodes House is a letter from Alington to Waller which consists almost entirely of an enthusiastic description of hunting and killing a rhinoceros. Waller Mss. III p. 68 Alington to Waller 15 Dec. 1863
- (3) USPG/UMCA A1 ( V ) Zanzibar Mission Diary.

as Tanzania<sup>(4)</sup>, had succeeded to the kingdom of Usambara in 1803. The kingdom was traditionally founded about 1725 when a certain Mbhega was accepted as 'king' by the Shambaa and established his capital in the Usambara mountains at Vuga. There are conflicting stories with regard to the reasons for the Shambaa accepting an outsider as their overlord, but once established the Kilindi dynasty did much to reorganise the government of the area and organise effective defence against the Massai who had been harrasing the region. Successive kings expanded the kingdom but Kimweri inherited at a time when Usambara was being threatened by the Zigua from the south. He proved himself a bold warrior and a strong and efficient ruler, who in order to counteract attacks from outside pursued a policy of annexing his neighbours and extending effective government by the appointment of members of the ruling Kilindi clan to governorships of the outlying districts. By the mid 19th century Kimweri had created a sizeable multi-national state which included not only the Shambaa people, but also the Pare to the north-west, the Bondai to the south-east, a greater part of the Zigua country to the south, and the coastal strip from the island of Wasin in the north to the region south of Pangani inhabited by the Digo, Segeju, Swahilis and the Arabs. This expansion to the coast brought Kimweri into close contact with Sultan Seyyid Said whose attempts to extend his control of administration of trade in the region in the early 1850s conflicted with the intentions of the African king. However in 1853 an agreement was made whereby the Sultan was granted the administration of the important coastal town of Tanga and Pangani, while Kimweri was to control the rest of the coast through a Jumbes or headman whose appointment was to be approved by the Sultan. This agreement formed the basis for an

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(4) G. O. Ekemode, 'Kimweri the Great: Kilindi King of Vuga', Tarikh, Vol. 2. 1968 pp. 41-51.



expansion of the Sultan's influence within Usambara which, through a growth of trade and provision of military assistance to the ageing Kimweri, was increasingly evident in the 1860s. (5)

The stability of the region under this autocratic monarch had greatly attracted Krapf on his first visit in 1848 and he recorded:

The tranquility and respect with which the people accosted me, not one of them begging anything, soon showed me that in the territory of King Kimweri there must reign such order as is sought for in vain among the republican communities of the Nyika and Kamba. (6)

And on his second visit in 1852 he wrote, 'As regards security I do not believe that one could be safer in any European country than in Usambara, provided it is not in a state of war.' (7) This promise of an ordered society within which to work was no doubt the principal incentive for Alington and the UMCA turning their attention to Usambara rather than attempting to approach a region further south towards Lake Nyasa, the original goal of the mission. The experiences along the Shire of tribal conflict and then of work under the authority of the Sultan and the British Consulate deterred them from any further attempt in such an area. In addition Krapf had been welcomed by Kimweri and his request to plant a mission station acceded to. (8)

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(5) Ekemode, op.cit.; S. Feierman 'The Shambaa', in A. Roberts (ed.) Tanzania Before 1900, (1968) pp. 1-14; J.P. Farler, 'The Usambara Country in East Africa' Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, new series 1, 1879 pp. 81-97; E.V. Winans, Shambala: The Constitution of a Traditional State, (1962); R. Coupland, East Africa and its Invaders, (1938), pp. 345-352

(6) R. Coupland, op.cit., p. 349

(7) *ibid.*

(8) Krapf had been confident of success for he said of Kimweri 'I knew well that he would soon learn to respect any European missionary, and give him leave to reside in his country; adopting such measures for his protection, that he would always have access to him by way of Tanga and Pangani, both in his dominions, without fear of molestation from the Swahili, an object of the greatest importance for spreading the Gospel in East Africa'. He found the king willing to admit teachers but significantly he really wanted skilled artisans and a capable doctor. C.P. Greaves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol. II p. 102.

However, when after a delay of over four years, and following a second visit when a site for a station was granted, the first missionary Erhardt arrived to begin the mission, he found Kimweri had changed his mind and he was turned away after an abortive stay of three months. Kimweri, who had an increasing number of Mohammedans at his court, was becoming wary of allowing Europeans to settle within his territory and his opinion was enforced by, if it did not actually originate from, Sultan Said. Said made it clear to Erhardt that he would not consent to a mission beyond his own coastal territory, and already restrictions had been put on missionaries landing at the coastal towns with the intention of proceeding inland. These restrictions are attributed to two injudicious acts of Krapf in providing Kimweri with the names of Zanzibar traders thus allowing him to avoid the Sultan's middlemen, and by throwing doubt on the Sultan's control of the coast in a conversation with the French Consul in Zanzibar.<sup>(9)</sup> In February 1854 consul Hamerton reported that owing to Dr. Krapf European missionaries were no longer likely to 'be well received by the Imam or his people'.<sup>(10)</sup>

Some thirteen years later however, Alington, with some justification, felt confident that owing to the dominance of Britain over the present Sultan and the seeming tolerance and friendship with which the mission was treated by him, such an attitude no longer prevailed. And, confident as Krapf initially was of the goodwill of Kimweri, he set off for the king's capital of Vuga. After a delay at the coast a slow roundabout journey brought them there on 27th September. Though not allowed to enter the town their arrival was announced by an 'ambassador' who returned with a gift of a fat cow and a message of welcome from Kimweri. The following day they saw Shekalavu a grandson

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(9) *ibid.*, pp. 108, 113-117

(10) R. Coupland, East Africa and its Invaders, p. 414.



and heir of the king and explained the purpose of their visit in wishing 'to build in his country and to teach his people'.

After he had thought for a little time, he said that he was willing to receive us, but before I built in his country he should wish to know the mind of the Sultan (of Zanzibar) as to the matter of my settling here. He would send men to conduct us to Zanzibar, and a letter to Sultan Majid and the English Consul. If the Sultan was not opposed to my plan, I might return and build where I liked. (11)

This was possibly a delaying tactic on the part of the Kilindi but it does also show the ascendancy that the Sultan had gained over the affairs of Usambara by this time. Shekulavu's answer annoyed Alington but further representations had no effect, and he was prevented from returning to Zanzibar until November 4th. Once there he was delayed by the death of Rev. G. Drayton, but on January 20th 1868 he set off for Usambara once more with letters from the Sultan recommending Kimweri to permit him to build in his kingdom.

Once at Vuga he found himself held up yet again 'waiting the pleasure of Kimweri who is a very dilatory gentleman and not the least mindful of his engagements'<sup>(12)</sup>. Old Kimweri was apparently ill from smallpox, which may have been the cause of his death that year<sup>(13)</sup> and so it was 'young' Kimweri (Shekulavu) who again met Alington, and after at first promising to send men to build for him at once he changed his mind:

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(11) H. Rowley, Twenty Years in Central Africa, p. 188. Alington calls Shekulavu Kimweri's son but Winans, *op.cit.*, p. 30 and Feerman, *op.cit.*, p. 181 show him as grandson.

(12) Rhodes House, Waller Mes. III C. A. Alington to Waller, Vuga Moh. 14th 1868

(13) There is some difficulty in determining the exact date of Kimweri's death as it is variously given as c 1860 (Coupland, *op.cit.* p. 350), 1868 (Ekemede, *op.cit.*, p. 41), Oct. 1868 (Farler, *op.cit.*, p. 82), 1869 (Winans, *op.cit.* p. 30) and 186- (Feerman, *op.cit.*, p. 151).

The upshot of it all is that I am not to be allowed to build near Vuga but am to go about three days journey off nearer the coast. He says that his predecessor did not like white men to settle in the country and that some of his chiefs do not like it. I told him I was very sorry to go so far off. But after thinking it all over, I dare say it is as well I shall be more independent at a distance and the communication with Zanzibar will be easier. (14)

A week later he began the 'weary work of crawling out of the country',<sup>(15)</sup> and reached Magila, the place where he was to be allowed to build, on March 31st. The chief Kifungiwe, a relative of Kimweri<sup>(16)</sup>, at first took Alington to consult his uncle, from whence a messenger was sent to Vuga. A favourable reply being received the missionary began at once to erect a house, but before more than the skeleton of the building was completed a message arrived from Shekulavu 'saying that all the able men must go to help him in war against Simboja'.<sup>(17)</sup> Thus with his work force gone to fight in the succession war that was to plague the Usambara region for over twenty years, Alington went wearily to Zanzibar determined to return as soon as he was able.

He was back at Magila in August and he carried on with building and clearing though hampered by the war which he reported had 'been going on for some time between Kimweri (Shekulavu) and Simboja. The letter made a strong attack upon Vuga and has destroyed the town altogether. Kimweri escaped, but lost all his clothes and valuables',<sup>(18)</sup>.

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(14) Waller Mss. III Alington to Waller Vuga, March 14th 1868

(15) H. Rowley, *op.cit.*, p. 192

(16) Said by Alington to be his son, *ibid.* p. 192

(17) *ibid.*, p. 193

(18) *ibid.*, p. 196 Letter from Magila August 23rd 1868.

So though the mission had hoped to find itself established within a strong stable kingdom it now found itself once again faced by tribal conflict. The split in the Usambara kingdom came about because owing to the death of the royal heir during Kimweri's lifetime the king decided to give the kingdom to his grandson Shekulavu rather than any of his surviving sons:

When Kimweri died, his grandson found himself in a very difficult position. All the chiefs in Usambara were sons of Kimweri, brothers of Shekulavu's dead father. According to Shembaa custom, the new king was required to treat his father's brothers with the respect of a son for his father. Yet these same men were his subordinate chiefs. Shekulavu immediately began removing minor chiefs and insulting important ones. His final mistake was offending Semboja, his father's brother, chief of Mazinde. (19)

Then as Baumann relates:

The cunning Semboja gathered around him a robber gang of Wazigua, coastal people and others and with these unexpectedly attacked Vuga, succeeded in overcoming Shekulavu (the paramount) and driving him to Bumbuli. The latter gathered his power there and would probably have driven the usurper out of Vuga again, if death had not struck him during the preparations. He left behind, as his first born, a minor son Kinyassi who was looked upon .... as rightful chief of Vuga. (20)

Semboja, whose power came from his control of the trade routes through Mazinde which brought him fire arms and political contacts throughout a wide area, installed his own son Kimweri at Vuga. Thus there were two claimants to the kingdom Kinyassi and Kimweri, but rather played an important role in the succession war, the former being represented by his uncle Chanygisa and the latter dominated by his father Semboja. (21)

Magila was not in Usambara proper but lay to the east in Bonde and as such saw little of the actual war. However notwithstanding the disturbances the work of the mission was somewhat erratic because of the inability of the mission to supply missionaries to conduct the station.

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(19) S. Feierman, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-11

(20) O. Baumann, Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete, Berlin, (1891) p. 188 quoted in Winans, *op.cit.*, pp. 25-26

(21) S. Feierman, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-12.

Alington was at Magila from August 1868 to January 1869 when he was summoned back to England, during which period he proceeded with building work and attempted to visit Vuga again. He was joined for a short time by Bishop Tozer, Rev. L. Frazer, William Jones and two Africans in November 1868<sup>(22)</sup>, but following his departure Magila was abandoned until the beginning of April 1869 when Rev. L. Fraser arrived, joined in August by Rev. S.H. Davis and the layman Samuel Speare. Their stay was also shortlived, Davis and Speare going back to Zanzibar in September and Fraser in December.<sup>(23)</sup> The latter died of cholera soon after his arrival on the island. During the following three years, except for two short visits paid by Bishop Tozer in May 1870 and December 1871, and the month spent by Revs. L. Pennell and O. Hancock on the mainland in September 1870, Magila was unoccupied. The changed political situation following Kimweri's death, though making the mission's work more difficult, did make their presence more welcome to one section of the Kilindi who saw an alliance with the Europeans as beneficial. In 1869 Chanyagha had succeeded in obtaining control of the eastern part of Usambara by his support of the popular uprising known as the 'rebellion of Kiva', in which the Bondoi, tired of the oppressive alien rule by the Kilindi from Vuga, grasped the opportunity of the succession war to slaughter all the officials of Semboja to be found in Bondoi and surrounding areas. The Bondoi had allied with Chanyagha who then assumed control of east Usambara and established a capital at Handei.<sup>(24)</sup>

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(22) G. Ward, Letters of Bishop Tozer, pp. 173-179

(23) USPG/UNCA A1 ( V ) Zanzibar Mission Diary; Anderson-Morehead, op.cit., pp. 60-61

(24) S. Feierman, op.cit., p. 12.



Chanyeghea, aware of the insecurity of his kingdom, sent an invitation to Fraser to visit him and possibly establish a mission at his capital. Fraser's death prevented him taking up this request but Pennell and Handcock made a visit to the ruler a priority. At Handei they were given:

'a hearty welcome, and also permission to go about his country just as they liked but owing to the constant wars in the hill country he would not allow them to build anywhere up there; they might, however, build to any extent at Magila, which was always at peace; and if they collect children there, they were free to do so. (25)

Their return to Zanzibar and Handcock's death prevented any further work in Usambara at that time and when Tozer visited Magila 15 months later he found that the wars had changed the situation:

everything was wretched and miserable, the people behaved abominably, all combined to prevent his getting hearers, and at Magira the people shut their doors and would have nothing to do with them. In fact the whole country is now lost and ruined by the constant wars, and almost depopulated. (26)

The following October (1872) however a request was sent to the mission from the mainland asking them to reoccupy Magila, assuring them that the wars were over at last and that the population around the station had increased greatly in consequence.<sup>(27)</sup> Steers who was now in control of the mission, not wishing to lose any opportunity to expand on the mainland, immediately despatched the young sub-deacon Samuel Speare and his friend Frances Mabruki to Magila. They were later joined by John Swedi and then Benjamin Hartley and these four young men worked hard to establish the mission until July 1873 when Speare returned to England and the

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(25) H. Rowley, *op.cit.*, p. 208

(26) Letters of Tozer, p. 232 - Miss Tozer to Miss Twining March 25th 1872.

(27) H. Rowley, *op.cit.*, p. 214.

Rev. Midgeley was placed in charge. He extended the permanent buildings of the station and preached in the villages around but ill-health caused him to withdraw the following spring, and once more Magila was without a European missionary.<sup>(28)</sup>

The changed situation as regards staffing of the mission brought about by Steere's recruiting campaign after his consecration as Bishop enabled the reoccupation of Magila in 1875 and this time permanently. In July 1875 a party led by Steere placed Rev. J. P. Farler at the station, and he was to remain in charge of the Usambara mission stations for the next eight years, during which time by his strength of character and organising abilities, the mission was to become quite a power in the land.<sup>(29)</sup> As with almost all previous beginnings at Magila it was felt wise to visit the ruler of Usambara before a start was made. Fortunately for the missionaries on this occasion the effective ruler of east Usambara whom Steere called Makangi<sup>(30)</sup> was on a visit to Kifungwe the chief of the neighbouring village.

Kifungwe brought him to see us, and it turned out he was come to try to get power from the coast as the other party was attacking them and they had no powder for their guns. Of course we could not help him in this, but we were very friendly and so we were saved the trouble of a journey into the mountains. (31)

Although the missionaries had been assured once again before setting out that all was now peaceful in Usambara and that the representatives of the young Kinyasi were now in control<sup>(32)</sup> this was not apparently

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(28) *ibid.*, pp. 220-223.; see also A Suffolk Boy in East Africa, pp.108-115. Hartley had been attacked by Arab slave traders near Morongo, was severely wounded and died at Zanzibar in February 1874

(29) Farler was at Magila 1875-Apr. 1883 with a short furlough in 1877-8. He returned in 1886 for two years.

(30) Possibly either Chenyeghea, Kibanga or another brother.

(31) USPG/UMCA AI(III) Steere to Mrs. Steere Morongo 20 July 1875

(32) USPG/UMCA AI(III) Steere to Christopher Wordworth, BP. of Lincoln Zanzibar July 1 1875. Printed in *The Guardian* Aug. 3rd 1875, and *ibid.*



so. Farler was to find himself during much of his stay in Usambara closely involved with the political affairs of the region, but believing that it was the duty of the missionaries to some extent to civilise, by the bringing of law and order, as well as to Christianize he was not loath to act the part of mediator between the warring factions.<sup>(33)</sup>

It is probable that the unrest was an important factor in driving many of the neighbouring chiefs to seek a connection with the mission at Magila and soon a number became catechumens. Invitations to establish stations were too numerous to be fulfilled though an offer of half the site of Pambili 'at one time the largest town in this part of Africa and the wealthiest' was accepted, and Farler hoped to establish a Freed-slave settlement there. There was the prospect that 'whoever is in charge of the Station, if he be a good man will be recognised chief of the town, and the paramount influence in the whole country' but the offer, as can be suspected with all the others, was really an attempt on the part of the Bondoi to build up a protection from the Wadigo who were harrassing the area. The chief of Pambili recommended that the

Freed men should have some guns so that they may take their part in the defence of the town if the Wadigo should attack it, but he says the very fact of their having guns would give such confidence that great numbers would ask for permission to settle there and the knowledge that the Wazungu were living there with many guns would be the surest prevention against any attack from the Wadigo. (34)

Farler taking this up asked Steere for 'a case of those 2½ guns'. Clarke was placed at Pambili in October 1877 but four months later having 'proved a great failure ... the natives demanded that he should

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(33) See below p.298

(34) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) pp. 398-400. Farler to Steere Magila Sept. 30/1877

be removed. (35)

The influence of the mission was so established by October 1876 that a message arrived from Kibanga, who had succeeded his brother Chanyeghea as ruler of East Usambara, begging Farler to act as a mediator between him and Semboja as both were tired of the war which had been in progress for eight years since the death of Kimweri:

Simboja (sic) and Kibanga distrust each other, and yet, unless they can be brought together the peace is as far off as ever, they both want me to bring them together - feeling I suppose that my presence would prevent treachery on either side - they have often tried to kill each other by poison and assassination, they fear each other, and the death of either, would give the other uncontrolled power and all he wants. I purpose to go to Handei next Monday and appoint a meeting place at some neutral point between Vuga and Handei, each to bring the same number of men. Kibanga has at Handei sixteen boys sons of chiefs, who he wishes me to bring back with me to live here and be educated .... Kibanga has sent another bull - This makes cow, calf, three bulls, goat and sheep. (36)

Masasa was appointed as the meeting place and there Farler successfully concluded a temporary peace between the chiefs. (37)

The presence of the mission came to be seen as a benefit by the Bondel and their neighbours, and it was reported to Farler that the people of Kivindo, some five miles south east of Magila, were delighted with the expansion of the mission and

they say the Bondel will now have a chief who will show them how to write who will make them strong to resist the Wadigo . . . the Bondel are longing for someone to rule them whom they can trust, and in a short time the whole country will look upon me (Farler) as their recognised head. (38)

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- (35) *ibid.* pp. 413-414 Farler to Deedes Magila Feb. 20th 1877  
 (36) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) pp. 387-93 Farler to Steers, Magila Oct. 10th 1876  
 (37) H. Rowley, *op.cit.*, pp. 248-49; Farler, "The Usambara Country" *op.cit.* pp. 88-90  
 (38) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) pp. 387-93, Farler to Steers Oct. 10 1876

This perturbed Farler who wrote to Steere for advice as he did not want political power but only moral power.<sup>(39)</sup> The former was however much easier to acquire:

There is very strong opposition to our work at the present time among a certain section of the people, partially fomented by the Mohammedans and partially on account of the Catechumens refusing to work or dance on Sundays, or to join in the Sacrifices to the Evil Spirits, or to wear charms, 'lazy dogs' is the common term of reproach. With the Chiefs and ruling powers I stand thoroughly well, they have a great respect for me although they fight shy of religion. The other day the principal Akida or Chief Judge came on behalf of the others to beg me to be their King so that they might have 'the benefit of my wisdom and counsel' and promised to become Xtians themselves and make all the other people Xtian by force, but by conviction only. This is the second time this request has been made - war constantly interrupts my work - Vuga and the Wakalindi country must be occupied, and the Wadigo country north of Bondel (between Bondel and Mombas). Then I think the influence of the missionaries might prevent war. (40)

As well as the civil war the Usambara region was subjected to repeated invasions from various neighbouring tribes, in particular the Digo and the Zigua, the latter ravaging the Magila area in 1877 though not attacking the mission. Similarly two years later the Masai, though destroying neighbouring villages, avoided Magila.<sup>(41)</sup> And this immunity no doubt attracted the envy of their neighbours.

However not all relations with local chiefs were cordial and there are a number of instances of hostile action against the mission. 1881 was a particularly unsettled year. At the end of 1880 work began on building a permanent stone church at Magila, but the use of stone and the substantial size of the building aroused the suspicions of the neighbouring Makumba who sent over a party of armed Bondels to stop the work:

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(39) *ibid.*

(40) *ibid.* pp. 413-14. Farler to Deedes Magila Feb. 20th 1877

(41) Anderson-Moreshead, *op.cit.*, pp. 110-111; M. Rouley, *op.cit.*, p.270.

I invited their chiefs over to see what we were doing. But instead of one or two chiefs they sent a small army of soldiers, with orders to fight us and destroy the church and Mission station. I had a sharp attack of fever, when I was suddenly told that the valley was full of armed men, bent upon fighting. Our native Christians began to gather their guns, but I told them to put them away, and we all went down unarmed to meet these Makumba people. I went up to the chief man, and asked what he wanted. He said we must give up building, give up teaching and preaching, and live like heathens. After a long talk I promised to stop the church building for a little while, but the rest of their demands I utterly refused. With a little patience and tact we got them to go away. All the people of this country stood round us splendidly, and this trouble has created a bond of sympathy between us and the heathen which will greatly aid our work. (42)

Later in 1881 when work had recommenced on the church trouble arose with regard to the burning and carrying of lime from the Nyika half a day from Magila. Though the lime was dug and burnt in the wilderness certain people claimed a right over it and demanded 50 dollars from the mission for leave to burn lime. This Farler refused to pay and he suggested to Bishop Steere that help should be requested from the Sultan, and that he be asked to send his army under General Matthews: 'if the Sultan won't let Matthews come, could we have 100 men armed who would bring over the lime for us' and his annoyance with the nuisances caused to his work led him to suggest that the heads of various villages should be taken to Zanzibar and put in the fort for a time. (43) The belligerent tone of Farler's letter led Steere to respond in a characteristic way:

I will not fight or sanction fighting or intimidation in any form whatever, the Church had better remain unbuild for a hundred years than any violence be done. One must not even threaten to shed blood in order to get on quickly with building a Church for God ..... You must beware of appealing

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(42) Anderson-Moreshead, op.cit., p. 222

(43) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) Magila Nov. 19th 1881 Farler to Steere.



to the Seyyid, an Arab Governor might give you infinitely greater troubles than these. (44)

Steere felt that the people had a right to demand a payment for the lime, and in January 1882 Farler agreed to pay 30 dollars to settle all claims to the place where lime was burnt and to obtain perpetual right to carry lime through their country:

I am so pleased that I intend, on my next visit to Umba to make them a present of twenty dollars, to show them that it was not money I contended for, but justice. (45)

At Umba itself where the mission had established a station in 1877 opposition came from an Arab who returned in 1881 from a three year trip to find the mission firmly established with a substantial church. He objected to the ringing of the church bell and threatened to pull down the church. However the people, including the ineffectual chief Semkali, gathered to the defence of the mission, and when it was discovered that the Arab was only a freed slave he gained little support. (46)

A more serious threat came from the coast Mohammedans in January 1882:

We have been having some little trouble with the natives. Not our neighbours, they were involved with us, but people living some distance off, who have been urged by the coast Mohammedans to drive us out of the country. I got wind of the matter, and sent a friendly chief to the meeting with a letter, which nobody could read; but as I had coached my friend up in its contents, and he held it in his hand, as he delivered my message, it did quite as well. They thought it a great compliment on my part. Every one took the letter and solemnly looked at it, and expressed himself perfectly satisfied. We were then voted with acclamation 'the brothers of the natives.' The coast people were very angry, but my friendly chief told them they had tried to breed discord in the land, and told many lies. (47)

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(44) *ibid.*, Steeres draft answer is appended to the end of the letter

(45) Anderson-Moreshead, *op.cit.*, p. 224

(46) H. Rowley, pp. 272-273

(47) Anderson-Moreshead, *op.cit.*, pp. 225-226.

These signs of unrest, though fostered by the succession war, were not part of it and were just signs of the break up of the strong kingdom of Kimweri. The Kilindi rulers of east Usambara Kibanga and his nephew Kinyassi showed no signs of hostility to the mission but they had little control of the Bondel chiefs. Indeed amongst the first natives to be baptised were two members of the ruling Mkhanda clan, who were said to be sons of old Kimweri.<sup>(48)</sup> And two of the mission's principal pupils in the 1880s, Petro Limo and Hugh Peter Kayamba, were great grandson and grandson respectively of old Kimweri.<sup>(49)</sup> Kibanga paid particular attention to the mission and made a number of visits which were not always at welcome moments, especially that paid during the famine in 1877:

I think we should have got through fairly well if Kibanga, the king of Usambara had not chosen just that time to pay us a visit with numerous wives, slaves and soldiers. He stayed a week, and having to find food for such a host cleared us completely out. (50)

However the friendship of Kibanga meant the antagonism of Semboja and his son Kimweri, and in 1884 when Semboja handed over the headship of the Wakilindi to Kimweri the civil war was escalated, and Kimweri advanced into East Usambara where it was rumoured that he intended attacking the mission, whereupon Bishop Smythies decided on a peace mission to Kimweri which was carried out in May 1884. Smythies, Woodward, Susi, a Bondel chief, and two boys from Magila went to the Wakilindi camp carrying a letter from the Sultan to Semboja ordering him not to attack the mission. They were received by Kimweri whose dress greatly impressed Smythies:

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- (48) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 405-410 Farler to Steere Magila, Low Sunday 1877  
 (49) For Limo see Appendix II. African Clergy; For Kayamba see Appendix III. Africans Educated in England.  
 (50) AI(VI) 394-397 Farler to Heanley Magila Oct. 13th 1877.



We soon found he not only looked the chief, but could talk like one too. We told him we had come as representing the Bondois, being men of peace. He asked who gave us a right to Magila. We answered, his grandfather, Kimweri. He asked for the letter which showed our right. We contended that, first, he could not write, nor anyone else in the country; secondly, it was not usual to ask for a letter after twenty years of peaceful occupation. He then said he claimed to be the rightful chief of the whole country - if we would acknowledge him as such that was all he wanted. We told him it was not for us to acknowledge anyone, that we held our land by the gift of Kimweri and the permission of the Sultan, and accepted the order of things we found. If once we acknowledged one we should give up our position as friends of all. It was not for us to judge between him and the other members of his family, or to decide whose claims were most just. We had no wish to meddle in such matters. All we wanted was to plead for the harmless people who lived around us, who were suffering from famine and helpless against him - that they should not have their houses burnt and be sold into slavery like their neighbours. He asked what power or lands we had. We answered that we had one little shamba, that we wanted no lands or power, that we meddled with no politics or affairs of government; we were simply teachers come from God, from our distant country, to try and do good to the people in Africa and teach them about God; that we had as much interest in his people as in the Bondois, but we happened to live amongst the letter and it made us very sad to think the dreadful fate of their neighbours might fall upon them. He then said he had no quarrel with us, should be glad to see us at Vuga, his town, but that he claimed to be chief of the whole country as his grandfather was. The chiefs had only to send their submission and they would be unmolested. We got him to promise he would wait for the Sultan's letter, and would not descend upon the Bondois without letting us know. (51)

Possibly in consequence of the Bishop's visit, Kimweri retired from the Bondoi country and laid siege to Kibanga's capital Handei, he was forced to raise the siege and later Farler reported that he had been defeated by Kibanga and that 'Kinyasse, Hugh's cousin (Hugh P. Kayamba), is now accepted as Sultan by the whole of the Bondoi people and the Shambara people'. (52)

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(51) G. Ward., Life of Bishop Smythies, pp. 36-37

(52) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) pp. 447-50 Farler to Penney, Kiungani, Zanzibar 1884.

Two years later Smythies paid a visit to Kibanga and Kinyassi and was asked for advice on several matters ranging from how to deal with those who practiced witchcraft to a cure for indigestion. (53)

The mission's role of adviser to the chiefs grew as the threat of European occupation increased, and in the same year Farler records the following incident:

The Mission here is ripe for completely taking possession of the country, everywhere we are honoured guests, and this week a message came to me from Makanga the brother of Kibanga and the most powerful chief next to him in the country thanking me greatly for some advice I sent him by a young Xtian chief as to his dealings with the people, saying he valued my friendship greatly and whenever I saw him doing things which I did not think right he should be thankful for my advice. This is the chief for whom Bishop Steere bought handsome presents when he planted me here in June 1875 and whose permission had to be obtained before I could settle here - This will give you some idea what a great moral force the Mission is throughout the land, even among the heathen. (54)

But the increasing presence of the Germans was most likely the cause of Kimweri's last major attempt to win control of the whole Usambara kingdom in 1888. At the end of 1887 the ever-present civil war had again broken the surface, and in February 1888 after initial successes in Usambara Kimweri turned his attention to the Magila district and on the morning of the 27th of that month war drums were heard at the station. This was not an unusual sound but this time Kimweri had hired 400 Masai to help him recapture the area, and having great faith in their ability except in the light of European interference, he sent a message that he would wipe out the mission. Alarmed at this threat, Farler sent the ladies and boys to Mkuzi to the south east and barricaded and provisioned Magila as a place of refuge. This done he set out with Petro Limo for Kimweri's camp, and there they were greeted

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(53) Anderson-Moreshead, op.cit., p. 234

(54) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) p. 502. Farler to Penney, Magila, Oct. 14 1886.

by Kimweri wearing a 'very uncomfortable suit of European clothes and patent leather boots'. Surprisingly Farler got Kimweri to come to terms for a peace which included him abandoning his stockaded camp, and going back to Vuga. How much this was due to Farler's persuasiveness and how far to Kimweri's inability to overcome the Bondei defence can be conjectured. Once peace was concluded with Kimweri Farler set out for Kibanga to explain the peace and convince him of this relative's sincerity. This hard task completed, Farler fell ill and was invalided to Zanzibar and finally to England.<sup>(55)</sup>

Farler's departure coincided with a more effective occupation of the eastern part of Usambara by the Germans, and in February 1890 Woodward reported that he had received a letter from the German authorities at Tanga:

Saying that Kibanga was now appointed chief of all the Bondei people. This is important and will probably be beneficial if Kibanga will act justly but that is the difficulty. With these Wakilindi chiefs just as with the Arabs - the man who gives most money gains the day - I hope to pay him an official visit this week by way of example and I shall take the opportunity of speaking to him about doing justice. (56)

This marked a virtual end of the civil wars and of the mission's involvement in the politics of Usambara. It was not until 1895 that the Germans took action to subjugate the Kilindi to the west. Semboja died in that year and the Germans advanced and confiscated his arms and a month later hung his son and heir Mputa on a charge of murder, and soon after appointed Kinyassi as a puppet ruler in his place.<sup>(57)</sup>

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(55) Anderson-Mereshead, op.cit., pp. 242-244

(56) USPG/UMCA AVIII 239-40 Woodward to Child Feb. 20th 1890

(57) S. Feierman, op.cit., p. 13. On a visit to Kimweri in October 1893 Smythies found still in control of the area around Vuga but unable to pursue his wishes to regain his grandfather's kingdom 'he is held in check by the German administration; but there is little love lost between them', G. Ward, Life of Smythies pp. 208-209.

4. MASASI

The UMCA's greatest problems with regard to civil jurisdiction and temporal power arose in the case of the freed slave settlement at Masasi. The earlier mission stations on the mainland in the Usambara region were merely centres for evangelisation, clearly coming under the overall suzerainty of the Sultan of Zanzibar. However the freed slave settlement was very much a separate matter, constituting a village in itself, and the missionary in charge was seen to be the chief and thus responsible for the good behaviour of his 'subjects'. This attitude is very much evident with regard to the mission station. Even the initial expedition to found Masasi experienced an example of the jurisdiction which was to be the rule at the settlement. The expedition which set out in 1876 consisted of Steere, Johnson and Beardall and 59 released slaves from Mbweni, accompanied by some seventy Zanzibari porters under Chuma and a further seventy recruited at Lindi. One of the latter was caught stealing and Steere as head of the party ordered the man to be flogged, which was carried out with the man tied to a cart wheel.<sup>(1)</sup> The action was defended as a necessity in order to instill order and respect in the porters.

The Mission station was established with virtually no instructions being given to its youthful leaders, Johnson aged 22 and Maples who was only 25 when he took charge in 1877. In December 1877 Steere did write to Maples, presumably at his request, on the subject of civil jurisdiction within the settlement and received as part of the reply the followings:

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(1) R. Lambourn 'Zanzibar to Masasi in 1876: The Founding of the Masasi Mission'. Tanganyika Notes and Records, 31 July 1951; W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences, p. 21.



Don't send any one away except for an offence for which you would feel justified in killing him. He belongs to you wherever he is, and I have found again and again that a boy or man one wished to drive away has turned out better than a favourite. You are in the position of kings who cannot get rid of their subjects any more than they of them. Punish as you can, but trust a good deal to words sharp and clear. Wherever you punish you must carry the opinion of your men with you, or you will be doing no good. Do every thing that is possible to get the voice of the men against the offender, by showing them clearly that he really is guilty of an offence. (2)

Steere also counselled the missionaries to call in the local chief with regard to serious cases, both concerning their own people and the surrounding population. (3)

Maples acted, he thought, with the full support of Steere and his letters reveal many instances of his exercising temporal jurisdiction at Masasi. In August 1877 he wrote to his mother describing the organisation of the freed slave village:

And now to tell you a little more about our own Mbweni people up here. We have in all about 55 . . . They all receive from us their daily allowance of food, meal or beans or rice generally; in return for this and their houses and shambas, which were given them, they work for us three days a week, and it is by their work on these days that we get all our building, etc., done. If they work on the other three days; as some are willing to do, we pay them for their labour in cloth. I make attendance at the morning service in church compulsory for all of them four times a week, including Sundays and I am very glad to say there is always on the other days a very fair sprinkling of them at the services. The punishment for lighter offences is the taking away the allowance of food for a time; for heavier offences they are tied up and thrashed, and for the most grievous sine of all, e.g. the breaking of the Seventh Commandment, they will in future be expelled altogether. This is now clearly understood by all. (4)

In April 1878 he records that two of the eldest boys had been expelled, as guilty of the 'grossest' sine 'all through temptation which assailed them in the long hours of lounging idleness'. (5) In May the station

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(2) E. Maples, Life and Letters of Chauncy Maples p. 177

(3) *ibid.*, p. 178

(4) *ibid.*, p. 100.

(5) *ibid.*, p. 114.



storeroom was broken into and goods to the value of forty dollars stolen and it seemed that the thieves were outsiders. Maples thereupon turned, in compliance with Steere's instructions, to the Makua chief who had granted the mission their land, for assistance in tracing the culprits and bringing them to justice. Namkumba understandably took this opportunity to implicate the neighbouring Yaos:

when he heard what had been done he was highly indignant, declared it was some of the lying, thieving Yaos who had done it, and that he would expel them from the country. (6)

This seemingly was an idle boast for it is doubtful if the Makua chiefs would have been strong enough to turn the more belligerent Yaos out of the country.<sup>(7)</sup> Maples with little difficulty persuaded them to drop this scheme, and also a plan to use 'witchcraft' to cause the thieves to show themselves. Instead the Makua carried out an investigation and informed Maples that the robbery was committed by four of Bin Fumo's men, the Yao chief with whom the mission had had close contact, and the missionary accepted this accusation. He demanded that the four thieves be handed over to him to be sent to Zanzibar to be dealt with by the Consul and that the value of the stolen goods be restored to the mission. It transpired, or so Maples was told, that the robbery had been arranged by Bin Fumo in order to instigate a war between himself and the mission, and that he recanted when he found the Makuas had turned against him. Here Maples was closely involving the mission in tribal politics, utilising the Makua to defend the mission from the more belligerent Yao, though he does not appear to have suspected that the Makua were

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(6) *ibid.*, p. 115

(7) Namkumba said 'You Europeans, my friends and guests, to be insulted by these miserable Yaos, who are here on sufferance, and who have bothered me ever since I gave them leave to come and settle in these hills: I won't stand it'. *ibid.*, p. 115

utilising their friendship with the mission to rid themselves of the Yao intruders:

As a settlement here, not merely a mission station, we must teach the people that they cannot thus molest us with impunity. So I am led to ask Namkumba to take up the matter on account of the safety of the people under my charge. (8)

Thus Maples placed the protection of the mission in the hands of the Makua chief while maintaining the internal jurisdiction of the village in his own hands. He found that he did not dislike the position of ruler of Masasi:

it is not hard to maintain discipline and punish the offenders. Sometimes these last have to be very severely beaten; however, I never resort to this method without carrying the opinion of the majority of the men with me. In this way the justice of the punishment approves itself to the best of our people, and that is all that is wanted. You must remember that I am not only priest or chaplain or missionary to these people, but absolutely their ruler as well and as such I am responsible to all the neighbouring chiefs for the good behaviour of our own people. It is a curious position to find oneself in, and by no means one which I should have chosen for myself; yet, finding myself in it, I do not dislike it, and I get to like our people better and better as I know more of them. (9)

Though he did have moments of depression when he felt 'more like the governor of a gaol than a missionary',<sup>(10)</sup>

Maples justified his exercise of 'limited magisterial powers' by the prosperity and success that had ensued:

Our independent free village of Masasi is famous for hundreds of miles round and hundreds of people if allowed would flock to us so as to live under our rule. In a country split up and laid waste by slave raids and the ravages of roving tribes, security and protection are believed to reside with us. Our prestige as Englishmen does much to bring about this opinion of our settlement. . . . A large practical experience of the safety of living under our rule, rather than a love for, and a belief in the power of the Church, is the motive that makes renegades as well as others still wish to cling to us. Amongst many petty states we are one and a powerful one. In our state we take care indeed

(8) *ibid.*, p. 116

(9) *ibid.*, p. 117

(10) *ibid.*, p. 121 Oct. 16th 1878.

that the Church shall hold paramount sway, but the Church is more often obeyed for the sake of the state, not on account of her own intrinsic and commanding power. Whether as state then, or state Church, or Church state, God is with us, and we feel Him working out His will with us here. We have enjoyed an unusual amount of prosperity and success. We have had lavishly bestowed upon us unlooked for mercies and blessings, and we dare to think that here the miracles of God's grace have moved men's hearts and brought about true and heartfelt conversion .....But while at Masasi our one aim and end is to build up the Church of Christ, our peculiar position has already given something of the character of a state to our community, and in all honesty we must admit that our present strength and unity is not a little owing to the fact of our being what we did not seek to become, but what we nevertheless are - an independent state governed on Christian principles, alongside of many petty states carried on under heathen administration. For my part, I cannot think that the moral strength of our community, even though I believe it to be greatly due to its state-like character, is to be despised on this account, or to weigh as nothing in the scale of true Missionary effort. If it be a state, it is a state of God's ordering, and by His ordering too those who bear rule in it are Christian priests. (11)

The methods employed by Maples at Masasi were seemingly approved of by Steere until there occurred in January 1881 an event which was to alter the whole relationship of these two influential missionaries. This was the accusation and trial of the native deacon John Swedi for adultery. Swedi, who was one of the original five freed slave boys who had been given to the mission by the Sultan, had been ordained as the first native deacon by Bishop Steere in June 1879 and was thus the first fruit of the mission policy which had been pursued since their

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(11) C. Maples, 'A Village Community in East Africa' Mission Life, 1882, pp. 103-4.

arrival in Zanzibar.<sup>(12)</sup> Swedi, Steere's pride and joy, had been sent on his ordination to Masasi but his early promise proved unfounded and the missionaries were much disappointed. Maples it would appear was not particularly surprised when early in 1881 Eustace Uledi informed him in grief that Amy Zanapo whom he had recently married was far advanced in pregnancy and that she would not name her seducer. Uledi was advised by Maples to endeavour to make his wife declare the offender, which he achieved by beating her with a stick and tying her up all one night. She stated that John Swedi had forced her to have intercourse during a week when his wife was away and while Amy was lodging with them during the six months before her marriage. Maples took up the accusation and brought John Swedi to trial.<sup>(13)</sup> The trial was described by Maples in a letter home:

We had no jury, but I sat as judge and examiner, with Porter and Janson as my assessors. I was cross-examining witnesses hard for three and a half hours, and at the end of it we were relieved in coming to the unanimous conclusion that the accusation broke down entirely; we were a very little time in coming to the conclusion and giving judgment accordingly . . . Of course the whole trial was carried on in Swahili and the satisfactory thing about it was, that whereas previous to the trial we felt low and desponding thinking that there was practically no evidence likely to be forthcoming to show the innocence of the accused, the result proved exactly opposite. The unfortunate thing however, is that although we proclaimed loudly his innocence, these simple people who knew nothing of trials, evidence and the like, all firmly believe in his guilt, so that we thought it best that he should return to Zanzibar. (14)

On Swedi's arrival in Zanzibar bearing three explanatory letters from Maples, Janson and Porter, Steere was outraged to read of the trial and the events leading up to it and he immediately penned a lengthy letter to Porter:

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(12) For Swedi see Appendix II

(13) Correspondence relating to Swedi's trial is to be found in USPG/UMCA AI(IX) 22-38

(14) E. Maples, op.cit. pp. 140-141.



The affair of John Swedi as it comes down to me is so outrageous a breach of propriety that I am really glad to be able to urge Maples to go home on the ground of ill health.

I. By what kind of law can a woman be tortured by beating and tying up to make her confess with whom she had connection before her marriage?

II. On what grounds can the man who tied her up and beat her escape punishment for his brutal violence?

III. If a woman of bad character under the pressure of torture suggests that she was seduced by a clergyman is that evidence upon which a man ought to be put on his trial?

IV. When an open trial has been heard and the case has broken down ought not the accused to have the full support of his ecclesiastical superiors?

V. If the defeated accuser threatens violence against the clergyman ought he not to be punished or at least restrained?

VI. If a clergyman has been accused of immorality ought he to be allowed to leave the place until the charge has been entirely cleared up?

VII. What sort of teacher can a young man be who was refused confirmation because he had just contracted syphilis and brings a false accusation against a clergyman, the only evidence being what he extracted by torture from his wife who had before given another name which he refused to accept and when the accusation breaks down threatens to make an assault on the clergyman who has been declared free of all blame?

VIII. Is the ecclesiastical superior who sanctions all this and sends away the clergyman and supports and employs as a teacher his accuser and threatener fit to be trusted with the management of a Mission? It is clear to me upon all this that the sooner Maples leaves Maasai the better for all concerned. (15)

In a similar letter to Janson Steere asks him to take command of Maasai. (16)

Though Steere was rightly enraged by the many lapses of justice it is not difficult to see that his feelings were strongly affected by disappointment in the treatment of his protegee John Swedi and he hits back at

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(15) USPG/UMCA AI(IX) 30-32 Steere to Porter March let 1881

(16) *ibid.*, Steere to Janson March let 1881. This letter is even more condemning of Maples: 'Maples tells me in so many words that he ordered the application of torture to a pregnant woman ... How can I allow a man who has been guilty of such revolting cruelty to a pregnant woman to remain in any post of authority under me ... .. Maples has done a great many things that I have been sorry for but it has now reached a climax .... I shall no longer trust him as head of the mission.' In *Mission Life* Maples defends the 'chastisement' of Amy Zanapo as conforming to the custom of the region with regard to unchastity. 'Whenever such punishment is disallowed amongst natives the sin abounds, so that at last marriage itself becomes degraded into mere temporary co-habitation, and the mutual honour of husband and wife reckoned of no account'. C. Maples, 'A Village Community..' *op.cit.*, pp.162-163.



Maples by attacking 'the system of favouritism which has prevailed at Masasi'. Undoubtedly Uledi was a favourite of Maples<sup>(17)</sup> and the whole affair appears as an unfortunate clash of favourites, an event not uncommon in mission history. However the affair did not blow over at once because the trial, but not its subject, was brought to the attention of the British public in an article written by Maples for Mission Life the following year. In the article which dealt with village life at Masasi the rules and laws for the maintenance of order and discipline were dealt with and an allusion was made to the trial as typical of methods used, though no details were given of the case.<sup>(18)</sup> Unfortunately it appeared at a time when missionary societies were very sensitive to any signs of their missionaries exercising temporal power following the affair at Mombasa and the so called Blantyre scandal, and when criticism of the use of such methods appeared in a subsequent number of Mission Life the UMCA's General Committee passed the following resolution:

The attention of the Committee having been called to some articles by the Rev. Chauncey Maples published in 'Mission Life' which are not generally approved in England they desire to represent to the Bishop, that it is desirable he should himself see and approve all papers intended to be published in England relating to the work of the Mission and the principles on which it is carried on.<sup>(19)</sup>

This resulted in Steers having the letter he had written to Maples on the subject printed together with the resolution and circulated to

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- (17) For Eustace Uledi (later known as Eustace Malisawa) see Appendix II and also 'Our Schoolmaster, Eustace Malisawa' Papers from Newala No. IV reprinted from Central Africa in E. Maples, (ed.) Journals and Papers of Chauncey Maples pp. 76-81
- (18) E. Maples, Life and Letters of Chauncey Maples, pp. 176-177; C. Maples 'A Village Community' op.cit.
- (19) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes 10th May 1882.

all members on the mission staff.<sup>(20)</sup> This action hurt and annoyed Maples<sup>(21)</sup> and tempered the high regard with which he had originally held Bishop Steere. The circulated letter to Maples is of some importance as it lays down rules for the administration of the settlement that were to become relevant later that year:

Politically we (as missionaries) have no rights at all, and can only live in the country by the permission or sufferance of the people we find there. There can therefore be no formal administration of justice, or claim to independence, or anything like making war. We must get such justice as we can, and if our position becomes intolerable we must choose between becoming martyrs and leaving the place.

If there is to be any regular judicial authority it must come from the government which we find in the country, or from England, or be organized among the people who are subject to it. We cannot ourselves make or unmake it.

But you have a number of followers, to whom you stand in the relation of the head of a household to his family and servants. This gives you powers and duties which are indefinite in their extent, but all rest ultimately upon the continued consent of both parties ....Of course you will do your best to defend yourself and them against criminals of all kinds, and will try to keep the peace, and preserve order and propriety among your own people ... It is better for a priest to be too lax than too severe in temporal matters. All the power you have is paternal and not judicial.<sup>(22)</sup>

In the area where the station of Masasi was established were to be found three main tribal groups: the Makonde, the Makua and the Yao. It was towards the Makua that the mission was particularly aimed with the permission of the Makua chief, Namkumba, 'a great smelter and worker in iron', though the missionaries had little success with this tribe who they described as 'a singularly dull, unreceptive race, believing in very little and very tenacious to that little .....

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(20) USPG/UMCA AI(IX)

(21) E. Maples, op.cit. pp. 177-179

(22) USPG/UMCA AI(IX)

They don't care to be taught and don't believe in what they are taught while they have a strong prejudice against using their minds' and early on they turned their attention to the surrounding Yao whom they found 'quick, lively and intelligent'.<sup>(23)</sup> Maples in 1877 succeeded in obtaining the support of the two principal Yao chiefs who ruled some distance south from Masasi, Matola and Mchemba, both of whom allowed their sons to be sent to the mission school. Matola was especially keen for the missionaries to establish themselves at his village of Newala which they did in 1878 under Herbert Clarke.

The mission, once settled at Newala, found itself called upon to act as a mediator in tribal politics between the Maviti, a branch of the Ngoni and the Yaos/Makwas (intermixed); a role was assumed at the behest of Sultan Barghash as his agents were finding difficulties with regard to the trade routes along the Rovuma valley because of the warfare in progress between these two groups.:

On Friday last I left here (Kilonda) by Mr. Maples' request, to attend a meeting of the Maviti, Makwas, and Seyed Barghash's agents on the Rovuma, and returned to-day. I am glad to say we have been able to arrange matters satisfactorily, to overcome the difficulties of the Seyed's agents, and to establish a basis of peace

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(23) A. E. M. Anderson-Moreshead, History of UNCA, pp.125, 131. Maples however formed a different impression: 'The Makwas contrast favourably with the Yaos in nearly every respect. The Yaos are habitually liars. The Makwas are as a rule truthful. The whole morale of the Makwas is far superior to that of the Yaos. Their domestic life is better, their family ties are stronger, they regard the honour of their wives .... It would seem certainly that the contact of the Yaos with the spurious civilization of the coast, where they have picked up a few crumbs of the prevailing Mohammedanism, has only served to make them more vicious than they were by nature.' Though he was greatly impressed by the Yao chief Matola: 'He is without exception the most intelligent and the most pleasing African I know. He has many excellent qualities, and withal an amount of energy that is rare in that part of the world. He has a fund of information about the country, the people, and the languages, of which he can speak six. He is decidedly handsome, has a fine figure, and is considerably taller than any of his people. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about him is the fact that he is a total abstainer'. C. Maples 'Masasi and the Rovuma District in East Africa', PRGS, 1882.

between the Maviti and the Makuas.

There were about sixty Maviti present, and I suppose one hundred Makuas. The Maviti chiefs were Mkumba of Mchichira, Leosi, and Mkuwra; the Makuas, Mawa, chief of Newala district, Mjorumbi, Chimaluja, and Matola as representing this district.

Peace was agreed upon between the Maviti and Makuas, and they shook hands, &c., &c. The future disputes between them are to be settled by the agent of the Seyed. They promise to discontinue the system of enticing and catching each other's people; they will put no difficulties in the way of the Seyed's project of a road to the coast; the flag of the Seyed is to be erected at Mjari, at Mchichira, and at the town of Mawa. Arrangements were also made as to the return of runaways from Matola to Mkumba, and the giving up of a man whom Matola has in custody. (24)

Here the missionaries were actively supporting the extension of the Sultan's influence, and their friendship and control of the Makua was used by the Arabs to secure their wishes. It is significant that Clarke camped with the Arabs the night before the conference and used 'moral suasion' to stop the Makua, who had attended a service on the Sunday, from running away before the conference.

Though confronted by 'some very wild Maviti war-dances' Clarke apparently noticed no special antagonism from this section of Ngoni, but the mission did fall foul of the more war-like 'new' Ngoni the Magwanguara. These were principally a people who had been conquered by the 'true' Ngoni and had identified with their conquerors by adopting their language, customs, and their love of military exploit. 'Although the 'new' Ngoni could operate as freebooters in search of slaves, ivory and other loot, they could not enjoy the full privileges of military leadership and high political office. Indeed, their lack of discipline and their own

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(24) H. Rowley, Twenty Years in Central Africa, pp. 276-277.



status insecurity appears to have made the Magwangwara even more bloodthirsty plunderers than the true Ngoni'.<sup>(25)</sup> Contact with the Magwangwara was made in July 1882 by Johnson who paid a visit to the chief at Songea<sup>(26)</sup>, and it was this visit that apparently sparked off the Ngoni interest in Masasi, for on Johnson's departure he left behind seven Masasi porters who were to make their way back to the mission, but these were stopped by Songea and not allowed to leave until a raiding party of Ngoni, some 4-500 strong, had been despatched to Masasi. The leading porter, Edward Abdullah, later recounted what he had been told by the Ngoni of their object of raiding Masasi:

This European who has just gone, says God tells us to leave off war and raids, and to keep peace with all men. We cannot do that. God has given us this work of war; He has told us to fight with everybody, and to try and make all serve us. Let the European fight with us, and if he conquers us, then we will acknowledge that his words are true and that God is on his side; then we will do what he tells us, and help him pray to God. Our work is war, nothing else. We have heard that all the Europeans who have come into the country, are fierce, and brave, and strong . . . . . we want to try the Europeans at Masasi. We are just going to make war upon them; we shall surprise them before sunrise, carry off their people, and get all their property if we can. We shall not kill the Europeans themselves this time, but we shall try them to see if they are fierce and can conquer us. If they are not strong, if they are gentle and soft, and refuse to fight us, we shall then know that we cannot get the better of them, and having carried off their people, we shall, after some months, make a second war upon them, destroying them utterly, and shall, having killed the Europeans themselves, cut out the heart of the chief one and carry it away as a charm by which we shall be able to bring all other white men who come into the country into subjection. (27)

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- (25) J.G.Liebenow, Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanzania: The Case of the Makonde, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1971 p. 27.
- (26) W.P.Johnson, My African Reminiscences, ; B.H. Barnes, Johnson of Nyasaland ; R.Lambourn, 'The Angoni Raid on Masasi in 1882' Tanzania Notes and Records
- (27) E.Maple, Life and Letters of Cheungy Maple, p. 194.



Though no doubt there was some colouring of this story in the light of after events its accuracy seems reliable.

Masasi received a warning of the imminent raid when porters from a trade caravan which had been attacked by the Magwangwara raiding party some sixty miles from Masasi sought refuge at the mission station and reported that it was the goal of the raiders. On hearing the news the surrounding population fled to the neighbouring hills where the thick bush gave them security from the Ngoni whose fighting methods were hampered once out of the open. The missionaries however kept calm and attempted to persuade their people to remain:

I have harangued our people again to-night, and told them whatever happens Mr. Porter and I mean to stay, God helping us, here. So far, our people, who are a mere handful after all, have remained tolerably firm, I thank God, but most of our neighbours are fast making away - we should hardly have expected it otherwise. I do not myself think that we are in much danger, if any at all, so don't be alarmed. (28)

This confidence in their immunity displayed by the missionaries was no doubt a result of their years of experience in which they had suffered little at the hands of the native population. However in order to make sure that the village was not attacked it was agreed that Maples and five Africans should go out to meet the Magwangwara and persuade them to desist from raiding in the area. Maples missed the main party and while endeavouring to return to Masasi before the raiders they were surprised by a party of Magwangwara and managed to escape death by laying down their arms and what Maples attributes to 'their well-known fear of a European white face'. After expressing friendship and a desire to come to terms the mission party was allowed

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(28) *ibid.*, p. 182. Letter dated Masasi, Sept. 11th 1882 the eve of the raid.

to proceed towards the raiders' camp. But having already seen smoke rising from the vicinity of Masasi and 'fearing the worst', they turned aside and fled towards Newala, where they felt they would find security with Matola and any survivors from Masasi. The arduous journey took almost three days during which time the party were virtually without food. Fortunately, though the surrounding population had fled to the hills, Matola had remained for it was reported to Maples 'he said he would not leave until he had heard what had become of you, for if Masasi had been destroyed, he felt sure some of you would be able to make your escape to him, and so he remained to help and receive you, but all the other Yaos and Makuas have fled from their villages up the hills, and have gone far into the Makonde country.'<sup>(29)</sup> On the days that followed his arrival at Newala Maples began to receive reports of what had occurred at Masasi and it transpired that the Mangwangwara had entered Masasi and though only three of the native houses had been burned and seven natives killed the bulk of the freed slaves had been taken prisoner and were held ransom for cloth. Porter who had remained had managed to persuade the villagers not to use force against the marauders. 'Not one of our men fired a gun. To a man they kept our order on this point. Poor Sellim tried to fire his, and it was probably this attempt at resistance that cost him his life'.<sup>(30)</sup> This lack of resistance and Porter's calm handling of the Mangwangwara saved the village from further destruction though the church and storeroom were looted, the former being stripped bare. Porter used what cloth there was available

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(29) *ibid.*, p. 188

(30) *ibid.*, p. 191. Sellim Njalemba was a teacher at Masasi.

to ransom as many of the captives as possible but when the raiders departed after twelve days they took with them twenty-three adults and six children unransomed. And though a party was quickly despatched to Lindi for more cloth the Manguwara had reached Songea and when Porter arrived there on 2nd December he found that all the children had been killed and he was only able to ransom eight adults.

On receiving definite news of the state of Masasi and on recovering his health Maples was able to return to the station on October 3rd and consider the situation. Though the raiders had gone the missionaries greatly feared another attack which prompted Maples to contemplate the breaking up of the freed slave village:

It is needless to say, that in view of our imminent danger I have had no choice but to decide at once upon sending back to Zanzibar forthwith the whole of our released slave community. We ourselves must remain with our converts among the Yao communities, seeking with them a more possible security than we can have here at Newala with our friend Matola. (31)

The following June the remnants of the freed slave village were removed to Newala. (32)

The news of the raid led to much discussion in England on the whole question of freed slave villages on the mainland, the committees of the UMCA and other missionary societies were consulted and the Foreign Office was approached with respect to the protection of British subjects. Underlying much of the discussion was a criticism of the missionaries' failure to defend their charges and Maples' retreat to Newala. (33) The UMCA on the whole was pleased, as was Maples, that the

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(31) *ibid.*, p. 195

(32) See E. Maples, Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples pp. 68-69

(33) Lambourn, *op.cit.* p. 213.

missionaries would 'escape all stigma as "fighting missionaries"', (34) and their action was defended as complying with the instructions of Bishop Steere. Presumably it was the recently printed letter to Maples that was referred to when Madan reported on a paper by Steere:

Which appears to me (Madan) a most complete sanction and vindication of precisely the line taken by Maples and Porter at Masasi, viz. (i) avoiding bloodshed at all costs of stores, money, etc. (ii) withdrawal in prospect of renewed hostilities. (35)

However the Oxford Committee felt withdrawal was not a satisfactory way of dealing with the problem and in February passed the following resolution:

That though the success of the Masasi settlement has in . . . respects been considerable, the recent experience has proved that some organization for self-defence is absolutely necessary: and that while the Missionaries on the spot, so far from being blamable for pursuing a course laid down for them by the late Bishop, with at least the tacit concurrence of the Committee in England, deserve our admiration for the high qualities they had displayed, it is the opinion of this committee that no settlement should again be formed without some arrangement for self-defence.

That such defence should be entrusted to the hands of laymen who might act either in connection with the Government of the Sultan of Zanzibar, or with local chiefs. The civil government of these settlements; which has been felt to be an ungenial task by the clergy, should be entrusted to the same hands. (36)

At the next General Committee meeting Farler spoke at length on the 'Defence of Stations' and following discussion these recommendations were made:

1. That no freed slaves be planted on the Mainland beyond the effectual jurisdiction of the Sultan or of some other potentate.
2. That should Mission stations be formed beyond such limits that these should be protected by stone buildings as far as possible.

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(34) E. Maples, Life and Letters of Chauncy Maples, p. 196

(35) Lambourn, *op.cit.* p. 207

(36) USPG/UMCA B1/6 Oxford University UMCA Committee Minutes Feb.13 1883.



3. While it is most undesirable that the Missionaries should in any way mix themselves up with warlike operations the Committee feel that they have no right to interfere with the natural duty of the Natives to protect themselves. (37)

Maples himself was expressing the need for freed-slave stations outside the effective jurisdiction of the Sultan to be able to defend themselves and in June he wrote to Waller:

I shall be very glad to hear that the committee definitely and decidedly approve of a mainland released-slave station defending itself with weapons of war. I trust that they will, if they do approve it, very publicly say so, the late Bishop theoretically (I believe) approved of defensive operations of warlike character: practically he discountenanced our taking any measures in that direction: e.g. he objected to sending gunpowder to us on several occasions, as it seems to me he rather feared that if we were known to be well supplied with guns and ammunition we should be discredited at home; but in this matter as well as in so many others the Bishop refused to sound a clear note when I asked advice as I constantly did, on all kinds of difficult subjects connected with our position here as well as on matters of internal discipline ... (38)

Principally however Maples as a result of his experience had begun to question the whole existence of mission work with released slaves:

I think it a great mistake for the mission to take in adult slaves at all: I regret it exceedingly: it swamps one's funds, while the care of them in Zanzibar absorbs good men who might be working up-country with us in the conversion of the natives in their own homes: then here, their precious released slaves will not amalgamate with the people of the country, hold their noses aloft and look down on them, and what is worse, evince great jealousy at all the efforts we make for the outside people: neither can they be said to set a very good example to the natives, though once when I knew less I thought they did; of course it is quite in private that I say to you I think the whole establishment of released slaves at Mbwani a great mistake and a most unlikely method of forwarding the work of evangelising the tribes, nor do I think that a similar establishment on the mainland is a work for us missionaries on the mainland. (39)

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(37) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes May 25th 1883

(38) Rhodes House, Waller Papers III pp. 96-101 Chauncy Maples to Waller June 20 1883

(39) *ibid.*, pp. 92-95 Chauncy Maples to Waller Masasi April 5th 1883.



Similar views were being expressed at the same time by Archdeacon Farler<sup>(40)</sup> and is probable that due to discussion with these two principal missionaries and from his own first year's experience that Bishop Smythies was led to express the view in 1885 that 'freed slave villages cause great trouble and are a hindrance to the evangelising of surrounding populations'.<sup>(41)</sup> Thus this method of mission work was dropped and in a speech at the Church Congress in October 1890 he expressed his reasons for dropping it from the work of the mission:

In considering what is the best way of approaching the Africans, I think that we ought to dismiss altogether from our minds that rather fascinating idea of a Christian village in a healthy situation, drawing people from all parts to live under the presiding genius of the missionary. I am convinced myself that such a system is an utterly false one. It presents a very fair outside picture, but what does it mean? It means that all the 'ne'er-do-wells', all the people who are discontented with their own chiefs and with their own political conditions, would assemble together under the presidency of the missionary, who is at once elevated into the position of a chief himself, and becomes responsible for the well-being of the people under his care. In these circumstances he will inevitably come into collision with the natural rulers in his neighbourhood. Such a system must strike at one of the first principles of missionary work - viz. that the missionary should not assume civil power more than is necessary, or in any way acquire the position of a chief in the country. We have already tried having a freed-slave village in the middle of Africa, and everybody thought at first that it was a very promising experiment; but we have had to give it up because of this very thing. The missionary found himself looked upon as a chief, and held responsible for the good conduct of the people, without any police or army at his back to support his position and uphold his jurisdiction. Nothing could be a greater hindrance to his proper spiritual work. I am quite sure the true way is to go to the tribes where we find them, to uphold the authority of the chief, to try to instil into his mind Christian principles, and to remind

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(40) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) pp.432-433. Farler to Penney, Algiers Holy Saturday 1883. 'Zanzibar has always been like a mill-stone round its (Usambara Mission) neck - I think the cost of the freed slaves out of all proportion to the work of the mission and a radical reform is wanted'.

(41) USPG/UMCA Bound Volume of Smythies Letters 1877-85. Aug.7th 1885.

him continually that he holds his power from God, and is bound to give an account to Him for the way in which he uses it. (42)

This however was no new policy; it had been tried and failed since a policy of non-involvement in tribal affairs or in the exercise of civil jurisdiction was untenable in pre-colonial Africa, as was clearly understood by Farler:

Nobody seems yet to realize in England that mission work in Central Africa is from (the) peculiar condition of the tribes and their relationship towards each other, different from missionary work in any other part of the world. If Africa is to be christianised it must also at the same time to some extent be civilized. Cohesion must be given to the tribe and some of the simpler rules of government must be taught to the chiefs. (43)

Smythies' statement above is yet another example of the unrealism with which the UMCA approached mission work, an unrealism which exhibits a sympathy with the native and his mode of living but leads to a method impossible to uphold while introducing European Christianity.

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(42) G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies, pp. 170-171

(43) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) pp. 432-433 Farler to Penney, Algiers, Holy Saturday 1883.

CHAPTER VII. THE MISSION AND ALIEN POWERS

As the UMCA could not dissociate itself from the exercise of temporal authority, so it was able to refrain from nationalistic sentiments when coming into contact with the imperialist ambitions of alien powers, whether Arab or European, in East and Central Africa. The mission from the first was closely allied with the British presence in the area, the first party being greatly assisted and encouraged by the Government sponsored Zambezi expedition, an association which led the UMCA to adopt Livingstone's policy of avoidance of the Portuguese, thereby isolating the missionaries from the outside world and so hastening the mission's downfall. On the move to Zanzibar the link with the British Navy was reinforced by the missionaries' intimacy with the consulate officials who encouraged them to adopt an attitude of friendly tolerance to the Sultan and his subjects, a tolerance that was found a necessity when the mission expanded on the mainland.

The isolation from Europeans and Arabs on the mainland was seen by the missionaries as a blessing, but it highlighted the lack of civilization and its 'benefits' and they were not averse to calling for or seeking association with schemes for greater British involvement in East Africa.<sup>(1)</sup> Farler, in his paper on Usambara read before the Royal Geographical Society in 1879, could not refrain from expressing the following view:

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(1) USPG/UMCA AI/III Steere to Mrs. Steere 8 July 1877. In July 1877 Steere when in London had breakfast with Mackinnon of the 'British India Company' and got from him a promise of help for the mission during the building of the proposed road from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Nyassa. This and the proposed company of Mackinnon and Buxton which was to take over and develop the Sultan's dominions came to nothing.

When we consider the wondrous fertility of this country together with its vicinity to the coast .... .. it is impossible to doubt but that it has a great future before it. I have had several pressing invitations from the chiefs to be their king, but I have been obliged to decline, as it would require far more capital to organise a government than I could command. But with a government that would develop its resources it would quickly repay any money laid out upon it. (2)

The UMCA Home Committee was more overt in its desire for British intervention in Africa encouraged by its member, Rev. Horace Waller, who was active in many fields pressing for government assistance in ameliorating the lot of the African<sup>(3)</sup>. And in the face of Portuguese and German aggrandizement he attempted, and partially succeeded, to make the committee adopt a more fiercely nationalistic line.

The UMCA differed little from the other missions in Africa in its attitude to European intervention, though its acceptance of the necessity of intervention was not so much concerned with the desire to save 'Central Africa from Islam and all its works', which Oliver stresses was the worry of missionaries in general<sup>(4)</sup>, than an acceptance of the inevitable. However, in common with their compatriots,

once the necessity for intervention was recognised, the missionaries used all their influence to ensure that the intervention should be carried out by their own countrymen, or, failing that, by the power which seemed to offer the best prospects for the work of their own denomination. (5)

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- (2) J. P. Farler 'The Usambara Country in East Africa', PRGS I, 1879  
 (3) D. O. Helly 'Informed' Opinion on Tropical Africa in Great Britain 1860-1890', African Affairs, Vol. 68  
 (4) R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 161  
 (5) ibid.

### 1. RELATIONS WITH PORTUGUESE ON ZAMBEZI

Though engaged in mission work to a considerable extent in Portuguese-controlled territory, initially on the Zambezi, and then after a break of 16 years in what was to become the Niassa region of Portuguese East Africa from 1880, contact between the U.M.C.A. and the Portuguese was minimal. However at three periods relations with the Portuguese played a prominent part in the affairs of the mission. Firstly in 1861-63 during the abortive attempt to settle along the Shire river, then in 1886-90 during the 'scramble for Africa', and finally in 1898-1902 when the Portuguese made their first moves to extend their administration effectively to the Niassa region.

At all three periods the attitude of the missionaries was influenced by the alienation that marked Anglo-Portuguese relations in East Africa throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>(1)</sup> The English had a distrust and disgust for the Portuguese in general and a sense of superiority with regard to their abilities and achievements. An anonymous writer in the Fortnightly Review sums up the generally accepted view:

The record of Portugal in Africa is about as unclean as any record of a European people could well be. The evidence is abundant enough that as a body the Portuguese domiciled in Africa have sunk to the level of the natives, and in some things even lower, and from their own admissions it is shown that even after the formal abolition of slavery the trade, in the interior at least, was as rampant as ever under Portuguese auspices. (2)

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(1) For a discussion of the attitude see H. A. C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, pp. 126-32

(2) 'Portugal's Aggressions and England's Duty', Fortnightly Review, Jan. 1890, pp. 136-148.



Much of the abundant evidence had been collected by David Livingstone and brought to the attention of the British public with the publication of his Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa in 1857 and Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries in 1865. Livingstone had reacted not unfavourably to Portuguese 'rule' when he first encountered it in West Africa in 1854, for he was treated by individual Portuguese with great courtesy and kindness. Although deploring their tolerance of slavery he noted that 'nowhere else in Africa is there so much goodwill between Europeans and natives',<sup>(3)</sup> and towards the end of Missionary Travels that

I ought to speak well for ever of Portuguese hospitality. I have noted each little act of civility received, because somehow or other we have come to hold the Portuguese character in rather low estimation. This may have arisen partly from the pertinacity with which some of them have pursued the slave trade and partly from the contrast they now offer with their illustrious ancestors - the foremost navigators of the world. (4)

But in the ensuing years with his experience of the Portuguese on the Zambezi, praise of any sort was not forthcoming, and his antagonism and language became more vehement. In 1860 he said of them 'A more used up, syphilitic, race does not exist in the world'<sup>(5)</sup>. This change is partially accounted for by Livingstone's change of position, from being a lone missionary explorer, to being Her

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(3) D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, p. 372

(4) op.cit., p. 653. The British found it difficult to equate the 15th and 16th century explorers with the Portuguese of the mid-19th Century. One writer went so far as to say 'This spirit of conquest and annexation and pseudo-colonization on the part of Portugal, is certainly a wonderful phenomenon. Possibly the fact that half the blood in the veins of Prince Henry the Navigator was English (his mother was a daughter of John of Gaunt), had something to do with his enthusiasm for maritime exploration, if so, it was only the first of a series of favours that England has conferred on Portugal.' Fortnightly Review, op.cit., p.137

(5) Livingstone to Grey, March 25 1860, F.O.63/871, P.R.O. quoted in N.R. Bennett and Marguerite Ylvisaker, The Central African Journal of Lovell J. Procter, 1860-1864, p.

Majesty's representative at Quillimane backed up by a government sponsored expedition and the British Navy, and partly by the conditions he found along the Zambezi, the ravages of the slave trade in which Portuguese officials and prazo holders actively engaged, and the neglect of what was to Livingstone the great highway into Africa. In addition the Portuguese were suspicious of the motives of Livingstone and his Zambezi Expedition.<sup>(6)</sup> It was in such an atmosphere that the first party of U.M.C.A. missionaries under Bishop Mackenzie attempted to settle up the Zambezi with the guidance and protection of Livingstone in 1861-63.

The mission had been given letters of recommendation from the Portuguese government, and although already possessing a disaffection for the Portuguese and their connection with the slave trade, they were prepared to cooperate with the government officials in order to establish the mission.<sup>(7)</sup> But Livingstone had decided otherwise; he wished the mission to avoid all contact with the 'rascally Portuguese',<sup>(8)</sup> and he advised Bishop Mackenzie not to go up the Zambezi where he would be at the mercy of the whims of Portuguese traders and officials, especially since they had

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(6) J. Duffy, Portuguese Africa, Chap.VII Livingstone and the Portuguese. T. Price, 'Portuguese Relations with David Livingstone' Scottish Geographical Magazine, 71, pp.138-146

(7) O. Chadwick, Mackenzie's Grave, p. 31

(8) Pretoria Journal, op.cit. Feb. 14 1861.

built a fort lately at the mouth of the Shire, and put up a custom house at Kongone, the mouth of the Zambezi, we discovered, as a claim to dues when the cotton trade shall be discovered; and the Governor of Tette does all he can to depopulate the country from which the cotton comes by slave-hunting. (9)

Instead Livingstone intended to explore the Rovuma river which lay north of the limits of Portuguese claims, envisaging the river as an alternative and free highway to Lake Nyasa. Unfortunately the exploration was not a success, and after three months' delay the missionaries and the Zambezi Expedition began to descend the Zambezi. (10) They had received letters from the Governor of Quilimane, Das Silva, 'in which he very civilly professes his readiness to do all in his power to help "the Bishop & his company".' (11) and they saw few signs of the Portuguese on their way upstream, only empty or ruined brick and stone houses, and the settlement of the half-caste slave dealer Vianna.

Livingstone, Kirk and other members of the Expedition informed the missionaries of the extent of Portuguese influence along the Zambezi, and were especially distressed by the

sad account of the state of Religion among the Roman Catholics at Senna & Tette: they appear to have no influence among the natives, & to do all that is done in a slovenly manner & as a mere form. The priests do just as they please, having nothing to check them, & from his account are both licentious & as worldly minded as possible, nor are they free even from the taint of the Slave Trade. The 'padre' at Senna is only there occasionally as he has establishments at different places in the surrounding country, not at all confined to the

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- (9) C. E. Russell, General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade p. 228  
Cotton cultivation and the promotion of its trade was of course one of the objects of the mission party
- (10) G. Shepperson (ed.), David Livingstone and the Rovuma. Full account of Livingstone's attempts to navigate the Rovuma
- (11) Procter's Journal, op.cit., May 3 1861.

accommodation of the male sex. The one at Tette is not honest even to his own Church, for the Communion plate is not entrusted to his hands, but kept at the fort for fear of his substituting other place of less value, or making off with the property of the Church, and when it is used, it is escorted to & from the Church by a number of soldiers! Shame that such an hindrance to the spread of the Gospel should exist in these promising fields, & that a state so little able to remedy such evils & such drawbacks to social progress should continue to possess, or rather claim, such wide dominion here! (12)

And though they noted that the slavery they encountered was in a 'mitigated form', and unlike the American system, it was reported that 'some of the half-caste Portuguese, however, are very cruel to their slaves, ill-treating them & even mutilating them' (13).

Increasingly members of the mission wished to be isolated from the Portuguese, and they began to consider them as enemies of their work. Africans using Portuguese words or wearing European clothes were mistrusted and suspected of complicity in the slave trade. (14)

This isolation presented many problems especially during the periods when assistance from Livingstone and the expedition was not available. Lack of communication with the outside world was one of the major reasons for the failure of Mackenzie's mission party; they depended too much on Livingstone, and chose to disregard the benefits of contact via the Portuguese.

However the death of Mackenzie on 31 January 1862 led to a change of policy on the part of the missionaries, who in a letter from the Bishop of Capetown were urged to utilise agents at Mozambique and Quillimane in order to solve the problem of diminishing

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(12) *ibid.*, June 2 1861

(13) *ibid.*, June 6 1861

(14) *ibid.*, April 7 1862, July 30 1862.

supplies and the uncertainty of help from Livingstone. The goods were to be transmitted via canoes belonging to Senhor Vianna of Mazaro.<sup>(15)</sup> Necessity led the missionaries to accept the proposal, though not without some qualms:

There is only one thing about which some of us are inclined to be doubtful, & that is our dependence upon the Portuguese for the transmission of our stores & goods. Is it safe, or consistent? I can only say that the Portuguese profess friendship for us, & willingness to assist us; why should we not put their sincerity to the test. (16)

Waller, though the most antagonistic to closer contact with Portuguese, as the 'lay superintendent' was despatched to 'settle with Colonel Nunez about the agency for the Mission at Quilimane, & if possible, with Monsieur Soares about the same at Mozambique' (17). This was arranged and during the rest of the period of the mission's stay up the Zambesi, the names of these two gentlemen and that of Vianna appear repeatedly in the diaries and letters of the missionaries. Much to Livingstone's distress the mission became dependent for its survival on the Portuguese.

This dependence and closer contact tempered the attitude of some of the missionaries to individual Portuguese, whom they found, as Livingstone had done, most helpful and charming hosts. Procter in particular was favourably impressed by his host at the mouth of the Kongone in 1863 and by some members of the polite society of Quilimane.

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(15) Letter Robert Gray, Sp. of Capstown, Bishop's Court to Central Africa Mission May 8, 1862, quoted in Procter's Journal, Sept. 14, 1862.

(16) Procter's Journal, Sept. 14 1862

(17) *ibid.*, Sept. 17 1862.



We have found our host (Mesquita) to improve upon acquaintance, & to be a man of very good information & ability, though enervated in mind & debased in thought & feeling by his residence out here among these miserable slaveholding Portuguese, while his body is enfeebled & health thoroughly impaired by the wretched climate of the coast. He is very attentive, & really courteous, & candid in the extreme. Nor does he evince the high degree of selfishness which I was at first disposed to attribute to him. Still, I should fancy that he acts less from any principle of uprightness in his character than from a natural satisfaction resulting from our trying to make ourselves agreeable to him. We have also made him several presents. Like most of the Portuguese, he is certainly disposed to have a fairer word to the face than behind the back. (18)

However the missionaries' view, though never as strong as Livingstone's except in the case of Waller, of the Portuguese in general was unchanged and the arrival of Bishop Tozer with a plan to settle in Portuguese-controlled territory deeply grieved them.<sup>(19)</sup> Tozer's first task on his arrival in East Africa was 'to see, and enter into friendly relations with, the Governor-General, and if possible to allay the irritation which recent occurrences would naturally have produced on his mind'. He also intended making a firm arrangement with Senor Soares about his being the mission's agent, and keeping up a close communication with them.<sup>(20)</sup> The new Bishop's intention was cooperation not avoidance; he was not unaware of the

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- (18) *ibid.*, Aug. 24-27 1863. The entries in Procter's journal for the period Oct. 23-Nov.30 1863 record his contact with Quilimane society, and the dinner parties and 'politeness and attention' he received from the Nunez family and others. Rowley, though a harsh critic of the Portuguese, had similar praise for them in Twenty Years in Central Africa, p.86. 'Hard things have been said, and rightly said by myself and others of the conduct of the Portuguese in Africa towards the natives, but their kindness to us whenever we needed their aid was great. No men could have acted more generously'. See *ibid.*, pp.165,164.
- (19) Livingstone's attitude if anything hardened; in a letter of Jan. 27 1863 speaking of certain officials he wrote 'The Governor of Quilimane and the rest of them ought to be up a tree'. Quoted in Procter's Journal, Jan.30 1863
- (20) G.Ward, ed., Letters of Bishop Tozer. p.4, Mozambique Channel, May 1, 1863.

failings of the Portuguese but he was prepared to tolerate them, and after more than six months up the Zambezi he was able to write:

I believe myself that the influence of the Portuguese, either for good or bad, has been much exaggerated. Nor do I think that the political aspect of the Colony would be altered to any great extent if the Portuguese retired in a body, and I would wish to guard myself from being mixed up with the wholesale charges which have been so constantly and eagerly made against them. I regret to say that anything is greedily believed to their prejudice, and industriously circulated by too many who have been placed under constant obligations to them, and the good English maxim of 'hearing both sides of the question' is systematically set aside when the supposed criminal is Portuguese. (21)

Tozer had come to the Zambezi to convert the African not to establish a colony, and he believed that his object would be best achieved by not interfering with the political, social and economic affairs of the country whether they be Portuguese or African. The too close involvement of the first party with the political affairs of the Shire river he saw as its major mistake, and the consternation with which the 'Ajawa wars' had been received in London had led to him being instructed by the home committee to avoid such involvement.

The experiences of the mission at Magomero and Chibisa's convinced Tozer that a 'healthy site within easy reach of supplies' was urgently needed, and he proposed that they should settle further down the river at Mount Morumbala, which was 'clearly within Portuguese rule'.<sup>(22)</sup> He felt that there would be no objection to the establishment of an English Church Mission in Portuguese territory.

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(21) Tozer's Letters, p. 50 Chicama's Jan. 6 1864

(22) *ibid.*, p. 20 Mazero July 16 1863.

when it is found that we have no desire to take undue liberties, and are willing to accept things as they are, and make the best of them, I believe that the Portuguese will not only tolerate our work, but give it God speed. Nor are we likely to excite any ecclesiastical prejudices, for there are but three half caste priests in all the country, who are stationed at Tete, Senna, and Quilimane. (23)

His proposals and actions were strongly deprecated by Procter, Rowley and Waller, and the latter recorded his feelings in his diary:

We have had it proposed to drop down to Morambala and settle there, I dread the thought of it. To become the subjects of the Portuguese is loathsome to me and it is interfering in another powers work that of spreading Christs kingdom in its own dominions. - If these are its dominions at all the more and the quicker they can spread Satan's the better they will both in word and deed. Surrounded with every hideous vice - throwing ourselves in to them in fact - within a stones throw of dens of iniquity disease and horror such as Tette, Senna and Quilimane alone can show we should be in a place that only wants someone to go first to render it a sanatorium for these places and we could never keep those out we least as Christian gentlemen could wish amongst our comparatively innocent people.

28th June. Had full service today . . . And now all is changed and Louis, King of Portugal is prayed for (coupled with our dear good religious tender hearted Queen) and that his council and all that are in authority under him may truly administer justice - indifferently too - I should have said, to the punishment of wickedness and vice. As a King and a good King as I believe, no one would withhold his prayers for him - let it rather be for him that he and his people may enquire and know that the most degrading chapter perhaps of Stan's work on earth's surface is being carried on under his sway and that he may be led to alter it. (24)

The move to Morambala which split the mission was found to be no solution to the problems of settlement along the Zambezi; the mountain site was just as untenable as the others, communications were little improved and it was no healthier. But the main drawback was lack of people as the area had been depopulated by the ravages of the inter-tribal wars along the Zambezi. It was not the presence of Portuguese rule that obstructed the work of the mission but the lack of it, for

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(23) *ibid.*, p. 21

(24) Rhodes House, Waller Mss. IV. Diaries 1863.

these wars were more concerned with the actions of outlawed Portuguese prazo holders than natives. The Zambezi was the scene of wars waged by the Portuguese government against the strong prazo families, the da Cruz, Mariano, Pereiras, and Sousa families, from the 1840's to the end of the century.<sup>(25)</sup> In particular it was the actions of a certain Paul Mariano Vas dos Anjos, known as Mariano or Matakanya, which seriously hampered the establishment of the mission along the river Shire.<sup>(26)</sup> The missionaries with their policy of non-involvement were prepared to provide medical treatment for Mariano, but when they heard reports of his death shortly afterwards they rejoiced and saw it as 'a great blessing to the people on the mountain who were stripped of everything by frequent plundering visits from his people'.<sup>(27)</sup> But his death was no signal for disbandment of his followers, and their continued activities were a cause of criticism of the Portuguese:

The Supars as they call Matikenyas' men are robbing and stealing men and women all round us and almost close to us, and could destroy us all whenever they please. The Portuguese give them a sort of licence to do what they please here, if they do not protect them. (28)

The final withdrawal of the mission from the Zambezi was probably received by the Portuguese government with a sigh of relief; assistance was provided, and a blind eye was turned to the illegal action of Waller and Livingstone in taking certain Africans with them out of the country.<sup>(29)</sup>

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- (25) See M. D. D. Newitt 'The Portuguese on The Zambezi' Journal of African History, Vol. X (1969) pp.67-85, and M. D. D. Newitt 'The Massingere Rising of 1884', Journal of African History Vol. XI (1970) pp. 87-105.
- (26) The Mariano family were Indian and had arrived from Portuguese India and settled on the Zambezi by early 19th century.
- (27) USPG/UPCALAI(III) Steere to Mrs.Steere Morumbala October 5th 1863
- (28) ibid., Morumbala 20th December 1863
- (29) Mackenzie's Grave, pp. 235-236.



The failure of the first UMCA party to settle up the Zambezi was due to many factors but not least to their avoidance of contact with the Portuguese at the instigation of Livingstone. The more tolerant attitude of the second party and their desire to cooperate with the ruling power saved the mission from greater disaster. True cooperation with the Portuguese however was not possible partly because of their activities, but to a great extent because of the superior attitude of the English, who frequently found reason to write of the inferiority of these fellow Europeans. (30)

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(30) On a visit to Senna, Steers noted 'There are lions and leopards walking about the streets at night and no one has the courage to shoot at them even out of a barred window. The Brigadier did once but was so frightened that he never will again' and the way the Portuguese marvelled at the Englishmen climbing the double hill called Belamwana. AI(III) Senna 16 Jan. 1864 and Mazero 30 Jan. 1864.





Plate 7. Mkunazini, Zanzibar from the creek showing Zanzibar Cathedral, (foundation stone laid 1873, opened 1879), and Mission buildings.

from East Africa in Picture, UMCA, 1900

## 2. THE MISSION AND THE STATE AT ZANZIBAR

The social positions and personal relationships of the early UMCA missionaries involved the mission in a close association with the official British presence in East Africa. The first party came out with the wholehearted support of the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, who was a member of the mission's General Committee, and they were conveyed to the Zambezi in 1861 on board two Royal Navy ships the HMS Sidon and HMS Lyra.<sup>(1)</sup> These boats were part of the East Coast Squadron engaged in the suppression of the slave trade, but they were also acting as support ships for Livingstone's Zambezi expedition, to which the mission was treated as an appendage.<sup>(2)</sup> The assistance of the navy was an important factor in the early years of the mission's establishment, and the regard in which the parties held each other was mutual.<sup>(3)</sup> The letters of Tozer and Steere reveal the closeness of the relationship during the period 1863-64. While at Capetown before embarking for the Zambezi Tozer had lodged with Bishop Grey, but he had also been the guest of the Governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse, and of Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker, Commander-in-chief of the Cape Station. The latter proved of great value in arranging transport for the mission and Tozer was full of praise for his treatment by Government officials and the navy:

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(1) O. Chadwick, Mackenzie's Grave, pp.9-16

(2) See C. Lloyd, The Navy and the Slave Trade, 1949

(3) G. Ward (ed.) Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 296. Letter from Lieut. Forbes, H.M.S. Orestes June 2 1863.

I cannot help again saying how very sensible we all are of the great consideration which has been shown us, and of the extreme personal kindness of all those with whom we have been brought in contact since leaving England. Sir Baldwin Walker again and again desired me to feel no scruple in applying to him in any emergency, and we left his hospitable roof, only regretting that our acquaintance with him and Lady Walker was necessarily so short.

Nor has our good fate forsaken us; since leaving Simon's Bay, Captain Gardner has, in the most disinterested manner, put his own cabin at our disposal . . . I feel that the Mission is placed under very serious obligations to him, as well on account of our inroad on his private apartment, as for his constant and never-ending forethought for our present and future comfort . . . The officers are, without exception like their captain, all that one could wish, and we shall feel the parting from such real friends very acutely. (4)

The following year they were conducted to Zanzibar on the HMS *Orestes* by Captain Gardner, the chief officer of the Cape Station, who had been instrumental in pressing Tozer to choose Zanzibar as the site for the mission rather than Zululand.<sup>(5)</sup> This close contact with the navy was both natural and necessary at a time when European shipping was negligible along the East Coast of Africa, but it was advanced by Tozer's position as a bishop of the established church and by his and Steere's connections with the West Country, the home of many of the officers. This fact was remarked on by Steere in a letter to his wife soon after their arrival at Zanzibar:

The *Wasp* is commanded by a Captain Bowden who has a wife living in Newton and the *Lyra* by Commander Parr of a Dawlish family who knew Henry very well and used to go home with him from Fairbridge. Mr. and Mrs. Seward 'the Surgeon of the Consulate' are both Exeter people so that almost all of us were somehow West-countryish. (6)

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- (4) Letters of Tozer, pp. 3-4 Tozer to Woodcock May 1 1863  
 (5) ibid., pp.69-70  
 (6) USPG/UMCA A1 (III). Steere to Polly (Mary) Steere Zanzibar 1 Sept. 1864. Newton (Abbot) was the nearest town to Steere's former curacy at Kingskerwell his wife's home. Henry (Brown) was his brother-in-law. Tozer similarly noted to his sister 'the captain of the *Lyra* is none other than Robert Parri So strangely are we for ever meeting those known to us' Letters of Tozer, p.73 Tozer to Miss Tozer 1 Sept. 1864.

Captains Bowden and Gardner proved staunch supporters of the mission and the former remained a close friend of Bishop Tozer until his death in 1896.<sup>(7)</sup> Two later captains, Philip Colomb provided good publicity for the mission in a lengthy article on its work in his Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean.<sup>(8)</sup>

The Navy was in evidence off the East Coast of Africa ostensibly to pursue the humanitarian concern of Britain for the final extirpation of the slave trade, but it also served the needs of British political interest in East Africa, an interest which had developed since the 1820s and had culminated in 1841 with the appointment of a political agent at Zanzibar who became consul in 1843.<sup>(9)</sup> The consul in 1864 was Colonel Playfair who welcomed the establishment of the UMCA at Zanzibar, principally it would seem as a counterfoil to the growing French Catholic Mission, the presence of which was raising again the old bogey of French interference in Zanzibar<sup>(10)</sup>, a fear that had been a prime cause of Britain placing a consul on the island, and which was allayed by the Anglo-French agreement of 1862.<sup>(11)</sup>

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- (7) H. Cornish Fox (ed.) The Cornish-Bowdens of Newton Abbot, privately printed, 1965, pp. 18-25, 29-31. In May 1865 Tozer was taken to the Seychelles by Bowden on the Wasp. Letters of Tozer p. 112. In 1881 Lieut. Bowden offered to serve under Bp. Tozer but leave was not allowed, UMCA General Committee Minutes May 3 1881.
- (8) P. Colomb, Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean, 1873, pp.403-432; G. L. Sullivan, Dhow Chasing in Zanzibar Waters, 1873.
- (9) R. Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders, 1938; J. Gray, History of Zanzibar, 1962.
- (10) R. Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa, 1939, pp. 33-34.
- (11) R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians, pp.42-45.



On their arrival at Zanzibar in August 1864, Tozer and Steere were provided with accommodation at the Consulate and Playfair and his assistant, the surgeon Seward, did all they could to introduce them to Zanzibar society, and promised them financial support for a chaplain from the mission to serve the needs of the British and European community.<sup>(12)</sup> In this way the mission came to be virtually part of the consulate during its early days, indeed in 1865, when Dr. Seward who was acting consul was ill, the consular duties were taken over by Steere.<sup>(13)</sup> Printing forms and notices, interpreting and translating and other official business was undertaken by the mission. However though the mission retained a unique relationship with the consulate the intimacy declined as the numbers of British and other whites increased; no longer were the two parties thrown together by their isolation from their social and cultural equals. During the period 1866-86, while John Kirk was at the consulate first as assistant then from 1872 as consul, the mission had a sympathetic friend. On his appointment to Zanzibar, Kirk had written to James Stewart:

Of course I shall go in for the Tozer Mission. They are good company and if I can encourage the folks at home it will be well worth while. Educated men are not to be lights lost in such a place. (14)

Though Tozer's relationship with Kirk was not always good, and the consul in turn was frequently annoyed by hasty actions on the part of

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- (12) USPG/UMCA AI(III) Steere to Polly (Mary) Steere 1 Sept. 1864. Dr. Seward offered his services as medical adviser free to the mission. Letters of Tozer p. 107
- (13) 'Within the last few days I have grown great in Zanzibar. Dr. Seward has had an attack of fever and sent to ask me to see to any consular business which might press.' USPG/UMCA AI(III) Steere to Polly 26 Sept. 1865.
- (14) Kirk to Stewart, 21 Feb. 1866, J. P. R. Wallis, The Zambezi Journal of James Stewart, p. 293.



the missionaries at Zanzibar and on the mainland with regard to the slave trade, which made for difficulties with the Sultan.<sup>(15)</sup> Mrs. Kirk involved herself in the activities of the mission and was a personal friend and confidant of Steere and a number of the women missionaries.<sup>(16)</sup> With the departure of Kirk relations with the consulate became more formal. Colonel Charles Euan Smith who was consul-general 1886-91 found the mission very troublesome especially over the line taken with regard to the bombardment of the coast during the 1888 rising<sup>(17)</sup>, and Rennell Rodd, acting Consul-General in 1893, had a poor opinion of its work<sup>(18)</sup>.

The initial involvement of the mission with the consulate was of great importance in determining the attitude of the Sultan of Zanzibar to the presence of another Christian mission within his dominions. Ever since the early years of the century when Sultan bin Ahmed and his son Said bin Sultan had 'decided to throw in their lot with the British'<sup>(19)</sup> the influence of Britain had been paramount with the Sultan of Zanzibar. The movement of the Sultan's headquarters from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1840 and the appointment of Hamerton as political agent the following year marked the beginning of British control over the affairs of the Sultanate. British interests, as has

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- (15) USPG/UMCA AI(I) Tozer to Steere, Sept. 30 1869, 7 Jan. 1870; Correspondence Relative to the Slave Trade 1875-80, 1879/207,210; Correspondence Relative to the Slave Trade 1880 No. 332. Kirk was appointed to the UMCA General Committee in June 1881.
- (16) USPG/UMCA AI(III) Helen Kirk to Miss Jones Nov. 1872, Feb. 13 1873; Steere to Miss Jones Sept. 1873.
- (17) PRO FO/403/107/296 Euan Smith to Salisbury Nov. 16 1888.
- (18) J. E. Hine, Days Gone By, p. 117.
- (19) J. Gray, History of Zanzibar, 1962 pp. 110-111.

been noted, were two-fold: the ending of the slave trade and the retention and strengthening of the Sultan's rule over Zanzibar and the adjacent area of East Africa. The second it was felt, given strong British influence, would lead to the achievement of the first object. Sultan Seyyid Said and his successors his sons Majid and Barghash were all fully aware of their need of British assistance in the form of diplomacy and warships to secure the unity and independence of their dominions, and all three (though with some hesitancy on the part of Barghash) were prepared to pay the price demanded by Britain for such protection. The price was active enforcement of the various agreements with regard to the slave trade; in 1822 Said had agreed to prohibit the sale of slaves to Christian states, and authorized British cruisers to seize vessels contravening the agreement. Twenty years later he was pressed into a further agreement prohibiting the export of slaves from his African dominions, an agreement which he declared was 'a heavier load than I can bear'.<sup>(20)</sup> Majid who succeeded to the Sultanate of Zanzibar was completely dependent on British protection and it was only with the intervention of the British navy in turning back an expedition from Oman to overthrow him that saved the regime. Dependence on Britain and the requirement to enforce the slave-trade agreements placed the Sultan in a vicious circle, for any moves to suppress the slave trade alienated the Sultan's subjects and necessitated further support for the regime from Britain. Matters came to a head in the early years of the reign of Sultan Barghash who had succeeded his brother with the help of the British in 1870. Barghash attempted to

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(20) R. Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa, 1939, p. 12.

shake off his dependence on Britain by making overtures to the new German Empire who, however, were too pre-occupied with European affairs to be interested. In addition he made little effort to enforce the anti-slavery measures and pandered to the wishes of his conservative Islamic subjects. Such action in the face of the Sultan's pledge of cooperation on his accession was intolerable to the British, and in 1873 a mission headed by Sir Bartle Frere negotiated for a treaty which would prohibit the export of slaves from the Sultan's dominions and close the public slave markets. The Sultan protested but he was threatened with a naval blockade and he thus acquiesced. Kirk, who with his usual tact had managed to convince the Sultan of the impossibility of his situation, reported that this outlawing of the slave trade 'was "the most unpopular step" a Sultan had ever taken. "His people to a man were against him" for there was " . . . not a house that was not more or less affected"<sup>(21)</sup>. Thus it is not surprising that there were rebellions by slave-traders at Mombasa and Kilwa in 1875 and 1876 which were only put down by the Navy, and the Sultan's authority on the mainland had to be enforced by the Navy and from 1877 by the Sultan's military force under Lloyd Mathews, which was in all but name a British force.<sup>(22)</sup> Thus from the mid '70s Britain had virtual control of the Sultan and his dominions. 'The real, if not the nominal Sultan .... was the British agent Dr. Kirk'.<sup>(23)</sup> And Kirk's authority was backed by the British

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(21) Robinson and Gallagher, op.cit. p. 46

(22) J. S. Galbraith, Mackinnon and East Africa 1878-1895, 1972 pp. 24-25

(23) Robinson and Gallagher, op.cit. p. 47.

navy. (24)

The arrival of the UMCA at Zanzibar in a ship of the Royal Navy and the support and protection afforded to the missionaries by the British consulate could hardly have gone unnoticed and it is not surprising that the Sultan was most welcoming to Tozer and Steere when they paid him a visit:

We have just returned from a state visit to the Sultan Said Majid. He is the very extreme of politeness and when we went with the Consul and Captain Gardner he came out into the Street to meet us and insisted upon our going first into the house and up into a long room on the first floor ..... Colonel Playfair, who speaks Arabic was interpreter and the conversation was merely one of compliments. They brought us coffee in a little glass cup and a sort of sweet oily drink in large goblets. The Sultan came out into the street to take leave of us ..... The whole affair was very plain but very stately and in admirable taste throughout. (25)

Tozer was well aware that their welcome was owing to their connections with the consul and navy; he had chosen to travel with Captain Gardner in the HMS Orestes because it was of 'no small importance for the Mission to be introduced to the Sultan by the senior officer of the station' (26). And he was realistic enough to admit after four months at Zanzibar that the mission's good standing with the Sultan owed much to the influence of the Consul:

His Highness has on all occasions been most friendly to us, but it would be unreasonable to imagine that he can, as a Mahometan, look favourably on the object of our Mission; we are welcomed by him rather as Englishmen than as Christian missionaries, and such tokens of goodwill as we have received from Said Majid are doubtless due in large measure to the influence of Colonel Playfair, whose unvarying kindness and co-operation deserve our warmest acknowledgments. So far, therefore, as the Sultan's authority extends, we may fully expect protection for ourselves and toleration for our converts,

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(24) J. S. Galbraith, op.cit. p. 24

(25) USPG/UMCA A1(III) Steere to Ann Steere 3 Sept. 1864; see also Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 80

(26) Letters of Bishop Tozer, p. 68 Tozer to Festing, Cape Town June 18 1864.

which perhaps is all that we have any right to demand of a Mahometan Prince. (27)

The Sultan had agreed to rent them a large house, had presented them with an eight day clock and on the suggestion of Colonal Playfair had given to Bishop Tozer five little boys recently released from a slave dhow, who were to form the basis of the mission work. However the Consul was reticent in allowing the missionaries to attempt any proselytising in the town, and on their first Christmas Day Steere was stopped from speaking to the people by Captain Prideaux for fear of creating a riot among the Mohammedans.<sup>(28)</sup> And Playfair reported to the mission that the Sultan had said 'that if the Missions made any converts, there were many people in the town who would consider it a duty to cut their throats, and he could not protect them'.<sup>(29)</sup> This however did not deter the missionaries from making contact with the Arabs and explaining the Christian faith, a work which was diligently carried out by Steere who acquired a great number of friends among the leading Arabs and actively produced tracts in Swahili and Arabic for distribution among the Mohammedans in Zanzibar and on the mainland.<sup>(30)</sup> He purchased Arabic type for the printing press and undertook commissions from the Sultan for producing menus, programmes and proclamations and Sultan Barhash himself visited the printing shops<sup>(31)</sup>. Soon after the mission's arrival in Zanzibar

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(27) *ibid.*, pp. 96-97. Tozer to Hon. Secretaries Dec. 24 1864

(28) R. M. Heanley, A Memoir of Bishop Steere, p. 217

(29) *ibid.*, p. 311

(30) *ibid.*, p. 319

(31) *ibid.*, p. 249.



Steere had begun to learn Arabic by teaching an Arab English. This Arab was to become one of the few Mohammedans to be converted to Christianity by the mission for which he suffered a four years imprisonment.<sup>(32)</sup> The difficulty of making any headway against Islam led the UMCA, in common with other East African missions, to neglect the work among the Mohammedans in favour of the 'heathen Africans',<sup>(33)</sup> and in 1893 Smythies was endeavouring to encourage a direct effort to influence the Arabs and Indians in the town, a work which hitherto had almost solely consisted of Miss Allen's meetings and classes for Arab women.<sup>(34)</sup>

Though undoubtedly the presence of an English Christian mission was looked on with some distrust and hostility by Zanzibari Arabs, the respect shown by the UMCA to the authority of the Sultan and the lack of direct action by the missionaries against the slave trade and the Islam faith in general, led to the existence of friendly if cautious relations between the two parties, particularly when thrown into contact on the mainland.<sup>(35)</sup> Few incidents occurred to disrupt this relationship<sup>(36)</sup>, and the Arabs tended to prefer the UMCA with

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- (32) *ibid.*, p. 311 n.1. The Arab Abdullah Bin Mahomed entered the Slave Market Church, a few weeks after Bishop Steere's death, and knelt down bare-headed. He was immediately seized and imprisoned.
- (33) J. D. Holway, 'C.M.S. Contact with Islam in East Africa before 1914', Religion in Africa.
- (34) G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies, p. 251. For a fuller account of the UMCA's contact with Islam see above.
- (35) In 1879 the Sultan presented the mission with a clock for the turret of the Slave Market Church and Steere decided after discussion with his fellow missionaries that the clock should keep Arab rather than English time. Memoir of Steere pp. 243-44.
- (36) In 1874 the Acting Consul Prideaux intervened on behalf of the Sultan in a quarrel between him and Mr. West of the mission relating to the reclamation of the foreshore in front of the mission house. Correspondence Relative to Slave Trade, etc. Prideaux to Earl of Derby Aug. 29th 1874. And in 1882 there were complaints of the interference by the Sultan with natives in the employ of UMCA. *Ibid.* 1882/232. The mission expressed little sympathy for their agent Benjamin Hartley who died from wounds in 1874 which were received when he attempted to take two gangs of slaves from Arab slave traders on the coast. The acting consul declared Hartley's action to be an 'injudicious interference with the proceedings of slave dealers'. *ibid.* 1874/81 Prideaux to Earl Derby June 4th 1874, USPG/UMCA AI(III) Steere to Ann Steere 7 March 1874.

its sympathetic approach to Arab culture to other missions at work in the area, an attitude illustrated by Abushiri's defence of Bishop Smythies during the 1888 revolt and the preference of the UMCA missionaries to those of Livingstonia by the Jumbe of Kota Kota because of their knowledge of Swahili and ability to read the Quran in Arabic. (37)

The mission's respect for the Sultan and the Arabs was more a judicious act than based on any real sympathy for them. Great delight was expressed by the missionaries when in 1890 a British Protectorate was declared over Zanzibar (38), and six years later there were great rejoicings when the British Navy bombarded Zanzibar in support of their candidate for the Sultanate. This action was seen by Godfrey Dale, who was to become the mission's foremost authority on Islam, as a 'tremendous blow to Mohamedanism in East Africa and so to the slave trade':

They now know what can be done and how strong England is which they doubted before. I doubt if you can ever impress a nation in a low state of civilisation with the stamp of a high civilization unless you rule with a very strong hand and punish severely all licence of whatever kind, and I fear however that the Mohamedan population will keep the memory of last Thursday deep down in their hearts and brood over it with great bitterness. However perhaps I am wrong but my heart bleeds for some of the simple folk killed owing to the blind obstinacy of a vile Eastern prince. (39)

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- (37) R. D. Jackson, 'Resistance to the German Invasion of the Tanganyikan Coast 1888-91' in R. I. Rotberg and A. A. Mazrui (eds.) Protest and Power in Black Africa, p. 62; G. Shepperson, 'The Jumbe of Kota Kota and Some Aspects of the History of Islam in British Central Africa' in I. M. Lewis (ed.) Islam in Tropical Africa, pp. 198-199; USPG/UMCA 65-19. Correspondence relating to the Occupation of Kota Kota and the West Side of Lake Nyasa. In Nyasaland the UMCA showed a more moderate attitude to the Arabs at the North end of the Lake than the other missionary bodies because they were aware of the implications to their work in other areas where Arab power was more prominent.
- (38) USPG/UMCA AI/VI 786 Miss Thackeray to Miss Leake, Zanzibar 25 Nov. 1890.
- (39) USPG/UMCA AI/VII 487092 Dale to Travers, Kiungani, Aug. 28 1896.

The anti-Islamic feeling here openly expressed probably was partly engendered by the visible growth of Mohammedanism which the UMCA had witnessed in its field of work in the last few years:

The establishment of European rule and the suppression of the slave trade led to an unprecedented expansion of Islam. Peaceful conditions and the opening up of the interior gave the traders access to the areas which had formerly been closed. Both British and German administrations employed Muslims as officials, agents, policemen, soldiers, and schoolmasters. Swahili schoolteachers were reported to be engaging in Islamic propaganda among the Bondei and Digo. (40)

Similarly Islam was spreading rapidly in Yaoland and the neighbouring areas of Nyasaland. And this Moslem offensive led to the mission holding a more uncompromising attitude to the Arabs in the last years of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century.

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(40) J. S. Trimingham, Islam in East Africa, pp. 27-29. For spread of Islam into interior also see essays in African Historical Studies, Vol. IV, 1971.

### 3. THE MISSION AND EUROPEAN OCCUPATION OF NYASALAND

The UMCA and its missionaries found it extremely difficult to retain a policy of neutrality in the face of European occupation of the regions within which they were at work. Few looked on the prospect of Portuguese or German rule with the complacency that Steere had expressed in 1863 with relation to the mission settlement at Morambala in the former's territory:

I do not suppose that many would agree with me, but I am almost disposed to wish the Mission continued here merely as a protest against the notion that the English church can never do anything beyond the influences of an English-speaking nation. I should gladly see English Missions as common in the colonies of foreign powers as foreign missions are in our own dominions. (1)

The missionaries and the Home Committee were unable to sit back and watch their mission field placed in the hands of foreign powers without a protest. The UMCA would have preferred to have worked without the presence of European rule, but if it had to come it was only natural that they should hope to be placed within the British sphere of influence.

It was in the case of Nyasaland that the mission saw its work first threatened by European expansion. The growth of British interests in the Nyasa region after 1875 and the disturbances along the Shire in the early 1880s led both Britain and Portugal to look more closely at the area. (2) The former in 1883 appointed Capt. Foot to be consul 'in the territories of the African Kings and Chiefs in

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(1) Quoted in G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies, p. 162

(2) See A. Hanna, The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia 1859-95; A. Holmberg, African Tribes and European Agencies pp. 225-237; E. Axelson, 'Portugal's attitude to Nyasaland during the period of the partition of Africa' and C. A. Baker 'The Development of the Administration to 1897' in B. Pachaï (ed.) The Early History of Malawi.



the districts adjacent to Lake Nyasa' to help put down the slave trade at its source and to oversee British subjects in the region who constituted a significant community<sup>(3)</sup>. The latter reiterated its claims on the Shire, and actively encouraged expeditions which, though professing to be exploratory and scientific, in fact were little more than attempts by the Portuguese to occupy the region to the south of Lake Nyasa<sup>(4)</sup>. In 1884 the Portuguese authorities began to compel British subjects on their way to Lake Nyasa to buy 'tickets of residence' and to increase the taxes levied.<sup>(5)</sup> These moves and the threat of Portuguese aggression in the Shire Highlands led Bishop Smythies to write a letter to the chairman of the UMCA expressing his fears with regard to such expansion:

There is one European nation for whom these people (Africans) have no respect as far as I can gather - the Portuguese: yet this nation is claiming jurisdiction over the Lake, though it has no official within hundreds of miles of it probably. We were actually obliged to take out letters of domiciliation before we were allowed to pass up the Zambezi.

There is another nation - the English - for whom all these people both raiders and raided have the greatest respect. For many years we have made great sacrifices to check the slave trade. For many years English subjects, at the risk of their lives, have tried to help these lake tribes. Mr. Moir has just returned from visiting them, and was welcomed by all, and takes to England, from most of them, petitions for English protection. He, I believe, is himself going to England this year, and will explain his views as to how that protection can be made effective; but I feel convinced, that with very little sacrifice and effort, the

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- (3) 'In 1875-76 the Free Church of Scotland Mission established itself at Cape Maclear, and later at Sandawe and Livingstonia; and the Church of Scotland Mission set itself up at Blantyre. In 1878 the African Lakes Company arrived, and as the years passed established a chain of trading stations in the country. Planters, such as John Buchanan, Eugene Sharrer and John Bowhill began to cultivate in Zomba, Blantyre and Mlanje' C. A. Baker, *op.cit.* p. 325.
- (4) A. Hanna, *op.cit.* pp. 106-132; E. Axelson, *op.cit.*
- (5) Hanna, *op.cit.*, p. 126.



English Government could bring the beginning of peace and civilization to these vast numbers of people who now pass their lives in anarchy and fear. Such a state of things in Lake Nyasa would do more to stop the slave trade than all that is done to capture the dhows which carry the miserable remnants of caravans away from shores 300 or 400 miles off; and I believe that all men who have experience of this part of Africa, will entirely bear out what I have said. But I firmly believe that if once the English Government allow another European Power to occupy the ground before them, all efforts and sacrifices of Englishmen will have been in vain, and the great opportunity will be lost, probably for ever. And if any one should object, that this is underrating the humanity of other nations, I would ask, what members of other nations have made any efforts or any sacrifices for the tribes of Lake Nyassa? What other European nations have shown any earnestness or any enthusiasm, comparable with that of England, for the suppression of the slave trade? (6)

The letter was penned at Mandala, the African Lake's Company's station, on August 7th 1885 and it was evidently in support of the policy which the Company's head John Moir was pursuing without the blessing of the acting consul Goodrich. The letter had written to Lord Salisbury: 'After two years experience of the country, I have no hesitation in saying that the policy of the African Lakes Company in their dealings with natives is unwise and mischievous both as regards commerce and civilization'.<sup>(7)</sup> It seemed that Moir and the ALCo (African Lake's Company) were endeavouring by the usual method of treaty-making to gain control of the administration of the country. Such a policy was strongly opposed by Goodrich and his successor, by Consul Haues and also by the Blantyre mission who saw their chance to control the political development of the Shire Highlands being threatened. Smythies and the UMCA's support for Moir was evidently the result of the Company's help and hospitality and a dislike of the actions of

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(6) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Oct. 13th 1885 quoting letter which was printed for use of the committee.

(7) A. Holmberg, op.cit. pp. 243-244 quoting Goodrich to Salisbury 29.8.1885, PRO F.O. 84/1702.

Goodrich.<sup>(8)</sup> A further sign of the mission's support for the ALCo came the following year when the General Committee resolved following a request for aid from the Company:

That in the opinion of the Committee the progress and success of the African Lakes Coy. would be favourable to the work of the Universities Mission and therefore the Committee authorizes the Secretaries to introduce into the magazine 'Central Africa' such notice of the company as they may think desirable. (9)

And in August 1886 the UMCA joined with representatives of the Scottish missions, Fred Moir of ALCo and John Buchanan the planter, in signing the minutes of a meeting convened at Blantyre which agreed that power should be granted to the African Lakes Company for various limited purposes, including the protection of the Zambezi-Shire-Nyasa trade route and the prohibition of liquor in the country.<sup>(10)</sup>

At home the indefatigable Waller was rousing the General Committee into action with regard to Portuguese aggression; on October 12th 1886 the secretary was instructed to enquire officially at the Foreign Office about recent Portuguese annexations of territory near Nyassa and on December 14th the Committee resolved to 'bear its share of the expense of printing a statement to be drawn up . . . setting forth what has been done in Africa by British enterprise missionary and commercial'.<sup>(11)</sup>

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(8) Anderson and Lister noted on Goodrich's report of 29.8.1885 that he 'has not got on with the Lakes Co's people & still worse with the Missions. The Universities Mission complain grievously of him' PRO F.O. 84/1702

(9) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Oct. 12th and Dec. 14th 1886. Good relations with the ALCo did not survive for long. In 1898 Hine wrote to Travers: 'a company of scoundrels' was Sir John Kirk's opinion of them ten years ago and I don't think they have improved in methods since then. It really is rather funny for A.L.Co. to pose as a public benefactor to us after all the petty sums they have extorted out of us. USPG/UMCA AI/X 275-279.

(10) A. Holmberg, op.cit. p. 246.

(11) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Oct. 12th and Dec. 14th 1886.

This statement Title Deeds to Nyassa Land was written by Waller as a report of a conference he had called of interested parties.<sup>(12)</sup> In February 1887 he suggested a deputation to see Lord Salisbury, and in April he reported back on his and the Secretary's interview with his Lordship.<sup>(13)</sup> Representations to the latter were also made via the Archbishop of Canterbury who informed Bishop Smythies:

Lord Salisbury . . . is anxious to point out that Bishop Smythies is mistaken in supposing that Her Majesty's government have made or contemplate making any arrangements which would place Lake Nyasa outside the sphere of British influence; that the Lake is now as heretofore independent native territory but cannot from its geographical position be placed under British rule. (14)

Events took a turn with the outbreak of the Arab war at the north end of Lake Nyasa in 1887. The ALCo trading post at Karonga felt itself threatened by the presence of fortified villages of three 'Arab' ivory and slave dealers in the vicinity, and took defensive action.<sup>(15)</sup> The post was indeed attacked by the Arabs in November 1887, and the following month the Consul Hawes led a counter attack on the village of Mlozi the leading Arab. The Consul withdrew but the company's representatives remained and attempts were made to recruit an expeditionary force to defeat the Arabs. In February 1888 the Mozambique Consul, O'Neill offered to join an expedition but the opposition of Hawes led him to withdraw. However in May 1888 he managed to recruit Captain Lugard on sick leave from the Indian

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(12) *ibid.*, Dec. 14th 1886 and Jan. 11th 1887.

(13) *ibid.*, Feb. 15th and April 19th 1887.

(14) *ibid.*, Oct. 11th 1887.

(15) H. W. Macmillan, 'Notes on the origins of the Arab War', B. Pachaï (ed.) The Early History of Malawi, pp. 263-282.

service to take his place. Lugard saw the expedition 'as a decisive battle in Great Britain's anti-slavery campaign', but he had achieved virtually nothing by April 1889 when he had to leave Nyasaland. The war however focussed the attention of the British public on Nyasaland and had a direct effect on the pressure for Government protection of British settlements, missionary and commercial, in the region.<sup>(16)</sup>

The UMCA missionaries on Lake Nyasa though convinced of the necessity to protect British interests against the Portuguese were more hesitant about supporting moves against the Arabs, for the work of the mission was predominantly in Arab-influenced areas and a breakdown in the good understanding that existed would have threatened both the work and lives of the missionaries. Chauncy Maples felt that the ALCo did not 'understand in the least the position of the Arabs in the country . . . we have no right whatever to consider that the Arabs' position in the country is one that we can justly interfere with by force'<sup>(17)</sup>. Johnson was similarly against the campaign and felt that a peaceful settlement could be made.<sup>(18)</sup> But, as Holmberg points out, the missionaries' letters home reveal that they found themselves in something of a dilemma, and in January 1888 Johnson wrote to Penney:

I am very sorry not to be able to stand apart neither looking for European protection nor fearing coast (Arab) prejudice, but I do not think we can take this position. Consul Hawes writes in a way that makes it a matter of duty to succour his party as far as men of peace may do so. I can't say I feel with G. Laws . . . in speaking of them as 'our defenders' nor in fear as to the action of these Arabs on our missions . . . I don't

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(16) See Hanna, *op.cit.*; and Holmberg, *op.cit.*

(17) A. Holmberg, *op.cit.* p. 252 quoting Maples to Hawes 19.3.1888 PRO F.O. 84/1883.

(18) A. Holmberg, *op.cit.* p. 250 Buchanan to Hawes 23.2.1888 quoting Johnson PRO F.O. 84/1883.

think it would justify us in helping a resistance by force. Others have done this, and they have claims on us and so independent of any idea of advantage to our mission and casting away what might have been a nobler position we have to act as Englishmen. (19)

The General Committee under the leadership of Waller took as would be expected a more positive attitude and in April 1888 attended a conference in London with representatives of the two Scottish missions, members of parliament and the Scottish Geographical Society, and agreed in urging for Government protection of British interests in Nyasaland. The deputation from the conference failed to get Lord Salisbury to agree to send an armed force to the region or to contemplate the annexation of Nyasaland, but he did state that the government would on no account assent to Portuguese claims to the region, and would insist on free navigation of the Zambezi and force the Portuguese to make provision for the free importation of arms and ammunition, so that the ALCo and missions could defend themselves.<sup>(20)</sup> In May the missions, the Anti-Slavery Society, the African Lakes Company and the Royal Scottish Geographical Society sponsored a further meeting on the Nyasa question in Manchester Town Hall, at which both Waller and Bishop Smythies spoke. Waller pressed hard for Government intervention against the Arabs and claimed that there would be public sympathy for such a move:

If the true facts of the case were known - that British subjects had been ruined and the British flag insulted - there was still kick enough in the British

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- (19) USPG/UMCA A1(IX) Johnson to Penney 20th Jan. 1888 quoted in Holmberg op.cit. p.251  
 (20) W. P. Livingstone, Laws of Livingstonia, pp. 244-45.



lion to induce it to say there had been enough of this kind of thing. (21)

But the UMCA missionaries and a number of the General Committee were not so 'jingoistic' in their views and the following February a resolution that 'the Mission does not feel able to take any part direct or indirect in the use of force against the slave trade' was only narrowly defeated by Waller's supporters. The Mission did give its tentative support for the 'Nyassa Anti-Slavery and Defence Fund' launched in August 1888 by James Stevenson, the Scottish merchant, and also it seems to Waller's proposal that Lugard's scheme for placing armed steamers on Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa to stamp out the slave trade, should be implemented.<sup>(22)</sup> But these moves found little support in the field as Johnson wrote to Penney:

I see you go in for a gunboat, and there seems a general feeling (among whites) that English force means the advance of Christ's kingdom. I can't see any glimmering of hope that way, though .... I can and do think annexation which involves moral responsibility parallel to force would benefit the country, in such advance of a civilized power we may hope that good will advance on the same scale as evil .... a gunboat would either smash up obstreperous chiefs or avoid their ports, in neither case leaving preaching much of a field. (23)

Johnson was prepared though to give support to official attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement and in February 1888 he agreed to allow acting-consul Buchanan the use of the mission steamer Charles Janson and he accompanied Buchanan in her to the north end of the lake. He was present when the acting consul met the three leading

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- (21) D. O. Helly, 'Informed' Opinion on Tropical Africa in Great Britain 1860-1890' African Affairs, Vol. 68, 1969; J. Duffy A Question of Slavery p. 125.
- (22) A. J. Hanna, op.cit. p. 103; Waller's article 'The Two Ends of the Slave-Stick' in Contemporary Review, 55 (1889) 528-38 referred to in D. O. Helly above. pp. 213-214.
- (23) USPG/UMCA A I (IX) Johnson to Penney August 13th 1889? quoted in Holmberg, op.cit., p.251

'Arabs' Mlozi, Kopa-Kopa, and Msalema at Karonga on March 20th but seemingly played no part in the negotiations which failed to achieve a settlement.<sup>(24)</sup> It was on the return journey from Karonga that Johnson and Buchanan found themselves roughly handled at Makanjila's village, where, after a misunderstood speech by Buchanan, in which he appears to have issued a threat to Makanjila's people that they would be in trouble unless they kept the peace during the Arab war, he and Johnson were set upon. Johnson made no resistance, but Buchanan fought back and was stripped and beaten, and an African soldier killed. They were then imprisoned in a small hut until the following evening when they were ransomed in return for drums of paint and oil and a quantity of cloth.<sup>(25)</sup> For the first and not the last time the missionaries were being equated with the administration.

The close relationship between the mission and the consulate was encouraged during the early years of the protectorate owing to the friendship of Chauncy Maples and H. H. Johnston who arrived as Consul in 1889. Johnston had known the UMCA since 1884 when he had been in Zanzibar preparing for his Kilimanjaro expedition, having become acquainted with Steere's Swahili handbooks when with Stanley on the Congo previously.<sup>(26)</sup> In fact on the boat sailing to

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(24) Already in 1887 the Charles Janson had been utilised by the Consulate, for which the F.O. paid the UMCA £10 as acknowledgement of the services. USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Oct. 11th 1887. For Buchanan's dealings with the 'Arabs' see Hanna, op. cit. p. 95-96.

(25) B. Barnes, Johnson of Nyasaland, pp. 121-122; W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences, pp. 152-156; Hanna, op.cit. p. 96. The treatment of the Africans by the early Government officials was noticeably naive in the eyes of Johnson who records Consul Hawes saying to an interpreter at Mpondas in 1887: 'Will you please tell the Chief that if he continues to act in this way there will be strained relations with the Foreign Office'. W. P. Johnson Reminiscences, p. 149.

(26) E.F. Spanton, In German Geols, SPCK, 1917 Prefatory Note by H.H. Johnston.

Zanzibar in May 1884 he first met Chauncy Maples and the latter records how they became great friends.<sup>(27)</sup> Though Johnston was an agnostic, his background, in professional middle-class London and in the ritual of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and his broad interests were in sympathy with those of Maples.<sup>(28)</sup> After Johnston's first visit to Likoma in September 1889 Maples wrote to his sister: 'We have just had a most charming visit from H. H. Johnston on his way to the north end . . . His varied interests and many accomplishments combine to make him one of the most interesting men I have ever met'.<sup>(29)</sup> Johnston on his way to Nyasaland had been given letters of introduction to the Arabs of importance in Central Africa from Smythies which he found of immense use during his early days on the Lake. And he was also given the use of the Charles Janson which had conveyed him to Likoma after rescuing him from a tricky situation at Mpondas. The steamer took Johnston on to Bandawe, and then to KotaKota from whence he was accompanied by Maples to Karonga.<sup>(30)</sup> These activities show how the UMCA had become firmly committed to the idea of a British protectorate; Maples indeed had written from Karonga in October 1889 'I do not despair of seeing eventually all the east side of the Lake under British

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(27) E. Maples, Life and Letters of Chauncy Maples, p. 227; UMCA Atlas 1903 Preface by H. H. J. Johnston. pp. 7-8.

(28) R. Oliver, Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa, 1959, pp. 1-17.

(29) E. Maples, *op.cit.* pp. 314-315. Johnston made a similar impression on Bp. Smythies: 'We have just had a most pleasant visit from H. M. Consul at Mozambique ... We have very little to offer in the way of hospitality, but Mr. Johnston seemed pleased with everything, and his wide experience and knowledge of so many things in which we have a common interest made it very pleasant to have him with us'. Ward, Smythies, p. 159.

(30) E. F. Spanton, *op.cit.*

protection'.<sup>(31)</sup> And Johnston later recorded how 'Archdeacon Johnson . . . was worth a regiment to me in the first 'conquest' of Nyasaland.'<sup>(32)</sup>

This involvement with the expansion of British protection was apparently sparked off by the activities of the Portuguese and the threat to the Shire Highlands. In July 1888 the King of Portugal had put his signature to instructions sending Lieutenant Antonio Maria Cardoso in charge of an expedition 'the principal aim of which was to establish a mission on Nyasa which would serve as a centre from which Portugal could enlarge her influence in that region 'taking advantage of the benevolence and respect which the peoples of those regions maintain towards the Portuguese name'.<sup>(33)</sup> Cardoso successfully persuaded a number of chiefs at the south-eastern end of Nyasa to place their marks on treaties in which they declared themselves to be vassals of the King of Portugal and distributed flags to them. A number of the chiefs in the area worked by the UMCA made agreements and accepted the flags much to the concern of the leading missionaries.<sup>(34)</sup> Maples in fact took decisive action:

I have been much excited last week by the fact that the Portuguese had persuaded Chitesi to fly their flag, and I actually saw it flying there. I have, however, been successful in getting it hauled down again, Chitesi assuring me that he never intended to knock under to Portugal or to accept her sovereignty over his district.

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(31) E. Maples, *op.cit.*, p. 317.

(32) E. F. Spanton, *op.cit.*

(33) E. Exelson, 'Portugal's attitude to Nyasaland during the period of the partition of Africa' in B. Pachai (ed.) *op.cit.* p. 258.

(34) W. P. Johnson describes the activities of the Portuguese treaty makers in his My African Reminiscences, pp. 195-197 and the lack of understanding by the Africans of the significance of the agreements and flying the flags, and also their contempt for the Portuguese.



and six weeks later added:

I am very curious indeed to know what people at home will think of my action with regard to the Portuguese flag. I am hoping it may lead to good and important results - a British Protectorate here, for instance, or something of the kind. (35)

There appear to have been no repercussions from this incident and the Portuguese advance in the area continued as Bishop Smythies reported home from Likoma in August 1889:

I fancy all the leading chiefs here are really dallying with the Portuguese. They of course wish to take our advice as we are their friends, living among them, exchanging salt and cloth for the wood and the simple products they can supply. But then they are harassed terribly by the Magwangwara, and if the Portuguese send guns and powder and presents what are they to do? There is nothing to correspond with that on our side. They will generally refuse to hoist the flag at our suggestion, because the Magwangwara will punish them if they do .... If it was thought well that an English representative should appear on the Lake . . . there would be something tangible; otherwise the first steps are being taken, since I was here last, to make Nyasa a Portuguese Lake. You know their law is to have none but Roman Catholic missionaries. (36)

This threat of expulsion if Portuguese rule was extended to the Lakeside was a great concern to the UMCA, and already Cardinal Lavigerie had undertaken to evangelise the area as a result of the Cardoso expedition. (37)

In Britain the Portuguese advances were causing concern and H. H. Johnston had been despatched, before taking up his post as

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(35) E. Maples, op.cit., p. 306 Likoma, April 4th 1889; p. 308 Likoma May 17th 1889.

(36) USPG/UMCA Letters of Smythies bound vols. Smythies to Penney 16 Aug. 1889. Hanna, who quotes this letter on p. 131, seems to have inferred from it that members of the UMCA 'seem actually to have taken it upon themselves to distribute Union Jacks to any chiefs who would accept them, in the hope of forestalling the Portuguese' though the flag mentioned in letter was undeniably Portuguese.

(37) E. Axelson, op.cit. p. 258.



consul at Mozambique, to Lisbon to come to terms with Portugal. There he managed to persuade the Prime Minister to guarantee free navigation of the Zambezi and also to abandon Portugal's claim to a band of territory right across Africa which conflicted with British intentions, but in return Portugal would be allowed to annex the Shire Highlands and the southern end of Lake Nyasa. This last proposal caused great alarm in missionary circles, particularly on the part of Scottish Missions who presented lengthy petitions against such a move.<sup>(38)</sup> The UMCA General Committee also actively opposed it and sent a resolution to the Foreign Office.<sup>(39)</sup> It would appear that this opposition, coupled with Salisbury's own views, meant that the proposal was never adopted and in July 1889 Johnston sailed up the Zambezi with the intention of declaring a protectorate over the Shire Highlands if there was any Portuguese advance in the area. The protectorate was declared by Buchanan in August 1889 owing to the presence of the large Portuguese expedition under Serpa Pinto on the edge of Makololo country and the threat of its invading this area to the south of Blantyre.<sup>(40)</sup> The fighting between the Makololo and the Portuguese forces caused the Shire river to be closed just at the moment that Bishop Smythies was returning to Zanzibar from Likoma, and it was reported in The Times on November 19th that the bishop had been attacked by the Makololo,

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(38) *ibid.*; Holmberg, *op.cit.* p. 260-262; Hanna, *op.cit.* p. 136-138;

(39) USPG/UMCA General Committee May 13th 1889. Resolution: 'That this Committee views with the gravest alarm the programme under consideration in which the surrender of all British claims in the Southern part of Lake Nyassa and in the Shire Highlands in virtue of long missionary enterprise is contemplated.'

(40) E. Axelson, *op.cit.*, p. 259; Hanna, *op.cit.* pp. 142-146; Holmberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 266-268.

an event that was dismissed as impossible by Waller two days later and contradicted on December 6th.<sup>(41)</sup> The bishop had begun his journey down the Shire but was forced to return to Mandala when the crew of the boat, hearing of the troubles, refused to go any further. On finally reaching Quilimane on foot on December 1st he despatched a letter to The Times to publicise the activities of the Portuguese and to defend the British residents at Blantyre from Serpa Pinto's accusation of inciting the Makololo to attack his peaceful 'scientific' expedition of 4,000 African soldiers<sup>(42)</sup>.

The declaration of the protectorate was greeted warmly by the UMCA General Committee, especially by Waller who on December 3rd introduced the following resolution:

That this committee begs to record the expression of its gratitude to H. M. Government for its recent action with regard to Portuguese advances into Nyasaland and in the face of so much recent and present disturbances to the civilizing operations in the district where the exertions of the 'University Mission' and other missionary and civilizing bodies have so long been centred, will watch with the deepest anxiety such steps as H.M.G. may see fit to take in counter-acting the existing causes of disturbance. (43)

But all were not in agreement with such a show of partisanship, and a special meeting was called on January 31st 1890 to discuss the proposal for a vote of thanks to the Government following the issue of an ultimatum to Portugal to withdraw her troops that were 'on the Shire, or in Kalolo country, or in Mashonaland'<sup>(44)</sup>. At the

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(41) The Times, Nov. 19; Nov. 21; and Dec. 6th 1889.

(42) The Times, Jan. 21 1890. This letter was reinforced by another from Smythies written at Cardiff defending the Blantyre people which appeared in the paper on August 19th 1890. Serpa Pinto was looked on more favourably than most Portuguese by those who met him. Chauncy Maples, who met him on board ship in 1879 after his trip across Africa, wrote: 'He is a very intelligent, pleasant fellow' .. E. Maples, op.cit. p. 126.

(43) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Dec. 3rd 1889.

(44) E. Axelson, op.cit., p. 259.

meeting the Rev. Seymour Randolph moved 'that the whole matter be withdrawn as foreign to our conduct as a "Missionary Society" ... Bp. Steere had said, go to governments for nothing. Rather he would suggest that we should wait until Ld. Salisbury said how obliged he was to us for what our Head had done for the government; he had the greatest distrust of mixing up missionary work with government enterprise'.<sup>(45)</sup> However only one other agreed with him and the resolution thanking the government was carried eight to two.<sup>(46)</sup>

The protectorate declared in August 1889 did not include any of the UMCA Mission field, and it was not until the Anglo-Portuguese convention of August 1890 that the limits of influence in the area were decided, and the final agreement made the following June. The protectorate over all of Nyasaland was formally mooted in February 1891 and declared in May,<sup>(47)</sup> and during these months of waiting for a final delineation of boundaries the UMCA pressed for its mission field to be included within the British sphere. Johnson was particularly active in pressing the claims of the east side of the lake to be included, stressing the difficulty of suppressing the slave trade if it remained Portuguese:

The Bishop writes kindly and interestingly ... re the islands, German down to Mbamba. Portuguese thence to Makenjila's, either inclusive or exclusive, thence British right away. One feels what is the use of making masanje (children's play huts) here on the shores of the

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(45) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Jan. 31 1890.

(46) The copy of the resolution sent to the press read as follows 'At a special meeting of the UMCA .....a resolution was passed thanking Her Majesty's Government for their recent action in Nyasaland, by which both the English and Scots Missions have now an assured means of peaceable access to the field of their work, and witness the removal of many hindrances to their labours.' *ibid.*

(47) Holmberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 273-274; Baker, *op.cit.*, p. 328.

Lake when the whole sale business is going on elsewhere - I mean qua politics. Here we are in possession, anchorages and wooding stations bought for thirty miles, Mluluka and Losefa, and doubtful people from Mkalanila pressing us to return, Likoma half-bought, and anchorage becoming first rate under our work. The Portuguese cannot compete overland with a stream of commerce up the great Lakes; if that is to come, let it come as a river to both its banks. Mr. Moir said to me at Likoma, " we give the Jumbe (chief of Kota Kota) this money just to get a footing and pay our way, and this is what will go on (viz.), Yaos will do some bit of treachery and escape to Portuguese friends on the other side; English stop the trade in spirits on the west where the ivory arrives, and Portuguese bring it . . . to the east side and then smuggling revives; Makanjila will absorb the Nyasas when Germany has broken their present keepers, the Magwangwara. What extra expense is involved in Consular jurisdiction and trading operations on the east, if they are once adequate on the west?" (48)

He proposed a boundary line running roughly ten miles east of the Lake, either for its whole length or at least to the German boundary: 'Let England command the Lake harbours, sharing the east with Germany, for Germany won't wink at the slave trade'.<sup>(49)</sup> And when he heard of the final limits of the Protectorate which gave all his east coast villages to the Portuguese, and left only the island of Likoma in British territory he felt that he had been betrayed and still in March 1891 he was pressing for a ten-mile limit.<sup>(50)</sup> The inclusion of Likoma within the Protectorate was due to special pleading on behalf of the mission by H. H. Johnston who, out of friendship to Maples, and the other missionaries, and also with a view to the advantages of controlling the islands on the lake, secured the boundary between the island and the east coast.<sup>(51)</sup>

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(48) Barnes, Johnson of Nyasaland, p. 88.

(49) *ibid.*, p. 89 Letter to Maples 17/11/1890.

(50) *ibid.* p. 90 Letters to Maples Feb. 5th and March 1891.

(51) E. F. Spanton, *op.cit.*, prefatory note; E. Maples, *op.cit.* p. 315.



There may have been an ulterior motive in Johnston's cultivation of a friendship with the UMCA. As early as 1890 the opposition of the Blantyre missionaries to aspects of the work of the administration was evident, an opposition which A. C. Ross declares was principally due to the conflict of attitudes between Johnston and the missionaries with regard to the abilities of the African and African society,<sup>(52)</sup> a conflict that was heightened by the threat of Company rule either by the African Lakes Company or by its amalgamation into the British South Africa Company:

..... a Chartered Company is not a government and never can be. To be ruled by such is to be ruled for commercial ends by absentee directors and shareholders whose real interests are only served by tangible dividends. (53)

It was principally the attitude of the missionaries that led to the proposal that Rhode's Company should take over in Nyasaland after supporting the administration liberally for some years being dropped. In March 1893 Johnston wrote to Sir Percy Anderson at the Foreign Office that 'the bringing of the Protectorate under the British South Africa Company is almost impossible. These detestable Blantyre Missionaries and almost all the now numerous band of planters out here are dead against it.'<sup>(54)</sup> And three months later he outlined to Rhodes a plan that he had formulated of dealing with the opposition of the Blantyre Mission by starting his own newspaper,

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(52) A. C. Ross, 'The African - A Child or a Man: The quarrel between the Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland and the British Central Africa Administration 1890-1905' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.) The Zambesian Past, pp. 332-351; Holmberg, op.cit. pp. 283-310.

(53) A. C. Ross, op.cit., p. 337 Quotation from Life and Work in Central Africa, Oct. 1890 the magazine of the Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland.

(54) A. C. Ross, 'The African - A Child or a Man' op.cit., p. 347.



as a counterblast to the Mission's Life and Work in British Central Africa and by effecting a religious cleavage in Nyasaland:

You will notice in a paragraph I have marked in the May number of the Mission paper that the Blantyre Mission is already beginning to quarrel with the other Scotch mission - that of the Free Church. I propose however to seek for support rather with the already friendly Universities Mission . . . Accordingly the other day I sent (partly from Administration funds) a cheque for £35. 7s. Od. to Archdeacon Maples towards the building fund of Likoma Cathedral. This I made up as follows.

£25 from the Honourable Cecil J. Rhodes  
 £1. 1. 0. Dr. Rutherford Harris  
 £1. 1. 0. Sir Charles Metcalfe

besides a sum of £8 3. Od. composed of small subscriptions most of which were already collected by me. About £30 of this amount is really contributed by the Administration, but to send it as a plain donation from that source would look rather too much like a bribe so I have attributed the main origin of the money to C. J. R. and others. Please explain to Harris and Metcalfe so that they may not be surprised at being thanked for their guineas.

But I am going to do more than this provided the F.O. accepts our arrangement of May 8 and we have to fight the Blantyre Mission. I am going to build an English Church at Blantyre at a cost of about £600 which I can raise by subscription local and external and establish the Universities Mission here. (55)

And by various other means he advocated the cause of the UMCA at the expense of the other two leading missions, and he accepted the UMCA's meagre land claims with alacrity<sup>(56)</sup> while the more exorbitant claims of the Scots missions were questioned and amended<sup>(57)</sup>. He

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- (55) Salisbury Rhodesia Archives CT/1/16/4/1 Johnston to Rhodes 7 June 1893 quoted in A. C. Ross 'The Origins and Development of the Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, Nyasaland 1875-1926' Edinburgh Ph. D. thesis 1968 pp. 198-200. The letter had begun by outlining the attitudes of the various missions to the Company: Blantyre against the Company; 'Livingstonia neutral; L.M.S. friendly neutral; UMCA, D. R. Mission and Roman Catholics friendly to company'.
- (56) USPG/UMCA Deeds for Land in Africa Johnston to W. P. Johnson 17th Jan. 1893.
- (57) Holmberg, p. 307. His lack of active support of the Livingstonia Mission was most likely based on its neutrality but also on its self-sufficiency. 'The Livingstonia Free Church Mission has not yet conferred the same benefits on our community as has been derived from the Universities Mission, and the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre, in the training of artisans etc. and the supplying of them to employers'. *ibid.* Johnston to Kimberley 30.5.1893 PRO F.O. 2/88.

supported and possibly instigated the establishment of the UMCA at Kota Kota in the face of strong opposition from the Livingstonia Mission in 1894<sup>(58)</sup>, and he expressed his pleasure to Johnson and Maples when the Mission began its 'Occasional Paper' in 1893, contributing to it and even suggesting its title, Nyasa News.<sup>(59)</sup> He presumably saw the latter as being a useful corrective to the anti-administration Life and Work, as Maples outlined to his father it was not to be a mission journal:

We hope it may do good, and we feel that, though missionaries, it is good to do what we can to show sympathy with our fellow-countrymen out here who are pursuing other callings. Also we think this publication may prove a useful means for mutual support and sympathy in our relations with our native friends. We want also to discuss matters of peculiar interest to us all, and to put plain unvarnished accounts of our doings before people who watch us very closely, and who are apt to judge us and our ways unfairly through lack of trustworthy information as to our goings-on.<sup>(60)</sup>

Johnston was not to be disappointed by the magazine because throughout its short life it pursued a mildly pro-administration line, prepared to criticise where necessary but also to come to Johnston's defence where it thought attacks on him unjust. When the Blantyre journal accused the administration of excessive taxation of the native population and over-severe methods used to extort the taxes, Maples in Nyasa News dissociated the UMCA from such views and stated that 'until the opposite had been proved', he believed 'that the Administration was working for the natives, 'if not "exclusively" at least "steadily"'.<sup>(61)</sup>

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(58) USPG/UMCA/65-19; G. Shepperson 'The Jumbes of Kota Kota and some aspects of the History of Islam in British Central Africa' in I. M. Lewis (ed.) Islam in Tropical Africa, pp. 193-205.

(59) E. Maples, op.cit., p. 346; USPG/UMCA Deeds for Land Johnston to Johnson 17/1/1893.

(60) E. Maples, op.cit., p. 342 C. Maples to father Jan. 6th 1893.

(61) Holmberg, op.cit., p. 296 quoting cutting from Nyasa News (Sept.? 1893).

Good personal relations between the officers of the administration and the UMCA missionaries was an important factor in determining their attitude to the imposition of British rule. The officers on the whole came from backgrounds which gave them a greater sympathy with the Anglican missionaries than with the Scots, and the majority like Johnston were 'hardworking, competent and realistic administrators ... and a number were very well-connected; for example, Edward Alston, who was a favourite godson of Queen Aledandra, and the son of Sir Francis Alston, Chief Clerk at the Foreign Office; Gordon, a cousin of the Earl of Aberdeen; and Gilbert Stevenson, a cousin of Robert Louis Stevenson ..... some came from the great English public schools (McMaster from Harrow, Rhoades from Rugby, Sharpe and Beeching from Haileybury, Best from Cheltenham, Codrington from Marlborough, and Hunt from Eton)', though 'only a few - Best, Hunt, Hamilton, Hearsey and Blair Watson - were university graduates.'<sup>(62)</sup> Richard Crawshay, who was Vice-Consul for the north of Lake Nyasa, had for a short time actually served in the mission.<sup>(63)</sup> But more important than personal relationships was the fact that the mission hardly came into contact with the administration's activities during the early period as these were mainly concentrated in the Shire Highlands and at the north end of the lake; it was only at the stations at Mponda and Kota Kota that they were near to the administration.<sup>(64)</sup> Likoma was left completely in the hands of the

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(62) C. A. Baker 'The Development of the Administration to 1897' in B. Pacha (ed.) The Early History of Malawi, p. 329.

(63) See Appendix 1. Biographical Details of Missionaries and H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, p. 94.

(64) For relationship between administration and UMCA at Kota Kota see Life and Letters of A. F. Sim.

missionaries and for this reason no taxes were levied there in this early period. As Maples remarked, the declaration of a protectorate did not affect their position at all and they went on in the same quiet way, 'just as before the British flag began to float over Nyasaland.' (65)

Similarly after the moves in Portuguese Nyasa in 1889-90 things subsided for ten years and there was very little evidence of the Portuguese presence in the Lakeside villages. Rumours of impending Portuguese occupation however were rife in 1898 and 1899 and Hine reported to Travers on June 8th in the latter year:

I hear that a Portuguese expedition is going up to Mwembe to attack Mataka and nobody knows who else in the Yao country they may attack as well in their entire ignorance of the people and their relation to Mataka himself and to us. Johnson writes to me that he has gone up to Mtonya to see the chief and explain the position to him and is also going on to Unangu to reassure the people there that they need not fear danger to themselves if they keep out of the way and don't interfere against the Portuguese. I greatly regret that the expedn. is a Portuguese and not British. They are such utter brutes those Portuguese. Beside they may get smashed up themselves and then it would be a nice business! It seems uncertain whether the British Administration is going to join or not in the Expedition. (66)

It was at the end of the following year, 1900, that the Portuguese came under the auspices of the Nyasa Company to occupy the lake shore, and immediately the mission found itself the subject of hostile actions on the part of the Company's officials. At Mumba, a young official arrived on December 25th, and his activities were described later by an eye-witness, the African priest Augustine Ambali:

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(65) E. Maples, op.cit. p. 336.

(66) USPG/UMCA A1(X) 295-96 Hine to Travers Likoma June 8th 1899; in a letter the previous year Hine had written of a rumour that the Portuguese were going to the lake to occupy some places in their territory with an administrative official, and gunboat on Lake. op.cit. 275-79 Hine to Travers Charles Janson Machia 1898;



he was very high-handed, and he treated the people like animals in the forest and he said: 'you will see if you can stay in this country'. And he began to hanker very much after our Mission site . . . And about five o'clock it was Evensong and we were in church and something happen outside; and the young Portuguese thought, perhaps the Christians and teachers are doing this matter, and he came with his soldiers and with fierce faces they pointed their guns ready to fire on the church windows, to desire to kill the people and the teachers and myself; but they did not fire for he told them not to fire but to wait till the people come out and then you can beat them your hardest. And that day we did not say our prayers properly, because all the people were afraid of the soldiers with their guns; but Reader William and myself we went to the vestry and took off our surplices and went outside, and then the people came outside too and the young Portuguese started to beat the teachers and the Christians. And it was very trouble and terrible for he was beating the Christians without any reason at all and it was bad case; and he tried to set fire to the church. (67)

The principal cause of the disturbance, which was settled by the intervention of the European clergy of the mission, was the refusal of the villagers to pay hut-tax. The hut-tax levied was somewhat higher than that already being paid in British territory, and there was far less work available for the natives to earn money to pay the tax, so they were naturally aggrieved. The UMCA missionaries on complaining of the treatment of their villagers by the Portuguese soldiery received in reply a letter from Major Spilsby, the Administrator of Portuguese Nyasa, in which he stated that the Mission itself would be required to collect the hut-tax in the villages around each station.

Such a requirement shocked the missionaries, who considered the attempt to make them tax collectors as 'outrageous and immoral', and they understandably refused to comply with it.<sup>(68)</sup> This was the

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(67) A. Ambali, Thirty Years in Nyasaland, UMCA 1924, pp. 54-58.

(68) USPG/UMCA/65-18 Relationship With Portuguese 1900-1902. Central Africa, 1901 pp. 80-81. A. G. De la Pryme 'How We are Governed' in What We Do in Nyasaland, pp. 246-253.



beginning of the uneasy relationship which was to persist between the mission and the Portuguese officials.



Plate 8. Mission and State. The Governor of German East Africa and his staff at Magila. Archdeacon Woodward sits between the Governor, Count von Getzen, on his right, and Herr Meyer, the Commissioner of Tanga.

from Magila in Picture, UMCA, 1901

#### 4. THE UMCA AND THE GERMAN OCCUPATION 1885-1890

After 17 years in the Usambara region and nine years at Masasi the UMCA suddenly found itself in 1885 faced with the threat of German rule in these areas. Though theoretically the mission was pledged to a neutrality with regard to political affairs, the missionaries who had worked for so long with the native populations looked with dismay at the prospect of all their work being undone by European occupation. If the country was to be occupied it would be far more preferable that Britain should be the power involved.

The initial treaty-making expedition of Carl Peters on behalf of the Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation in November 1884 was to the south of the Usambara region and made no immediate impact on the UMCA, but in the following year between April and June Dr. Juhlke concluded a number of treaties in the area including some in the Bondsi country and the plains below the Usambaras<sup>(1)</sup>. When Farler in September 1885 read of these treaties in the Times of August 7th he immediately wrote to the newspaper strongly refuting the claim of a treaty with the rulers of Usambara as

At this very time the brother of the Sultan of Usambara is paying me a visit, and three of his nephews are here with us. The Sultan's brother says that absolutely nothing is known by any member of the family of any treaty having been made with the Germans, neither could any individual member however high his position make such a treaty without the consent of the Waana Mkande - i.e. sons of Mkande, who was the original founder of the family five generations ago. (2)

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(1) G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville 'The German Sphere 1884-98' in R. Oliver and G. Mathew History of East Africa, Vol. I, 1963, pp. 435-437.

(2) The Times, Oct. 16 1885.

Juhlke had indeed seen Kimweri the ruler of south-west Usambara, but he on the advice of his father Semboja had refused to allow the Germans in the area without a letter from the Sultan. This condition had annoyed Juhlke who went off angrily. Farler, though particularly antagonistic to the German occupation of the area, wished to discourage any European annexation and he ends his letter with a warning that the country was no good for colonists. 'They would soon die off from fever. The German Administrator of the Usagura country has just gone home, out of his mind from severe fever'<sup>(3)</sup>. The following month he addressed a further letter to the Editor of the Times in which he deals with General Matthews' expedition to secure the Sultan of Zanzibar's suzerainty over the Kilimanjaro, Pare and Southern Usambara regions, and adds:

The natives are beginning everywhere to hear that the Dutchi, as they call the Germans, claim their lands after paying them a visit and an angry and bitter feeling is growing up in their hearts against the Germans, which bodes ill for any future peaceful settlement of Germans in these lands. (4)

He then goes on to describe a visit of three Germans on a treaty-making expedition to Magila, where because of their pitiable condition they were given hospitality, and on their departure a few days later the missionaries found their porters as their own had deserted. On their return a few days later two of the Germans were very ill; one died and was buried in the mission cemetery.<sup>(5)</sup> Farler was not at Magila at the time and he was most annoyed at the treatment given to the Germans which is not apparent from the letter to the Times but was voiced in a letter to Penney:

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(3) ibid.

(4) The Times Nov. 13 1885. Letter from Farler dated Zanzibar Oct. 19 1885

(5) ibid. In this letter he makes another attempt to dissuade colonisers, 'I can hardly believe that these intended settlers realize what a desolate, barbarous land they are invited to settle in without houses, or roads, or means of transport, far from the coast and all civilization, no doctors or help in sickness where no lady can possibly live under present circumstances.'

Magila is suffering from a German invasion which Riddle in great simplicity welcomed, found porters to assist them in their annexing projects, and has given them the aegis of the Mission, much to my disquiet. Do in every way, letters to the papers and others contradict the fact that they have obtained the cession of the Usambara by treaty.

I know for certain that they did get no treaties in Usambara of any kind. Their usual plan is to get a simple chief to put his mark to a paper which purports to be merely an agreement to let the stranger build a house in his country and permission to buy a Shamba, but which is really a treaty ceding the country to the land-shark. No land in Africa can be ceded in this way it requires the consent of the elders of the tribe, as the land belongs to the tribe, not to the Chief. These Germans here are merely utterly unscrupulous land-sharks, who will rob and lie in a most bare-faced manner. I have written to beg Riddell to be more careful and to refer all these people to me first. (6)

Just over a month later Farler was expressing fears that the treaty-making would lead to incidents in Usambara similar to those in Usagura where two Germans were shot by the Africans.

We may soon expect the same sort of thing in Usambara for they have made a lot of bogus treaties with petty head men of villages of from 20 to 30 huts. They dub these little men 'sultans', and their tiny villages 'capitals'. One Meequa who has settled in the Bondel country and kindly ceded to them southern Bondel with all his 'sovereign rights'. It is almost ludicrous, were it not so mischievous. The real chiefs keep aloof from them and say if they attempt to take possession of any of their country they will resist by force of arms - We may then expect troubles soon. I have given directions to the men up country to avoid in every way being identified with them by the natives. I have had a solemn protest sent me by Sultan Kibanga against the doings of the Germans in Usambara. (7)

In May 1886 Bishop Smythies joined Farler in bringing before the readers of the Times 'particulars of what is going on now in East Africa, especially as they seem to involve possibilities of grave difficulties and complications in the future'. As an example he

(6) AI(VI) 467-70 Farler to Penney Zanzibar Sept. 28th 1885. Farler was in charge of mission while Smythies was on furlough in England.

(7) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 459-462 Farler to Penney Kiungani Nov. 8th 1885.



cited the activities of a 'pleasant and well educated' German who visited the mission station at Mkuzi:

The missionary in charge was out, so he took possession of the premises, hoisted the German flag on the fence round the cleared space in which our buildings stand, and brought his porters into the enclosure. When the missionary returned he felt obliged to ask him to take down the flag and also to remove the porters. The reason for this latter request was that the men were chained together. I believe this could hardly be helped, as all the other porters had run away, and the traveller feared to be left entirely alone. But we explained that such a sight as a white man attended by black men chained had never been seen before in the country, and we felt that it was something entirely out of character in a Mission station. (8)

To Smythies the peremptory way in which the German had raised his country's flag at Mkuzi raised the whole question of the attitude of the German East African Company to African land tenure which seemed to be based on a belief that the land was inhabited by savages with no kind of government, and the response that the missionaries of the UMCA should make to such actions. At Mkuzi the land had not even been the subject of one of the Company's 'treaties' and was definitely under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Zanzibar. As the Mission attempted to support whatever power they found established in the area Smythies felt there would be problems if such a method of annexation was attempted in the Rovuma district.

If representatives of the German East African Company come to Newala I foresee that grave complications may arise, even so far as to prevent us from showing that hospitality which we have always been most glad to show to all strangers, but which might then be mistaken for disloyalty to that civil power which we have always been accustomed to recognise. (9)

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(8) G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies, p. 116. The first letter was written to the Times from Zanzibar on May 4th 1886 and a second shortly after but neither can be found referred to in the Times Index for that year, or in a cursory look through the columns of the paper. Both are quoted in G. Ward, *op.cit.* pp. 116-118 and originals are to be found in Letters of Smythies 1886 volume in cupboard in USPG Archives Search Room.

(9) *ibid.* p. 117.

The civil power which Smythies felt that they would have to uphold in the face of German claims was that of the Yao chief Matola 'who, though ruling over few people, is the very pattern of an intelligent and enlightened constitutional sovereign'. Such defence of Newala was not needed as the Germans showed little interest initially in the Rovuma region.

This public opposition of the leading UMCA missionaries to the German East African Company's occupation of East Africa presumably did not go unnoticed by the Company's officials and was most probably the cause of the publication of a diatribe against the UMCA in the German Periodical Kolonial-Politische Korespondenz in 1886. The article which originated from Dr. Juhlke and Dr. Fischer, both of whom had recently died, the former murdered by the Somali, was obviously aimed at instilling German support for the expulsion of non-German missions from the G.E.A. Co's territory. Juhlke stressed the need for German missions to work in German territories and not to throw away their resources for the benefit of other nations' colonies, and went on to criticise what he terms the two existing missions in East Africa.

One is the Universities' Mission founded in 1860. It was intended to be the means of conveying instruction to E. Africa. The real, though unexpressed object was to be the English feeler, and to sound, whether these were regions worth annexation. Owing to its being mixed up in the Slave Trade question, which breaks out now and then, England was in a position to wait for a suitable moment, when it suited her to annex. Like everything else in England this Mission has enormous resources, enormous when compared with those available to German Societies. Their home in Mombasa (commencing from the north) their station in Magila, their Mission house in Pangani, still more their establishments in Zanzibar give the impression of great abundance, and indeed the comforts of life are the last things which an Englishman likes to dispense with in a foreign country. They take 'old England' with them into the wilderness cost what it may: their missionaries

have just the same haughty bearing as any other Englishman who labours in the colonies, although the particular region does not belong to England. (10)

The innaccuracy and maliciousness of this extract is typical of the whole article which goes on to criticise the misuse of civil power by the missions, confusing yet again the UMCA with the activities of the CMS at Mombasa. The second mission he counts as working in German territory is that of the Holy Ghost Fathers, which he describes as 'favourably distinguished from the English Mission'.<sup>(11)</sup>

The following year further criticisms of English Missions in East and Central Africa were made by the German explorer Oscar Lenz, whose views received publicity in The Times, the publication of which instigated a long letter in defence of the missions by J. P. Farler.<sup>(12)</sup>

At the end of May 1888 a new Director-in-chief of the German East African company arrived in Zanzibar. Soon after his arrival Herr Ernst Vohsen paid a call on the UMCA headquarters, and his conversation alarmed Rev. Herbert Clarke, missionary in charge while the Bishop was in England:

Herr Vohsen was most friendly and courteous; but in the course of conversation, he intimated that it would be necessary for English missionary stations to be bound by the same rules in regard to civil power and trading associations as German Missionary Societies had accepted in German territory on the West Coast. He had no copy of such rules at present, but promises to supply them. He also said that, as his Association were anxious to promote the use of the German language in their territory; it might be necessary in time for them, as he expressed it, to buy us out, and that we should move elsewhere. He referred especially to our Magila stations ... (13)

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- (10) Kolonial-Politische Korrespondenz, Organ of the German East African Company and the Society for German Colonization. No. 18 1886. The attention of the UMCA was drawn to this article by Robert N. Cuet Secretary of the L.M.S. and he sent a translation to Penney, to be found in USPG/UMCA Box C1 188-89.
- (11) ibid.
- (12) The Times, 24 Aug. 1887. Letter written June 1887.
- (13) PRO FO/403/105/no. 240 Enclosure 1. Rev. H. Clarke to Colonel Euan-Smith Zanzibar May 29 1888.

Clarke wrote urgently to the Consul enquiring about the position of English subjects within the German sphere of influence, whether it was necessary for English mission stations to accept German rules, and

Has the Association represented by Herr Vohsen any power, as suggested by him, of removing English subjects from German territory, on the ground of their not teaching the German language, they being peaceable and law-abiding people, exercising and wishing to exercise, no political power or position whatever, and residing on land acquired before German influence existed on the East Coast of Africa? (14)

The Consul thought Clarke 'unnecessarily alarmed' and discussed the matter with Vohsen

As to his remarks with regard to 'buying out' the Universities' Mission, Herr Vohsen assured me that they were intended to have no immediate direct or practical significance whatever. His intention was to intimate what is at the most, I trust, a remote possibility, i.e. that if it should be found that the English missionaries were working against German interests, and using their influence in a manner hostile to the spread of the civilisation and development of the country by the German Administration, it might then be necessary to consider the best means of arranging for their transfer elsewhere. (15)

A far from satisfactory answer for the UMCA but acceptable to the Consul. However the fears of expulsion by the Germans were forgotten in the following months when the mission was faced with the more imminent threat of destruction by the Africans and Arabs, who like the missionaries were incensed by the high-handed behaviour of the officials of the G.E.A. Company, and were ready to resist any further attempt to increase European occupation of the country. The first signs of resistance appeared in November 1887 with the invasion of

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(14) *ibid.*

(15) *ibid.*, Enclosure 2. Colonel Euan-Smith to Rev. H. Clarke Zanzibar May 31 1888.



Kimweri into the Bondel region in an attempt to reassert control over the whole of the area of the old kingdom of Usambara in the face of German expansion.<sup>(16)</sup> Though the invasion was not a direct attack on the Germans it was an act in defiance of the German presence in the area, and G.E.A. Company despatched an armed expedition to put an end to the hostilities.<sup>(17)</sup> Though affairs had now come to a head and Archdeacon Farler reported to Penney at the beginning of May:

The Country is most unsettled, there are talks all over the coast of making a clean sweep of all Europeans. We, and our comparatively small body of native Xtians would be nowhere in a General uprising of all the tribes. The British acquisition of the Mombasa coast and district and the German of the remainder, is exciting Arabs, Swahili and natives of the more inland tribes, very greatly - General Matthews wanted to come to our aid himself when the Masasi were preparing for their descent, and the Sultan and our Consul were glad that he should help but the Germans utterly refused, saying they had command of the country and they would see no harm came to us - How far we are indebted to their assistance you well know. It would almost seem they would be glad if we were got rid of at any cost, for their dislike to us is notorious, and if we were driven out by natives they would take possession of our station which they are longing to do ..... The natives say they will fight till they die rather than submit to the Germans, and a certain section of the Bondeis who are under coast influences, are trying to stir up the rest to drive us out, as they say but for our opening up of the country the Germans would never have heard of Bondel. It is altogether a bad case and will unsettle our work for a long time. I think the action of the English Government, to sacrifice its own children in this way, is unnatural and monstrous. The country was full of English, the natives were becoming civilized and Xtian entirely by English work and English money, there was not a German, or a German interest of any kind in the place, when suddenly through the ignorance and weakness of the Tories and their agent Holmwood, we are sacrificed without a word. (18)

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(16) See above pp.304-06

(17) PRO/FO/403/104/9 Major Macdonald to Marquis of Salisbury Z. Dec. 19 1887; *ibid.* /111 Telegram Major Macdonald to Salisbury Zanzibar Feb. 27 1888; and *ibid.*/126 Macdonald to Salisbury March 15 1888.

(18) USPG/UMCA AI(VI) 579-581 Farler to Penney Mkunazini May 7th 1888. Farler would have recently been informed of the visit of Herr Voehn by this date.



The general rising did occur in September 1888 when the coastal towns rose up against the Germans. The rising was sparked off by an agreement made in April 1888 between the Sultan and the G.E.A. Co. whereby the latter would assume 'the whole administration' of the Tanganyika coast on August 15th in exchange for a certain percentage of the customs duties collected in the future. In August when the German agents proceeded from Zanzibar to make preparations to put the argument into effect in the seven coastal towns of Tanga, Pangani, Bagamayo, Dar es Salaam, Kilwa Kivinje, Lindi and Mikindani, they were at first received calmly. Soon however they antagonised their hosts by their ready assumption of authority over them and by their insulting treatment.<sup>(19)</sup> A typical case was illustrated by Farler:

The Germans, instead of trying to win a position by kindness and conciliation, proceeded in the most brutal and clumsy manner. A story told to me by a powerful Arab chief last August will give some idea of their folly. This Arab Governor, an educated gentleman, said that one afternoon when taking his siesta in the Government House, a servant announced a young German who had landed from a ship in the harbour. The Governor received him, and he at once proceeded to inform the Governor, through the medium of a Swahili-English interpreter, there being no Swahili-German interpreters, that after the 16th of August the Germans would take over the administration of the country and the customs, but that they intended to employ him, only he would then cease to be in the service of the Sultan, and would receive his pay from the Germans. Also that he would be required to present himself four times a day at the German office, to make his report and receive his instructions. This Arab restrained his indignation at such a gross insult, which he put down to the boorishness of the man, and merely replied that he had received no orders from his master the Sultan, and that he could not discuss the question. (20)

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- (19) R. D. Jackson, 'Resistance to the German Invasion of the Tanganyikan Coast, 1888-1891', in R. Rotberg and A. Mazrui, Protest and Power in Black Africa, New York 1970. pp. 46-47. This article contains by far the best account of the 'Abushiri rebellion'.
- (20) J. P. Farler, 'England and Germany in East Africa', The Fortnightly Review, Feb. 1. 1889, p. 161. R.D. Jackson, op.cit., p. 47 identifies the Arab as Wali Abd al-Gaway of Pangani and the German as Emil von Zelewski.

In the light of such activities there were rumours of a complete German take-over of the coast and Swahili notables and others refused to assist the Germans. Faced by threats from the German agent Zelewski the inhabitants of Pangani were convinced by a certain Abushiri of the need to defend themselves from a German attack. On September 4th they imprisoned the German agents and repelled, with the assistance of rural warriors, attempts by British and German representatives to land. At Tanga a similar resistance was subjected to indiscriminate German bombardment on September 6th and such treatment fostered a unity between the defenders of these coastal towns, which soon spread to those further south. An attempt to mediate by the Sultan's General, Matthews, who had been allowed to land at Pangani, failed and he was ordered to leave on September 21st taking with him the Germans. By the end of September the Germans had everywhere been driven out or isolated.<sup>(21)</sup>

The news of the troubles reached Bishop Smythies by September 25th when he was in Dublin, and he immediately determined on returning at once to Zanzibar to attempt to reach the Usambara mission stations which were cut off from the outside world. There was great fear for the lives of missionaries, and Smythies writing to Penney on hearing the news strongly condemned Britain for allowing the area to come within the German sphere of influence and he was 'holding the government responsible for anything that might happen'<sup>(22)</sup>. On reaching London Smythies accompanied by Penney called to see Sir Charles Hill at the Foreign Office, and the Bishop 'spoke with warmth

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(21) R. D. Jackson, *op.cit.*, pp. 47-56.

(22) USPG/UMCA Bound volume letters of Smythies 1888, Smythies to Penney, Dublin Sept. 25th 1888.

of the mistake which he considered had been made, when the boundary-line of the German and English spheres was drawn, of not consulting or allowing the Mission to know what was being done, whereby the Magila station had been put within the German sphere instead of within the English. He said he must hold the English Government responsible for any harm which occurred to the station in consequence, as it had been impossible for the Mission to apply to the Germans for support, whilst the Sultan had been precluded from giving it by the limitation of his territories'.<sup>(23)</sup>

Later that day a special meeting of the Committee of the UMCA was held to consider the state of affairs, and following the meeting a letter was sent from the Committee to the Marquis of Salisbury in which was stated:

We are convinced that this unfortunate issue has entirely resulted from hostility to the Germans on the part of the natives, and any reference by us to the German authorities would most certainly be resented by the natives as identifying ourselves with German action.

Although the present disturbances may be quieted, we believe that the evils of which we complain will remain, and that our stations will from time to time be in danger from the same causes.

With a view of removing these causes of danger, we respectfully submit to your Lordship that the first opportunity should be taken of altering the present line of delimitation, and of substituting the natural and tribal boundary of the Pangani River for the present arbitrary and artificial line which divides in two several native tribes, and has no physical or political justification. <sup>(24)</sup>

And the mission, casting aside its neutrality, exerted all the pressure it could on the government to attempt to change the boundary lines. Smythies and Farler publicised their views whenever

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(23) PRO FO/403/107/10 Memorandum by Sir C. Hill Oct. 2nd 1888.

(24) *ibid.*/14 UMCA to Marquis of Salisbury Oct. 4 1888.

they could and the latter wrote a lengthy article entitled 'England and Germany in East Africa' which appeared in The Fortnightly Review in February 1889. He stressed the importance of British interests, missionary and commercial, in the area and how because of German occupation they were being destroyed. And he claimed that if the English boundary were extended to include Usambara the fighting in that part of East Africa would be over. The article ends with a plea that the English Government must at all costs 'offer the firmest opposition to any attempt made by Germany to seize the island and town of Zanzibar'.<sup>(25)</sup>

Smythies proceeded to Zanzibar which he reached at the beginning of November only to learn of the intended Anglo-German naval blockade of the East African coast. The Germans had publicly attributed the rising to the animosity of Arab slave traders who they said saw the German control of the coast as a threat to their livelihood, and they used this argument to win British support for a blockade of the coast which was ostensibly to prevent the export of slaves and the import of arms and ammunition. Salisbury reluctantly agreed to Bismark's<sup>C</sup> request for co-operation in the blockade though neither privately considered that it would have much effect on the slave trade. Bismark<sup>C</sup> 'wanted to show the natives that a complete understanding existed between the two powers', and Salisbury, unable to dissuade Germany from instituting the blockade, felt that without British presence it could lead to Germany gaining control of the Sultan's territories.<sup>(26)</sup>

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(25) J. P. Farler, op.cit., pp. 157-165

(26) Suzanne Miers: 'The Brussels Conference of 1889-1890: The Place of the Slave Trade in the Policies of Great Britain and Germany' in P. Gifford and W.R. Louis, Britain and Germany in Africa, pp. 95-98.



The UMCA was informed of the intended blockade at the end of October, it being suggested by the Consul General to the Foreign Office that the mission should be recommended to remove staff from the mainland. In reply Penney said that it was unlikely that the mission would forsake its people in Africa.<sup>(27)</sup> On hearing of intended blockade Smythies at once despatched a cryptic telegram to London: 'Blockade endangers lives in future; natives helpless without guns before robber tribes with spears' which was interpreted as meaning that unless the peaceful tribes around Magila and Masasi could obtain guns they would be annihilated by the raiding Masai and Magwanguwara.<sup>(28)</sup> At a meeting of the UMCA Committee held on November 6th the following resolution was passed:

That in the opinion of this Committee any combined military or naval operations, on the coast of East Africa, carried on by England and Germany at the present crisis will be fraught with injurious results to the friendly relations which have been maintained for many years past between the natives of East Africa and the English Missionaries. (29)

The chairman, the Bishop of Carlisle, read the resolution in the House of Lords the same day, but with no effect. Not all members of the committee opposed the blockade, Waller and Professor Burrows both believed that it would help suppress the slave trade and that the withdrawal of the missionaries was a small thing in comparison.<sup>(30)</sup>

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- (27) PRO FO/403/107/ 134, 163, 177. Already early in October the missionaries at Magila had declined to leave at suggestion of Consul. *ibid*/24 Euan-Smith to Salisbury Oct. 7 1888.
- (28) *ibid.*, /215 UMCA to Salisbury Nov. 7 1888 quoting telegram of Smythies Nov. 5 1888.
- (29) USPG/UMCA General Committee Minutes Nov. 6th 1888.
- (30) *ibid.*, Farler similarly at first welcomed the blockade as something that would in all probability be struck against the slave trade. Times, Nov. 12 1888 but later in his Fortnightly Review article he stated that it would not in the slightest degree affect the slave trade.



In a letter written to Penney from Zanzibar on November 1st and printed in the Times in an edited version on November 27th, Smythies expanded his view on the blockade:

The new move is undoubtedly serious. It is of course only a plan upon the part of the Germans to prop up their prestige and to make it appear that what they are now asserting is true - viz. that all this trouble is caused by the opposition of the slave-traders, instead of the monstrous conduct of the German Company. Everyone here knows the slave trade has nothing to do with it .... It looks very much as if it might result in exterminating the missionaries, who would be the great means of checking the slave trade, by being instrumental in altering the ideas of the people. It is very misleading to divide Africa, as Waller does, into oppressors and oppressed and not to recognise that the idea of slaves is present in the minds of all Africans, and it is only Christianity which will clear them of it. Cutting off the external evil only will be a very poor substitute for Christianity. (31)

Because of the obvious threat to their lives the Bishop decided to go to Magila and see safely to the coast the ladies and those laymen who wished to withdraw. But he expressed a view that:

In the case of priests it would seem to me unfaithless to the charge committed to them to leave their people without any one to minister to their souls, and, with regard to all engaged in the work, if they should consider it dishonouring to our Lord and His Church to quit their posts on account of danger, I cannot but feel entire sympathy with such a conviction. (32)

This was in the face of strong pressure from the Consul-General for all the missionaries to be withdrawn, he having pointed out to the Bishop that 'if any missionaries remain at Magila, consideration for their safety may at a given moment seriously embarrass naval operations on coast.'<sup>(33)</sup> On November 10th the Consul requested 'the English

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(31) USPG/UMCA Bound Volume Letters of Smythies 1888, Bp. to Penney Nov. 1st 1888. In a further letter on Nov. 10th he stresses more strongly the fact that the troubles arise out of conduct of G.E.A. Co. and has nothing to do with opposition of slave traders or with Mohammedan feeling. He sees the blockade as 'a gigantic fraud'.

(32) FO/403/107/545 Inclosure Smythies to Euan-Smith Nov. 10 1888.

(33) *ibid*/201 Telegram Euan-Smith to Salisbury Nov. 5 1888.

Admiral to defer the institution of the blockade in order to allow sufficient time for the Magila mission station to be evacuated.<sup>(34)</sup> And on the afternoon of the following day Sunday 11th November, Smythies, Petro Limo, Susi and an influential Arab, Nasr Bin Suliman, provided as an escort by and representative of the Sultan, set out for Pangani in the Sultan's steamer. Nasr Bin Suliman was the father of the Governor, (wali) of Pangani and without doubt it was his presence that enabled the party, after some hesitancy on the part of the townspeople, to land on November 13th. Bushiri and the jumbes were prepared to let the mission party proceed inland but the rural tribesmen were more militant in their attitude to the white man, whom they hoped to retain as a hostage for the payment of the large ransom which had been agreed when Bushiri had released the German explorer Dr. Meyer a short time previously. Money was demanded of the Bishop by the young tribesmen and he was detained at Pangani for three days, and on the 15th November his life was in jeopardy.<sup>(35)</sup>

I have had another wearisome and exciting day, and am still here, but I believe it is really settled I get off tomorrow. After it was all settled yesterday, the young men of the town changed their minds at night and determined to prevent my going. I hear they heard money had been given to the Jumbes, and they said, 'We go and watch on the shore day after day, and the European comes, and you get money and we getrone.' I sent to Nasr early, and then went myself. He said he had sent again for the Jumbes. Soon after I came back a large number of young men appeared and made a rush for the house with every sign of violence. My men came to say they were going to fight with the Arabs about my going, and they would kill me if they got at me. I do not think they would. They would have probably taken whatever they found, and possibly taken me away, but the house for a few moments was being assaulted.

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(34) *ibid.*/557 Euan-Smith to Salisbury Nov. 19 1888.

(35) G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies, pp. 127-134.

The credit of my safety from some violence is almost entirely due to Bushiri. He stood in the door and said he was answerable for the English missionaries, and unless they killed him they should not touch them. Three guns were fired at him, but the caps snapped, but all say he was in danger. He has since said at all costs he would take me to Magila, if he had to fight for it, and he has not been to me to take any credit for what he has done ..  
 ..... I owe my safety to his faithfulness ... Nasr and the Arabs have behaved very well, and I hope you will remember this in Bushiri's favour and tell the Said. (36)

The following day the mission party accompanied by the Wali of Pangani, Bushiri and some of the Jumbes and a large number of men proceeded to Mkuzi where they found the missionaries in a state of great anxiety. Others arrived from Magila later that day and the next morning five lady members of the mission, three being Sisters of Mercy and three male members, were conducted safely to Pangani, where they embarked on the Sultan's steamer and reached Zanzibar the next day. Smythies went on to Magila where he determined to stay with the eight male missionaries who remained. At the end of his account of the proceedings he remarked:

I hope it will not be thought that I am prejudiced against the Germans. Had they done what in Germany they were expected to do - had they peacefully settled down in the country and developed trade - I should have welcomed their advent most sincerely. But the result of their coming has been that, after living safely among the people for nearly twenty years, our relations with them growing ever more friendly, we now see our work hindered, our position insecure, our lives possibly endangered, and our religion degraded because connected with violence and oppression - and all to what end? (37)

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- (36) PRO/FO/403/107/556 Enclosure. Smythies to Colonel Euan-Smith Nov. 15 1888. For a fuller account of this incident see G. Ward op.cit., pp. 131-132. Bushiri had promised Euan-Smith at the beginning of the rising that the missionaries at Magila would be unharmed, a promise he was determined to keep. FO/Z 3/107/556.
- (37) G. Ward, op.cit., p. 134. The letter written at Mkuzi on November 19th was published in The Times on Dec. 31 1888. The three male missionaries were Wallis, Maxwell and Coggan.

While detained at Pangani Smythies had sent a strongly-worded letter to Zanzibar which he instructed the mission to print and send to all the foreign consuls who were to be requested to lay before their respective governments.

Letter strongly condemns action of German company and protests against fancied bombardment of Pangani which Bishop considers imminent .....

I have requested Mission authorities here not to print or circulate this letter. (38)

And similarly a further incident arose between the mission and the consul the following spring over an 'unwise letter written by a Member of the Mission'.<sup>(39)</sup>

The Anglo-German blockade was implemented on December 2nd but it had little immediate effect on the welfare of the inland mission stations; Smythies spent a peaceful Christmas at Magila, and in the Rovuma region, unaffected by the rising, Porter reported all safe, principally because of the attitude of the great Yao chief Mchemba in refusing to join the coast people.<sup>(40)</sup> In England the blockade received little support and supporters of the mission petitioned the Foreign Office for its cessation.<sup>(41)</sup> However in the following spring the continuation of the blockade began seriously to affect the working of the mission stations, and it was most difficult for supplies to reach either the Usambara or Rovuma district. Heavy taxes were levied on mission goods at Tanga, and goods detained at

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(38) PRO/FO/403/107/296 Telegraph Euan-Smith to Salisbury Z. Nov. 16 1888.

(39) USPG/UMCA Bound vol. Letter of Smythies 1889 Apr. 24 Bp. to Penney.

(40) The Times, Feb. 14 1889 Porter to Penney, Newala Dec. 19 1888.

(41) S. Miers, op.cit., pp. 97-98; PRO/FO/403/117/334 St. Paul's Bunhill Row, Missionary Association to the Marquess of Salisbury.



Pangani in return for payment of Meyer's ransom, and because of the difficulty of landing goods at Lindi a food shortage was imminent at Newala and the surrounding stations.<sup>(42)</sup> Rumours which were circulating with regard to the mission led to further threat of an attack from Pangani.<sup>(43)</sup> These problems, as well as showing an increased hostility to the mission engendered by the blockade, were also symptomatic of the declining control of affairs by Bushiri. Ever since the initial success of the rising in expelling the Germans, Bushiri had been faced by opposing factions who saw his desire to similarly overthrow the authority of the Sultan as a great a threat to their independence, as the presence of the G.E.A. Company Factionalism led to problems of controlling the large number of rural warriors whose feeding had early become a problem, and many returned to their homes. Bushiri was not in a strong position when, at the end of April 1889, the German von Wissmann arrived at Bagamayo with three hundred German soldiers and seven hundred Sudanese and Shangaan soldiers in order to suppress the rebellion. Wissmann had been sent by the German Government and the administration of the Company's territory had been transferred to him. On May 8th 1889 Bushiri was defeated by Wissmann near Bagamayo and though escaping with a number of his troops he was no longer a power in the land, and his harrasing of the Germans was brought to an end when he was captured and hung on December 15 1889.<sup>(44)</sup> With the defeat of Bushiri the

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(42) PRO/FO/403/117/315, 466-67, and 635. USPG/UMCA Bound Vol. of Letters of Smythies 1889. Sp. to Penney Apr. 24-May 1 1889. G. Ward., op.cit., p. 140.

(43) *ibid.*

(44) R. D. Jackson, op.cit., 66-72,



northern inland was quickly brought under control; Semboja, who with his son Kimweri had assisted Bushiri, capitulated on his failure to arouse his cousins and former antagonists, Kibanga and Kinyasse, to further resistance, and attempts by coastal jumbe to recruit warriors from among the Bondei, though at first successful, were soon discredited by the treachery exhibited by the jumbe in the face of a German attack.<sup>(45)</sup>

The prospect of a land war between the Germans and the natives had been greeted with some alarm by Bishop Smythies who on March 30th despatched the following to the General Committee of the UMCA:

The Committee are urged to put before Parliament the necessity of taking some steps to secure the safety of the mission stations in the Bonde country, during the war between the Germans and the natives and that the boundary line of British influence should be removed from the River Umba to the river Luvu ... Whatever troubles may arise the Missionaries will never forsake the Christians in the Bondei country. (46)

And when Wissmann's attack on Bushiri was imminent he noted 'The plot thickens, and we cannot tell what will be the end of it.'<sup>(47)</sup> However during the next few months the Bishop was at Lake Nyasa and he returned to find the Usambara area peaceful and the blockade over and was much impressed by the German achievement. And he noted after spending Christmas 1889 at Magila:

We have received the greatest kindness from the Germans, who are now in authority here. The road to Pangani is now entirely quiet and safe, and so indeed is the whole district.

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(45) Central Africa, VIII 1890 Feb., pp. 28-29; VII 1889 Nov. pp. 162-63.

(46) USPG/UMCA Bound Volume of Letters of Smythies 1889 Bp. to Committee of UMCA, March 30th 1889.

(47) G. Ward, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

And although the Masasi district was subjected to disturbances during the resistance of Macheмба (which ended with his surrender in March 1891), the change in circumstances wrought by the firm rule of the German government was greatly welcomed by the missionaries who wrote favourably of von Wissmann and the administration of justice.<sup>(48)</sup> In January 1891 Smythies recorded:

The German rule has had a most salutary effect on the country. I cannot help thinking that the new feeling which is being shown in favour of schools for the children is partly because the people think it will somehow be a safeguard to them to be connected with us to have their children taught. (49)

The assumption of control of the area by the German Government in 1890 did not allay the fears of the missionaries with regard to the future of their stations in the territory of a foreign colonial power,<sup>(50)</sup> and in order to come to an understanding concerning the UMCA's position with the German Government, Smythies towards the end of his furlough in England in 1890 went to Berlin and had an interview with the Chancellor Caprivi and was presented to the Emperor. The interview was satisfactory but no definite statement of the position appears to have been made.<sup>(51)</sup> However Smythies was ready to accept German rule and to revert to the mission's principle of working in accord with the existing power. His chief concern however was not the German administration, but the effect of the influx of settlers on the mission work:

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(48) Smythies recorded that Wissmann 'is really humane and cares for the people and has the good of the country at heart' after travelling with him from Europe. Bound Vol. of letters of Smythies 1890 Dec. 3rd Smythies to Travers; H. W. Woodward in Central Africa, VIII, 1890 Feb. p. 27.

(49) USPG/UMCA Letters of Smythies 1891 Bp. to Travers Magila Jan. 17th 1891 and G. Ward, op.cit. p. 179.

(50) Key felt it best if the mission expand into the British territory to the north. USPG/UMCA AI(VI) Key to Penney Mkuzi Dec. 9th 1888.

(51) G. Ward, op. cit., p. 173.

Hitherto we are the only white people who have lived on the mainland. Naturally, when the Germans come into the sphere of German influence, they will say that the country about Newala and Magila is sure to be safe because there have been English missionaries living there for years past. Thus it is very likely that our living there will have prepared the way for an inrush of European settlers and an invasion of native rights and interests. Thus our missionaries will be in the unhappy position of having attracted Europeans to the country, to the great injury of the rights and interests of our friendly natives and their chiefs. Now there is every reason to believe that the rulers in Germany wish to act with fairness towards the Africans, just as, I believe, our own rulers do. The difficulty will not arise there, but amongst those who settle in the country, and who, if they are unscrupulous, can only too easily misrepresent the facts when once they have invaded the rights of the natives. (52)

The Newala area had little to fear from German settlers as the open savannah country of low fertility had little attraction for them: in fact there were virtually no settlers, and German administrators considered the area as not needing close scrutiny. Even by 1905 'between the district offices on the coast and the garrison in Songea, three hundred miles away, there were only a handful of askari and a non-commissioned officer in a grass-roofed stockade at Liwale'. (53)

The situation in the Usambara district however was very different, it being the only sizeable highland area easily accessible from the coast, and its relatively dense population with land available for exploitation made it especially attractive to the Germans as it was held that European agriculture could only flourish on fertile highlands. The majority of the early settlers went to the region between Tanga and the western Usambaras and by 1896 there were fifteen plantations in the Usambaras and by 1891 a railway had been built inland from

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(52) *ibid.* p. 174.

(53) J. Iliffe, Tanganika under German Rule, pp. 17, 18; J. G. Liebenow, Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanzania: The Case of the Makonde, pp. 13-16.

Tanga.<sup>(54)</sup> Thus the missionaries at Magila and surrounding stations found themselves in close contact with the Germans, which did present problems hitherto not experienced by the UMCA, whose mainland stations were usually to be found away from areas of European interest. In 1892 Bishop Smythies refused to entertain Peters at Magila having heard of his 'shocking' treatment of two natives at Kilimanjaro, and he informed Baron von Soden of the affair following which Peters was tried and banished from German territory.<sup>(55)</sup> And two years later we find Godfrey Dale writing to the Bishop asking advice on what to do about a certain Herr Schroeder of Lewa, ('divide the stories told of him by ten and he is still a blackguard'), who had abducted and raped one of the girls from the mission school. He wondered if the mission could act, as he feared there was 'little chance of natives bearing witness before a German court of a German's misdemeanours'.<sup>(56)</sup> There were no doubt many other similar problems but on the whole relationships between the Germans and the missionaries were very good. 'Indeed, Archdeacon Woodward contributed many articles on East African languages and folk-lore to German reports, journals, and reviews, and his influence and his learning were greatly valued by the German Administration of East Africa.'<sup>(57)</sup> The educational background of

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(54) J. Iliffe, op.cit., 14-15; O. F. Raum, 'German East Africa Changes in African Life Under German Administration 1892-1914' in V. Harlow, E. M. Chilver and A. Smith (eds.) History of East Africa, Vol. II. pp. 190-191.

(55) G. Ward, op.cit., p. 146.

(56) USPG/UMCA AVII 424-427, Dale to Bishop Mkuzi May 3 1894.

(57) E. F. Spanton, In German Goals, prefatory note by Sir H. H. Johnston pp. V-XII 1917 - J. E. Hine, The Universities' Mission in German East Africa - CA 1916 pp. 116-121.

of the missionaries often provided them with a knowledge of German which brought them into sympathy with many of the leading German settlers and administrators. The letters of Gertrude Ward from Magila are especially illustrative of this relationship, with visits to plantations and the entertaining of government officials:

About a fortnight ago we had some very pleasant visitors here, Graf and Grafin von Zech with their child. He holds a government appointment far up in the hills, and they were passing Magila on their way to the coast and stayed with us two nights. The countess had hurt her foot in walking, so I was able to coddle her up a bit. They both speak English, but generally their native tongue with me. (58)

But other missionaries saw little benefit to be gained from this 'German civilization' as it was 'destroying the high ideal which the natives had formed of white man morally and holding out to them openings for employment where the pay is good and moral character goes for very little'. (59)

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(58) G. Ward, Letter from East Africa 1895-1897, UMCA 2nd ed. 1901 p. 92. On p. 144 she records 'that a certain Schroder in these parts has just been sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour for cruelty to natives .... The officials are just and humane but up-country individuals are not seldom brutal'. Letter Aug. 20 1896.

(59) USPG/UMCA AVII 452-455 Dale to Travers Feb. 1 1895.



CONCLUSION

In the chapters above it has been shown that the UMCA did approach the conversion of the African with an awareness that was, if not unique, unusual in the late 19th century. Its missionaries first and foremost aimed at the creation of an African church, and saw that this was ideally achieved by the least disruption being made to the indigenous society. To this end they trained African clergy and teachers to be missionaries to their own people, they encouraged them to lead, and led themselves a simple life, as far as possible detached from Western civilization. They were active in the study and use of the vernacular languages, and in time became competent amateur geographers and anthropologists. This assimilation of the missionary and his Gospel with the African way of life has brought praise for the UMCA from both secular and Christian historians of the Church in Africa. It is an approach, however, that inevitably produces many inconsistencies when its practical application is examined in detail.

The factors which led the missionaries of the UMCA to adopt a somewhat unconventional attitude to mission can be traced to their social and religious background. They were not all from one class in society; the clergy came from homes as diverse as that of a Monkwearmouth miner and a Somerset baronet, though the majority came from clerical and professional middle-class homes, and had received an advanced and broad education. The unifying factor of the mission was its Anglo-Catholicism. The self-assurance derived from their class background enabled many of the missionaries to be paternalistic in their attitude to the Africans, a paternalism that

also found expression in the work of the Anglo-Catholic Church in the British slums, and in the encouragement of proteges to emulate themselves in training for the priesthood and church work, a factor that explained the presence of many men of working-class origins in the mission field. These were just as much the product of Anglo-Catholic paternalism as was the African priest. The lack of family-life in the case of the largely celibate missionaries no doubt encouraged this desire to 'adopt' and assist an intelligent boy or girl. His educational background provided the UMCA missionary with the ability to grapple with the intricacies of African languages, and the desire to understand the world around him, whether its political and religious context or its geology and flora and fauna. The missionaries showed a remarkably broad range of interests in, and sympathy with, aspects of African life. To the Anglo-Catholic the life in Africa was a sacrifice, a demonstration of his faith, made difficult in Britain by the comfortable, worldly life, and the simple African existence that was chosen was part of this demonstration. It was a kind of renunciation of the world, a rejection of what Newman described as the 'intense, sleepless, restless, never-wearied, never satisfied pursuit of Mammon in one shape or another, to the exclusion of all deep, all holy, all calm, all reverent thoughts'<sup>(1)</sup>. It was this need for self-sacrifice that led others to enter religious communities, or to work in urban slums. The missionaries therefore had rejected to some extent the idea of progress and prosperity in favour of an idealised natural life in Africa and so were loath to

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(1) Quoted in R. Kenyon, 'The Social Aspect of the Catholic Revival', N. P. Williams and C. Harris, Northern Catholicism.

see the Africans adopting Western values and attitudes. The mission field gave the Anglo-Catholic Church the opportunity to put its theories into practice; there the activities of the church gave new strength to their faith for in the conversion and retention of the 'heathen' the church was demonstrating its message far more effectively than in Britain:

Those who are in Churches where establishment is unknown who are free to rule themselves, and to develop the practice of the Church in full accordance with the faith, bring to England not only the proofs of divine grace of the Word and Sacraments, but also illustrate and enrich by their experience the experience of those who live in England. (2)

And gradually the missionaries began to seek within the primitive African way of life aspects which linked it with Catholic philosophy, and they observed that the following qualities were common to both: 'the respect for authority; a reverence for fellowmen, resulting in manners; a reverence for the spiritual world, resulting in worship; and the quality of fellowship which resulted in communion'.<sup>(3)</sup> The awareness of these qualities led to a closer appreciation of African society.<sup>(4)</sup>

The importance of the religious and social background is best demonstrated when one looks at the work and life of members of other missionary societies who pursued similar policies to that of the UMCA.<sup>(5)</sup> In particular can be mentioned Arthur Shearly Cripps

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- (2) W. L. Vyvyan (Bp. of Zululand) 'The Faith and the Evangelisation of the World' in D. Stone, Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Congress 1920, p. 48.
- (3) G. Callaway 'Catholic Order and Missionary Development' in E. R. Morgan (ed.) Essays Catholic and Missionary, p. 171
- (4) Cf. background and motives of L.M.S. missionaries in India, G. A. Oddie "India and Missionary Motives c. 1850-1900", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. XXV, No. 1 Jan. 1974.
- (5) H. A. C. Cairns, *op.cit.*, pp. 220-221.

(1869-1952) of Rhodesia, the son of a solicitor and Town Clerk of Tunbridge Wells who was educated at Charterhouse, Oxford University and Cuddesdon Theological College, an ardent Anglo-Catholic and follower of Gore and the Christian Socialists. A background typical of many an UMCA member: Cripps' recent biographer pinpoints his individual approach from amongst a 'cluster of missionary roles':

In the African situation should the missionary be the spiritual arm of the white 'civilizing' force? Should the missionary be the impartial chaplain to black and white alike and seek to conduct the religious life of the community on a spiritual level that is above the plane of the political and economic conflicts that are at work in both races? Or should the missionary be deeply identified with the politically voiceless indigenous people of the colony and be prepared to break caste and brave the wrath of his own countrymen in order to expose glaring injustices and to appeal to the consciences of the domestic colonials, as well as to the sense of trusteeship and responsibility in the hearts of the home community to set these matters right?

Cripps' contribution to the missionary factor in Rhodesia left no ambiguity about which of these roles he had chosen, for it was in the service of the voiceless indigenous people that he poured out his life. (6)

Though Cripps' was more politically active and working at a later date, his identification with the African had many parallels in the UMCA.

As has been claimed, the practical application of the mission's theories produced many inconsistencies, the origins of which can be also traced to the missionaries' background. Anglo-Catholicism, with its high view of the priesthood, and the advanced educational

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(6) D. V. Steere, God's Irregulars: Arthur Shearly Cripps, p. Xii.

training of the mission's leaders meant that the UMCA laid great stress on Western style educational attainments and the need for African clergy to receive the best training possible, even if this meant sending them to Britain. In education the need for a written language led to the introduction of Western 'classical' grammar, and the use of Swahili as the basis for much teaching, even though it was an alien tongue to the majority of Africans with whom they came in contact. These and other lapses from assimilation could probably have been avoided, but the greatest hindrance to the missionaries' identification with the African was their national consciousness and the Western character of their Christianity. It would have been next to impossible for the missionaries to cut themselves off from the general trend of British thought in the second half of the nineteenth century - 'with its enormous self-confidence, belief in progress as incarnated in its own achievement, and consequent sense of superiority',<sup>(7)</sup> or to adapt their church fully to the African situation. Western psychology becomes most evident in the UMCA missionaries when they are faced with the exercise of temporal authority, and with the occupation of Africa by the European powers, and it is here that they differ little from the general secular picture of the missionary impact on Africa. In Rotberg's words, 'European missionaries could not betray their own social context and behave other than as Western men'.<sup>(8)</sup>

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(7) A. Hastings, Church and Mission in Modern Africa, p. 27.

(8) R. I. Rotberg, 'Missionaries as Chiefs and Entrepreneurs: Northern Rhodesia', J. Butler (ed.) Boston University Papers in African History, I, p. 214. See A. J. Dacks "Missionary Imperialism - The Case of Bechuanaland", Journal of African History Vol. XIII, 1972, pp. 647-658.



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TABLE I

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS TO OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE, DUBLIN  
AND DURHAM MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA  
Nov. 1858 - 31st Dec. 1860.

	Donations			Subscriptions		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Oxford University List	3213	3	11	234	0	0
Cambridge University List	2952	12	10	369	7	6
Dublin University List	648	7	11	165	9	0
Durham University List	86	19	1	17	0	6
York Diocesan List	563	19	10	146	12	0
General List: Aberdeen	64	7	0	6	14	0
Chichester	100	12	3	20	1	6
Croydon	54	16	6	51	3	0
Edinburgh	887	3	9	62	1	0
Gloucester	63	6	1	-	-	-
Halifax	214	3	0	49	8	0
Hereford	65	0	0	6	1	0
Kilndown	87	9	10	-	-	-
Leeds	189	0	6	8	17	0
Liverpool	1106	5	9	74	6	0
Manchester	728	16	5	10	14	0
Newark	48	18	4	5	5	0
Newbury	49	5	1	4	0	0
Petworth	87	0	0	1	0	0
Reading	122	6	9	8	6	0
Steyping	193	8	0	27	17	0
Total amounts under £50 collected at various places	5614	12	5	311	19	6
Collected for the Church Tent	97	16	10	-	-	-
	<u>17239</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1580</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
Total amount of donations	17239	12	1			
Total amount of subscriptions	1580	2	0			
Remittances made through S.P.G.	903	13	5			
<b>TOTAL INCOME 1858-1860</b>	<b>19723</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>			

TABLE IIUMCA INCOME AND EXPENDITURE 1860 - 1900

Year	Income	Home Expenditure	Total Expenditure
1860	£18,519	£1,061	£3,423
1865	£1,626	£751	Not available *
1870	£1,834	£78	£2,140
1875	£3,169	£48	£6,239
1880	£9,697	£823	£6,377
1885	£15,554	£1,170	£15,181
1890	£21,043	Not available	£18,443
1895	£24,621	Not available	£22,754
1900	£29,345	£2,791	£32,880

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\* Total expenditure in 1864 was £2,680

Source: UMCA Annual Reports

TABLE III

PARENTAGE WHERE KNOWN OF UMCA MISSIONARIES 1860-1900

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	CLERGY	LAYMEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Priests	31*	4	10	45
Baronet	2			2
Esquire	7	1	1	9
Gentleman	5			5
Law	5	4	2	11
Army			1**	1
Civil Servant	1			1
Merchant	2		1	3
Doctor	1			1
Methodist Minister	1			1
Geologist	1***		1***	2
Manufacturer	1****			1
Tradesman	1			1
Farmer		1		1
Organist	1			1
Painter and Decorator	1			1
Butcher		1		1
Innkeeper	1			1
Miner		1		1
Farm Labourer		1		1
TOTAL	61	13	15	89

\* including 2 bishops

\*\* Major Townshend

\*\*\* Professor Woodward

\*\*\*\* Hine, Hosiery Manufacturer

TABLE IVOCCUPATIONS OF LAY MISSIONARIES 1860 - 1900 on joining UMCAMen

Layman (unspecified)	55 (including 17 later ordained and a sub-deacon)
Schoolmaster	21 (including 1 later ordained)
Carpenter	18 (1 also a builder, 1 a trawler and 1 an organist)
Printer	17
Engineer	9 (1 also a builder)
Doctor	8 (1 later ordained)
Accountant	4
Treasurer and Stores Superintendent	3 (1 later ordained)
Storekeeper	2
Mason	3
Shoemaker	2 (1 also a tanner)
Architect	2 (both later ordained)
Blacksmith	2 (1 also an engineer)
Engine Fitter	2
Sailing Master	2
Bricklayer	1
Medical Assistant	1
Agricultural Labourer	1
Brass Founder	1
Artisan	1
TOTAL	155

Women

Layworker (unspecified)	26
Nurse	41 (including 3 nuns)
Teacher	36
Housekeeper	2
Wives	6
and also Nuns	6 (excluding 3 in nurses above)
TOTAL	117



TABLE V

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF UMCA CLERGY AND LAYMEN 1860 - 1900

	<u>No. having attended</u>	
Grammar Schools	8	
Public Schools	60	
Missionary Colleges	38	
St. Augustines, Canterbury	15	
Dorchester	11	
Warminster	11	
St. Paul's Burgh	1	
Universities	87	23% of all missionaries 34% of men
Oxford	46	
Cambridge	26	
London	7	
Durham	5	
Aberdeen	1	
Edinburgh	1	
Dublin	1	
Theological Colleges	38	
Cuddesdon	13 *	
Wells	5	
Lincoln	5	
Leeds Clergy School	4	
Ely	4	
St. Stephen's House, Oxford	3	
Bishop Auckland	1	
Chichester	1	
Lichfield	1	
Cheshunt	1	

\* Cuddesdon College 1854-1904, Longmans 1904 pp. 73-95

TABLE VI

LENGTH OF SERVICE OF ALL UMCA MISSIONARIES WHO WENT OUT 1860-1900.

Years	CLERGY		LAYMEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-2	36(17)	30(14)	71(18)	53(13.5)	46(10)	39(8.5)	153(45)	41(12)
3-5	30(11)	25(9)	30(6)	22.5(4.5)	23(4)	19.5(3.5)	83(21)	22.5(6)
6-10	19(6)	16(5)	21(3)	16(2.25)	16(5)	14(4.25)	56(14)	15(4)
11-20	19(6)	16(5)	9(3)	7(2.25)	22	19	50(9)	13.5(2.5)
21-30	9(4)	7.5(3)	1	.75	7	6	17(4)	4.5(1)
31-40	3(1)	2.5(.75)	1(1)	.75(.75)	3(1)	2.5(.75)	7(3)	1.5(.75)
41-50	2(1)	1.5(.75)	-	-	-	-	2(1)	.5(.25)
51-60	2(2)	1.5(1.5)	-	-	-	-	2(2)	.5(.5)
TOTAL	120(48)	100(40)	133(31)	100(23.25)	117(30)	100(17)	370(99)	100(27)

In brackets are the number and percentage who died within those years

TABLE VII

U.M.C.A. EDUCATIONAL WORK

		1881	1890	1895	1900
ZANZIBAR	Schools	3	5	5	11
	Scholars	190	291	302	387
USAMBARA	Schools	4	6	13	17
	Scholars	176	340	523	1061
ROVUMA	Schools	3	7	9	22
	Scholars	-	230	332	912
NYASA	Schools	-	11	17	47
	Scholars	-	340	539	1777
<u>TOTAL</u>	Schools	10	29	44	97
	Scholars	-	1201	1696	4137

Source: U.M.C.A. Leaflet No. 2, Nov. 1881; U.M.C.A. Annual Reports,  
1890, 1895 and 1900.

TABLE VIIIEDUCATIONAL WORK OF MISSIONS IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1909

Mission	Schools	Scholars
U.M.C.A.	125	5199
C.M.S.	104	4386
Holy Ghost Fathers	117	9750
Benedictines	43	2391
White Fathers	155	8728
Berlin I	49	2121
Bielefeld	47	1684
Moravian	71	4547
Leipzig Lutherans	59	4244
7th Day Adventists	5	592
TOTAL	775	43642

Adapted from Twenty Years of Pioneer Missions in Nyasaland,

J. Taylor Hamilton.

TABLE IXEDUCATIONAL WORK OF MISSIONS IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1912

Mission	Schools	Scholars
U.M.C.A.	179	5806
C.M.S.	135	7175
Holy Ghost Fathers	61	12766
Benedictines	174	12206
White Fathers	245	24709
Berlin I	100	3732
Bielefeld	56	3010
Moravian	73	6128
Leipzig Lutheran	81	8115
7th Day Adventists	15	1550

Adapted from A. Smith 'The Missionary Contribution to  
Education (Tanganyika) to 1914' I.N.R., Vol. 60 1963 p. 107.



TABLE X.

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF MISSIONS IN NYASALAND 1907

Mission	No. of Schools	<u>No. of Scholars on Roll and in Average Attendance</u>				<u>No. of Europeans Engaged in Education</u>	
		No. on Roll		Average No. in attendance		Literary	Technical
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
U.M.C.A.	59	2211	1259	1562	762	10	11
D.R.C.	156	8599	6981	5038	4180	10	5
C. of S.	89	2851	648	1728	360	4	9
Liv.	402	19208	9604	12166	6088	8	5
NIM	11	547	80	305	45	3	
ZIM	64	2466	1424	1771	955	3	1
WF	33	2162	1572	1727	1186	-	-
BIM	20	Not	obtainable			4	-
SAGM	3	Not	obtainable			2	-
MF	3	1200	900	950	700	-	-
Total	839	39244	22468	25247	14276	44	31

Adapted from Colonial Office Report for the Nyasaland Protectorate for 1907, No. 574.

D.R.C. The Dutch Reformed Church Mission  
 C. of S. The Blantyre Mission of the Established Church of Scotland  
 Liv. The Livingstonia Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland  
 NIM The Nyasa Industrial Mission  
 ZIM The Zambesi Industrial Mission  
 WF The White Fathers Mission  
 BIM The Baptist Industrial Mission  
 SAGM The South Africa General Mission  
 MF The Montfort Marist Fathers Mission.

TABLE XI

TOTAL AFRICAN ADHERENTS TO UMCA 1889-90<sup>(1)</sup>

AREA	1889	1890	1895	1900
ZANZIBAR	544	573	898 <sup>(2)</sup>	1283 <sup>(3)</sup>
USAMBARA (Magila and Out- stations)	858	773	899	1555
ROVUMA (Masasi, Newala and Outstations)	355	484	1229	2423
NYASALAND	175	489	2534	5729 <sup>(4)</sup>
TOTAL	1922	2319	5560	10990

(1) Compiled from Easter Mission Censuses printed in UMCA Annual Reports. 1889 is the earliest printed though the Annual Report for 1886 has a reference to a census taken June 30th 1886 which records 1495 adherents exclusive of Nyasaland.

Adherent refers to hearers, catechumens, and baptised.

(2) includes 212 at Kichelwe on mainland.

(3) includes 286 at Kichelwe and 151 on Pemba Island.

(4) 4183 out of this total were at the 30 villages visited by the mission steamer, Charles Janson.

APPENDIX I. Biographical Details of UMCA Missionaries 1860-1900.

There is a lack of official material concerning the background and recruitment of the missionaries in this period. It would appear that it was not until this century that any files were kept on individual missionaries. The following biographical details have come a great variety of sources the principal ones being:

U.M.C.A. Staff Register

U.M.C.A. Register of Deaths

A. Anderson-Moreshead, History of UMCA

Central Africa 1883-1940

Annual Reports 1860-1900

Alumni Cantabrigiensis

Alumni Oxoniensis

Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage 1887 and 1931

Burke's Landed Gentry

Crockford's Clerical Directory

References to Somerset House Birth Certificates have been given in some cases where not consulted.

ADAMS, Alfred

Agricultural labourer

'Cockney'. JOINED UMCA 1860, sailed Oct. 1860, at Chibisa's and Magomero on the Zambesi. Given title of 'agriculturist'. Had 100 attacks of fever in less than three years. RESIGNED 1864. Later joined the Mackenzie Memorial Mission (founded by Anne Mackenzie) in Zululand. In 1883 was said to have been a trader in Zulu country for a long time. (Central Africa 1883)

AGNES, Sister, of the Community of St. Raphael, Bristol (died 1895)

Sister of Charity 1876. Worked for some years at St. John's Bedminster, Bristol and St. Saviour's Leeds. JOINED UMCA 1887. Stationed at Magila. Furlough Oct. 1890-Nov. 1891. Invalided 1894. DIED 17 March 1895 at Bristol of pulmonary phthisis.

AINSWORTH, Frances

Layworker

JOINED 1875. WITHDREW 1875.

ALINGTON, Charles Argentine (1828-1899)

Priest

2nd and eldest surviving son of George Marmaduke Alington, Esq., and his wife Mary (nee Lister) of Swinhope Hall, Lincs. Born 22nd March 1828. Educated at Southwell and Oakham Schools; Wadham College, Oxford, matric. April 1847. B.A. 1851. Ordained deacon 1851. Priest 1852. Curate of Croxby (where his uncle was rector) and Beelsby, Lincs., 1851-53. Vicar of Muckton with Burwell, Lincs., (of which parish his mother's family were patrons) 1852-1884. JOINED UMCA Sept. 1862. Sailed Feb. 1863, at Chibisa's on the Zambezi. Temporarily withdrew 1864, and after visiting Zululand and Natal returned to England. Went to Zanzibar Nov. 1866, visited Vuga, Usambara, Aug. 1867, settled at Magila, Usambara, Jan. 1868. Left Zanzibar for England and WITHDREW from mission Jan. 1869. Rector of Swinhope, Lincs., (patron his father) 1884-1899. Rural Dean of Grimsby 1888-99. County Councillor for Tealby Division of Lindsey 1893-99. Chairman of Grimsby County Court. In 1890 he succeeded to the Swinhope Estate. Married 1 July 1873 Eleanor dau. of Daniel Cave, Esq., of Cleve Hill, Glos., who died in giving birth to a daughter 5th May 1874. He was a J.P., a Conservative, a total abstainer and a keen naturalist: 'wild squirrels often shared the dessert on his table'. Died 30th May 1899 at Swinhope, aged 71.

ALLEN, Herbert

Carpenter

One of 'Bishop Smythies' boys' at Roath, Cardiff. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed 16 Jan.) Stationed Zanzibar 1884-89, Likoma 1889-91, Magila 1891-92, Likoma 1893, Zanzibar 1894. On furlough Feb.-July 1888, and July 1892-Jan. 1893. Married Harriet Burke of the Mission and RESIGNED 1894. Left for diocese of Grahamstown, S. Africa.

ALLEN, Mary Anne Harriet (died 1912)

Nurse

Eldest daughter of Rev. John Allen, formerly Archdeacon of Salop and Rector of Prees, Shropshire. Trained by St. John's Sisters at Kings College Hospital, London. Head of a convalescent home at Scarborough when she JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Zanzibar where she began the hospital and Zenana work. Founded Mother's Meeting in Z. 1878. In 1887 she went with the Sisters of Charity to Magila. On Furlough 1882-Feb. 1883, 1884-Feb. 1886. Invalided April 1888. RESIGNED 1888-9. Undertook work in Jerusalem under Bp. Blyth 1889-1910. Started school at Cairo and worked with Jewish girls at Haifa. Died 18 May 1912 at her home at Knowle.

ALLEY, Charles (died 1896)

Carpenter

Of Bicester, Oxfordshire. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed Oct.) Went out to put together the 'Charles Janson' and stayed on as printer and carpenter at Likoma, started printing there. Furlough Nov. 1887-Oct. 1888. RESIGNED Feb. 1892 owing to ill health. Went to Dorchester College to study with a view to ordination, but did not pass exams. Suffered from a disease of the knee which afterwards affected his brain. Died June 30 1896. Buried at Bicester.

ANDREWS, Mary Agnes (1868-1923)

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 3 Nov.) Stationed at Mbweni, Luatala and Lulindi. Furlough June 1901-July 1902, April-Nov. 1905, July 1906-June 1907 (invalided abscess of ear), July-Dec. 1910, June 1913-Apr. 1914, Jan. 1917-Aug. 1919. Interned in German East Africa 1914-16. RETIRED 1922 but continued to live in Masasi diocese, and worked for mission. Died at Lulindi 17 April 1923 of peritonitis.

ANGELA, Sister, of the Community of St. Raphael, Bristol. Nurse

JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 July) Stationed at Magila. DIED 29 June 1894 of fever at Magila following exposure in heavy rain.

ANNE MARGARET, Sister, of the Community of St. Raphael, Bristol

JOINED UMCA 1887. Stationed at Magila. Furlough Feb. 1889-1890 (for change after much fever). RETIRED Feb. 1893 because of ill-health.

ASHWIN, Alice Beatrice

Teacher

Formerly a governess. JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 23 April). Stationed at Magila. Returned to England 15 Oct. 1898 and RESIGNED 1898 on the advice of the Medical Board. Undertook work in the diocese of Grahamstown, S. Africa 1901. Was professed as a Sister of the Community of the Resurrection, Grahamstown 1912.



ATLAY, George William (1868-1895)

Priest

Son of Rev. James Atlay (died Dec. 24, 1894), Vicar of Leeds, 1859-68, Bishop of Hereford 1868-94. Born May 25, 1868 at Leeds. Educated Marlborough School and St. John's College, Cambridge. Matric. 1886. B.A. 1889. Wells Theological College. Ordained deacon at Hereford 1891; priest at Ely 1894. Joined UMCA while an undergraduate. SAILED 1891. Stationed at Likoma 1891-95. Furlough Nov. 1893-May 1894 (while in England acted as Curate of St. Giles, Cambridge). KILLED Aug. 25, 1895 by Angoni while he was on a hunting expedition at Chitesi. Memorials in Hereford Cathedral and Rowlestone Church, Herefordshire.

AUSTER, Walter William (1867-1939)

Priest

Son of Thomas Auster of 205 Bristol Road, Birmingham. Born Oct. 12 1867 at Birmingham. Educated at King Edward VI School, Birmingham and Trinity College, Cambridge. Matric. Michaelmas 1887, B.A. 1890, M.A. 1894. Leeds Clergy School 1890. Ordained deacon 1891; priest 1892. Curate of Tewkesbury 1891-95, Curate of St. Andrew's Wells St. 1895-96. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 6 May). Stationed at Kota Kota 1896-99. Returned England 8 May 1899 and RETIRED from mission. Curate of St. Alban the Martyr, Birmingham 1900-01. Organising Secretary for S.P.G. Worcester Diocese 1901-04. Curate of The Lickey, Worcs. 1904-07. Chaplain of Christ Church, Carabacel (Diocese of Gibraltar) 1907-09. Curate of Stoke Damerel, Devon 1909-10. Rector of West Kington, Wilts. 1910-33. Living in retirement at Parksloe, Dorset 1938. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Kings Norton, Dec. 1867, Vol. 60 p. 405).

BAINES, Philip Henry (1873-193-)

Priest

Born October 26 1873. Educated Warwick School and Oxford University, B.A. 1896, M.A. 1903. Ordained deacon Coventry 1897, priest at Worcester 1899. Curate of St. Jude's, Birmingham 1897-1900. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 April). Stationed Zanzibar, Mbweni, and Masasi. In charge of 'Sp. Smythies Memorial Home', Ziwani, Zanzibar 1901. On furlough May-Dec. 1903, Feb.-June 1907, Dec. 1908-May 1909, returned to England 30 Oct. 1911. RESIGNED from UMCA and joined Diocese of Lebombo 1912. Priest in charge of Hlamankulu 1912-14 and 1917-18, Maputoland 1914-17. Rector of Vryheid, Zululand 1918-22. Priest in charge St. Raphael's Mission, Durban 1922-26; Pro-Cathedral Church Lourenco Marques 1926-29. Rector of Barkly West, Kimberley, S.Africa 1929-3-? (Somerset House, Birth Certificate; Headington Dec. 1873 Vol. 3a p. 640).

BARNES, Bertram Herbert (1866-1936)

Priest

Born 29 December 1866. Educated at Wells Cathedral Grammar School 1876-1883 and University College, London 1884-89. B.A. 1889. Ordained deacon Llandaff 1895, priest 1896. Curate of St. Paul's Grangetown, Durham 1895-99. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 25 Feb.) Stationed Nyasaland mainland villages, and St. Michael's College. On furlough Nov. 1901-July 1902. Returned to England Sept. 1904 (invalided). RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1904. Joined Community of Resurrection 1905, at work in South Africa after 1911 at Rosettenville and Penhalonga, Southern Rhodesia 1914-20. REJOINED UMCA, Diocese of North Rhodesia. 1920, worked at Chipili 1920-27. On furlough March-Sept. 1923. Resigned 1928 and returned to work at Penhalonga. Died 1936. Author of Life of W. P. Johnson, 1933.

BARRAUD, Mabel Maud

Teacher

Formerly a governess. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 10 Jan). Stationed Mbweni and Pemba. On furlough Sept. 1899-Oct. 1900, May-Dec. 1903, June-Dec. 1907. Invalided to England and RESIGNED July 1909.

BARRETT, Charles

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 14 March). Stationed at Magila. Returned to England and RESIGNED 4 July 1893.

BARTLETT, Josephine (died 1895)

Layworker

Formerly District Visitor at Buckingham. JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Zanzibar: in charge of laundry dept. at Kiungani and later of Mkunazini. Furlough 1885, Ap. - Nov. 1894. DIED at Zanzibar 10th April 1895, heart failure after fever.

BASHAM, Harriet Matilda

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Jan.) Stationed Zanzibar Hospital. Returned England Sept. 1893. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1895. Accepted by Bishop Blyth for work in Jerusalem 1895.

BASHFORD, L. L. Amy

Teacher

Formerly an infant schoolmistress. JOINED UMCA 1879 (sailed 20 Feb.) Stationed at Mkunazini, Zanzibar where in charge of girls. Furlough 1882. Married John Michael Halliday, UMCA treasurer (see below) 1889 and returned to England Aug. 1889 and RESIGNED.

BEARDALL, James

Lay Superintendent

JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Mbweni 1875, and Masasi 1876-77. Returned to England and RESIGNED 1877. Later returned to East Africa in January 1879 to superintend the building of a road to Nyasa. (Mackinnon Road).

BEETHAM, Albert (1864-1892)

Treasurer and stores superintendent

Born Jan 14 1864 son of J. Beetham, 23 St. Pauls St. Leeds. (a 'well known tradesman'). Educated at Leeds Grammar School, admitted Jan. 1872, and Dr. Hyams school, Harrogate. Three year apprentice Messrs. Kitson, Leeds to learn engineering. Went to New Orleans for two years. Returned to Leeds and opened a draper's business. Superintendent of Wrangthorpe Sunday School. JOINED UMCA 1889 having sold his business and paid his own passage to Africa. Stationed at Mkunazini. Treasurer and stores superintendent at Zanzibar. Designed the Hospital and superintended its building. DIED 11 May 1892 of dysentery and overwork at Zanzibar. Buried at Ziwani.

BELCHER, Ralph

Captain of 'Charles Janson'

Formerly an officer in P. and O. Service. JOINED UMCA 1888. Stationed at Likoma as captain of the 'Charles Janson'. RESIGNED 1889. 'Had money (£57 19s.) advanced which he promised to return but never did'. Joined administration of British Central Africa Protectorate, later becoming H. M. Vice-Consul at Quelimane and then H. M. Consul at Mocambique. (H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, p. 97).

BELLEVILLE, Alfred

Layman

Accompanied Henry Faulkner on his search for Livingstone in 1867. 'His health was shattered on the Shire'. JOINED UMCA 1875. One of Bishop Steere's party to Nyasa, but fell ill and sent back. RESIGNED.

BELLINGHAM, William (died 1890)

Layman

A 'working-man' from Gravesend, Kent. When he offered himself for service with Mission in 1878 he was a missionary student at Warminster Missionary College. JOINED UMCA 1879. Stationed at Zanzibar (Kiungani and Mbweni). Made 'reader' at Kiungani by Bishop Steere. At Mbweni 1884, and Lake Nyasa 1885-87. On furlough 1883 July-Oct. 1884. Invalided to England November 1887. RESIGNED on marriage in 1888. Undertook work in Diocese of Pretoria, but died shortly after in 1890 of enteric fever. His journal for the period he spent going to and at Lake Nyasa, Dec. 1884-Oct. 1887, was later edited by Rev. J. Cooke Yarbrough and published by the Tract Committee of the SPCK as The Diary of a Working Man in Central Africa.

BENNETT, Eleanor Mary (died 1893)

Teacher

From Worthing. JOINED UMCA 1885 (sailed Sept.) Stationed at Mbweni. Returned to England Dec. 1887 after severe illness of jaundice and fever. Back to Africa May 1888. Furlough June-Nov. 1892. DIED at Zanzibar 16 May 1893 of haematuric fever. Buried at Mbweni.

BENNETT, Fanny

JOINED UMCA 1873. Sent out without the permission of her father who was in India. She was sent back to England soon after arrival in Zanzibar because of father's views and her conduct on voyage. 'The girl and the Captain of the 'Silbury' have been carrying on sufficiently to make a scandal'. Helen Kirk to Bibi Jones Feb. 13th 1873 USPG/UMCA.

BERKELEY, Margaret Annabelle (1847-1911)

Lay worker

Daughter of Rev. Miles Joseph Berkeley (1803-1889), vicar of Sibbertoft. A Great authority on fungi, algae, etc. JOINED UMCA 1889. Stationed Mbweni 1889-93, Kiungani 1894-1903, Pemba 1903-4. On furlough Mar. 1893-Jan. 1894, June 1894-1895, Oct. 1898-Nov. 1899, May 1902-Mar. 1903. Invalided Nov. 1904. RESIGNED on private grounds 1906. Died of cancer at Paignton Mar. 28 1911 aged 64. Sister of next.

BERKELEY, Ruth (died 1914)

Lay worker

Daughter of Rev. Miles Joseph Berkeley, Vicar of Sibbertoft, Sister of last. JOINED UMCA 1884. Stationed Mbweni. Furlough Feb.-July 1887, Feb. 1890-Feb. 1891, June 1894-Nov. 1895. Invalided Feb. 1897. Founded Guild of All Saints for married and single women who were not teachers in Zanzibar 1887. RESIGNED 1898 on being disallowed by Medical Board to return to Africa. Accepted by Bp. Blyth for work in Jerusalem diocese 1897?. In charge of St. Mary's Home, Jerusalem from 1899. Became a Deaconess 1899. In 1905 went to Bloemfontein for short time, revisiting Zanzibar on her way to England Nov. 1906. Died at Pain ton 16 June 1914.

BISHOP, William (died 1902)

Layman then Priest

From Shrewsbury, born and bred on a Shropshire farm. Served in a Birmingham shop. JOINED UMCA 1884 as a layman (sailed July). Stationed Mkunazini 1884-92. Furlough Feb. 1888-11 Jan. 1889. Returned to England June 1892 to study for ordination at Dorchester Missionary College. Ordained deacon by Bishop Richardson on his return to Zanzibar Aug. 1895. Stationed at Newala. Ordained priest 1898, stationed Zanzibar. Furlough July 1899-July 1900. Member of the English Church Union. DIED at Zanzibar 19 Feb. 1902, of smallpox contracted in attendance on one of his own boys. Made Reader by Bp. Smythies 1887.

BLACKBURNE, Gertrude (died 1958)

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 Sept.) Stationed Zanzibar, Mbweni, Korogwe. Furlough Oct. 1901-Sept. 1902, July 1905-Sept. 1906, Nov. 1909-April 1910, March-Aug. 1913, Oct. 1917-Sept. 1919. Interned in German East Africa 1914-16. Invalided Nov. 1920 and RETIRED from mission on account of health. Died 20th Jan. 1958.

BLAIR, John Andrew

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1861. Stationed Chibisas and Morrumbala. Invalided and RESIGNED 1864. Later joined Mackenzie Memorial Mission in Zululand. In Natal 1870. Central Africa for 1888 records that he 'has been doing editorial work amongst the Natal newspapers for some years, and takes an active part in church work, teaching, etc.'

BODEN, Emily A. (died 1937)

Layworker

JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 12 Oct.) Stationed Mbweni and Magila. Invalided and RESIGNED 1891. Died April 22nd 1937.

BONE, John Henry

Schoolmaster

Pupil teacher at St. Lukes Church Schools, Stepney. (Rev. J.C. Yarborough (see below) curate) JOINED UMCA 1888 (sailed June). Stationed Kiungani and Korogwe 1892. Invalided Aug. 1891. RESIGNED 1895 on advice of Medical Board.

BOORN, Amy Janet (died 1960)

Nurse

Trained at the London Hospital. Member of the Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 9 April). Stationed Magila, Zanzibar Hospital, Korogwe and Pemba. On Furlough Nov. 1899-Oct. 1900, Nov. 1903-Sept. 1904, Sept. 1907-May 1908, March-July 1911, Sept. 1914-Nov. 1915. As requested by Cable from Zanzibar Miss Boorn was recalled from Marseilles, reached England 27 Nov., and thereupon RETIRED from the mission as from 31 Dec. 1915. Died 13th April 1960.

BOWEN, Mary A. or Margaret A.

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 8 Sept.) Stationed Zanzibar. Furlough Feb. 1903-Jan. 1904, Ap. 1906-Feb. 1907, Mar. 1910-Sept. 1910, Dec. 1913-Mar. 1914. Sick at Capetown 1917. Returned to England 24 April 1919. RETIRED 1920.

BOYD, Mary Ann (died 1933)

Layworker

From Bournemouth. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 20 Feb.) Stationed Mbwani 1890-94, Mkunazini 1895-96, Magila 1897-99. Furlough 1894-Mar. 1895, Sept. 1896-April 1897. Returned England Feb. 1899. RETIRED from Mission 1900. Died Dec. 17 1933.

BOYS, Alfred H.

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1874. RESIGNED 1874?

BRADLEY, Henry Berkeley

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed Zanzibar. Returned England July 1883. RESIGNED 1884. Home address 1883 East Drayton Vicarage, Lincoln.

BRADSHAW, Frederick W.

Printer

Engineer by profession, adopted printing first as a hobby, later took it up as a trade. JOINED UMCA 1893, aged 22. (sailed 10 Jan.) Stationed Unangu and Mpondas. Furlough June 1896-Jan. 1897. Invalided May 1900. RETIRED Sept. 1900. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Spilsby, Sept. 1870, Vol. 7a 523).

BREAY, Margaret

Nurse

Trained at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. Member of the Guild of St. Barnabas. Formerly Matron of the Metropolitan Hospital. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 20 Nov.) Stationed Zanzibar, Matron of Mkunazini Hospital. Invalided May 1895 after frequent attacks of fever. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1895-6.



BRENT, James William (1869-194-)

Layman, later Priest

Member of the Society of Sacred Mission. JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 31 Jan.) Stationed at Magila and Mbweni. Returned England to train for ordination May 1898. At Dorchester Missionary College 1898-1900. Ordained deacon at St. Augustines, Canterbury by Bp. Richardson 24 June 1900. Returned Africa July 1900. Furlough Sep. 1903-June 1904. Ordained priest at Zanzibar 8 Mar. 1903. Returned to England July 1907 in order to read for a degree. RESIGNED from mission 1907. At All Hallows Vicarage, 411 East India Dock Rd. Poplar, in Sept. 1907. Curate of Ryhope, Durham 1908-10, of Romaldekirk, Yorks. 1910-15, vicar of Laithkirk, Yorks. 1915-41-. Dead by 1944.

BREWERTON, Hannah

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 10 Sept.) Stationed at Zanzibar Hospital. In charge 1894. Returned to England May 1894 with Bp. Smythies on his last voyage. Returned to Africa Nov. 1894. Furlough Mar. 1898-Jan. 1899, June 1902-Jan. 1903, Mar.-Nov. 1906. Volunteered with other nurses of mission for service in the plague hospital on Prison Island 1905, where she was matron. Returned to England and RETIRED 1910 (sailed Jan. 12 1910).

BRIDGER, Harold Edghill (died 1900)

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1897. Arrived in Zanzibar from Cairo June 25 1897. Stationed at Mkunazini. RESIGNED 1899. Undertook work under Zanzibar Government at Pemba School. Died 1900.

BROCKWAY, Thomas

Storekeeper

From Cardiff. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed June) Stationed at Magila. Furlough Nov. 1892-Aug. 1893, Nov. 1897-1898, Aug. 1900-Feb. 1901. Returned England Aug. 1904. RESIGNED 1905.

BROOKE, Percy E.

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 1 June). Stationed at Likoma. Returned to England Jan. 1896. Invalided. RESIGNED 1896 on advice of medical board.

BROUGH, John Thomas

Carpenter

JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed May). Stationed at Mbweni. Invalided 19 Aug. 1891, returned Africa Mar. 1892. Returned England and RETIRED 1895. REJOINED Oct. 1907. Went to finish building of church at Masasi when Mr. Jones returned invalided. WITHDREW 1908.

BROWN, Matilda later Sister Mary, C.S.P.

Nurse

At Stockwell Fever Hospital, 1894. Trained at the Royal Infirmary, Bristol. Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 28 July). Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. Furlough Feb. 1897-Feb. 1898. Invalided Oct. 1898. RESIGNED 1899 on advice of medical board. Matron of Radley College 1900-1907. REJOINED UMCA 1907 (sailed 4 Oct.) Furlough June 1909-Nov. 1909; Feb. 1911-Jan. 1913; Jan. 1920-June 1921. Joined Community of Sacred Passion 1912. Professed as a nun 6 Jan. 1915. Superior of C.S.P. 1930-35.

BURKE, Harriette L.

Layworker

JOINED UMCA 1891. Stationed at Mbweni. Invalided July 1893 and RESIGNED. Married Herbert Allen of UMCA (see above) in 1894. Accepted for work under Bishop of Lebombo 1895.

BURRUP, Henry de Wint (1831-1862)

Priest

Second son of John Burrup of the Close, Gloucester, gent.. Educated Pembroke College, Oxford. Matric. 5 April 1849, aged 18. B.A. 1853. JOINED UMCA 1861 (sailed 6 April), arrived Magomero 19 Nov. 1861; left for Manasamba's 23 Dec.; arrived at Magomero 2nd Jan. 1862; left for Ruu 3 Jan., with Mackenzie at his death 31 Jan. 1862; arrived sick at Magomero 14 Feb.; DIED 22 Feb. 1862. Buried day following near Magomero. Died of dysentery. Ordained priest ?

BURRUP, Mrs. (1840-1907)

Born in London, April 2 1840, eldest daughter of Clement Tudway, solicitor. Married Henry de Wint Burrup, 4 April 1861, two days before they sailed for Africa. Left with friends at the Cape. Went to Zambezi with Anne Mackenzie. Arrived at Mozambique 21 Jan. 1862; mouth of the Zambezi 1 Feb. 1862; at Chibisas 4 March; Left for the Cape in the 'Gorgon' 4 April 1862. Returned to England. In 1865 the Committee of the UMCA granted Mrs. H. D. Burrup the sum of £25 for assistance to complete her education 'in order to enable her to support herself by taking the post of a governess'. Later married Mr. James Levick of Hookfield, Epsom and Sydney, N.S.W. After his death in 1883 she lived in Cheltenham, and died there Feb. 13 1907.

BUTLER, Archibald Harry (died 1934)

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Feb.) Stationed at Likoma. DIED 15 Jan. 1895 of hematuric fever at Likoma.

CAFFIN, Margaret Frances (died 1934)

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. 'Responded to Father Russell's call to service in Africa'. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 12 Nov.) Stationed Mbweni and Zanzibar Hospital. Invalided July 1892. RESIGNED 1892 owing to ill health. Later married --- Browne. Died Oct. 20 1934.

CALLAGHAN, Gerard B.B.

Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed Oct. accompanying 'Charles Janson'). Stationed at Likoma, Captain of 'Charles Janson'. Invalided home 1885 and RESIGNED.

CAMERON, Margaret Anne

Nurse

JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 10 July). Stationed Kota Kota and Zanzibar. Furlough Aug. 1897-Sept. 1898. Returned to England May 1901. RESIGNED 1902 as return to Likoma indefinitely postponed for family reasons. Later joined Community of St. Margaret of Scotland, Aberdeen. RETURNED to UMCA May 1910 to act as interim mother superior to the newly founded Community of the Sacred Passion. Set free by election of Sister Frances as Superior 1911 and returned to Community of St. Margaret Oct. 1911.

CAMPBELL, Janet Emily (died 1892)

Nurse

From Edinburgh. Under the influence of the All Saints Sisters entered University College Hospital as a regular, though unpaid, nurse. Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. Novice of the Community of All Saints. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 12 Nov.) Stationed Zanzibar Hospital. In Aug. 1891 nursed Rev. Graves (C.M.S.), an exceedingly bad case of dysentery and immediately after his death sickened and was seriously ill for many weeks. In April 1892 nursed Mr. Bentham, another aggravated case of dysentery, single-handed. 'On May 11 he died to be followed on 6 June 1892 by his devoted nurse'. Buried at Ziwani. 'A noble, saintly life of self-devotion and self forgetfulness'. She died 'worn out with nursing others'.

CAPEL, William Forbes (died 1909)

Priest

Educated Kings College, London. Secretary of UMCA 1866-76. JOINED mission in Africa 1876, accompanied by housekeeper Katherine Tyndal, see below. Stationed at Mbweni, in charge of girls. LEFT for India 1877. Accompanied Bp. Tozer to Jamaica in 1877. Volunteered for six months service in UMCA in a time of difficulty and sailed for Zanzibar 12 June 1883. Returned to England via Rome spring 1884. Made long visits to India, Japan and Italy. Died 19 July 1909 aged 84.

CAPPELLE, Madame

Layworker

JOINED UMCA 1875. WITHDREW 1875.

CARNON, Alfred Henry (died 1909)

Priest

Worked many years in the City. Ordained late in life. School teacher at St. Alban's Holborn. Attended Dorchester Missionary College. Ordained deacon at Dorchester by Bp. Smythies in 1890. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 12 Nov.) Stationed at Masasi. Ordained priest by Bp. Smythies at Zanzibar 1892. On Furlough Oct. 1892 (invalided)- May 1893, Dec. 1896-May 1897, Oct. 1902-June 1903, Sept. 1907-July 1908. Appointed Archdeacon of Masasi 1899. During Maji-Maji rising lead fugitives from Masasi to Lindi, Aug. 1905. Returned to Masasi 9 Feb. 1906. DIED at Masasi Aug. 15 1909. Fever followed by pneumonia.

CARTER, Sarah

Layworker

JOINED UMCA 1883 (sailed 21 Feb.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Invalided 1884 following sunstroke. RESIGNED 1884 and left for Diocese of Maritzburg to join brother.

CASTLE, Richard Field (1860-1925)

Doctor

Son and heir of Richard Henry Burton Castle, Esq. of London. Born July 29 1860 at Willesden, Middlesex. Educated at Charterhouse School and Pembroke College, Cambridge. Matric. Michaelmas 1878, B.A. 1882, M.B. and B.C. 1889. At St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. M.R.C.S. 1886. Sometime House surgeon at North Cambridge Hospital, Wisbech. JOINED UMCA 1889. Stationed at Magila. Returned 25 July 1890 and RESIGNED. Later Colliery Surgeon of Thornfield House, Darfield, Barnsley and Medical Officer for the 10th District Barnsley Union and Darfield. Died March 11 1925 aged 64.

CHAMBERS, Percival Roderick Harcourt

Priest

6th son of Robert Harcourt Chambers, a lawyer and Senior Clerk at the War Office. Born 28th April 1866. As a boy he came under the influence of Bp. Tozer and he first offered himself for the mission at the age of 17. Educated at Selwyn College, Cambridge; matric. Michaelmas 1885, B.A. 1888. Ordained deacon 1889 at Lichfield and priest 1890. Curate of Holy Trinity, Heath Town, nr. Wolverhampton, Staffs. (3 hard years' apprenticeship in a parish of Staffordshire miners). JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 15 Feb.) Priest in charge of Kologwe 1892-96. Invalided home Nov. 1894, returned Nov. 1895. Invalided to Rome Nov. 1896, returned Ap. 1897. Invalided to England Nov. 1897 suffering from Hematuric fever. RESIGNED on advice on Medical Board 1897. Appointed Organising Secretary of UMCA for Southern England 1898. Accepted for work in the diocese of Bloemfontein May 1899, and travelling out by way of Zanzibar remained there. Incurred an hepatic abscess. Left Zanzibar on homeward voyage Nov. 1899. Died Nov. 23 1899 of abscess of liver. Buried at Sea. Member of English Church Union. Percival Roderick Harcourt Chambers. A Memoir. Published by UMCA 1900. Brother of next.

CHAMBERS, William J. Harcourt (1862-1894)

Schoolmaster

Brother of last. 4th son of Robert Harcourt Chambers. Born October 1 1862. Educated at Highgate and Selwyn College, Cambridge. Matric. Michaelmas 1882. B.A. 1885. A private tutor for several years. JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 1<sup>o</sup> Sept.) Stationed at Kiungani. DIED at Zanzibar 5 March 1894 of hematuric fever. Buried at Ziwani.

CHAPMAN, Charles (1855-1901)

Priest

Son of Charles Chapman, oil merchant. Born Nov. 25 1855 at Sydney, Australia. Baptised June 3 1856. Educated at Rugby School and St. John's College, Cambridge. Matric. Michaelmas 1876. B.A. 1879. LL.B. 1880. M.A. 1883. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Carlisle 1880, and priest 1882. JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed at Magila. Returned to England and RESIGNED 1881. Curate of Millom, Cumberland 1882-83. Held other curacies for short periods 1883-85. Curate of Lynsted, Suffolk 1889, and Maudee, Monmouth 1891. Chaplain of St. Mildred's Home, Bexhill-on-Sea 1894-5. Died May 11 1901 at Bath.

CHAPMAN, Frederick

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1869 as organist (arrived Zanzibar July 23 1869). In November he gave notice that he wished to leave the mission in order to better himself. Soon after he left and joined 'French Charles' in Zanzibar in keeping a billiard table.

CHILVERS, Cyril Wildsmith

Layman

Member of the Society of the Sacred Mission. JOINED UMCA 1893. INVALIDED and RESIGNED 1898. Member of the English Church Union. Married Miss H. Southwood (see below) at Durban Nov. 18 1900. Worked in Zululand Diocese living at Rorke's Drift.

CHOVEAUX, Josephine (died 1928)

Teacher

Formerly a governess. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 March) Stationed at St. Monica's House, Zanzibar and Pemba. Furlough Aug. 1901-March 1902, Nov. 1905-May 1906. Returned to England June 1909 and detained there by private affairs until April 1912. Returned to England May 1915 and during 1915-16 was a deputation worker. RESIGNED 1916. Died 13 Dec. 1928.

CLARE, Sister of the Community of St. Raphael, Bristol.

JOINED UMCA 1890. Stationed at Magila. Invalided and RESIGNED Oct. 1890.

CLARK, Richard Martin

Tanner and shoemaker

JOINED UMCA 1861 (sailed 6 April) Stationed at Magomero (arrived 29 Nov. 1861). Acted as a builder at Chibisas. In March 1863 he suffered violent fits of epilepsy and his life was despaired of. INVALIDED because of ill health June 1863. Later became a catechist at Capetown, S. Africa. Ordained 1875. in 1888 described as a clergyman in diocese of Capetown.

CLARKE, Herbert Harry (died 1919)

Layman then Priest

FORMERLY a solicitor. JOINED UMCA 1875 as a layman. Stationed at Magila and Pambili 1875-8, Newala 1878-80, Masasi 1881-86, and Mbweni 1887-90. Ordained deacon at Zanzibar 1878, and priest at Oxford 1881. On Furlough 1880-81 (Curate of Wantage, Berks.) Sept. 1885-Oct. 1886, Jan. 1890-Jan. 1891. Invalided to England Oct. 1891 and RESIGNED. Later voluntary assistant priest for several years at St. Innocent's Hammersmith and then helping the Vicar of St. Silas, Hull 1916-19. Died Jan. 10 1919.

CLARKE, John Percy (1875-1936)

Layman then Priest

Born Oct. 8th 1875. Educated at Northampton Grammar School. JOINED UMCA 1899 as a layman. Appointed Reader by Bp. Hine 1900. Stationed at Kota Kota. Returned to England to read for ordination at Dorchester Missionary College June 1901. Ordained deacon by the Bishop of London Advent 1903. (1904?). Returned to mission Jan. 1905, ordained priest at Likoma, St. Michael and All Angels, 1906. On Furlough 1909-10. Returned to England 26 Nov. 1912 and RESIGNED on marriage 1913. Curate of Tidenham, Gloucs., 1913-20. Vicar of Coaley, Gloucs. 1920. Died May 27th 1936. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate; Northampton, Dec. 1875 Vol. 3b p. 65).



Layworker

CLUTTERBUCK, Eva, later Sister Eva, Community of Sacred Passion (died 1928)

JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 8 May) Stationed Mbweni, Kilimani, and Masasi from Dec. 1903 (one of the first three women to go there). On Furlough Mar.-Nov. 1898; Mar.-Oct. 1903; May 1906-April 1907. Returned to England May 1910 and went to Malvern as a postulant of the Community of the Sacred Passion July 1910. Clothed as a novice in C.S.P. 1911 by Bishop of Zanzibar. Returned to Africa 15 June 1912. Professed sister C.S.P. 6 Aug. 1913. Sister Superior 1915-19. DIED 7 June 1928.

COGGAN, George

Storekeeper

From Gainsborough, Lincs. JOINED UMCA 1885 (sailed March) Stationed at Magila. Returned and RESIGNED 1888 (or 1887?).

COOK, Arthur

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 14 March) Returned to England 22 Jan 1895. RESIGNED 1896.

COOMBE, Richard (died 1889)

Layman

From Bristol. JOINED UMCA 1888. Stationed Mkunazini, Zanzibar. DIED 29 Jan. 1889 of fever (hyperpyrexia) after playing football in the sun.

CORBETT, Thomas

Builder and Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 3 June). Stationed at Likoma, engineer on 'Charles Janson' and builder at Likoma. Returned to England July 1895 and RESIGNED on marriage 1895.

COTÉ, Joseph E.A.

Deacon

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 9 Feb.) Dismissed, conduct not approved 1902.

COUPLAND, Robert Stanley (died 1934)

Priest

From West Butterwick, Lincs. Attended Lincoln Theological College. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Lincoln 1881. Curate of St. Swithin, Lincoln 1883-84. Ordained priest by Bp. of Lincoln 1884. JOINED UMCA 1884 (July) Stationed at Magila and Misozwe. Returned to England and RESIGNED Aug. 1888. Curate of St. Swithin, Lincoln 1890-91, of All Saints Mile End New Town, Middlesex 1891-94, of St. John Stamford Hill, Middx., 1895-96. REJOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed Oct.) Stationed in Nyasaland. RETIRED on account of ill-health 1900. Curate of Willingale, Essex 1901-02; of Sprowston, Norfolk 1902-04; of Caistor, Lincs. 1904-06. Vicar of Aslackby, Lincs. 1906. Died April 15 1934.

COWEY, William C. (1871-1894)

Layman

Born 7 Aug. 1871 at Wylam the son of a Monkwearmouth, Durham, miner. Sunday School teacher at St. Columba's, Southwick, Durham (where Bishop Hornby, see below, was vicar). JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Feb.) Stationed at Unangu. DIED 6 Mar. 1894 on board ship near Quilimane on journey home with Bp. Hornby, of fever (haematuria, jaundice). Buried in Quilimane cemetery.

CRAWSHAY, Richard

Layman

A lieutenant in the Inniskilling Dragoons, went out to Nyasaland to shoot big game. JOINED UMCA 1887 at instance of bishop Smythies but RESIGNED shortly after. Joined the African Lakes Company's forces as a volunteer 1888 in the war against the Arabs. After Lugard's capture of Deep Bay, on north west coast of Lake Nyasa, Crawshay garrisoned it as a fort and acquired considerable influence amongst the Wahenga. Joined BCA Administration as Vice-Consul for the north of the Lake. Retired c1896 on account of ill-health. Appointed to a post in East Africa Protectorate 1897. (see H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, 3rd ed., pp. 74, 94, 97, 312-3).

CREIGHTON, Richard

Mason

JOINED UMCA 1884. Stationed in Nyasaland. Returned to England Dec. 1885 and RESIGNED.

CROUCH, John Ernest (died 1931)

Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 12 Oct.) Stationed at Limoma, engineer on 'Charles Janson'. Furlough Dec. 1893-Mar. 1895, May 1898-Oct. 1899. He drew the initial plan and specifications for the 'Chauncy Maples' and he was paid agent for the construction of the 'Chauncy Maples' 1899-1902. Returned to England April 1902 and WITHDREW. In November 1919 he sailed for Nyasaland as paid engineer for the work of fixing a new boiler in 'Chauncy Maples'. DIED July 9th 1931.

DALE, Godfrey (1861-1941)

Priest

Fourth son of James Murray Dale of Blackheath, Kent, Esq. Born July 28 1861. Educated Westminster School 1875-79. Queens Scholar at Christ Church, Oxford, matric. Oct. 1879 aged 18, Junior Student 1879-86; 2nd class Mods. 1881, B.A. 3rd class Lit. Hum. 1885, M.A. 1897. Ordained deacon by Bishop of Rochester 1886, priest 1887. Curate of St. Peter's Rochester 1886-89. JOINED UMCA 1889 (sailed June). Stationed at Mbwani 1889, Mkuzi 1894 and Kiungani 1895. On furlough Dec. 1892-Nov. 1893. Returned to England Dec. 1896 and RETIRED on his marriage in 1897. Master of the College of St. Saviour, Southwark 1897-99; vicar of All Saints Newmarket 1899-1902. REJOINED mission with Mrs. Dale (Janet Dale, teacher, educated Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford) 1902 (sailed 7 Nov.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Appointed Canon 1904; Chancellor of Zanzibar 1908-18; Archdeacon of Zanzibar 1917-22. Furlough Dec. 1904-Feb. 1906; Ap.-Nov. 1909; July-Nov. 1912; June 1918-Nov. 1919. Returned to England 1922, went to live at Aldeburgh Suffolk, where he undertook translation work until he RESIGNED 1925. Editor of Central Africa 1923-36. Rector of Sternfield, Suffolk 1925-41. Died Oct. 15 1941. Author of An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives Inhabiting the Bondei Country, 1896; The Contrast between Christianity and Mohammedanism, 1905; The Peoples of Zanzibar: Their Customs and Religious Beliefs, 1920. And also a Swahili translation of the Koran, 1922.

DALE, Mary C.

Teacher

Formerly Superintendent of the Middlesex Industrial School for Girls, and for several years assistant Mistress of the Church of England High School for Girls, Graham St., Eaton Square, London. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 13 April) Stationed at Mbwani. Invalided October 1897 and RESIGNED.

DALEBROOK, John

Layman

Educated Keble College, Oxford. B.A. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed Sept.) Stationed at Kiungani. WITHDREW Sept. 1892.

DARLEY, Ernest S.

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1895 aged 21 (sailed 29 June). Stationed Zanzibar, Magila and Kologwe. Invalided home July 1897 (recent haematuric fever). RESIGNED 1898 on the advice of the Medical Board.

DAVENPORT, Frank

Accountant

JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 10 Nov.) Stationed at Zanzibar as treasurer. Invalided Dec. 1894 (overwork, peripheral neuritis). RESIGNED 1895 on advice of Medical Board.

DAVIES, Caradoc (died 193-)

Priest

Educated at Dyffryn Board School, Glamorganshire. Worked as an engineer at Mountain Ash, Glamorgs. for 12 yrs. Attended Oxford University as a non-collegiate student 1895-1898. B.A. 1898, M.A. 1902. St. Michael's Theological College, Aberdare 1898. JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 5 Nov.) Ordained deacon by Bishop Hine at Likoma, St. Marks Day 1899, and Priest 29 April 1900. Stationed at Likoma and St. Michael's College, Malindi. Furlough April 1901-March 1902. Returned to England 14 Feb. 1905 and RESIGNED on marriage 1905. Accepted by Archbishop of Capetown for work in dioceses 1905, Chaplain of Robber Island 1905-10; Railway Chaplain, Matjesfontein to Worcester 1910-15; Rector of Maitland, Dioceses of Capetown 1915-25; Rector of Simonstown, Dio. Capetown 1925-

DAVIES, Horace

Artisan

JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 21 Oct.) Invalided home 14 Dec. 1900 and RESIGNED.

DAVIES, Richard Banks (1860-194-)

Priest

Son of Rev. James Davies of Moor Court, Kingson, Hereford. (Headmaster of Ludlow Grammar School, 1853-57; Prebend of Hereford 1875-83; J. P. for Hereford and Radnor; a distinguished classical scholar and contributor to Saturday Review, etc.. Assumed by Royal Licence the surname Davies in lieu of Banks, in 1858 in inheriting Moor Court from great uncle). Born at Pembridge, bapt. Oct. 9 1860. Educated at Charterhouse and St. John's College, Cambridge. Patric. Michaelmas 1879. Exhibitioner B.A. 1883. M.A. 1886. Ordained deacon at Southwell, 1884 and priest 1885. Curate of St. Mary's Nottingham 1884-86; and St. Bartholomew's Nottingham 1886-90. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 10 Nov.) Stationed at Magila. Invalided home 31 March 1891 (serious illness and breakdown after only 3 months work). RESIGNED. Curate of Riddings, Derbys. 1891-94 and UMCA secretary for Southwell Diocese. Accepted work under the Bishop of Zululand April 1894. Missionary at Isandhlwana, Zulu 1894-1905; Ingwavuma 1905-07; Canon of Vryheid 1904-08; Rector of Eshowe, Zulu 1907-08; Missionary at Saltcoats, Saskatchewan, Canada 1908-09; Priest in charge St. Columba's Bulawayo 1910-11; Liscenced preacher Diocese of Natal 1911-17; Priest in charge Springvale Native Mission, Natal 1917-24; Vicar of Mid illovo, Natal, 1925-30; Living in Natal 1930-40.

DAVIS, Eva D.

Teacher

Born June 1870, at St. Denys College, Warminster 1899. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 9 Feb.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England July 1902 and WITHDREW on marriage.

DAVIS, Samuel

Deacon

Ordained deacon by the Bishop of Edinburgh, Trinity Sunday 1868. JOINED UMCA 1868 (sailed November). Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. RESIGNED and returned to England suddenly March 1870. 'a great disappointment - should never have been ordained . . . In fact it is nothing more than the truth to say he bolted compelled thereunto by his devotion for a very second rate woman (Miss Packe see below)' Tozer to Steere April 29 1870, USPG/UMCA Mss.

DAWSON, Christian

Laywoman

JOINED UMCA 1873. In Zanzibar by Feb. 1874. WITHDREW at once.

DEAN-PITT, Susie Grant

Layworker

JOINED UMCA 1890. Stationed at Mikunazini where she was in charge of boys. Returned to England May 1893 and RESIGNED. Married Rev. Wm. Piercer, UMCA (see below) in 1894. Accepted work under Bishop of Capetown 1894.

DE JERSEY, Edward Muriel (1866-1932)

Schoolmaster

Son of Rev. Peter R. de Jersey, Empshott Vicarage, Petersfield. Born 7 (or 17) July 1866. Educated at Haileybury College 1880-1885 and New College, Oxford 1885-89, 2nd Cl. Mods. 1887, B.A. 4th Cl. Lit. Hum., 1889. Assistant Master at Rottingdean School 1895-98. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 25 Feb.) Stationed at Likoma for three months. Invalided home Sept. 1899 and RESIGNED. Died 21 Oct. 1932.

DE LA PRYME, Alexander George (1870-1935)

Priest

Eldest son of Charles De la Pryme, J.P., of Wistow Lodge, Huntingdon, barrister. Born Nov. 7 1870 in London. Educated at Haileybury College 1884-89 and Trinity College, Cambridge. Matric. Michaelmas 1889. B.A. 1892, M.A. 1896. Ordained deacon at London 1895, priest 1896. Curate of All Saints Stepney 1895-97; Curate of Whitechapel Parish Church 1897-99. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 25 Feb.) Stationed at Mpondas. Returned to England in August 1900 owing to death of father and brother (a private tutor in Cambridge). Returned to Africa April 1904. Principal of St. Michael's Training College 1901-02; on 'Chauncy Maples' 1905. Furlough Dec. 1904-Sept. 1905; June 1908-April 1910. Accepted by Bishop Hine for work in Northern Rhodesia 1910. At Fort Jameson 1910-18. Archdeacon of N. E. Rhodesia 1910. Furlough April 1914-Oct. 1914. RETIRED July 1918. Chaplain in the Forces 1918-20. Housemaster and Chaplain All Hallows School, Honiton. Temporary Organising Secretary for U.M.C.A. in Northern Province and Wales Sept. 1921-23. Lived latterly at Wistow Lodge, Huntingdon. Died there Feb. 20 1935. Author of 'Nyasa Papers' and joint translator of Yao Prayer Book.

DELL, Robert I.

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 April) Stationed at Likoma. Returned to England and RESIGNED Aug. 1902. Later joined the African Lakes Company.

DENDY, Frank Tringham

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1896. Arrived in Zanzibar from South Africa, Nov. 1896. Accepted by Bishop Richardson. Stationed at Mbweni. RESIGNED ?

DERBY, Florence Emily

Nurse

JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 15 Nov.) Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. Invalided home May 1895 and RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board.



DICKINSON, John

Doctor

Born 18 March 1832 at Bede's Place, Jarrow, son of John Dickinson, butcher. At age of 15 apprenticed for five years to Dr. Wallis of South Shields. Attended Newcastle School of Medicine 1853-55. Licentiate of Medicine, University of Durham 1856, M.B. 1859. Assisted in a practice at Wallington Co. Durham then at Gilling in N. Riding. Advised to go to Africa because health deteriorating. JOINED UMCA 1861 (sailed 6 April) Stationed at Magomero and Chibisas. DIED 17 March 1863 after repeated attacks of fever, buried at Chibisas. A Dickinson scholarship was founded at the Newcastle Medical School 1868, where there is a plaque to his memory. Stained glass window in St. Paul's Jarrow. (I.A. Porter 'Memorial to John Dickinson, M.B. Dunelm', University of Durham Medical Gazette, Vol. LVII Mich. 1963 in USPG/UMCA AI/I).

DIFFEY, George

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1886. Temporarily attached to mission at Likoma with Rev. G. H. Swinny. RETIRED 1888.

DODD, John Vaughan

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1886 (sailed 12 Mar.) Stationed at Kiungani. WITHDREW 1887.

DODGSON, Edwin Heron (died 1918)

Priest

Son of Archdeacon C. Dodgson, of Croft, Yorks. Brother of 'Lewis Carroll'. Educated Chichester Theological College. Ordained deacon 1873, priest 1874. Curate of Helmsley, Yorks. 1875-77; Curate of All Saints Shrewsbury 1877-9. JOINED UMCA 1879. Stationed at Zanzibar, Principal of Kiungani School. RESIGNED 1880. S.P.G. Missionary at Tristan d'Acuna 1880-90. Chaplain at St. Vincent, Cape de Verd Islands 1890. Died Jan. 3 1918.

DRAKE, Marion Ethel (died 1897)

Schoolmistress

From Sedgebrook, Lincolnshire, formerly a governess. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 6 May) aged 39. Stationed at Mbweni Girls School, Zanzibar. DIED 10 Jan 1897 at Zanzibar Hospital after three days fever.

DRAYTON, Caroline (died 1867)

Wife of Rev. G. E. Drayton (see next). Accompanied husband to Africa ? in 1863. Remained at the Cape ? Arrived at Zanzibar 21 Sept. 1866. Gave birth to a boy Sept. 5th 1867, baptised Michael Sept. 29th. She DIED at Zanzibar November 17th 1867. The baby died Dec. 3th 1867.

DRAYTON, George Edward (died 1867)

Deacon

Student at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Ordained deacon. JOINED UMCA 1863. With Bp. Tozer's party on Zambezi, acted as medical advisor at Morrumbala. RESIGNED 1864. Attached himself to St. Mark's Mission, Kaffaria? REJOINED 1866 sailed from London, arrived at Zanzibar with wife 21 Sept. 1866. Stationed at Zanzibar. DIED of fever at Zanzibar 28 Nov. 1867. Buried at Kiungani.

DU BOULAY, George Paschal Keble Housemayne (1866-95) Priest

Third son of Rev. James Thomas Housemayne Du Boulay, assistant master of Winchester College. Born 1 April 1866. Educated at Winchester and Exeter College, Oxford; matric. Oct. 1884, B.A. 1887, M.A. 1891, and Wells Theological College. Ordained deacon 1889, and priest 1890 at Southwell. Curate of Sneinton, Notts., 1889-92. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 May) Stationed at Kiungani and Misozwe (priest-in-charge). DIED 1 April 1895 at Umba of fever, utterly regardless of simplest precautions.

DUNFORD, Lizzie Morris (died 1934) Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 31 Jan.) Stationed at Magila, and Hegongo till 1914, at Mkuzi 1919-22. Furlough Mch. 1898-Jan. 1899; Ap.-Nov. 1903; May-Nov. 1907; May-Sept. 1911; Jan. 1917-Feb. 1919. Interred in German East Africa 1914-16. Returned to England June 1922 and RETIRED 1 Jan 1923. Returned to Africa and Mission unofficially Nov. 1925 and worked for some months at Lulindi and then for 2 years on Funzi Island. Left Africa finally Apr. 1929. Died 10 June 1934.

DURHAM, Emma Nurse

Trained Kings College Hospital and St. John's House? JOINED UMCA 1875 (sailed Nov.) Stationed at Zahzibar. RETIRED July 1877. Superintendent Nurse of Strafford House: S. African Aid Committee in Zulu War 1879-80. In charge of 'Alexandra' Hospital Ship Egyptian War 1885. Matron of Shanklin Childrens Hospital 1891-96. REJOINED Mission 1897 (sailed 8 Sept.) Stationed at Magila. Invalided Feb. 1899 and RETIRED.

DUTTON, Alfred (died 1897) Engineer

Fitter in Great Eastern Railway Works, Stratford, Essex. Choirman and Sunday School teacher at St. Columba's Wanstead Slip. JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 2 March) Stationed at Likoma, engineer on 'Charles Janson'. DIED 11 Sept. 1897 at Likoma of fever and jaundice, probably haemoglobinuria? He wished to be ordained, and spent two evenings a week at the Stepney Training College for Lay-workers. Friend of Margesson (see below) who had been curate at St. Columba's Wanstead Slip.

EDWARDES, Henry (died 1936) Priest

Educated at St. Boniface College, Warminster 1879 and Lichfield Theological College 1880. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Lichfield 1882, priest 1883. Curate of Rugeley, Staffs. 1882-84; S.P.G. Missionary to Indians at Lytton, British Columbia 1884-88; Curate of St. James Vancouver City, and Seamen's Chaplain Burrard Inlet 1889-90. JOINED UMCA 1891 (sailed 19 Jan.) Stationed at Magila and Korogwe. Invalided home March 1892. RESIGNED 1892; S.P.G. Missionary at Lytton, British Columbia 1892-95; UMCA Secretary in Canada 1896; Priest in charge Stromness Mission 1895-96; Chaplain to the Community of the Epiphany, Truro 1896. Bishop of Truro's Staff 1899-1901; Vicar of Perranzabuloe with Perranporth, Cornwall 1901-09; P.C. of St. George, Truro 1909-12; Rector of St. James, Vancouver 1912-15; Indian Missionary at Lytton, British Columbia 1915-18; Vicar of St. Teath with Delabole, Cornwall 1918- . Died Jan. 7 1936.

EDWARDS, William Minchin

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1868. Stationed Zanzibar. WITHDREW 1870?

ELLERSHAW, Francis Elizabeth (died 1897)

Teacher?

From Bramhope nr. Leeds. District Visitor at St. Saviour's Leeds. Came from an old established Leeds family. JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 26 Aug.) Stationed at Likoma, in charge of girls' school. DIED 9 July 1897.

ELLIS, Thomas

Carpenter

From Blackfordby, Leics. JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed at Kiungani. Returned to England May 1884 and RESIGNED.

ELLIS-VINER, Montague (1865-1890)

Priest

Only son of Rev. Alfred William Ellis-Viner of Badgewoth, Glos. Educated at Winchester, Keble College, Oxford; matric. 19 Oct. 1874, aged 19, B.A. 1878, and Ely Theological College 1885. Ordained deacon by Bp. of St. Albans, Trinity Sunday 1886, and priest 1887. Curate of Kensworth, Beds. JOINED UMCA 1887 (sailed July). Stationed at Zanzibar, and Magila Nov. 1887-Mar. 1888. Invalided Mar. 1888. Sailed for Africa Sept. 1889, was taken ill at Durban, after long delay allowed to continue journey but DIED of dysentery at Mozambique 5 Oct. 1890. Left £2493 to mission.

ENSOR, Sarah (1867-1954)

Teacher

Born 29th April 1867. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned England 15 Oct. 1900. Resigned 1901. Died 26th December 1954 aged 87.

EVANS, Frederick James (1860-1946)

Priest

Educated Hatfield Hall, University of Durham, B.A. 1890, L.Th. 1893, M.A. 1894; St. Stephen's House, Oxford 1892. Ordained deacon 1893 and priest 1895 at Durham. Curate of St. Paul's Jarrow, Durham 1893-96. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 20 Jan.) aged 27. Stationed at Zanzibar; Principal of the College at Kiungani and Warden of the Theological; appointed Archdeacon of Zanzibar May 1902. Furlough Sept. 1899-Sep. 1900; Aug. 1903-July 1904; Dec. 1906-Nov. 1907. Invalided home 15 Dec. 1909. RESIGNED 1910. Appointed Organising Secretary for UMCA for Northern District 1910-21 and N. Wales 1920-21; Organizing Secretary for Southern District 1921-45; appointed Hon. Canon of Zanzibar 1938. Living at Hastings 1941. Member of E.C.U. and C.B.S. Died 21 Oct. 1946.

EYRE, Christopher Benson (died 1928)

Priest

Formerly Captain of a sailing vessel. Ordained deacon 1894 at Llandaff, and priest 1895. Curate of Lwynypia, Llandaff 1894. JOINED UMCA 1896. Stationed at Mpondas, Nyasaland 1896-1904, at Mtonya, P.E.A. 1904-28. Archdeacon of Mtonya 1906-28. Furlough Ap. 1902-1903; Ap.-Oct. 1913; Aug.-Oct. 1915; Sept. 1919-June 1920. Member of E.C.U. DIED at Mtonya 28 June 1928 aged 79.

FARLER, John Pre diger (1845-1907)

Priest

From Bristol. Son of John Reed Farler, gent., and Ann his wife. Born at Radcliffe, Bristol. Bapt. June 17 1845. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; matric. Michaelmas 1866. B.A. 1872, M.A. 1883. Ordained deacon at Oxford 1871, and priest 1874. Curate of Lambourne, Berks. 1871-75. JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Magila. Archdeacon of Magila 1879-89. Furlough 1877, Ap. 1883-Jan. 1884. Invalided home Sept. 1888. RESIGNED 1889. Married by 1890. Rector and vicar of St. Giles with St. Lukes, Reading 1889-94. Revisited mission at Zanzibar 1895-96. Became British Consular Agent on Pemba Island 1896-1907. Virtually gave up the Church. Died May 30 1907 in UMCA Hospital, Zanzibar, buried in English Cemetery. F.R.G.S. Author of Swahili Alter Manual. Translated St. Matthew and St. Luke into Bondei and St. Matthew into Swahili. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Bristol, June 1845, Vol. XI p. 170).

FAULKNER, Herbert J.

Accountant

Brother of Percy E. Faulkner (see next). JOINED UMCA (sailed 10 Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar, appointed Treasurer at Mkunazini 1895, went to Likoma 1900. Furlough Dec. 1896-Mar. 1897, Nov. 1899-Ap. 1900. WITHDREW 1901 and entered service of Tanganyika Concessions Company, Rhodesia.

FAULKNER, Percy Edward (1870-1897)Treasurer and storekeeper, and Deacon

Formerly Ironmonger's salesman and Sunday School Teacher at All Saints, Rotherhithe, Surrey. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed May). Stationed at Mkunazini. Returned to England Aug. 1893 and undertook two years training at Dorchester Missionary College. Returned to Africa Aug. 1895. Likoma 1895-96. Invalided home Aug. 1896. Ordained deacon at Dorchester 1896 by Bishop Hine. Returned to Africa April 1897. Stationed at Kota Kota. Died there 23 Aug. 1897 of haematuric fever. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Greenwich, June 1870, Vol. 1d p. 724).

FIELD, Edith Augusta

Nurse

Member of the Guild of St. Barnabas. Three years at Royal Infirmary, Cornwall; Six months surgery work at Bradford and twelve months at Convalescent Home at St. Agnes nr. Truro. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed May). Stationed at Mbweni. WITHDREW from mission Jan. 1900. REJOINED June 1903. At Mbweni. Returned to England Feb. 1905 (in charge of Rev. W. King). RESIGNED 1905.

FIRMINGER, Walter Kelly (1870-1940)

Priest

Born 28 Sept. 1870 son of Rev. Thomas Augustus Firminger, M.A. Vicar of Edmonton, Middlesex. Educated at Lancing College 1881-82. Merton College, Oxford. B.A. 1893 (3rd Cl. Mod. Hist.), M.A. 1896, B.D. 1905, FRGS 1896, B. Litt 1917, D.D. 1920. Ordained deacon at Hereford 1893. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Feb. 1894). (sailed 10 Feb. 1894). Stationed at Zanzibar. Ordained priest by Bishop Tucker at Mombasa 13 Jan. 1895. Returned to England March 1897 and RESIGNED. Curate of Margate 1897-98; Junior Chaplain Calcutta Cathedral 1899-1900; Chaplain at Kidderpur 1901-05. Chaplain to Presidency General Hospital 1903-05; Furlough 1905-06; Kidderpur 1906-09; Shillong 1909-11; St. John's Calcutta 1913-15; Calcutta 1915-16; Shillong 1916-17; St. John's Calcutta 1917-22; Archdeacon of Calcutta 1914-23. Vicar of Padbury, Bucks. 1923-40. Died Feb. 27th 1940. Author of numerous works including The Idea of an Oxford Modern Ethical Society. A paper read at an inaugural meeting 1891; editor of The Journal of the Oxford Society for the Study of Social Ethics; The Attitude of the Church of England to Non-Episcopal, 1894; The Purity of the Apostolic Succession in the English Church, 1896; Missionary Sermons, 1898; 'Protectorate of Zanzibar', British Empire Series, Vol. II, London, 1899; and various works on Indian history.

FITZHUGH, Henry (died 1897)

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 20 Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar. DIED at Zanzibar July 1897 of smallpox. Gave up a good situation to come out to Africa to be in charge of mission printing press.

FLETCHER, Ernest

Station Layman

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 April) Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England 16 Dec. 1901. RESIGNED 1902.

FORD, Frank Alfred (died 1899)

Printer

From Plymouth. Went as missionary to British Columbia. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 19 Jan. 1891), from British Columbia with Mr. Lister and Mr. Edwardes. Stationed at Magila. Invalided to England May 1892. Sent to St. Boniface College, Warminster. RESIGNED from mission 1895 on advice of Medical Board. Returned to New Westminster, British Columbia. Ordained deacon in Holy Trinity Cathedral, New Westminster, 22 Dec. 1895. Ordained priest and placed in charge of Revelstoke, British Columbia. Killed by train at Albert Canyon, Brit.Columbia 27 Jan. 1899.

FOUNTAIN, Sarah (died 1901)

Schoolmistress

JOINED UMCA 1873? Stationed Zanzibar, in charge of girls school at Mweni, 1876. RESIGNED 1877. REJOINED 1885. On furlough 1889. At Likoma 1889-93. WITHDREW from mission Aug. 1893. She died in London after a long and painful illness on Mar. 23 1901.



FOXLEY, Alice (died 1923)

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 8 May). Stationed at Mibweni, Zanzibar and Pemba. Furlough July 1897-April 1898; June 1901-March 1902; ded. 1904-Sept. 1905; Jan.-Aug. 1909. RESIGNED June 1911 and became a Roman Catholic. Worked with Black Fathers in Nairobi. Died at Nairobi 29th March 1923.

FRANCES, Sister, of the Community of St. Raphael, Bristol. (died 1892)

Professed 1891. JOINED UMCA a few weeks later. Stationed at Magila. DIED 8 April 1892 at sea, of fever, on homeward journey after 6 months service.

FRASER, Lewis (1838-69)

Priest

From Hampshire, son of Rev. William Fraser. Born at North Waltham. Educated at Brighton College and Tonbridge School. Admitted to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, June 1858, migrated to Jesus College Dec. 1858. Matric. Lent 1859. B.A. 1862. Ordained deacon at London 1863 and priest 1864. Curate of Holy Trinity, Tottenham 1863-68. JOINED UMCA 1868 (sailed June). Stationed at Magila from Nov. 1868. DIED 10 Dec. 1869 at Zanzibar of cholera. Buried in Kiungani Cemetery.

FREER, Howard

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 25 Feb.) Stationed at Magila. Broke down in health at once and returned May 1899 and RETIRED.

FRERE, Leonard Hanbury (1860-194-)

Priest

Son of Rev. Edward Hanbury Frere of Horsham, Suffolk. Educated at Bradfield College, Berks; studied privately for ordination under Rev. J. Thornton, Athlinton Rectory, Eye, Suffolk; Lincoln Theological College 1882-3; attended theological lectures at Oxford Oct. 1883-July 1884. Ordained deacon at Lincoln June 8th 1884. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed July) Stationed at Zanzibar 1884-5, Nyasa 1885-92. Returned to England April 1888. Ordained priest at Lincoln Dec. 23rd 1888. Returned to Africa 1890. RESIGNED Dec. 1891 because of ill health. Joined Zululand Mission, South Africa Jan. 1892. At Hlazakazi 1893-94; Inhlwati 1894-95. Returned to England June 1897. Curate of Burnley, Lancs. 1897-1900. Returned to South Africa 1900. Priest in charge of Melmoth, Zulu. 1900-03. Rector of Middleburg, Transvaal 1904-05. Retired to England 1905. Rector of Finnerham, Suffolk 1905-37. Living at Woodbridge, Suffolk 1941.

GAMBLE, Samuel

'Carpenter'

JOINED UMCA 1860 (sailed Oct. 4th) aged 24. He claimed to be a carpenter but 'confessed later that he knew nothing of the trade' (Proctor's Journal 8/11/62). Stationed at Magomero and Chibisa's. Sent down Zambezi Nov. 8 1862, to await boat to Cape for proven robbery and 'probably worse'. DISMISSED 1862. Remained in South Africa. In 1910 Bishop Hine on his way to Livingstone met him at Bulawayo. He was then 73 years old and 'still fairly strong and healthy' but in poor circumstances. He had lost what little money he had made by 40 years hard work at farming and trading. The mission sent out money to help him out. In Central Africa 1888 he is said to have died in Cape Colony "many years since".

GAY, Alice Marion (died 1894)

Teacher

Daughter of vicar of Burley on the Hill, Rutland. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 11 Sept.) Stationed at Mbweni. DIED 19 Jan. 1894 in Muknazini Hospital of fever - hyper-pyrexia, after 1 day's illness after cold bath during fever. Buried at Mbweni. Memorial window in Church at Burley on the Hill.

GARDINER, Marion

Nurse

Governess for 12 years. Probationer at The London Hospital, Feb. 1893 for 2 years. Staff nurse April 1895-July 1896. Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed Sept. 9) aged 36. Stationed at Likoma. Invalided home August 1897. RETIRED from Mission.

GEE, Ernest Alfred (1863-1902)

Priest

Born 25 July 1863. Father an organist in London churches, then at St. Luke's, Leek, Staffs. Sunday School teacher, chorister and reader at St. Luke's. Educated Hatfield Hall, University of Durham. L. Th. 1889. B.A. 1900. Ordained deacon 1889. Priest 1890 at Lichfield. Curate of Sneyd, Staffs., 1889. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 20 Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Furlough Feb. 1900-Feb. 1901. Member of E.C.U. DIED 11 June 1902 of fever and nervous exhaustion. Died at sea on way from Masasi.

GELDART, Herbert (died 1889)

Layman, and later Priest

Layreader at All Saints Church, Shrewsbury. Rev. E. H. Dodgson (see above) Curate, (home address 1883 59 North Str. Shrewsbury). JOINED UMCA 1878 (or 79). Stationed Kiungani and Mkuzi. Returned to England July 1883. Attended St. Augustine's College, Canterbury and St. Stephen's House, Oxford. Ordained deacon at Oxford 1884. Returned to Africa July 1884. Ordained priest 1886. Furlough Oct. 1887-Nov. 1888. DIED 11 May 1889 at Mkuzi of fever-jaundice.

GEORGE, George Frank (1873-1942)

Architect and later Priest

Born 14 Sept. 1873. Formerly architect's assistant. FRIBA 1935 FRSA 1940. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 21 Oct.) Stationed Kota-Kota, Likoma and Northern Rhodesia. Furlough April-Nov. 1902, Apl.-Nov. 1907, Feb.-Sept. 1911, Mar. 1915-July 1916, Apl.-Dec. 1920, Mch.-Oct. 1924, Apl.-Oct. 1928, July 1931-Mar. 1932. At Bishops College, Cheshunt 1915-16. Admitted deacon by Bp. Hine on behalf of Bp. of Nyasaland in Church of St. Saviour's Ealing 13 June 1916. Ordained priest at Likoma 25th June 1917. At liuli 1921-34; Archdeacon of Nyasa and Canon of Likoma Cathedral 1928-34. Returned to England April 1934 and RETIRED. Vicar of St. Peter, Devizes, Wilts. 1935-39; Vicar of St. Frances of Assisi, Gladstone Park, London 1939-42. Died 15 Nov. 1942. Worked in diocese of Northern Rhodesia 1911-15? (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, St. Pancras, Dec. 1873, Vol. 16, p. 94).

GERRISH, Harry Dudfield (1871-1897)

Deacon

Educated at St. John's Choir School, Frome Selwood. Moved to Cardiff where he came under the influence of Bp. Smythies. Sent to Warminster College, 1888. Then St. Augustine College, Canterbury, where he gained the Archbishop's special certification for obtaining first class in all college examinations and also in Universities Preliminary Exam. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 10 Feb.) Stationed at Magila and Mkuzi. Ordained deacon at Magila by Bp. Smythies Easter Eve 1894. Invalided home Oct. 1895 after two attacks of haematuric fever at Mkuzi. Temporary UMCA Organizing Secretary for Northern Province 1895-97, living at York. Returned to Africa March 1897. DIED at Zanzibar 31 July 1897 of Haematuric fever. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Melksham, Wch. 1871, Vol. 5a, p. 128).

GIBBONS, Annie (1866-1944)

Teacher

Born 1866. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar, Magila and Kogongoi. Furlough Aug. 1901-June 1902; Aug. 1906-Apr. 1907; May-Sept. 1911; Jan. 1917-Feb. 1919; June 1922-Dec. 1922. Interned in G.E.A. 1914-1916. Returned to England June 1926. RESIGNED 1928 and joined Home Staff of UMCA. Died 21 Dec. 1944.

GILLET, -

Carpenter

JOINED UMCA 1872. Invalided and RETIRED 1872.

GILL, Thomas

Mason

JOINED UMCA 1881. Stationed at Magila. WITHDREW 1888.

GILLANDERS, James

Schoolmaster

JOINED 1892 (sailed 3 June). Stationed at Kiungani. Invalided 1895. RESIGNED 1895 on advice of Medical Board because of constant ill-health.

GLOSSOP, Arthur George Barnard (1867-1949)

Priest

Born 9 Nov. 1867. Third son of Rev. George Goodwin Glossop of Twickenham, Middlesex. Educated at St. Mark's School, Windsor; Trinity College Oxford, matric. Oct. 1886, B.A. 1889, M.A. 1893; and Wells Theological College 1890. Ordained deacon and priest 1891 by Bp. of St. Albans. Curate of St. Mary's Colchester 1891-93. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 21 Aug.) Stationed Likoma, Kota Kota and then Likoma again. Furlough Aug. 1896-Mar. 1897; Ap.-Oct. 1900; Jan.-July 1905; May 1909-Oct. 1910; May-Nov. 1913; Ap.-July 1916; May-Oct. 1921; Ap.-Sept. 1925; May-Oct. 1932; July-Oct. 1936. Priest in charge of Likoma 1895-1921; Principal of St. Andrews Theological College, Likoma 1921-39; Archdeacon of Likoma 1912-49. Vicar-General of Diocese 1920, 1923, 1926, 1935-36. O. B.E. 1931. DIED 26th November 1949. Translated New Testament into Chinyanja.

GLOVER, Caroline Harriet (died 1938)

Nurse

Trained at St. Thomas's Hospital and Great Ormonde Street Hospital, London. Formerly Matron of the Royal Eye Hospital, Manchester and the Hasr el Aim Hospital, Cairo. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 8 Oct.) Stationed Nyasa. RETIRED 1901 on her marriage to - Shinn, a Nyasaland planter. Died August 9th 1938. 'A great friend of the mission and lavish in her hospitality to members at her home at the Ruo Estate, Nyasaland'.

GODDARD, William Henry Willoughby

Schoolmaster

Educated at Christs Hospital, School. Taught for 3 years at Collingwood House School, Paignton, Devon; one year at Oxenford House School, Jersey; and one year at Kent Coast College, Herne Bay. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 9 Sept.) aged 23. Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England, invalided, Feb. 1897 suffering from attacks of ? angina. RESIGNED from Mission.

GODFREY, Joseph

Deacon

For 35 years a Certificated Teacher (1st cl.) in England. In August 1889 he went to diocese of Qu'appelle, Canada where he worked for 5 years as a volunteer. Ordained deacon Aug. 2 1892 by Bishop Anson at Saltcoats, Saskatchewan. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 9 Sept.) aged 60. Stationed at Kiungani. Returned to England and RETIRED 15 Oct. 1898.

GOLDFINCH, Alfred Charles (1853-193-)

Layman and Deacon

From Devon (Home address 1884, Norwood, Barnstaple). Educated at Warminster College 1874-75; private tuition at Oxford University 1877. JOINED UMCA 1877. Stationed at Zanzibar and Masasi 1879-81. Ordained deacon by Bp. Steere at Zanzibar Aug. 24th 1879. Invalided and RESIGNED 1882. Curate of Clearwell, Coleford, Glos. 1883-84; Curate of Morwood, Devon, 1884-85; Priest in charge East End Mission, Aberdeen 1885-87. Ordained priest at Aberdeen 1885. Curate of St. Brivaels, Glos. 1887-91; Barkingside, Essex, 1891-95; St. Mary's, Plaistow 1895-98; Holy Trinity, New Charlton, Kent, 1898-1902; St. Faith's, Wandsworth 1902-09; St. Luke, Richmond 1909-13; of Camberwell 1913-24; and Curate of Edenbridge, Kent (in charge of Marlpit Hill) 1925-29. Living at East Grinstead 1930 and Lingfield 1937. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Blear, June 1853, Vol. 2a p. 596).

GOODWIN, Harry

Carpenter

JOINED UMCA 1865. Stationed at Zanzibar. WITHDREW 1866.

GOODYEAR, Henry Charles (1857-1889)

Priest

Son of Mr. Charles Goodyear of Belbroughton, nr. Stourbridge. Born 24 August 1857, educated at the National School, Belbroughton, Worcs. Pupil teacher there 1871 (in charge of a school at Stanton on the Peak; attended Saltley Training College). Assistant Master at St. John's School, Alloa, Clackmannan. Attended St. Boniface's College, Warminster. Ordained deacon by Bp. of London 1883. JOINED UMCA 1883 (sailed 10 July) Stationed at Magila. Ordained priest by Bp. Smythies at Zanzibar 1884. Furlough Oct. 1886-June 1887. Appointed Archdeacon of Magila 1889. DIED 24 June 1889 at Magila of haematuric fever - jaundice. Buried at Magila. Memorial tablet in Worcester Cathedral. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Droitwich, Dec. 1857, Vol. 6c p. 361).

GRAVES, Katherine

Layworker

JOINED UMCA 1875. WITHDREW 1875. 'Wished to be sent home on her arrival in Zanzibar'.

GRIFFIN, James Edward (died 1940)

Priest

Educated at Southwark College, 1876 and University of London 1879. Ordained deacon by Bishop of Winchester, 1879 and priest 1880. Curate of Hambledon, Hants. 1879-81; of St. Matthews, Sheffield 1882-92. JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 9 May). Stationed at Magila, Mkuzi and Mbweni. Furlough July 1895-1896; Feb. 1899-Jan. 1900. Appointed Archdeacon of Zanzibar 1897, and Canon. Member of E.C.U., C.B.S. and Holy Cross Society. RETIRED 1902 because of ill health. Priest in charge of Tain, Ross 1902-3. Curate of Kirton-in-Holland, Lincs., 1905-13. Latterly lived at The Hostel, Newland, Malvern. Died Feb. 13th 1940.

GRINDROD, James (1869-1933)

Priest

Educated at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury 1889-92. Ordained deacon by Bishop of Hereford 1892. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar and Newala. Ordained priest at Newala by Bp. Richardson 1 Nov. 1895. Returned England 31 July 1896. RESIGNED 1897. Missionary Palestine Mission to the Jews at Haifa, Palestine 1897-98. Curate of Emerald, Queensland 1898-1903; of Rockhampton, Qunsl. 1903-04; of Mackay, Qunsl. 1904-06. Missionary Chaplain North Queensland 1906-08. Vicar of St. Bartholomew, Queenstown, British Guiana 1909-13. Curate of Holy Trinity, Milton next Gravesend, Kent, 1914-15; of St. John Baptist, Bognor Regis, Sussex; St. John Baptist, Chester 1917-22. Perpetual Curate of Calton, Staffs. 1922-33. Died Feb. 2 1933. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Kensington, Mch. 1869, Vol. 1a, p. 40).

GUNN, Louisa (died 1947)

Nurse

Trained at St. John's Hospital, Lewisham. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 9 Jan.) Stationed at Magila, Korogwe, Msalabani (Magila), and Zanzibar. Opened work at Korogwe in 1904. Furlough Apl. 1902-Feb. 1903; Mar.-Oct. 1907; June-Nov. 1910; Dec. 1913-May 1914; June 1920-Jan. 1921; May-Oct. 1924; Feb.-Sept. 1928; Sept. 1931-Jan. 1932; Apl.-Sept. 1936. Interned in G.E.A. 1914-16. At Zanzibar 1921-40. Received Zanzibar Jubilee Medal 1936. RETIRED on pension (sailed for England March 1940). Died 17th Oct. 1947.



HAINES, John Castle

Deacon

Third son of William Haines of Oxford, gent. Educated as non-collegiate student at Oxford University, matric. Dec. 1865 aged 20, B.A. 1889. Ordained deacon by Bp. Smythies at Dorchester 1890. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 10 Nov.) Stationed at Masasi. Invalided and RESIGNED 1893.

HAINSWORTH, John (died 1896)

Layman then Priest

Educated at Dorchester Missionary College 1882-1885. 1885 went to St. Thomas' Hospital to study surgery. JOINED UMCA 1886 (sailed March) as a layman. Stationed at Newala. Returned to England Oct. 1886. Ordained deacon at Llandaff 1887, and priest 1888. Curate of Monmouth 1887-8. REJOINED Mission 1888 (sailed 12 Nov.) Furlough Oct. 1892-July 1893. Invalided home October 1895. DIED 13 April 1896, from effects of fever and dysentery. Buried cemetery of St. Alban's, Woking.

HALLIDAY, John Michael

Accountant

Agent of British East India Company in Zanzibar and resigned his post to join UMCA 1885. Stationed at Zanzibar, treasurer. RESIGNED August 1889 on marriage to Amy Bashford (see above).

HAMILTON, Arthur Hayne (1823-1911)

Priest

Born c1823, fifth son of Charles Hamilton of Exeter, gent. Educated at St. John's College, Oxford. Matric. 4 March 1841; bible clerk 1841-44; B.A. 1844. Ordained deacon at Exeter 1848; priest 1849. Held various curacies 1848-66. Rector of St. Mary Arches, Exeter 1866- ; 'when over sixty he fell down stairs, and in consequence of his life being saved he offered himself for a year to UMCA and exchanged parishes for a year with Archdeacon Hodgson' (see below). JOINED UMCA 1883. Stationed at ZANZIBAR. Volunteered for a further year but was invalided home October 1884. RESIGNED. Died 2nd Feb. 1911.

HANCOCK, Herbert Julius (1870-1900)

Priest

Born 8th Sept. 1870. Educated Bristol Grammar School and Hatfield Hall, University of Durham. 1889-93. Distinguished classical scholar; University Classical Scholar; Van Millet Scholar and Theological Prizeman; rowing cox; B.A. 1st class Hons. 1892; L.Th. 2nd class 1893. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Lincoln, Advent 1894; priest Advent 1895. Member of English Church Union. Curate of Clew, Lincs. 1894-96. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 8 April). Stationed at Likoma, Mpondas, Kota Kota and Malindi. On Furlough Nov. 1899-Apr. 1900. DIED 17 Oct. 1900 from almost certainly a ruptured appendicitis, at Mponda's. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Cheltenham, Dec. 1870, Vol. 6a, p. 389).

HANDCOCK, Ormsby (died 1870)

Priest

B.A., University of Dublin. Ordained priest . JOINED UMCA 1870, reached Zanzibar August 1870, went to Magila to take charge September 1870. DIED of sunstroke 29th September 1870.

HARRISON, Richard

Carpenter

From Burgh-le-Marsh, Linco. One of Tozer's parishioners. Described as a 'baker' in General Committee minutes 1863. JOINED UMCA 1863 (sailed March). On Zambezi June 1863. At Murumbala, where he acted as cook, July 1863 until removal of mission early in 1864. Returned to England via Cape 1864 and RESIGNED.

HARRISON, William Guy (1873-1905)

Priest

Born October 29th 1873 son of Rt. Rev.Wm. Thomas Harrison, Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. Educated at King's School, Ely, Bury St.Edmunds and Glenalmond 1889-92; Admitted Selwyn College, Cambridge 1892; B.A. 1895. Attended Leeds Clergy School 1896. Ordained deacon 1896; priest 1897. Curate of St. John's Greenock 1896-98. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed Feb. 25). Stationed at Magila. Furlough April 1902-Jan. 1903. DIED at Magila 5 Dec. 1905, of pneumonia following 2nd attack of blackwater fever. Under the rule of the Medical Board should not have returned to Africa after 1st attack in 1904, but elected to do so. (At King's Ely, 1881-82, at Bury Gr. Sch. 1883-88).

HARTLEY, Benjamin (died 1874)

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1870. Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. Gave in notice November 1872, in order 'to better himself' but withdrew it. With Speare at Magila 1873. DIED 15 Feb. 1874 at Zanzibar of tetanus after being shot by Arab slave dealers on mainland.

HAWKINS, Edward (1832-1862)

Priest

Born 1832. 1st son of Edward Hawkins of St. Margaret's Rochester, D.D. later Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. Educated at Charterhouse School and Balliol College, Oxford. Matric. 28 Jan. 1852; B.A. 1856, M.A. 1858. Ordained deacon 1856, priest 1858. Assistant curate of Halstead, Essex; Vice-principal, Diocesan College, Cape of Good Hope; later in charge of a Capetown parish. JOINED UMCA Sept. 1861. At mouth of Zambezi Jan.-April 1862. Afflicted with ulcers all over body. Invalided home via Cape Town April 1862. DIED at Rochester 8 Oct. 1862 of fever, albuminuria ? following malaria soon after return home. Memoir written by father, Filio Desideratissimo, printed Oxford 1862. He was a godson of Dr. Pusey.

HAYMAN, Samuel

Printer

From Manchester. JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed at Kiungani, Zanzibar. Returned to England and WITHDREW May 1883.

HEATH, Elizabeth J.

JOINED UMCA 1869 (arrived at Zanzibar in June). WITHDREW Oct.? 1869.

HENRIQUES, Ernest St. Clair

Medical Assistant

JOINED UMCA 1891 (sailed 19 Jan.) Stationed at Kologwe. Invalided home November 1894 following fever. Had operation for hepatic abscess May 1895. On return to England in 1894 went to Marischal College, Aberdeen to complete medical course. Graduated MBCM in 1898. RESIGNED from mission 1898 after being forbidden by Medical Board to return to Africa.

HEPPELL, Joseph Edmund T.

Brass Founder

JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 5 Nov.) Stationed at Malindi. Returned to England and RESIGNED Jan. 1901.

HIGGINS, Frederick Harry

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 9 Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England and RESIGNED July 1902.

HIGHTON, Alfred Charles

Priest

Born c1851. 2nd son of Rev. Henry Highton of Rugby, Warw. (assistant master at Rugby School 1841-59; Principal of Cheltenham College 1859-62). Educated at Cheltenham, Queen's College, Oxford, matric. 23 Jan. 1871 aged 20. B.A. 1875. Ordained deacon by Archbishop of Canterbury 1881; priest 1882. Curate of Goudhurst, Kent 1881-83; of St. Jude's Upper Chelsea 1883-84; Christ Church Westminster 1884-86, and St. James, Ratcliffe, Middlesex 1886-87. JOINED UMCA 1887 (sailed 24 Nov.) Stationed at Mbweni. Returned to England and RESIGNED Jan. 1889. Curate of Christ Church, Albany St. London 1890-1; St. Augustine's Bermondsey 1892-3; St. Michael's Southwark 1893-97; Vicar of Gr. Barford, Oxford 1898-30-. Author of William de Winton 1903.

HINE, John Edward (1857-1934)

Priest, Doctor and Bishop

Born April 10 1857, at Mapperley Park, Nottingham. Son of Benjamin H. Hine, hosiery manufacturer, later chairman of the Nottingham Manufacturing Company. Parents had Quaker and unorthodox nonconformist background. Education: 1866-68 private tuition under Rev. Chas. Webb of Blyth, Notts; 1868-70 Nottingham Grammar (later High) School; 1870-75 University College School, London; 1875-79 University College, medical student University College Hospital, London, M.R.C.S. 1879, M.B. 1879, M.D. 1885. Resident Medical Officer, Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford 1880-82. In practice in Oxford and non-collegiate student at University 1882-85. B.A. 1885. Lincoln Theological College 1886. Ordained deacon at Rochester, advent 1886, priest December 1887. Curate of Richmond, Surrey 1886-89. JOINED UMCA 1889 (sailed 12 Jan.) Stationed at Likoma 1889-90; priest in charge Christ Church Zanzibar 1891-93; Unangu 1893-96. Furlough Mar. 1890-June 1891. Appointed Bishop of Likoma 1896, consecrated feast of St. Peter. D. D. Oxon. 1896 (in England May-Dec. 1896). Appointed Bishop of Zanzibar 1901; enthroned 15 Dec. 1901. In England April-Dec. 1902; May-Sept. 1906. RETIRED June 1908. Chaplain at Tangier, 1908-09; Chaplain at Christ Church, Constantinople 1909-10. REJOINED UMCA April 1910 on being appointed first Bishop of Northern Rhodesia. In England May-Sept. 1911. RESIGNED 31 March 1914. Vicar of Lasingham, Yorks. 1916-18. Rector of North with South Stoke and Easton, Lincs. 1918-30. Bishop of Grantham 1920-30 and Archdeacon of Lincoln 1925-33. Died April 9th 1934. Member of English Church Union.

HINTON, Margaret Anne (died 1881)

Schoolmistress

Of the Chestnuts, Warminster, Wilts. JOINED UMCA 1877. Stationed at Zanzibar, in charge of the infants at Kiungani. Married F. J. Williams (see below) in 1880. At Kaule, Usambara 1880-81. DIED 24 March 1881, buried at Kiungani.

HITCHBORN, Archibald

Schoolmaster

Late pupil teacher at Ely. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed Aug.) Stationed at Kiungani. Furlough Feb.-Nov. 1897; Feb.-Nov. 1901. RESIGNED 1903. In 1905 he was seeking a post as caretaker of church or parish helper through Central Africa, then living at Bourne, Lincs.

HODGSON, Francis Roger (c1854-1920)

Priest

Born c1854. 1st son of Rev. Richard Hodgson of Southport, Lancs. Educated at Rugby and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Matric. 10 March 1893 aged 19, B.A. 1876, M.A. 1883. Ordained deacon 1877, priest 1878. JOINED UMCA 1877 (sailed July) with wife Jessie (see next). Stationed at Mbweni, in charge of girls school 1877-89; Archdeacon of Zanzibar 1882-89. On furlough in England June 1878-May 1897; 1883-Sept. 1885 (acted as curate in charge of St. Mary Arches, Exeter while Rev. A. H. Hamilton, see above, was in Zanzibar.); RETIRED 1889. Vicar of Frithelstock, Devon, 1890-93; Organising Secretary UMCA for West of England 1893- ; Organising Secretary for South of England 1909-1918. Lived Zanzibar Cottage, Exter. Died 10 Nov. 1920 in a London Nursing Home. Translated part of the Swahili Old Testament.

HODGSON, Jessie (died 1933)

Nee Wylie. Wife of Rev. F. R. Hodgson, see above. JOINED UMCA 1877 with husband. Stationed at Mbweni. Invalided and returned for specialist advice June 1878. Returned to Zanzibar May 1879. Invalided after constant malaria 1881. Returned to Africa Sept. 1885. Invalided 28 Oct. 1888 and RESIGNED 1889 because of ill-health. Died Feb. 24 1933. She raised over £2000 for the Mission by dressing and selling African dolls.

HOLLINGWORTH, William

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 May) Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England March 1902 and RESIGNED.

HOLLOWAY, Georgina Emma

JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 11 Sept.) Stationed at Mbweni. Furlough July 1897-July 1898. Returned to England April 1902 and RESIGNED 1903. REJOINED later in 1903 (sailed Nov.) Stationed at Masasi 1903-05. WITHDREW Oct. 1905 following Masasi Raid.

HOOD, Robert Fuller Acland (1866-1912)

Priest

4th son of Sir Alexander Perian Bateman Fuller Acland Hood, 3rd bart. of West Quantoxhead, Somerset. Educated Eton and New College, Oxford, matric. Oct. 1885, B.A. 1890 and Cuddesdon Theological College. Ordained deacon by Bp. Smythies at Dorchester Oct. 1890 and priest by Bp. Smythies in Zanzibar 1891. JOINED UMCA 1891. Stationed at Masasi. Returned to England May 1893, back to Africa Jan. 1894. RETIRED Jan. 1896. Appointed UMCA Secretary for Archdeaconry of Taunton 1896. Married 1899, a sister of Duke of Hamilton. Died April 23rd 1912.

HORNBY, Wilfrid Bird (1851-1935)

Bishop

Born Feb. 25 1851 2nd son of John Hornby, Esq. of Paddington, Middlesex. Educated at Marlborough 1865-70 and Brasenose College, Oxford. Matric. June 1870 aged 19. Rowed for College Eight. B.A. 1875, M.A. 1878, Cuddesdon Theological College. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Chester 1876, priest 1877. Curate of St. Mary Anfield, Liverpool 1876-80. One of the founders of the Oxford University Mission to Calcutta where he served as missionary 1880-84. Curate of St. Bartholomew Dover 1884-85. Vicar of St. Columba, Southwick, Co. Durham 1885-92. JOINED UMCA 1892 on being appointed 1st Bishop of Nyasaland (Likoma) (sailed 21 Dec. 1892). Returned to England invalided 1894 and RESIGNED on medical advice. D. D. Oxon 1892. Member of Confraternity of Blessed Sacrament and English Church Union. Vice-President of UMCA 1895-1935. Rector of St. Clement with St. Edmund, Norwich 1895-97; Vicar of Chollereton, Northumberland 1897-1904; Rural Dean of Bellingham 1899-1904. Bishop of Nassau 1904-18; Director of Nassau Association 1919-24. Living at Barresford, Northumberland in 1924. Died 5 June 1935.

HOWARD, Robert D. (1872-1947)

Doctor

Son of David Howard, Esq. Rectory Manor, Walthamstow. Born 30 Jan. 1872. Educated at Marlborough College 1886-1890 (in shooting 8 and football team) and Trinity College Oxford 1890, Commoners Exhibition 1891; B.A. 1st Cl. in Physiology 1894, M.B. and B. Ch. Oxon. 1896, M.D. 1906. Guys Hospital, London 1894-99, Beaney's Prize (Pathology), Treasurers Gold Medal (surgery) and 2nd for Gold Medal in Medicine 1897. House Surgeon 1898. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 25 Feb.) Stationed at Likoma. Furlough Jan.-Nov. 1901, Apr. 1906-Jan. 1907. Left diocese of Nyasaland Nov. 1909 on marriage to E. Kathleen Minter (see below). Returned to Africa, Zanzibar, June 1910. Furlough May-Nov. 1913. RETIRED 1918. Entered government service on Pemba Island 1918. Retired c1923 and returned to England. Elected a member of the UMCA General Council and Treasurer 1924-47. Died 26 Nov. 1947.

HOWES, Margaret (died 1920)

Nurse

Formerly a sister at St. Thomas's Hospital and then Matron of the General Hospital Cheltenham. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 May). Stationed at Pemba and Magila. On Furlough Aug. 1901-July 1902, July 1905-April 1906. Invalided March 1907 and RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board. Died at Bournemouth 12 July 1920.



IRVING, Martin Luther

Layman then Deacon

Born c1859. Education: Public Elementary Schools. Private tuition. City of London College and St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Senior student of term, volunteered for work in Central Africa, recommended by warden Rev. G. Maclean. JOINED UMCA 1884. Stationed at Newala 1884, Mkuzi 1885-7. RESIGNED 1888 on account of health. Joined diocese of Kaffaria, ordained priest at St. Mark's Kaffaria, S. Africa Dec. 1888. Curate of St. Mark's Kaffaria 1888-90. Rector of European Parish of Ascension, Cola, S. Africa 1890-96. Returned to England Nov. 1896. Curate of All Saint's (Hook Memorial Church) Leeds 1897-1905. Rector of Bloxham with Digby, Lincs. 1905-30- .

IVETT, Martha

Nurse

Born 4 Dec. 1866. From Washinborough, Lincs. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England April 1900 and RESIGNED. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Huntingdon. Dec. 1866, Vol. 36 p. 241).

JAMES, Charles Anderson (1847-1875)

Priest

Born c 1847. 3rd son of Rev. John James of Exeter. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford; matric. June 1865 aged 18, B.A. 1868, M.A. 1872. Ordained deacon by Archbishop of Canterbury. 1870. Curate of Dartford 1870-73. Curate of Stone, Kent 1873-75. JOINED UMCA 1875 (arrived Zanzibar May). On Sp. Steere's Nyasa expedition 1875 but taken seriously ill and invalided. DIED at Natal 25 November 1875 of fever. Death attributed by the Doctors to unnecessary exposure to sun.

JAMES, George Alexander (1874-1932)

Storekeeper and treasurer

JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 Oct.) Stationed at Zanzibar, storekeeper and assistant treasurer. Furlough Nov. 1901-June 1902. RESIGNS 'throws up Mission for a business (or government) appointment, May 1903, without obtaining Bishop's permission'. Later following his retirement to England he gave UMCA valuable assistance at exhibitions, etc. Died Jan. 5 1932.

JAMESON, Jane Elizabeth (1870-1916)

Schoolmistress

Certificated Teacher. Aged 30 when JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 April). Stationed Nyasa 1900-03; transferred to Zanzibar diocese 1903, at Mbweni 1903-4 and Kologwe 1904-07. Furlough 1902-03. Invalided home Feb. 1907 and RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board. Died 5 July 1916.

JANSON, Charles Albert (1850-1882)

Priest

Born c1850, 4th son of William Janson of Tottenham, Middlesex, Esq. Educated at University College, Oxford. Matric. 17 Oct. 1868 aged 18. B.A. 1873, M.A. 1877. Barrister at Law, Lincoln's Inn 1875. Attended Cuddesdon Theological College 1878. Ordained deacon and Priest. Curate at S. S. Philip and Jones, Oxford. JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed at Newala. Accompanied W. P. Johnson to Lake Nyasa and DIED 21 Feb. 1882 on shore of Lake. Buried near Chia. Died of fever after wading a stream. His memory was preserved in the name of the first mission steamer on Lake Nyasa; it was purchased by a special fund in his memory. His diary of the journey to Lake Nyasa Jan. 5th to Feb. 10th 1882 was published by the UMCA as Occasional Paper No. 9 1882.

JARRETT or Garrett, Annie

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Jan.) Stationed at Mueni. Returned to England and RESIGNED 1896.

JOHNSON, William Percival (1854-1928)

Layman then Priest

Born 12 March 1854 at Vernon Villa, St. Helens, Isle of Wight. 3rd son of John Johnson a lawyer of Ryde, I. of W. On death of father 1857, family moved to Bedford. Educated Bedford School (won appointment to Indian Civil Service while at school) and University College, Oxford 1872-76. 2nd Cl. Maths in Mods. 1873, and 2nd Cl. in Theology finals 1876. Stroke in college boat. Friend of Maples. M.A. 1884. DD. (Hon.Causa) 1911. JOINED UMCA 1876 (sailed Aug.) Ordained deacon by Bp. Steere 29 Sept. 1876; at Masasi 1876-77, 1879-1880; Zanzibar 1877-79; Mataka's 1880-81. Lake Nyasa 1882-84. On Furlough 1884, 1885-86 suffering from blindness. Returns to Africa April 1896 and in October joins the S.S. Charles Janson on Lake Nyasa. On Furlough Oct. 1897-Nov. 1898; 1900-1902 in New Zealand recovering from blackwater fever; 1910-11; Sept. 1920-Oct. 1921. Priest in charge of Liuli 1921-28; Canon of Likoma 1922-28. In 1926 made a Hon. Fellow of University College, Oxford. DIED 11 Oct. 1928, at Liuli. Author of Nyasa the Great Water, 1922. Psalms in Chinyanja 1922. Chinyanja Proverbs 1922. My African Reminiscences 1924. Biography by B. H. Barnes Johnson of Nyasaland published by UMCA 1933. Appointed Archdeacon of Nyasa 1896.

JONES, Mary Anne

Schoolmistress

JOINED UMCA 1865. Stationed at Zanzibar, in charge of girls. Invalided and resigned June 1869.

JONES, Sophia (died 1877)

Nurse

JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Zanzibar. DIED at Zanzibar 11 April 1877 of Enteric fever. Buried at Kiungani.

JONES-BATEMAN, Percy Lisle (1857-1897)

Priest

X Born c 1857 son of Rev. John Barleton Jones-Bateman of Sheldon Rectory, Birmingham. Educated at Uppingham School and Clare College, Cambridge. Matric. Michaelmas 1876, Scholar and Exhibitioner. B.A. 1880, M.A. 1891. Ordained deacon at Ely 1880. JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed at Zanzibar, Mkunazini 1880-86, Principal of Kiungani 1886-97. Ordained priest at Zanzibar April 1884. Archdeacon of Zanzibar 1889-97. Chancellor of Zanzibar Cathedral 1896-97. On furlough 1885-86 (invalided), 1887-88 (invalided), 1891-92, 1895-96. DIED at Zanzibar 25 October 1897. Three brothers went to Cambridge; two became priests (one a missionary in West Indies and Mexico), and the third a doctor.

KALLAWAY, Robert

Carpenter

From Bovey Tracey, Newton Abbot, Devon. JOINED UMCA 1863. With Bp. Tozer at Morumbala until mission withdrawn early 1864. Returned to England via Cape June 1864 and WITHDREW.

KARN, Benjamin

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1873 (sailed Feb.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Invalided home 1874 and RESIGNED.

KELSALL, Robert Wright

Accountant

Educated at St. Peter's School, Stockport, Lancs. JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 5 Nov.) Stationed at Mpondas. Invalided home Oct. 1900 and RESIGNED.

KENYON, Emma

Housekeeper

JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed Feb.) Stationed at Nyasa. Returned to England April 1901. WITHDREW 1903.

KERR, Malcolm C.

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed Feb.) Stationed at Likoma. Returned to England March 1894. RESIGNED on advice of doctor.

KERSLAKE, Henry

Schoolmaster

From Roath. Pupil teacher at Metal Street National Boys' School, Cardiff. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed 16 Jan.) Stationed at Magila. Returned to England and RESIGNED April 1887. In 1889 he was working as a scripture reader at Sidbury, Sidmouth and was wishing for a better paid post.

KEY, John Kingsmill Causton (1853-1926)

Priest

Born 22 August 1853 at Wandsworth, Surrey, eldest son of Sir Kingsmill Grove Mey, baronet. Educated at Clifton College and Lincoln College, Oxford. Matric. Feb. 1873, B.A. 1877, M.A. 1879. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Worcester 1878 and priest 1879. Curate of St. George's Kidderminster 1878-81. JOINED UMCA 1881. Stationed Kiungani 1882-84, Umba 1884-5, 1886-89. Married Miss Emily Woodward (see below) 1891. Stationed Mbwani 1892-7, Pemba 1897-1904. On Furlough 1885-Feb. 1886, 1889-Mar. 1890, June 1891-May 1892, June 1896-May 1897. Jan. 1900-Oct. 1900. Appointed Canon of Christ Church, Zanzibar Jan. 1898. On father's death 1899 became Sir John Key, bart. Returned to England March 1903. RESIGNED. Rector of Little Wittenham, Oxford 1904-12. RETURNED to diocese of Zanzibar (Pemba) May 1908-Feb. 1909. Resigned living and REJOINED UMCA July 1912 for service in Northern Rhodesia. Stationed at Livingstonia 1912-14. RESIGNED Oct. 1914. Vicar of Moulsoford, Berks. 1915-21. In 1924 living at Pemba, Southbourne-on-sea, Bournemouth. Died Apl. 27 1926.

KICK, Charles (died 1896)

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed June) Stationed at Kiungani, in charge of printing office by 1896. Furlough May 1893-Mar. 1894. DIED at Zanzibar 19 June 1896 of fever and dysentery.

KING, Walter (1869-1900)

Layman then Priest

Born c1869. Educated at Cathedral School of St. Pauls, where he was a leading treble. JOINED UMCA 1885 (sailed July) when only 16. Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England September 1887 and spent three years at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Returned to Africa 1890. Furlough Feb.-Nov. 1897. Ordained deacon by Bp. Richardson Nov. 1897, and priest Oct. 1899. Invalided to England January 1900. DIED in London, 24 Feb. 1900 after operation for abscess of liver.

KISBEY, Walter Harold (died 1922)

Priest

From Roath. Student at St. Augustine's College Canterbury. Ordained deacon by Bishop of Llandaff September 1893. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 12 Nov.) Stationed at Mkuzi and Kologwe. Furlough Mar.-Nov. 1896, Dec. 1896-Nov. 1899, April-Nov. 1902, Dec. 1905-June 1906. Had frequent attacks of Haematuric fever 1896-8 and in June 1906 was recommended by the Medical Board not to return on account of recent blackwater fever. Returned to England 29 Dec. 1908 and RESIGNED 1909. Member of Confraternity of Blessed Sacrament and English Church Union. DIED 25 April 1922 at Mombasa Hospital.

KITSON, William Henry (1852-1893)

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1881 aged 28. Stationed at Mkunazini. WITHDREW 1882. Later he was ordained and when he died 5 June 1893 he was acting as curate to his brother B. M. Kitson at Barnes. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Bethnal Green, Sept. 1852, Vol. 1c p. 215).

KNOWLES, William (died 1889)

Mason

JOINED UMCA 1887. Stationed at Mbweni and Magila. DIED at Mbweni 7 Sept. 1889 from fever (he walked in sun during convalescence from fever). Buried at Ziwani.

LAVENDER, John Meshach (died 1884)

Sub-deacon

Educated at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed 16 Jan.) Stationed at Magila. DIED 20 Aug. 1884 at Mkunazini of heart disease, 'ought not to have gone out'.

LAWSON, George Mervyn

Priest

Born c1865 2nd son of George Lawson of London, gent. Educated at Westminster School 1877-81 and Pembroke College, Oxford; matric. Jan. 1885 aged 19, B.A. 1889 and Leeds Clergy School. Ordained deacon by Bishop of Lichfield 1890 and priest 1891. Curate of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton 1890-92. JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed Feb.) Stationed at Mbweni, Magila and Msaraka. Invalided home June 1894 following fever and manemia. RESIGNED 1895 on advice of Medical Board. JOINED diocese of Bloemfontein 1895. Curate of St. Cyprian's, Kimberley, 1895-1903, Priest in charge of Kuruman, Cape of Good Hope, 1903-15 and of Douglas C. of G. H. 1909-11. Archdeacon of Kuruman 1912-41. Director of Missions in Griqualand W. 1903-41. Living at Papkuil, S.Africa 1944.

LEA, Marie

Wife of Rev. Walter Lea, (see below). JOINED UMCA 1867 (arrived Zanzibar Nov.) Child born 1869, baptised April. Return to England June 6th 1869 and RESIGN.

LEA, Walter

Priest

Educated University of London. JOINED UMCA 1867 (sailed Oct. arrived Zan. Nov.), accompanied by wife (see above). Stationed at Zanzibar. On sick furlough to the Seychelles Oct.-Dec. 1868. Returned to England June 1869, and RESIGNED. By 1871 he was curate of the Clare Market Mission, London.

LE GOOD, Henry Ethelbert

Deacon

Educated at St. Augustine's College Canterbury. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Zanzibar at St. Augustines 1900. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed May). Stationed at Mazasini. Invalided home Feb. 1901. RESIGNED.

LEWIS, David

Fitter

JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 5 Nov.) Stationed at Lake Nyasa. Furlough Ap.1901-Feb. 1902. RESIGNED 1903.



LEWIS, Robert William (died 1892)

Printer

From Bridgend. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed 12 Oct.) Stationed at Likoma. DIED 15 Mar. 1892 at Durban Hospital of fever on homeward journey.

LEY, Herbert (died 1895)

Doctor

M.R.C.S. L.S.A. Trained at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. Member of Guild of St. Luke. JOINED UMCA 1885 (sailed 2 Sept.) Stationed at Magila 1885-89. Returned to England and RESIGNED on father's death May 1889. Worked for three years in Pondoland. REJOINED UMCA 1892, returned to Magila. DIED at Magila 10 June 1895 of blackwater fever after a serious snake bite.

LISTER, Herbert

Layman

Member of Guild of St. Albans. JOINED UMCA 1891 from British Columbia. Stationed at Zanzibar, Kologwe and Mkunazini. Started the mission station at Kologwe and was later in charge of Industrial Boys at Mkunazini. Furlough June-Nov. 1892, Oct. 1895-June 1896. RESIGNED 1897, and accepted employment under government at Pemba.

LOWNDES, William Dobson (1857-1941)

Priest

Born November 1857 eldest son of Rev. Edward Spencer Lowndes, curate then later rector of Little Comberton, Worcs. Educated at Bradfield School and Christ's College Cambridge. Matric. Michaelmas 1876, Scholar 1876, B.A. 1880, M.A. 1884. JOINED UMCA 1880. Ordained deacon by Bp. Steere at Zanzibar 1881. Stationed at Magila. Invalided home 1883 and RESIGNED. Ordained priest by Bp. of Hereford 1884. Curate of Knowbury, Salop 1884-5; of Sturminster Newton, Dorset 1885-89; Bisley, Gloucs. 1890-95; of Burwarton with Cleobury, Salop. 1895-97; and of Little Comberton, Worcs. 1897-98. Rector of Little Comberton 1898-1939 'in which latter year he resigned terminating a family connexion with the living of 113 years'. Succeeded to the Hassall Hall Estate in Cheshire on the death of the last of the Misses Baxter, daus. and co-heiresses of Richard Lowndes and his wife Mary nee Baxter. DIED March 18 1941 at Bredon, Worcs. aged 83.

LYONS, Emma Frances (died 1902)

Nurse

Trained at Children's Hospital, Shadwell 1883, Bloomsbury Nursing Institution and St. Thomas' Hospital, London 1887-89. District Nurse at Cambridge 1889-97. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 Sept.) Stationed Zanzibar 1899, Likoma 1900, Malindi 1901. DIED at sea 2 June 1902 following overwork after several attacks of fever.

MACKAY, Malcolm (1873-1953)

Priest

Born May 10 1873. Educated at Lancing College; Keble College Oxford 1892-95, B.A. 1895, M.A. 1904; Cuddesdon Theological College 1895-96. Ordained deacon 1896 and priest 1897. Assistant Curate of Henley on Thames 1896-1900. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed Feb.) Stationed at Kiungani, Mkunazini, Pemba and Hegongo. Warden of Theological College 1925-42. Archdeacon of Zanzibar 1913-1917. Archdeacon of Magila 1922-1947? Furlough Nov. 1902-June 1903; June-Nov. 1906; Sept. 1909-Feb. 1911; Mar.-July 1913; Mar.-Sept. 1917; Mar.-Aug. 1921; July 1924-Jan. 1925; Feb.-Aug. 1928; May-Nov. 1931; Aug. 1934-Feb. 1935; Mar. 1938-Aug. 1938. RESIGNED 18th June 1947. DIED 15th Feb. 1953. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Shepton Mallet, June 1873, Vol. 5c p. 563).

MACKENZIE, Anne (1813-1887)

Born c 1813, daughter of Colin Mackenzie of Portmore, sister of Bishop Mackenzie, see next. Went to Natal to keep house for brother in 1854. Returned to England 1859. JOINED UMCA 1860 (sailed 4 Oct.) accompanying brother. Stayed at Capetown with Bp. Gray until summoned to Zambezi Sept. 1861. Sailed from Natal 24th Dec. 1861. Reached Zambezi Jan. 1862. Met Livingstone at Zambezi Mouth 1 Feb. 1862. At Chibisa's 4 March 1862. Left for Cape in the 'Gorgon' 4 April 1862. At Capetown 26 April. RETURNED to England and settled in Hampshire. Founded the Mackenzie Memorial Mission to Zululand 1864 and edited the mission periodical The Net from its commencement in 1866 until 1876. DIED at Havant Feb. 11th 1887. See F. Awdry, An Elder Sister 2nd ed. 1904.

MACKENZIE, Charles Frederick (1825-1862)

Bishop

Born April 10 1825 at Portmore, Peebles, Scotland, the 12th child and 6th and youngest son of Colin Mackenzie, Clerk of Sessions of Portmore and Elizabeth his wife, dau. of Sir William Forbes, Bart. Educated at Grange School, Bishop Wearmouth and Edinburgh Academy. Entered St. John's College, Cambridge May 1844, migrated to Caius May 1845. Prizeman and Scholar; B.A. (2nd Wrangler) 1848. M.A. 1851. Ramsden prize 1860. Fellow of Caius 1848-62 and tutor. Admitted ad eundem at Oxford. 1860. Ordained deacon at Ely 1851, and priest 1852. Curate of Haslingfield, Cambs. 1851-54. Went with J. W. Colenso to Natal 1854. Archdeacon of Natal 1855-9. Chaplain to the troops in Natal 1858-59. Returned to England 1859 and APPOINTED head of UMCA. Consecrated Bishop to the Tribes in the Neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire 1860. Sailed for Africa 4 Oct. 1860. At Chibisa and Magomero. DIED on the Ruo river 31st January 1862 of fever following a boat accident. His eldest brother Wm. Forbes Mackenzie, Esq. of Portmore was Secretary of the Treasury in the Ministry of Lord Derby 1852. See H. Goodwin, Life of Bishop Mackenzie, 1867.

MADAN, Arthur Cornwallis (1846-1917)

Layman

Born March 8, 1846 son of Rev. George Madan of Cam near Dursley, Gloucs., later Canon of Bristol and Rector of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol and Rector of Dursley. Educated at Marlborough (1861-65) and Christ Church, Oxford. Matric. Oct. 1865, junior student 1865-9, senior student 1869, B.A. 1869, M.A. 1872, Lecturer 1870 and tutor 1871-80. JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed at Zanzibar. Furlough June 1884-1885; Aug. 1888-June 1889; 1893. RESIGNED April 1897 and for the next 12 years he devoted himself to studying Bantu languages in Northern Rhodesia - Wemba, Wisa, Lemba, Senga and Lala tongues. DIED at Stourton, nr. Zeals, Wiltshire August 11th 1917. Linguist and author. 'A strong Conservative of the 'old fashioned' High Church School'.

MAKINS, Arthur

Layman

Member of the Society of Sacred Mission. JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 9 Sept.) Stationed at Magila. In charge of 'Bp. Smythies Memorial Home' on Pemba in 1903. On Furlough Dec. 1900-July 1901; June 1904-Feb. 1905; May 1908-Oct. 1908; May 1912-Oct. 1912. Interned in German East Africa 1914-16. RETIRED April 1917 on marriage to Nurse Davey.

MALLENDER, George William (died 1936)

Printer

From East Retford. JOINED UMCA 1888 (sailed 10 May). Stationed at Kiungani. On furlough 1892-93. Invalided home Feb. 1895. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1895. DIED March 20 1936.

MAPLES, Chauncy (1852-1895)

Priest then Bishop

Born 17 Feb. 1852 at Bound's Green, Middlesex. 3rd son and 6th child of Frederick Maples, solicitor and Charlotte Elizabeth his wife. Educated at private school at Wimbledon, Charterhouse 1866-71 and University College, Oxford. Matric. Jan. 1871. B.A. 3rd Cl. Theology 1874, M.A. 1879. Worked as a layman under Rev. John Eyre at Liverpool 1874-75. Ordained deacon by Bp. Mackarness at Cuddesdon 1875. Curate of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford 1875-76. JOINED UMCA 1876 (sailed 18 Mar.) Stationed Zanzibar 1876, Masasi 1877-9, 1880-2, Newala 1882-84, 1885-6. Went with Bp. Smythies from Newala to Likoma in 1886. Consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral June 29th 1895. On furlough June 1879-June 1880, June 1884-Mar. 1885, Aug. 1890-Aug. 1891, Feb.-July 1895. Left England for Likoma as Bishop July 11th 1895. DROWNED in Lake Nyasa 2 Sept. 1895. *See 'Notes, Life & Chauncy Maples'*

MAPLESDEN, W. H.

Shoemaker

From Battle, Sussex. JOINED UMCA 1878. WITHDREW because of ill health 1879.

MARGESSON, William Anthony (1866-1898)

Priest

Born 1866. 5th son of Rev. Reginald Whitehall Margesson of Mountfield, Sussex. Educated at Wellington College; Keble College, Oxford, matric. Oct. 1886, B.A. 1890. Attended Leeds Clergy School 1890. Ordained deacon 1891, priest 1892. Curate of St. Columba, Wanstead Slip 1891-96. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 6 May). Stationed at Likoma and Kota Kota. DIED 5 April 1898 at Blantyre on way home. Friend of Alfred Dutton, engineer see above.

MARSH, Alice (died 1875)

JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Mbweni. DIED at Zanzibar 14 November 1875 of 'sunstroke and fever'. Effect of walk from Mbweni to town, 4½ miles in afternoon sun to be present at a baptism.

MARY DOROTHEA, Sister (died 1934) of the Community of St. Raphael

JOINED UMCA 1890. Stationed at Magila. Furlough Feb. 1893-May 1894. WITHDREW 1895 with rest of the Sisters. DIED Feb. 14 1934.

MARY ELIZABETH, Sister of the Community of St. Raphael.

JOINED UMCA 1887. Stationed at Magila. Furlough Mar. 1890-91. INVALIDED 1892 and withdrew from service in Africa. One of the first 3 sisters to work for UMCA.

MAXWELL, Henry George

Priest

Born 1846. 2nd son of Rev. Charles Maxwell, Rector of Wyddial, Herts. Educated at Eton and St. John's College, Oxford, matric. Jan. 1865, B.A. 1868, M.A. 1871. Cuddesdon College. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Rochester 1870, priest 1871. Held several curacies. Curate of St. Alban's Holborn 1875-82. Chaplain, Her Majesty's Prison, Coldbath Fields 1882-86. JOINED UMCA 1888 (sailed 19 April) Stationed at Magila. Invalided 1888 and RESIGNED Nov. 1888. Later Rector of Meesdon, Herts., 1890-94.

MC LAUGHLIN, Sophia Charlotte (died 1928)

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. Formerly Matron of Warneford Hospital, Leamington. JOINED UMCA 1888 (sailed 31 July). Stationed at Likoma Hospital. On Furlough June 1891-Feb. 1892. Returned to England Sept. 1893 and RESIGNED. Later went to take charge of a hospital in Ceylon.

MC LEAN, Charles (died 1936)

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1899. Stationed at Magila and Mkunazini. On furlough Aug. 1901-1902, July 1909-Jan. 1910. RETIRED July 1920. Went to live in Edinburgh. DIED 2 June 1936. An enthusiastic photographer.

MATTHEWS Henry

Builder and carpenter

JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 17 Jan.) Stationed Nyasaland. RESIGNED 1899.

MATTHEWS, James Lewis

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed July). Stationed at Kiungani. On furlough May 1888-Apr. 1889. Returned to England and RESIGNED 25 Feb. 1893.

MATTHEWS, Thomas Cobby

Carpenter and Trawler

JOINED UMCA 1893. Stationed at Likoma. Invalided and RESIGNED 1895.

MELLOR, Frederick Wm.

Layman

Trained by Society of Sacred Mission. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 10 Feb.) Stationed at Zanzibar, Masasi and Magila. Invalided home Oct. 1895 following haematuric fever and dysentery. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1895. At Burgh Missionary College 1898.

MERCER, William Marsden (1859-1939)

Layman then priest

Born c 1859. Educated at Merchant Taylor's School, Crosby, Liverpool. JOINED UMCA 1884 (16 Jan. sailed) as a layman (architect). Stationed at Mkunazini 1884-1886. Returned to England July 1886. At Dorchester Missionary College for two years. Ordained deacon by Sp. Smythies June 15 1888 and priest Dec. 20 1891. Stationed at Magila, and in charge of Mkuzi 1889-93, Priest in charge of Christ Church, Zanzibar 1893. On Furlough June 1890-Sept. 1891. RESIGNED in September 1893 on his marriage to Miss Dean-Pitt (see above). Undertook work under Bp. of Capetown 1894. Curate of St. Mary, Woodstock, Capetown 1894-96; Priest in charge of Endhlonzana, Transvaal 1896-1901; Chaplain to Forces in S. Africa 1901 (Queen's Medal with 2 clasps). In 1901 returned to England from Piet Rief where for 18 months had been cut off from outside world. Canon of St. Peter, Vryheid 1905-15. RETIRED to England 1915 and became Vicar of Flockton in the Diocese of Wakefield. DIED 8 Jan. 1939. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, West Derby, Mar. 1859, Vol. 86, p. 366).

MIDGELEY, James (1832-1922)

Priest

Born March 4th 1832 at Halifax, Yorks. Son of William Midgeley, Innkeeper. Educated at Bingley School and St. John's College, Cambridge. Matric. Midsummer 1854. B.A. 1858 (Moral Science Tripos 1st Class). M.A. 1866 Ordained deacon at Ripon 1859, and priest 1860. Curate of St. James Bradford 1859-61; Curate of Icktham, Kent 1861-73. JOINED UMCA 1873 (sailed April). Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. Invalided following repeated attacks of fever 1874 and RESIGNED. Consular Chaplain at Pernambuco, Brazil 1875-92. Licenced preacher diocese of Wakefield 1894-22. Resided latterly at Todmorden where he DIED May 31 1922.

MILLER, Harry Sanders

Printer

Born c 1876. Apprentice to printing. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 20 Jan.) Stationed at Likoma. On furlough Sept. 1899-April 1900. WITHDREW for family reasons August 1903. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Fulham, March 1876, Vol. 1a p. 226).

MILLS, Dora Yarnton (1849-1936)

Teacher

Daughter of clergyman. From Bisley Manor House, Gloucs. and St. Denys Orphanage Warminster when JOINED UMCA 1879 (sailed Oct. 2nd). Stationed at Zanzibar, at Kilimani from 1894. In charge of small boys. Furloughs 1882-Feb. 1883; June-Sept. 1886, 1891-Mar. 1892; May 1893-May 1894; Ap. 1897-Feb. 1898; June 1901-Mar. 1902. RESIGNED Mar. 1905. Appointed by Home Committee to act as sub-editor of 'Central Africa' 1905. Retired 1920. DIED 26 Nov. 1936. Author of numerous works for the mission. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Stroud, Sept. 1849, Vol. XI p. 399).



MILLS, James William

Blacksmith

JOINED UMCA 1887 (sailed 17 Feb.) Stationed at Likoma. RESIGNED Oct. 1890.

MINTER, Edith Kathleen

Nurse

Trained University College Hospital. Member of Guild of St. Barnabas for Nurses. JOINED UMCA 1898 (sailed 5 Nov.) Stationed Likoma and Kota Kota. Furlough Jan.-Nov. 1901; Ap. 1906-Jan. 1907; Nov. 1909-May 1910; May 1913-Nov. 1913. Married Dr. Howard (see above) Sept. 1909 at Mpondas, left Likoma diocese. Accepted for work in Zanzibar diocese 1910. RETIRED May 1918.

MITCHELL, Henry John

Layman

Educated St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. JOINED UMCA 1875. WITHDREW 1876. Went to work in South Africa. Ordained deacon 1877 at Kaffaria, and priest 1881. Curate of St. Mark's Transkei 1877-82; Priest in Charge 1882-85; at Cathcart, Cape Colony 1885-89, Vicar of Cathcart 1889-92; Incumbent (S.P.G.) of Springvale, Natal 1892-93; Incumbent of Butterworth, Cape Colony 1894-1902; Rector of Wepener 1902-05. Priest in charge of Indwe 1905-07; Curate of St. Saviour's Claremont, Cape Colony 1907-08. Returned to England. Rector of Meeth, Devon 1916-24- .

MOFFATT, James Ronald

Layman then priest

Educated by Society of Sacred Mission, Kelham, and Christs Hospital School. Articled to an architect and surveyor. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 Oct.) Stationed at Mkunazini. Furlough July 1902-Apr. 1903; Aug. 1906-Apr. 1907; WITHDREW Oct. 1909. REJOINS 1910 on acceptance by Bp. Hine for work in N. Rhodesia. Ordained deacon by Bp. Hine Mar. 1912, and priest 1913. Mainly at Mapanza 1912-18. Furlough Mar. 1913-Aug. 1913; Dec. 1916-Mar. 1917. Married Nurse G. Salmsbury at Mapanza 27 Oct. 1918. RESIGNS 1919. Curate of St. Mary, Johannesburg 1919-20; St. Saviour, St. Albans 1920-22; Rector of Barberton, Diocese of Pretoria 1922-25; P. in-c. of Sekukuniland and Supt. of Jane Furse Memorial Hospital 1925-29; Rector of St. Augustine Kimberley 1929-32; P. in c. of Endholozana Miss. and Rector of Piet Relief 1932-35. RESIGNS 1947. Curate of St. Cyprian Cathedral S. Africa 1947-50; of St. Albans Copnor, Portsmouth, England 1950-51. Itinerant priest in S. Africa 1951-54. Rector of Barkley West 1954-56. Still alive 1967-68 at Garden's Hotel, Queenstown, Cape Province, S. Africa.

MOLESWORTH, Mary Agnes

Teacher

Born 9th April 1852. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Furlough Mar.-Oct. 1901. Returned to England Nov. 1904 and RESIGNED 1905. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Birdge, June 1852, Vol. 2a, p. 462).

MORTON, John (died 1878)

Schoolmaster

JOINED UMCA 1870 (sailed March). Stationed at Zanzibar. RESIGNED connection with mission Dec. 13 1873, following personal difficulties (his rejection by fiancée). Set himself up as a trader. Caravan leader for C.M.S. March 1877, reached Lake Victoria October 1877. Visited Mirambo. Planned opening up of ivory trade of region. Morton set out for Urambo from Zanzibar July 1878 with message from Kirk and Barghash for Mirambo. 'Shortly after leaving the coast Morton fell victim to a fever so serious that it affected his mental stability. He fatally shot himself while in a fit of depression.' (N. Bennett, Mirambo p. 88). Buried by Bp. Steere August 21 1878 at Zanzibar.

MOSS, John Henry (died 1877)

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. DIED 17 Jan. at Zanzibar 1877, of fever and jaundice 'rode from Mbwani wearing black cassock. Ill at Kiungani but would press on.' Buried at Kiungani.

NELSON, Ellen M. (died 1932)

Teacher

Daughter of Rev. Thomas Sherlock Nelson, Rector of St. Peter at Arches, Lincoln and Canon of Lincoln Cathedral. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 8 Sept.) Stationed at Girls' School, Mbwani. Furlough June 1900-Apr. 1901. RESIGNED 1903 owing to ill health. Returned to Lincolnshire. Died April 29 1932.

NEWHAM, Charles Spencer

Organist, choirmaster and carpenter

From Croydon. JOINED UMCA 1877 (sailed Oct.) RESIGNED Sept. 1878 after repeated attacks of fever.

NEWTON, Mary (died 1938)

Nurse

12 months training Stockwell Fever Hospital, 4 months training University College Hospital, and 2½ years District Nursing, St. Barnabas, Hove. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 8 Oct.) Stationed at Kota Kota, Nyasa. Furlough Dec. 1902-Oct. 1903; Nov. 1907-July 1908; Mar.-Sept. 1912. Returned to England Nov. 1914. RESIGNED 1916. DIED 12th June 1938.

NICHOLS, Ernest John Alexander (c 1872-1901) Priest

Born 1872. From Guildford then Wokingham (1893). Trained Dorchester Missionary College. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 30 Jan.) Ordained deacon at Zanzibar by Bp. Richardson April 19 1896, and priest at St. Giles Cripplegate Nov. 1899. Stationed at Zanzibar, Magila, Kologwe, and Masasi. Furlough Oct. 1898-Dec. 1899 (acted as curate at Wokingham). DIED 5 April 1901 at Masasi of haematuric fever, no nurse or doctor present. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Hartley W., Sept. 1872 Vol. 2c, p. 175).

NORGATE, Jessie

Teacher

Born 7 March 1863. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 8 Sept.) Stationed at Mbweni. Returned to England May 1900 and RESIGNED.

PACKE, Caroline A. F. (Mrs.)

JOINED UMCA 1869 (sailed May arrived June). Stationed at Zanzibar in charge of girls at Shamba. WITHDREW 1869.

PAKEMAN, Sarah Anne

JOINED UMCA 1867 (sailed Oct.) Stationed Zanzibar, in charge of girls. INVALIDED July 1872. Wished to return 'but she never could agree' with anybody'.

PALMER, Edmund Stuart (died 1931)

Doctor and Priest

Trained Edinburgh University, M.B. and M. Chir. 1882. In 1884 started a practice at Broadstairs. Owing to advice of friends at St. Peter's London Docks, he entered Cuddesdon 1888. Ordained deacon at Ripon 1889, priest 1890. Curate of St. Saviours Leeds 1889-93. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 May). Stationed at Zanzibar, Mkuzi, Kiungani 1897-1902. Invalided Ap. 1896, returned Dec. Invalided July 1898, returned from Cairo 1899. Invalided following haematuria May 1901 and RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1902. Curate of St. John Clevedon 1902-04, Vicar of Kirton in Holland, Lincs. 1904-16. REJOINED diocese of Zanzibar as temporary volunteer 1916. Appted. Canon of Z. Furlough June, 1920-Jan. 1921,; May 1924-Oct.; Aug.-Nov. 1927; May-Sept. 1930. DIED Zanzibar Hospital 11 June 1931 of heart failure. Member of E.C.U. and C.B.S.

PALMER, Mary Gertrude

Teacher

Formerly District Visitor, St. Columba's, Sunderland. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 11 Sept.) Stationed at Likoma. Invalided home Jan. 1896 following haematuric fever at Likoma Sept. 1895. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1896. Accepted by Japan Mission for work in Tokyo.

PEARSE, Francis Eling (1876-1955)

Priest

Born May 25th 1876. Educated City of London School; Hatfield Hall, Durham, B.A. 1899, M.A. 1905; and St. Augustine's College, Canterbury 1895. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 8 Sept.) Ordained deacon by Bp. of Zanzibar 24 June 1900, priest 22 Dec. 1901. Stationed at Kiungani. Furlough Mar.-Sept. 1902. Returned to England Aug. 1905. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board (recent black water fever) Oct. 1905. Curate of St. Aidan's Small Heath, Birmingham 1906-08; REJOINED 1908 (sailed Oct.) Priest in charge Kigongoi 1908-23. Temporary Chaplain with forces 1915-18; at Kzura 1923-25, Canon of Zanzibar 1921-25. Furlough Mar.-Aug. 1911; May 1914-Apr. 1923. RESIGNED Sept. 1925. Assistant p. St. Cuthbert Tsolo, Kaffaria 1926-28. Rector of Drayton St. Leonard, Oxford 1928-46. Retired to Camberley, Surrey. DIED Oct. 1955. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Edmonton, June 1876, Vol. 3a p. 239).

PEARSON, Herbert Molesworth (1858-1894)

Engineer

JOINED 1893 (sailed 10 Feb.) Stationed Chizumulu (2 months), Likoma (4 months). Engineer of 'Charles Janson'. DIED of fever at Likoma 26 May 1894 (fever remittent, exhaustion, hyper-pyrexia). Was preparing for ordination.

PENNELL, Richard Lewin (c 1828-1872)

Priest

1st son of Richard Lewin Pennell of Exeter, M.D. Educated Christ Church College, Oxford, matric. 4 June 1846 aged 18. B.A. 1850, M.A. 1853. Ordained . Formerly assistant master at St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint. JOINED UMCA 1868 (sailed June). Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. DIED 25 June 1872 at Zanzibar of fever contracted after terrible hurricane. Buried Kiungani. Translated St. Luke's Gospel into Swahili.

PETRIE, James

Doctor

Educated University of Aberdeen, M.B. and C.M. 1882. Member of Guild of St. Luke. JOINED 1882/3. Stationed at Magila. RESIGNED 1886.

PHILIPPS, John George (died 1906)

Layman then priest

Educated at Dorchester Missionary College, Oxon. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 11 Oct.) Ordained deacon by Bp. Hine April 11 1897, priest April 29 1900. Stationed at Likoma, Kota Kota, Mpondas and on the 'Chauncy Maples' 1904-06. Furlough Jan.-Nov. 1898, Oct. 1902-Jan. 1904 (invalided). DIED 31 March 1906 at Likoma of black water fever.

PHILLIPS, Edith

Wife of Owen Phillips, see below. JOINED UMCA 1881. Stationed at Kiungani. RESIGNED 1882.

PHILLIPS, Janet

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 9 May). Stationed at St. Monica's Zanzibar. Furlough Feb.-Oct. 1900; Aug. 1903-Sept. 1904; March-Sept. 1908. Invalided home Sept. 1910. RESIGNED 1911 on advice of Medical Board.

PHILLIPS, Laura

JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 April). Stationed at Mbweni, appointed head of St. Monica's Zanzibar Jan. 1899. Furlough Ap. 1896-May 1897; Nov. 1899-Oct. 1900; Aug. 1903-Sept. 1904; Feb.-July 1905 (owing to brother's grave illness); July 1908-Jan. 1909. Returned to England 15 Feb. 1911 and RESIGNED 1912.

PHILLIPS, Owen (died 1912)

Layman then priest

JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. Received instruction at Oxford for ordination. Ordained deacon at Zanzibar 1878, priest 1881. Married Edith ..... and returned from England with her April 1881. Invalided 1882 and RESIGNED. Vicar of Cold Waltham, Sussex in 1897. DIED 17 Nov. 1912.

POLLARD, Cecil Sherrard (1859-1886)

Priest

Born 9th August 1859 at 5 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park. Third son of George Octavius Pollard, Esq. Bought up at Cobham. Father died 1868, family moved to Brighton. Educated at Brighton College and Keble College, Oxford, matric. Oct. 1878, B.A. 1882, M.A. 1885. Ordained deacon at London 1882, priest 1884. Curate of St. Paul's, Hammersmith, with charge of St. Mark's Mission Church, 1883-5. JOINED UMCA 1885 (sailed July). Stationed at Newala, and Mbweni Feb.-May 1886. DIED 16 Aug. 1886 of fever at Mozambique in Consul O'Neill's house. Buried there. Memorial window in St. Mark's Mission Church, Hammersmith. Short biography privately printed Early Called. A short memoir with letters by J. M.

POOLE, John Gough

Layman

JOINED UMCA 1874. Stationed Zanzibar. RESIGNED 1874? Later attended Kings College London, AKC 1878; ordained deacon at Norwich 1878, priest 1879. Curate of Docking, Norfolk and assistant Chaplain Docking Union, 1878-81; Rector of St. Margaret de Westwick with St. Swithin, Norwich 1881-83; Vicar of Barton-Turf, Norfolk 1883-1929 and Chaplain Smallburgh Union 1898-1917. Living at Leamington Spa 1930.

PORTER, William Carmichael (1836-1909)

Priest

Born 28 Nov. 1836 at Stamford, Lincs. Son of Rev. Charles Porter, Vicar of Raunds, Northants. (and grandson of John Porter, Bp. of Clogher 1798-1819 and Regius Professor of Hebrew, who died leaving £240,000). Educated Rugby School and Trinity College, Cambridge; matric. Michaelmas 1855, B.A. 1860, M.A. 1863. Cuddesdon Theological College 1859. Ordained deacon 1860 (Oxford) and priest 1862 (Peterboro'). Curate of Speenhamland, Berks. 1860-61; Curate of Addington, Northants. 1862-3; Downton, Wilts. 1864-70; Raunds, Northants. 1870-77; Curate of St. Michael's, Angels Meadow, Manchester 1878-80. JOINED UMCA 1880. Stationed at Newala, Masasi and Lumesule. Appointed Canon of Zanzibar 1903. Furlough Ap. 1886-Feb. 1877; Aug. 1891-June 1892; Nov. 1897-July 1898; Sept. 1903-Oct. 1904; Dec. 1906-June 1907. DIED at Lumesule nr. Masasi 15 Nov. 1909 of fever following exhaustion and diarrhoea after a journey. Member of E.C.U.

PRATCHETT, William Charles

Carpenter

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 May). Returned to England 27 June 1901 and RESIGNED.



PRIOR, Edward Henry Turner (died 1901)

Schoolmaster

Described in 'Central Africa' as a 'young University layman'. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed Oct.) Stationed at Kiungani. Furlough May 1898-July 1899. RESIGNED (by request) September 1900. DIED in Zanzibar Hospital of blackwater fever 2 Aug. 1901 contracted at Dunga where he had been living.

PRIOR, Robert (1864-1929)

Priest

Born Feb. 29th 1864 at Dewsbury son of Frederick Stowe Prior, Esq. Educated at a private school at Dewsbury, and Peterhouse, Cambridge; matric. Michaelmas 1890, B.A. 1893, M.A. 1897. Ordained deacon at Truro 1894 and priest 1896. Curate of Crowan, Cornwall 1894-1900. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 9 Feb.) Stationed at Kologwe 1900-03, and Pemba 1904-06. Furlough Mar. 1903-Jan. 1904. RESIGNED July 1906 on accepting the living of Pencoys, Cornwall 1906-12; Vicar of Godolphin 1912-19; Vicar of Hebden Bridge, Yorks. 1919-23; Curate of St. George Basseterre, St. Kitts, West Indies 1926-8. Latterly of Brookroyd House, Heckmondwike, Yorks. DIED April 1929 at Penzance. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Dewsbury, Mar. 1864, Vol. 96 p. 569).

PROCTOR, Lovell James (1833-1910)

Priest

Born June 22nd 1833 at Elvington nr. York. Son of Wm. Procter, Vicar of Bp. Burton, Yorks. Educated at University of Durham, L. Th. 184 , B.A. 1858, M.A. 1865. Ordained deacon 1855 at York, and priest 1856. Curate of Naburn, Yorks. 1855-58; Curate of Fulford, York 1858; Curate of St. Lawrence, York 1859-60. JOINED UMCA 1860 (sailed 4 Oct. 1860). Stationed at Chibisa's and Magomero. Invalided home and RESIGNED 1864. Married Francis Woodrow, niece of Zululand missionary Rev. R. Robertson, in S. Africa March 29th 1864. Returned to England. Curate of Beeford, Yorks., 1864; of Bolton-Percy, Yorks. 1865-69; of St. Giles, Reading, and chaplain of the Royal Berke. Hospital, and master at Reading School 1869-76. At Bournemouth 1876-86. In charge of St. Columba's Salem, New Brunswick, Canada 1886-88. Chaplain of St. Anne's School, Abbots Bromley, Staffs. and Curate of Ryton, Shropshire 1888-91. Rector of Radwell near Baldock, Herts. 1891-1910. DIED Jan. 24th 1910 aged 77. N. R. Bennett and M. Ylvisaker, The Central African Journal of Lovell J. Procter 1860-1864. Boston 1971.

PULLINGER, Bertram Wallis

Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed Feb. 15). Stationed at Likoma. Returned to England Sept. 1893 and RESIGNED 1893.

RADFORD, Charles Inchbald

Priest

Student of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury 1891; JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 1st Mar.) Ordained deacon at Zanzibar by Bishop Tucker Aug. 1894, priest by Bp. Richardson Dec. 1895. Stationed Zanzibar and Newala. Invalided home June 1897 after recent severe fever. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1898. Curate of Myland, Essex 1898-99; of Potton, Beds. 1899-1901; Chaplain in Forces, S. Africa 1901-03; Aldershot 1903-04; Deepcut and Blackdown 1904-07; Dublin 1907-11; Gibraltar 1911-14; B.E.F. 1915-16 (mentioned in despatches 1915); Salonica 1916-18; Bournemouth Area 1918-19; Lichfield 1919-20. Rector of Woodsford with Tindleton, Salisbury Dio. 1920-27; p.C. Shipley, Sussex 1927-34; Vicar of Queen Camel, Somerset from 1937.

RAM, Mary Frances Jane (died 1922)

Nurse

Daughter of Rev. G. Stopford Ram, many years vicar of St. Peter's Bournemouth. Trained at St. Thomas's Hospital. Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. Night Superintendent of Monsall Fever Hospital, Manchester. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 May) aged 31. Stationed at Zanzibar Hospital. Furlough June 1901-March 1902. RESIGNED 1902 on marriage to Dr. Charlesworth, medical officer of Zanzibar town and Government. DIED at St. Thomas's Hospital 20th Sept. 1922.

RAMSHAW, Richard C.

Printer

JOINED UMCA 1883 (sailed 24 Oct.) Returned and RESIGNED 1885. Presumably a widower for in Oct. 1883 the U.M.C.A. granted £24 per annum for the maintenance of his child in England.

RANDOLPH, Edward Seymour Leveson (1849-1932)

Priest

Born at Dunnington, York, May 30 1849, son of Rev. Edward John Randolph, Rector of Dunnington 1845-98 and Canon of York 1848-98. Educated Westminster School and Trinity College Cambridge; matric. 1868, B.A. 1872. Rowing 'blue' 1870, 71, 72. Cuddesdon Theological College. Ordained deacon (Oxford) 1873, priest 1874. Curate of Abingdon, Berks. 1873-75. JOINED UMCA 1875. Stationed at Zanzibar, Mbweni. Furlough 1878-79. RESIGNED 1879. Vicar of Great Chesterford, Essex 1880-97. Appointed UMCA Secretary for Northern Province 1896-1900. Permission to officiate in dioceses of Canterbury and Edinburgh 1901-32. Married 1881 Agnes widow of Wm. Garforth and dau. of Major Geo. Duff. DIED July 13 1932 at Croydon, Surrey. Buried there. Sister Jane Caroline Randolph was secretary of the UMCA 'Children's Fund' 1879-97. DIED March 30 1930.

RANKIN, Lionel Kentish

Layman

Born at Clifton, Bristol, son of Thomas Wright Rankin. Educated Clifton College and Christ's College, Cambridge; matric; 1874, B.A. 1878, M.A. 1882. JOINED UMCA 1879. Stationed Zanzibar? WITHDREW 1879? Assistant Resident N. Nigeria 1900, invalided 1902. Resident in London in 1911.

READ, Albert

Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed Oct.) Stationed Nyasa. WITHDREW 1885.

REES, Alice

Nurse

Trained at the London Hospital. Matron under Metropolitan Asylum's Board and at the Fever Hospital, St. Albans. JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 11 July). Stationed at Likoma. RESIGNED 1897 on her marriage.

RICHARDS, Morley John Beaver

Priest

Educated at Lincoln College, Oxford. B.A. 1895. Ordained deacon 1896 and priest 1897, Wakefield. Curate of St. Thomas's Huddersfield 1896-7. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 Dec.) RESIGNED and left to join Roman Catholic Church August 1900.

RICHARDSON, William Moore (1845-1915)

Bishop

Born 1845 son of Rev. Thomas Richardson of Plymouth. Educated at Rossall School and Merton College, Oxford; matric. Oct. 1864, Postmaster 1864-69, B.A. 1869, M.A. 1879. Ordained deacon at Lichfield 1869 and priest 1870. Curate of Christ Church Wolverhampton 1869-73, of Bedminster 1874-75, of Dorchester, Oxon. 1879-83. Vicar of Wolvercote, Oxon. 1883-89. Vicar of Ponteland, Newcastle 1889-95. JOINED when appointed Bp. of Zanzibar 1895. Consecrated St. Peter's Day 1895. D. D. Oxon 1895. Sailed for Africa 8 Aug. 1895. Furlough May 1897-Jan. 1898 for Lambeth Conference; Nov. 1899-1900. RESIGNED 1900 but not make formal resignation until 30 Nov. 1901. Appointed Canon of Christ Church, Zanzibar 1904. Assistant Bishop to Primate of Scotland then Bp. of St. Andrews for 7 years. Lived for a time at Oxford and in 1911 migrated to Cambridge where he lived with the Community of St. Anselm acting as their chaplain. DIED 6 March 1915. Was a member of E.C.U. and C.B.S. and the 'secret' Holy Cross Society.

RIDDELL, Charles Sidney Buchanan (1858-1886)

Priest

Born 3rd August 1858 third son of Rev. John Charles Buchanan Riddell, Rector of Harrietsham, Kent. (Grandson of Sir John Riddell of Roxburgh, baronet). Educated Christ Church, Oxford; matric. Oct. 1876, B.A. 1880, M.A. 1883. Cuddesdon Theological College 1880. Ordained. JOINED UMCA 1884. (Sailed 7 May). Stationed at Magila. DIED of fever at Magila 11 June 1886. 'obvious imprudence, never home till after dark, frequently in wet clothes which were unchanged.' Brother was Sir J. W. B. Riddell, bart., vice-president and treasurer of UMCA, member of E.C.U.

ROBERTS, Charles W. (died 1898)

Schoolmaster

From Brighton. Attended Bible classes held at school in Brighton which he went to. Influenced by Archbishop Tait's son. Joined Juvenile Missionary Association. Became a teacher in Church Boy's School. JOINED UMCA 1881. Stationed Masasi, Kiungani, 1887-96 at Magila, 1896 at Kiungani, 1896-98 at Mkunazini. Furlough Dec. 1885-May 1887; Mar.-Sept. 1892. DIED 3rd August 1898 at Zanzibar.

ROBINSON, Frank Augustine (died 1906)

Doctor

M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. (1892) Guy's Hospital. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 21 Aug.) Stationed at Likoma. Returned to England November 1894. Presumably returned to Africa from whence he was invalided after peripheral neuritis in 1897. RESIGNED. Later worked for a year in Diocese of Labrador, but again broke down with fever. Afterwards he went to the Indian Mission at Durban. DIED at Natal Oct. 16 1906.

ROBINSON, William

Blacksmith/Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed Oct.) Stationed at Nyasa, helped build the 'Charles Janson'. Invalided 1886 and RESIGNED.

RODEN, Charlotte

JOINED UMCA 1870. Stationed at Zanzibar? WITHDREW 1870?

ROSS, William G.

Carpenter

From Cardiff. JOINED UMCA 1890 (sailed June). Stationed at Magila. Invalided 13 Dec. 1890, and RESIGNED.

RUSSELL, Walter Edward (died 1926)

Printer

From Great Gonerby, Lincs. 'Churchman at Ayot St. Peter, Herts.' Member of Society of Sacred Mission. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Jan.) Stationed at Magila. Furlough Ap.-Nov. 1896; Dec. 1898-Nov. 1899; May 1903-Jan. 1904; Sept. 1907-Oct. 1908; May-Oct. 1911; Dec. 1916-May 1917; Mar.-Aug. 1921; 1924. Interned in G.E.A. 1914-16. DIED 28 Feb. 1926.

ROWLEY, Henry (1824-1908)

Priest

Born 1824. Not brought up a churchman. Embraced 'Catholic' faith, worked under Father Louder in St. George's East, having charge of Boys' School. Moved to Oxford where he had charge of St. Thomas's Boys' School. Came under the notice of Bp. Wilberforce of Oxford who ordained him deacon in 1860 for the Mission. JOINED UMCA 1860 (sailed Dec. 6th 1860). Joined Bp. Mackenzie at Natal Feb. 1861, visited Rovuma with Bishop. At Chibisa's and Magomero. INVALIDED to England 1863. Ordained priest 1864. Later was for 36 years Organising Secretary of S.P.G. for Diocese of London. DIED at 2 Park Row, Albert Gate, London 19 Jan. 1908. Author of Story of UMCA, 1866, Twenty Years in Central Africa, Africa Unveiled, and The Religion of the Africans, and numerous articles.

SANDERSON, Stanley

Member of the Society of Sacred Mission, JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 31 Jan.) Stationed at Magila. Furlough Mar.-Sept. 1898. RESIGNED 1901 and undertook work for the Government at Mombasa.

SANIGEAR, Ellen Pegler D.

Nurse

JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed April 10). Stationed at Nyasa. Invalided and RESIGNED May 1898. REJOINED 1908, stationed at Zanzibar. RETIRED Oct. 1910. Subsequently she married E. J. Barnes of Zanzibar.

SAUNDERS, Caroline Louisa (died 1947)

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 July). Stationed at Zanzibar. Went to Cape with Miss Mills in 1895 and returned to Zanzibar. Furlough Mar.-Nov. 1896; Sept. 1899-July 1900; Mar. 1903-? Sept. 1907; Nov. 1909-April 1910. RESIGNED June 1910. DIED 16 May 1947 at Marie Louise Club, Sunninghill, Berks. In receipt of pension of £15 per annum from UMCA at death.

SAVAGE, Alice A. Miles (c 1868-1918)

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 6 May) aged 28. Stationed at Zanzibar. Returned to England March 1899 and RETIRED. DIED 1918.

SAYRES, Edward Henry Carleton (1850-1914) Priest

1st son of Rev. Edward Sayres (1815-1888) of Cold Ashton, Gloucestershire. Born Coldashton Rectory May 12th 1850. Educated Exeter College, Oxford; matric. 1869 aged 19, B.A. 1873, M.A. 1879. Ordained deacon 1874, and priest 1877 at Exeter. Curate of Colstock, Cornwall 1874-77; of St. Paul, Wokingham 1877-79. JOINED UMCA 1879, Stationed Zanzibar and Magila. Invalided 1880 and RESIGNED. Curate of Cold Ashton 1881-88; Rector 1888-1914. DIED at Cold Ashton Rectory Dec. 13th 1914.

SCHOFIELD, Martha Teacher

Born 16 July 1865. Certificated Teacher from Pembrokeshire. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 25 Feb.) Stationed at Likoma and Malindi. Furlough May 1901-Feb. 1902. RESIGNED because of home ties April 1906. Accepted post of schoolmistress in the parish of St. Florence, Pembrokeshire, where she worked before going to Africa.

SCUDAMORE, Henry Carter (c 1833-1863) Priest

Born at Lichfield, son of Edward Scudamore. Bapt. July 24 1833. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; matric. 1851, B.A. (41st Wrangler) 1855. Ordained. Sometime Assistant Master of Manchester Grammar School and curate of St. Simon's, Salford. JOINED UMCA 1860 (sailed 4 Oct.) Stationed at Chibisa's and Magomero. DIED 1 Jan. 1863 from severe fever and diarrhoea. Buried at Chibisa's.

SHARPE, Ada Mary Nurse

Five years nursing at Leeds Infirmary. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 9 April) aged 34. Stationed at Zanzibar, Mbweni and Masasi, one of the first three ladies who went to Masasi in Dec. 1903. Furlough Mar.-Nov. 1899; Jan.-Oct. 1903; May 1906-Feb. 1907. RETIRED from mission Feb. 1908.

SHAW, Frances Jervis (died 1893) Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. Had for 8 years worked in Japan. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 17 Feb.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Furlough May-Oct. 1889; 1891-Aug. 1892, worked part of time in Cairo; Invalided home August 1893. DIED at Kilsby near Rugby 9 Oct. 1893.

SHERRATT, Ellen (died 1884) Nurse

of All Sts. Parish Shrewsbury. Had a year's training at request of mission at the Shrewsbury Infirmary. JOINED UMCA 1882. Stationed at Zanzibar. RESIGNED 1883 on marriage to Charles Stokes of the C.M.S. She died at Mpwapa C.M.S. Station in 1884 after childbirth. (Charles Stokes (c 1852-1895), a civil engineer, served with the C.M.S. in East Africa until 1885 when he was dismissed for marrying a non-Christian African. Stokes remained in East Africa, becoming the most important individual ivory trader of the region. He was unjustly hanged after a mock trial by a Congo Independent State Official in 1895 for allegedly supplying arms to Arabs fighting the State. See N. R. Bennett 'Zanzibar to Ujiji' (p. 75 note 148).



SHERRIFF, George Henry (1840-1891)

Sailing Master

A 'trawler' of Brixham, Devon. JOINED UMCA 1886 (sailed 7 April) aged 46. Stationed on Lake Nyasa, for three years the Captain of the 'Charles Janson'. Furlough July 1889-Apr. 1890. DIED Likoma 12 Aug. 1891. Cause of death overwork. Upsetting of boat, caught cold, became comatose, ? sunstroke. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Newton Abbot, March 1840, Vol X p. 176).

SIM, Arthur Frazer (1861-1895)

Priest

Born 2 Nov. 1861, in Madras. Son of James Duncan Sim of the Madras Civil Service, and later of Barchay, Kincardines. Educated at Cheltenham College and Pembroke College, Cambridge; matric. Michaelmas 1881, B.A. 1884, M.A. 1889. Student under Bishop Lightfoot at Bishop Auckland. Ordained deacon 1885 and priest 1887 at Durham. Curate of St. John's Sunderland 1885-89; of St. Aidan's West Hartlepool 1889-94. In 1889 he was awarded the Royal Humane Society Bronze Medal for saving from drowning a boy at Sunderland. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 8 May) Stationed at Kota Kota which he opened as a station. DIED at Kota Kota 29 Oct. 1895 of malignant fever with jaundice. Life and Letters of A. F. Sim, and 'Recollections of Padre Sim' by Julius H. Abanda (his house boy) Central Africa, 1935 pp. 95-97.

SIMPSON, Thomas Crompton (died 1936)

Priest

Trained at Lincoln Theological College 1886. Ordained deacon by Bp. Worcester 1888, and priest 1889. Curate of St. James, Dudley 1888-90; of Dorchester, Oxon. 1890-92. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Jan.) Stationed at Newala 1893-94, and 1895-1900; Vice Principal at Kiungani 1894-95; at Masasi 1900-03. Furlough Dec. 1896-Jul. 1897; Mar. 1900-Feb. 1901. RETIRED 1903. Curate of St. James, Plymouth 1903-13; of Coates, diocese of Gloucester 1913-24, DIED 17 Aug. 1936. Member of C.S.S. and E.C.U.

SIMS, George (died 1950)

Member of Society of Sacred Mission. JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 31 Jan.) Stationed at Newala, and Masasi (from 1902) Had started for Nyasa in 1895 but was invalided from Quelimane to Zanzibar. Furlough May 1898-Mar. 1899; June 1901-Mar. 1902; June 1905-Feb. 1906; Dec. 1908-June 1909; June 1910-Feb. 1911. INVALIDED June 1913 and not allowed to return for medical reasons. DIED September 1950.

SIVIL, Thomas (c 1812-1891)

Bricklayer

From Burgh-le-Marsh, Lincs., Tozer's parish. JOINED UMCA 1863 (sailed March). On Zambezi June 1863. At Morrumbala until removal of mission early 1864. Returned to England via Cape 1864. RESIGNED. DIED at Burgh 8th Feb. 1891 aged 78.

SMITH, Evelyn Bucknall Larratt (1856-1931)

Priest

Born June 20th 1856. Son of George Smith, wine-merchant of Park Row, Greenwich. Educated at Merchant Taylors School, Clare College, Cambridge; matric. Lent 1879, B.A. 1882, M.A. 1889, and Cuddesdon Theological College 1882. Ordained deacon 1883, and priest 1884 by Bishop of Rochester. Curate of St. Stephen's Lewisham 1883-84. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed 2 July). Stationed at Newala 1884-93, Likoma and Chisumulu 1893-1906. Furlough June 1888-June 1889, June 1882-April 1893, June 1897-June 1898, 1902, - June 1905. RETIRED 1906. Latterly of 42 Lawrence Road, Hove, where he DIED April 23 1931. Member of E.C.U. and C.B.S.

SMITH, Harriet (died 1911)

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1882. Stationed at Mbweni. Furlough Mar. 1885-Mar. 1886. Invalided April 1889. RESIGNED 1890. DIED 3rd June 1911.

SMITH, Helen

From the Rectory, Dundle. JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 9 July). Stationed at Mbweni. Invalided home 30 April 1902. RESIGNED, not allowed by doctors to return.

SMITH, Lydia Leah Mary

Nurse

Formerly Matron of Stratford-on-Avon Hospital. JOINED UMCA 1889 (sailed 12 Mar.) Stationed at Magila. Returned to England 5 Jan. 1902 and RESIGNED owing to ill-health.

SMITH, Russell Blackbird

Carpenter

From St. Columba's Southwick. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 April). Stationed at Likoma. Left England for Likoma, reached Lake Nyasa but returned almost immediately invalided owing to fever. RESIGNED 1893. "An old man who ought never have come out".

SMYTH, Alice Julia

Nurse

JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 9 Aug.) Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. Invalided home, recent black water fever, 14 Aug. 1901. RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board 1901.

SMYTHIES, Charles Alan (1844-1894)

Bishop

Born in London August 6th 1844, son of Rev. Charles Norfolk Smythies, Vicar of St. Mary, the Walls, Colchester and his wife Isabella (dau. of Admiral Sir Eaton Travers of Gt. Yarmouth). Educated at Felstead. Family moved to Swanage on death of father 1857. Mother married Rev. Geo. Alston, Rector of Studland, Dorset. Attended Milton Abbas Grammar School. Entered Trinity College, Cambridge, Oct. 1863., B.A. 1867, M.A. 1871. During 1867-68 acted as tutor to young man, travelled on continent. At Cuddesdon Theological College Oct. 1868-69. Ordained deacon 1869, and priest 1871. Curate of Great Marlow, Bucks. 1869-72; of Roath, Cardiff 1872-80; Vicar of Roath 1880-84. Chosen 4th Bishop of Central Africa 1883. CONSECRATED at St. Paul's St. Andrews Day, 1883. (D.D. Cambridge 1884, Hon. D.D. Oxon 1890). Sailed for Africa Jan. 16th 1884. Reached Zanzibar Feb. 25th 1884. 'During episcopate of 10 years the Bp. visited Nyasa 5 times, each visit involving a walk of 450 miles.' Diocese divided 1892, Smythies became Bp. of Zanzibar. Furlough Ap.-Oct. 1888; Ap.-Nov. 1890, May 1892-Jan. 1893. DIED 7 May 1894 of fever at sea on homeward journey. Buried at sea between Zanzibar and Aden. G. Ward, Life of Bishop Smythies.

SOUTHWARD, Harriet Rachel

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 28 July). Stationed at Zanzibar. Invalided home November 1897. RESIGNED 1898 on advice of Medical Board. Undertook work in diocese of Bleomfontein 1898. Married C.W. Chilvers (see above) at Durban, Nov. 1900. Lived at Rorke's Drift, both workers in Zululand Diocese.

SPARKS, Clement John (1862-89)

Priest

Born at Frome Selwood, Wilts. 3 July 1862, son of Clement Sparks, painter and house decorator. Bapt. at St. John's Church, Frome, Miss Rose Louder, godmother. Attended village school at Horningsham, Wilts. Left school at 10. Worked with father on Longleat Estate. Confirmed at 14 and in 1877 returned to Frome where employed at Messrs. Grants building firm. Encouraged by vicar. Attended St. Boniface College, Warminster 1881-86 and St. Augustine's College, Canterbury 1886. Ordained deacon by Bp. King of Lincoln Dec. 1886. JOINED UMCA 1887 (sailed 17 Feb.) Stationed at Kiungani and Magila. Ordained priest by Bp. Smythies at Magila 1889. DIED at Zanzibar 22 Sept. 1889 of fever (jaundice).

SPEARE, Samuel (1853-73)

Layman and subdeacon

Born 15 Jan. 1853 at Rickingham, Suffolk. Eldest child of a large family of a poor labourer. Educated at the National School, Rickingham and Choir school of St. Andrew's Wells Street, London. JOINED UMCA 1868 (sailed April). Stationed at Zanzibar (Kiungani), and in charge of Magila October 1872-July 1873. Ordained subdeacon St. Luke's Day 1871. Returned to England seeking ordination July 1873. Attended the Middle School at Burgh-le-Marsh and reading with vicar. DIED at Burgh-le-Marsh, Lincs. 11th November 1873 of pulmonary phthisis. A Suffolk Boy in East Africa, SPCK/UMCA 1901. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Stour, Suffolk, Mar. 1853, Vol. 4a, p. 458).

STEAURT, Thomas (1868-194-)

Layman then deacon

Member of Society of Sacred Mission. Educated at The Grange Board Schools, Jarrow on Tyne, and The House of Sacred Mission, Kennington 1894-96. JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed Nov.) Stationed at Magila Dec. 1896-July 1898, Zanzibar July 1898-Dec. 1899. Ordained deacon, Epiphany 1897 at Magila by Bp. Richardson. Invalided home Jan. 1900 and RESIGNED. Home address 1900 22 Hill St., Jarrow on Tyne. Ordained priest Curate of St. Salvador, Dundee 1901-06; of Stone, Staffs. 1906-11, of Darrington, Yorks. 1911-22. Vicar of Burton Pidsea, Yorks. 1922-41. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, South Shields, Sept. 1868, Vol. 10a, p. 632 + 642).

STEERE, Edward (1828-1882)

Priest then Bishop

Born May 24th 1828 at No. 3 Gt. Charles Street, City Road, London. Son of Wm. Steere, 'in the humbler ranks of the legal profession' (called to the bar 1835). Mother and children moved to Hackney 1836. Education: private tuition 1836; Madras House Grammar School, Hackney 1837-42; University College Junior School, London, 1843-45; University College, London 1845-50, B.A. Oct. 1847, LL.B 1848, LL.D. 1850. Called to the Bar June 1850. Had chambers and practised at 26, Chancery Lane, London 1850-54. Founded 'Brotherhood of St. Mary' Sept. 1853 with others from St. Matthew's, City Road, London. Joined Guild of St. Alban April 1854. Gave up law Nov. 1854 and started work among poor. Founded lay community of St. James, Tamworth, Staffs. 1855-56. Edited the Guild of St. Alban's magazine 'The Guildsman' Ordained at Exeter, Sept. 1856. Curate of Kings Kerswell, Devon 1856-58. Ordained priest by Bp. of Lincoln May, 1858. Curate of Skegness and Winthorpe 1858-59. (Toze Vicar of Burgh cum Winthorpe). Married June 1858 Mary Bridget Brown, dau. of Henry Langford Brown of Barton Hall, Kings Kerswell. Rector of Little Steeping, Lincs. 1859-72. JOINED UMCA October 1862 (sailed Feb. 1863). At Capetown Mich.-April 1863. Reached Zambezi May 1863. At Morrumbala July 1863-Jan. 1864. At Capetown May-July 1864. Zanzibar Sept. 1864-Aug. 1868. In England at Little Steeping, Sept. 1868-Feb. 1872. Returned to Zanzibar March 1872. Chosen as bishop 1874, returned to England. Consecrated in Westminster Abbey 24th August 1874, 3rd Bishop to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire. Returned to Zanzibar Feb. 1875. Walked to Nyasaland 1875-6. Established Freed Slave Settlement at Masasi Oct. 1876. In England Feb. 1877-Oct. 1877. Tour of Zaramo 1880. In England March-August 1882. DIED at Zanzibar August 27th 1882. Buried there. Mrs. Steere died in Lincoln Asylum April 6 1883. R. M. Heanley, Memoir of Bishop Steere.

STEVENS, Maud B. R.

Schoolmistress

JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 8 Sept.) Stationed at Kilimani. Furlough Nov. 1900-April 1901; April 1903-Jan. 1904; 1907-Mar. 1908. Returned to England Nov. 1909 and RESIGNED July 1910 and undertook S.P.G. work in Burma 1911.

STOCKWELL, Mary

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 10 July). Stationed at Zanzibar. Invalided home July 1895 and RESIGNED.

STOKES, Frederick William (1861-1938)

Priest

Born 20 June 1861. Educated Kings College, London 1889. A.K.C. 1891. Ordained deacon 1891, priest 1892. Curate of St. Thos. Finsbury Park 1891-93; St. Barnabas, Hove 1893-97; and St. Paul's Brighton 1897-99. JOINED UMCA 1899 (sailed 25 Feb.). Stationed at Kota Kota 1899-1902. Returned to England August 1902 and RESIGNED. Appointed UMCA Organising Secretary for Midland Counties 1902-07. Retired on being appointed Vicar of All Souls Brighton. REJOINED 1919 (sailed August) for diocese of Zanzibar. Stationed at Newala in charge 1919-36. On furlough Dec. 1923-May 1924; June-Sept. 1928; April-Aug. 1932; Mar.-Aug. 1936. Canon of Masasi Cathedral 1927. DIED at Mikindani 28th Dec. 1938 'of old age'.

SWINNERTON, Robert

Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 April) aged 29. Stationed on Lake Nyasa on SS 'Chauncy Maples'. Furlough Aug. 1902-Apr. 1903. Returned to England Jan. 1907 and RETIRED.

SWINNY, Edith Maria (died 1888)

Sister of Bishop Mackenzie of Zululand. Wife of George H. Swinny, see next. Formerly a missionary in Zululand. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed May) with husband. Stationed at Likoma and Chingomaje's. Had infant daughter Mary who died at Likoma April 1886. DIED 31 May 1888 of fever and exhaustion on homeward voyage near Equator. Buried at sea.

SWINNY, George Harvey (1844/5-1887)

Priest

Third son of Rev. Henry Hutchinson Swinny, Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College 1859-62. Educated Exeter College, Oxford, matric. April 1864, B.A. 1868, M.A. 1870. and Cuddesdon Theological College. Ordained deacon and priest. Curate of Abingdon ; and of Clewer . In charge of St. George's Mission, Newlands, Cape Colony 1878-82. At Kwamagwaga, Zululand 1882-84 (sailed May) with wife. Stationed at Likoma and Chingomaje's. DIED of fever at Bandawe, 13 Feb. 1887, on visit to Magwangwara. Author: A Zulu Boy's Recollections of the Zulu Wars and of Catchwayo's Return in Zulu with English Translation by G. H. Swinny, Bell and Sons 1884.

SYMONDS, Henry Edward

Printer

From Monmouth. JOINED UMCA 1888 (sailed 7 June). Stationed at Kiungani. Returned to England April 1889 and RESIGNED.

TAYLOR, Louise

Nurse

District nurse in Camberwell. Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1896, aged 31 (sailed 8 June). Stationed at Zanzibar and Pemba (from 1901). Furlough Dec. 1898-Oct. 1900; Aug. 1903-April 1904; June-Nov. 1906. RESIGNED 1908. Services accepted by Zanzibar Government for work in Military Hospital.



TAYLOR, Theophilus Lupton (1848-91)

Priest

Born August 6th 1848 at Shepton Mallet, Somerset, son of Rev. James Taylor, Wesleyan Minister. Educated at Kingswood School, nr. Bath. Became a Wesleyan travelling minister. Attracted by Anglo-Catholic movement, attended Kings College, London 1877-79. A.K.C. 1879. Ordained deacon at Worcester 1879, priest 1880. Curate of St. Andrew's Birmingham; of Holy Trinity, Bordesley (vicar Rev. RW. Enraght, persecuted for Anglo-Catholicism) 1881; of St. Cyprian's Marylebone 1883; assistant curate of Beckenham 1884, offered services to UMCA 1885, received some medical training at Birmingham (brother Dr. J.W. Taylor, later Professor of Gynaecology at Birmingham). JOINED UMCA 1885 (sailed Sept.) Stationed at Masasi. Invalided Nov. 1888 after repeated attacks of fever. Returned to Africa Sept. 1890. DIED of fever at Masasi 1 March 1891.

➤ THACKERAY, Caroline Defflin Mary (1842-1926)

Teacher

Born 1842. Baptised 11 May 1842 at Hemingby, Lincs., daughter of Rev. George Thackeray (1806-75), Fellow of Kings College, Cambridge, Rector of Hemingby, Lincs. 1840-75. (She was a 2nd cousin of the novelist Wm. Makepeace Thackeray). Educated privately. For some time ran school at Hemingby. On father's death the family moved to Roughton Hall, Horncastle, Lincs. Influenced by Bp. Steere she JOINED UMCA 1877. Stationed at Mbweni where she had charge of Girls' School. Furlough Feb.-Dec. 1883; May 1888-Jan. 1889; Nov. 1892-Nov. 1893; June 1906-Apr. 1907; Nov. 1909-Nov. 1910; May-Nov. 1914; May-Nov. 1921. RETIRED 1902. Purchased the former country estate of Sir John Kirk and remained at Mbweni until her death 30 Jan. 1926.

TOWNSHEND, Mary Charlotte (1834-1891)

Nurse

Born c 1834 eldest daughter of Major Townshend, of Wincham Hall, nr. Northwick Cheshire, for many years Chairman of Quarter Sessions for Cheshire. Lived for nearly ten years with her mother in Chester, where she worked amongst the poor of the parish of Holy Trinity. Received 3 months training as a nurse at Charing Cross Hospital. JOINED UMCA 1883 (sailed 21 Feb.) aged 49. Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila (1890). Furlough June 1886-Mar. 1887; May 1890-Feb. 1891. DIED 13 June 1891 at Kiungani of fever.

TOZER, Helen Rainforth (died 1887)

Daughter of John Chappell Tozer, of Teignmouth, solicitor. Sister of Bishop Tozer (see next). JOINED UMCA 1865 (reached Zanzibar June). Stationed at Zanzibar. Invalided Feb. 1866 and RESIGNED. REJOINED 1872 (arrived Zanzibar March). WITHDREW 1873, (Reached England March) on resignation of brother. DIED 3 July 1887. For letters from Africa see G. Ward (ed.) Letters of Bishop Tozer 1863-73.

TOZER, William George (1829-1899)

Bishop

Born 1829. Third son of John Chappell Tozer of Teignmouth, Devon, Solicitor. Educated at Ilminster School, St. John's College, Oxford; matric. March 1848, B.A. 1851, M.A. 1854, D.D. Feb. 1863, and Wells Theological College. Ordained deacon 1854 and priest . Curate of St. Mary Magdalen, Munster Square 1854-56; of North Kelsey, Lincs. 1856-57. Vicar of Burgh-le-Marsh with Winthorpe, Lincs. 1857-63. Chosen 2nd Bishop 1862. CONSECRATED Bishop to tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shire, 1862. Sailed 1863. Reached Zambezi May 1863. At Morrumbala July 1863-Jan. 1864. Removed Mission to Zanzibar Sept. 1864. In England Sept. 1866-July 1868. RESIGNED through ill health and sailed for England March 1873. Bishop of Jamaica 1879-80. Bishop of Honduras 1880-81. In 1886 his address is given as Oriental Club, 18 Hanover Sq. London. Rector of South Ferriby, Lincs. 1888-9 'left there nearly everything he had - horse, carriage, furniture, etc. - merely coming away with his portmanteau'. For some time lived at Highgate and was seen at St. Andrew's Wells Street. Later lived a retired life in lodgings at Dawlish or Exeter. Friend of Admiral Bowden of Oak Lawn, Woolbrough Hill, Newton Abbot and often his guest. Died at Exeter June 17th 1899 having given away all his worldly goods except his Bible and toothbrush. Buried at St. David's Exeter. See G. Ward (ed.) Letters of Bishop Tozer 1863-73 and for later life H. Cornish Fox (ed.) The Cornish-Bowdens of Newton Abbot. 1965; The Guardian, June 28, 1899.

TRAVERS, Duncan (1854-1932)

Priest

Born at Swanage Dec. 25th 1854, son of the Rev. Robert Duncan Travers, Rector of Swanage and cousin of Bishop Smythies. Educated at Marlborough College and Sherborne. Entered Caius College, Cambridge Oct. 1873, B.A. 1878, M.A. 1881. Ordained deacon by Bishop of Rochester 1878, priest 1879. Curate of St. Alphege, Greenwich 1878-80; of Stoke upon Trent 1880-83. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed 16 Jan.) Stationed at Zanzibar. Invalided January 1885 (served as Curate of St. Peter's, Bournemouth 1885-88). Returned to Africa October 1888, invalided March 1889 and RESIGNED. Appointed Secretary of UMCA 1889-1924. Revisited mission 1894 and 1912. Retired 1924. Member of E.C.U. and C.B.S. Vice-President of Mission. DIED July 22nd 1932, buried at West Malling, Kent. Married in 1913, Bertha Palmer, dau. of F.G. Cooke of Eastbourne.

TULIP, George (died 1895)

Engineer

JOINED UMCA 1894 (sailed 1 Feb.) Stationed at Likoma, engineer on the 'Charles Janson'. DIED 13 March 1895 at Likoma of fever (comatose, ?sunstroke).

TURNER, Florence Emily (died 1919)

Nurse

JOINED UMCA 1890. Stationed at Likoma. Returned to England Feb. 1893 and RESIGNED.

TYNDAL, Katherine

Housekeeper of Rev.Wm. Forbes Capel (see above) and JOINED UMCA 1875 with him. WITHDREW 1876.

TYRWHITT, Cecil Robert (c 1863-1924)

Priest

Born c 1863. 2nd son of Rev. Richard St. John Tyrwhitt, vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford 1858-72. Educated at Radley College 1873-79 and Christ Church, Oxford, matric. May 1880, B.A. 1884, M.A. 1888. Ely Theological College 1885. Ordained deacon by Bp. of London 1886, priest 1887. Curate of St. Michael and All Angels, Bromley 1886-90; Chaplain of Christ Church College and Curate of Cowley 1890-93. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 May). Stationed at Zanzibar and Magila. Invalided 1896 and RESIGNED Chaplain of St. Augustines College, Canterbury 1897-1902 and priest-in-charge of St. Peter's, Canterbury 1897-1908; married 1908 Alexandra Caroline, dau. of Rev. H. Newport, Rector of Tarrant Hinton, Dorset. Rector of Westcote-Barton, Oxon. 1911-21. Rector of Whichford, Warws. 1921-24. Found dead March 26th 1924, verdict suicide.

VINEY, John James (1870-1891)

Schoolmaster

From Roath. JOINED UMCA 1889. Stationed at Kiungani. Returned to England 20 July 1891. DIED 20 Sept. 1891 of fever at Cardiff. (Indiscretion during fever. Driving and travelling about whilst having it).

VYALL, Ralph Manning (1873-1899)

Layman

Born 28 November 1873. Originally in business. In 1894 was a lay reader in diocese of Wyoming and later at West Hartlepool. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 13 April). Stationed at Likoma and Mpondas, treasurer at latter place 1897-99. DIED 30 May 1899 of haematuric fever.

WAGHORN, Henry

Doctor

of 34 Soho Square, London. Attended Kings College Hospital, London. JOINED UMCA 1863 (arrived at Morrumbala Oct. 1863). On removal of mission from Zambezi 1864 left for England via Cape. RESIGNED.

WALKER, Margaret

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 24 April), aged 43. Stationed at Msalabani (Magila). On furlough April 1903-Jan. 1904. RETIRED from mission following return to England 15 Feb. 1908.

WALLER, Horace (1833-96)

Lay superintendent

Born 1833. Became a City stockbroker. JOINED UMCA 1860 (sailed Oct. 6th). Reached Zambezi June 1861. Settled at Magomero August 1861, moved to Chibisa's April 1862. RESIGNED from Mission Sept. 1863 and established himself at foot of Mt. Morrumbala. Left Zambezi with Livingstone Feb. 1864, removing freed slave children to Cape Town. Returned to England. Became established as an authority on African affairs, particularly the slave trade; he spoke, preached, lobbied politicians, wrote pamphlets, convened meetings and wrote innumerable letters on African matters. F.R.G.S. 1864. Ordained deacon 1867, priest 1869; curate of St. John Chatham 1867, Vicar of Leytonstone, Essex 1870-74; Rector of Twywell, Northants. 1874-95. On Committee of Anti-Slavery Society by 1870. Member of Society of Arts 1874. Pall bearer at Livingstone's funeral, Westminster Abbey, May 1874. On General Committee of UMCA by 1879. DIED at East Liss, Hampshire 22 Feb. 1896 aged 63. Friend of General Gordon, Lugard and Mackinnon. Edited The Last Journals of Livingstone, and wrote numerous other books and pamphlets on East and Central Africa. D. O. Helly ' "Informed" Opinion on Tropical Africa in Great Britain 1860-1890' African Affairs Vol. 68.

WALLIS, Frederick Alfred (died 1914)

Layman then priest

From Gainsborough, Lincs. JOINED UMCA 1875 (sailed March). Stationed at Kiungani 1875-78. Returned England 1878, attended St. Boniface College, Warminster and Lincoln Theological College. Ordained deacon by Bp. Wordsworth at Lincoln 1881. Returned to Africa. Stationed at Mkuzi 1881-85. Furlough June 1885-Jan. 1887 and married Eliza Helen ..... Returned with wife and stationed at Mbweni and Mkuzi. RESIGNED 1889 on return to England owing to wife's illness. Appointed UMCA Organizing Secretary for Midlands 1894 (living in Birmingham) and later for Eastern Counties. DIED 9 Feb. 1914. Member of E.C.U.

WALLIS, Eliza Helen (died 1890)

Wife of F. A. Wallis (see above). JOINED UMCA 1887 (sailed Jan.) Stationed Mbweni, and Mkuzi. Invalided Dec. 1889. DIED at Birmingham 10 Jan. 1890 after an operation for which she had returned. Buried at Bingley.

WARD, Gertrude

Nurse

Queen's Nurse. Trained at St. Thomas' Hospital. Member of Guild of St. Bernabas. Sister-in-law of novelist Mrs. Humphry Ward. JOINED UMCA 1895 (sailed 16 Nov.) Stationed at Magila. Furlough Oct. 1897-Nov. 1898. Invalided home March 1899 and RESIGNED on advice of Medical Board. Appointed matron of British Hospital, Algiers 1899; of Eton College, May 1901. Author of Life of Bp. Smythies, Letters from East Africa 1895-97, and edited Letters of Bishop Tozer 1863-73, and The Golden Ship and other Tales.

WARNER, Leonard Ottley

Layman

Son of Canon Warner of Lincoln. Student at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. JOINED UMCA 1888. Stationed at Likoma. Invalided and RESIGNED through ill health 1889. Ordained deacon at Lincoln 1890, and priest in Corea 1892. Joined mission to Corea in 1890.

WATHEN, Percy Montague (c 1863-1940)

Deacon

Born c 1863 3rd son of Rev. John Bateman Wathen of Great Malvern, Worcs. Educated at Malvern College and University College, Oxford. Matric. Jan. 1882 aged 19, B.A. 1885, M.A. 1889. JOINED UMCA 1886. Stationed at Newala. Ordained deacon at Newala 1886. Returned to England Aug. 1889 and RESIGNED 1890, because of wishes of parents and desire for experience in an English parish. At Ely Theological College 1889-90. Ordained priest at Wakefield 1890. Curate of Almondbury, Yorks. 1890-92. Appointed UMCA Organising Secretary for Northern Province (living at York) 1892-95. Vicar of Barking, Essex 1895-1903. Rector of Welwyn 1903- . Returned to Africa on a visit 1921, acted as Chaplain for UMCA at Dar-es-Salaam 1921-22. DIED 29th May 1940.

WATSON, Henry

Schoolmaster

From Chatham. JOINED UMCA 1888. Stationed at Newala and Kiungani. Returned to England and RESIGNED 1891. In 1891 living at 3 St. John's Place (sic), Beverley.

WEBSTER, William George (died 1954)

Priest

Had previously been a compositor. Educated St. Augustine's College, Canterbury 1897-1900 (1st Cl. Prelim. T.E. 1900). JOINED UMCA 1900 (sailed 8 Sept.) Ordained deacon by Bp. of Zanzibar June 1900, priest Dec. 1901. Stationed at Kiungani, Kologwe and Kigongoi (in 1905). Furlough March-Sept. 1902. Invalided Feb. 1906 (recent black water fever), and RESIGNED, on advice of Medical Board 1906. Attended University College, Durham, received B.A. 1907, M.A. 1910. Appointed UMCA Organizing Secretary for Northern Province Jan. 1908-March 1910. REJOINED UMCA 1910, Accepted by Bp. Hine for work in diocese of Northern Rhodesia. Stationed at Livingstone 1910-12. REMOVED 1912 to Diocese of Mashonaland. Assistant priest Pro Cathedral, Salisbury, 1913. Priest-in-charge of Gwelo 1913-14. Rector 1914-16. Temporary Chaplain to Forces 1916-19. Assistant priest Salisbury Cathedral, Rhodesia 1919-23. Archdeacon of Mashonaland 1923-25. Canon of Salisbury 1923-25. Canon of Cape Town 1934-50. Commissioner Damaraland 1930-35, Rector of Rondebosch, Capetown from 1925. DIED 1954.

WEIGALL, Spencer

Priest

Born c 1861. 2nd son of Alfred Weigallof London, gent. Educated University of Oxford, non-collegiate, matric. Oct. 1879, B.A. 1882, M.A. 1888., and St. Stephen's House, Oxford. Layworker at Roath, Cardiff 1882-84. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Lichfield 1884. JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed 9 April). Stationed at Newala 1884-87, Zanzibar 1890-91, and Kiungani 1891-93. Furlough 1887-89, ordained priest by Bishop of Lincoln, 1889. Dangerously ill in 1891 and sent to India for a change, returned Feb. 1892. RESIGNED 1893, and went to work in diocese of Basutoland. Assistant missionary at Thaba'Nchu, Orange Free State, 1893-94; priest at Masite 1894-1923; Rural Dean of Basutoland 1899-1908; canon of Bleomfontein Cathedral 1903-23. In 1924 was living at Putney Hill, London S.W.15.



WEST, Arthur Nugent (1846-1874)

Priest

Born Dec. 29th 1846 at Rushmere, Suffolk, youngest son of Rev. Thomas Dennett West, Vicar of Rushmere. Educated at Rugby School and Pembroke College, Cambridge; matric. Michaelmas 1867, B.A. 1871, M.A. 1874. Admitted to Inner Temple Jan. 1869. 'Kept hunters at Lincoln, and had wandered to South America (1871) and elsewhere to hunt ostriches and collect old silver'. Ordained 1872. Curate of Buckingham 1872-73. JOINED UMCA 1873. Stationed at Zanzibar. DIED at Zanzibar December 25th 1873 'constitutionally unfitted'. Purchased site adjoining old slave market in Zanzibar and made it over to the Mission in 1873.

WESTON, Frank (1871-1924)

Priest then Bishop

Born 13th Sept. 1871 at Servie House, Roupell Park, South London. 5th child and 4th son of Robert Gibbs Weston, head of the firm of Richard Gibbs and Co., Tea Brokers, in Mincing Lane. Father died when he was eleven and family moved to Dulwich. Educated at preparatory school at St. Leonards, Dulwich College and Trinity College, Oxford Oct. 1890-1893, B.A. 1893 (1st class Theol. Sc.) B.D. 1903, D.D. 1908. Left Oxford June 1893 and in August went to live at Trinity College, Oxford, Mission in Stratford-atte-Bow. Ordained deacon 1894, priest 1895. Curate of Holy Trinity, Stratford, Essex 1894-96; of St. Mathews, Westminster 1896-98. JOINED UMCA 1898. Stationed at Mkunazini. Started Theological College at Mazizini 1899. Principal of Kiungani 1902. Canon and Chancellor of Zanzibar 1903. Consecrated Bishop of Zanzibar at Southwark Cathedral Oct. 18 1908. Founded Community of Sacred Passion 1910. Chairman 2nd Anglo-Catholic Congress 1923. Furlough Aug.-Dec. 1901; May-Oct. 1905; Nov. 1907-Oct. 1908; Dec. 1910-June 1911; Feb.-Sept. 1914; Aug. 1919-Jan. 1920; June 1920-Nov. 1920; May-Aug. 1923. DIED at Hagongo, 2 Nov. 1924 of pneumonia (septicemia ?) Author of The One Christ.

WHITBREAD, Sarah Anne (died 1901)

Nurse

Member of Guild of St. Barnabas. JOINED UMCA 1892 (sailed 10 Sept.) Stationed at Zanzibar Hospital and Pemba in 1900. Furlough Nov. 1894-July 1895; Feb. 1899-Jan. 1900. DIED 6 July 1901 of haematuric fever in Zanzibar Hospital, contracted in Pemba whilst nursing others. Memorial in Stony Stratford Church.

WHITE, Joseph Campbell

Layman then priest

Member of Society of Sacred Mission. JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 28 Oct.) Stationed at Magila. Ordained deacon by Bishop of Zanzibar Jan. 1902 and priest March 1903. At Magila 1903-11 and Mkuzi 1911-20. Furlough Dec. 1898-June 1900; July 1903-March 1904; May-Oct. 1907; May-Oct. 1911, Dec. 1916-Mar. 1917; Interned in G.E.A. 1914-16. RESIGNED 1920 on election as Director of S.S.M. Visited mission Sept.-Dec. 1921. DIED June 24th 1934.

WHITTY, Thomas R.S.F. (died 1887)

Layman

Born in Mauritius. Trained at Burgh Missionary College. JOINED UMCA 1882. Stationed at Magila, Umba and Misozwe. Furlough Jan. 1886-May 1887. DIED at Mkunazini 19 Dec. 1887 of carbuncle-tetanus.

WILDE, Francis William (died 1892)

Carpenter

Of Roath, had known Bp. Smythies since childhood. JOINED UMCA 1887 (sailed Aug.) Stationed at Magila and Likoma. Furlough June 1890-Feb. 1891. Acted as carpenter and mason, built schoolroom at Likoma. DIED 20 July 1892 of fever (haematuria).

WILLIAMS, Frederick John (died 1895)

Schoolmaster then priest

Trained at St. Boniface's College, Warminster. JOINED UMCA 1877 as schoolmaster. Stationed at Magila. Ordained deacon by Bp. Steere. Married Jan. 25th 1880 Miss Hinton (see above), and then set out for Magila. Stationed at Kaule near Magila 1880-81. Wife died 1881. At Mbweni 1882-85. RESIGNED 1885. Rector of Lavington, Wilts. 1892-95. DIED 22 Nov. 1895.

WILLIAMS, Howell (c 1863-1898)

Composer

JOINED UMCA 1896 (sailed 6 May)., aged 33. Stationed at Likoma and Unangu. Worked as a carpenter, mason and builder. DIED 30 July 1898 at Unangu.

WILLIAMS, Joseph Arthur (died 1895)

Layman

Educated at St. Boniface College, Warminster. Lay reader at Liverpool where he met Chauncy Maples. JOINED UMCA 1876. Stationed at Zanzibar, Masasi 1878, Likoma 1887, opened Chizumulu 1889, and Unangu. In 1886 he was in England for a year reading with the Rev. A. E. Meredith. DROWNED 2 Sept. 1895 with Chauncy Maples when the boat 'George Sherriff' foundered. Was made a Reader .

WILLIAMS, William

Engine fitter

JOINED UMCA 1888 (sailed 10 May). Stationed Likoma, on 'Charles Janson'. Returned England April 1892. LEFT mission August 1892 and returned to Africa to put Gun boats together for Yarne and Co. REJOINED mission 1896. RESIGNED June 1899 on advice of Medical Board.

WILLTON, Annie Mathilde (died 1894)

Nurse

Trained at the Sussex County Hospital, Brighton and at the North Eastern Fever Hospital, Tottenham. JOINED UMCA 1893. DIED 8 June 1894.

WILSON, Herbert Amyat Brereton (1858-1882)

Deacon

Born c 1858, 1st son of Rev. Herbert Wilson of Fritton, Norfolk. Educated at Magdalen College, Oxford; chorister 1867-73, exhibitor 1875-6, matric. Feb. 1876 aged 18, attended Cuddesdon Theological College 1877. Ordained deacon. JOINED UMCA 1880. Placed in charge of Umba. DIED at Pangani (in transit from Magila), 12 Sept. 1882. Buried at Kiungani.

WIMBUSH, James Sedgewick

Priest

Born 20 Feb. 1866 3rd son of Rev. Samuel Wimbush of Terrington, Yorks. Educated at Haileybury College 1880-85 and Oriel College, Oxford; matric. Oct. 1885 aged 18, B.A. 1889, M.A. 1892. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Durham 1891, priest 1892. Curate of St. Columba's Southwick 1891-92. JOINED UMCA 1893 (sailed 10 Feb.). Stationed at Likoma. Invalided home June 1894 suffering from fever-anaemia. Returned Africa June 1895. Stationed at Kota Kota. RESIGNED on marriage March 1899 and undertook work in Diocese of Mashonaland. Priest-in-Charge of Bulawayo 1899-1903. Rector of Swainswick, Somerset 1903-08. Rector of Terrington, Yorks. (patron.Reps. of late Rev. S. Wimbush) 1908-33. Canon and Prebend of Osbaldwick in York Minster 1932-33. Retired 1933. Living at Oxford in 1941. Married in 1899 Judith Isabel daughter of Sir Douglas Fox of Coombe Springs, Kingston on Thames.

WINCKLEY, Ernest Edward (died 1886)

Layman

Trained at Dorchester Missionary College. JOINED UMCA 1885. Stationed at Kiungani 1885. DIED 4 Feb. 1886 on journey to Magila (? sunstroke).

WINDSOR-AUBREY, Laura M.

Teacher

JOINED UMCA 1897 (sailed 10 April). Stationed at Likoma, Kota Kota and Malindi. Furlough Nov. 1898-1899. Returned to England May 1901 and WITHDREW.

WOOD, John Stevenson Curtois (1858-1886)

Priest

Born Aug. 28 1858 at Holybourne, Hants. 2nd son of Rev. James Russell Wood, Headmaster of Eastbourne College and Woodbridge Grammar School. Educated at Woodbridge Grammar School, Eastbourne College and Trinity College Cambridge; matric. Michaelmas 1877, B.A. 1881. Ordained deacon at Durham 1882, priest 1883. Curate of St. Mary's Gateshead, 1882-5. JOINED UMCA 1885. Stationed at Newala. DIED June 18 1886 at Newala of fever. Received some medical training before going to Africa.

WOODWARD, Emily (1846-1932) later Mrs, then Lady, Key

Of Hardwick Bank, Tewkesbury. JOINED UMCA 1887. Stationed at Mbweni 1887-97, and Pemba 1897-1903. Furlough Mar. 1891-June 1892; June 1896-Mar. 1897; Dec. 1898 (invalided)-Oct. 1900. Married Rev. J. Key 1891 (see above). Became Lady Key 1899. Invalided Mar. 1903. RESIGNED 1904. At Little Wittenham Rectory until REJOINED UMCA 1912 with husband on instigation of Bp. Hine, at Livingstonia 1912-14. Returned to England and RESIGNED Oct. 1914. DIED at Southbourne August 27th 1932 aged 86. Quite blind at the end.

WOODWARD, Herbert Willoughby (1854-1932)

Layman then priest

Born 7th May 1854, son of Samuel Pickworth Woodward, Ph.D., Professor of Geology and Natural History at Royal Agricultural College Cirencester. Family later moved to London where father in charge of Dept. of Geology and Mineralogy at British Museum. Articled to his mother's relative the Architect S. S. Teulon at 15, three years later he entered the Meteorological Office, and later obtained a post in the draughtsman's department at the War Office. Joined Guild of St. Alban and attended the Anglo-Catholic churches of St. Saviour's, Highbury and St. Luke's Kentish Town. JOINED UMCA 1875 (sailed Feb.) Made Reader and Subdeacon. Furlough May-Dec. 1877. Ordained deacon June 16th 1878. Stationed at Magila 1878-81. Invalided home May 1881. Attended St. Stephen's House, Oxford to read for priest's orders. Ordained priest at Oxford Sept. 1882. Returned to Africa Nov. 1882. Stationed in Usambara region; at Magila 1882-86, Misozwe 1886-88, Magila 1888-91. On furlough; in Bombay for a few months in 1884; June 1887-May 1888; in India Feb.-June 1891; Mar.-Nov. 1894. Joined Society of Sacred Mission 1894. Archdeacon of Magila 1899-1921. At Masasi 1913-15. Interned in G.E.A. 1915-16. At Msalabani (Magila) 1916-18. Moved to Mkuzi Priory 1918-21. Furlough May-Sept. 1898; June-Nov. 1905; May-Oct. 1909; April-Nov. 1921. RETIRED from UMCA 1922. At Modderport Priory, Orange Free State, S. Africa 1922-30. Canon of Bloemfontein 1925. RETURNED to Zanzibar 1930 and DIED there 17 June 1932. Member of E.C.U. and C.B.S. See G. Ward, Father Woodward of U.M.C.A.

WOODWARD, Margaret E. (died 1933)

Teacher

Daughter of Professor S. P. Woodward, sister of Father H. W. Woodward. Formerly a governess. Diploma of College of Preceptors 1880. JOINED UMCA 1885. Stationed at Zanzibar 1885-Dec. 1887, Likoma Nov. 1888-June 1892, and Magila 1893-96. Furlough Dec. 1887-July 1888; June 1892-Apr. 1893; WITHDREW 1896 (sailed April). Secretary of the UMCA 'Children's Fund' until 1912 and Local UMCA Secretary for Sidcup 1916-33. DIED Feb. 9 1933.

WORSFOLD, Mary

JOINED UMCA 1882. RESIGNED 1883. Recalled home by her family.

WRIDE, Danson

Carpenter

From Roath, JOINED UMCA 1884 (sailed Oct.) Stationed at Magila. Invalided Feb. 1887. Returned to Africa April 1890. RESIGNED 1893.

YARBOROUGH, John James Cooke

Deacon

Born c 1855 4th son of Richard Cooke Yarborough of London, esq. Educated Oxford University. Non-collegiate, matric. 13 Oct. 1877 aged 22. B.A. from Keble College, 1880. M.A. 1884. Ordained deacon at Oxford 1880, priest at York 1883. JOINED UMCA 1881. Stationed at Zanzibar. Invalided and RESIGNED 1891. Curate of St. Luke's Ampney 1881-83; of Hemsworth, Yorks. 1883-84; Organising Secretary for UMCA for Northern Province (living at Leeds) 1884-87; Curate of Chislehurst 1887-92; Vicar of Romsey 1892-1910; Vicar of ChristChurch Hampshire 1910-14; Rector of Puttenham, Hants. 1918-25. Hon. Canon of Winchester 1909. Living retired in London 1930-37-. Member of C.B.S.

YORKE, Charles (1855-1880)

Layman then deacon

A chorister at Trinity College, Cambridge. Educated at St. Boniface's College, Warminster. JOINED UMCA 1876 (sailed March). Stationed at Umba. Made reader 1878, ordained deacon 1897. DIED 6 Jan. 1880 at Umba (exposure in sun after fever). (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Cambridge, Dec. 1855, Vol. 36, p. 427).

ZACHARY, Francis Edward (1870-1901)

Priest

Born Sept. 22 1870. Educated at Lancing School and Lincoln College, Oxford, B.A. 1893. Ely Theological College 1893-94. Ordained deacon 1894 and priest 1895 at Ely. Curate of Downham, diocese of Ely 1894. JOINED UMCA 1899 (9 June). Stationed in Masasi district, chief work at Mkowo. DIED Masasi 16 April 1901. Cause unknown, no nurse or doctor present. (Somerset House, Birth Certificate, Cirencester, Dec. 1870, Vol. 6a, p. 337).



APPENDIX II. African Clergy 1879-1901.

YOHANNA B. ABDALLAH. Yao. Free born. Stepson of Barnaba Nakaam, chief of Chitangali. Educated at Chitangali and Newala. Entered Kiungani 1885. Teaching at Chitangali 1889. Returned to Kiungani 1892-4. Ordained deacon by Bishop Tucker at Zanzibar 4/8/1894. Sent to work at Unangu, Diocese of Nyasaland 1894, sole charge of Unangu 1896-1924. Ordained priest Mar. 6th 1898, first priest ordained in diocese of Nyasaland. Left small legacy by Bishop Maples which he used to pay for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1905. Wrote of his travels in Swahili, edited by J. E. Hine and published at Likoma Press 'Pilgrim's Tale'. Author of The Yaos; Chikala Cha Wayao 1919. Died 11/2/1924. (Anderson-Moreshead; J. E. Hine, Days Gone By; Central Africa, 1924; Kiungani School Register; East Africa in Pictures).

AUGUSTINE AMBALI. Zaramo. Freed slave. Born c 1856. Taken as a slave in 1872 to Pangani, rescued by an uncle. Later again taken as slave, this time released and taken to U.M.C.A. at Zanzibar. Entered Kiungani 1880. Volunteered for Nyasaland 1884. Went from Zanzibar to Matope Dec. 1884, Matope to Likoma 1885. Teacher at Likoma. Teacher at Chia 1887, Kiungani 1888. Married Mabel Aug. 8 1888, had 5 sons and 1 daughter. Made Reader 1888. Msumba 1889-96. Kiungani 1896-98. Ordained deacon at Msumba 12/6/1898. Msumba 1898-1905. St. Andrews Theological College, Nkwazi 1905-06. Ordained priest 21/12/1906. Priest in charge of Msumba 1906-17. Priest in charge of Ngoo 1917-31. Canon of Likoma 1922. Author of Thirty Years in Nyasaland, 1916, 2nd ed. 1924. Died 28/4/1931. (Anderson-Moreshead; Ambali, A. Thirty Years in Nyasaland; Central Africa, 1931 p. 117).

SAMWIL CHIPONDE. Yao. Free born. Son of Matola I of Newala. At Kiungani by 1895. Ordained deacon 6/3/1898. At Magila 1902. Ordained priest 8/3/1903. Priest in charge of Zanzibar Cathedral till 1916. Suspended 1916 for misconduct. Became High Court Interpreter and President of Tanganyika Territory African Civil Service Association founded by Martin Kayamba in 1922. Was one of only two African present at the education conference at Dar es Salaam 1925. Author of Sala za Kuambee (Easter Devotions). Co-author with E. S. Palmer of Nyimbo za Dini na antifona 1902 and with H. W. Woodward of Sala ya Jioni Walioferika. Co-translator with the latter of Muhtasari (summary of the Bible from the Paris Catechism). Married Maria Majaliwa daughter of Rev. Cecil Majaliwa June 10 1901 at Mbwani. (Anderson-Moreshead; USPG/UMCA T. Chest D. 13; List of Swahili Books Published by the Universities Mission, 1905.; Iliffe, J., Tanganyika under German Rule pp. 177, 180, 207; Furley, O. W. + Watson, T. 'Education in Tanganyika Between the Wars'. South Atlantic Quarterly Vol. 65; Central Africa, 1901, p. 148).

CYPRIANI CHITENJE. Yao ? Free born. Entered Kiungani 1886. Reader 1893. Ordained Deacon 22/9/1895. Missionary at Masasi 1895-1913 (retired). In charge of Majembe c 1900. Still at Masasi 1961. (Anderson-Moreshead; Kiungani Register; Crockford's Clerical Directory).

LEONARD MATTIYA KAMUNGU. Nyasa (Mand'anja) Free. Born c 1877-8 at Chia on shores of Lake Nyasa. Attended Mission school at Chia 1887, soon after moved to Likoma. Baptised Christmas 1890. Kiungani 1891-96. Teacher at Likoma 1897. Back to Kiungani Nov. 1898, made Reader. Entered St. Mark's Mazizini Theological College 1899. At Mponda's 1900-01. St. Mark's Mazizini 1901-02. Ordained deacon St. Andrews Day 1902. 1903-06 at Lungwena; 1906-07 Kasamba, Kota Kota; 1907-08 Sani, K.K.; 1908-09 at St. Andrews College, Nkwazi; ordained priest 18/4/1909; 1909-11 Kota Kota; 1911 volunteered to work in Northern Rhodesia, worked at Msoro 1911-13; Died of poison 27/2/1913.

(Miss, D.Y., An African Priest and Missionary. Study of the life of Leonard Mattiya Kamungu. 1914; Weller, J. C. The Priest from the Lakeside. The Story of Leonard Kamungu of Malawi and Zambia 1877-1913. 1971).

PETRO LIMO. Bondei. Free born. Nephew of Kimwari of Usambara. First convert of Yorke at Umba 1876. Went to Calcutta with H. W. Woodward May 26 1885. Entered Kiungani 1886. Reader at Magila 1888. At Kiungani 1889. Educated at Dorchester Theological College, England 1889-92. Ordained deacon at Magila 19/3/1893. Went on preaching tour with Bishop Smythies in Bondei country Oct. 1893. Married Bladina - Aug. 1894 (see Appendix, 3 Africans Educated in England). Had 4 children. Ordained Priest at Magila 11/3/1894. Organised native conferences in Usambara region. At Mkusi 1897-1909. Moved to Kwa Magome, Ziguiland July 1909. Suffered during internment in war 1914-17. Removed to Kwa Maisi 1918; to Zanzibar 1923 as Canon in residence (made Canon 1911). Health broke down 1925. Died 11/2/1946.

(Anderson-Moreshead; USPG/UMCA Zanzibar Mission Diary; Ward, G. Bishop Smythies, pp. 197, 203; Kiungani Register; Iliffe, J., Tanganyika under German Rule)

DAUDI MACHINA. Yao. Free born. Son of Matola I of Newala, brother of S. Chiponde, see above. Born c 1865. Entered Kiungani 1886. Ordained deacon 22/9/1895. Married Florence Majaliwa 1895 at Newala. Ordained Priest 24/1/1901 by Bishop of Lebombo. Served as assistant priest in Masasi area 1895-1913 (Mkoo, Luwatata). Suspended May 1913 for taking a second wife. Restored to the priesthood 1929, again worked in Masasi area until retirement in 1943. M.B.E. (Hon.) 1951. Died 10/10/1952 at Masasi. (Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; Kiungani Register; Iliffe, J., op. cit.)

CECIL MAJALIWA. Yao. Freed slave. Entered Kiungani 1871. Married Lucy Ngonbeani Aug. 6 1879, had 8 children. Reader at Mbweni 1879-83. Educated in England at St. Augustines College, Canterbury 1883-1885. Left Zanzibar Nov. 27 1883, returned Feb. 23 1885. July 1884 stayed at Yaxley Vicarage, Eye, Suffolk. In 1882 his Swahili translation of 'Agathos and other stories' was published. Ordained deacon 1886. At Chitangali 1889-93. Ordained priest 25/1/1890. He worked well for a time at Newala but trouble arose and was allowed by Bishop Richardson to settle at Michungwani c 1896 near Mbweni. Remained active at Mbweni until July 1916 when he was deposed by Bp. Weston from the priesthood (had not been living with wife for 8 or 9 years.) Died 28/1/1933. (Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; USPG/UMCA Zanzibar Mission Diary, Kiungani Register, T. Chest. D. 13, General Committee Minutes; Central Africa, 1933).

EUSTACE MALISAWA (alias ULEDI). Yao. Freed slave. Born c 1862 at Matakas. Came to Mission 1874. Entered Kiungani same time. Went to Masasi July 1877. Returned to Kiungani 1878-79. Early 1880 he married Amy Zanapoat, Masasi (subject of John Swedi scandal). Schoolmaster at Masasi 1880-83, at Newala 1883-87. At Likoma 1887-96 (schoolmaster in Lakeside villages including Chia). At Kiungani 1896-98. Ordained deacon at Msumba 12/6/1898. First student at St. Andrew's College Nkwazi, Likoma, 1905. Ordained priest 21/12/1906. In charge of Lungwena 1902-21, (retired). Aged rapidly and grew very stout. 'He spent the remaining years of his life at Lungwena in patriarchal fashion with his wife, surrounded by a large family and the owner of considerable wealth in cattle'. Died 18/6/32.

(Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; 'Papers from Newala: No. 1 Our Schoolmaster - Eustace Malisawa, Central Africa 1886 pp. 53-57; Maples, E., Life of Chauncy Maples, pp. 189, 205, 389; Central Africa 1932 p. 212).

JUSTINO MKANDU. Entered Kiungani 1886. Ordained deacon 1901. Assistant at St. Marks College, Mazazini 1901. At Masasi 1904-07- Suspended 1913. Dead by 1931.

(Anderson-Moreshead; USPG/UMCA Kiungani Register: Crockford's Clerical Directory; Central Africa, 1913).

JOHN BAPTIST MDOE. Bondoi. Born c 1875. Educated at Magila, baptised there Aug. 1 1884. Ordained deacon 27/4/1897. Curate of Kologwe 1897-1900. At Kichelwe 1904. In Carrier Corps with Bishop Weston 1916-17. At Bububu 1917. Retired 1924. Died 29/7/26.

(Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; Crockford's Clerical Directory)

KOLUMBA YOHANNA MSIGALA. Yao. Free born. Nephew of Matola I of Newala. Went to Masasi c 1878. Entered Kiungani 1885. Later teacher in Masasi district. Entered Kiungani 1898, moved to Mazizini 1899. Ordained Deacon Dec. 1901. Worked at Masasi and Mwit. Ordained priest Dec. 1910. Priest-in-charge Chwata 1911-24. Interned 1914-18. Rural Dean 1922-24. Priest-in-charge Saidi Maumbo 1924-45. Canon of Masasi 1928-48. Retired 1945 and went to live on his farm where he built an oratory. Died 1/9/1956.

(USPG/UMCA DI/231B Canon Kolumba's Reminiscences; Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; Crockford's Clerical Directory)

HUGH SWINTON MTOKA. Makua. Freed slave. Born c 1872. Received by mission Dec. 1878 from H.M.S. London. At Kilimani then Mkunazini Choir School until Jan. 1886 when he entered the Head Class at Kiungani. Editor of the Kiungani Magazine 1889. Head teacher at Kiungani 1890. Made Reader 1893. Ordained Deacon Sept. 22 1895. Had charge of Chiwata, Masasi until death on 29/6/1899.

Addendum: 1891 teacher at Newala; 1892 at Chitangali; 1893-95 Kiungani; married Christabel Majolia of Mbweni in 1894; at Mwit. Sept.-Dec. 1895 then Chiwata.

(Anderson-Moreshead; Annual Report 1896; Central Africa 1896, School Lists)

EUSTACE MALISAWA (alias ULEDI). Yao. Freed slave. Born c 1862 at Matakas. Came to Mission 1874. Entered Kiungani same time. Went to Masasi July 1877. Returned to Kiungani 1878-79. Early 1880 he married Amy Zanapoat, Masasi (subject of John Swedi scandal). Schoolmaster at Masasi 1880-83, at Newala 1883-87. At Likoma 1887-96 (schoolmaster in Lakeside villages including Chia). At Kiungani 1896-98. Ordained deacon at Msumba 12/6/1898. First student at St. Andrew's College Nkwazi, Likoma, 1905. Ordained priest 21/12/1906. In charge of Lungwena 1902-21, (retired). Aged rapidly and grew very stout. 'He spent the remaining years of his life at Lungwena in patriarchal fashion with his wife, surrounded by a large family and the owner of considerable wealth in cattle'. Died 18/6/32.

(Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; 'Papers from Newala: No. 1 Our Schoolmaster - Eustace Malisawa, Central Africa 1886 pp. 53-57; Maples, E., Life of Chauncy Maples, pp. 169, 285, 389; Central Africa 1932 p. 212).

YUSTINO MKANDU. Entered Kiungani 1886. Ordained deacon 1901. Assistant at St. Marks College, Mazazini 1901. At Masasi 1904-07- Suspended 1913. Dead by 1931.

(Anderson-Moreshead; USPG/UMCA Kiungani Register: Crockford's Clerical Directory; Central Africa, 1913).

JOHN BAPTIST MOOE. Bondel. Born c 1875. Educated at Magila, baptised there Aug. 1 1884. Ordained deacon 27/4/1897. Curate of Kologwe 1897-1900. At Kichelwe 1904. In Carrier Corps with Bishop Weston 1916-17. At Bububu 1917. Retired 1924. Died 29/7/26.

(Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; Crockford's Clerical Directory)

KOLUMBA YOHANNA MSIGALA. Yao. Free born. Nephew of Matola I of Newala. Went to Masasi c 1878. Entered Kiungani 1885. Later teacher in Masasi district. Entered Kiungani 1898, moved to Mazizini 1899. Ordained Deacon Dec. 1901. Worked at Masasi and Mwiti. Ordained priest Dec. 1910. Priest-in-charge Chwata 1911-24. Interned 1914-18. Rural Dean 1922-24. Priest-in-charge Saidi Maumbo 1924-45. Canon of Masasi 1928-48. Retired 1945 and went to live on his farm where he built an oratory. Died 1/9/1956. (USPG/UMCA DI/231B Canon Kolumba's Reminiscences; Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; Crockford's Clerical Directory)

HUGH SWINTON MTOKA. Makua. Freed slave. Born c 1872. Received by mission Dec. 1878 from H.M.S. London. At Kilimani then Mkunazini Choir School until Jan. 1886 when he entered the Head Class at Kiungani. Editor of the Kiungani Magazine 1889. Head teacher at Kiungani 1890. Made Reader 1893. Ordained Deacon Sept. 22 1895. Had charge of Chiwata, Masasi until death on 29/8/1899.

Addendum: 1891 teacher at Newala; 1892 at Chitangali; 1893-95 Kiungani; married Christabel Majolia of Mbweni in 1894; at Mwiti Sept.-Dec. 1895 then Chiwata.

(Anderson-Moreshead; Annual Report 1896; Central Africa 1896, School Lists)

JOHN DRUMMOND (DRUMARGH?) SAIDI. Bondei. Free born from Mkuzi, his father was a Mohammedan exorcist. In the 2nd class at Mkuzi 1891-2. Bapt. 1892-3; 1st class Mkuzi 1893; entered Kiungani 1894 in head class by 1896; teacher at Magila 1897. Returned to Kiungani as Theological Student 1898-9. Made a Reader 1899. Moved to Mazizini 1899-1902; Ordained deacon 1902; worked at Mzalabani (Magila); ordained priest 1918; in charge of Kwa Maizi until death 9/5/1929.  
(Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; School Lists; Central Africa 1929).

JAMES CHALA SALFEY. Galla. Taken from a slave dhow c 1855 and adopted by Capt. Francis Henry Hastings, R.N. (later ordained). Taken to England to be educated, lodged with Capt. Hastings' brother Rev. W. B. Hastings, Rector of Ludford, Lincs. At Dorchester College Oxford, 1879. Ordained deacon by Bp. of Oxford 1882. Joined UMCA the same year. Worked at Magila and Umba 1882-84; Mbweni 1884-87; on furlough in England 1888-90; ordained priest by Bp. of Oxford at Cuddesdon June 1 1890; at Magila 1890-94. Left UMCA and joined SPG Lebombo Mission in 1894. Priest-in-charge of Inhamtane. Died 24th August 1914 on board S. S. Tabora between Mozambique and Zanzibar on his way to England.  
(Anderson-Moreshead; USPG/UMCA AI/VI; Crockford's Clerical Directory; T. R. Teague William Edmund Smyth; Central Africa, 1914).

SAMUEL SEHOZA. Bondei. Free born from Umba. Baptised at Magila 1879 by H. W. Woodward. At Umba School with Limo; Magila School 1884; Kiungani 1887; teacher at Magila 1889; Head Class Kiungani 1890. Taken to England and attended Dorchester Missionary College 1891-94; ordained deacon 24/8/1894 at Iona; worked at Mizozwe 1896-1905; ordained priest at Magila 15/3/1896; at Kogongoi 1905-07; Returned to Mizozwe; interned 1916-17; Canon of Zanzibar from 1912; Priest-in-charge of Kiwanda 1924-36; chaplain of Teacher's Training College, Minaki; Died 16/10/1936. Author of Elimu ya Dini, (Book of Religious Instruction), Life of St. Augustine (Swahili), A Year in Chains, Life of Bp. Weston (Swahili), Life of our Lord (Swahili) (Ms.) Editor of Habari Za Mwezi from 1908.  
(Samuil Sehoza, Canon of Zanzibar by Mary L. G. Sehoza (Swahili), 1939; Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; Crockford; Central Africa 1936, pp. 225-28, 1939 pp. 208-09).

\* DENYS SEYITI Mang'anja (Nyasa). One of the first of Miss Mills released slave pupils. Entered Kiungani 1886; Teacher at Likoma. Ordained deacon 13/3/1893. Married Rebecca Wajerage 1893. Served the freed slave settlement at Kichelwe, Zaramo from 1893 till death at Zanzibar 3/8/1902.  
(Anderson-Moreshead; Kiungani Register; Central Africa 1902).

JOHN SWEDI. Gindo. Freed slave. Presented to the mission by Sultan 16 Sept. 1864. Born c 1850; baptised Aug. 24 1865; taken to England by Tozer Sept. 20 1866; stayed with Rev. Buller of West Hinton ?, Somerset; returned 17 July 1868; ordained sub-deacon Feb. 2 1870; married a mission girl Lucy Kisa 1871; sent to Magila Oct. 1 1872; at Zanzibar 1875; Mbweni 1878; went to Masasi 1880; sent back to Zanzibar 1881 on account of alleged misconduct; at Magila/Umba 1881; Mkuzi 1881-89; returned to Zanzibar; at Mbweni from 1899 till death 5/4/1944.  
(Zanzibar Mission Diary; Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; USPG/UMCA AI(IX) 22-38 Letters re. John Swedi's trial at Masasi 1881).



DANIELI USUFU. Yao. Free born. Nephew of Barnaba Nakaam of Chitangali. At Chitangali school by 1889; 1890 1st class at Newala; 1890 entered 2nd class at Kiungani; 1893-4 Head class at Kiungani; 1895 Teacher at Chitangali; 1896 Teacher at Mwititi; 1897-99 Reader and Theological student at Kiungani; 1900 moved to Mazizini; ordained deacon 19/1/1901 by Bishop of Lebombo; at Chiwata 1901-c 1910; at Kiungani 1907-08; ordained priest 12/4/1908; at Majembe 1910 until his death 19/4/1924. (Anderson-Moreshead; Blood; UMCA School Lists; Kiungani Register; Central Africa, 1924).

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At least two other Africans who came into contact with the mission were later ordained priests of the Church of England, amongst the first in Uganda and Kenya.

HENRY WRIGHT DUTA. From Uganda, born c 1863. Brought to Zanzibar by CMS missionary. At Kiungani 1881-82. Returned to Uganda. Became lay reader 1891, ordained deacon 1893 and priest 1896. Died June 11th 1913.

WILLIAM JONES. A Bombay African freed slave, trained in India. On Dec. 13th 1867 arrived at Zanzibar from Mombasa with wife Jemima, engaged as native assistants in the schools. In July 1868 he was described by Miss Tozer 'as 'a good quiet well conducted fellow' and as well as helping in the school was a head printer for mission. In November 1868 went to Magila with Tozer. He then disappears from the records of the mission but by 1874 he was back at Mombasa working as a native catechist for the CMS. Worked at Rabai in Kenya. Ordained deacon on Trinity Sunday June 1885 by Bishop Hannington after which he accompanied the Bishop on his fateful journey to Uganda during which the Bishop was murdered. Returned to Kenya and by 1899 had been ordained priest. Died 1904. (SPG/UMCA Zanzibar Mission Diary; G. Ward, Letters of Bishop Tozer; A. J. Temu, British Protestant Missions.)

APPENDIX III. Africans educated in England 1868-94.

GEORGE FARAJALIAH. Yao. Freed slave presented to Mission by Sultan 16 Sept. 1864. Baptised Aug. 24 1865. Taken to England with Bp. Tozer Sept. 20 1866, returned 17 July 1868. 'protege of Rev. George Gavin Maclean (died Mch. 1919)'. Ordained sub-deacon Feb. 2 1870. Died of Cholera Mch. 21, 1870.  
(Anderson-Moreshead; Central Africa 1919, p. 48).

FAITH KALEKABULA. Taken to England by Miss Thackeray May 8 1888, returned via. Italy Jan. 20 1889. Married Hugh Peter Kayamba (see below) 1890. Mother of Martin Kayamba. Died at Mombasa 28th August 1912.  
(Zanzibar Mission Diary; M. Perham Ten Africans pp. 174, 181, Central Africa 1890.

WILLIAM EDWARD KANYOPOLEA. Freed slave. Born c 1871. At Kiungani 1880-84. In 1st class in 1884. Taken to England by A. C. Madan May 12 1884, at his own cost, and taught by him there. Returned to Zanzibar Aug. 28 1885. Worked as a teacher at Kiungani 1887; at Lake Nyasa 1888-91; went with A. F. Sim to open up Kota Kota as a Mission Station Sept. 1894; described by Sim as an 'excellent teacher', also skilled in building and joinery. Still at Kota Kota when Sim died Oct. 1895. Married with wife Monica and two children. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; USPG/UMCA A1 (VII) 1047-50 Madan to Penney May 1884; Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim pp. 100 ff; W. P. Johnson My African Reminiscences p. 212).

HUGH PETER KAYAMBA. Bondei. (Mkilindi). Born c 1865 the son of Chief Muelekwanyima of Kilole, and grandson of Kimweri ye Nyumbai, King of Usambara. (Joined mission at Umba 1877). Brought from Umba to attend Mission School at Magila by H. W. Woodward c 1881. Dangerously ill at Magila Mch. 1882. Taken to England by J. P. Farler Feb. 2 1883, educated at All Saints School, Bloxham, returned to Zanzibar Aug. 28 1885. At Kiungani 1886. Made Reader. At Magila 1889. Married Faith Kalekabula (see above) 1890. Father of Martin Kayamba. Resigned from mission 1895, joined Govt. Service at Mombasa as clerk to Uganda Rifles 1899, returned to Zanzibar; 1901 in Bondei; 1902 Zanzibar; - 1906-1917- at Mombasa. Worked as a trader at Mombasa. Made Jumbe of Mkuzi 1930. (By 1926 he was akida of Mombo in Usambara district). (Zanzibar Mission Diary; USPG/UMCA A1 (VI) Farler to Penney Mch. 1882; Central Africa 1931 pp. 113-14; 1940 pp. 55-57; M. Perham Ten Africans; S. Feierman 'The Shambaa' in A. Roberts (ed.) Tanzania before 1900).

PETRO LIMO. Bondei. Free born. Educated Dorchester Theological College 1889-92. See Appendix II African Clergy, for biographical details.

FRANCIS MABRUKI. Yao. Freed slave presented to Mission by Sultan 16 Sept. 1864. Baptised 24th August 1865. Taken to England by Bp. Tozer Sept. 20 1866, spent a year with Rev. Rector of Rickingham, Suffolk, attending village school. Befriended by fellow pupil Samuel Speare later an U.M.C.A. Missionary. Returned to Zanzibar 17 July 1868. Confirmed 23 Aug. 1868. Made sub-deacon 1871-2. Married at Kiungani November 1870 to Kate Kadamweli (bapt. Sept. 1866), teacher at Mbweni. During 1872 he was the Bishop's right hand man at Shangani, Zanzibar taking all the week day services. Sent to Magila Oct. 8th 1872. In 1874 returned to Zanzibar. At Magila again July 1875, in June 1876 he was catechising and addressing the people there and taking classes. On 31 July 1876 Mabruki owing to misconduct was inhibited from preaching, etc. However on 8th April he was addressing the congregation at Magila on the nature and benefit of Holy Baptism 1877. Soon after he appears to have left, or been dismissed from, the Mission. Worked for a time with Mr. Bellingham on the Charles Janson c 1888. He later took a government post at Mombasa where he died June 1907. His wife remained as a teacher at Mbweni until her death also in 1907. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; Anderson-Moreshead; R. M. Heanley, Memoir of Bishop Steere p. 156; Letters of Bishop Tozer; A Suffolk Boy in East Africa; 'Mama Kate: An Africa Saint' in Where we live and what we do pp. 223-231; USPG/UMCA A1 (VI); Central Africa 1888, p. 13).

LUKE MABRUKI. Taken to England by P. L. Jones-Bateman, April 14 1885; at Mkunazini, Zanzibar spring 1886. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; Central Africa 1886 p. 61)

CECIL MAJILIWA. Freed slave. Educated at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury 1883-85. See Appendix II African Clergy, for biographical details.

CONNOP MAKANJILAH. Zigula. Freed slave, sent to Mission in 1865. Bapt. 16 Sept. 1866. Taken to England by Bp. Tozer Sept. 20 1866, returned to Zanzibar 17 July 1868. Confirmed 23 Aug. 1868. Lived at Zanzibar, married Mary - - a Christian. Fell into disgrace but reformed by April 1872, acting as guard and porter for Miss Tozer, skilled musician playing hymns on an accordion. Caught smallpox in 1872, and also took to drink. In August 1875 he was accused of theft of a kisibau before the Consul. He then appears to have left the Mission and gone back to his people on the mainland. In 1881 he turned up at Magila seeking J. P. Farler with a request from his chief Jembe Mkono of Uzagula for Farler to visit him. Makanjilah sent on to Farler at Zanzibar who reported 'Connop remains steadfast, will not drink, and is regular at daily prayer. He comes to me every morning and with his aid I am collecting a vocabulary of the Uzegular language .... His school has now 29 scholars in it, the sons of the chiefs and the principal men'. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; Anderson-Moreshead; Letters of Bishop Tozer; USPG/UMCA A1 (VI) 403-06 Farler to Penney, St. Bartholomew's Day, 1881; Steere Typescript p. 21).

OWEN MAKANYASSA. Freed slave sent to Mission 1865. Baptised 16 Sept. 1866. Head Porter at Kiungani 1868, confirmed March 1869. By 1872 was working in the printing office at Zanzibar. Taken to England by E. Steere for further training June 1874. Returned Feb. 1875. August 24th 1875 presided with John Swedi at African dinner at Z. Appointed head printing boy by 1876, a position he still held in 1883. In May 1876 he married Barbara - the head girl of Mission. (Anderson-Moreshead, Memoir of Bishop Steere, Life of Chauncy Maples, USPG/UMCA A1/II Steeres Diary 1866).

VINCENT M'KONO. A Malagasy. At mission on trial Nov. 30 1864. Baptised 24 Aug. 1865. Went to Magila with Alington Aug. 1867. Returned Nov. 1867. Confirmed March 25th 1869. Apparently accompanied Bishop Tozer to England in Jan. 1872. Married Elizabeth Kodogo at Zanzibar 1st Jan. 1874. Lived at Kiungani and acted as 'sort of usher out of school hours and general superintendent. In 1875 in charge of nursery school at Mweni. Died 1909. (Annual Reports; G. Ward, Letters of Bishop Tozer, Central Africa 1909 p. 131).

HARRY MNUBI. Born c 1864. Freed slave. Native Teacher at Kiungani 1860-64. Shot in arm and thigh by A. C. Madan accidentally Nov. 1 1883. Sent for education in England May 12 1884, at desire of Rev. John Key, possibly went to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Returned to Zanzibar Oct. 23 1886. Went to Lake Nyasa with Bishop Smythies 1887. Married Louisa Baada Riziki (see below) at Mweni 30 November 1887 and set out for Chitangali near Newala the next day kept schools there. In 1889 they moved to a hamlet near Masasi. 1891 a teacher at Kiungani. 1892 at Masasi. By 1897 he had been made a Reader and was working at Mtoni, still there 1900. By 1912 he had become overseer to Miss Thackeray at Mweni (she had bought Sir John 'Kirk's shamba) he probably retained this post until Miss Thackeray's death in 1926. His eldest daughter Bella received an education in England and married John Majaliwa in 1912, another daughter Dorothy Mary Mnuubi a teacher at Mweni married Martin Kayamba in 1917. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; Central Africa 1912 p. 89; USPG/UMCA A1 (VII), 852, 1047-50. A1 (VI) Miss Thackeray's Letters).

ROSE MUNEZAI. Taken to England by Miss Ruth Berkeley Jan. 18 1887, returned to Zanzibar 10 Aug. 1887. (Zanzibar Mission Diary).

KATHLEEN MWAHINJA. Makua. Freed slave. A pupil at Mweni. Taken to England by Miss Thackeray Feb. 2 1883, stayed in Lincolnshire, said to have attended a village school. Stayed a week at the Bishop's Palace, Riseholme, Lincoln, and also visited Westminster Abbey. Returned to Zanzibar Dec. 2 1883. Teaching at Mweni. 1884-1890. Married Nicholas Mkwasho, printer at Kiungani in 1887. Nov. 1890 they were both sent to Likoma, Nyasa. There she was senior teacher until her death on July 31 1934. She had at least three children, two of whom were women teachers in Nyasaland and both married teachers who later became deacons. Kathleen and her daughters Faith and Florence were presented with honorary certificates by the Nyasaland Government for having taught for over 20 years. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; USPG/UMCA a (VI) Miss Thackeray's Letters; What We do in Nyasaland p. 33, p. 192; Central Africa 1934 p. 34, pp. 257-58 'Mama Amwalimu Kathleen'.)

BLANDINA MWAMIKWAMA. Freed slave, went as a small child to Mbweni. Became engaged to Petro Limo (see above and Appendix ), 1889. Taken to England Dec. 31 1889 by Miss Ruth Berkeley. Attended school at the Convent of St. John Baptist, Clewer, Windsor. Returned to Zanzibar Feb. 20 1891. Worked as teacher at Mbweni. Married Rev. Petro Limo in Mbweni School Chapel August 1894. Had 4 children. Worked with husband at Kwa Kibai, Mkuzi, Kwa Magore. Died 1914 (Zanzibar Mission Diary; Central Africa, 1914 pp. 202-206).

HENRY NASIBU. Freedslave. Baptised August 25 1873. Teacher at Kiungani 1880-83, 85-89. Taken to England June 25th 1883, educated at All Saints School, Bloxham. Returned to Zanzibar Aug. 28 1885. Married Emma - - a teacher. In 1889 they were sent to Misozwe to take charge of the boys' and girls' schools. 1890 he was in charge of school at Mkuzi and 1891-93 at Korogwe. December 1893 resigned work in which he had lost interest and left the Mission. He took service in the German coffee plantations at Darema, tempted partly by higher wages. However he refused to work on Sunday and on that day assembled the Christian workmen and had a service with them. In 1896 he was making his communion at Magila on greater festivals. (Anderson-Moreshead, pp. 360-361). Later he taught at the Government School at Weti on Pemba until 1925 when he retired to Zanzibar where he was churchwarden when he died in 1927). (Zanzibar Mission Diary; Anderson-Moreshead; Central Africa, 1927, p. 56).

LOUISA BAADA RIZIKI. Freed slave. Pupil at Mbweni. Taken to England by Miss Thackeray Feb. 2 1883, stayed in Lincolnshire, said to have attended a village school. Stayed a week at the Bishop's Palace, Riseholme, Lincoln at Horncastle. Returned to Zanzibar Dec. 2 1883. Teaching at Mbweni 1884-87. Married Harry Mnubi (see above) in 1887. Taught at Chitangali, Masasi and Mtoni with husband. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; USPG/UMCA A1 (VI) Miss Thackeray's Letters; Central Africa, 1883).

ACLAND SAHERA. Freed slave. Pupil at Kiungani 1871. Received from H.N.S. Highflyer Jan. 26 1867. Made Reader 1875 (July). At Magila 1875-77, at Umba 1878. Sent to England September 1878, educated at St. Boniface College, Warminster. Returned Zanzibar 1881. At Magila Oct. 1881. Married in 1883. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; Anderson-Moreshead; USPG/UMCA A1 (VI) Letters of J. P. Farler; Central Africa 1883 p. 140).

JAMES CHALA SALFEY. Galla. Freed slave, adopted by Captain Hastings, R.N. Educated in England. Joined Mission 1882. See Appendix II: African Clergy, for biographical details.

SAMUEL SEHOZA. Bondel. Free born. Educated at Dorchester Missionary College 1891-94. See Appendix II: African Clergy, for biographic details.

JOHN SWEDI. Gindo. Freed slave. Educated in England 1866-68. See Appendix II: African Clergy, for biographical details.



LAWRENCE HINKSEY TURI. Taken to England by Archdeacon Farler Feb. 2 1883, attended St. John's School, Cowley, Oxford. Returned to Zanzibar Dec. 27, 1885. At Magila 1886-87, receiving instruction in dispensing? from Dr. Ley. August 28, 1888 married A. Madela Agoma at Zanzibar. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; U.M.C.A. School Lists; USPG/UMCA A1 (VI) 443, 554).

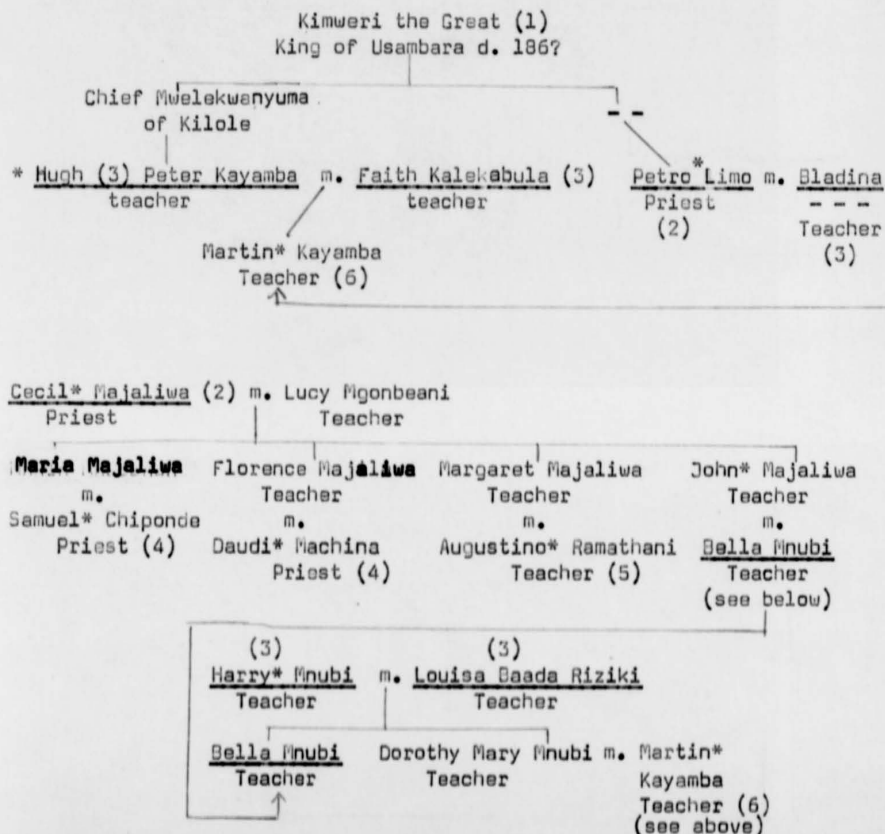
THREE PORTERS SENT TO ENGLAND TO TRAIN AS SAILORS. Three porters, two Nyasas and Hamisi, a Zanzibari, were taken from Nyasa by W. P. Johnson to Brixham, November 1883 to be trained by fishermen as sailors for the 'Charles Janson'. Hamisi later worked on the steamer, but left to become an elephant hunter near Blantyre. (Zanzibar Mission Diary; W. P. Johnson, My African Reminiscences, pp. 113-14).

CHRISTEASE ULEDI. In November 1872 he was working in the printing office in Zanzibar. Taken to England in 1874 and undertook training as a printer at an office run by member of Guild of St. Alban. Still in Zanzibar printing shop in 1884. In 1885 dismissed for persistent drunkenness and violence to his wife, sent by Farler as a seedi boy on board Admiral's ship to Burmah. 'I hope a year's discipline may do him good'. (USPG/UMCA A1/VI; Annual Reports).

KEZIAH SHIKALKO. Pupil Teacher, taken by Miss Thackeray to Rome for three months in winter of 1893.

## APPENDIX IV

TANZANIA'S EDUCATED ELITE 1890-1930: Pedigrees to show relationships

A. Africans educated in England

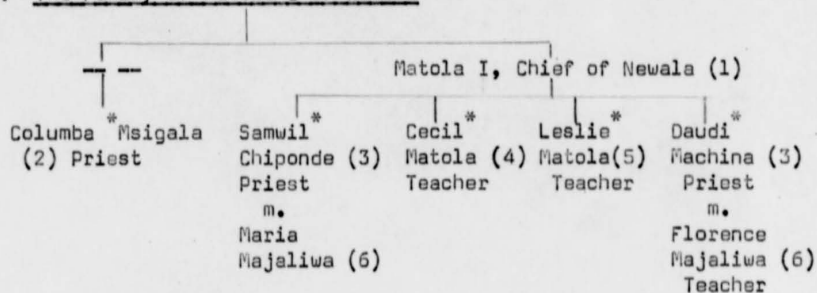
Those underlined received an education in England.

\* denotes educated at Kiungani.

- (1) The greatest Kilindi ruler, see Steven Feierman 'The Shambaa', Roberts A. (ed.), Tanzania before 1900 pp. 1-15.
- (2) See Appendix 2 African Clergy.
- (3) See Appendix 3 Africans educated in England.
- (4) Son of Matola I of Newala, see Pedigree B below and Appendix 2.
- (5) Freed slave educated at Kilimani and Kiungani, became senior African teacher at Kiungani.
- (6) The best known Tanzanian of the inter-war period. Founder of the Tanganyika Territory African Civil Service Association in 1922. See 'The Story of Martin Kayamba Mdumi, M.B.E., of the Bondai Tribe' in Perham, M., Ten Africans.

● These pedigrees have as their basis the material given in Iliffe, J., Tanganyika Under German Rule p. 177.

## APPENDIX IV.

B. The Family of Matola I of Newala

\* denotes educated at Kiungani.

- (1) Yao chief of Newala, died baptised October 1895. See 'Matola A Catechumen' in Maples, E., (ed.) Journals and Papers of Chauncy Maples.
- (2) Nephew of Matola, see Appendix 2 African Clergy.
- (3) See Appendix 2 African Clergy.
- (4) U.M.C.A. teacher, later worked as a carpenter on a settler estate in Kenya. Became a teacher at Dar es Salaam Government School. First President of the African Association founded in Dar es Salaam in 1929. Iliffe, J. Tanganyika Under German Rule and Iliffe, J. 'The age of Improvement, etc.' in Hist. of Tanzania.
- (5). Taught in Pemba then became senior African teacher at Dar es Salaam Government School.
- (6) Daughter of Cecil Majaliwa, priest, see Pedigree A.

APPENDIX V: Language Studies and Translations by U.M.C.A.  
Missionaries 1860-1905.

This preliminary list has been compiled from the following main sources:

- J. E. Hine List of Swahili Books Published by the Universities Mission Zanzibar May 1905.
- U.M.C.A. Library Catalogue for Dioces of Likoma 1905.  
'List of Swahili Literature in use by the Central Africa Mission 1884' Central Africa, Vol. 2 p. 62.
- G. Fortune The Bantu Languages of the Federation - A Preliminary Survey Rhabs-Livingstone Inst. 1959.
- C. M. Doke 'The Linguistic work of H. W. Woodward' African Studies, Vol. 20 1961.
- British and Foreign Bible Society Anglican Missions and the Bible Society (leaflet).  
British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.  
Bodleian Library Catalogue.
- W. H. Whiteley and A. E. Gutkind A Linguistic Bibliography of East Africa. 1958.
- M. van Spaandonck Practical and Systematic Swahili Bibliography Linguistics 1850-1963. Leiden 1965.
- C. M. Doke Bantu: Modern Grammatical, Phonetic and Lexicographic Studies since 1860. 1967.

LANGUAGE STUDIESSwahili

- 1870: Edward Steere A Handbook of the Swahili Language London editions etc. 1870, 1875, 1882, 1884, 1885 (?) 1895, 1896, 1901, 1903, 1906, 1908, 1919, 1928, 1930, 1943 (Rev. A. B. Hellier), 1950, 1955.
- 1878: Edward Steere Swahili Exercises London. Editions etc. 1878, 1882, 1886, 1890, 1894, 1902, 1906, 1908, 1918, 1919, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1934 (Rev. A. B. Hellier), 1951, 1956.
- 1878: E. Steere Swahili Exercises Key
- 1884: A. C. Madan English-Swahili Vocabulary London.
- 1894: A. C. Madan English-Swahili Dictionary Oxford.
- 1903: A. C. Madan Swahili-English Dictionary
- 1905: A. C. Madan Swahili (Zanzibar) Grammar Oxford.
- 1885: J. P. Farler ' A Brief vocabulary of the Kibwyo dialect in A. D. Shaw, A Pocket Vocabulary of the Ki-Swahili, Ki-nyika, Ki-taita and Ki-kamba languages.
- 1898-99: W. King Swahili Notes 4 pamphlets Pts. I + II Notes on correction of Swahili as spoken in Mission Pt. III Swahili Idioms Pt. IV Swahili Proverbs.
- 1890: A. C. Madan Swahili Phrase Book

Shambala

- 1867: Edward Steere Collections for a handbook of the Shambala Language Zanzibar. Revised by H. W. Woodward 1905.

Yao

- 1871: Edward Steere Collections for a handbook of the Yao Language London.
- 1887: Chauncy Maples Yao Vocabulary

Nyamwezi

- 1871: Edward Steere Collections for a handbook of the Nyamwezi Language as spoken at Unyamwezi London.

Makonde

- 1876: Edward Steere Collections for a handbook of the Makonde Language



Makua

- 1879: Chauncy Maples Collections for a handbook of the Makua Language

Bondei

- 1882: H. W. Woodward Collections for a handbook of the Bondei Language London.  
 1894: G. Dale Bondei Exercises

Zigula

- 1902: H. W. Woodward Collection for a Handbook of the Zigula Language.  
 1896: H. W. Woodward Kizigula-English Vocabulary Mss.  
 1896: W. H. Kisbey Zigula Exercises (2nd ed. 1902)

Mbugu

- x 1885: J. P. Farler 'A Collection of Mbugu words', in A. D. Shaw, *op cit*

Gindo, Zaramo, and Anqazidja

- 1869: Edward Steere Slight Specimens of the Gindo, Zaramo, and Anqazidja Languages

Nyanja

- 1892: Miss M. E. Woodward Vocabulary of English-Chinyanja and Chinyanja-English as spoken at Likoma. 2nd ed. 1895.  
 1898: Miss M. E. Woodward Chi-nyanja Exercise Book  
 1902: H. Barnes Nyanja-English Vocabulary

General

- 1876: Edward Steere Bantu Orthography printed with a note by H. W. Woodward 1903.  
 1876: Edward Steere A Practical Guide to the use of the Arabic Alphabet in writing Swahili, etc. Zanzibar.  
 1885: U.M.C.A. The Arabic Alphabet as used in writing Swahili.  
 1892: U.M.C.A. A Practical Guide to the Use of the Arabic Alphabet in writing Swahili according to the Usage of the East Coast of Africa.

1904: A. C. Madan

An Outline Grammar intended as an aid  
to the study of the languages of the  
Bantu (African) and other uncivilised  
races London

1905: A. C. Madan

An Outline Dictionary intended as an aid  
to the study of the languages of the  
Bantu (African and other uncivilised  
races London

SWAHILI SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND READERSGrammar and Spelling

1872, 1877, 1880	E. Steere	Swahili spelling book
1878, 1883	E. Steere	Sarufi ya Kiswahili (grammar)
1893, 1899, 1888	A. C. Madan	Maelezo ya Sarufi (advanced grammar)
1908	F. Weston	Sarufi ya Kiswahili (grammar for use in schools)

Geography

c 1875	E. Steere	Jografia (2nd ed. 1878)
1881-3	E. Steere	Geography of Africa, Europe, etc.
1900	A. C. Madan	Mlango wa Jografia

Arithmetic

1872	E. Steere	Cho cha kwanza cha kufanja hesabu (other editions 1876 and 1879)
n.d.	F. Weston	Hesabu, part 1. Four simple rules
n.d.	F. Weston	Maelezo ya Hesabu (arithmetical definitions)
n.d.	J. C. White	Namna za Hesabu, parts I-IV

English

1889	A. C. Madan	Masayidio ya kujifunza kiingereza
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Singing

1892	W. King	Kuimba na kuimbisha (a manual of singing according to the Tonic Solfa method for use of native teachers)
1903	W. King, J. C. White et al.	School Songs (2 eds.)

Miscellaneous

1894	A. C. Madan	Mlango wa Historia
1901 ?	A. C. Madan	Ziologia
1901 ?	A. C. Madan	Maarifa (knowledge)
1901 ?	A. C. Madan	Lojiki

1901 ?	A. C. Madan	Astronomia
1901 ?	A. C. Madan	Sokrati
1901 ?	A. C. Madan	Euklid Book 1
1890	A. C. Madan	Mambo ya Chuoni (School affairs)

#### Readers

1873	E. Steere	Aesops Fables
1882	C. Majaliwa	Agathos and other stories
1884	A. C. Madan	Stories Sacred and Profane
1888	A. C. Madan	Msafiri (Pilgrim's Progress)
n.d.c1889	Miss E. M. Bennett (died 1893)	Mashujaa (Kingsley's Heroes)
1899	A. C. Madan	Visa vya Hadithi
1889 ?	A. C. Madan	Visa vya kale (another ed. 1899)
n.d. c 1884	A. C. Madan	Mambo na Hadithi
1899	Miss Foxley	David Livingstone
1899	Miss Barraud	Mchawi (Rider Haggard's 'Wizard')
1899	F. R. & J. Hodgson	Mapumbazuko (Peep of Day)
1900	A. C. Madan	Hadithi ya kiingereza
1904	C. Yorke	Kibaraka (reprint) 1st ed. 1896
n.d.	Miss Allen	Matendo ya Mitume

#### Religious Education

	E. Steere	Imani ya Mitume (extract from Pearson on the Creed)
	E. Steere	Swahili Tracts in Arabic characters
	E. Steere	Masamo ya Maandiko Matakatifu Vol. I (trans. of SPCK simple reading lessons from the Old Testament)
	A. C. Madan	Masamo ya Maandiko Matakatifu Vol. II (taken from Lady Martin's 'Outlines of Scripture History')
1886	A. C. Madan	Church History Parts I-III.
1899	A. C. Madan	Habari za Kaniza (Stories of the Church)
1901	F. Weston	Mafundisho ya Kanisa Katholika Pt. I

1893	P. L. Jones-Bateman, H. W. Woodward and P. R. H. Chambers	Notes for Teachers in Swahili (from 'Outlines of Church Teaching')
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THE BIBLE - Translations

SWAHILI: Old Testament

1869:	E. Steere	Ruth
1869:	E. Steere	Jonah
?1870:	E. Steere	Kings I + II (2nd ed. 1882)
1871:	E. Steere	Psalms
1879:	E. Steere	Genesis (2nd ed. 1884 edited by F. R. Hodgson)
1882:	E. Steere	Exodus (2nd ed. 1891)
1882:	E. Steere	Isaiah
1882:	A. C. Madan & F. R. Hodgson	Daniel
1884:	F. R. Hodgson	Joshua (revised by H. Geldart + C. D. M. Thackeray 1884)
1891:	E. Steere, F. R. & Mrs. J. Hodgson	Old Testament complete

New Testament

1869:	E. Steere	St. Matthew (another edition 1876)
1872:	R. L. Pennell	St. Luke
1875:	E. Steere	St. John (further editions 1879, 1888)
1878:	E. Steere	Epistles and Revelation (part trans. before 1877)
1878:	E. Steere	Acts
1879:	E. Steere	St. Mark
1881:	J. Rebmann (C.M.S.)	St. Luke (spelling altered by Bp. Steere, original version published 1876)
1883:	E. Steere	New Testament complete (revised by A. C. Madan 1892, other editions 1893, 1905, 1921)



BONDEI: New Testament

1890:	J. P. Farler	St. Matthew
c 1890:	J. P. Farler	St. Mark ?
1895:	G. Dale	St. John
n.d.:	A. Machaku	The Acts
n.d.:	A. Machaku	St. Luke

NYANJA: Old Testament

1894:	W. P. Johnson	Nehemiah (selections from)
1896:	W. P. Johnson	Genesis
1897:	W. P. Johnson	Psalms
1899:	W. P. Johnson	Isaiah, Daniel, Joshua, Numbers, I Kings, Ezra, Historical Books, and Minor Prophets.

New Testament

1896:	W. P. Johnson	St. John
1897:	W. P. Johnson	Acts
1897:	W. P. Johnson	St. Matthew
1898:	W. P. Johnson	St. James, St. Jude, Peter, John, Colossians, Thessalonians, Galatians, Hebrews, Romans, Corinthians, Philipians and Revelation.
1898:	A. G. B. Glossop	Timothy, Titus and Philemon
1899:	A. G. B. Glossop	St. Luke (Chapters I-IV)
1912:	W. P. Johnson	Bible complete.

Islam

1870-81	E. Steere	<u>Tracts for Mohammedans</u>
1881	E. Steere	<u>Tract on the Koran</u>
1889	A. C. Madan	<u>Muhammadi (Life of Mohammed)</u>
n.d.	Miss Allen	<u>Mshafu wenyi Sanamu</u>

Swahili Literature

1866	E. Steere	<u>Specimens of Swahili</u> (Swahili Tales)
1867	E. Steere	<u>Hadithi za Kungu ja</u> (Swahili Tales) revised by H. W. Woodward 1905
1869	E. Steere	<u>Swahili Stories</u> (with English Translations)
1890	A. C. Madan	<u>Swahili Mes in Arabic characters</u>
1895	L. Abdallah	<u>Harbari za Wakilindi</u> part 1
1905	L. Abdallah	<u>Habari za Wakilindi</u> part II
n.d.		<u>Mashairi</u> African poems chiefly From 'Habari za Mwezi'

Magazines in vernacular languages \*

## Commenced

Oct. 1888	<u>Msimulizi</u> (the Reporter) magazine of Kiungani College
1891	A Native Quarterly for Usambara in Bondei
1895	<u>Habari ya Mwezi</u> Swahili newspaper produced at Magila

\* By 1892 there were three such magazines in existence, but nothing is known of the third.

Literature additional

n.d.	E. Steere	'Two Swahili Tales', <u>Folklore</u> 1
1884	anon	<u>Sultani Darai</u> (Swahili Tales) another ed. 1896

Prayer and Worship: Works in Swahili

1880	E. Steere	<u>The Book of Common Prayer</u> (2nd ed. 1883, 3rd ed. 1884, revised by Jones-Bateman and Madan, 1896 and by Dale, Majaliwa, and Chiponde 1905.  The different offices were printed separately in Zanzibar some years before the complete book and for 6 years a smaller book containing all that was required for daily offices was in use.
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- 1881 E. Steere, & others Nyimbo za Dini (hymn book) 3rd edition\* 170 hymns. (4th ed. 1888, 217 hymns and 16 carols; 5th ed. 1895, 257 hymns; revised by J. E. Griffin 1902)
- \* Two editions printed previously in Zanzibar. Some hymns before 1868.
- Translators of hymns include:  
H. W. Woodward, J.P. Farler, F. R. Hodgson, W. P. Johnson, F. A. Wallis, Miss Allen, Lewis Fraser, A. C. Madan, H. A. B. Wilson, Miss Thackeray.
- 1902 E.S. Palmer & S. Chiponde Nyimbo za Dini na antifona
- 1896 W. C. Firminger Introits, Graduals, Antiphons and various minor Offices of the Church
- n.d. J. E. Griffin Other Introits
- 1885 J. P. Farler Kitabu cha Mathbahu (altar book)
- 1888 P. L. Jones-Bateman Hazini ya Sala (Treasury of Devotion)
- 1898 W. H. Kisbey Njia ya Kuungama (Path to Confession)
- J. E. Griffin Njia ya Msalaba (The Way of the Cross)
- 1902 S. Chiponde Sala za Kuombea (Eastertide Devotions)
- Sala za Wakristo (Christian Prayers)
- Sala za Kanisa (The Day Hours)
- H. W. Woodward & S. Chiponde Sala ya Jioni Waliofarika
- H. W. Woodward Taratibu ya Kuzika Watoto
- 1897 P. L. Jones-Bateman Collects, Epistles and Gospels for black letter saints days
- n.d. A. C. Madan The Calendar Lessons from the Apochrypha
- n.d. A. C. Madan Kitabu Cha Augustino Mt.
- n.d. H. W. Woodward Imani, Tumaini na Upendano (Faith, Hope & Charity) adapted from 'What every Christian should know and do'
- 1901 E. S. Palmer Kawaida ya Juma Takatifu (Holyweek services)
- 1968 E. Steere Short Prayers

1867	E. Steere	<u>Bishop Forbe's Catechism</u>
1870	E. Steere	<u>Catechism of the Church of England</u>
1880	E. Steere	<u>Catechism on the Old Testament</u>
1882	E. Steere	<u>Catechism on the New Testament</u>
1876	J. P. Farler	<u>Katekismo General</u>
1869	E. Steere	<u>Scripture Reading Lessons</u> (another ed. 1878)
1870	E. Steere	<u>Old Testament Reading Lessons</u>
1881	E. Steere	<u>New Testament Reading Lessons</u>
n.d.	H. W. Woodward & S. Chiponde	<u>Muhtasari</u> (summary of the Bible from the Paris Catechism)
n.d.	P. L. Jones- Bateman	<u>Masomo ya Agano Jipya</u> (New Testament Readings)

Works in Bondei

n.d.	H. W. Woodward	<u>Service for Catechumens</u> (Bondei revised by J. Said)
n.d.	H. W. Woodward	<u>Admission for Catechumens</u> (Bondei revised by J. Said)
n.d.	H. W. Woodward	<u>Katekismo</u> (revised by native clergy)
1891	H. W. Woodward	<u>Marriage Service</u> (retranslated by S. Sehoza)
1905	H. W. Woodward	<u>Litany and Holy Eucharist</u> (with assistance of native clergy)

Works in Shambala

1903	H. W. Woodward	<u>Katekismo</u>
1905	H. W. Woodward	<u>Catechumens Service and Admission of Catechumens</u>

Works in Ziqula

n.d.	H. W. Woodward	<u>Katekismo</u>
n.d.	W. H. Kisbey	<u>Hymns</u>
n.d.	W. H. Kisbey	<u>Catechumens Service and Admission of Catechumens</u>
1904	W. H. Kisbey	<u>Litany and Holy Eucharist</u>
n.d.	W. H. Kisbey	<u>Lumen and Revelationen Gentium</u> S.P.C.K.

APPENDIX VI Gazetteer of Principal UMCA Mission Stations 1861- 1900

CHIBEAS on Shire River south of Lake Nyasa. Occupied by first party April 1862-June 1863.

CHITANGALI, Rovuma Map.4, c 65 miles S.W. of Lindi. Opened June 1885. In 1896 the village moved in a body to Mwititi midway between Masasi and Newala.

CHIZUMULU, Nyasaland Map 5, an island c 11 miles west of Likoma. Opened July 6 1889.

KICHWELE, Zanzibar Map 1, S.E. of Dar es Salaam. A freed slave village settled from Mbweni, opened April 1893.

KILIMANI, Zanzibar Map 2, 2½ miles south of Zanzibar Town. Little Boys Home opened June 1894.

KIUNGANI, Zanzibar Map 2, 1 mile south of Zanzibar Town. Korjee's Shamba purchased Nov. 4 1864 and renamed Kiungani. Occupied April 1865. Home for freed slave girls Mar. 1866 until 1871 when became St. Andrew's College for Boys.

KOLOGWE, Usambara Map 3, 25 miles west of Magila. First station in Zigualand opened July 1891. Stone church completed 1896.

KOTA KOTA, Nyasaland Map 5, on west side of Lake Nyasa, 65 miles S.W. of Likoma. Opened September 1894. Stone church opened Nov. 10 1901.

LIKOMA, Nyasaland Map 5, an island 4½ miles by 2½ miles, 4 miles from east side of Lake Nyasa. Opened August 1885, in 1892 most buildings destroyed by fire. Head station of Nyasaland Diocese, foundation stone of Cathedral laid June 1903.

MAGILA, Usambara Map 3, 25 miles WSW of Tanga. First settled Jan. 1868 but only occupied permanently from July 1875. Stone church opened 1882. New stone church 1886. Disastrous fires Nov. 1887 and Jan. 1888. Station rebuilt. Head station of Usambara region. Renamed MSALABANI (at the Sign of the Cross) in 1900 to avoid confusion with district of G.E.A.

MAGOMERO, Shire Highlands south of Lake Nyasa. Occupied by first party August 1861-April 1862.

MALINDI, Nyasaland Map 5, s.e. corner of Lake Nyasa near Fort Johnston. Opened 1898 as engineering station for building and repairing Lake steamers.

MASASI, Rovuma Map 4, c 85 miles S.W. of Lindi. Two stations of this name (1) Settled as a freed slave village November 1876. Suffered through riad by Ngoni 1882, and abandoned in favour of Newala June 1883.  
(2) Opened 1888 four miles from the old site, when centre of Rovuma mission was removed from Newala.

\* MASISINI, Zanzibar Map 2, 2 miles south of Zanzibar Town. Theological College opened there October 24th 1899.



- MBWENI, Zanzibar Map 2, 3 miles south of Zanzibar Town. Purchased September 1871, freed slave village opened there early in 1874. Girls school established Sept. 1874. Church opened 1882.
- MISOZWE, Usambara Map 3, 6 miles N. of Magila. Established March 1884, church opened January 1886.
- MKUNAZINI, Zanzibar Map 2, in Zanzibar Town next to Pwani-ndogo (The Creek). Site of former slave market. First part purchased Sept. 1873. Foundation stone of church (later Cathedral) laid Christmas 1873, opened 1879. Became headquarters of mission in 1875. Hospital and Home for Industrial Boys opened 1893.
- MKUZI, Usambara Map 3, 8 miles S.E. of Magila. Established Oct. 1881, stone church opened 1891.
- MOUNT MORUMBALA, near confluence of Rivers Shire and Zambezi. Station occupied by Bp. Tozer June 1863-April 1864.
- MPONDAS, Nyasaland, Map 5, on Shire river nr. Fort Johnston. Opened July 1896.
- MSARAKA, Usambara, Map 3, 6 miles E. of Magila. Opened November 1887 but neglected by 1890.
- MSOMBA, Nyasaland Map 5, on east side of Lake Nyasa opposite Likoma. St. Michael's Theological College opened there September 29 1900.
- MTUA, Usambara, near Magila. Opened November 1880 but abandoned in 1885.
- NEWALA, Rovuma, Map 4, 75 miles SSW of Lindi. Occupied May 1878. Was chief station of Rovuma region June 1883-1888. Site of village later moved on to plain to NE.
- PEMBA, Zanzibar Map 1, island 40 miles north of Zanzibar Island. Station opened at Weti August 1897.
- TANGA, Usambara Map 3, on coast 80 miles north of Zanzibar. Opened 1897.
- UMBA, Usambara Map 3, 8 miles east of Magila. Opened 1876, church dedicated 1887. Abandoned 1896.
- UNANGU, Nyasaland Map 5, 60 miles E. of Lake Nyasa, and 90 miles S.E. of Likoma. Established September 1893. Church opened Nov. 1900.
- ZANZIBAR, TOWN, Map 2. On September 17th 1864 the mission soon after its arrival in Zanzibar rented Shangani House, purchased August 1868, and until 1875 this building was the headquarters of the mission in Africa. It housed the boys until 1871, and the freed slave girls 1871-74.

Mission Steamers on Lake Nyasa

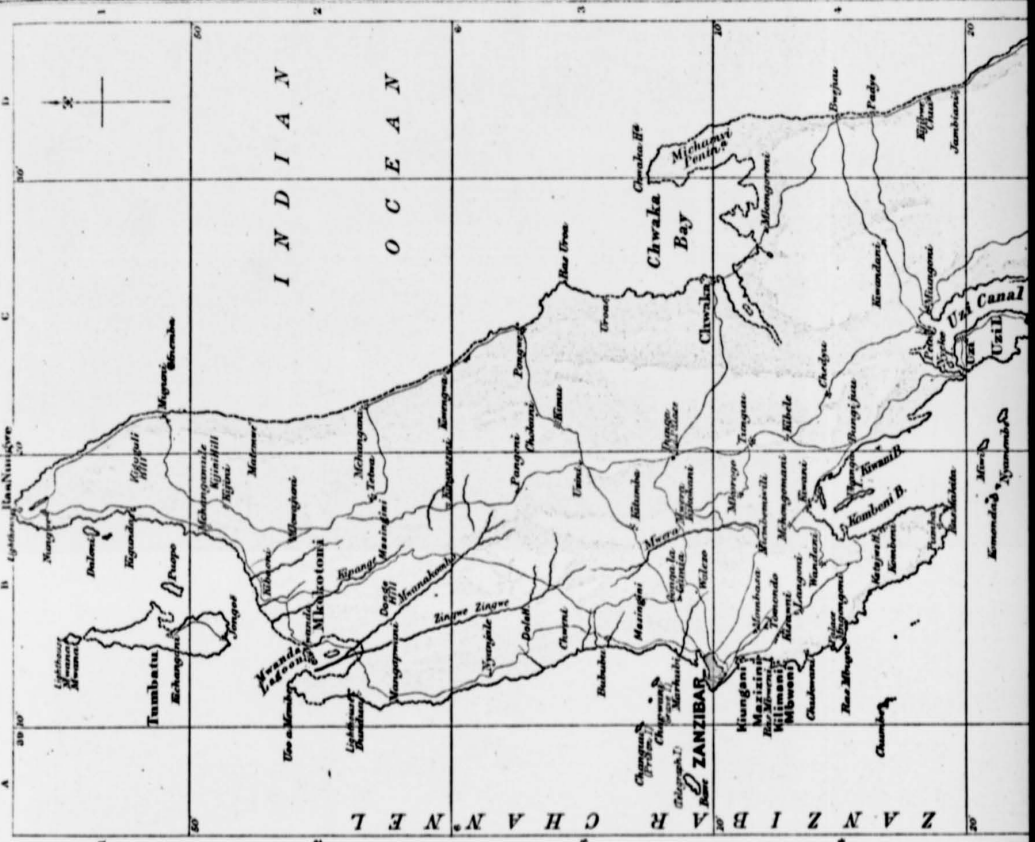
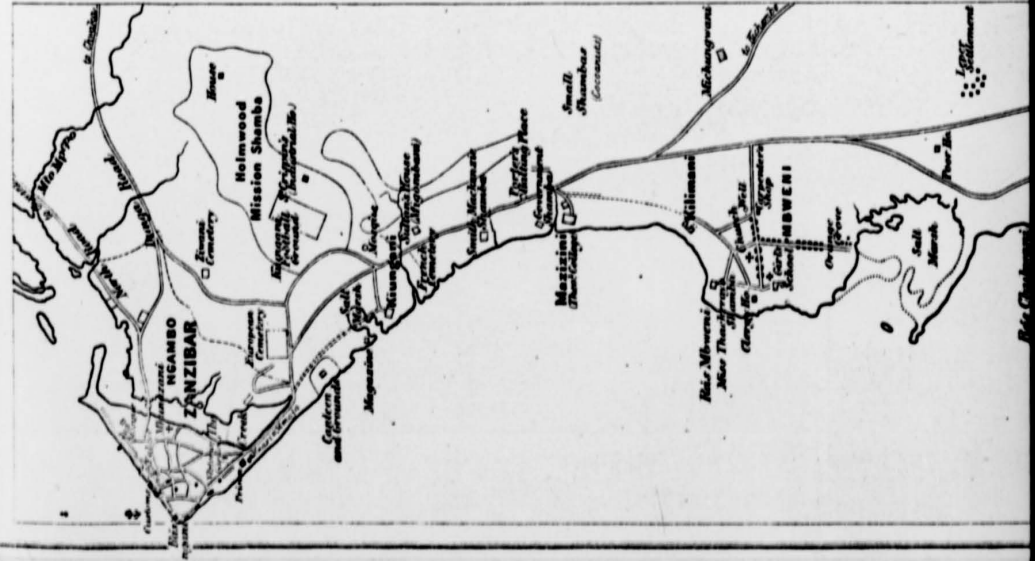
- SS. CHARLES JANSON. Sent out October 1884, launched and dedicated September 1885.
- SS. CHAUNCY MAPLES. Sent out 1899, launched June 6th 1901, dedicated April 22nd 1902.

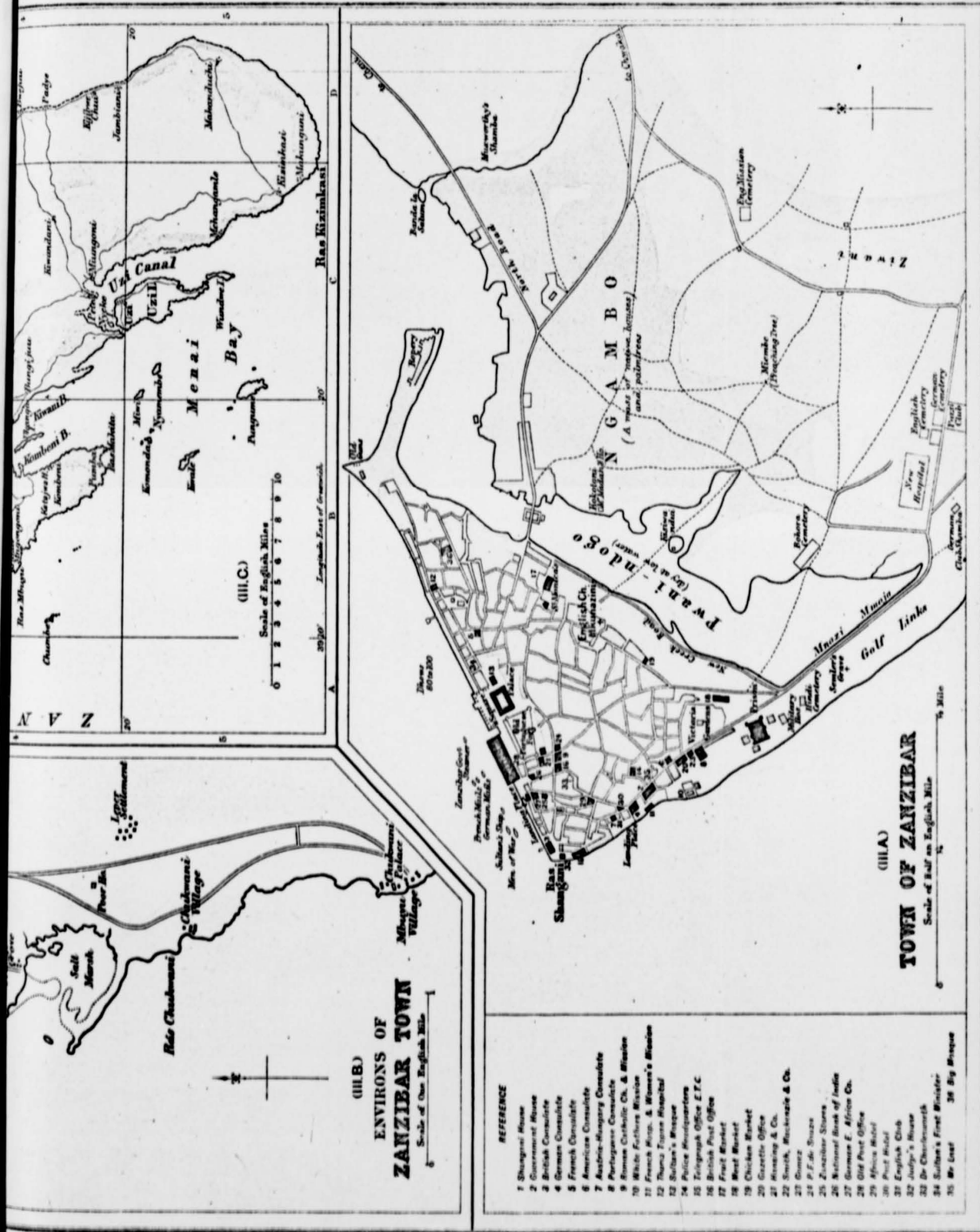
Universities' Mission Atlas EASTERN CENTRAL AFRICA.

PLATE II

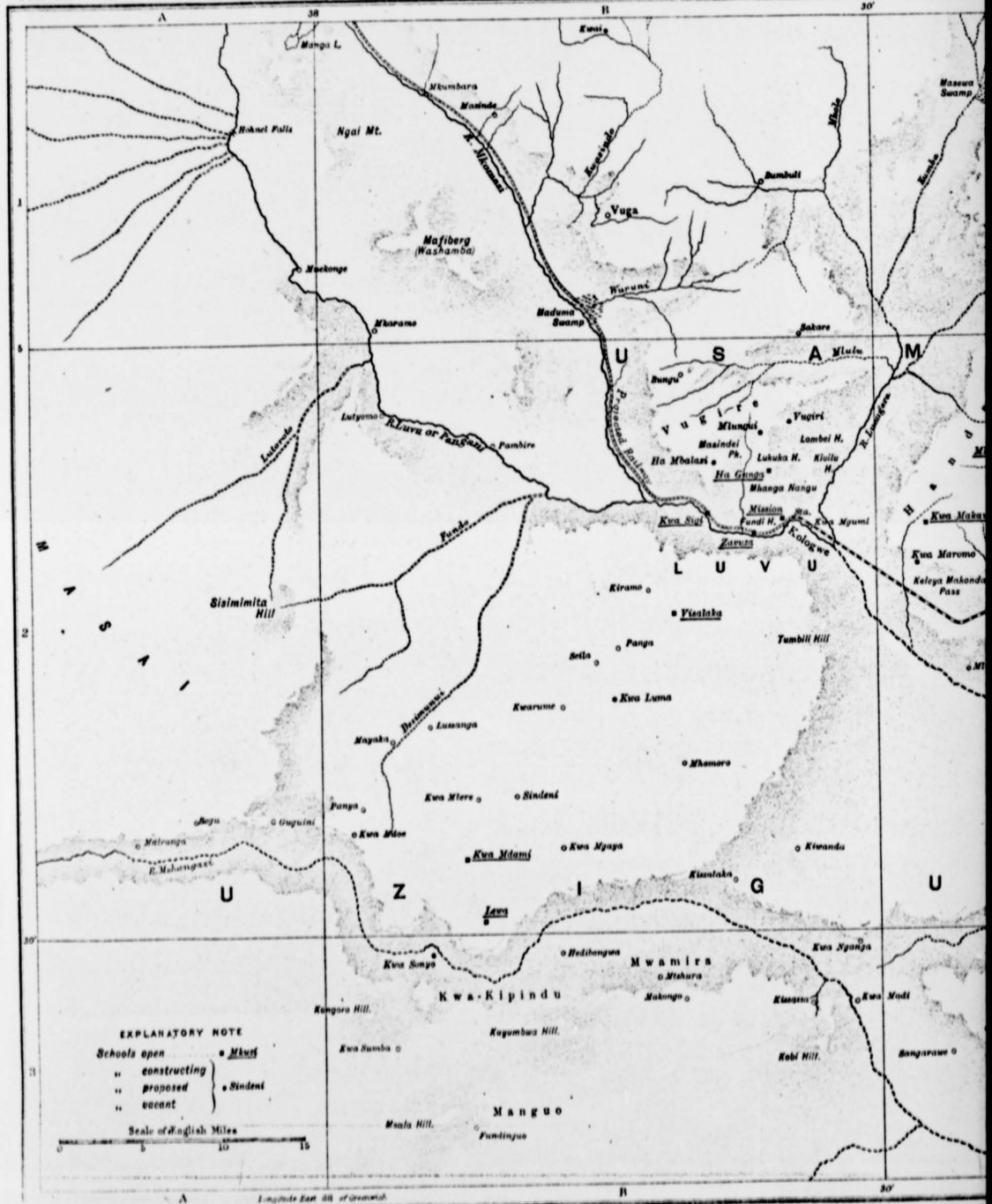
























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Letters and diaries of Dr. Steere 1863-68
- A/1/II Letters of Tozer, Scudamore, Rowley and others 1863-77  
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- A/1/V Letters to and from Bishop Smythies 1882-94  
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- A/1/VI Letters from J. P. Farler 1876-1902 and Miss C. D. M.  
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- A/1/VII Letters from Firminger, Travers, Dale and Woodward
- A/1/IX Letters of Chauncy Maples 1877-96
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