

Bishop A. R. Tucker of Uganda
and
The Implementation of an
Evangelical Tradition of Mission

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Ph.D.

The University of Leeds

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July 1998

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given
where reference has been made to the work of others.

Abstract

The thesis deals with A. R. Tucker and the implementation of an evangelical tradition of mission, as represented by the Church Missionary Society, in Uganda where he was Bishop 1890-1911. Any evangelical tradition claims to be Biblical, and so three probes are made into the New Testament perspective on mission. The Acts of the Apostles was a foundation text for nineteenth-century missionaries, and is considered along with a complementary discussion of mission in John's Gospel and Paul's letter to the Philippians. This discussion uncovers tensions relating to the relationship between older and younger churches, to finance, to the development of local leadership and responsibility, to the relationship with political authorities and wider issues of contextualisation that are echoed in both Venn and Tucker. Although Venn as Hon. Secretary of C.M.S. was largely responsible for shaping the Society's tradition of mission in the mid nineteenth century, its implementation was often frustrated by unwilling missionaries. Whereas Venn was an administrator based in London, Tucker's locus of activity was in East Africa before 1897 and specifically Uganda thereafter. Tucker's theological position and spirituality bore a marked resemblance to that of Venn. He worked when the prevailing socio-political context was a Protectorate mentality, which militated against a radical implementation of the principles and concerns developed in Venn's time. At the start of the twentieth century Uganda was held in high repute in missionary circles, but the thesis questions whether this can be wholly justified. Inasmuch as the reputation may be defended, Tucker's was a limited responsibility for the success. In the areas of the development of indigenous ordained ministry, encouragement of evangelism and church-planting, defence of Africans whom he felt were being exploited, insistence on local financial resourcing of the church, ecumenical vision, and the desire to integrate the missionary presence within the African church, Tucker's work was clearly in the evangelical tradition developed by Venn. But in each of those areas we identify tensions and ambivalence also. This returns us to the New Testament theme that Christian mission, although fundamentally the *Missio Dei*, is in fact entrusted to fallible people by the grace of God.

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Abbreviations

Acc.	Accession Material
A.I.M.	Africa Inland Mission
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era or Before Christ
B.G.A.	Billy Graham Archives
B.F.B.S.	British and Foreign Bible Society
C.E.	Common Era or A.D.
C.I.M.	China Inland Mission
C.M.G.	Church Missionary Gleaner
C.M.I.	Church Missionary Intelligencer
C.M.R.	Church Missionary Review
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
C.M.S.A.	Church Missionary Society Archives
Col.	Colossians
Cor.	Corinthians
C.P.K.	Church of the Province of Kenya
C.S.S.M.	Children's Special Service Mission
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Eph.	Ephesians
ET	English Translation
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Gr.	Greek
I.B.E.A.	Imperial British East Africa
I.J.A.H.S.	<u>International Journal of African Historical Studies</u>
Jer.	Jeremiah
J.R.A.	<u>Journal of Religion in Africa</u>
L.P.L.	Lambeth Palace Library
Matt.	Matthew

MSS	Manuscript
M.U.K.A.	Makerere University, Kampala, Archives
N.A.C.	Native Anglican Church
Phil.	Philippians
P.R.O.	Public Records Office
Prov.	Proverbs
R.H.	Rhodes House, Oxford
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
Thess.	Thessalonians
Tim.	Timothy
U.J.	<u>Uganda Journal</u>
U.N.A.	Uganda National Archives
Zech.	Zechariah

PREFACE

Many thanks are due to many people who have contributed in diverse and varied ways to the production of this thesis. Pride of place must go to my supervisor, Emeritus Professor Adrian Hastings in Leeds for his kindness, patience and demands of academic rigour. To him very many thanks are due.

The thesis began with the suggestion by the Revd David Lee in Crowther Hall, Birmingham, that I might care to look at Bishop Tucker, since I was planning at the time to go and teach in the College named after him in Uganda. Since then the Revd Chris Carey of C.M.S. has shown great support and encouragement, and I am grateful to C.M.S. for their financial sponsorship of the thesis. I must add thanks to the Church in Wales, which has sponsored the last year of my work, and for the support of the Rt Revd Rowan Williams of Monmouth diocese. For two years the small parishes of Goldcliff, Whitson and Nash have also allowed me space to work, and for this I am most grateful.

Thanks are due to the staff of all the libraries where I worked. At some risk I would single out Miss Rosemary Keen of C.M.S. and Miss Chris Penny of Birmingham University for their exceptional help. I have also appreciated the contact with two of Bishop Tucker's surviving relatives, Mr Bryan Morris and the Revd John Breay; for their assistance I am grateful. The Revd John Reynolds kindly shared hospitality and also some of his vast knowledge of evangelicals in Oxford in the nineteenth century. Glimpses of Ugandan Church life from the time of Tucker came from Mr E. K. Mulira and from Mr P. Mukasa, both of whom have now gone to their rest. The Revd Dr Zac Niringiye was very stimulating on the topic of politics and the Church of Uganda and the Revival tradition, as on many subjects. My colleagues on the staff of Bishop Tucker Theological College, especially the Principal, Canon (now Bishop) Eliphaz Maari, provided much stimulus and encouragement. The Rt Revd John Taylor provides the model of theological reflection on mission history and has continued to offer encouragement and insight. Dr Kevin Ward has also made some interesting observations and suggestions.

Above all I must thank my family, Nelleke my wife and David and Andrew, my sons, as well as my parents. They have not only allowed me the time and space to work, but have offered something far greater in terms of belief and confidence my work was worthwhile. The work is dedicated to them.

Finally I should note that the study was conceived primarily as a theological rather than a historical exercise. Much of the work was done as a C.M.S. mission partner in Uganda. It has been completed while I have been working as a diocesan missionary in the Church in Wales. Underlying it all is a commitment to the search for integrity in the implementation of the mission that is God's, but which is also by grace entrusted to fallible and contingent men and women of Christian faith.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Around the turn of the twentieth century the church in Uganda was the jewel in the crown of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.). It had produced stirring tales of martyrdom and sacrificial missionary service. The C.M.S. regarded the criteria of a church being self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending as the sign of missionary success. Uganda seemed to be close to satisfying this goal and thus appeared to be a successful implementation of the evangelical tradition of mission represented by the Society. The Rt. Revd Alfred Tucker was Bishop of Uganda between 1890 and 1911.¹ It was natural that he was credited with considerable responsibility for what was popularly perceived as a success story.

Such an account needs critical examination. This thesis considers Bishop Tucker and the implementation of the C.M.S. tradition of mission. This tradition was given shape particularly by Henry Venn, the influential Hon. Secretary of the Society 1841-1872. Venn has often been considered a seminal mission thinker, but he felt strongly that he was building on an identifiable foundation. His significance lies in the creative development of the C.M.S. mission tradition that was both evangelical and clearly Anglican in form. This continued throughout his long connection with the Society, and his work is considered in chapter four. C. P. Williams has traced the process by which Venn's ideas became increasingly fossilised during the rest of the nineteenth century at the same time that his slogans of "self-extending, self-governing and self-supporting" as applied to the church became part of the common currency of mission jargon.² It will be argued that in a limited way Tucker looked to implement the dynamic concerns found in Venn without being bound to any literal interpretation.

Both Venn and Tucker looked to implement an evangelical tradition of mission. The claim of an evangelical tradition is to be faithful to Biblical principles and thus amenable to Biblical critique. So the thesis begins with three probes into New Testament perspectives on mission. Venn drew heavily in

¹ Between 1890 and 1897 Uganda was a part of the much larger diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa. Tucker became Bishop of Uganda alone in 1897.

his thinking on the Acts of the Apostles. Chapter two uncovers some of the tensions in the story of evangelisation in Acts in order to facilitate later discussion of similar tensions relating to Venn and Tucker's work. John's Gospel presents a clear primacy of the *Missio Dei* focused in Jesus and interpreted by the Holy Spirit. The question posed by John to all subsequent Christian mission is one of a rigorous theological integrity, challenging any position taken on a basis of expediency or pragmatism. Philippians gives a snapshot of a church around ten years after its foundation, when it was regarded in Pauline circles as a success. It is discussed not only as a primary expression of Paul's thinking, but also to discuss whether insights into what exercised the church then relate to Venn and Tucker's work.

Bishop Tucker is discussed in chapters five to nine. Chapter five introduces the situation in Uganda in 1890, when Tucker's episcopate began. Tucker is introduced and his spirituality and theology discussed. We are particularly concerned with the extent to which his work represented continuity and development of the tradition shaped by Venn. It should be noted that Venn's mission involvement was largely administrative and that his entire work with C.M.S. was bound within England, whereas the locus of Tucker's concern was east Africa, even though the Bishop spent considerable periods within England.

It is an important question whether the popular image of Uganda as a success story during the period is justifiable. The study of Acts reveals a number of tensions and ambivalence within the narrative. Correspondingly one might anticipate some tensions and ambivalence in Tucker's ministry and in the wider mission in Uganda. It is ironic, for instance, that the wider political and cultural context of Uganda around 1900 was unfavourable to the policies behind the three-self slogan of Venn at precisely the time when Uganda was lauded in Britain as a model of their implementation. Politically Uganda was accorded Protectorate status by Britain in 1894; subsequently the colonial authority took increasing authority within the country. It is another irony that the same Tucker who so vigorously promoted the idea of an independent church should also have played a significant role in campaigning for the Protectorate. This political status was in fact but one expression of a widespread and largely

² C. P. Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church Leiden 1990

unchallenged attitude on the part of Europeans towards African people. It was only to a limited extent that Tucker showed awareness of this, and when on occasions he challenged European attitudes he was effectively marginalised. Chapter six considers the political aspects of Tucker's work.

Although Tucker as Bishop and Director of the C.M.S. mission in Uganda was technically responsible for the development of the church and mission, one must consider the extent to which he was actually responsible. We will argue that his actual responsibility was limited. There was a major impulse of evangelisation in the African church before his arrival, and other C.M.S. missionaries, notably Pilkington and Fisher, played significant roles in giving this shape and direction. While Tucker sought to affirm the evangelistic impulse of the church, there were certain tensions in his own approach to evangelisation. These are examined in chapter seven.

The work of evangelisation includes both the preaching of the Gospel and the formation of Christian communities resulting from response to the message. By 1890 the Protestant church in Buganda was led by some very capable and confident African Christians. Tucker looked to build on this with a constitution for the church that integrated European missionaries within the wider body. But by the time a constitution was adopted in 1909 the original vision of missionaries working within and responsible to an authentically indigenous church in control of its own affairs had been severely compromised to the point of emasculation. This story is discussed in chapter eight. Tucker was also firmly committed to the principles of self-support in terms of the development of an ordained ministry and the finances of the indigenous church. But his attempt to implement this policy likewise resulted in a number of tensions and compromises, which will be discussed in chapters eight and nine.

Yet throughout this study note will be taken of the significant and lasting ways for which Tucker deserves credit. His affirmation of the impulse of evangelisation echoes to the present day. His commitment to the indigenisation of the church, even though incomplete, anticipated the concerns of many later missiological thinkers. His ecumenical outlook, albeit within evangelical bounds, left a positive heritage in Uganda, whereas his Protestant prejudices against Roman Catholics and his

determination to secure a quasi-establishment status for the Anglican Church bequeathed a very dubious heritage. His insights into the essential role of the Holy Spirit in mission remain of value, although Tucker cannot be considered an original missiological thinker of any significance.

CHAPTER TWO

MISSION IN ACTS

More than any other New Testament book, the Acts of the Apostles informed the missiological thinking of such nineteenth century evangelicals as Henry Venn. Their reading of Acts was pre-critical as an authoritative account of the history of the early Church. Following Baur's pioneering work in the nineteenth century, there has been a trend within some scholarship towards a more sceptical view of history in Acts alongside a more conservative tradition. Since 1950 redaction critics have been concerned to consider the book as a theological work.¹ However more recently, literary-critical concerns have come to the fore together with a renewed interest in the social, political and historical background of the books.² In due course we will evaluate the evangelical mission tradition represented by Venn and Tucker in the light of a reading of Acts that is more critically aware than that adopted by these men.

Acts was written for a second-generation church as a second volume after the third Gospel probably in the 80's. According to the first book Jesus' mission was universal in intent but incomplete in execution.³ Inasmuch as Acts represents a fulfilment in principle of a universal gospel, it also serves to confirm the gospel and the witness of Christians who never knew Jesus personally. It affirms a unity of witness between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Luke (the implied author) is secondarily concerned to indicate that fear of Christian faith by political authorities is unwarranted.

In Acts there are four fundamental theological assumptions undergirding the narrative. The first is the providence of God, who is affirmed both as the universal Creator (14:15f and 17:24f) and the God of Israel (13:16f). There is an expectation that God be universally recognised, and also a clear identification that the God of Jesus Christ is the God of the Jews. God's over-riding providence in the

¹ E. Haenchen, *Acts* ET Oxford, 1971 and H. Conzelmann, *Acts* ET Philadelphia, 1987

² Literary analysis is found, for example, in R.C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, Philadelphia, 1990 and D. Gooding, *True to the Faith* London, 1990. F. Scott Spencer, *Acts* Sheffield, 1997, is a narrative study of the book. The socio-political background to Acts is explored in some detail in the series, *The Book of Acts in its First-Century Setting*, the first three volumes of which have been published.

face of human opposition is evident in the story of Jesus (2:23-24) and this sets the pattern of Christian mission. The spread of the Gospel takes place under the providence of God (23:11; 27:23-25). Jesus' words in 1:8 are effective prophecy and set the geographical agenda for the book.

Secondly there is the assumption of salvation found in Christ (4:12). Human experience of salvation is multi-dimensional. It can mean, *inter alia*, healing (3:6) or deliverance (16:18), identity within God's community (10:46-48), change to life-style (19:18f). In virtually all cases it includes incorporation within the Christian community, marked by baptism and the reception of the Holy Spirit (2:47).⁴ However the news of salvation through Christ was not received universally, leading in some instances to a direct experience of judgement (12:23) and also to persecution of Christian witnesses (6:12f, 13:50)

Thirdly Acts presents a dynamic pneumatology. The possibility of Christian mission (1:8) is only realised at Pentecost. Mission is the direct consequence of the outpouring of the Spirit.⁵ The Spirit in his coming communicates the saving presence of Jesus, not as "a total replacement of Christ, but rather a transmission of his prophetic mission, which consists of being the one who proclaims the message of God."⁶ The Holy Spirit initiates mission and guides missionaries, both negatively (16:7) and positively (13:4). It is the Holy Spirit who incorporates Christian believers into the one church (8:14-17; 10:44f). A major theme in Acts is the exploration of the implications of the experience that it was one Holy Spirit who incorporated both Jewish and Gentile Christian into the one church. The first Pentecost experience indicated that Christian unity was to be defined in terms of experience of the Holy Spirit and not cultural uniformity, whether in terms of religious ritual or linguistics. Congar writes: "the distinctive aspect of the Spirit is that, while remaining unique and preserving his identity, he is in everyone without causing anyone to lose his originality. This applies to persons, peoples,

³ D. Bosch, Transforming Mission 1990, p. 88

⁴ The one possible exception is the Ethiopian eunuch who was an individual convert (8:26-39), although even he was baptized.

⁵ D. Bosch, 1990, p. 114

⁶ Haya-Prats in Congar, I Believe in the Holy Spirit Vol. I, 1983, p. 45

their culture and their talents. The Spirit also makes everyone speak of the marvels of God in his own language.⁷

The fourth assumption was that of human responsibility for Christian witness (1:8). In Acts 16:6-10, Paul's company was guided by the Spirit, but they had the responsibility to interpret and obey this direction. In Acts 13:1-3 the commission came to Paul and Barnabas from the Holy Spirit, but it was received through the Christian community.⁸ One feature of Acts is the validation of the witness of the second (and by extension, successive) generation of Christians. The book not only contains the testimony to Jesus to confirm the message heard by converts, but it also reminds the church of its responsibility to maintain that witness for the future.⁹ Responsibility for witness belonged to the whole Christian community, although the exercise of this witness varied according to the particular context.

The agenda for witness was set by Jesus in 1:8; the establishment of the kingdom would neither be through the nations coming to Jerusalem nor by nationalistic conquest from the city, but by a Spirit-motivated and empowered witness launched from Jerusalem that would extend into the heart of the Roman empire. Acts contains no systematic history of the early growth of the Church, but follows the story of its extension towards Rome. While it is clear that the objective of Acts is Paul's preaching in Rome, there is also the open-endedness of the story of the Ethiopian eunuch who travelled south and out of the story as a baptised member of the messianic community. There were four distinct phases in the development of evangelisation, although these did not occur in strict chronological succession in the sense that one phase ceased when another began. The first phase began at Pentecost with the conversion of Jews and proselytes within Jerusalem. The church began with converts from within and around Jerusalem; there was no movement from the city (5:16). A second phase began after the death of Stephen and the first outbreak of persecution (8:1b). Initially these anonymous lay evangelists went only to Jews and proselytes, but in due course some in Antioch began to evangelise among the

⁷ Y. Congar, 1983, p. 44

⁸ Spencer, *Acts* p. 137

⁹ Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles* 1992, p. 54

Gentiles also. It was this lay movement of Christians engaging in evangelisation that Allen called “spontaneous expansion.”¹⁰ It was clear from this movement that Hellenistic Jews showed a greater inclination than their Judean colleagues to cross socio-cultural boundaries with the gospel. The appearance of a Christian community in Damascus in Acts 9 without any supporting details of how it came into being, suggests how rapidly and pervasively the church spread in the earliest period.¹¹ Although Luke gives few details of either the extent or the results of the evangelisation of these lay Christians, there is sufficient in Acts to indicate their massive significance for the growth of the church. A third phase was the evangelistic work of prominent church leaders individually inspired by the Holy Spirit. One such person was Philip, a Hellenistic Jew who preached in Samaria (8:4-8) and later to a God-fearing Ethiopian (8:26-39). Of even greater significance was the experience of the apostle Peter who was guided to the Roman soldier Cornelius. The work of both Philip and Peter pushed the boundaries of the church into new territory, and both men were held accountable by the church in Jerusalem, which itself took no initiatives of evangelisation while taking great care to examine any new advances. A fourth phase in evangelisation arose in Antioch with the first recorded planned church-planting expedition commissioned by the whole church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In response to reports of a mixed Jewish-Gentile Christian community in Antioch, the church in Jerusalem had dispatched Barnabas to investigate. The church developed under the leadership of five men including Barnabas himself and Paul, until it discerned God’s call to send out its two most gifted men on an evangelistic expedition. The whole church sent them out and it was to the whole church they reported on their return. It was from Antioch that Paul set out on his two missionary expeditions in territory around the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean seas.¹² Each followed a similar pattern, beginning with a commissioning in Antioch. Paul considered the Roman province as the unit of evangelisation. His consistent plan was to establish centres of Christian life in two or three important places from which local Christians might evangelise the country around. The assumption behind the strategy of evangelising a province through the evangelisation of one or more

¹⁰ R. Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*, 1927, p. 7. The expansion may not have been as “spontaneous” as Allen would have one believe; the occasion was the outbreak of persecution causing Christians to flee.

¹¹ Spencer, 1997, p. 97

¹² This analysis follows Spencer, 1997, pp. 130ff

of the principal towns (19:10) was that the emerging Christian community took responsibility for mission in the local area. Wherever possible Paul began his preaching with the local Jewish population. This was not only a pragmatic step but was also recognition of their theological priority. His work elicited a divided response among a variety of social groups, such that no consistency of response may be discerned.¹³ At the end of each expedition Paul retraced his steps, in spite of the inherent risks, to nurture the young churches, encouraging them and establishing a local leadership. Finally each expedition concluded with Paul in Jerusalem defending his work before Jewish-Christian leaders (15:1 – 16:5 and 21:15-36).

Acts bears witness to two impulses within the church.¹⁴ One was the urge to spread the message. The other was the desire to regulate the emerging communities of Christians, and this impulse was fed in Jerusalem by the extension of the church into Samaria and into the wider Gentile world, resulting in a cultural pluralism that challenged the very identity of Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians. A degree of cultural pluralism was evident from the day of Pentecost, when many converts were drawn from the Jewish Diaspora and their languages affirmed by the experience of glossolalia. From the first the church in Jerusalem was composed of both Aramaic-speaking Jews native to Judea and Hellenistic Jews with their wider cultural horizon. Acts 6 witnesses to the tension within the Christian community. Luke presents this as an administrative hitch.¹⁵ But the question of food distribution was merely symptomatic of a deeper tension. Stephen's critique of the Temple traditions (7:44-53) indicated a more radical attitude towards Judaism in the Hellenistic Jewish community. It was not surprising that Philip, a Hellenistic Jew, went to evangelise in Samaria. The impulse towards regulation led the church in Jerusalem to send Peter and John to investigate. A concern for the unity of the church may lie behind the problem of why the Samaritan believers did not receive the Holy Spirit until the apostles had laid hands on them. It was then indisputable that they were thus brought into fellowship with the whole church and not only with a Hellenistic section.¹⁶ It was the influx of Gentile Christians into the church that constituted the greatest threat to unity. In Acts 10 Peter

¹³ Spencer, 1997, p. 136

¹⁴ L. Sanneh, *Translating the Message* 1989, p. 35

¹⁵ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, 1977, p. 353

experienced a conversion when his vision relativised his Jewish heritage. This conversion was reinforced when the Spirit came upon Cornelius and his household. Neither Peter nor the Jerusalem church was able to deny the incorporation of a Gentile family into the messianic community. It is noteworthy that the Jerusalem church did not object to the baptism of Gentiles but rather to Peter and his companions' eating with them.

When Gentiles were converted in larger numbers in Antioch, the church in Jerusalem sent Barnabas to investigate. That they should send such an eirenic man as he indicates that their attitude to what was happening in Antioch was not hostile. The problem of Jews and Gentiles eating together was entirely a problem from the Jewish side and not the Gentile. The Antioch church had no problem in sending famine relief to Christians in Judea; the gift was an important expression of solidarity that defied conventional socio-cultural boundaries.¹⁷

It was after Paul's first missionary expedition that the pattern of Gentile Christianity was becoming clear to the Jerusalem church. Gentile Christians were not being instructed in Jewish law and were not expected to be circumcised. Some Jewish Christians came to Antioch from Jerusalem to teach that circumcision was necessary for salvation, but this was strongly resisted by Paul and Barnabas. This dispute led directly to the Council of Jerusalem (15:1-21). The main protagonist at the Council was Peter, speaking as a missionary and not as an administrator or adjudicator. He argued that salvation came through faith in Christ confirmed by the Holy Spirit. This necessarily relativised the national characteristics of Judaism such as the food laws and circumcision. Peter introduced a new concept of the ritual laws of Judaism as cultural phenomena that were not to be required of Gentile Christians. James functioned as the chairman who formulated the final policy of the Council (15:19-20). In principle this policy affirmed that there was no requirement for the Gentile Christians to abide by the provisions of the Torah. Abstinence from certain foods and from adultery was recommended, but this qualification was open to differing interpretations. A more liberal interpretation was that it was a concession to tender (Jewish) consciences for the sake of the Gospel. Others, however,

¹⁶ Marshall, *Acts*, 1980, p.157

considered it to be an essential requirement from the senior Christian community that should be obeyed by all (21:20). The proceedings of the Council may be read in political terms as the attempt by at least some in the Jerusalem church to assert and establish regulatory control over the whole church. This was strongly resisted by Paul. These tensions existed within a united Christian community, and they should not be over-emphasised. The churches which came into existence in Syria and elsewhere felt themselves to be the people of God and anxious to express their fellowship with the Jerusalem church (11:29f, 12:25), although they did not share the same synagogue background.¹⁸ The links with Judaism were invaluable to the Gentile church, providing a theological anchor and a guard against unfaithfulness to the monotheist tradition.

The Jerusalem decree was a refusal of cultural imperialism that demands others' conformity to one's cultural standards before one can accept them and their spiritual experience.¹⁹ In principle it acknowledged the cultural pluralism among the people of God that had been signalled at Pentecost. God affirmed this plurality as necessary in spite of all the risks. God refused to absolutise any one particular culture. The story of Acts 10 shows the need for a real conversion on the part of missionaries who might be tempted to consider the superiority of their home culture. Acts bears witness to the struggle within the Jerusalem church especially with the question of theological continuity and development and cultural pluralism. The influx of Gentiles who shared in table-fellowship and who were not required to be circumcised forced a new distinction between the cultural and the theological identity of the Jerusalem Christians.

In Acts Luke attempts to portray an idealised picture of the church within Jerusalem and also with regard to the relationship between Christian communities. However, a more critical reading of the text uncovers tensions not only with respect to cultural issues but also relating to leadership, authority and independence both within and between different churches. In Acts 1 authority among the believers was clearly in the hands of the apostles to whom Matthias was added. Peter was the leader.

¹⁷ Spencer, 1997, p.120

¹⁸ L. Sanneh, 1989, p. 23

¹⁹ W. J. Larkin, *Acts*, 1995, p.225

The qualification for an apostle was very lucidly defined (1:21-22). These apostles were key figures in the evangelisation of Jerusalem (5:42). This position of authority was a reflection of the theological significance, inasmuch as the apostles represented an authoritative link with the ministry of Jesus. In Acts 6 the leadership structure changed when seven men were appointed from the Hellenistic Jewish community in Jerusalem.²⁰ Ostensibly the purpose of this appointment was to ensure a fair distribution of food to the widows in the Christian community, and the appointment did correspond to the Jewish practice of setting up boards of seven men for particular duties.²¹ But their well-established reputation suggests that they enjoyed an existing role within the Hellenist Christian community, and the story in Acts 6 is the recognition of their leadership and not the initiation of this. There is no clarity in the relationship between the Twelve and the Seven. On the one hand the Twelve seem to have authority over the Seven; they initiate and validate their selection and appoint them. On the other hand the Seven were nominated and commissioned by the “whole community” and the relationship between the Twelve and the Seven is shown to be more collegial than hierarchical.²² There is a question also over the later activities of the Seven. While five pass into obscurity, the two whose stories are told, play significant roles as pioneer evangelists. Stephen evangelised among the Hellenist Jewish community (6:8-9) and Philip was the pioneer evangelist in Samaria (8:5-8). The relationship of the apostolic leadership in Jerusalem with the pioneer mission in Samaria is shown by the visit of Peter and John with the dual purpose of inspecting and encouraging the young congregation. They affirmed and validated the Samaritan church within the messianic community. The assumption behind the visit was an authority on the part of the Jerusalem church over the new Christian community in Samaria.

Luke does not relate how at some stage before the expansion of the Gentile mission, the effective authority in the Jerusalem church passed from Peter and the other apostles into the hands of an unspecified number of (male) elders under leadership of James (11:30). In the narrative of Acts Peter’s role changes from leader of the Jerusalem community to that of being a senior missionary.

²⁰ It would be anachronistic and thus misleading to refer to these men as “deacons”. The word *diakonein* in 6:2 is not a technical term. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, 1954, p.152

²¹ Marshall, 1980, p. 126

The eldership group under James was evidently modelled on existing Jewish patterns of synagogue structures.²³ This new pattern implied both an accommodation to traditional Jewish social structures and also a rift with the current religious hierarchy in Jerusalem.²⁴

This pattern of eldership provided the model for leadership in the new Christian communities of the Pauline mission (14:23). He appointed a resident leadership to stay and oversee local community affairs. These elders (Gr. *Presbuteros*) were appointed from within the local Christian community and were not imposed from without. But they were not just local nominated leaders. Paul validated their appointment, but more fundamentally their authority derived from the ministry of the Holy Spirit who had bestowed the appropriate gifts upon them (20:28).²⁵ The name given to this leadership of *Presbuteros* retains a structural association with Jewish tradition. But although this leadership pattern was modelled on the Jerusalem church, administratively it functioned independently and it was established without reference to Jerusalem. Acts 14:27 indicates that at the completion of Paul's first missionary expedition, he and his colleagues reported to the church in Antioch, which was recognised as the first centre of organised Gentile mission.

The absence of any centralised administration in the church in Acts was apparent in the financial realm. Allen rightly observed that Paul never sought financial help for himself, but he worked as a tentmaker (18:3).²⁶ But alongside this must be set the sense of mutual responsibility for those who were socially or materially deprived. This applied equally within a church community (6:1) and between churches (11:27-30). Both of these examples at different scales indicated the concern for the poor, which was characteristic of Luke in both volumes.

²² Spencer, 1997, p. 67

²³ Marshall, 1990, p. 78

²⁴ Spencer, 1997, p. 120

²⁵ Bruce, 1954, p. 380

²⁶ R. Allen, *Missionary Methods* 5th ed. 1960, p. 49. His other two points, that Paul took no financial help to those to whom he preached and that he did not administer local church funds, are rather more tendentious.

Within Acts there is a deep ambivalence towards the political authorities and especially those of Rome. On the one hand Luke had a concern to legitimise Christianity in the eyes of Rome. He demonstrated that Christians had done nothing that would bring them into conflict with Roman laws. Where they were attacked, it was presented as a case of injustice by individual officials. Rome had respect for the ancestral religions of its subject people, and Luke therefore stressed the historical roots of Christianity in Judaism, which had been long acknowledged as a *religio licita*.²⁷ The spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire was presented as no threat. Rather Luke emphasised that Peter was invited to the home of a Roman centurion (10:22). Similarly Paul and his companions were summoned in a vision by a Macedonian to the Roman colony of Philippi (16:9). In purely pragmatic terms Luke recognised that revolutionary opposition to Rome was futile. The fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 was fresh in living memory as he wrote.

The ambivalence comes from Luke's understanding that any Christian recognition of political authorities has to be strictly qualified. There is a clear statement of principle in 4:19, but although this is enunciated in a Jewish religious court, the principle may be universalised. Luke did not attempt to hide the radical nature of the Christian Gospel with its disruption of conventional socio-cultural systems. There was no denial of the comment by the Thessalonian official that the Christian missionaries were "turning the world upside down" (17:6). In Ephesus Demetrius was quite right that Christian preaching posed an economic threat to the manufacture of silver shrines (19:24-28).

The attitude of Acts towards political authorities was cautious. There was no wish to antagonise the authorities.²⁸ There was also recognition that the path of Christian mission was modelled on the way of Jesus, which included at least the possibility of persecution and suffering. This was embraced when it was unavoidable (5:41). Luke shows awareness that martyrdom and persecution may lead to the geographical spread of the gospel (8:4) and also it authenticates the Christian witness. But persecution was not to be sought. On those occasions when he felt that it would not compromise his Christian witness, Paul was prepared to take full advantage of his status as a Roman citizen (16:37,

²⁷ Marshall, 1990, p. 80

25:10-11). As a prisoner in the last quarter of Acts, Paul's progress to Rome was not made smooth in spite of an underlying conviction of the providence of God. He had to speak with caution and cunning as a political prisoner whose value depended on the self-interest of others.

There is also ambivalence regarding the role of women in the Christian community in Acts. There were women among the first believers (1:14) and in the church in Macedonia women were among the first converts (16:14ff; 17:4; 17:12). At Pentecost Peter used the Joel prophecy that spoke of women as recipients of the Spirit who would thereby contribute to the prophesying community. This was partially fulfilled in the cases of Priscilla who worked as an evangelist and teacher (18:1ff) and of the four daughters of Philip (21:9). But alongside this, the women of Macedonia are portrayed as passive recipients of the gospel and not as co-workers. Priscilla is only mentioned together with her husband Aquila. Paul rejected the slave-girl's truthful prophecy in 16:17 to exorcise her. Another slave-girl's testimony in 12:13-15 was dismissed and mocked by the church. Spencer commented: "Despite the Pentecostal promise, women's voices continue to be more suppressed than celebrated in Acts; however much it may support the ideal of women prophets, the narrative has done little to mitigate the very real difficulties such women face in gaining a hearing."²⁹

Luke's account in Acts was of seminal importance in the nineteenth century evangelical tradition of mission. It demonstrates that evangelisation under the impulse of the Spirit belongs to the essence of being church. As such it must be taken with the utmost seriousness both in terms of spontaneous "lay" evangelism and more organised church planting exercises. When this evangelisation occurs cross-culturally Acts shows considerable awareness of the consequent tensions. A concern for the spread of the gospel always exists in tension with a desire to regulate the resultant communities of faith. Luke was also aware of the threat to Christian unity that can arise when this regulatory function is related to a particular cultural expression of the faith. In this respect cross-cultural evangelisation requires a conversion of the missionaries to a more pluralist comprehension of cultural expressions. Regarding the political context Acts looks to operate within the tension of accommodation to the

²⁸ Bosch, 1990, p. 113

authorities as far as possible along with a rejection of antagonism and compromise and a readiness to suffer if need be in order that the gospel might thereby be authenticated.

²⁹ Spencer, 1997, p.166

CHAPTER THREE

MISSIOLOGICAL ISSUES IN JOHN'S GOSPEL AND PAUL'S LETTER TO THE PHILIPPIANS

It is characteristic of evangelical hermeneutics to assume the complementarity of Scripture.¹ On this basis it is legitimate to reflect on the missiology in John's Gospel and Paul's letter to the Philippians in order to sharpen the theological focus on the work of Venn and Tucker, in addition to the discussion of Acts that was more directly foundational to their work. John's Gospel is a profound theological meditation on the nature of Christian mission. John's focus is the *Missio Dei*, which is essentially personal and centred on Jesus. The community of Jesus' disciples is both inclusive in its composition and distinctive in the world. John saw the Holy Spirit as the theological dynamic of mission, operating in the creative tension that exists between the decisive moment of Christ and the new context of the Christian community. Paul's letter to the Philippians illustrates the contact between Paul and this church about ten years after its foundation. In the Pauline circle the Philippian Church was highly regarded, as indeed was the Church in Uganda within the European missionary community around the turn of the century. Evangelisation is a process involving more than church-planting; it looks for a degree of maturity in the development of the Christian community. For Paul the mark of maturity was assessed in terms of conformity to Christ and the development of *koinonia*.² Philippians is a carefully crafted letter of encouragement to urge the recipients to conduct themselves "in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ" (1:27). Paul presents a number of models for Christian living particularly to inspire a humble and prayerful spirit of unity among the believers. In sharing of himself and his circumstances, Paul affords insight into his attitudes towards money, political power, persecution and rivalry in mission and the maturity of a Christian community.

¹ There is no room to discuss at adequate length the debate over unity and diversity in the New Testament witness. For a fuller discussion of the hermeneutic of complementarity adopted in this discussion, see Carson and Woodbridge, ed. *Scripture and Truth* Grand Rapids, 1983 and Carson and Woodbridge, ed. *Hermeneutic, Authority and Canon* Leicester 1988.

² This word is difficult to translate. The root meaning is "sharing in something"; hence it may be translated according to context by fellowship, partnership, participation, etc.

In both John's Gospel and the Pauline corpus, personal spirituality is the heart and mainspring of Christian mission. The essential component of this spirituality is the relationship between the Christian and Christ, and when people enter this relationship, they are thereby caught up in the call to participate in God's mission in the world. The initiative for this relationship is always God's. In John the theological foundation of mission is the love of God for the world. The universal horizon of God's love is established in the sending of Jesus (3:16). Implicit in this verse is a challenge to any form of isolationism or reduction of the concerns of apostolic mission to less than the entire world. It is through the revelation of Jesus that God becomes known as the Father. This revelation of God is through Jesus in his person and not by Jesus as though revelation could exist as something distinct from his person.

God's love is revealed supremely in the condescension of the Son, introduced as the *Logos* (Word) in John 1. The discussion about whether the origin of the *Logos* concept lay primarily in Hebrew, Greek or Gnostic circles pales into relative insignificance besides the fact that John was doubtless aware that among the readers of the Gospel the term *Logos* would have many resonances in all the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean region. John employed a concept that was itself transformed in the adoption. The *Logos* or *Dabar*³ concept was transformed by John's climactic declaration that "the word became flesh" (1:14). In neither the Hellenistic understanding of the gathering and ordering rational principles nor the Hebraic creative speaking and performing revelation was there any notion that the *Logos/Dabar* could become a person. Having startled us with this proclamation, John moved on to narrate the story of Jesus and his power to transform people as well as concepts of revelation, so that the humanity of Jesus is precisely the revelation of God.

Central in the introduction of the *Logos* is its involvement in creation. A universal mission is implied in the statement that all things were made "through him" (1:3). As God's creation, the world is itself a revelation of God (1:4).⁴ The *Logos* is not a complete stranger in the world; there is a genuine knowledge of God independent of the person Jesus, but this is subject to substantial qualification in

³ *Dabar* is Hebrew for "word".

1:5 where there is more characteristic failure to understand the revelation. The decisive revelation is the person Jesus. In the succeeding narrative there is some human search for him (notably in 12:20), but Barrett's comment that Philip's question in 14:8 "expresses the universal longing of the religious man" is an overstatement.⁵ John 1:11-12 portrays the more characteristic response of rejection. The coming of Jesus was not in response to human invitation, but it was a radical and uninvited becoming *sarx* (flesh) in and for the world.

John 1:14 testifies to the apostolic witness of the glory of the incarnate *Logos*. This was signalled in the various signs chronicled in the first twelve chapters, but the revelation of the glory became a fuller reality in the suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus. The completed work of Jesus was both his glorification of the Father and the Father's glorification of the Son (17:2,5). The primary motive for the mission of the Son was to bring glory to God, and this remains necessarily for John the primary motive for Christian mission (17:10). The revelation of God's glory in and through Jesus was made effective in his death. John 17:19 refers to the self-consecration of Jesus to death in terms that have a clear sacrificial dimension. The glory of Jesus is displayed in his death for his people. The acknowledgement of his sacrificial death was the recognition of his glory. John 12:23f, referring to the impending death of Jesus, follows immediately on the request of some Greeks to see Jesus (12:20f).

The purpose of Jesus' coming was to bring glory to God and life to people. John 3:31-36 expounds the decisive moment brought in Jesus. This was both a moment of judgment of the world and the offer of salvation and life to all who respond in faith. John's understanding of sin is essentially set in relation to Jesus. Sin is unbelief and the refusal to acknowledge him (15:22-23). The coming of Jesus exposes the nature of all that refuse to believe. The encounter with Jesus is the eschatological moment of judgment, which is the negative and reverse side of salvation (16:8). Although both judgment and salvation are present realities, John's eschatology does not entirely lack a future dimension (5:25f). But the reality of the life given by Jesus is a present reality for the believer (5:24).

⁴ Bultmann, The Gospel of John 1971, p. 38

John understands this eternal life as essentially relationship with God (17:2-3), which is life in all its fullness (10:10). It is important to note that fullness of life is understood in terms of a relationship with God and should not be interpreted in terms of having the benefits of modern living in education, medicine, industry and agriculture.

Jesus is the one who brings life because he is the true revelation of God. John's Gospel lays considerable emphasis on truth (1:14 *et passim*). In a similar way to the term *Logos*, truth had different resonances in both Hebraic and Hellenistic culture, which could usefully be employed in relation to understanding Jesus. The Hebrew tradition evoked ideas of firmness, stability and trustworthiness, while the Greek tradition emphasised truth as that which really is. A true knowledge of God is life-giving because this knowledge is essentially relationship with the one who is the source and giver of life. This knowledge is inclusive of both intellectual acceptance and personal commitment or acknowledgement. Mission therefore includes the educative dimension, but it may not be reduced to education about Jesus. A similar analysis may be made with regard to *pisteuein*, which John understands both in terms of accepting the veracity of Jesus and a personal commitment to him (20:31). Because of the sharp and true distinction inaugurated by Jesus, John has no room for compromise or process or development with regard to people's knowledge of Jesus. One is either a believer and thus a possessor of life or one is not and therefore is condemned. But it is important to note that here John is concerned with making a theological point and he is not making an observation about the way in which people actually come to faith in Christ and in fact struggle with that faith thereafter.

John 14:6 is an important text for the Johannine understanding of the mission of Jesus. The primary statement is "I am the way" with "the truth and the life" as explanatory of the way. This description of Jesus refers to his dealings with people; he is the true and living way to God through whom people live in the truth and find life. Bultmann reminds us that Jesus is not the one to whom we may come and go as we please. Rather because he is the true way, the position we take with regard to him

⁵ Barrett, The Gospel according to St. John, 1978, p. 459

determines whether we live in truth or not.⁶ Because Jesus is the way to God, those who remain in union with him live in truth and have life. Jesus is the mediator, through whom people receive life and truth from God, the only source of life and truth. And no-one can come to God as Father except by means of knowledge of the Son, Jesus Christ. This text may be interpreted in both an inclusive and an exclusive sense. Inclusively Jesus sums up in his person all truth known to humanity (1:9). This is an affirmation of a genuine knowledge of God in all human cultures. But at the same time Jesus is the decisive revelation and as such he is the judge of every culture's pretensions to knowledge of God. This is the exclusive sense where John sees Jesus as the way for Samaritans (4:42) and for the Greeks (12:20). By extension this applies to all peoples as indicated in 12:32. John was perfectly aware of the plurality of religions and religious claims in the eastern Mediterranean region, and in this context 14:6 makes a bold claim for Jesus as the decisive way to God.

The key Johannine text for Christian mission is 20:21, which clearly reflects 17:18. The parallelism of "As the Father.... so I" constitutes John's particular contribution to Christian missiology.⁷ The use of *apesteila* (have sent) in 17:18 indicates the post-resurrection standpoint of the author and refers to the actual commissioning event of Jesus' resurrection and exaltation. In contrast 20:21 employs the perfect tense *apestalken* for the work of the Father and the present *pempo* for the commissioning of the disciples. The post-resurrection setting of 20:21 indicates the ground of Christian mission in the completed historical mission of Christ. Jesus' consecration of himself (17:19) had been achieved and with it victory over all powers of death. He is now able to offer life to all that believe and acknowledge him. Christ's mission becomes one of proclamation and invitation to belief. This mission is to be carried on by those who are sent, that is by the disciples. "The apostles were commissioned to carry on Christ's work and not to begin a new one."⁸ They are caught up in Christ's mission, but not merely as representatives sent out on their own. Those who are sent in 20:21 are those who have a personal experience of the risen Lord. This was true with respect to the original disciples who were met by Jesus in the post-resurrection period, but it is equally true by extension for

⁶ Bultmann, 1971, p.607

⁷ In 20:21 there is no significance in the use of both *apostellein* and *pempein*. John uses them synonymously.

those disciples whose apprehension of the risen Jesus is mediated through the Holy Spirit. The classic sending of the disciples is in 20:21, but all who come to know Jesus are brought by faith into the same room to receive the same commission.

This inclusive understanding of those who are sent concurs with the Johannine refusal to employ the term *apostolos* (apostle) in connection with the twelve disciples. All who are drawn to Jesus are also sent by him. John's understanding of apostolicity is entirely missiological. There is no hint of any institutionalisation. In John *mathetes* (disciple) is a term for Christian. The experiences of the disciples are of decisive significance for future generations of Christian believers, but John leaves undefined those who were present to meet the risen Jesus in 20:19-23. Women, children and other men and most of the "Twelve" may well have been present. But regardless of who precisely was present, these represent the wider community of believers who are caught up in coming to Jesus and being sent out by him in their dynamic participation in Jesus' life-bringing mission.

The parallelism of "As...so..." in 17:18 and 20:21 indicates John's understanding of the motives for Christian mission. Jesus' concern for the glory of God (12:28, 17:5) is that others may come to share his vision of glory (17:24). The Father and Jesus are glorified when people come to acknowledge God as Father through Christ (17:3). For John a prime motive for Christian mission was to bring glory to God. Christ is glorified in his death and resurrection and following on from that, through the faithful fulfilment of Christian mission; and where Christ is glorified, God is glorified through him. The parallelism further implies some correlation between the means of Jesus' mission and the means of Christian mission. The exaltation of Jesus is a lifting up on a cross (3:14; 12:32-3). The marks of the risen Jesus are transformed scars (20:27). Although the theme is not developed in John, there remains a strong hint that the path of Christian mission is through suffering to transformation. There is no hint of any triumphalism.

⁸ Westcott, The Gospel according to Saint John, 1892, p. 294

John's Gospel presents an incarnational model of mission. The *Logos* dwelt among people (1:14). The disciples were commissioned through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (20:22) to live the life of Jesus in a world created by God but deeply hostile. The disciples are caught up as a community in Christ's mission, and all who come to faith in Jesus are likewise drawn into the apostolic commission.

Paul's missiological thinking was equally christocentric. It is not possible to understand Paul as a missionary theologian without taking into account his personal, intense and passionate commitment to Jesus Christ. Fundamental to Paul was his Damascus Road experience when he was taken hold of by Christ (Phil. 3:9). Paul uses the compound verb *katelepthen* to intensify his personal experience of being *seized* by Christ. This radical encounter with Jesus gave Paul a new paradigm, which he consistently commended in his preaching. This personal passion for Jesus led Paul to a complete re-evaluation of his background (3:4-7). Having listed seven advantages in terms of four inherited privileges and three achievements, Paul came to a decision with deliberate judgment that these be assessed as losses as compared with the gain that is Christ. Paul had to abandon his past advantages precisely because they were the very things that kept him from coming to God.⁹ His past could only be considered a failed righteousness (*dikaiosune*), which Paul contrasted with a different kind of righteousness from God (*dikaiosune ek Theou*). The first righteousness refers to the claim on God of a moral person. The second righteousness comes from God and is a relational term referring to God's way of putting people into a right relationship with himself through Christ's faithful obedience (3:9).¹⁰ Thus Paul's passion for Christ is rooted in God's action, which has an objective status regardless of Paul's (or anyone's) apprehension. Philippians 3:9 is a condensed distillation of Paul's understanding of justification, which is dealt with more fully in the letters to the Galatians and Romans. In Philippians Paul is more concerned with the existential dimensions of this faith. In 3:10 he expressed this dimension of being in union with Christ in his death and resurrection. For Paul there could be no relational knowledge of Christ without a complete reorientation of his life. The knowledge of Christ could only be had in the power of his resurrection and in the fellowship of

⁹ Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 1983, p.136

sharing in Christ's sufferings. This meant that Paul interpreted his circumstances in terms of Christ; his sufferings were a participation in Christ in which he knew God's power. This new paradigm provided Paul with a future orientation inasmuch as his present participation in Christ was partial. Paul confidently anticipated the joy of being with Christ. (2:23). The destination was assured; the path was less certain. At the time of writing Paul was faced with personal uncertainty. Death was a distinct possibility, but so was release and with it an opportunity to visit Philippi. Paul's own preference was to die in order to experience more fully the presence of Christ.¹¹ But on the other hand Paul was aware of the value of his Christian service on earth. So uncertain of the future he considered the alternatives with "sublime indifference" at a human level while retaining the underlying conviction that his life was under divine providence and control.¹²

Paul's perspective on his current suffering in prison was solely a concern for the gospel in Rome (1:12-14).¹³ A wide circle had heard of the reasons for Paul's imprisonment, and other Christians had been given more courage for evangelism. However not all Christian preachers held him in good will (1:15-18) but were seen by him to preach out of self-seeking. Paul's light hand regarding his own affairs means that the reasons for ill will are not known.¹⁴ Paul was not indifferent to the personal hurt involved, but he was determined to submit his own personal interests to the wider cause of the gospel. There is no suggestion that these preachers were promoting a false gospel. The genuineness of the gospel remained independent of the worthiness or otherwise of the evangelists. His response was altogether more vigorous when it came to those he perceived as distorting the gospel. In 3:2-4 and again in 18-19, he refers to opponents of the gospel in biting and vitriolic terms. There remains considerable scholarly debate concerning the identity of these opponents. Here they are understood as

¹⁰ O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 1991, p. 398

¹¹ This statement is very different from the common belief in Hellenistic culture that death was a gain because it brought relief from earthly sufferings. Paul's view of death was wholly positive.

¹² O'Brien, 1991, p.116

¹³ This assumes that this letter was written from Rome. This opinion is not without problems, but on balance there are more problems found with the alternative suggestions of Ephesus and Caesarea. For a fuller discussion see O'Brien, 1991, pp 19-26

¹⁴ And thus they become a matter for scholarly speculation. See Hawthorne, 1983, p.38 for a sufficient number of suggestions.

Judaisers, who emphasised the necessity of the outward signs of traditional Judaism.¹⁵ Paul mocked them scathingly, asserting that true Christians have no self-confidence but rely entirely on Christ (3:3). The bitterness of Paul's opposition probably reflected his background in Pharisaism, the value of which he had rejected. But it also reflected the tragic possibility of exchanging a relationship with God through Christ for religious observance to the extent of trusting in ritual rather than in God. Throughout the Old Testament this had been a constant temptation and had led to disastrous consequences for Judah at the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 7). Paul feared a similar distortion of faith in Christ.

In John, therefore, we see a primacy accorded to the *Missio Dei* focused in the person of Jesus. Christian mission is rooted in the knowledge of Jesus, who is both the pattern and the content of that mission. In his letter to the Philippians, Paul likewise affirms a christocentric understanding of mission. He understood that living in relationship with Jesus necessarily meant participation in his continuing work. This provides the first major question for our analysis of Venn and Tucker: what was their personal spirituality and theological understanding of mission?

The context of mission is the world that God loves. John's understanding of the *kosmos* (world) into which Jesus and subsequently Christians are sent, is complex. On the one hand the *kosmos* is created by God and as such is good (1:3,10). Paradoxically the *kosmos* failed to recognise the incarnate *Logos*. Yet it is precisely this rejecting world that is loved by God, and which God has proposed to save through Christ (3:17). However, this is no universalism that removes the obligation on the part of the individual to believe (3:19). It is typical in John that the *kosmos* stands for error, imperfections and sin, the greatest of which is failure to believe in Jesus. The characteristic response of the *kosmos*

¹⁵ Beare interprets the opponents of Phil 3:2-3 as Jewish missionaries seeking proselytes. This is followed by Houlden and Hawthorne. Beare argues that the group in 3:18-19 are another group of antinomian Christians, but Houlden and Hawthorne see this as a second reference to the Jewish missionaries. Caird, following Kirkpatrick, sees them all as cautionary example rather than real threat. The other major line of interpretation, held by Manson, Cullmann, O'Brien and others sees the opponents as Judaisers – Christians who argued that the path to Christian maturity lay through adoption of Jewish practices and customs such as circumcision and food laws. This interpretation is followed because it does most justice to the reference in 3: 18-19 where Christian profession is in view but outward signs are relied upon rather than the cross of Christ.

to Jesus is “hatred”, a response that extends to Christians inasmuch as they are identified with him in mission (15:18-27). This hatred is expressed historically through Israel’s leaders as well as through the Roman authorities. In 17:9 Jesus does not pray for the *kosmos* because it is the alien realm of opposition. But although Jesus has overcome the *kosmos* through the cross and resurrection, Christians remain in the created *kosmos* owing no allegiance to the *kosmos* of opposition (17:14), which is characterised by ignorance of Jesus (7:28-29); that is, by the wilful refusal to acknowledge him. The dualism of Jesus and the *kosmos* here is an ethical one, but the boundary is permeable in that there is the possibility of repentance and conversion from the world to the fellowship of Jesus. In the Johannine understanding of the *kosmos* there remains an unresolved eschatological tension between the salvation of the *kosmos* which is the declared but unfulfilled purpose of Jesus’ mission, and the present reality of the *kosmos* of opposition. Jesus has overcome the *kosmos*, but for Christians engaged in mission, the opposition remains a reality.¹⁶

The probable historical situation of the Johannine community and their awareness of being a threatened minority group heightened their consciousness of the theological distinction between themselves as the fellowship around Jesus and those opposed to them. But it remains important to recognise that their theological awareness cannot be reduced to merely sociological terms. The fact has always been that differing sociological contexts have awakened insights into particular theological realities. Regardless of whether Christians meet with hatred in the world, they are nonetheless duty-bound to participate in the mission that springs from God’s love for the *kosmos*.

In John the political authorities effectively represent the attitude of the *kosmos*. Jesus came in truth, but this was met by profound cynicism by Pilate. His refusal to be confronted with the truth in Jesus (18:38) illustrated John’s deep suspicion that any mission should depend on any worldly power for patronage. In similar vein Jesus’ confrontation with “the Jews” shows the unwillingness of the religious establishment in Jerusalem to see the truth (8:48-59; 9:35-41). While this may reflect the social context of the Johannine circle in their alienation from political and religious power, it

¹⁶ Thus it would be a mistake to consider that the eschatological tension so fundamental in Paul is

nevertheless reflects John's insight that the fundamental challenge is always to conform to Jesus. Jesus himself could never conform to the expectations or agenda of any form of human power without that being a denial of his nature.

Paul's letter to the Philippians also offers some theological reflection on the context of mission. Philippi was a city with a proud history, given its name by Philip II around 360 BCE. In 167 BCE it came under Rome and after the defeat of the armies of Brutus and Cassius in 42 BCE and again after Octavian's defeat of Antony in 31 BCE, soldiers were settled in Philippi and it became a Roman colony. Its imperial status was enhanced when Octavian gave the city the status of *ius Italicum*, which meant that it was governed by Roman law with its inhabitants granted Roman citizenship. The city was named *Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis*. It was an important station on the Via Egnatia, the road linking the province of Asia Minor with the Adriatic ports and Italy, although Philippi's significance was not primarily that of a commercial centre. By the middle of the first century CE Philippi was a cosmopolitan society with Latin families together with Macedonian and Thracian elements and other smaller groups from around the Mediterranean. However, there was no significant Jewish community. This cultural melange was reflected in the religious diversity found in Philippi. Civic pride found expression in the imperial cult while at a more popular level, there was a great diversity of cult-associations. Syncretistic tendencies were evident in the mutual identification of Latin and Thracian deities.¹⁷

In this letter Paul was continuing his association with a church he founded together with Silas, Timothy and (probably) Luke during his second missionary expedition sometime between 49 and 52 CE. Acts 20:1ff suggests that Paul had paid at least one subsequent visit in the intervening period and that Philippi had become a significant centre for the evangelisation of Macedonia. The Philippian church comprised largely Gentile Christians, among whom some women played a significant role (Acts 16:13, 17:4, 17:12; Phil 4:2-4). This reflected Macedonian culture, which was characterised by

almost wholly absent in John, *contra* Dunn, Unity and Diversity in the New Testament, 1977, 198

¹⁷ F. W. Beare, The Epistle to the Philippians, 1969, pp. 7-9

women having a “higher social influence than was common among the civilised nations of antiquity”.¹⁸

One of the major themes of this letter is conformity to Christ. Paul introduces this in 1:27 when he uses the word *politeuesthe* (conduct yourselves), derived from *polis* (city). This was a resonant word in the Philippian context, where the citizens were proud of their colony status and where all civic functions were modelled on Rome. The same word-group is represented again in 3:20: the Christians’ *politeuma* (commonwealth) is in heaven. In the Roman Empire *politeuma* was used to designate a colony usually of veteran soldiers whose purpose was to establish the culture of the dominant political power within the conquered country.¹⁹ The resonance of this word for the Philippian Christians lay in the implication that their conduct and orientation should not be that of their earthly environment but that of heaven. The verb in 1:27 thus has the meaning of exercise the rights and duties of members of the commonwealth of heaven. The word is the dynamic equivalent of the “Kingdom of God” in the Synoptic Gospels inasmuch as it focuses on the acknowledgement of God’s sovereignty rather than having the more static notion of citizenship.²⁰ There is a further implication in the term with the sense that as Rome took responsibility for the well-being of the colonists, likewise the Christians find their security in God. It also meant that the allegiance of the Philippian Christians to the *polis* of Rome could never be more than strictly provisional. His emphasis on the universal lordship of Christ (2:11) constituted a potentially subversive political statement within the Roman Empire, as did the title *Soter* (Saviour) given to Jesus in 3:20. “The man who worships God is a threat to every other power which claims absolute authority.”²¹ The lordship of Christ relativises every political claim. The teaching of this letter also challenged the social norms of Philippi, a proud city. Merk reasonably posited the particular social background of Philippi as similar to Rome (cf. Romans 12:16), where an order of social gradations occurred in which a person was regarded according to their social standing.²² Paul’s emphasis in this letter on humble unity was a direct challenge to the

¹⁸ Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*, 1888, p.56

¹⁹ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 171

²⁰ O’Brien, 1991, p. 460

²¹ Holloway, *Let God Arise*, 1972, p.147

²² O’Brien, 1991, p. 181-2

Philippian church that mutual relationships should be conducted on an entirely different basis from the prevailing culture.

In this letter Paul made clear the absolute priority of Christ over any human claims. He did not seek either confrontation or accommodation within society or with political authority. John showed particular theological awareness that the context of mission was one of opposition and rejection, and that political and ecclesiastical authority could actively express this. Both Paul and John retained a concern that the prevailing socio-political context should not subvert or obscure the total commitment of the Christian to Christ.

This analysis raises the second question confronting Venn and Tucker: how did they understand their relationship with their political and cultural environment? What were their attitudes towards the indigenous political and cultural environment?

In John's Gospel the theological dynamic of mission is the Holy Spirit. The commission of 20:21 is immediately followed and intimately connected with 20:22 where Jesus breathes on the disciples and says, "receive holy spirit" before affirming their mission to declare forgiveness of sins. For the disciples their experience of the gift was not only the "ultimate climax of the personal relations between Jesus and his disciples."²³ It was also the empowering for mission. Christian mission would only become a possibility through the Spirit, given by the risen Christ. Beasley-Murray writes: "The risen Lord in associating his disciples with his continuing mission in the world, bestows the Spirit, through whom his own ministry in the flesh was carried out in the power of God."²⁴ This gift cannot be separated from the events of Jesus' death, resurrection and ascension, and so it was the direct consequence of Jesus' glorification (7:39). The unusual term that John employs for the death of Jesus, "he handed over the spirit" has a possible symbolic reference to the spirit's bestowal through the death of Jesus (19:30). The gift also directly relates to the baptism of Jesus. John records the coming of the Spirit to Jesus (1:33). However, unlike the Synoptists, John does not develop the theme of

²³ Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1963, p.277

Jesus' ministry as that of the Spirit-filled man; his emphasis was firmly on Jesus as the dispenser of the Spirit. The disciples are only able to participate in the mission of Jesus because they too have received the Spirit. John 20:22 affirms a strong continuity between Jesus and the Spirit, whose coming fulfils Jesus' promise to return and remain with his disciples (14:18-24). There is a considerable Old Testament background to 20:22 found in two streams. In Genesis 2:7 God breathed the breath of life into Adam. Job 33:4 echoes the theme of the creative spirit. In 20:22 the disciples are incorporated into the new creation in Christ, the experience of being born again (3:5-6). Secondly, 20:22 refers to the gift of the spirit of prophecy. In II Kings 2:9, this is passed from Elijah to Elisha, a pattern found also in Deuteronomy 34:9. In Ezekiel 2:2, the gift of the spirit of prophecy comes directly from God. The two streams of the prophetic and creation traditions flow together in Ezekiel 37:1-14 where the prophet announces re-creation. Both the power of the announcement and the resultant life come from the spirit. Thus John 20:22 indicates that those who are re-created or born again through the Spirit are thereby commissioned and equipped for a prophetic ministry.

The importance of the Holy Spirit in Johannine missiological thinking is further supported by the teaching in the Farewell Discourses, where there are five passages concerned with the Paraclete/Holy Spirit, each of which is significant for John's understanding of Christian mission. In chapters 14-16 John favours the term *Parakletos* for his distinctive portrait of the Spirit. There is no satisfactory English translation for this word that does not place undue emphasis on one aspect of the meaning at the expense of others, and so the transliteration Paraclete is used. The content of this word is defined by the text.

The first Paraclete passage is 14:16-17, which demonstrates the continuity between Jesus and the Spirit in the saving revelation of the Father. The Spirit is *another* Paraclete; the implication is that Jesus in his earthly ministry is the first. Here the parallelism is in the sphere of truth: as Jesus is the true and living way (14:6), so the Spirit is the one who communicates truth in and through the

²⁴ Beasley-Murray, John, 1987, p.379

disciples.²⁵ John makes the Spirit's work of witnessing to Jesus more explicit in later passages. Barrett argues that the Spirit's presence "among you" refers to the presence of the Spirit in the church and "in you" (14:17) to his presence in individual Christians.²⁶ The Spirit is not the possession of any elite within the community, nor is he institutionalised. John's statement that the world cannot receive the Spirit is not a denial of the Spirit's activity in the world as though the Paraclete was the personal possession of the Christian community. But his mode of activity is different; within the community his presence is characterised by mutual recognition and acknowledgement.

The second (14:26) and fifth (16:13-15) passages referring to the Paraclete may be considered together inasmuch as they both deal with the particular question of the interpretation of Jesus in and by the ongoing Christian community. Behind these passages lay the Johannine community's awareness of its increasing distance from the historical figure of Jesus.²⁷ There was a tension between the conviction that God's decisive revelation was Jesus and the necessity to interpret this revelation in varying historical, spatial and cultural contexts. John addresses this issue with his understanding of the Paraclete. The Paraclete is the authoritative interpreter. As Jesus came "in the name of the Father" (5:43), so he declared the Paraclete would come "in my name". John emphasised that the content of the Paraclete's teaching was the revelation of Jesus. Any claim within the continuing Christian community of a revelatory function for the Paraclete immediately raises questions of evaluation. John's answer is that the canon of truth is the person of Jesus himself. Implicitly all Christian understanding and expressions of truth must include an element of provisionality. Any interpretation of Jesus must demonstrably be compatible with the person of Jesus as known and acknowledged. In these passages John's concern is to demonstrate that the person of Jesus is the truth for all times and circumstances. The Spirit of Truth (16:13) reveals the one who is the true way to God (14:6) in such a way that the hearer can respond in belief, trust and personal commitment. The role of the Paraclete is "never simply that of repeating the original teaching as first given nor that of revealing new truth wholly unrelated to the old, but that of reinterpreting the old to give it contemporary significance and

²⁵ For a consideration of other parallels between Jesus and the Paraclete, see Brown, The Gospel according to John, 1966, 1135-1143 and Congar, 1983, Vol. I, pp. 54-57

²⁶ Barrett, 1978, p.463

that of revealing the new in a way consistent with the old.²⁷ There is a creative tension between the old traditions and the new inspirations. In this way John portrays the Paraclete as the theological principle of contextualisation. The Paraclete opens up the truth that is Jesus in an appropriate manner in a multiplicity of contexts.

The third Paraclete passage is John 15:26-27. The theme is the witness of the Paraclete to Jesus. The Paraclete is sent by Jesus from the Father in order to witness to Jesus. This is carefully stated by John to avoid any impression that the Spirit might bear any witness that is not directly related to Jesus. In John *marturia* (witness) is directed towards God's self-communication in Jesus and it demands the response of either faith or rejection. The Paraclete's witness is not in a vacuum, but is borne by the disciples, and thus by extension by all Christians. The disciples are not additional or secondary witnesses, but the Paraclete communicates the truth of Jesus to and through all who know and acknowledge him. The disciples are necessarily the recipients of the Paraclete's witness before they can be the bearers. John is careful not to identify the witness of the fallible Christian community with the Paraclete's witness. The context of 15:26-27 concerns the hatred of the *kosmos* for the disciples, and it is precisely in this *kosmos* of opposition that the disciples are to witness not in their own power but in that of the Paraclete. Inasmuch as the Christian community bears the Paraclete's witness to Jesus, it is directed out into the world.

The fourth Paraclete passage is found in John 16:7-11, and it deals with the Paraclete's work of convicting and exposing sin in the world. The Paraclete's coming was dependent upon the completion of Jesus' work (16:7). Jesus was physically limited by his incarnation. In the post-Ascension period his presence with the disciples was mediated by the Paraclete. However, John 16:8-11 does not focus on the Paraclete's presence within the Christian community, but on his work of exposing sin, righteousness and judgement. The prime sin is the failure to believe in Jesus; the Paraclete also exposes the failure to recognise Jesus as the way to God and a failure to see the conquest of evil through Jesus. The standpoint of these verses is post-Ascension. This exposure is the

²⁷ Brown, 1966, pp 1141-1143

reverse side of God's saving work in Jesus, and it is not merely the exposure of the fact of sin. The recognition of one's attitude as sin is a key stage in the acknowledgement that Jesus' verdict is right and therefore an acknowledgement of Jesus. There is a strong existential dimension in the Paraclete's work of confronting men and women with the truth of themselves in the light of the saving revelation of Jesus Christ. When this revelation is received with faith, the Paraclete leads into truth. But when the revelation is rejected, the encounter with the Paraclete is one of judgment. In the same way that Jesus' ministry divided people (6:66); so the Paraclete's witness to Jesus provokes diametrically opposed responses.

Barrett argued that because the *kosmos* cannot receive the Paraclete (14:17) we must think of his work as being mediated through the Church and particularly through the Spirit-inspired utterances of Christian preachers.²⁹ However, without disregarding the Spirit's work through the Church, there is nothing in 16:8-11 that suggests any such limitations of the Spirit's work. John 14:17 does not deny the Spirit's work in the world beyond the Christian community and 16:8-11 must include the Paraclete's direct operation upon the conscience of the unbeliever. The Spirit must not be limited to working only through the Christian community. However, while the Paraclete may unsettle consciences independent of any Christian activity, the nature of sin as unbelief in Jesus is only exposed as such when Jesus is presented by explicit Christian witness.

In these five passages regarding the Paraclete, he is the one who mediates the presence of Jesus to believers, who contextualises Jesus, who is the power of witness to Jesus and who goes before the Christian proclamation of Jesus to prepare the way, and in so doing he provokes the same responses of faith and rejection that Jesus experienced. It is noticeable that the description of the functions of the Paraclete shows a remarkable correlation at an appropriate human level with the functions of a missionary. A missionary is one who presents Christ not in the abstract but in their personhood and character. A missionary presents a personal witness of and to Christ; a missionary confronts sin and exposes its nature in relation to God and more specifically to Jesus. A missionary is deeply concerned

²⁸ Dunn, in Brown, ed. *Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, 1986, Vol. III, p. 706

with issues of contextualisation and translation in the first instance with regard to evangelism and secondly with regard to the integration of the life of the Christian community within the culture. Finally a missionary's primary task is to teach about Jesus Christ with a transparent integrity. This presentation will meet with a divided response inasmuch as it is identified with Christ. The Paraclete is the missionary Spirit. Yves Congar remarked: "The Spirit is active in the whole of the process that leads to faith; he enables men to confess faith and to live by it."³⁰

The pneumatological emphasis of John, which parallels that of Acts, raises a third set of questions for our analysis of Venn and Tucker: how did they understand the role of the Holy Spirit in mission? We must enquire what they meant by evangelisation and also how they dealt with the tension between tradition and a fresh response to a new context of mission.

In John it is the disciples as a group who are commissioned by Jesus (20:21). In his absence their relationships would be crucial to the integrity of their witness to Jesus. The unity of the post-apostolic believers is the theme of 17:21-23, a section that refers twice to their unity in God serving the purpose that the world may know. This unity is grounded in the nature of God as (at least) Father and Son. Through the work of Christ, believers are brought into unity with Jesus (15:1-8). The primary unity for the Christian believer is with God, but this involves a secondary level of unity among believers. On a number of occasions Jesus enjoined the disciples to "love one another" (13:34-35; 15:12). This mutual love is a means of demonstrating the truth of the Gospel. Beasley-Murray has reasonably suggested that this connects with the Old Testament tradition of mission by attraction (Zech. 8:20ff).³¹ This unity is closely linked with the themes of obedience and prayer in the Farewell Discourses. It is as disciples remain obedient and prayerful that their unity is apparent. John is close here to the Pauline dialectic between the indicative of the unity of Christians, which is fundamental in Christ, and the imperative to maintain the unity (Col. 3:11-12, Eph. 4:1-5). Clearly the unity is one of love, but Brown rightly points out that "the fact that the unity has to be visible enough to challenge

²⁹ Barrett, 1978, p.463

³⁰ Congar, 1983, Vol I, p.49

³¹ Beasley-Murray, 1987, p. 263

the world to believe in Jesus seems to militate against a purely spiritual unity.”³² John does not suggest any particular shape of the Christian community as an expression of unity. However, it is highly significant that the united community is not only the work of missionary work by other believers, but is itself involved in missionary endeavour. The precise shape of John’s ecclesiology is a matter of controversy. Some argue that John has little interest in ecclesiology and that his emphasis is on the individual’s relationship with God.³³ Others argue that little can be drawn from John’s silence on matters of ecclesiological interest and that John writing at a later date simply assumed the ecclesial realities of his day.³⁴ But from the standpoint of missiological reflection, John presents an indeterminate shape of the Christian community, which can allow for flexibility for the church to develop as appropriate to the context. The Paraclete is the one whose function is to guide into the most appropriate shape.

Paul in the letter to the Philippians shared a concern for a humble and prayerful unity among the Christians. The situation in Philippi did not invite Paul’s censure, but his concern for unity would suggest that there were dangers of disruption and division in the Christian community extending beyond the arguing women of 4:2. Paul developed this theme in a number of ways in 2:1-18. He began by appealing to the objective work of God among them and their own experience of God’s encouragement in Christ through the fellowship of the Spirit.³⁵ On the basis of this affirmation Paul instructed that they should be like-minded. Twice in 2:3 and again in 2:5, Paul used a derivative of the word *phroneo* (think) and in 2:4 he used *egousthai* (consider). Both sets of words relate to the mind and the will, and so Paul commends a “unity of spirit and sentiment in which powerful tensions are held together by an over-mastering loyalty to each other as brothers and sisters in Christ.”³⁶ This is an attitude of thinking in *tapeinophrosune* (humility). In the culture of Philippi the *tapeinos* group of words held totally negative connotations to describe a slave mentality, but for Paul humility was neither self-disparagement nor the disparagement of others, but a mutual love and respect located in

³² Brown, 1966, p. 766

³³ Smith, 1987; Dunn, 1977

³⁴ Brown, 1966; Barrett, 1978

³⁵ The *ei* in 2:1-2 is not the “if” of doubt, but the “since” of consequence.

³⁶ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 68

Christ. It is a disposition both displayed by Christ and imparted by him, which leads into 2:6-11, where Christ is presented as the ultimate model for Christian behaviour and action.³⁷ This section emphasises three particular characteristics of Christian humility. It lays aside personal ambition inasmuch as Christ did not regard his equality with God as something to be used for his own advantage (2:6). Secondly, Christian humility involves the service of others (2:7). There is a remarkable similarity between this passage and John 13:3-17 where Jesus washed the disciples' feet. The third characteristic of Christian humility is faithful obedience to God regardless of humiliating consequences (2:8). Christ's ultimate act of self-giving and obedience to God was his acceptance of death.³⁸ There is a dramatic change of subject in 2:9 when God exalts Jesus as an affirmation of his total self-humbling. The section climaxes with the declaration of Jesus as Lord with universal homage paid to him. The pattern of this section is that the one who was perfectly obedient becomes the one to be perfectly obeyed.³⁹ Within this section there is an implicit interchange (II Cor. 8:9) in that Jesus humbles himself to what we are in order that we might become like him. Paul thus encourages the Philippian Christians to be conformed to Christ's humility that they may be transformed into his likeness and so exalted.⁴⁰

In 2:12-13 Paul typically employed his dialectic between the *indicative* and *imperative*. The *indicative* is Paul's statement that God is at work in the Christian believers in order to bring them to salvation (2:13). The *imperative* is for the Philippians to engage in the "continuous, sustained strenuous effort" to live in a manner worthy of the gospel (1:27). Effort and a sense of duty and responsibility are required in order to produce the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22-23). Paul's strong sense of God at work in the Christian through the Holy Spirit always reinforced his sense of duty and never provided an excuse for him to evade any responsibility. The section (2:14f) concludes with a negative model of the Israelites in the wilderness, who, having experienced deliverance at the exodus, grumbled and complained (Deut 32:5). His final appeal was personal; he wanted to present the Philippian Christians to Christ at the judgment (cf. I Cor 3:10ff).

³⁷ There is a vast literature relating to the section. See O'Brien, 1991 pp. 186-188 for a bibliography.

³⁸ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 89

³⁹ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 92

In writing to this young church, Paul acknowledged that there was a problem of disunity that fell short of crisis proportions. He emphasised the necessity of humility as the responsibility of each individual believer. His appeal was not moralistic but cut to the heart of the gospel in terms of conformity to Christ. With the problem of Euodia and Syntyche (4:2), Paul refused to deal at a social level, but he recognised the Philippian responsibility to deal with the details of the matter.

Little is known about the structure of the church in Philippi; so any comments must be regarded as tentative. Acts suggested that Paul customarily appointed elders in each church, and there is nothing to suggest that he did not follow this practice in Philippi. The references to the women who were active within the Macedonian churches might suggest that women were of some importance within the church structures. If this were so, it would reflect the influence of local culture upon the development of church structures. In the introductory section to this letter Paul introduces himself and Timothy as servants of Jesus (1:1), gently reminding the Philippian elders of the nature of Christian leadership. Paul addressed the letter to the whole church in Philippi, "to the saints". This was not a character reference but it was relational to Christ. The church is addressed with the overseers and deacons (*episkopoi kai diakonia*). The "with" is inclusive; these leaders are addressed as a part of the whole community. There is little agreement as to the exact meaning of these words in this context. By the time of I Timothy they were two distinct offices (I Tim. 3:1-13). Beare commented that these titles were an "indication of the Roman penchant for organisation had already given the Philippian church a regular system of office-bearers."⁴¹ So it is probably preferable to see a reference to two offices than to adopt the suggestion that the phrase is a hendiadys, meaning overseers who serve. Presumably the phrase was clear enough to the recipients of the letter in Philippi. What is suggested by the paucity of reference to questions of church structure is that Paul had a much greater concern for the character of Christian leaders than for the details of the actual constitution of the church.

⁴⁰ O'Brien, 1991, p. 253

This raises the fourth question for Venn and Tucker: how did they understand and respond to the complex process of maturation in a church, including their attitudes to both concerns for Christian character and institutional structure?

A major theme of Philippians is *koinonia*. This was a favourite concept of Paul, for whom the word always has a theological dimension. The word (or its cognates) occurs six times in the letter with the controlling meaning found in 2:1, that is *koinonia pneumatos* (participation in the Spirit).⁴² Paul taught the objective reality of the Holy Spirit in the Christian (I Cor. 12:13; Romans 8:9ff). But this presence is not to be understood individualistically. The thrust of I Corinthians 12 is that through the *koinonia* of the Spirit, Christians are brought into *koinonia* with each other.

In the prologue of his letter Paul thanks God, *inter alia*, for the *koinonia* of the Philippians in the Gospel (1:5). This phrase is best interpreted dynamically to describe the work of evangelism (cf. II Cor. 2:12), and so Paul expresses gratitude to God for the Philippians' participation with him in evangelism. This term includes, but is not restricted to, their financial assistance; it also embraces their intercession, suffering and actual preaching in Macedonia.⁴³ The fact that the Macedonians had been engaged in this partnership from the first day suggests that an involvement in local evangelism had long been a feature of the Philippian church. The cause of evangelism involved them in a struggle and effort (1:27). Evangelism in Paul's experience as in that of the Philippians frequently provoked opposition (1:30). Many of the Christians in the city had been drawn from pagan backgrounds and the idea of suffering for their faith was entirely novel. So Paul described suffering for Christ in terms of privilege. The phrase *hyper Christo* (on behalf of Christ 1:29) may be interpreted at a number of levels. Most straightforwardly it was because the Christians are on Christ's side; it could further mean that that they were privileged to be counted worthy to suffer for Christ (cf. Acts 4:51). However, most profoundly, it can be read in connection with 3:10 and in the light of Col. 1: 4-25 that they have been

⁴¹ Beare, 1969, p. 49

⁴² References to *koinonia* may be found in 1:5; 1:7; 2:1; 3:10 and 4:15 (twice).

⁴³ O'Brien, 1991, p. 61; and *contra* Caird, Paul's Letters from Prison, 1976, p. 107 and Hawthorne, 1983, p. 19, who see a primary reference to financial assistance.

chosen as Christ's representatives to suffer on earth in his place during his absence (cf. II Cor. 1:4-6; II Cor. 4:12-13).⁴⁴

A further reference to *koinonia* is found in 4:3 where Paul refers to a number of men and women who had worked in active evangelistic partnership with him. The actual pattern of the involvement of Philippian Christians in evangelism within the city and surrounding area is not known, but the references suggest that evangelism was a continuing feature of the church's life in spite of the fact that it provoked opposition. Knowledge of the details is less important than Paul's affirmation and trust in this relatively young church. There is a reference in Acts 19:22 to Paul's sending Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia, suggesting the possibility that Paul did not leave the Philippians to get on with evangelism without any support.

The occasion of Paul's writing this letter was the imminent return to Philippi of Epaphroditus, who was a Christian with a pagan name. The Philippian church had sent him to Paul as an expression of their *koinonia*, bringing a financial gift. The fact that Paul felt the need to explain his return suggests that the Philippians expected him to remain in Paul's company and join him as an associate representing the church in Philippi. If this were so, it indicates that the Philippians had learnt the Pauline principle that mission was the function and responsibility of the church. There were four aspects to Paul's decision to send Epaphroditus back to Philippi. He was available to go as a messenger, unlike Paul and Timothy. He was homesick and had been gravely ill, thus causing great concern in the Philippian Church. Paul wanted to be relieved of the anxiety he felt while Epaphroditus was in his charge.⁴⁵ So this expression of *koinonia* was not to work out as the Philippians had planned. Paul took great pains to ward off any criticism that might be made to the effect that this Epaphroditus' fault. He stressed the severity of his illness, and in so doing Paul presented him as a model of Christian servanthood; he came near to death in service and because of the commitment which this represented, he should be accorded a place of honour. Paul also described Epaphroditus in the highest terms (2:25): "brother" testifies to a close personal relationship; "fellow-

⁴⁴ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 61

worker” is a particular reference to Epaphroditus’ work with Paul in evangelism; and “fellow-soldier” refers to Epaphroditus’ suffering in his missionary activity. Paul recognised and affirmed Epaphroditus’ personal commitment and devotion in the warmest terms, while at the same time clearly signalling that it was not appropriate for him to join Paul at that time. Within the *koinonia* of mission, personal and structural matters are to be distinguished. On the personal level Epaphroditus is reflected back to the Philippians as a model in the light of which they are implicitly invited to evaluate their own commitment.

Money is always a sensitive subject in human relationships because of the dimensions of power and influence entailed in any financial transfer. Paul had received a financial gift from the Philippian church, and in 4:10-20 he responds with considerable subtlety.⁴⁶ Within these verses there are two interwoven strands: appreciation of the love and thought behind the gift and a more nuanced statement of Paul’s independence in Christ. His appreciation was expressed in 4:10, 14-16, 18, and it is instructive to note what precisely Paul was appreciating. In 4:10 he rejoiced in the Lord for the thoughtful concern manifested in the gift. He used the word *phronein* (thought) to signify approval of their considerate love. The focus of his joy was not the gift but the thought. In 4:14-16, he commended the Philippians for their sharing in his troubles, and commented that their latest act of generosity was quite in character with their earlier relationship when he had received support from them. With his reference to *koinonia* Paul places their generosity firmly in the context of participation in the cause of the gospel. In 4:18 the context of Paul’s appreciation changes to see the gift in relation to God, and Paul enunciates the principle that whatever was done for God’s servant was in reality done for the master.⁴⁷ Paul spiritualises sacrifice to emphasise that their offering to God was of the highest quality (Exodus 29:18; Ezek. 20:41). In II Corinthians 8:2, Paul wrote of the relative poverty of the Macedonian churches. Their generosity is out of that poverty.

⁴⁵ Hawthorne, 1983, p.115

⁴⁶ Paul’s subtle response renders attempts such as that by Dibelius to summarise concisely his attitude as “danklose Dank” (thankless thanks) as oversimplistic. See Martin, *Philippians*, 1976, p. 161

⁴⁷ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 206

The second strand begins in 4:11-13, with the statement that Paul had learnt the principle that he has learned to be *autarkes* (self-sufficient). In Stoic and Cynic ethics self-sufficiency was the essence of all virtues and was the term used when a person becomes independent of all external circumstances and wholly reliant on their own resources. But Paul used this word in a novel way inasmuch as his self-sufficiency paradoxically was entirely dependent upon God. However he could use the word because his independent dependence upon God freed him from reliance on human resources for his own requirements (cf. II Cor. 12:9-10). In 4:17 Paul denied that he was looking for a gift; rather he emphasised that he viewed the gift as a spiritual investment entered as a credit to the Philippians' account that would bring an increasing dividend.⁴⁸ Overall the question of whether he thought the gift was an appropriate expression of *koinonia* was left unanswered.

Paul had no hesitation in asking for money for others (I Cor. 16:1-3), but he refused consistently to solicit funds for himself. He had been misrepresented in Thessalonica and Corinth for using his position for financial gain (I Thess. 2:9; II Thess. 3:7-10; I Cor. 9:3-18; II Cor. 12:13-18). So he was extremely cautious about anything financial whereby he could become a hostage to fortune. Paul insisted on supporting himself with regard to the Thessalonian and Corinthian churches, so that he could be seen to offer a free gospel of grace without any charge and in order that no opponent could accuse him of using his mission as a pretext for greed.⁴⁹ In 4:10-20 Paul displays a heightened awareness of the wider agenda where money is concerned. In a spirit of loving *koinonia* Paul was willing to accept a gift from the Philippians, although his emphasis that his joy was in the Lord, and his repeated statement that he was now filled (4:18) strongly hinted that their gifts should not continue. In the different context of a more troubled relationship with the Christians of Thessalonica and Corinth, Paul declared a fierce independence from the churches. He was aware of the corrupting potential of financial transactions to the practice of *koinonia*. But this translated variously in his relationship with different churches according to the details of the particular context.

⁴⁸ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 206

⁴⁹ This consideration of the wider context of Paul's thinking about financial matters helps to provide a better explanation of the subtle flow of 4: 10-20 than speculations that Paul felt that the Philippians could not afford a gift (Caird, 1976, p. 152) or guesses at Paul's psychology that he was embarrassed about money (Beare, 1969, p. 157; Martin, 1976, p. 161).

One important expression of *koinonia* for Paul was prayer. He assumed that the Philippians prayed for him (1:19), asking specifically for their petition that whatever happened to Paul, the gospel would be furthered and that Paul himself be strengthened through the Holy Spirit. This expression of *koinonia* was mutual. Paul's intercession for the Philippians was characterised by joy and thanksgiving (1:3-4). Paul's particular concerns in his prayer were articulated in 1:9-11, when he prayed that the Philippian Christians be granted knowledge and understanding. Fundamental to the maturing process of the church were these qualities of intellectual and moral insight, the ability to distinguish *ex bonis optima*.⁵⁰ The word *aisthesei* (understanding) is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament, although it is frequently found in the LXX in Proverbs (e.g. in 1:4, 7, 22; 14:7) for moral understanding and discernment.⁵¹ This understanding must result in that difference of character which is intrinsic to Christian witness (cf. Matt. 5:17). The petition is given added seriousness with the eschatological reference to judgment on the "day of Christ" (1:10). Paul returns to the theme of prayer in 4:6 with an encouragement to intercession and thanksgiving as the key to the experience of God's peace (cf. Matt 6:25-34). This idea of precise supplication introduced a new concept in prayer to those of a Gentile background.⁵² For Paul prayer was both an expression of *koinonia* between God, the Philippians and himself, and also a means whereby God may resource his people for their witness in a pagan environment where particular skills of discernment were required.

An example of this discernment with regard to the dominant culture in Philippi is found in 4:8-9 with a list of qualities for the consideration of the Christians. Some of the terms are rare in the New Testament but were part of the currency of common moral philosophy.⁵³ The word *arete* (virtue) was a generalised term of moral excellence in Stoic ethics; *epainos* (praise) referred to those things that are considered to merit human praise. Paul encouraged the Christians to think clearly and evaluate these values. His commendation suggests that this work of evaluation was basically a positive

⁵⁰ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 28

⁵¹ Hawthorne, 1983, p. 27

⁵² Beare, 1969, p. 147

⁵³ Caird commented that they could be found in any Stoic primer of moral instruction! Caird, 1976, p. 152

exercise. Paul saw much that was admirable in the non-Christian culture of the Philippians. However, this evaluation was critical in the light of 4:9 where Paul drew attention to both his teaching and his example. The word “received” is especially significant in that Paul used the technical term *paralambanein* for the handing on of a tradition intact. Paul’s methodology for the evaluation of a non-Christian culture involved the question of compatibility with the wider Christian tradition that he represented. This has a number of similarities with Israel’s wisdom tradition, which freely borrowed proverbs from the surrounding pagan cultures (e.g. Prov. 22:17-22). But it did so only having passed them, as it were, through the filter of compatibility with the most fundamental insight of the tradition that the “fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom” (Prov. 1:7).

The concept of *koinonia* is fundamental to Paul’s theology in Philippians. It is primarily *koinonia* with Christ, whom to know is Paul’s total ambition. In his relationship with the Philippian church Paul was motivated both by a joyful gratitude to God for his work in them and by a profound sense of duty and responsibility. It was not possible for him to be involved in the details of church life in Philippi, but his concern was with the overall direction of the church. However, he did not hesitate to throw the full weight of his apostolic authority when he felt that the gospel itself was being threatened, for instance by Judaisers. Otherwise Paul maintained a hermeneutical distance between himself and the church inasmuch as they had considerable responsibility for interpreting his letter and translating it into their practice. He prayed for them to have the gifts of discernment and wisdom; a key verb in this letter is *phronein* (to think). He clearly considered that the encounter between the church and the pagan culture of Philippi should be critical but not confrontational. Paul saw his mission task in terms of the creation of new communities that were equally passionate about Jesus Christ, and he looked to energise these communities through various expressions of *koinonia*. For Paul his physical absence from these communities was not primarily a barrier to their growth and development. Rather it allowed them space to respond to the word of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The nature of *koinonia* raises a fifth set of questions for Venn and Tucker. How did they understand the development of an effective *koinonia* in the Gospel, and specifically what was their awareness of the financial agenda, and how was this resolved?

CHAPTER FOUR

HENRY VENN

Introduction

Henry Venn was born in 1796 into a prominent evangelical family.¹ His grandfather, the Revd Henry Venn (1724-1797), was a leader in the 18th century Anglican evangelical movement. His father, John Venn, was Rector of Clapham at the time when a group of evangelicals, mostly laymen including such luminaries as William Wilberforce (1759-1833) was making a considerable impact on the national scene. The Revd John Venn (1759-1836) was the spiritual guide and counsellor to this group which has become popularly known as the Clapham Sect.² This was a formidable group of people who made a major contribution to the establishment and support of a colony in Sierra Leone for ex-slaves, the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807 and of slavery in the British colonies in 1832. They were skilled at mobilising public opinion and bringing pressure to bear in Parliament and were also engaged across a wide spectrum of issues of social improvement. John Venn was also a leading member of the Eclectics Society of evangelical Anglican clergy working closely with Charles Simeon in Cambridge. It was John Venn who presided at the organising meetings for the Church Missionary Society in 1799. The younger Henry Venn was thus brought up close to the heart of the increasingly influential evangelical establishment in the Church of England. After studies in Cambridge he was ordained deacon in 1819 to serve his title as a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. In that year he attended his first C.M.S. committee meeting. After a curacy in London and a second spell at Cambridge, Venn served as Vicar of Drypool near Hull before returning to London in 1834 to take up the incumbency of St John's Holloway where he remained until 1846, when he was appointed as a Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral. In 1838 he suffered severe heart trouble and in 1840 his wife of eleven years died. On his return to London he rejoined the C.M.S.

¹ The main secondary sources for biographical information on Venn are: W. Knight, Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn London 1880; W. Shenk, Henry Venn – Missionary Statesman New York 1983; and M. A. C. Warren, To Apply the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Henry Venn Grand Rapids 1971

² This name was probably first given in 1844 by Sir James Stephens in an article in the Edinburgh Review

Committee and was appointed as the Honorary Clerical Secretary in 1841 in which post he served until 1872, refusing to draw any salary or expenses. He died in 1873.

Both apostles John and Paul emphasised the centrality of a personal relationship with Jesus Christ as the paradigm of all Christian thinking and activity. An examination of Henry Venn's mission practice must perforce begin with consideration of his theological and spiritual position. Around the year 1750 the elder Henry Venn experienced an evangelical conversion following a long internal struggle and resulting from his own study of the Bible. Both John Venn and his son Henry stood firmly in this evangelical religion which had been forged in the eighteenth century. Venn always emphasised the importance of the Bible and his insistence that missionaries should concentrate on producing the Bible in the vernacular with all possible haste reflected his personal scriptural devotion. When asked what books Chinese ordinands should be given to read, he replied, "The very best preparation you can give them is to soak them through and through in the Word of God."³ At the heart of Venn's spirituality was Bible-reading and in this he was firmly in the tradition of his grandfather and father. The fundamental doctrine for Venn was the justification by faith of the individual believer. Venn considered this to be the characteristic and vital principle of C.M.S. as it was of his own personal faith.⁴ Venn's ecclesiology was always secondary to his understanding of individual salvation through faith in Christ. This evangelical conversion is a human response to the word of God, and so for Venn the proclamation of the word was the *sine qua non* of missionary work. The apostolic experience indicated a pattern that in response to the preached word people came to faith and were joined thereby into a community. Venn's understanding of the effects of the preached word was not limited however to personal faith but the word was the spring of all that was laudable in human development: "This is the leaven... to ameliorize the condition of the whole man, advancing nations from barbarism to civilisation, developing the energies of man, inducing industrial effort, and astonishingly improving his temporal condition."⁵

³ Reynolds, Canon Christopher 1967, 299

⁴ Venn, 1844, in Warren, To Apply the Gospel, 1971, p 117

⁵ Venn in C.M.I., 1872, p. 241

However, Venn was totally convinced that the proper motivation for missionary work was not the achievement of these secondary effects but concern for the glory of God.⁶ Venn's theocentricity here contrasted sharply with any missionary motivation which set civilisation as a parallel motivation and with concern for millions perishing without Christ, two missionary motivations which became increasingly significant during the nineteenth century. His theocentricity was also seen in his profound conviction regarding God's providential ordering of the world. Venn set out to understand the "providential circumstances" which led to the founding of the C.M.S. missionary work in Sierra Leone.⁷ He interpreted such problems as war among the Yoruba or the events in India in 1857 as among the "mysteries of Providence to the world".⁸ But setbacks such as these could not detract from the supreme end of history, which was the revelation of God's glory. A conviction of God's sovereignty over all human history lay behind what might otherwise be interpreted as "opportunism". However, God's sovereignty in no way undermined human responsibility; Venn had a strong personal sense of duty; God's work within the Christian individual is expressed through the hard exercise of self-discipline and labour (cf. Philippians 2:12-13).

A crucial element in understanding Venn is an appreciation of his postmillennial eschatology. He looked for and found evidence that the "dominion of Jesus" was being extended through the world. The evidence was found in the growth of Protestant missions, the development of indigenous evangelists, the favourable political conditions for evangelisation and the translation of the Bible into many languages.⁹ This perspective was directly in line with the majority evangelical opinion in the first part of the nineteenth century and earlier shared by his father and grandfather. The postmillennial view looked towards a long era of universal peace and righteousness that comes as a result of the preaching of the gospel, the saving work of Christ in the lives of individuals and the

⁶ Venn, 1844 and 1857, in Warren, 1971 p 106 and p. 144

⁷ Venn, 1872, in Warren, 1971, p 52ff

⁸ Venn, 1865, in Warren, 1971, p 121

⁹ Venn, H. The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, 1862, pp.324-325

subsequent evangelisation of the world.¹⁰ The tone of postmillennialism is particularly significant in its optimism; for Venn's eschatology encouraged him to look for opportunities for missionary expansion. The missionary priority was the conversion of individuals, which would lead to social transformation. Venn's consistent prioritising of conversion was not because he regarded material and social development as unimportant, but because of his belief that the latter would flow as a secondary and necessary consequence of conversion. The preaching of the Gospel was "laying the foundation on solid grounds of the improvement of the Social condition of the Natives while imparting to them spiritual blessings."¹¹ Venn saw clearly the need for commercial development and social transformation and was willing on occasions to offer practical advice. He put the clergyman from Sierra Leone, Johnson, in direct contact with the authorities at Kew Gardens to discover appropriate crops, which might be marketed commercially.¹² But he did not recognise the details of social transformation as the responsibility of the missionary society, and indeed his concern over the exercise of powerful influence made him doubly cautious about C.M.S. involvement in schemes of social transformation.

Venn was a completely loyal cleric of the established Church of England believing it to be "thoroughly Protestant and evangelical" and well ordered in its practice.¹³ He was totally in accord with the founding fathers of C.M.S. that the society was based "upon the Church principle and not the High Church principle."¹⁴ By this was meant a dedication to the Prayer-Book as the constitution of the Anglican Church that was inclusive of both lay and ordained without according a primacy of status to episcopacy. But during the time of Venn's Secretaryship the ecclesiological initiative had passed from evangelicals to the Tractarians and their successors. Venn was put on the defensive but he never modified his view of the C.M.S. as a voluntary society within the Anglican Church. This led

¹⁰ Grenz, *The Millennial Maze* 1992, p. 70

¹¹ Venn, 1844, in Warren, 1971, pp. 184-5

¹² Venn, 1844, in Warren, 1971, p 185

¹³ Venn, 1857, in Warren, 1971, p. 150

¹⁴ Minutes of the founders of the Church Missionary Society 18/3/1799 in C.M.S.A

Venn into controversy most notably with Bishop Samuel Wilberforce,¹⁵ which exposed Venn's great fear over the possible development of autocratic bishops who could stifle the missionary initiative. In England Venn was a great defender of lay patronage, which he considered to be a counter-balance to any autocratic tendencies on the part of the episcopate. He foresaw a similar role for C.M.S. in the extension of the Anglican episcopate overseas. However, this point was considerably modified by his further argument for the influence of C.M.S. patronage beyond the initial appointment of the cleric. With this exception, throughout most of his career Venn's fundamental ecclesiological position was recognisably conservative.

When Venn heard that a prospective missionary was a member of a society called "Seekers after Truth" in Oxford, his was the severe response that a missionary was a man who had found the truth and went to tell the heathen about it.¹⁶ The tone of Venn's own faith was assured and he expected the same of C.M.S. missionaries. Venn's spirituality followed clearly the pattern set by his father and by Simeon and the late eighteenth century evangelicals. He inherited the tradition quite uncritically, but this approach faced increasing challenge throughout the nineteenth century. Venn's high doctrine of providence was never bound closely to a belief in the divine appointment of Britain to be God's instrument, a theme that is echoed in the writings of other nineteenth century evangelicals. Venn's postmillennialism came under attack from two directions. In some circles there arose a tendency to consider social and commercial development as quite distinct from personal conversion. It was a short step to understanding social transformation in terms of the spread of Christian civilisation. The other direction was the increasing influence among Anglican evangelicals in the latter part of the century of premillennial thinking. The tone of premillennialism is pessimistic regarding the world. The church's mission is to rescue as many individuals as possible from an increasingly evil world. The questioning of faith was never a temptation to Henry Venn, but his son, John, also ordained, did not share his father's assurance and he made an intellectual break with Evangelicalism in 1864.¹⁷ In 1869

¹⁵ Yates, *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad*, 1978, p. 109

¹⁶ Reynolds, 1967, p 121

¹⁷ Shenk, *Henry Venn – Missionary Statesman*, 1983, p. 96

Venn took over the editorship of the Christian Observer a paper which took a reactionary stance towards the Oxford Movement in the controversy over rituals in the Anglican Church. As such it represented the way in which Evangelicalism had slipped from a position at the cutting-edge of theological and ecclesiological issues within the Church of England, and it illustrated how Venn's theological position looked passé by this time.

In his Gospel John showed a profound understanding of the Holy Spirit as both the primary agent of Christian mission and of the process of contextualisation. The Gospel identified a tension between the tradition that is affirmed by the Spirit and a fresh response to the context. In mission writing Venn is frequently associated with such phrases as "the euthanasia of mission" and "self-support, self-government and self-extension". But a concentration on the novelty of these slogans can obscure the considerable extent to which Venn was involved in the implementation of a tradition that was already in place. The fact was that before Venn's secretariat, the C.M.S. tradition had been largely untested by implementation. Venn remained very conscious of, and loyal to, this tradition throughout his work. His considerable gifts were those of clarification, development and logical application of C.M.S. principles rather than their creation.¹⁸ For instance, Venn believed that it was a long-held principle within C.M.S. to work actively towards the development of an indigenous ordained ministry which was financially supported locally, and that this aim was implicit at least in the discussion of the founding fathers.¹⁹ The genius of Venn lay in the interaction between what he understood to be the fundamental principles of C.M.S. and the peculiar and changing contexts between 1841 and 1872. It is an oversimplification to describe him as a "pragmatist".²⁰ Likewise it has been commented that theology intruded little into his missionary reflections.²¹ Superficially this is true, but Venn had deep confidence that the basic C.M.S. principles formulated before his secretariat were constituted within a

¹⁸ C. P. Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church, 1990, p. 50

¹⁹ Minutes of the founders of the Church Missionary Society 18/3/1799 in C.M.S.A. See further Warren, 1971, p. 60

²⁰ as Shenk, 1983, p.25

²¹ *ibid*, p. 25

trustworthy theological framework. He did not feel the need constantly to go back to theological basics.

Venn's Principles of Mission Practice

Venn became C.M.S. Secretary when there was no systematic study of missiology, and he recognised that he like others was only beginning to understand basic missionary principles.²² In a famous phrase Venn wrote to Rufus Anderson that their time was one of "incompetent theorising".²³ By inclination Venn was a cautious thinker, but he was aware of the need to develop clear principles for the expanding work of C.M.S.. To this end he became an eclectic thinker gathering material from Biblical, historical and contemporary sources, grappling with the missionary models presented, in order to inform his own understanding and approach to the practical issues of missionary administration. His fundamental theological framework remained within the evangelical tradition established within his father's generation, but at the secondary level of application of missionary principles, Venn developed a remarkable capacity to engage critically with a wide range of sources. True to his evangelical convictions, Venn accorded primacy to Biblical sources, but he rejected any naïve belief that missionary principles appropriate to his time could be extracted from the text ripe for application. The process was more complex wherein missionary principles could be perceived in dialogue with historical models and contemporary contexts. Venn accepted all such principles as provisional, and he looked to refine his understanding throughout his long secretariat.

Venn considered Biblical practices of evangelisation to be foundational for his own practice and non-negotiable. He never set these principles out in a systematic manner, but one may discern eight points, which recurred through his writings:

- i) The primary task of the primitive Church was to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ through the world, looking to win converts. This involved the crossing of ethnic, physical and

²² Venn to Townsend, 1852 in Shenk, 1985 p.28

²³ Venn to Anderson, 1854. C.M.S.A G/AC/17/2/ 1838-1853 pp. 437-43

cultural boundaries, and did not depend upon the completed evangelisation of one area before moving on to another. There was something incomplete about evangelisation unless an impulse was imparted to take the Gospel further.²⁴

- ii) All Christians were called to bear witness to the Gospel; Venn derived this principle from the narrative of Acts, for example 11:19ff. This cohered with his interpretation of II Corinthians 4:7. He related the *treasure* to the previous verse's reference to "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ". This was found in "earthen vessels" who were the ministers of the Gospel. Venn affirmed lay evangelism, because the gifts of the Spirit were "not tied to the ordinances of the Christian ministry".²⁵
- iii) The Church should look to follow God's leading for missionary opportunities; Acts 11:21 and 16:8-10 exemplified this providential initiative in practice. The Holy Spirit has the prime responsibility for mission. The fact of his presence within the church means that church leaders have the responsibility to look for opportunities for the extension of evangelisation.
- iv) The missionary message was the preaching of Jesus Christ and the truth of "man's acceptance with God through faith in the atoning blood".²⁶
- v) There was flexibility in the use of manpower according to both talents and opportunity. The greatest talent was applied to evangelism more than to the maintenance of a church (Acts 13:1-3).
- vi) There should be a respectful and prayerful relationship between younger and older churches. One of the strengths of the church in Antioch was its close relationship with the church in Jerusalem. There were inevitable tensions in such a relationship, which required the exercise of a sensitive, gracious and wise spirit especially on the part of the older church.

²⁴ Shenk, 1983, p.28. See also Venn, 1846 in Warren, 1971, p.130

²⁵ Venn, 1857, in Warren, 1971, p. 146

²⁶ Venn, 1857 in Warren, 1971, p. 144

- vii) The church in Antioch grew because it appointed an *episkopos* to supervise. When a church had an indigenous ministry and second-generation Christians, the supervision of a resident bishop became necessary.
- viii) Spirituality was accorded primacy over details of ecclesiological order and discipline. Paul and Barnabas concentrated their year's teaching in Antioch on building up the spirituality of the church rather than developing an appropriate constitution.

The founding fathers of C.M.S. had argued that whatever success should be expected in mission, it would be under the influence of the Spirit of God.²⁷ Venn similarly acknowledged that the Holy Spirit was the primary agent of mission.²⁸ But he did not set the Spirit in opposition to structures and tradition, but looked for the Spirit's work in enabling a critical exploration and development of mission possibilities within the traditional framework of C.M.S. He held both this inherited tradition and his constant search for appropriate means of its implementation as being under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. He believed, for instance, that effective evangelism in India would be more likely to come from Indian converts regardless of their caste or education than through more educated and professional European missionaries.²⁹ So Venn was keenly interested in discerning the structures and patterns which opened the way for the Holy Spirit to operate evangelistically. He encouraged the missionary C. C. Menge in India to form the converts into small groups, arguing that if the Spirit of God is with them, they are worth many catechists, because the group "contains in itself the elements of United Christian Action and self-extension".³⁰ In 1863 he wrote in his missionary instructions that the missionaries were not being sent out in the hope that the Spirit would honour their work but "we send you forth because the Holy Spirit is doing a work among the heathen."³¹ Also because of his post-millennial eschatology Venn looked beyond his current day to the time when God would grant

²⁷ Minutes of the founders of the Church Missionary Society, 18/3/1799 in C.M.S.A.

²⁸ Venn, 1857, in Warren, 1971, p. 146

²⁹ Venn, 1845, in Warren, 1971 p.199

³⁰ Venn, 1860 in Shenk, 1985, p.39

³¹ Venn: Instructions 1863 in Shenk, 1983, p.29

the Holy Spirit in much greater abundance which would be the time when evangelisation would occur more effectively and on a far wider scale.³²

These Biblical insights provided the parameters within which Venn looked to guide the work of C.M.S.. However, Venn recognised that the further details of his administration had to be worked out with regard to other dimensions, which was why throughout his secretariat he sought to identify and enter into dialogue with various models of mission practice both historical and contemporary. His most systematic exercise was his book on Francis Xavier, but the breadth of his reading and reflection was evident through his writings.

Consistently he reflected upon his own evangelical tradition, which led him to focus on the development of C.M.S.. The roots of this tradition lay in the eighteenth century Evangelical Revival when Whitfield, Romaine, Newton and others pioneered a spiritual renewal within the Anglican Church, one result of which was the foundation of C.M.S.. Venn identified three factors from this model that informed his own practice. He noticed that this movement worked "from below" to influence the wider church. Evangelicalism was a movement from small, humble and socially despised roots. For Venn the soundness of evangelical principles was more significant than the level of popular support. Secondly, Venn noted how different gifts were employed in the development of evangelicalism. The second-generation leaders such as Simeon and his own father had gifts of administration, which were more appropriate to the task of consolidation and growth. Thirdly, the evangelical movement showed Venn that it was essential for clergy to have both a personal experience of faith and a burning conviction of the duty of evangelisation. One example of a second-generation evangelical leader who personified these principles for Venn was Josiah Pratt who served as the Hon. Clerical Secretary of C.M.S. between 1803 and 1824, presiding over the early growth of the mission society.³³ Pratt's gifts were primarily administrative, but Venn also identified his

³² Venn, 1855 in Warren, 1971, p.64

³³ Venn: 1844 in Warren, 1971, pp. 106-117

visionary grasping of the opportunity in 1812 to send the first missionaries to India. He further admired Pratt's breadth of sympathy and concern for other Protestant mission societies; and that although clearly identifiable as an evangelical, he was by no means partisan in his allegiance.

Venn's reviews were not merely historical exercises but were intended to inform his practice. From these particular models he drew a number of lessons. He believed that C.M.S. should never despise small beginnings, and he was prepared to keep faith with beleaguered missions particularly those in Islamic countries, because he recalled that the evangelical movement itself had small and despised and outwardly unpromising roots. Secondly Venn saw that at different moments the mission required particular practical goals which needed to be kept under constant review to prevent the onset of a paralysing inertia within C.M.S. By 1865 Venn identified this goal as the establishment of "a self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending native Church".³⁴ He related this church to "each district", the size of which was not defined more precisely, but his qualification "especially where there are separate languages" implies that the scale was large. This slogan of the "Three Selves" was intended to encapsulate what he saw was the goal of mission in the mid-nineteenth century. He gave it neither more nor less significance than identifying an interim goal in the whole process of bringing a church to maturity. His vision of the "Three Selves" partly arose because of his recognition of the limited role which could be played by American and European missionaries in the task of world evangelisation. In 1865 Venn saw a role for missionaries in terms of training pastors for the church and in the work of Bible translation and the development of theological literature. But always for Venn there was more to the work of C.M.S. than could be inferred from the "Three Selves" formula. The pioneering work of primary evangelism by missionaries was always part of Venn's central vision, and this should never be obscured by an over-emphasis on the formula that summarised only one element of his thinking. Thirdly, Venn found that his evangelical tradition confirmed his commitment to the principle of "spiritual men for spiritual work". He never prevaricated in his dedicated concern for the personal spirituality of all missionaries.

³⁴ Venn, 1865, in Warren, 1971, p. 118

Venn's study of Francis Xavier is particularly significant for what we learn about the author. Venn approached the sixteenth century Jesuit missionary with all the prejudices of a nineteenth century evangelical Anglican, who believed that "Popery worships the shadow but denies the substance of the truth, by setting up the doctrine of human merits, of works of supererogation, and of the mediation of the saints."³⁵ The encounter between Venn and Xavier would never be comfortable, because Venn had no sympathy with Xavier's spirituality and church. Nevertheless there were certain features of Xavier's person and work that won his approval. Venn admired Xavier's charismatic and loving character together with the energy and dedication with which he fulfilled his missionary vocation. He noted Xavier's pastoral care for his fellow missionaries and his deep concern that the Jesuit company be perceived as a loving fellowship. This brought out his commitment to being a peacemaker. Neither Xavier nor Venn had a romantic notion of missionary work; they both knew that peace was a hard-won gift. Venn was frequently critical of C.M.S. missionaries for their lack of informative correspondence; he noted with interest that Xavier communicated as often as possible with the church in Europe "with all the freshness and fullness of his first impressions."³⁶ Above all Venn was appreciative of Xavier's respectful attitude towards the non-Christian cultures and people whom he encountered, "maintaining their rights against the oppression and injustice of his own countrymen and treating them as possessing the same feelings and capacities as their more civilised fellow-men."³⁷ However, Venn singled out four areas of Xavier's missionary for severe criticism. Although he admired Xavier's self-discipline, Venn opposed any notion that asceticism itself might have intrinsic value on the grounds agreed by nineteenth century evangelicals that asceticism was not a feature in the Gospels. Secondly Venn criticised Xavier's authoritarianism which demanded an attitude of dependence upon himself on the part of both fellow missionaries and converts. He wrongly considered that Xavier's work did not long survive him, which he thought sufficient evidence of the inadequacy of his methods of evangelisation. Venn believed that the pioneer

³⁵ Venn, 1857 in Warren, 1971 p. 151

³⁶ Venn, 1862, p 254

³⁷ *ibid.* p 252

missionary should act "mainly on his own responsibility and judgement".³⁸ This required imagination and resourcefulness together with confidence in God and conviction about the duty of evangelism. Venn felt that these essential characteristics were stifled by such authoritarianism as that found in Xavier. Thirdly, he criticised the educational policy of the Jesuits who effectively isolated their converts from their countrymen.³⁹ Fourthly he criticised Xavier because the result of his mission was no more than a nominal Christianity "without true conversions and spiritual life in individual souls."⁴⁰

In this study Venn treats Xavier respectfully as a mission model in dialogue with whom he sharpened his own ideas of mission methodology. Venn also could be authoritarian with C.M.S. missionaries. But clearly the lack of sympathy he had with the Roman Catholic church crucially limits the value of his study in terms of our understanding of Xavier, but it actually affords valuable insight into the development of his own mission methodology.

During his secretariat there were two contemporary models of mission that made a great impact upon Venn: Jamaica and Madagascar. C.M.S. had sent its first missionaries to Jamaica in 1826 to prepare the slaves for emancipation, which was granted in 1832. There were initially high hopes for the prospect of the Church, but in response to the financial crisis of the early 1840's C.M.S. withdrew but the majority of missionaries remained on the island to serve under the diocesan bishop. Their orientation became primarily pastoral. By the mid-1860's it was widely acknowledged that the Jamaican church had failed to live up to the original high expectations, and that it appeared relatively weak when compared with the West African scene. The common explanation was that the Jamaicans were not ready to take pastoral responsibility and first required a period of tutelage under the expatriate pastors. The fact that this period was longer than anticipated simply reinforced the argument for its necessity. Venn, however, offered an alternative hypothesis. After acknowledging that the C.M.S. withdrawal had been premature, Venn argued that the Jamaican congregations had

³⁸ *ibid.* p. 146

³⁹ *ibid.* pp. 25-27

⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 324

"not been organised upon the principles of a native Church".⁴¹ The Jamaica model confirmed his belief that "when the Missionary is of another and superior race than his converts he must not attempt to be their Pastor." He further argued that if he continued to act as their pastor, "they will not form a vigorous Native Church, but as a general rule they will remain in a dependent condition, and make but little progress in spiritual attainments."⁴² Venn considered that the failure to train an indigenous leadership for the church was the key factor in the disappointing development of the Jamaican church.

Madagascar was not a field of C.M.S. operation; the London Missionary Society sent missionaries there in 1820. The New Testament was translated into the vernacular in 1830 and the first converts were baptised in the following year. Following increased hostility from the government the missionaries were expelled in 1836. When their return was permitted in 1861 they found that about half of the population in that particular area were Christians. This prompted great wonder in the 1860's, but whereas many regarded it as a fascinating curiosity, Venn saw it as a model of what Roland Allen later called "the spontaneous expansion of the Church". The Madagascar experience confirmed Venn's belief in the responsibility of the indigenous church for evangelisation. Theologically the issue of trust was prominent. Venn saw the need to trust new Christians or more profoundly to trust the Holy Spirit at work in converts. The development of Venn's understanding had profound implications for the whole shape of C.M.S. work. He commented to a missionary in India that the change was "all in the direction of giving up the old system of station establishments and the education of heathen children: the chief success is with Adults and to setting each Adult convert to work in speaking to others as soon as they received any light in their own souls."⁴³

Venn was little interested in abstract missionary principles as such, but he was deeply concerned for the development of appropriate mission praxis, which was grounded in the realities of the various

⁴¹ Venn, 1867 in Warren, 1971, p. 78

⁴² *ibid.* p. 78

⁴³ Venn, 1859, in Shenk 1986, p. 38

contexts in which C.M.S. worked. To this end Venn was both prolific and demanding as a correspondent; he insisted that C.M.S. missionaries fulfil their obligations to keep the Society informed of their work. He was aware of the need to feed hard information to the Christian public in Britain to sustain interest, prayer and giving. But equally important was his concern to gather raw data from which missionary principles could be inferred, tested and refined. Venn drew a specific parallel with scientific methodology in this regard.⁴⁴ Only a regular flow of accurate information (and Venn insisted on the accuracy) could enable him to distinguish the local and incidental aspects of missionary work from the more generally applicable principles. The importance he gave to this exercise, which was almost invariably seen as a chore by most missionaries, was emphasised by the care Venn gave to provide a careful New Testament underpinning to his demand.⁴⁵ In 1849 Venn launched the Church Missionary Intelligencer edited by the Revd J. Ridgeway, which was a serious periodical of missionary affairs, including articles drawn from missionary correspondence as well as discussion of Biblical and contemporary issues. This journal represented Venn's contribution to public discussion of contemporary missionary models.

Venn's willingness to learn from the mission experience of other societies was a practical expression of Law XXXI of C.M.S. that "A friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other *Protestant* Societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ."⁴⁶ This set the parameters of Venn's ecumenical activities which he built up through his involvement with the London Secretaries' Association, the purpose of which was primarily advisory and for prayer fellowship and through correspondence with other European and North American mission administrators and by his avid reading of missionary journals. His personal attitude towards other Protestant societies was revealed in a sermon preached in 1858 to commemorate the death of Daniel Wilson of Calcutta when he commended the Bishop's words: "Unity and love prevail among the different divisions of the Protestant family; we no longer maintain the old and fatal mistake, that

⁴⁴ Venn, 1854, in Warren, 1971, p. 102

⁴⁵ *ibid*, pp. 98-99

⁴⁶ Quoted by Venn, 1851 in Warren, 1971 p. 176. Italics original

Christian men are not to co-operate for *any* thing until they agree in *every* thing. We now hold the antagonistic and true maxim that Christian men should act together as far as they are agreed."⁴⁷ Alongside this Venn was aware of the value of the distinctive identity of C.M.S. within Britain and the clear distinction of its position vis-à-vis the fellow Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the non-denominational societies such as the London Missionary Society and the other denominational societies such as the Baptist Missionary Society. Venn was equally aware that in practice it would be easier to practise this kind of united action in the field than in the committee rooms of London, and he was prepared to commend lessons which he felt could be learnt from the experience of other Christians. In 1856 Venn wrote to the Bishop of Melbourne on the subject of the Wesleyan Methodist system of Local Preachers.⁴⁸ He described their work and organisation and then commented that he felt a similar system could prove a great benefit to the Church in the colonies. He felt that this could be introduced under the sanction of Article XXIII, although it would require minor amendment of the parochial system. For Venn this did not raise insuperable objections.

Implementing the Principles

A. The Political Context of Evangelisation

There was a profound difference between the political and cultural environment of the apostolic years and those of Henry Venn. Whereas John in particular and Paul and Luke to a lesser extent emphasised the Christian distinctiveness of the church over against the dominant political reality of the Roman Empire, Venn worked as a loyal member of the established church of possibly the most powerful political nation on earth at a time of largely unquestioning cultural self-confidence. Venn was passionately committed to the evangelical tradition in the Anglican Church, which was patterned by his father together with Charles Simeon and others and exemplified in the Christian humanitarian activities of the Clapham sect. The nature of the Anglican establishment shaped Venn's political attitudes in three particular ways. Establishment ensured a diffused authority within the Church; it

⁴⁷ Venn, 1858 in Warren, 1971, p. 177 *Italics original.*

⁴⁸ Venn, 1856, in Warren, 1971. pp. 168-171

provided a rationale for the Church to exercise influence on political affairs, and thirdly on Venn's assumption, a Christian government could be expected to promote Christian principles.

In common with other evangelicals of his day Venn feared any form of episcopal autocracy. Tractarianism and the developing influence of the Oxford Movement with its suspicion of state links highlighted this concern and Venn was very aware that the relative freedom of the colonies could provide just the context in which an unrestrained episcopacy could flourish. Venn believed that the ecclesiastical system in England and Wales safeguarded the position of evangelical clergy inasmuch as all the temporal affairs of the Church were subject to the ecclesiastical laws of the state. The interpretation of these laws was ultimately the responsibility of ecclesiastical courts that were subject to Parliament and the crown. This guaranteed a legal limitation on a bishop's authority in his diocese.

With the extension of episcopacy in areas of C.M.S. activity, Venn was greatly concerned to find a similar freedom and balance of authority. For this reason he insisted on the clarification of a bishop's responsibility before agreeing to his appointment.⁴⁹ Venn made himself an expert in canon law relating to the colonies. In a paper on Colonial Church Legislation in 1856⁵⁰, he analysed the situation regarding ecclesiastical law in the colonies, concluding that not only was it uncertain and defective but that the state of the law differed between the colonies. He considered three possible responses. The Bishop, clergy and laity of any colony could meet to make up any ecclesiastical regulations they might deem necessary, however being sure to maintain the standards of faith and worship and the supremacy of the Crown. Venn rejected this course as inconsistent in principle with the supremacy of the Crown as well as with the powers exercised hitherto by local legislatures in the colonies. A second possibility would be to give legal sanction to the diocesan conventions decided by the bishop, clergy and laity, but to deprive the decisions of the force of law, but this Venn also rejected as too indefinite and inadequate to provide a workable legal framework for the church. Venn

⁴⁹ Venn, 1856 in Warren, 1971, pp 163-4 and Venn, 1858, in Warren, 1971, pp 164-7

⁵⁰ Venn, 1856, in Warren, 1971 pp 219-235

favoured the third option, which was to "obtain a legal sanction for ecclesiastical arrangements through the Colonial legislature."⁵¹ Thus Venn's chosen course was for the adoption of a church constitution which would be sanctioned by the British government. In supporting this proposal Venn was expressing his belief that the laity should have an effective authority in the Church as a counter-balance to any autocratic tendency on the part of a colonial bishop. Venn was deeply concerned to see the development of a sound Anglican ecclesiology through the colonies, which required a firm legal basis and, in effect, a quasi-establishment.

Secondly, Venn saw Anglican establishment as providing a rationale for the exercise of Christian influence upon the British government. His family background gave him an assurance and self-confidence in relating to those close to the political centre. His brother-in-law, James Stephen (1789-1859) was permanent under-secretary for the colonies between 1839 and 1847. When Venn wrote to the Governor of Lagos in 1863, his comment that "the C.M.S. Committee has always been allowed confidential access to the Government" was neither obscure nor idle.⁵²

In 1850 the British government proposed the removal of the "West Africa squadron", a fleet which was responsible for the interception of slave-trading ships and the return to African shores of those released. Venn drafted a petition which argued that its removal would open the door for slave-trading which in turn would have a debilitating effect upon the society and economy of West Africa.⁵³ This was an emotive issue for Venn with his Clapham background. The proposal was withdrawn, but one must be careful not to attribute this solely to Venn's initiative. The significant point here is that Venn felt it incumbent upon C.M.S. to make formal representation to the government on this issue to which there was a clear moral dimension. Venn distinguished those matters of primary importance in evangelisation, such as preaching and training evangelists, from matters such as agricultural and commercial development, which was the proper concern of Christians but not a call on the limited

⁵¹ Venn, 1858, in Warren, 1971, p. 228

⁵² Venn, 1863, in Warren, 1971, p. 213

⁵³ Venn, 1850, in Warren, 1971, p. 208-213

resources of C.M.S. For instance Venn considered the development of agriculture and commerce in West Africa to be the ultimate responsibility of the colonial government and he was willing to write to the Colonial Office on this matter.⁵⁴

Thirdly, Venn inferred from the fact of establishment that a Christian government should actively promote Christian principles whenever it was in a position to do so.⁵⁵ This assumption was evident in Venn's argument over official attitudes in India. In December 1857, C.M.S. presented a memorial to Queen Victoria. This was during the critical period following the 1857 "Mutiny" and the 1858 declaration which placed the governance of India under the British Crown rather than the East India Company. The memorial expounded Venn's sharp criticism of official "neutrality" in India, which had been the keystone of the Company's religious policy. In practice missionaries found that the policy had favoured traditional religions and effectively discouraged Christianity, and in any case Venn discounted the very possibility of a neutral stance between true and false religions. Positively he endorsed the Educational Despatch of 1854 which promoted education among Indian people, but he went further to argue that spiritual values were the foundation of education and that Christianity should be the basis of the whole educational system. The document called for three specific actions: abrogate the present policy of neutrality and make Christianity the official religion; make the Bible "the only standard of moral rectitude and the source of those Christian principles" upon which the government itself was conducted; sever all connections between the state and traditional religion.⁵⁶ However, Venn's bold views failed to carry the day. Supporters of the policy of neutrality remained in power and he was also opposed by some missionaries in India who feared that such measures would be regarded as official proselytism and encourage anti-Christian hostility. But it was nonetheless significant that Venn's expectations of an official commitment to the process of Christianisation in India increased during the time when the British government was taking the reins

⁵⁴ Venn, 1865, in Warren, 1971, p. 194

⁵⁵ Warren, 1971, p 207

⁵⁶ Shenk, 1983, p.86. But Shenk from a North American Mennonite background underestimates the significance to Venn of the establishment of the Anglican Church.

from the Company. Venn displayed a deeply principled opportunism reflecting his conviction that establishment entailed an official commitment by the government to the Christian faith.

Venn endorsed the C.M.S. Regulation that "Every missionary is strictly charged to abstain from interfering in the political affairs of the country or place in which he may be situated."⁵⁷ He was also sanguine that missionaries who worked in regions and countries under British political control would, under normal circumstances, be able to carry out their work without concerning themselves with political matters. But Venn further recognised that the Regulation was not an absolute statement because he acknowledged that concern for Christian principles necessarily involved missionaries and national Christians in questions that were otherwise considered to be purely political by the secular authorities. Slavery was an issue that answered this description. Venn also referred to missionary involvement in the dispute in Bengal between indigo planters and peasant ("ryot") cultivators. In response to missionary agitation on behalf of the ryots that they were being economically exploited, the colonial authority instituted a Court of Inquiry and appointed a missionary as a Commissioner to represent the viewpoint of the ryots. Venn saw this case as the state's recognition of the missionary's right to speak on behalf of the ryot and he commended the missionaries for being "the natural and proper guardians of the just civil rights of the convert."⁵⁸ In his Instructions Venn laid out some basic principles of political involvement. Missionaries should only consider taking up a supposed grievance after discussion with other, and preferably more experienced, missionaries; and when the issue "*palpably* (italics original) involved the great principles of justice, humanity or Christian duty."⁵⁹ He emphasised that the missionary should always avoid political partisanship and be always sure to be cordial and courteous in the presentation of his case. Clearly Venn was concerned to keep the level of political involvement by C.M.S. missionaries to a minimum without foreclosing on the possibility. In 1860 the majority of C.M.S. missionaries worked in areas where there was some level of British

⁵⁷ Venn: Instruction to Missionaries September 1860, reprinted in Shenk, 1983 as Appendix II, pp. 130-137. This is probably his most complete statement on the subject of missionary involvement in politics.

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p.133

⁵⁹ *ibid* p.133

political control, and the examples he gave of approved involvement by missionaries all related to these areas and to situations where the grievance was expressed against British authorities.

Venn was much less comfortable with the question of the political relationships of C.M.S. missionaries with non-Christian and non-European governments and political structures. He acknowledged that the "injunction to abstain from all interference with political affairs is obviously not applicable when the native government is mixed up with national superstitions and social institutions which violate all justice and humanity; when the magistrate's sword is in the hands of every petty chief or self-constituted oppressor."⁶⁰ As appropriate to this situation he quoted the explanatory clause which had been added to the C.M.S. Regulations during the time of Pratt's Secretariat: "It is not intended, however, by this regulation to preclude missionaries who may be stationed in New Zealand, or in the other regions which are uncivilised and which do not enjoy the protection of a fixed Government, from bringing the natives acquainted with such Christian and civil institutions, as in process of time their situation may require; or from using their influence in such countries to preserve or restore peace in conformity with the spirit of a minister of the Gospel". As an example of the application of this principle Venn offered the prominent role played by C.M.S. missionaries in persuading Maori chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This role was affirmed by the Governor in 1841 when he stated that but for the missionaries "a British colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand."

Venn paid relatively little attention to the question of political relationships with non-European, non-Christian political authorities in 1860 because few missionaries were actually faced with this reality. In respect of political questions Venn's work was reactive. In his 1860 paper his example of C.M.S. missionaries' involvement was one of their active co-operation to introduce British colonial rule, and this opened the door wider for missionaries to equate stable and peaceful rule with the process of colonisation. This would be of considerable relevance to the activities of, for instance, Bishop Tucker

⁶⁰ *ibid* p 135

later in Uganda who was very active in working to secure popular support for protectorate status for the country after his appointment in 1890. The relevant clause did nothing to encourage a positive evaluation of non-Christian and non-European political structures, and was too indefinite and loose to enable missionaries to engage critically with the situation of operating within a framework of traditional structures. Although Venn himself was critical of the exercise of European, usually British, political authority in India and Africa, he was at least comfortable operating within this framework.

B. Evangelisation and Civilisation

Venn had little time for "civilising" as such, while at the same time he recognised clearly that the impact of the Gospel upon a people had implications beyond their spiritual allegiance. When it came to questions of education, agriculture and commercial development, Venn operated within a matrix defined by three guiding principles. These were his conviction that it was essential in Africa to promote development in agriculture and commerce in order for self-support and self-government in the church to be an achievable goal. This in turn meant attention being given to education, which was the particular priority in India. Secondly, Venn drew a distinction between matters that were the proper concern of Christian people and those that were the direct concern and responsibility of C.M.S., which had limited resources and a particular calling. Thirdly, Venn was concerned about the tendency which he discerned among missionaries to over-emphasise secondary matters in their work and to neglect their primary missionary responsibilities.

Venn was greatly influenced in his thinking by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton who had played a prominent role in Parliament in the campaign to abolish slavery. Buxton argued in his book The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy⁶¹ that the active promotion of trade within Africa was essential in order to have a viable economy to replace slave trading. To this end Buxton had organised the Niger Expedition of 1841 with the grand objectives of opening up trade routes in the interior and

⁶¹ T F Buxton: The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy published 1840

paving the way for Christian mission. It was an overblown and premature attempt that ended in failure, but Venn caught his vision and worked to see Buxton's ideas applied on a smaller and more appropriate scale. He took a particular interest through the 1850's in developing cotton in West Africa, especially in Abeokuta in Yorubaland.⁶² He wanted to see this in the hands of a Christian and educated African class who would be able to stand up to any attempts at European exploitation. These men would be leaders in their society, roughly in parallel with the way in which the commercial class was the most dynamic in Britain at that time. In the 1850's there was rapid growth in cotton production and marketing, but after 1860 there was equally rapid decline due to a lack of integrity and commercial competence on the part of those involved, both European and African. Thereafter Venn steered clear of direct involvement in commercial ventures to concentrate more on the education of West Africans. He was instrumental in developing the Fourah Bay Institute in Sierra Leone with its mixed curriculum of secular and Christian subjects. This development was initially in partnership with the British government but after 1856 the greatest support came from within West Africa. By 1866 Venn saw this Institute not only as the key centre of liberal education in Sierra Leone but also as a training centre for clergy and church workers for all of West Africa.

In India Venn never took any direct interest in commercial enterprise, but he was greatly involved in the question of missionary involvement with education. He worked tirelessly to promote the grants-in-aid system, initially in order to persuade missionaries in India to accept the government offer of such grants and later to encourage the government to increase the level of these grants. One aspect of Venn's concern for education in India was that thereby people from the lower castes would be given the opportunity for government employment and thus Christian education would be a major means of undermining the place of caste in Indian society.⁶³ Venn also felt that C.M.S. involvement in education would open up evangelistic opportunities in India that might otherwise be closed.⁶⁴

⁶² For more details of the initial success and later demise of this enterprise, see Shenk, 1983, pp. 68ff.

⁶³ Venn, 1854 in Warren, 1971, p.203

⁶⁴ Venn, 1846 in Warren, 1971 p.199

Over the years of his secretariat there was a distinct movement in Venn's thinking about the missionary role in education in India. Until the middle 1850's Venn was much influenced by the vision articulated by Alexander Duff that the Christian education of the Indian elite would percolate down and infiltrate the whole society leading to the breakdown of traditional beliefs and the widescale adoption of the Christian faith. But in the 1850's Venn's interest turned more from schools for the elite and towards the development of teacher-training institutes and vernacular education on a wider scale.

Venn distinguished clearly those issues that were the proper concern of the Christian and those which were the direct concern of C.M.S.. With regard to West Africa he identified a number of "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Social and Intellectual Conditions of the Native Africans of Sierra Leone."⁶⁵ He included such items as the establishment of a savings bank, provident societies, the development of model farms, the establishment of a free storehouse in Freetown and the establishment of reading-rooms, lending libraries and even philosophical lectures! But these were not the primary responsibility of C.M.S. and so he suggested a separate Committee be established to work in concurrence or effective partnership with C.M.S.. The particular role of C.M.S. would be in the training of Africans for their involvement in these enterprises. It was a similar story with the cotton project in Abeokuta. Venn cultivated links with the Manchester merchant Thomas Clegg and involved him in the work of the African Native Agency Committee, which Venn himself was instrumental in organising.

Likewise in India Venn sought to work in partnership with the government in the development of education. One of his battles with the missionaries was over the question of grants-in-aid offered after 1854.⁶⁶ The missionaries feared that the acceptance of such grants amounted to handing over mission schools to government control, but Venn countered: "The Society are willing to accept the aid of

⁶⁵ Venn, 1853 or 1854 in Warren, 1971, pp186-189

⁶⁶ Venn, 1854 in Warren, 1971, pp 201-203

Government, so far as they will give it. But they consider themselves as doing their own work, and not as standing in the position of Schoolmasters to the Government."⁶⁷ It was up to the missionaries to forge a workable partnership that did not compromise their missionary calling. Venn had every confidence that it could be done and increasingly the missionaries in India worked with the system. It is noteworthy here that Venn had to battle to encourage the missionaries to work in partnership with the Government; it was not only with the indigenous church that missionaries were reluctant to share power and responsibility.

The third principle in Venn's thinking was his concern over what he called "secularity", the attitude explained by Warren as "complete absorption in matters secondary to the primary object of preaching the gospel."⁶⁸ Venn valued highly the development of commerce and agriculture in Africa and education in India as well as in Africa, but he was careful to warn missionaries that they should not give an "undue proportion" of their time or energy to such matters.⁶⁹ It would have been inappropriate for him to give precise instructions on this issue, but Venn was particularly concerned with missionary attitudes. He feared a reflection overseas of the situation he saw in Britain where he felt an overwhelming majority of clergy was being deflected from the primary task of preaching the Gospel to be engulfed in a "vortex of secularity".⁷⁰ He denied that the perceived "secularity" of missionaries arose out of the missionary system itself but came from the missionaries themselves. Two decades later Venn lamented that the state of the evangelical party in the Anglican Church was not producing missionary candidates of sufficient calibre in the numbers sought who could hold the priority of preaching the Gospel against the pressures of involvement in worthy but secondary matters.⁷¹ Throughout his secretariat Venn affirmed the foundational principle of C.M.S. of "spiritual men for spiritual work", and he continued to struggle against the tendency of some missionaries to become preoccupied with matters which he considered secondary in the C.M.S. vocation.

⁶⁷ Venn, 1854 in Shenk, 1983, p 85

⁶⁸ Warren, 1971, p. 106

⁶⁹ Venn, 1844, in Warren, 1971, p. 185

⁷⁰ Venn, 1846 in Warren, 1971, p. 130

⁷¹ Venn, 1865, in Warren, 1971, p 119

The three principles of Venn's affirmation of the necessity for agricultural, commercial and educational development, his distinction between the proper concerns of the Christian people and the vocation of C.M.S., and his concern about the tendency to "secularity" give a framework in which one can make sense of the way in which different emphases become apparent in varying contexts and over time. The interplay between the principles can be seen with regard to questions of education in India. Venn promoted education as an effective means of undermining the influence of caste and, more positively, of promoting the social and political influence of Christian Indians. He worked at building an effective partnership with the government, which would ensure both a continuing Christian influence upon as many Indians as possible and continuing financial support for schools and colleges run by C.M.S. Part of the reason why Venn was concerned to develop an effective partnership was his awareness that educational establishments tended to acquire a momentum of their own and a voracious appetite to consume limited missionary resources. His concern for educational excellence was tempered by his view that institutions should develop **with** missionary work and not be "formed and fashioned too much in advance of the native Church."⁷² Venn's wish that missionaries should retain a qualified perspective on the value of educational work was clearly shown by his letters to the Revd J. Long. He affirmed Long's commitment to educational work, but he added two points which had the effect of qualifying this affirmation, by encouraging Long to continue direct evangelism in the surrounding villages and, secondly, by reminding Long that the Gospel was making a greater impact upon the illiterate peasants of Tinnevely through the preaching of relatively uneducated but enthusiastic converts than upon the more privileged Indians through educational establishments.

It was typical of Venn that the precise application to individual cases of these principles did vary according to the peculiar demands of the context. But it would be inaccurate to describe him as a pragmatist or an opportunist because he was operating within a clear and principled framework of

⁷² Venn, 1854, in Warren, 1971, p 203

thinking about these issues. Venn operated most comfortably within the British political framework. He was not afraid of critical engagement over single issues that he felt were the moral and proper concerns of a missionary society but he was fearful that political engagement would become a distraction from the proper pursuits of evangelisation. He certainly gave no indication that he saw political engagement by the church as an integral part of evangelisation. In this respect he had moved away from the more robust inheritance of his father's generation whose political involvement had been very much central to the expression of their evangelical spirituality.

C. Gathering the Church

The C.M.S. founding fathers had written that the task of a mission was to "gather a church".⁷³ With the growth of C.M.S. work Venn had to face the necessary questions of detail. In this Venn was consciously attempting to do no more than draw out the implications of the C.M.S. tradition rather than formulating new policy. His thinking on the nature of the church was not formed abstractly but in dialogue with actual events and Christian communities that had been founded as the direct result of missionary activity.

It was characteristic of Venn before the 1860's to be more reactive to events than one might expect of a missionary innovator. In 1841 there was a financial crisis in C.M.S., which prompted a review by a special committee of all the Society's activities. This revealed the considerable extent to which many of the institutions and staff in the C.M.S. field were directly supported out of funds raised in Britain. Venn's Minute of 1841 with its argument that "Native converts should be habituated to the idea that the support of a Native ministry must eventually fall upon themselves"⁷⁴ echoed the argument of the second Hon. Secretary, Josiah Pratt. In 1817 Pratt wrote, "both with respect to Funds and Teachers, a vast portion of the work will doubtless be found ultimately to arise from the heathen themselves."⁷⁵ The financial crisis led Venn to a strong emphasis on a C.M.S. tradition of self-support that had fallen

⁷³ Minutes of the founders of the Church Missionary Society 18/3/1799 in C.M.S.A.

⁷⁴ Venn, 1841 in Warren, 1971, p. 60

⁷⁵ Josiah Pratt in Panoplist and Missionary Magazine 13, 1817, pp279-285, quoted in Shenk, 1985,

into abeyance with the rapid growth of missionary work in the decade before Venn assumed office in 1841.

In the 1840's and 1850's there was a major debate within the Church of England over the role of missionary bishops. The initiative in this debate came from the Tractarians and their successors, most notably Bishop Samuel Wilberforce. Their argument was that in primitive times bishops were primary agents of evangelisation and were an essential component of a necessary church order and thus were fundamental to the success of mission.⁷⁶ In the face of this argument Venn defended the traditional evangelical position that bishops should follow and not anticipate evangelisation. Hugh Stowell had made this point at the C.M.S. anniversary sermon of 1841.⁷⁷ The Church Missionary Intelligencer of 1858 argued on New Testament grounds that the evangelisation of Antioch took place without episcopal involvement. The debate with Wilberforce was a distraction for Venn from what he considered to be the main issue, which was the development of an indigenous ministry out of which would grow a contextually appropriate episcopate. It was characteristic of Venn in the period before the 1860's that he adopted a very cautious approach to the question of an indigenous episcopate. Four times in the 1850's there arose a vacancy for a bishop in Sierra Leone. Each time he was advised to appoint the African cleric Samuel Adjai Crowther, and each time he resisted.⁷⁸ He was unwilling to impose an African bishop upon a mixed church of Europeans, both settlers and clergy, and Africans. He was not interested in an African bishop *per se*, but he was interested in the development of an indigenous ministry from which an African or Indian episcopal candidate would emerge. He was insistent that the organisation of a church must be on the basis of adequate financial support and that a bishop should not be artificially imposed.

Venn's conservative frame of mind was also in evidence when the Bishop of Madras suggested in 1854 that he ordain to the diaconate two Indian catechists. But the Bishop added that he would be

p. 33

⁷⁶ C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 13

⁷⁷ *ibid*, p. 14

⁷⁸ *ibid*, p. 11. These advisers included Hugh Stowell, Archbishop Sumner, Henry Labouchere and the Record.

unwilling to ordain them to the priesthood without their learning the English language in order to be able to read appropriate theological literature. Venn rejected this course of action on the grounds that it would be "tantamount to acquiescence in a perpetual diaconate", and that there were "insuperable objections" within the constitution of the Anglican Church to retaining anyone in deacon's orders who had performed the office well.⁷⁹ If it was not expected that he perform the office well, he should not be ordained deacon! This episode illustrates Venn's typically cautious mind during the 1850's regarding any departure from accepted Anglican practice.

Venn drew a clear distinction between the work of pastoral ministry and that of evangelisation; it was the latter which was the traditional and particular concern of C.M.S. However, he also recognised frankly that in no way could European and American missionaries be responsible for world evangelisation. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the C.M.S. mission in Sierra Leone Venn wrote to encourage the church there to take responsibility for the evangelisation of the peoples living nearby.⁸⁰ Thus Venn extended the original vision of C.M.S. to become a catalyst and training agency for evangelisation. Venn considered that the work of missionaries was twofold: one concerned basic evangelism among non-Christians and the training of indigenous catechists, the other was the training of the converts to take increasing responsibility for a well-integrated church.

While it was always the case that Venn had the highest regard for the C.M.S. tradition and that before 1860 his activities and thinking are best understood in reactive terms and the development of traditional C.M.S. concerns, after 1860 he became more willing to take more radical initiatives. He was moving towards retirement and becoming increasingly aware of the missionaries' general dislike of the direction that he was promoting.⁸¹ It had become ever more clear that the problem was the creation of dependency on the part of the indigenous Christians and that the missionaries were frequently part of the problem and not working towards an adequate resolution. So there was

⁷⁹ Venn to the Bishop of Madras, 1854 in W. Knight, *Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn*, 1880 p. 435

⁸⁰ Venn, 1866, in Warren, 1971 pp. 73

⁸¹ C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 22

evidence in the 1860's of Venn's mind moving in a more radical direction. He appeared to be more willing to take risks in order to reach his desired end of an integrated indigenous church.

This was clearly the case with regard to the consecration of Crowther as bishop in the Niger in 1864. In June 1864 Samuel Adjai Crowther was consecrated Bishop of West Africa Beyond the British Territories, the first African Anglican Bishop. The details of his appointment and the course of his episcopate have been chronicled elsewhere.⁸² Crowther's appointment has been criticised on the straightforward ground that the area of his jurisdiction did not begin to approach the criteria of self-support, self-government and self-extension which Venn had himself set out as the necessary prelude to an indigenous episcopate. Indeed the diocese was not precisely defined. But C.P. Williams has mounted a reasoned defence that Venn was not as far from his principles as appeared at first sight.⁸³ Crowther was the obvious episcopal candidate for Yoruba, but the European missionaries under the leadership of Townsend were not ready to countenance his appointment as their Bishop. Crowther himself was unwilling to have his jurisdiction imposed on reluctant missionaries. On the other hand Crowther was the outstanding African candidate for episcopacy and Venn had the opportunity to face up to those who opposed any African appointment. In Britain the humanitarian lobby favoured Crowther. Venn was confident in Crowther's personal abilities as a reconciler. At the time of his appointment the churches of Yoruba were under the jurisdiction of Bishop Beckles of Sierra Leone whose care was nominal. Crowther lived in Lagos, and Venn hoped that the churches of Yoruba would gradually opt to come under his jurisdiction while the missionaries remained under Beckles. While these points may be granted, nevertheless Crowther's appointment was more open-ended than proved wise and he lacked the structure of support which might have made the arrangement work.⁸⁴ It is undeniable that Crowther's appointment was a risk. Venn had a profound trust in the maturity and

⁸² See Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, 1994 pp. 343-358, E.A. Ayendele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria*, 1967, passim. P.Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever, *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission*, 1964, pp.65-73

⁸³ C P Williams, 1990, pp 31-32

⁸⁴ Warren's suggestion that Venn had no direct acquaintance with West Africa is an attempt at mitigation, which fails to convince. Warren, 1971, p 30.

potential of the African church, but he was unable to authenticate this from experience. By 1864 he was aware that retirement was not distant and he felt that it was worth taking the risk in order to vindicate the principle. It was not that he promoted Crowther's appointment with the primary object of justifying his own beliefs, but because he was convinced that the consecration of Crowther would point the right way forward for the benefit of the African church.

A second instance also illustrates Venn's more radical thinking in the later stages of his secretariat. In 1866 he proposed to divide the see of Victoria (Hong Kong) so that the mission in Ningpo would have separate episcopal jurisdiction. Venn wanted a consecration under the Jerusalem Act⁸⁵ whereby the new bishop would have responsibility for the indigenous church but not for the European missionaries. Venn had moved to the position of advocating that the indigenous church should develop its own structure independently of the missionaries. Archbishop Longley refused this course. But it shows in Venn's thinking that towards the end of his secretariat a discernible move towards an advocacy of what was in effect a racial bishop. This thinking arose in the context of China, where Venn was aware of a great deal of opposition to foreign domination, but the same principle could also apply to India and Sierra Leone. Here Venn thought that if the indigenous church could finance itself better, it would point to the establishment of a separate Church organisation of its own.⁸⁶ This theory was based on Venn's deep conviction about the ability of the non-European church. Williams writes: "He accepted racial distinctiveness as a means of preventing paternalistic domination which he so greatly abhorred."⁸⁷ That in the case of Ningpo it did not come to fruition was because of opposition in England as well as among missionaries coupled with the fact that Venn was nearing retirement.

⁸⁵ Bishops under the Jerusalem Act had jurisdiction within certain defined territorial areas, but only over those who elected to accept it. C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 48n.

⁸⁶ C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 44

⁸⁷ *ibid*, p. 34

As the chief administrator of C.M.S. it was Venn's task to translate his insights and principles into a working model of a maturing Church. His ideas were formulated in a series of key papers issued in 1851, 1861 and 1866.⁸⁸

His 1851 "Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers" began with the distinction between the offices of the Missionary, whose function was to preach to the non-Christians and instruct inquirers and recent converts, and the Pastor, whose task was ministry to the settled congregation of indigenous Christian believers. As soon as settled congregations were formed, the pastoral work should be "devolved upon native teachers, under the missionary's superintendence."⁸⁹ Able teachers should be appointed to the office of Catechist, and from these men some should be chosen for ordination to become pastors of a specified congregation or district and only exceptionally for direct evangelistic work. The basis of their selection for ordination should be the recognition of their work as catechists rather than their having received a college-based European education. The training should be Bible teaching in the vernacular language. Indigenous pastors remained part of the "native church" and should be paid by the church, but as a temporary measure Venn allowed that C.M.S. should continue to pay a catechist's salary to those ordained until the church could build up a sufficient general fund. The "native pastors" would remain under the superintendence of a missionary as long as the district remained a missionary district. The Minute concluded:

"Regarding 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, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and location of native pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, 'the euthanasia of a mission' takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission

⁸⁸ These Minutes were reprinted in the Appendix of Knight, 1880, pp. 412-425

⁸⁹ Venn, 1851 in Knight, 1880 p. 412

passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to 'the regions beyond'.⁹⁰

This 1851 Paper presented a significant model for the transition to a church with the crucial recognition that the missionary apparatus was essentially temporary. The initial requirements for the implementation of the policy were reasonably clear. Venn's concern was also clear that the indigenous leadership of the church should be culturally integrated within the country. However, there were a number of shortcomings apparent within the paper together with some questions about the realistic chances of the programme's adoption by many of the C.M.S. missionaries. Venn's distinction between the Missionary and the Pastor has been severely criticised,⁹¹ for having little foundation in the New Testament. But whereas this criticism may itself be challenged, Venn did fail to apportion one of the most significant requirements of a young church clearly to the missionary and that is the training of indigenous leadership. The distinction drawn by Venn was static and this sits uncomfortably with the more dynamic relationship he was looking to draw in the development of an indigenous church. One would further question whether those ordained were better suited to the work of pastoral care than work that is more directly evangelistic. The mechanisms to achieve financial self-support were not clearly given and the assumption that the transfer of missions to a more settled ecclesiastical existence would be as straightforward as implied in the final paragraph was hardly borne out by events. The model envisaged the development of a hierarchy with a missionary at the apex and assumed that the missionary would be willing to relinquish this position without firm guidelines to indicate when the appropriate moment had come. Venn gave considerable responsibility to the missionaries to operate this programme, but their reluctance to do so became apparent through the 1850's and prompted Venn's second paper of 1861.

⁹⁰ Venn, 1851 in Knight, 1880, pp. 413-414

⁹¹ Not least by Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 1964 p. 260

The objective of the second paper was to draw attention to the principles outlined in the 1851 Minute and to urge their adoption. In doing so Venn clarified some of the issues raised. He described the basic work of the missionary as twofold: the evangelistic task as in 1851 and relating to "Itinerating" missionaries, and the training of converts and their formation into a "Native Christian Church" which was primarily the work of "Station" missionaries. The 1861 paper related specifically to the work of the latter, beginning with an analysis of the current "Station" system in which the missionary gradually increases his workload and responsibility in charge of the work.⁹² The result for the missionary was that he is deflected from his main task. The converts become "dependent upon a foreign Mission rather than members of a native Church."⁹³ C.M.S. faces rising costs in its oldest missions and becomes engaged in serving nominal Christians rather than extending into new regions. Venn noted that success in avoiding these problems was found more by other denominations and surmised that Anglican clergy were "not prepared for the question of Church organisation." Venn continued by laying down four basic principles to effect improvement:

- i) Converts should be trained from the earliest possible stage in self-government and contributing to the support of their own teachers.
- ii) A Native Church Fund should be established for each assigned missionary district; any grants from the Mission Body must be diminished as local contributions increase.
- iii) Indigenous teachers should be divided into two classes: those who are assistants to the missionary in direct evangelistic work who are paid by the Society; and those who are employed in pastoral work among the Christians who are to be paid from the Native Church Fund.
- iv) All arrangements made in the mission should from the outset have reference to the ultimate "settlement of the native Church upon the ecclesiastical basis of an indigenous episcopate, independent of foreign aid or superintendence."⁹⁴

⁹² Venn's analysis was echoed later by Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods*, 1912, pp. 164ff

⁹³ Venn, 1861 in Knight, 1880 p.415

⁹⁴ *ibid* p.417

Venn followed this by giving some practical suggestions as to how these four principles might be carried out. The converts should be formed into *Christian companies*, a term Venn borrowed from Acts 4:23, one of whom should be chosen as an elder or *Christian Headman* who would meet monthly with the missionary. Venn identified a number of steps, which would mark progress towards recognition as an independent Church. Congregations would be formed from the companies who would pay a teacher. Secondly, a *Native Pastorate* would be formed from one or more congregation, whose pastor would be paid from the *Native Church Fund*. While this Fund was managed by the missionary society, the pastors remained under the supervision of a missionary. Venn used the analogy of curates with a non-residential incumbent. The third step would be the formation of a *District Conference* consisting of pastors and lay delegates from each of the congregations together with the European missionaries of the district. These conferences would consult over "native Church affairs". When a district of sufficient size was formed there would be no further need of any foreign agency and the district would be fully prepared for a native episcopate.

Venn did not intend this to be taken as a blueprint in each detail, but he presented it as a model of the four principles outlined previously. What was important for him was that the development should be *upwards* and not imposed from above. Venn recognised that in older missions the change from a model of dependence that had grown had to be very gradual to avoid unnecessary damage to the church. But he insisted that this model was appropriate for new missions.

The Second Paper provided no radical changes from the first, but rather elucidated some of the points which had required clarification, such as the role of the missionary in the development of the church and the steps by which progress could be marked. As with the 1851 Paper, Venn gave few details about the latter end of the process; the transition from districts to independent episcopate was demanding of more attention than a simple paragraph could provide.

The object of the 1866 paper was to record the progress that had been made towards indigenous church organisation and to give some more practical measures that could be adopted. Venn began with a review of what had transpired in Sierra Leone and Tinnevely; the bulk of the paper dealt with the subject of the formation of a "Native Church Fund" clearly distinct from C.M.S. funds. Venn commended the system from Sierra Leone where a Church Council, comprising both Europeans and Africans, administered the fund. The point was reiterated that where C.M.S. contributed any grants to this fund and where there remained a missionary in the district, the treasurership and the ultimate control of the fund was held by C.M.S.. While the district was a missionary district the chairman of the Council would be a missionary or a C.M.S. appointee. A "Native Church Council" should be organised where there were three or more congregations under indigenous pastors, and would consist of the chairman and two of his nominees, three indigenous pastors appointed by the pastors and three indigenous laymen chosen by the congregations. The Council's work would be general superintendence and consultation over the church. Venn argued that the establishment of such a fund would have benefits not only for the limited resources of C.M.S., but would provide practical training in church administration and offer non-Christians "a visible and convincing proof of the reality and stability of native Christianity."⁹⁵ The paper continued to provide guidelines of appropriate steps towards the appointment of an indigenous bishop. Venn suggested that the Bishop should appoint a "Native minister" as his Commissary as a preparation for the appointment in time of a "native Suffragan Bishop". Then the paper amended a possible reading of the 1851 minute that an ordained indigenous minister could be appointed to the missionary staff, with the implication that he be paid accordingly. The experience to which Venn alluded in Sierra Leone had shown that this was not an appropriate way forward, but that these clerics would find their rightful place within the organisation of the indigenous church. Finally Venn argued that the primary purpose of the "Native Church Fund" was to provide pastoral support for the church and conceded that C.M.S. could continue to give grant aid to vernacular schools until the funds were sufficient, and that Anglo-vernacular schools and boarding-schools were regarded as part of the missionary work and thus funded by C.M.S..

⁹⁵ Venn, 1866 in Knight, 1880, p 424

The 1866 paper answered the question left unclear in 1851 about the practical steps towards ecclesiastical independence. The inclusion of the steps of appointing a commissary and a Suffragan in advance of a diocesan suggests that the process of maturing into an independent church was more long-term than had been envisaged in 1851. The 1861 paper also was more an example of reflective learning than either of the previous papers. By 1866 Venn had the developing models from Sierra Leone and Tinnevely which brought to the fore issues which had not been apparent in 1851. It is quite noticeable that a much higher profile was given in 1866 to the financial dimension in the development of the church as a measurable indicator of independence and control.

In his letter to the Philippians Paul was particularly concerned to argue that his acceptance of the gift from Philippi did not in any way imply his dependence on the church, and his care in handling the issue indicated the sensitivity of the financial agenda. Venn was working in a very different context, but he was equally aware of these two fundamental principles applying to the *koinonia* between C.M.S. and the churches of Africa and Asia springing from its work.

There were a number of dimensions in Venn's advocacy of the development of financial independence⁹⁶ on the part of the emerging churches. He interpreted the financial crises experienced by C.M.S. in 1841 and 1855 within a providential framework as God's sign not only that the mission should review its expenditure, but it should take active measures to encourage indigenous Christians to take more responsibility for the financial burdens of the church. Secondly he related this financial development specifically to the provision for ministry, primarily ordained but also lay. He did not consider financial self-support as an end in itself, but as a means towards the achievement of the desirable end of an indigenous ministry. This relationship to the development of the ordained ministry is important because it was precisely in those fields such as Sierra Leone and south India where there was significant opportunity to develop an indigenous ministry that Venn pushed hardest

⁹⁶ This term is more appropriate than "self-support" here because of the latter term's *slogan* value.

for increasing financial responsibility on the part of the local church. But it was precisely in these areas that the church had grown accustomed to receiving financial support from C.M.S. and Venn knew that it was not feasible to introduce financial independence at a stroke, but it had to be introduced over a period of time. Further Venn considered financial matters to have spiritual significance inasmuch as the readiness to shoulder responsibility was a sign of a growing maturity in a Christian community. Venn was also constantly battling with the tendency among missionaries to want to keep the Christian communities in a state of dependence on themselves, and their retaining control of the finances of a mission station was a common means of exercising power over the development of the local church. By urging the missionaries to develop the financial capabilities and responsibilities of the indigenous Christians, Venn was encouraging a different attitude on the part of the missionaries away from cultivating a dependence mentality on the part of the local church.

Venn's objective in moving churches towards increasing their financial independence is illustrated with regard to the Jubilee Fund raised in 1848, one of the express objects of which was the establishment of a fund to assist churches in south India and Ceylon to support their own ministers and institutions. This money was to be used on the basis of matching funding into an endowment fund run by C.M.S. to encourage local giving. In 1866 this process was amended because Venn felt that the local church should contribute to the present maintenance of the ministry rather than to endowments. Venn considered that it was the opportune moment to move from the phase where C.M.S. supported indigenous ministry with the aid of local contributions to a second phase whereby the ministry was paid from a "Native Church Fund" which was largely sustained by local contributions with C.M.S. providing grants when necessary and expedient. These grants would be made for extraordinary needs and the management of these grants would remain in C.M.S. hands. Venn saw this process of the local church increasing its own financial responsibility as an integral part of the whole maturing process alongside the development of the ordained ministry and the development of appropriate structures for local decision-making. But it was clear that Venn expected that where C.M.S. money was to be used, the Society would retain ultimate control of its use. While

Venn actively encouraged the indigenous church to take financial responsibility with its own funds, he was not willing to hand over control of C.M.S. funds or grants. Williams⁹⁷ links this to "Victorian financial rectitude", but two additional comments may be made. There is no indication that the 1866 Minute was anything more than the next phase in the maturing of the church. It is quite possible that Venn envisioned a further stage when decision-making related to grants could be handed over to the church or even a fourth stage when grants themselves would be unnecessary. Secondly, it is in practice immensely difficult to achieve a satisfactory relationship between a donor and a recipient such that sensitivities over dependence and accountability are both adequately considered.

Re-Assessment of Venn

In 1865 Venn reviewed the previous twenty years of C.M.S. work and noted what he considered the most significant features of this story.⁹⁸ The first was the spatial expansion, the pattern of which was to send missionaries to strategically important locations to open up areas for evangelisation. A second feature was the development of self-support particularly in Sierra Leone and Tinnevely. Thirdly Venn noted the development of "native ministry" culminating in the recent consecration of Crowther. Fourthly Venn noted a growing public acceptance of the missionary enterprise within the indigenous populations and secondarily among British colonial administrators.

Venn was a typical evangelical of his time in that he saw the Christian faith as primarily a matter of an individual's relationship with Jesus Christ, which was reflected in personal qualities of Christ-likeness. Missionaries had a prime responsibility to model these qualities. Naturally they found themselves in powerful positions of leadership in their spheres of work, and like Paul, Venn identified humility as a key quality to be sought in Church leaders and supremely in the missionaries themselves. Love was worked out as humility and prayerfulness.⁹⁹ Venn reminded missionaries that

⁹⁷ C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 24

⁹⁸ Venn, 1865, in Warren, 1971, pp 117-130

⁹⁹ Venn: Instructions to Missionaries 1865 in Knight, 1880, p.459

they should be guided by Paul's humble attitude before the arrogance of the Corinthian church leaders.¹⁰⁰ He knew that a deliberate cultivation of humility on the part of missionaries was essential if the indigenous church was to be allowed space to mature. However, Venn rejected the more radical kind of incarnational identification with people of other cultures which was promoted by Hudson Taylor et al.¹⁰¹ Venn felt that this kind of thinking confused the missionary's role which was the establishment of a properly functioning indigenous church and then departure. The foreign missionary was always an "exotic", and towards the end of his secretariat Venn emphasised that the "proper position of a missionary is one external to the native church".¹⁰² Nevertheless, although he rejected complete identification on the part of the missionary as neither possible nor desirable, Venn insisted on the need for all missionaries to become completely familiar with the language of the people to whom they went. In missionary work he set as priorities the establishment of orthography, where one did not exist, the development of elementary reading material in the vernacular and Bible translation. This demand represented more than a pragmatic recognition of the value of the vernacular for evangelisation. Elsewhere Venn instructed missionaries to "study the national character of the people among whom you labour and show the utmost respect for national peculiarities."¹⁰³ He further argued that the church should be recognised as a national institution. The distinct possibility that a person should become less authentic in his cultural environment through becoming a Christian was anathema to Venn. He allowed in principle that the adaptation of the liturgy and form of the Anglican Church to the context was permissible on the basis of Article XXXIV, but in practice this was not promoted and Venn considered it to be for future reference. In practical terms Venn found it very hard to accept that in any regard the Prayer-Book could be improved upon. His concern that the church should be contextually appropriate stood in unresolved tension with other demands such as

¹⁰⁰ Venn: Instructions to Missionaries 1860 in Knight, 1880, p. 285

¹⁰¹ Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) was the founder of the China Inland Mission and advocated, *inter alia*, faith missions and "native dress" and simple living for missionaries. See H. and G. Taylor: Hudson Taylor Vols. I and II, 1911

¹⁰² Knight, 1880, p. 287

¹⁰³ Venn: Instructions to Missionaries 1868 in C.M.I. 1868 pp. 316-320

Venn's condemnation of polygamy as totally incompatible with Biblical teaching. Venn offered no framework for the resolution of such tensions.

One aspect of Venn's relationship with the missionaries, which might be overlooked, is the respect in which he held them. He was aware of the cost of missionary service and the number of deaths among missionaries and he respected them accordingly. By no means all of his correspondence dealt with problems. Often he wrote simply to encourage a missionary that he was not forgotten.

It was not uncommon for missionaries to be very critical of what they perceived to be the moral failures of Christian converts. This was particularly significant because it provided the excuse for some missionaries' reluctance to allow the exercise of greater responsibility on the part of the church. Venn analysed the situation differently. While he sympathised with the missionaries who wrote of their disappointment with the morals of converts, his comment was that spiritual progress would be more evident when there would be a larger number of Christians from a wider social background and including more Christian mothers. He continued: "while a few scattered converts are living amongst the heathen in an artificial state of dependence upon Christian Europeans, I think we must not be surprised at the weakness and often the hypocrisy which manifests itself."¹⁰⁴ In a similar vein Venn was sanguine about nominal Christianity which he considered inevitable in any case in a church which practised the baptism of children.¹⁰⁵ He argued that some weakness was unavoidable in young churches that did not have the benefit of being in a culture which had been deeply permeated over many centuries by the Christian faith. Where he differed from much missionary analysis was in his rejection of the idea that some failures meant that European superintendence should be retained or in some cases reintroduced.¹⁰⁶ The answer to moral weakness was not the creation of any dependence, and there was value in the struggle of a church towards greater Christ-likeness without over-reliance on representatives of a church with a different cultural inheritance. Venn was more realistic than

¹⁰⁴ Venn, 1854, in Warren, 1971, p. 63

¹⁰⁵ Venn, 1859, in C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 39

¹⁰⁶ Venn to Crowther, 1865 in C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 39

many missionaries in his frank recognition that when Christian converts are given space and independence to mature, there will be occasions of weakness and failure. But like the apostle Paul, Venn retained his greater strictures for those in positions of leadership, mostly the missionaries.

It has been proposed that the apogee of evangelicalism in Victorian Britain was around the year 1850.¹⁰⁷ Thereafter evangelicalism displayed an increasingly defensive character with respect of matters ecclesiological and social. Evangelical speakers and writers were more immediately recognised within society by what they opposed than for positive proposals.¹⁰⁸ Evangelical defensiveness was also shown in the tendency to retreat into the traditional area of strength in a concern for personal conversion. Pietism and a premillennial eschatology, both of which were pessimistic about Christian involvement in political and social issues in favour of concentration upon the salvation of individual souls, came into evangelical favour. The period after 1850 similarly saw the development of more liberal Christian concerns for social betterment influenced by F. D. Maurice among others. The more holistic vision which held together the concerns for personal conversion together with an informed social conscience and activity of the early Eclectics and adopted by the Clapham group was proving hard to maintain in the face of contemporary trends both within evangelicalism and the wider Christian constituency. Venn's spirituality and theological outlook was shaped by the pattern of the Eclectics and the Clapham group, and this appeared increasingly old-fashioned through his lifetime. His was a spirituality that was essentially characterised by hopefulness about the prospects of world evangelisation and the development of independent churches in the "mission field". There could be no doubt about his personal passion for Jesus Christ. There is no exaggeration in the statement that "How to apply this gospel to himself and how to apply it in his life and how to make others aware of their need for the same application was the guiding star of all his thinking and of all his actions."¹⁰⁹ Venn's evangelical commitment was the unquestioning mainspring of his work.

¹⁰⁷ D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1989, p. 107

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.* p. 132ff

¹⁰⁹ Warren, 1971, p.19

Venn was very conscious of his responsibility for the implementation of a tradition of mission that he had inherited from his predecessors within C.M.S. He believed that the Holy Spirit had guided this tradition and he saw no need for radical restructuring of this tradition. After 1860 the spirit of evangelical defensiveness noted briefly with reference to Britain was becoming apparent among the C.M.S. missionaries who were generally reluctant to implement the policies emanating from London. Their defensiveness made Venn's initiatives with the appointment of Crowther and his proposal for the Ningpo bishopric appear more innovatory than a consideration of Venn's rather conservative frame of mind might suggest. Venn continued to work within what he considered to be the authentic C.M.S. tradition. His concern was the creative application of the principles that were established by the founding fathers of the society.

Venn's conservatism was also apparent in his positive and unquestioning embrace of the establishment of the Anglican Church. The fact that he came from a dominant and expansive political power was seen by him to provide the opportunity for wider evangelisation. He never showed any awareness of a possible discrepancy between his passionate concern that indigenous churches should be hastened towards independence with his passive acceptance of the political realities of British expansionist policies. On the other hand his faith in the ability of African and Asian Christians to take full responsibility for their church was a faith which had wider implications in the political and social context. In the longer term this latter point was to carry more significance.

It is remarkable that Venn never spent any time in Africa or Asia with which he was so deeply concerned. The model of his own missionary involvement was not incarnational. This provided the problem for Venn that missionaries were able to fall back on the argument that either Venn failed to understand the peculiarities of their own situation, or that there were particular reasons in their sphere of work why the implementation of policies proposed in London would have to be postponed until circumstances were more favourably disposed. However, our Biblical study indicated that the

incarnational is not the only valid model of Christian mission. The Pauline model represented in the letter to the Philippians more accurately describes Venn's secretariat during which he was able to describe from a physical and cultural distance those principles to be implemented as appropriate means towards the maturation of a Christian community. Venn was wholly aware of the great responsibility upon those in Africa and Asia, both European and indigenous, for the imaginative implementation of the policies from Salisbury Square in London.

Venn is widely and justly recognised as one of the central figures of the development of missiological practice and thinking in the nineteenth century. But it is important that he be not isolated from the context within which he operated and that full weight be given to his own perception of his work as the implementation of an evangelical tradition of mission, the foundations and basic framework of which had been provided by his predecessors within C.M.S. His was the achievement of a careful, firm and imaginative implementation of a mission tradition.

CHAPTER FIVE

TUCKER - INTRODUCTION

A. Introduction to Tucker

Alfred Robert Tucker was born on April 1st 1849; his parents were both landscape artists based in the Lake District of England.¹ Tucker's education was interrupted by frequent moves and he finished his schooling at the age of thirteen, before he settled with his parents in the Westmorland valley of Langdale. He took up the family tradition of painting and developed a reputation also as a local sportsman and fell walker. His first major success was when the Royal Academy accepted the painting 'Homeless' that Tucker painted under the pseudonym of A. Maile in 1874. Tucker's mother had a Quaker background; his father was an Anglican, but neither parent participated actively in any Christian church. Tucker himself, however, became a local Sunday-school teacher and established and maintained a temperance society in the community. In May 1877 Tucker became engaged to Josephine Sim, whose family had moved from London to Langdale in 1874.

In 1878 Tucker toured Warwick and Oxford with his paintings that were selling well. In Oxford he was introduced to Canon Alfred Christopher (1820-1913), the Rector of St Aldate's. He decided with the encouragement of his fiancée to study in preparation for ordination in spite of opposition from his father and brothers, and in the autumn successfully matriculated as a non-collegiate student and took lodgings in the city.² In 1881 Tucker was attached to Christ Church by an arrangement made by Christopher. He graduated in 1882 with a Pass degree. He was invited to remain for a year in Oxford to gain an Honours degree, but he would not keep Josephine waiting longer and married her in October.³

¹ Biographical detail for Tucker's early life can only be found in A. P. Shepherd, Tucker of Uganda: Artist and Apostle 1849-1914 London 1929

² Non-collegiate status began in 1869 and later developed to become St Catherine's Society and then a College. It was a special arrangement whereby poorer students could study at the university; it was partly intended to encourage Oxford residents to matriculate.

At Oxford Tucker requested baptism and following instruction from John English, a curate at St Aldate's, he was baptised by Christopher in 1879. He became a regular attender at the Saturday evening Bible expositions at St Aldate's organised by Christopher. He also became a helper at the open-air services at the Martyrs' Memorial organised by Henry Bazeley, one-time curate at St Aldate's. Tucker was then given an area in the parish, which he visited in his spare-time. In due course the Bishop of Oxford confirmed him.

Tucker's grounding in an evangelical Anglican faith took place in Oxford; so it is worth investigating the nature of evangelicalism in Oxford particularly in comparison with Cambridge, whence many more C.M.S. missionaries were drawn at the end of the nineteenth century. By 1880 evangelicalism in Oxford was largely parish-based and the key character was undoubtedly Canon Alfred Christopher at St Aldate's. There were far fewer sons of evangelical families at Oxford compared with Cambridge. The thrust of Christopher's ministry among Oxford undergraduates was evangelistic followed by basic evangelical teaching. The presence of more experienced and self-confident young evangelicals in Cambridge was a major factor in understanding why Cambridge was more receptive to new trends in evangelicalism after 1870. The impact of the new holiness teaching propounded initially by the American couple Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith and which gave rise to what became known as the Keswick movement was considerable in Cambridge. This was paralleled in missiological thinking by the pioneering work of Hudson Taylor in the China Inland Mission (C.I.M.) founded in 1865. Taylor argued that just as human effort must be abandoned in the pursuit of holiness in favour of resting in God, so human means must be laid aside for faith in Christian mission.⁴ Taylor rejected the careful administration of mission from Europe as for instance represented by Venn, advocating the principle of having the locus of authority in the field rather than in London. He further taught a radical incarnationalism of a minimal standard of living and of identifying with the people by wearing indigenous dress. He argued that missions should trust in God's protection and not in that of secular authorities. Underlying this was Taylor's direct sense of God's providence overruling all

³It was only richer students or those who showed particular academic prowess who were invited to continue for Honours. Tucker obviously fell into the latter category.

human considerations, leading to a tendency to minimise natural criteria and gifts in assessing calls. Taylor held a premillennial eschatology with the need to preach and save souls while there remains time.⁵ This gave an absolute priority to evangelism over any involvement in social amelioration. The C.I.M. message received a major impetus in Cambridge in 1885 when seven upper middle-class graduates went to China in a much-publicised group which became known as the Cambridge Seven.⁶

However, those who influenced Tucker at Oxford were more representative of an older tradition of evangelicalism as seen in Venn. Tucker was introduced to Christopher in the first place by Henry Bazeley, a keen evangelist who was also a high Calvinist and totally opposed to any pietist approach to holiness such as that represented by the Pearsall Smiths and Hudson Taylor. Bazeley had a short spell as a curate at St Aldate's before he left the Anglican Church for the Presbyterians.⁷ Nevertheless Christopher retained a warm affection for him which was reciprocated at the personal level. It was Bazeley who involved Tucker in open-air evangelism at the Martyrs' Memorial.

Christopher himself had been a student at Cambridge, although he was not a committed Christian at the time. He was ordained in 1850 to a title in Richmond where he became friendly with Henry Venn. In 1855 at the invitation of Venn he became the C.M.S. Association Secretary for the "western district" of England, and when in 1859 he was offered the living of St Aldate's, Venn advised that he should take it. Christopher retained his C.M.S. connections acting as Secretary of the Oxford Association, from 1861 until 1907. He invited prominent missionaries to come and speak to groups of undergraduates, an action which evolved into the "missionary breakfasts" the inauguration of which he dated to 1877. Tucker attended these regularly which exposed him to the wider missionary world. He joined Bishop French's Oxford Missionary Association of Graduates.

⁴Bebbington, 1989, p.152

⁵ C. P. Williams, 1990, p.149

⁶ See J. C. Pollock, The Cambridge Seven, 1955

⁷J. S. Reynolds, 1967, pp. 188-190

The new holiness teaching divided evangelicals from the later 1870's. In 1877 J. C. Ryle published Holiness, setting out the traditional view with an introductory chapter containing a trenchant criticism of the newer view propounded by the Pearsall Smiths and Hudson Taylor. Ryle continued to preach at St Aldate's at the invitation of Christopher, whose own response to holiness teaching was more moderated. Christopher helped to organise a conference in Oxford in 1874 on the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness, and personally welcomed a new emphasis on the exercise of faith and prayer. His refusal to engage in polemics over this issue was characteristic of his catholicity. A similar generosity of spirit within the Protestant tradition was characteristic of both Venn in earlier times and of Tucker during his ministry in Africa.

In 1882 the Bishop of Gloucester ordained Tucker to a title in St Andrew-the-Less, Clifton in Bristol with the Revd Edward Hathaway (1818-1897). Hathaway had been the Rector at St Ebbe's in Oxford, 1868-1873. Formerly a barrister he was an austere old-fashioned evangelical who shared Bazeley's and Ryle's lack of sympathy with newer thinking on holiness. Hathaway became and remained Tucker's "confidant and adviser in all his deepest concerns".⁸ The fact that Tucker was to name his only son Hathaway suggests a depth of friendship and sympathy between the men. When Hathaway left Clifton in 1885 Tucker moved to a second curacy at St Nicholas' in Durham with the Revd Henry Elliott Fox. Tucker's new vicar was the son of the Henry Watson Fox, a widely respected C.M.S. missionary in India between 1831 and 1836. Fox had been Hathaway's curate at St Ebbe's, 1869-1873. He shared Hathaway's more conservative evangelical outlook though not his austerity.⁹ Both of Tucker's parishes were strong supporters of C.M.S. and both of his vicars were friends of Henry Venn and involved in the formal structures of the society.

As he moved to Durham, Tucker's thoughts were turning towards missionary work. In 1885 he wrote to Hathaway: "I have it in my heart to offer myself to the C.M.S. and specially if God should make

⁸J. S. Reynolds, 1967, pp. 188-190

⁹ Fox was a 'more genial version of Hathaway'. J. S. Reynolds, private communication.

the way clear for service in Africa."¹⁰ But when Tucker broached the subject with his father, he was severely shaken by the reaction and proceeded no further at that stage. However, in 1890 he wrote again to Hathaway: "I think I told you how strongly Mackay's appeal has come home to me. I have been waiting and working quietly for the last five years, wondering if ever the question would be reopened."¹¹ Tucker was still aware of the opposition of his father but felt that this was no longer insurmountable. He wrote an enquiring letter to Eugene Stock at C.M.S. This enquiry was taken as an offer of service, and in February 1890 the C.M.S. Africa committee resolved to invite Tucker to go to Eastern Equatorial Africa to lead the reinforcements for the Lake area and to request the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate Tucker as Bishop.¹² In his letter to Archbishop Benson, Wigram the Clerical Secretary of the society commended Tucker as a man who had taken charge of the parish during the lengthy absence of Fox as a C.M.S. representative in India. This was an extraordinary appointment for two reasons: there was the remarkable speed of the response to Tucker's inquiry, and the elevation of a curate to the episcopate was quite exceptional. Both may be understood to some degree by the context of C.M.S. having lost two bishops, Hannington and Parker, before either had even reached Buganda. Since Parker's death at least two men had turned down the invitation to go as Bishop in east Africa. C.M.S. were certainly keen not to miss the opportunity of finding a suitable candidate. Tucker was consecrated on April 25th 1890 at Lambeth Parish Church, and that same night he caught the ferry at Dover in order to make all speed to meet up with the rest of the C.M.S. party at Brindisi in Italy.

One may contrast the background of another of that party, George Pilkington (1865-1897), the son of a wealthy Anglo-Irish family.¹³ Educated at Uppingham, he went to Pembroke College in Cambridge as a Classics scholar in 1884, where he experienced an evangelical conversion. He threw himself into evangelism in Cambridge and joined a "Navy Mission" in Yorkshire in 1887. He graduated with a first-class degree; when a friend urged him to remain in Cambridge to study Theology, he argued that

¹⁰ Shepherd, Tucker of Uganda 1929, p. 29

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 30

¹² Resolution of the meeting of the C.M.S. Sub-committee of 25/2/1890 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P3/1890

¹³ C. F. Harford-Battersby, Pilkington of Uganda 1898, relates Pilkington's career in heroic fashion.

such academic study was unnecessary for the work of evangelism, citing Moody as his model. He applied to the China Inland Mission, but withdrew his application when his father urged him to wait for at least two more years. He spent 1887 occupied in evangelism with the Children's Special Service Mission (C.S.S.M.) before joining Bedford Grammar School as a Classics Master. In 1888 he met Douglas Hooper in Cambridge. Hooper was a C.M.S. missionary from east Africa. He agreed with G. W. Brooke and J. A. Robinson that the C.I.M. missionary methods were preferable to those traditionally favoured by C.M.S. Brooke and Robinson wanted to purge missionary work in the Niger region after what they considered to be the debacle of Crowther's episcopate, and then to restart work there along the favoured lines of the C.I.M.¹⁴ Hooper agreed with their analysis and proposals and wanted to gather a party who would apply the same principles in east Africa. He felt that the legacy of Mackay in Uganda was inimical to the cause of the Gospel, because Mackay had become embroiled in local politics and had failed to make a clear distinction between the work of evangelism and technological training. Pilkington heard Hooper and in spite of his thinking that the more spiritual men joined C.I.M., allowed himself to be persuaded along with Baskerville and Cotter to accept the invitation of the C.M.S. Africa Secretary F.E. Wigram to go to Uganda.

Pilkington was an idealistic and gifted man, highly influenced by the new pietist movement within evangelicalism. He accepted at this stage the rather odd mixture of belief in the superiority of the methods of the C.I.M. with the emphasis on faith alone together with a minimal appreciation of human talent and the belief that the future evangelisation of Africa depended to a large extent upon Cambridge-educated gentlemen. Tucker's path to the C.M.S. contrasts with that of Pilkington; clearly his background was much less privileged, his academic star less bright, but his wider experience and general maturity was apparent. He was also unlike Venn who had been born into the heartland of Anglican evangelicalism and in upper middle class privilege. Tucker grew into evangelical faith as a mature student in Oxford particularly through the influence of Christopher. But there were also similarities between Venn and Tucker; we have seen that Venn's theology and spirituality were

¹⁴ There is a considerable literature on this episode in Nigeria. See A. Hastings, The Church in Africa 1450-1950 pp. 388-392 and footnote 48 on p. 388 for a comprehensive bibliography.

characteristic of the evangelicalism of the early nineteenth century. Similarly the theology and spirituality of Christopher, Hathaway and Fox were regarded as old-fashioned evangelical in their day.

B. The Context in east Africa before 1890

The C.M.S. connection with east Africa began in 1844 with the arrival at Mombasa of Johann Ludwig Krapf, who was joined in 1846 by Johannes Rebmann. The significance of their work was twofold in terms of providing a foundation for church planting. They translated the New Testament into Swahili, having reduced the language to Roman script and worked on other African languages. Secondly, in response to Venn's encouragement to look beyond the coastal region, Krapf had a vision of a chain of mission stations extending from the east to the west. The mission station at Rabai Mpya just inland from Mombasa was seen as the first link in this chain. Beyond this, they travelled widely along the coast and into the hinterland opening the possibility of the extension of C.M.S. work into the interior. But a heavy toll of malaria meant that Krapf left east Africa in 1853. In 1864 Rebmann was joined by William Jones and his wife together with Ismael Semler, the first group in a series of freed slaves who had been taken to Bombay and educated there. It was from the ranks of these "Bombay Africans" and not from local Africans that the first mission agents were drawn. In the years before Tucker's arrival, there had been increasing tension between the Bombay Africans and the C.M.S. missionaries who were accused by them of behaving in a patronising manner. After 1873 the C.M.S. work at the coast was concentrated at a freed slave settlement which was established at Kisauni on the mainland opposite Mombasa island. This came to be known as Freretown. From 1874 the work was under the direction of W. S. Price, who built up a work of literacy and practical training. In 1885 Bishop Hannington made Jones and Semler deacon, the first ordained Africans in east Africa. So by 1890, the character of C.M.S. work at the coast was established around the mission settlement in Freretown, heavily dependent on the community of freed slaves.¹⁵ What African

¹⁵ R. M. Githige, "The Issue of Slavery: Relations between C.M.S. and the State on the East African Coast prior to 1895" *J.R.A.* 16 (1986) 209-225

leadership there was, lay in the hands of Bombay Africans, and there was considerable tension between these men and the European C.M.S. missionaries. No significant headway had been made in terms of the evangelisation of the interior nor among the majority Islamic population at the coast.

Tucker's work was to be focused much more on Uganda. To a greater extent than at the coast, the arrival of Christianity cannot be understood without reference to the wider context of geo-political and commercial contact with European and Arabic people. The story begins with Buganda the ancient kingdom to the north of Lake Victoria.¹⁶ In 1856 Kabaka (King) Mutesa began his reign and consolidated Buganda's position as the strongest power in the lacustrine region. He encouraged Arab and Swahili traders from the coast to trade with Buganda. They brought not only goods but also their religion of Islam. Between 1867 and 1876 Mutesa patronised Islam, but there was one major stumbling-block to Mutesa's full acceptance of Islam, the insistence of the Shaffi'r school on circumcision.¹⁷ Mutilation of the Kabaka was anathema among the Baganda. Mutesa's patronage of Islam was undermined by 1876 when the ambitions of Moslem Egypt became clear to incorporate the headwaters of the Nile into an extended Egyptian Empire. Further there was a visit of some Egyptians who criticised the court mosque and encouraged young Baganda Moslems to stricter observance of food laws. The subsequent disobedience of the Kabaka by some pages (*bagalagala*) led to the execution of about one hundred Moslems at Namugongo. Mutesa's personal interest in the religion did not extend to tolerance of any hint of political subversion.

In early 1875 Henry Morton Stanley arrived at Mutesa's court, and the explorer gathered the impression both that Mutesa was himself interested in the Christian faith and that Buganda would be an ideal centre for the evangelisation of a substantial part of Africa. His letter in the Daily Telegraph in November 1875 had a considerable romantic appeal and prompted a number of donations to C.M.S. to enable a mission to be sent.¹⁸ The first C.M.S. missionaries arrived at the court of Mutesa

¹⁶ So named, of course, by the British. The Baganda (people of Buganda) named it Nalubaale.

¹⁷ Kasozi, *The Spread of Islam in Uganda* 1986, p.26

¹⁸ In 1862 Speke had attempted to interest C.M.S. in sending a mission to Buganda, but he had been completely rebuffed. The fact that Stanley's credit was so much higher in Britain and that donations

in June 1877 to be followed in February 1879 by a party of French White Fathers. The modus operandi of both missions was set by Mutesa, who kept the missionaries at the court but within these parameters allowed them considerable freedom to lead worship, teach pages, and above all, debate the differences between the Catholic and the Protestant faith. The main protagonists in this rivalry were Alexander Mackay and Simeon Lourdel, and their confrontation unwittingly fitted very well into one traditional aspect of court life, the factionalism encouraged to some extent by Mutesa who was a consummate master of division and rule. The competition and zeal inspired by Mackay and Lourdel among the young pages was also a factor in the spread of Christian belief. Before he died in 1884 Mutesa had decided not to commit himself to any of the three varieties of monotheism on offer at his court.¹⁹ His successor Mwanga at eighteen years of age lacked his father's skill in balancing the factions which were themselves growing in self-confidence, and additionally he had to operate under increasing geo-political pressures from European powers.

In 1884 at the instigation of C.M.S. James Hannington was consecrated as the first Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. The precise area of his jurisdiction was left undefined towards the east and the north, but clearly Buganda was included and it was towards Buganda that Hannington was headed in October 1885 when he was intercepted on the orders of Mwanga and after a short delay killed. Hannington's choice of the route through Busoga was politically sensitive in the tense atmosphere of 1885 when the young Kabaka was attempting to impose his authority, because this route was considered as the back-door to Uganda. Two weeks later the Catholic Joseph Mukasa Balikuddembe was suddenly killed when he protested at the killing of Hannington. The C.M.S. missionaries at court were helpless. In May and June 1886 a large number of young men, both Catholic and Protestant, were killed, many at Namugongo.

were being sent to C.M.S. to fund a mission help to explain why C.M.S. were more prepared to respond in 1875 than earlier.

¹⁹ The demand for monogamy was as much an obstacle for the Christians as was circumcision for the Moslems.

There were a number of long-term effects of these events both within Uganda and within Europe. In anticipation of the possibility of persecution and expulsion of the missionaries, a Church Council was formed in 1885 consisting of twelve leading Protestant Christians to act as leaders of the young Church. This Council consisted of Nikodemu Sebwato, Zakariya Kisingiri, Paulo Bakungu, Sembera Mackay, Tomasi Senfuma, Isaya Mayanja, Nuwa Walukaga, Semu Bekokoto, Freddy Kizza, Henry Wright Duta, Samwiri Mukasa, and Mika Sematimba.²⁰ Many of these men were to play leading roles in the development of the church in Uganda. Within Uganda the credibility of Christianity was boosted considerably when it became apparent that many were willing to die with genuine faith in Christ. Within Buganda there were those in the court who recognised that the Kabaka's authority could be no more than relative. "The man who worships God is a threat to every other power which claims absolute authority."²¹ The killing of Ugandan Christians was not intended to eradicate the faith completely, but to subdue the political ambitions of the leaders. But in the event the Christians were not deprived of their most able leaders. They survived the events with a strengthened sense of purpose and mission and with a new commitment to pursue political and military power in order to ensure their future.²² The missionaries adopted a version of this thinking that the necessary security for the future of the church could only be provided by the "protection" of a European power. Within Europe itself, the death of Hannington and the Ugandan Christians was immediately interpreted in terms of martyrdom, evoking an intense interest in Uganda and according the romantic glow of missionary hero status to the major protagonists.²³ Furthermore while Mutesa had been understood in Europe as presented by Stanley to be an enlightened despot, Mwanga was henceforward portrayed as cruel and benighted with the implication that he had forfeited the legitimacy of independent government. Correspondingly Mwanga himself never shook off the suspicion that the Europeans were looking for an opportunity to avenge the death of Hannington.

²⁰ T. Tuma in Tuma and Mutibwa, ed., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda* 1978, p. 20

²¹ R. Holloway, *Let God Arise*, 1972, p. 147

²² K. Ward in Nthamburi, ed. *From Mission to Church* 1991, p. 81

²³ Within two years of his death a 450 page volume on Hannington was produced which closes: 'To us he has bequeathed the priceless legacy of a devoted life....so we are persuaded that others will be stirred by the recital of his gallant attempt, and his fall on the very ramparts of the fortress, to step forward and uplift the banner that has dropt from his uplift hands.' E. C. Dawson, *Bishop Hannington* 1887, pp 449-450

In 1888 Mwanga made a clumsy and abortive effort to get rid of all the leaders of the Moslem and Christian factions. In so doing this, he provoked a coup that deposed him and introduced a period of political turmoil and war within Buganda expressing the struggle between the Christian parties and the Moslems for supremacy. The traditionalists did not form a coherent and distinct political and military grouping. By 1890 the situation was that Mwanga had been restored as Kabaka at the behest of the Christian parties which were co-operating in an uneasy political alliance. The Moslem forces had retired to Bunyoro, but the threat of their return was sufficient to unite the Christian factions. In the meantime the Christian forces had spent some time in exile in Ankole. Their experiences since 1886 had only served to strengthen their resolve to seek and maintain political control and to increase their sense of mission and self-confidence. During the exile they prayed: "Oh Lord, if you made the return to our country possible, we would be more zealous in praising your name and obeying your wishes."²⁴ When they returned victorious in 1890, this was seen as an answer to prayer, which in turn obliged them to further the cause of Christianity in the land.

Meanwhile the wider geopolitical scene involving the European powers began to impinge ever more closely on Buganda. In early 1890 the German adventurer and imperialist Karl Peters sought the Kabaka's signature on a treaty in competition with Frederick Jackson of the Imperial British East Africa (I.B.E.A.) Company. But the matter was resolved in Europe. The British government had no direct ambition to claim Buganda in the late 1880's, but at the same time was totally unwilling to allow the headwaters of the Nile to fall by default into the hands of the Germans or the French.²⁵ So in July 1890 Britain signed the Heligoland Treaty with Germany in which, *inter alia*, Buganda was recognised as falling within the British "sphere of interest". It was left to the I.B.E.A. Company to give substance to this vague term. Captain Frederick Lugard was the Company's agent who marched

²⁴ Luganda: 'Ai Katonda wafe singa otuziza muni yafe, twa kayongede okunyikira okukutendereze erinyalyo nokukola byoyagala.' T. Tuma in Tuma and Mutibwa, ed. 1977, p.22

²⁵ For a foundational discussion of the convoluted manner in which control of the headwaters of the Nile came to be seen as essential in order to maintain access to India, see Robinson et al, Africa and the Victorians 1961

in 1890 to the Kabaka with a small force of Sudanese soldiers and a couple of maxim guns determined to do precisely that.

During the period of turmoil the C.M.S. missionaries fled not to Ankole with the Ugandan Christians but to the south of the lake. Alexander Mackay remained there until his death in February 1890. But Cyril Gordon²⁶ and Robert Walker who had come out to Uganda in 1888 returned to Buganda early in 1890 to meet once more with the Christian leaders home from their exile. The most significant Protestant missionary before 1890 in Uganda was undoubtedly Alexander Mackay (1849-1890). Mackay was a Scottish Presbyterian (Free Church) who trained as an engineer in Scotland and Germany before responding to Stanley's letter in the Daily Telegraph to offer his services to C.M.S. He arrived in Buganda in 1878 and was to remain in east Africa for twelve unbroken years until his death. Kabaka Mutesa regarded Mackay favourably for two reasons. His engineering skill and ability in ironwork was highly valued, and Mutesa admired his considerable dialectical skills in debate with Lourdel. Mackay's pugnacious anti-Catholicism was fuelled by the memory of his ancestors including some French Huguenots who had fled from persecution. Mackay was occupied by considerable attention to practical work and teaching skills to Baganda, including on occasions the repair of firearms. But he was also engaged significantly in translating and then printing Matthew's Gospel in Luganda, having decided that Swahili was not appropriate as the language of evangelisation in Buganda. His understanding of evangelisation encompassed the dimension of social justice and to this end he drew up for Mwanga a list of ten commandments which he considered necessary for a just rule:

1. King to receive all honour and regulated tribute settled in council.
2. All matters of importance - peace or war - to be settled by kings and chiefs in council.
3. No sentence of death to be passed on any man - free or bond - except in public court and by consent of the whole court.
4. Justice not to be sold. Capital punishment to be restricted to cases of murder only.

5. Executioners to be abolished. No cruelties or tortures to be tolerated.
6. No chief to be deprived of office except by common consent of council, and then only for grave offences. No poor man to be robbed, or apprehended but by law.
7. Selling of slaves to be absolutely forbidden. Any trader found taking women or slaves out of the country to have all his goods confiscated.
8. Raids for plunder either in country or against other tribes to cease. Wars to be waged only for just cause. On such expeditions only cattle to be taken. Men, women and children not to be taken out of their country.
9. No wounded or live prisoner of war to be put to death.
10. Perfect freedom of religion to be granted to all creeds. No one to be arrested for his belief, nor liberty of worship to be interfered with, either by king or chiefs.²⁷

In the wake of Hannington's death, the killing of Ugandan Christians and the subsequent struggles for political supremacy, Mackay was convinced of the need in these particular circumstances for the strong intervention of the I.B.E.A. Company. However, Mackay's attitude towards the European presence in Africa was itself considerably more ambivalent. In 1889 he wrote dryly, "In former years the universal aim was to steal the Africans from Africa. Today the determination of Europe is to steal Africa from the Africans."²⁸ Walker recorded that in 1889 Mackay was contacted by the Company, asking him to use his influence among chiefs to promote their interests.²⁹ Lang and Wigram reacted severely to warn Mackay that should he involve himself in the work of the Company in any way, he would be dismissed from C.M.S.³⁰ By 1889 the C.M.S. secretariat in London was re-evaluating the work in Uganda. The clear propensity of Ugandan Christians to fight and involve themselves in political struggles did not sit comfortably with the new evangelical piety then in vogue. In 1890 after

²⁶ A nephew of James Hannington; he came to east Africa in 1882

²⁷ In slightly different forms this list may be found in J. W. Harrison, *A. M. Mackay* 1890, p 271, and in Mackay to Lang, 28/12/1889 in G3/A5/O1890. Harrison's book suggests that Mackay gave this list to Mwanga early in his reign. The relatively late date of the communication with C.M.S. may imply that Mackay was hesitant about sending the copy.

²⁸ J. W. Harrison, 1890, pp. 450-451

²⁹ Walker to his father 11/8/1889 C.M.S.A Acc 88.74

³⁰ Lang and Wigram to Mackay 13/12/1889 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L5

Mackay's death, Walker read a letter to him from Stock complaining of the "unspiritual character of the letters from the Lake" and supposing that most of the Christians in Buganda were only nominal. Stock blamed the missionaries for allowing this to occur. However, Stock put his hope in the advent of Hooper and others of a similar ilk who would in his eyes more truly represent what he considered to be the principles of C.M.S.³¹

In 1886 the Revd Henry Parker who had been a C.M.S. missionary in India was consecrated as Hannington's successor. After six months in Frere Town he set off for Buganda by the southern route, but died of malaria at Usambiro to the south of the lake.³² It was perhaps unsurprising that C.M.S. were having a problem finding a third bishop and that they responded to Tucker's inquiry with great alacrity.

Before discussing Tucker's implementation of an evangelical tradition of mission, a brief chronological survey of his activities between 1890 and his retirement from Uganda in 1911 and death in 1914 will set the scene and indicate the particular issues which occupied him at certain periods.

Between 1890 and 1897 Tucker spent three periods in Africa. He first arrived in Mombasa in May 1890, and he was much occupied with an ordination at Zanzibar before departure for Buganda by the southern route accompanied by Hooper, Pilkington and Baskerville.³³ The party reached Mengo, the "capital" of Buganda³⁴ in December 1890, and they were pleasantly surprised by the health of the Church. It was estimated that there were about one thousand Anglican Christians including those baptised and catechumens. However, there was great disappointment among missionaries and Africans that Tucker remained for only one month in Buganda. He met Mwanga, Lugard and

³¹ Walker to his father, 23/5/1890 in C.M.S.A Acc 88.108

³² This was the route from the coast opposite Zanzibar to Usambiro at the south of lake Victoria; the journey to Buganda was to have been completed by boat.

³³ The fourth member of the party from Cambridge, Cotter, had died at Mombasa.

³⁴ The chief centre of Buganda was where the Kabaka had his residence. At this time he was at Mengo, which *ipso facto* may be described as the 'capital'.

members of the Catholic mission as well as holding the first Confirmation service and commissioning the first Ugandan evangelists. Before he departed together with Hooper, he allocated particular tasks to the C.M.S. missionaries.

By May 1891 Tucker was back in England engaged initially in a busy round of recruitment and then taking an active lead in the campaign to raise funds to enable the I.B.E.A. Company to remain in Uganda. In December he returned to Mombasa where he was busy for nearly a year visiting all the mission stations along the coastal region and making a critical report on the condition of the settlement at Frere Town. He departed for Uganda with another party of C.M.S. recruits, arriving in Mengo in late December 1892. He remained there until June 1893, during which period he was particularly concerned with the political issue of the relationship between Britain and Buganda. Within the church he ordained six African deacons in addition to establishing the first mission station outside of Mengo. His commitment to self-extension on the part of the church was clear. From July until October 1893 he was visiting the coastal mission stations, when he received a telegram from C.M.S. inviting him to return to London, where he was once more engaged with political questions about the future of Uganda.

Tucker returned to Mombasa at the end of July 1894, where for a year he was taken up with issues relating to marriage, slavery and famine as well as visiting mission stations and an ordination at Zanzibar. It was not until July 1895 that Tucker was ready to leave for Uganda together with a large party that included the first women missionaries for the interior. The Bishop remained in Uganda until the following June, greatly encouraged by the growth in the numbers involved with the Anglican Church. This entailed a good deal of work in confirmations, a second ordination service, and particularly visiting newly established mission stations; he was constantly on the move. His longest tour took him to Toro in the west. When he arrived at the coast he was suffering from malaria and was advised to return to England in October 1896 where he was to remain for a year.

During this period in England Tucker was involved in legal matters relating to questions of slavery on the east African coast, and secondly with the division of the diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa into the two dioceses of Uganda and Mombasa. Tucker's wish to retain Uganda was granted, although he continued to exercise episcopal oversight in the whole of his former diocese until Bishop Peel came to Mombasa in 1899. After attending the Lambeth Conference he left England again in October 1897 intending to proceed as soon as possible to Uganda, but he was delayed in Mombasa until March 1898 over a lawsuit concerning the legal status of a runaway slave in a British Protectorate. In Uganda Tucker remained for thirty-four months, during which period he travelled extensively through the diocese when not engaged in questions of a church constitution and the political issues arising from the 1900 Uganda Agreement.

April 1901 saw Tucker back in England with the opportunity to recuperate after much travelling in his diocese. He was also concerned to be with his wife Josephine while they moved house from Surbiton to Little Bookham and to settle his son, Hathaway, into Marlborough school where he had won a Foundation Scholarship. Neither Josephine Tucker nor her son ever visited Africa, and this was probably a factor that kept her husband at home for extended periods. After eighteen months at home, Tucker returned to Uganda in November 1902 where he remained until April 1906, occupied primarily with issues of the church constitution and travelled extensively throughout the diocese. Simple statistics demonstrate the great numerical growth of the Anglican Church in Uganda between 1898 and 1906. The number of Christians (baptised and catechumens) increased from 14,457 to 65,433; communicants increased from 3,343 to 18,078. The number of evangelists grew from 521 to 2,036. The changing nature of work in Uganda is illustrated by the growth in the number of pupils in C.M.S. schools from 742 to 32,393. This growth itself generated a great deal of work for the Bishop together with mission extension into Ankole, Bugisu, Kavirondo, Acholi, Lango and Teso areas. Tucker was faced with various issues arising from this rapid development such as the question of appropriate language and culture for the church, especially outside Buganda. The development of educational and medical work raised questions about the appropriate prioritising of limited resources.

In May 1906 an exhausted Bishop returned to England for a brief period of recuperation. He was suffering particularly from rheumatism and acute dyspepsia. Doctors sent him with his wife to Karlsbad for a period of convalescence. At the age of 57, Tucker expressed his feeling that another should take over the diocese. He returned to Uganda in March 1907 and remained there for nearly a year, travelling widely again and continuing to address the vexed question of a church constitution. His return to England in 1908 was necessary because of the Lambeth Conference. He also took the opportunity to consult a canon lawyer over the issue of a church constitution. Before the end of the year he was back in Uganda where he remained until August 1910. During this period a tired Tucker was looking for some episcopal help in the diocese; he appointed two more Archdeacons to assist in church administration. After five months in England when he was engaged in preparation for his resignation from C.M.S. Tucker came for a final tour in Uganda in April 1911. Like his first, the last visit he paid to Uganda lasted only a month. Leaving in May he signed the Deed of Resignation in November 1911.

In December 1910 Mrs Mary Carus-Wilson, a close friend of the Tuckers, wrote to Archbishop Davidson to share her concerns over the Bishop's imminent retirement. She wrote of his poor health, but her major concern was financial. Unlike Henry Venn, Tucker had no private means at all but lived solely from his C.M.S. allowance. Neither had his wife any private income, but their housing and Hathaway's education was supported through the generosity of her unmarried sister.³⁵ Bishop Moule of Durham offered Tucker the suffragan post of Jarrow in his diocese, but he did not feel able to take on the obligations.³⁶ Davidson suggested to Moule that Tucker be offered a "Canonry simpliciter".³⁷ Moule duly offered Tucker the Canonry of Durham as an unconditional appointment, allowing Tucker the freedom to develop his own line of work. In January 1912 the Tuckers moved to Durham. The Bishop assisted Moule with various episcopal functions from time to time within the diocese. He maintained a close interest in all aspects of the Church in east Africa, particularly the Kikuyu controversy in which he took the side of his successor, Bishop Willis. He served various

³⁵ Carus-Wilson to Davidson 24/12/1910 in R.T. Davidson Papers, Vol. 174, L.P.L.

³⁶ Tucker to Davidson 8/3/1911 in R.T. Davidson Papers, Vol. 174 L.P.L.

committees within C.M.S. and the Church of England. When Hensley Henson was appointed Dean and made considerable changes from the inherited evangelical tradition, Tucker was forthright in expressing his opposition. However, Henson and he were in complete agreement over Kikuyu, and the Dean developed a warm respect for Tucker's Christian character. On the fifteenth of June 1914 Tucker went to see a specialist in London about his increasing infirmities and was assured that should he take things slowly he might live for years. From there he went directly to the Royal Academy to see one of his pictures, after which he went to Church House to attend a mission committee. He was taken ill there and died at the Deanery in Westminster. Four days later he was buried at Durham Cathedral.

C. Tucker's Spirituality and Theology of Mission

Tucker's particular significance lay in his work as a mission activist and administrator. As with Venn his activity was underpinned and sustained by a deep personal spirituality rooted in the evangelical traditions of the earlier nineteenth century. His spirituality and theological understanding was shaped during his time at Oxford and subsequent work in Bristol and Durham. He never expounded his mission theology in any systematic form, but its pattern may be inferred from his incidental writing and particularly from his discussions of mission policy. His evangelical spirituality was evident in the value he placed upon Bible reading and prayer. Less obviously evangelical in later nineteenth century terms, although perfectly consonant with the tradition typified in Venn, was the recurring theme in his writings of self-denial. Foundational to his spirituality was the regular private reading of Scripture. He was convinced that if African Christianity was to be more than a veneer it was essential for missionaries to translate the Bible into the vernacular and teach habits of regular Bible reading in the home.³⁷ Family Bible reading was a fundamental part of Victorian evangelical spirituality. In the missionary context this translated into the practice of holding regular Bible study whenever missionaries met together. So on the long journeys from the coast it was Tucker's custom to give

³⁷ Davidson to Moule 17/7/1911 in R.T. Davidson Papers, Vol. 174 LPL

³⁸ Tucker to Crabtree 30/5/1907 in C.M.S.A Acc 84.F2

regular Bible expositions.³⁹ He believed that all Christian prayer, service and character flowed from a dedication to such Bible reading and exposition. Likewise since the end of the eighteenth century evangelical Anglicans had been noted for their practice of extemporary prayer both individual and corporate. At each mission station the daily offices were read morning and evening, but also there was a less formalised midday prayer meeting with a typically evangelical emphasis on corporate intercession. The Eucharist was celebrated infrequently, again reflecting evangelical practice in Britain. Tucker's links with earlier evangelicalism may be seen in his repeated emphasis on self-denial. In his 1897 Charge to his diocese he referred to the self-sacrifice of both European and African Christians who had struggled and died for the faith, and he drew from their example the necessity of Christian duty and work. This reflected more the typically Ryle approach to holiness in terms of dutiful and active obedience and struggle than the more passive Keswick emphasis on resting in faith.

Tucker's understanding of evangelisation included but was not limited to personal conversion. His christological understanding was crucicentric. In his first visit to Ankole he presented Christ's death as revealing his nature as "our God and Saviour" and as the means of salvation. His resurrection revealed the life beyond death that was promised to the believer through faith in Christ.⁴⁰ In addition to this essential spiritual dimension of salvation, Tucker argued that evangelisation was also concerned with the mental and physical dimensions of human living. This he saw as a direct justification of missionary involvement in educational and medical concerns. So it was a legitimate aim of a Christian mission to see that the African Christian should "take his share and nobly play his part in the spiritual, political, commercial, and industrial life of the nation."⁴¹ However, he never succeeded in interpreting these dimensions other than in terms drawn from his own European experience, although this point must be held in tension with the distinction he drew between

³⁹ Nickisson: Diary R.H. MSS Afr 1417.2

⁴⁰ Tucker, 1908, Vol. II pp 240-241

⁴¹ *ibid*, p.241

Christianising and civilising. He rejected any suggestion that Christianisation could be achieved through civilisation.⁴²

Tucker was very clearly in the evangelical tradition represented by Venn in his understanding of the providence of God. This particular doctrine arose in the Calvinist theological tradition of affirming the sovereignty of God in human affairs. It is the belief that all events in human history are ordered ultimately to the glory of God and as such are subject to his overall control. However, the workings of God's providence are not always accessible to human intelligence. When the C.M.S. Africa Committee heard that the Uganda missionaries had been expelled in 1889, they recorded their response: "The Committee bow in submission to the inscrutable but all-wise Providence of God."⁴³ More frequent were Tucker's references to divine providence working in what he considered a much more positive way. He interpreted the raising of the Union flag in Kampala in 1893 as a clear signal of divine providence opening the way for the Gospel.⁴⁴ He attributed the extension of missionary work into Toro and Ankole to divine providence.⁴⁵ Tucker's understanding of providence was no submission to fatalism, but was a call to rigorous human thinking and action. In 1906 Tucker answered his critics who pointed out that missionaries who traveled to Uganda passed through lands which had not been evangelised.⁴⁶ Tucker responded that God's providence had directed that attention be given to the development of a strong church in Buganda, so that this church could become the centre for the evangelisation of the whole region. God's providence was evident in the faithfulness of Baganda Christians through persecution, the willingness of Baganda to be evangelists and their aptness for the task. Tucker's grasp of both history and contemporary experience confirmed this strategy as the appropriate human response to God's providential ordering of this part of Africa. Here Tucker was in Venn's tradition; Venn considered that faith in God's providence was no substitute for rigorous thinking in the formulation and execution of sound missionary strategies. The function of this doctrine within their theological thinking was to give an underpinning hope to the

⁴² Tucker, 1908, Vol. I, p. 108

⁴³ C.M.S. Africa Committee 14/1/1889 in C.M.S.A. G5/P3/1889

⁴⁴ Tucker to Stock 16/4/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893

⁴⁵ Tucker to Baylis 25/11/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1903

missionary enterprise. Tucker spoke of a “spirit of holy optimism” in missionary work.⁴⁷ Late twentieth century theology on the other hand has tended to be very suspicious of the nineteenth century understanding of providence for two major reasons. The doctrine suffered greatly from an over-identification with the spread of Anglo-Saxon “civilisation”, particularly through the medium of the British empire. Tucker’s distinction between Christianisation and civilisation was fine in theory but it remains a very open question whether it was maintained with anything like sufficient clarity in the work of the Uganda mission as a whole during his episcopate and within his own work. Secondly, modern theology has noted the relative ease with which ‘providence’ may be used to rationalise and thus justify literally everything in history. The theological conscience after the events of two world wars and the course of the post-colonial world has become extremely uneasy about recourse to any direct interpretation of God’s working in and through human history.

Hope was a prominent feature of Venn’s missiology, which was related to his postmillennial convictions. However, by 1890 Venn’s postmillennialism which looked for the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth as a work of God had been transmuted into another form of theology drawing on more secular ideas of progress and perfectibility.⁴⁸ It was but a short step to see the British Empire and other ‘civilising’ agencies as the means towards the establishment of the kingdom. Thus in Uganda the missionary Ladbury could write: “It seems as if we shall soon do away with wars and have a Universal Parliament composed of representatives of all the Parliaments in the civilised world. This is surely a sign that the Kingdom of Righteousness is drawing nigh.”⁴⁹ In similar vein he wrote about the British Empire advancing the Kingdom of God.⁵⁰ In practical terms this kind of thinking led missionaries to emphasise the work of C.M.S. in “administration, education and Christianisation” to the detriment of more personal conversion.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Tucker: “The Uganda Diocese” in C.M.I. Nov. 1906 pp. 812-820

⁴⁷ Tucker: C.M.S. Annual Sermon, 1908, in C.M.S. Annual Report, 1908 p lxxxiv

⁴⁸ Cracknell, *Justice, Courtesy and Love* 1995, p. 11

⁴⁹ Ladbury, Journal entry 12/9/1906 in Ladbury Papers, M.U.K.A.

⁵⁰ Ladbury, Journal entry 29/12/1906 in Ladbury Papers, M.U.K.A.

On the other hand there was an increasing premillennial outlook among evangelicals. This proved particularly attractive to those like Pilkington and Baskerville whose spirituality was shaped by Keswick. Crabtree interpreted his work in Uganda as trying to win converts in order to “bring the King back”⁵² The otherworldliness of premillennialism cast a negative shadow over all human achievement, because this world was doomed to judgement. Premillennialists were intrinsically opposed to Christian involvement in politics.⁵³ But because they denied themselves any possibility of a theological critique of politics, they tended by default to adopt the prevailing climate of political opinion, which was of course favourably disposed towards the imperial enterprise.

Tucker’s own political thinking is the subject of the following chapter. Regarding the millennium he fell into neither camp. His clear if theoretical distinction between Christianity and civilisation certainly indicates that he did not adopt the more secularised version of postmillennialism found in Ladbury. Neither is there any indication in his writing to suggest that he held premillennialist beliefs. His readiness to engage in political activity implies his rejection of a negative evaluation of this world. His holistic view of evangelisation implies a position in the tradition of Venn, believing in the transforming power of the Gospel within human society. Yet within Uganda he lacked any theological critique of the varying millennial views among C.M.S. missionaries; he simply failed theologically to engage with their views.

If Tucker was out of step with many of his missionary colleagues over millennial beliefs, he also differed frequently from them over issues of missionary lifestyle and over the missionary evaluation of the spirituality of Ugandan Christians. Tucker’s mature assessment of the appropriate lifestyle for a missionary in Uganda was summed up in the phrase from Psalm 45:10: “Forget also thine own people and thy Father’s house.” He argued that the missionary should “throw in his lot absolutely

⁵¹ Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile* 1912, pp 278-9. Kitching typically wrote of the “child races of Africa” requiring development in civilisation as a prerequisite for any spiritual maturity.

⁵² Crabtree in C.M.S.A Acc 27 F/2

⁵³ Pilkington: “Politics, how I hate them!” Pilkington to Stock 11/8/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891

with the natives, identifying himself as far as possible with their life, work and organisation.”⁵⁴ This does not mean however, that Tucker was an advocate of the radical incarnationalism of the C.I.M. Like Venn he recognised that the missionary was always an outsider and he looked for an appropriate simple lifestyle from missionaries without any ideological commitment to total identification with indigenous lifestyles. The shape of his own personal lifestyle was very much in line with Victorian evangelical sensibilities. Tucker had decided sabbatarian views, making it a personal rule never to travel on a Sunday.⁵⁵ He felt that the consumption of alcohol or tobacco was quite unacceptable for Christians, and he was openly critical of missionaries who indulged in either.⁵⁶

When Tucker went to Uganda in 1890 missionary lifestyle was a prominent concern of Douglas Hooper in particular in that party. Hooper was much impressed by Hudson Taylor. He was critical of the work of Alexander Mackay and led other members of the party to understand that missionaries in Uganda had compromised the Gospel not least in their relatively luxurious lifestyle. The instructions given Hooper by Wigram and Stock showed the influence of C.I.M. thinking: “a larger number should settle together, living unostentatiously in simple dwellings, with as little display as possible of material wealth, constantly itinerating in the surrounding districts, and this with the purpose of emphasising the spiritual object of the Mission; endeavouring to let the Natives clearly understand that the European missionary was no source of wealth, had no political motive, no selfish aim, but had come simply to bring them a message of life from God.”⁵⁷ The Secretariat believed that Tucker was also in full sympathy with these views and plans.⁵⁸ Even if that view was correct of Tucker’s opinions, it is apparent that the Bishop was swiftly disabused of any notion that the missionaries in Mengo lived in luxury or that they were remote from the African or that the church lacked a sound spirituality. Walker, who had returned to Mengo earlier in the year, was very dismissive of Hooper’s proposal that missionaries should accept only a bare minimum of their allowance in order to keep

⁵⁴ Tucker, 1908, Vol. II p 241. The context is a discussion about church government but the basic point applies equally to questions of lifestyle.

⁵⁵ Tucker to Wigram 27/2/1894 C.M.S.A GAC4/15/2807

⁵⁶ Tucker to Baylis 17/11/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.233

⁵⁷ Wigram and Stock to Hooper, 1889 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1889

⁵⁸ Wigram to Binns 28/3/1890 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L5

body and soul together and returning the surplus to C.M.S. He commented dryly to his brother that Hooper was a man of private means.⁵⁹ Tucker was not in Uganda long enough to influence greatly the lifestyle debate. Walker went to Buddu with Ashe. The missionaries remaining in Mengo lived in shared accommodation in an attempt to practise the principles advocated by Hooper, who had returned to the coast with Tucker in early 1891. But by early 1892 the attempt had collapsed, and Pilkington reported the end of the experiment of sharing domestic arrangements. Far from carrying a prophetic witness, the arrangement had led to personal tensions and a distinct lack of unity. Smith alone took up the challenge of a radical lifestyle with some enthusiasm declaring in 1891 that he intended to "renounce all English articles even to bedding."⁶⁰ But the result was a personal breakdown. When Tucker returned in 1893 he had to send Smith back to Britain and forbid his return. Smith had been ordering luxury items, had beaten Ugandans and generally failed to win the sympathy of any Africans.⁶¹ The cause of radical incarnationalism in Uganda had foundered on the rock of experience.

The catalyst for the next major debate over missionary lifestyle was the question of housing. Before 1895 missionaries lived in simple reed houses constructed by labour provided by the great Christian chiefs. These houses had proved susceptible to fire. Borup's arrival in 1895 to set up the industrial mission provided the opportunity for missionaries to have brick houses. When the first women missionaries arrived in 1895 it was generally agreed and accepted by Tucker that they needed more security and privacy than the men had done previously. The trend was thus set for missionaries to live in dwellings that were clearly distinct from those of their African neighbours. The plans for houses submitted in 1901 for women in Ndejje and for Rowling in Mityana included for the first time provision for a "room for native visitors."⁶² When the first women missionaries went to Ankole in 1903, Walker wrote that a "proper house" had to be built.⁶³ Tucker was caught between two opinions. On the one hand he went along with the accepted idea that women missionaries needed the extra

⁵⁹ Walker to his brother, 14/1/1891 in C.M.S.A Acc 88.126

⁶⁰ Smith to Wigram 15/10/1891 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892

⁶¹ Tucker to Baylis 31/8/1893 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893

⁶² Plans for houses C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.67. See also Cook to Baylis 20/4/1901 G3/A7/O1901

protection and privacy provided by brick housing. On the other hand by 1904 he was becoming increasingly critical of what he considered a lack of self-sacrifice among missionaries. He refused to sanction a grant from C.M.S. towards the provision of furniture, because it represented a further step away from simple living. He regretted that many of the newer missionaries smoked.⁶⁴ In 1906 he responded to the new proposed standard designs for missionary homes, arguing that three rooms were quite sufficient for single missionaries. The proposals for married accommodation particularly drew his scorn: "I hate the idea of a drawing-room in the mission field." He substituted a general purpose sitting room including facilities for meals.⁶⁵ The strength of Tucker's feeling on this issue may be seen in what was virtually his last letter to C.M.S. in February 1914, when he expressed his regret that the Society had seen fit to grant one hundred pounds towards the provision of furniture for missionaries in Uganda. He indicated that his own furniture had been largely refashioned from packing cases.⁶⁶

After 1900 there was an increased number of missionaries working in Uganda. By 1909 the practice had become common for missionaries to work from Monday to Friday and take the weekend as an opportunity to get away from the station and visit other missionaries. Additionally missionaries were regarding Christmas and Easter as holidays. Tucker deplored these attitudes, arguing that these were the very times that missionaries should be with Ugandan Christians.⁶⁷ But he chose not to take any measures to prevent this taking place beyond making his judgement known.

With regard to missionary lifestyle Tucker together with Walker were very much in the Venn tradition. They rejected the most radical incarnationalist thinking of Hudson Taylor. Walker regarded it as of little use in mission work from the standpoint of the African: "No matter how plainly a man lives here, he seems to be living in the lap of luxury."⁶⁸ Nevertheless both men were increasingly

⁶³ Walker to Baylis 12/1/1903 in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/1903

⁶⁴ Tucker to Baylis 17/11/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904

⁶⁵ Of course, Tucker's wife did not have to organise a home in Africa!

⁶⁶ Tucker to C.M.S. 20/2/1914 in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1914

⁶⁷ Tucker to Baylis 20/3/1909 in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909

⁶⁸ Walker to his sister 22/8/1898 in C.M.S.A Acc 88.414

uncomfortable with the way in which the standard of living of the missionaries was creeping closer to the standards that might be expected in Britain. The key characteristic that Tucker looked for was not a particular standard of living itself but that the standard should reflect a concern for self-sacrifice and a willingness to serve.

Evangelicals of the late Victorian era in Britain considered a number of signs to be evidence of true Christianity. Prominent among them were a testimony of personal conversion and holiness, marked by evangelistic zeal, regular Bible reading and prayer, and the avoidance of drunkenness, sexual unfaithfulness (understood as any sexual relationship outside of monogamous marriage), lying and gambling. Their major criticism of the church in Britain was of nominalism, by which they meant the absence of the evidence above in the lives of professing Christians. Missionaries set very high standards for themselves and tended correspondingly to hold equally high expectations of African converts. They were fearful of anything that in the church in Uganda could be identified as nominalism.⁶⁹ In 1892 Baskerville thought he detected the first signs of a “downgrade movement” in the church.⁷⁰ The missionary, Roscoe, was rather more nuanced in his assessment of African Christian spirituality, comparing Baganda Christians favourably in many respects with English Christians while acknowledging that they were far from perfect and needed their spiritual life to be deepened. However, it was the more negative evaluation of African Christians that came increasingly to the fore among most C.M.S. missionaries. Hall and Maddox criticised a perceived idleness on the part of Christians together with comments about their perceived sexual immorality.⁷¹ Gordon and Miss Tanner were very critical of the pastoral shortcomings in the church, indicating a lack of

⁶⁹ Baskerville: Journal entry for 31/10/1892 M.U.K.A.; Walker to his brother 7/2/1896 Acc 88.297

⁷⁰ Baskerville: Journal entry for 1/8/1892 M.U.K.A. His phrase echoes the “Downgrade Controversy” in Britain when the Baptist preacher, C.H.Spurgeon criticised his own denomination.

⁷¹ M. J. Hall: Annual Letter for 1897 in C.M.I. June 1898 p. 412. The C.M.I. for 1898 contained a number of criticisms of African Christians written by missionaries. Thereafter the editorial policy changed and any such references were usually omitted from published letters. This in turn greatly irritated a number of missionaries who felt that a false picture was being given of the church in Uganda. See also Maddox to Baylis 4/12/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900. It was not altogether surprising that Maddox was critical of African Christians; he was critical of everyone including all of his missionary colleagues!

practical care for the poor, sick and widows and a lack of interest in work with women and children.⁷² After 1900 criticisms of Ugandan Christians were transmuted into a different kind of attitude which portrayed Africans as victims. Walker referred to the “arts and sciences of civilisation” which brought spiritual peril.⁷³ Miss Tanner found that she could cope with the disappointment at the lack of depth she saw in African Christians by remembering that they were only “grown-up children”.⁷⁴ One reason why some newer missionaries were critical of the church was that they arrived with unrealistically high expectations. Miss Taylor was “much surprised to find so much bigoted heathenism still in existence.”⁷⁵

These attitudes which were common among the C.M.S. missionaries in Uganda were never found in Tucker. He agreed with Archbishop Benson who, when he was told of the immorality of Ugandan Christians, drew a parallel with the Corinthian Church where “by the grace of God, grace prevailed.”⁷⁶ Tucker was well aware of the sins and failings of the African Christians, but he pointed out in 1897 that whereas “years ago the same sins were committed openly with no sense of shame, now the shame was showing clearly that conscience is at work.”⁷⁷ In any case he felt that there were many encouragements to be seen in the spiritual progress of the evangelists in particular. Tucker recognised that many of the missionaries knew the people more intimately than he, but he considered the question from a different theological perspective. He believed that the adoption of a negative attitude was a limiting of the power and love of the Holy Spirit who was evidently at work among African Christians. This faith was for Tucker far more significant than the empirical evidence of moral shortcomings. The presence of problems in the church should be interpreted as a call to increased vigilance, work and prayer on the part of both missionaries and indigenous believers.⁷⁸ He affirmed the same points again in 1903 in the face of the Archdeacon’s contention that the Bishop did

⁷² Gordon: Reasons against the present adoption of the Constitution and Miss Tanner to Walker 1901, both in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.255.

⁷³ Walker to his father 18/12/1899 C.M.S.A Acc 88.464

⁷⁴ R. S. Tanner: Village Life in Uganda in C.M.I. July 1904 p. 504

⁷⁵ B. Taylor: Annual Letter for 1897 in C.M.I. June 1898 p. 352

⁷⁶ Benson to Wigram, 8/12/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.451

⁷⁷ Tucker to Baylis 1/1/1897 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1897

⁷⁸ Tucker to Baylis 30/5/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898

not see the true state of the church. For Tucker neither the statistical evidence nor theological considerations warranted a negative evaluation of the spiritual state of the Ugandan church.⁷⁹

Underlying these differing evaluations of Ugandan spirituality was an ecclesiological issue regarding the nature of the Anglican church. In two important respects Anglican evangelicals of the nineteenth century inherited Hooker's ecclesiology. Venn and Tucker both valued the establishment of the Church in England and worked to extend a quasi-establishment in mission churches. Secondly and more relevantly at this point they both accepted Hooker's understanding that the visible church would contain a mixed membership. Hooker was responding to the Puritan concern for purity in the church and their demands for greater theological rigour in defining the boundaries of the true church. While accepting the need for the church to work towards ever higher standards of purity on the basis of *semper reformanda*, Hooker rejected any move to define the church beyond all that had been set out in the Elizabethan Settlement. The Church was the community of the baptised. The theology of the Keswick movement with its slogan of "All One in Christ Jesus" considerably downplayed the significance of the visible church in favour of the spiritualised invisible church of true believers known only to God. Missionaries like Brooke in West Africa, who was heavily influenced by Keswick thinking, were critical of the Hookerian tradition, which to their way of thinking encouraged the growth of "nominalism" in the church. In its place they developed a more rigorous "gathered church" composed of those whose faith was clearly discernible. The touchstone of these differing ecclesiologies was baptism. Specifically those who favoured a more "gathered church" ecclesiology rejected baptismal regeneration and were generally cautious about any form of paedobaptism. In Uganda Tucker proposed to ordain Pilkington. But in 1893 Pilkington informed the Bishop that he was not prepared for ordination because of his doubts over the prayer-book teaching on baptism.⁸⁰ Baskerville recorded in his Journal of 1899 his resolution to baptise no more infants.⁸¹ On the other hand Tucker was perfectly at ease with the Anglican tradition of paedobaptism and the traditional evangelical interpretation of baptismal regeneration. His ecclesiology was that of an evangelical

⁷⁹ Tucker to Fox 13/3/1903 G3/A7/O1903 and Walker to Baylis 23/11/1903 G3/A7/O1903.228

⁸⁰ Tucker to Baylis 17/1/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/01893.246

Anglican who wanted to see a distinct evangelical tradition to the church established in Uganda.⁸² His insistence on the evangelical tradition was evident when in 1905 he accepted the resignation of Purser from the mission after he had adopted Anglo-Catholic views on the sacraments.⁸³

There was evident among the C.M.S. missionaries a degree of polarisation over the appropriate response to perceived weaknesses in the Ugandan church. On the one hand Walker favoured regular teaching and a concerted effort to introduce a parochial system very much modelled on that found in the Church of England. On the other hand, Pilkington, Baskerville and others influenced by Keswick spirituality favoured large-scale missions or conventions for more intensive teaching. Tucker's position on the development of the church was much more open-ended than Walker's. In a conversation with C. Hurlburt the American administrator of the Africa Inland Mission in 1908, he held open the possibility of the Church in Uganda forming an independent Province within the Anglican Communion. Then he argued it would be possible to countenance not only the development of a prayer book "better adapted to local circumstances", but also seeking union with interested evangelical nonconformist bodies.⁸⁴ In the meantime Tucker encouraged Keswick-style missions as a means of fuelling the spiritual fervour of African Christians. The most notable of these took place at Namirembe in 1906 when the whole agenda was clearly modelled on a formula derived from Keswick.⁸⁵ The shape of Tucker's ecclesiology was in the Venn tradition of evangelicalism rather than showing the influence of a Keswick-style emphasis on the "invisible" church of believers known only to God. Tucker was deeply concerned with the shape of the visible church. But in other respects he was favourably disposed to the Keswick impulse given to deeper personal commitment to Christ and to the whole missionary enterprise. In 1901 he took the opportunity to address the Keswick missionary meeting on the subject of the work in Uganda and he was greatly heartened by the

⁸¹ Baskerville: Journal entry for 6/5/1899 M.U.K.A.

⁸² Tucker to Baylis 24/11/1908: "Our work is on very definite and pronounced evangelical lines." C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.293

⁸³ Purser to Baylis 28/2/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.62

⁸⁴ Tucker to Baylis 24/11/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O/1908.283

⁸⁵ Report in C.M.I. August 1906 pp 614-615

positive response he received.⁸⁶ In offering qualified support for Keswick spirituality while maintaining a distance from other aspects of Keswick ecclesiology, Tucker located himself within the evangelical tradition represented not only by Venn but possibly mediated to him through Christopher in Oxford.

Tucker was not a man greatly troubled by theological questionings and showed little interest in more abstract theologising. It was Walker with his unimpeachably evangelical background in Cambridge followed by a curacy at All Soul's Langham Place, who wondered about "the relationship of eternal life with the many who have lived and died in Africa".⁸⁷ The more conservative side of his theology was to the fore in a later controversy over what he considered the excessively liberal teaching of some of his fellow missionaries, notably the Weatherhead brothers, Casson and Daniell. He wrote to C.M.S. in London to ask what were the limits over "Higher Critical views on the Old Testament."⁸⁸ Baylis' reply indicated that C.M.S. required nothing beyond what was ordinarily required of any member of the Anglican Church. He then attempted to reassure Walker that no candidate would be accepted as a missionary who evinced "advanced views on Higher Criticism", because this would create dissension within the missionary body as a whole.⁸⁹ Tucker did not involve himself in this particular discussion. Certainly his own Biblical interpretation was decidedly pre-critical, inasmuch as, for instance, he accepted a Mosaic authorship of the book of Job.⁹⁰ It is not wholly clear why Tucker steered clear of this issue. One tentative suggestion might be that it was because he appointed these men to posts of teaching in the first place that he did not wish to undermine their position subsequently by criticising the content of that teaching.

In a way that is reminiscent of Venn, towards the latter of his ministry Tucker gave more attention to the significance of the Holy Spirit within the missionary enterprise. In 1908 he delivered the

⁸⁶ Tucker to Crabtree 6/8/1901 in C.M.S.A Acc 84. F3/4

⁸⁷ Walker to his brother 10/3/1889 C.M.S.A Acc 88

⁸⁸ Walker to Baylis 26/1/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.95

⁸⁹ Baylis to Walker 26/3/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

⁹⁰ Nickisson: Journal p. 15 R.H. MSS Afr 1417.2. Mosaic authorship of Job was the standard pre-critical assumption in the nineteenth century following the pious Talmudic tradition.

prestigious C.M.S. Annual Sermon in London. He had liberty to choose his text and subject. He chose to preach on the role of the Holy Spirit in mission with his text drawn from Acts 1:8.⁹¹ He argued that the Holy Spirit was given to the church for the prime purpose of equipping the disciples for the task of mission. However the European church had subsequently forgotten this, leading to the stagnation of the evangelistic enterprise and absorption of the church's energies in internal disputes and power struggles. He noted the constant temptation to the church to lose sight of the absolute priority of mission in the face of disputes over ecclesiastical vestments and the like. In conclusion he called on the church to concentrate its energies on the work of witness and evangelism in the faith that God would honour his promise of supplying the Holy Spirit, without whose power the work was in vain. The sermon was significant because it represents Tucker's response to the increasing tendency to see the growth of the church in parts of Africa and Asia as a fruit of the human work of "civilisation". The whole object of his sermon was to encourage a fuller recognition of the Holy Spirit in mission.

This understanding of the centrality of the Spirit in mission work lay behind Tucker's Memorandum to C.M.S. in 1913, which addressed the appropriate response to the financial crisis faced by the society.⁹² Tucker was appalled by the proposal to cease sending new missionaries for a year. He noticed that a total of more than £66,000 was being spent on grants to "Native churches". If released for purposes of sending missionaries, this sum would be more than sufficient to send new recruits overseas. He went on to identify the basic problem as a tendency for missionaries to "coddle" their converts and fail to give them sufficient responsibility and a sense of duty to support the work of the church. More profoundly he identified this as a failure to account for the work of the Holy Spirit in building the church. He quoted Roland Allen on the argument that "native converts" lacked initiative to say that even if that were true naturally, they would find it in the Spirit of Christ who is the Spirit of initiative.⁹³ But this work of the Spirit was being checked and discouraged "in a system in which everything is done under foreign direction." Tucker identified a lack of trust in indigenous Christians

⁹¹ The text of his sermon was reprinted in the C.M.S. Annual Report for 1908 p lxxiii- lxxxiv.

⁹² Tucker: Memorandum to C.M.S. 5/11/1913 C.M.S.A ci343

as a failure to recognise the work of the Holy Spirit as the director of Christian mission and to allow such a faith to shape both the church and the wider pattern of evangelisation. It was of course his great concern over this issue of missionary control that was the driving-force behind Allen's work. But it was the same concern that exercised Tucker in his 1913 Memorandum.

In his contribution to the Lambeth Conference in July 1908 Tucker picked up a theme that he had first mentioned in the Charge to his new diocese in 1897. Addressing the question of what had most hindered the development and growth of the Church in Africa, he pointed to the "deep-rooted tendency in the Anglo-Saxon character to Anglicise everything with which it comes into contact."⁹⁴ He continued: "we are pretty convinced in our mind that we have everything to give and nothing to receive; everything to teach and nothing to learn; moreover we find it very difficult to believe that there is anything good in the pagan races of Africa." He went on to argue that the Church needed to identify and preserve what was good in the national characteristics of African societies. Here he stood firmly in the tradition identified in Philippians where Paul adopted a list of virtues recognisable from the pagan context as commendable in the development of a Christian character.

The question thus arises: to what extent did Tucker and the other missionaries actively encourage the development of a specifically African Christian understanding and the interpretation of African experience as valid theological data? Of the missionaries Pilkington stood out in his thinking about his work of translating the Bible. He recognised that translation was only adequate in so far as ideas are transferred along with the words, demanding a parallel of teaching along with translation. This process inevitably leads to a transformation of the receiving language. He recognised further that this demanded of the translator a profound understanding of the receiving language – for him Luganda. For this purpose he studied Kiganda proverbs. For him these held the key of the indigenous genius

⁹³ cf Roland Allen: *Missionary Methods* 1962 ed. p.146-147

⁹⁴ Tucker: Lambeth Conference Papers 1908, L.P.L.

and he considered that an understanding of proverbial thinking was an essential part of any successful evangelisation in Uganda.⁹⁵

However, Roscoe was more typical in his attitudes towards traditional culture and intellectual life. He actively collected material for anthropological study and in 1908 he resigned from C.M.S. in order to pursue these studies. But nowhere is there any indication that he considered these data to carry any theological significance. Likewise the classes held for catechists and ordinands followed a syllabus drawn from theological training in Britain. Nevertheless two Baganda Christians Ham Mukasa and Nuwa Nakiwafu produced booklets which were printed and distributed by the mission.⁹⁶ But Walker was dismissive of Mukasa's work, which was a commentary on Matthew's Gospel. He described it as a mixture of the notes he had received and vague ramblings of his own. But in fact the book was immensely significant as the first indigenous theological exploration, and it should have received far more attention. Mukasa should have been encouraged to work further towards a greater maturity of theological writing had Walker regarded more seriously the thoughts that Tucker later expressed at Lambeth. Once again there was a divergence between Tucker's ideas and the realities in Uganda. Tucker was quite right to highlight the tendency to anglicise everything but little was done to challenge this in the field of theological understanding in his diocese.

In terms of English evangelicalism Tucker was an outsider. He had no family links with prominent evangelical families. Neither did he come into contact with evangelical peers through his schooling. At Oxford he was a mature student on the margins of the university until Christopher arranged for his connection with Christ Church. It was at Oxford that his theology and spirituality were shaped, and the influences of Christopher were evident in Tucker in two regards. His personal spirituality displayed firm roots in the older evangelicalism of the early nineteenth century, and secondly like Christopher he was generous and eclectic in his recognition of genuine spirituality within the broader evangelical tradition. He was not a profound theological thinker; the shape of his theology was

⁹⁵ Baskerville and Pilkington, *The Gospel in Uganda* 1895, pp. 27ff

⁹⁶ Walker to Baylis 13/8/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7O(1902)132

remarkably similar to that which was noted in Venn. There was one other similarity with Venn. Towards the end of his ministry like Venn he gave greater consideration to the role of the Holy Spirit in mission. It has been noted that towards the end of his secretariat Venn felt frustrated by the slow pace of indigenous churches towards the realisation of self-extension, self-support and self-government. Somewhat similarly towards the end of his time in Uganda Tucker's vision of a dynamic church had been somewhat diluted by the reality of a church dominated by missionaries who were at ease in the Protectorate. Many saw their role in parallel terms to the Protectorate administration. For them the goal of an independent church was retained as a distant objective but had ceased to function as a dynamic factor. Tucker was never comfortable with this, and his writings on the Holy Spirit reveal him looking for a theological critique and answer to a situation that at heart he considered unsatisfactory.

CHAPTER SIX

TUCKER AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the involvement of Tucker in political affairs within Europe and Africa. The focus is on how he understood the evangelical tradition of political involvement that we have encountered earlier with regard to Venn and on how Tucker sought to implement this tradition. This personal approach focused on Tucker complements the massive survey by Hansen with its exclusive concentration on the African arena and an institutional level of inquiry.¹ This chapter also concentrates more on Tucker's involvement up to and including the 1900 Uganda Agreement, whereas Hansen is particularly interested in institutional relationships during the first quarter of the twentieth century.²

"The history of the missionary work of the Church of England in Uganda is inseparably bound up with the political history of the protectorate of Uganda as a development of the Colonial policy of Great Britain. This close connection has been due to the peculiar circumstance of the case."³

With these words Tucker began his report on the relation between missions and government in Uganda for the World Missionary Conference which met at Edinburgh in 1910. He explained this close connection on the grounds of the peculiar circumstances in the country. The C.M.S. representatives arrived in Buganda in 1877 before any European political agent. It was natural, he argued, that when such political agents reached the country that the missionaries would be consulted both by their fellow Europeans and by the Africans. When they were consulted under these circumstances the missionaries were obliged to offer appropriate advice. In fact Tucker considered that had they failed to do such it would have constituted a "grave dereliction of duty".⁴ Political activity which fell into this category was that which was in response to the initiative of others, either

¹ H. B. Hansen, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting*, 1984

² *ibid.* p. 8

³ A. R. Tucker: *Missions and the Development of Uganda* in World Mission Conference 1910 Vol VII pp 73-74

⁴ *ibid.* p. 74

European or African. He acknowledged a mediatorial function on the part of the missionaries with regard to the Treaty concluded between Mwanga and Lugard in 1890; the Treaty signed between the Kabaka and chiefs of Uganda and Sir Gerald Portal in 1893; and the Treaty signed in 1900 between the political leaders of Buganda and Sir Harry Johnston on behalf of the British Government. As a result of this co-operation, Tucker indicated that a cordial relationship existed between the political authorities and the mission. This was expressed practically in terms of co-operation in the field of education.

Tucker continued to outline two general principles: firstly, that he was "entirely opposed to missionaries mixing themselves up in the political affairs of the country in which their lot is cast."⁵ However the particular circumstances of the Ugandan situation had created an exceptional case. The second principle was that all political involvement and assistance had to be channelled through the administrative director of the mission. He continued to consider the circumstances under which a mission could appeal to the civil authorities for protection of life or property. As a rule he felt that this should not be done. He addressed the question of whether the mission compromised this rule in 1892 in appealing to the British Government to take over Uganda when the I.B.E.A. Company threatened to pull out. He argued that the ground for this appeal was not the protection of the mission itself, but that the Government had already compromised the position of both European and African Christians and was therefore bound to see that they did not suffer. This consideration would best be addressed by according protectorate status to Uganda.

Tucker reported that it was a general rule in the mission that matters which came before the Church Councils or directly to the missionaries and which were judged to be civil matters should be referred to the appropriate authority, whether British or African. But there were matters of mutual interest to civil authorities and the Church, such as the opening of public markets on a Sunday. He considered that the Church had a right to comment and be consulted by the appropriate authorities.

⁵ *ibid* p. 75

In his report Tucker had “no complaint to make either with regard to the policy or the regulations of the Government of Uganda in their bearing on our missionary work.”⁶ However, he did comment that some officials in their effort to be neutral with regard to the churches did show some favour to the Moslems. He considered this to be an unwise course, because their political loyalty to British political authority ought not to be assumed. Finally his report contained a brief consideration of some areas in which Tucker felt the mission had made a positive contribution towards shaping legislation particularly in areas of marriage and education law.

Tucker wrote the paper for the Conference from his standpoint as Bishop and Director of the mission in Uganda, and he focused particularly on the relationship between the C.M.S. mission and the British political authorities rather than with the African. This reflected the political realities of 1910. Nevertheless the paper serves as a useful introduction to a discussion of Tucker’s own political involvement and his thoughts about the political relationship of the Church with the state during the whole of his episcopate.

In spite of making the conventional statement that he was “entirely opposed to missionaries mixing themselves up with the political affairs of the country,”⁷ Tucker twice alluded to the peculiar circumstances of Uganda that necessitated some involvement by missionaries in political affairs. But it is far from convincing to argue that Uganda was unique or even unusual during this period.

In the 1860’s the British Government was seriously considering withdrawal from all territories in West Africa where it had an interest except for Sierra Leone. The response of the missionaries of the Basel Missionary Society who were working in the Gold Coast was to engage in strong lobbying of Parliament in London. One Basel missionary, Elias Schrenk, drew up a memorandum, a copy of which was presented to every member of Parliament, laying great emphasis on the responsibilities of Britain both to “spread the blessings of knowledge and to make reparation for the grave injuries that

⁶ *ibid* p. 76

⁷ *ibid* p. 75

Europe had inflicted on Africa.”⁸ The argument was heard and plans for departure from the Gold Coast were abandoned.⁹

In Nigeria the establishment of British authority in Yorubaland has been attributed largely to the activities of C.M.S. missionaries. Ayendele highlighted the activity of the Revd J. B. Wood who willingly played a mediatorial role between Egba and Yoruba chiefs and between these and British authorities in Lagos.¹⁰ Wood had the deep conviction that “in the circumstances of Yorubaland, the missionary could make headway only by becoming part of its politics.... He identified himself with Egba politics until his death.”¹¹

In Nyasaland¹² missionaries were involved in political activity both at the local level and in lobbying in Britain for Protectorate status for the territory. In the 1880s the warring Tonga and Ngoni ethnic groups tried to enlist the help of the missionaries against their enemies. The Tonga in particular responded to the mission and frequently appealed to the missionaries in cases of local dispute to arbitrate between the elders.¹³ On the international plane Donald Fraser wrote that the Livingstonia Mission “helped to peg out the claims and make imperious demands for British administration.”¹⁴ He referred to the campaign based in Scotland to persuade the Government to declare Protectorate status over Nyasaland. A British Protectorate of the Nyasaland District was declared in May 1891. Commenting on the difference that this made to the political involvement of the missionaries, McCracken wrote: “Hitherto missionaries, even when they attempted to stand aloof, had participated actively in the local scene as equals and sometimes as subordinates to the neighbouring authorities. Now, though they might continue to participate with far fewer obstacles and uncertainties than before, their political actions tended increasingly to be defined in relationship not to African politics

⁸ S. C. Neill, 1966, p. 303. See also C. P. Groves, 1954, p. 206

⁹ This, of course, is not to argue that the plans were abandoned because of the missionaries' action. The significant point here is that the missionaries argued the case so publicly at all.

¹⁰ Ayendele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria*, 1966, pp 29ff

¹¹ *ibid* p.39

¹² Present day Malawi

¹³ Fraser, *Livingstonia*, 1915, pp. 20ff; see also McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940*, 1977, pp 59ff

¹⁴ Fraser, 1915, p. 76

but to those of the colonial regime. The closer the political interests of the missionary lay to those of the administrator, the more likely it was that the Africans would regard the one as the extension of the other."¹⁵

We shall find that a very similar analysis could be made of the situation within Uganda. So even brief analysis of the situations in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Nyasaland indicates that it was a norm in sub-Saharan Africa for missionaries to be involved in political affairs at both local and international levels. It was both misleading for Tucker to claim that the involvement of missionaries in the politics of Uganda was a response to peculiar circumstances. His words were rather a disingenuous attempt to maintain the fiction that missionaries stood aloof from political life in the countries where they worked. It would have been more accurate to have claimed that the shape of C.M.S. involvement was formed by the peculiar circumstances of Uganda.

In his Edinburgh paper Tucker asserted that the missionaries were often drawn into political involvement through the initiative of others, both European and African, on the basis of their relative experience of both worlds and a corresponding ability to interpret the one to the other. This was true in the nineteenth century period of missionary presence in Uganda. It is clear that there were a number of attempts by European political authorities to solicit the agency of either individual missionaries or the mission as a whole. When the Revd Philip O'Flaherty went to Buganda in 1880 he took a brief from the Foreign Office in London to keep them "informed of the facts."¹⁶ Later the I.B.E.A. Company attempted to co-opt Mackay in 1889, actually empowering him to offer African chiefs the advantage of trade and general intercourse in using his influence to persuade them to declare for the English in preference to the Germans.¹⁷

During the period from the reinstatement of Mwanga as Kabaka in 1890 and Lugard's departure from Buganda after the civil war of 1892, there were a number of attempts by both Africans and Europeans

¹⁵ McCracken, 1977, p. 157

¹⁶ Note by the Revd Claude O'Flaherty on his father, January 1953. M.U.K.A.

¹⁷ Walker to his father, 11/8/1889 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.74

to involve the missionaries in political matters.¹⁸ The Protestant Christians in 1889 who were gathering to invade Buganda with their Catholic colleagues in order to oust the Moslem Kileleshwa as Kabaka and replace him with Mwanga wanted the presence and support of the C.M.S. missionaries who were south of Lake Victoria at Nassa. Initially the reaction of Walker and Gordon was to remain there and engage in spiritual work, but within a month they decided to join the Protestant Baganda.¹⁹ Walker and Gordon advice to the Protestant chiefs, who invited their support, to desist from the invasion and settle where they could develop spiritually was heard and ignored.²⁰ Walker was very aware of the limitations of any political advice that the missionaries were able to give. He informed Mwanga in 1889 that the missionaries had nothing to do with the political acts of the Protestant readers. He felt that they did not understand the people and their situation sufficiently to be able to offer helpful advice.²¹ On the other hand, Walker did feel that he and the other missionaries were able to offer some advice when asked about external affairs. The failure of the first attempt by the Christians to expel Kileleshwa in 1889 led them to consider favourably the assistance of any forces that might be supplied by the I.B.E.A. Company and on this matter they approached Walker to ask his advice. He encouraged them to seek such an alliance and emphasised the philanthropic concerns of the Company.²²

When Lugard came to Buganda in 1890 he had been given to understand that his natural allies were the Protestant chiefs; at the same time the C.M.S. missionaries were looking to the Company to perform a peace-making role in the country. This latter expectation in practice was compromised by the desire to support the Protestant chiefs in their power struggle with the Catholic faction. This was expressed clearly by Walker that "whilst I am here, I feel it is my duty to see that the I.B.E.A.

¹⁸ Major secondary sources relating to the political context of early Buganda mission history include R. P. Ashe, Chronicles of Uganda London 1894; H. B. Hansen, Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890-1925 London, 1964; M. Perham, Lugard – the Years of Adventure London 1956, and M. Wright, Buganda in the Heroic Age London, 1971

¹⁹ Walker to his sister 23/7/1889 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.71. See further Walker to his sister 25/8/1889 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.75

²⁰ Walker to his sister 7/6/1889 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.60

²¹ Walker to his brother 10/10/1889 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.83

²² Walker to his brother 29/12/1889 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.89 They were no doubt more interested in the military capabilities than the philanthropic concerns.

Company is playing fair with the Protestant chiefs."²³ One example of this in practice comes from 1891 when Walker wrote to Lugard about the division of the Ssesse islands between the Protestant and the Catholic chiefs. He argued that Mwanga had gone back on his word by refusing now to divide the islands, and that Lugard was showing favouritism towards the Catholics by his support for Mwanga in this decision.²⁴ Behind this one can hear the voice of grievance felt by the Protestant chiefs who were using Walker as their (not unwilling) advocate. In addition to seeing the missionaries as a useful channel of communication with Lugard, the Protestant chiefs consulted the missionaries for explanation of Lugard's words and actions.²⁵

Much of the advice given by missionaries was intended to discourage the Protestant chiefs in their political ambitions. Indeed Gordon as early as 1890 feared that the Protestant chiefs were becoming too ambitious for power and that this was leading them to an undesirable and unbending spirit towards the Catholic chiefs.²⁶ The missionaries were not aware that their European intellectual heritage enabled them to make clear theoretical distinctions between the spiritual and the secular realms whereas this distinction was entirely foreign to the Baganda. Neither was it evident from the activities of the missionaries themselves what this distinction meant in practice. What the missionaries perceived as an unwholesome mix of politics and religion was a perfectly natural integration to the Baganda Protestant Christians. They preferred to argue that, because they had fought for and reconquered the country, they did not see why they should allow their Catholic rivals to dominate the political arena.²⁷ The relationship between the missionaries and the Protestant chiefs in this period was such that the latter were eager to receive the support and advice of the former wherever possible as well as eager to hear their interpretation of Lugard's actions and statements. But

²³ Walker to his brother 6/3/1891 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.136

²⁴ Walker to Lugard 16/2/1891. Lugard Papers R. H. MSS Brit Emp S.42.130

²⁵ Notes of interview between F. Baylis and the Revd R. H. Walker at Salisbury Square in London 23/11/1892 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P4

²⁶ Gordon to Lang 2/10/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891

²⁷ Walker to Mrs Savile 9/3/1891 C.M.S.A. Acc 88. The claim of conquest was clearly untrue and represents a none too subtle attempt to pull wool over the missionaries' eyes.

they were by no means inclined to follow any given advice which did not correspond with their own thinking.²⁸

Tucker was present in Buganda only briefly during the early days of Lugard's presence, and his small role in the political developments of that month will be considered later. After Tucker had left early in 1891 and following the signing of the Treaty between Mwanga and himself on behalf of the I.B.E.A. Company, Lugard was very conscious that political relationships between the Company and the Kabaka and chiefs were his business and not that of the missionaries, whether C.M.S. or White Father. When a letter came from Sir F. de Winton, the Mombasa administrator of the Company, which suggested that the Kabaka and chiefs should go to the English Bishop for advice and assistance, Lugard was most indignant. He interpreted this as a trespass on his own sphere.²⁹ Combined with this was Lugard's notorious sensitivity to anything that could be construed as personal criticism. This explains Lugard's general unwillingness to consult with the missionaries on any political matter. On the other hand the C.M.S. missionaries had a naïve expectation that Lugard should favour the Protestant party. He did so eventually by supplying them with additional arms in January 1892, but in the aftermath of the war he made a conscious effort towards reconciliation of the various factions including the Moslems. The C.M.S. missionaries felt that Lugard should have consulted them more and were resentful especially since in 1891 many C.M.S. supporters in Britain had assisted the Company in raising the necessary funds to keep it in Uganda. Walker once went so far as saying that he did not see that "it would be too much to ask that the agents of the I.B.E.A. Company here should do nothing that the united body of C.M.S. missionaries believe to be disadvantageous to its interests."³⁰ It was too much because Lugard had no sympathy whatever with this kind of argument.

²⁸ This conclusion is supported indirectly by the fact that histories of the period by secular Baganda historians pay little regard to the role of the missionaries in this period. See Miti, A Short History of Buganda, 1923 and Karugire, A Political History of Uganda, 1980.

²⁹ Lugard: Diaries Vol. II p.136, entry for 22/3/1891

³⁰ Walker to his sister 6/4/1892 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.180

One question that arose during the time when Lugard was absent in Ankole and Toro in 1891 was that of religious liberty.³¹ This showed up the contradiction in the position of the C.M.S. missionaries in attempting to defend both the principle that chiefs should be free under British rule to choose their religion and the principle that they should be expelled from their chieftainships should they change their religion. Baskerville made a valiant if unconvincing attempt to hold the principles together in his Journal entry for 13 July 1891 and in a letter that he sent to Captain Williams the next day.³² He made the following points: that should Williams declare absolute religious liberty, trouble would inevitably ensue, that while supporting the principle of religious liberty, the peculiar nature of Kiganda politics was such that it would be the Protestant party that would lose members and land to the Catholic party. This was because the Kabaka was nominally of the latter affiliation. Finally he argued that such a procedure would lead the Protestant party to lose all confidence in the I.B.E.A. Company. The arguments here would have carried more credibility without the assertion that he supported religious liberty. It was clear that he did not do so in this context.

The most politically aware of the C.M.S. missionaries was the Revd R. P. Ashe, who had been a contemporary of Lugard's in school. He typically tended to exaggerate the influence that the missionaries had over the Protestant chiefs, but he was prepared to admit freely to Lugard that he sought to advise those who came to him in spite of the C.M.S. policy of avoiding political issues wherever possible.³³

The period of Company rule in Buganda was a problematic one for both the Company agents and the C.M.S. Missionaries in the country. While both recognised the value of mutual support, Lugard and Williams felt beleaguered and were sensitive towards any attitude that they considered fell short of whole-hearted support.³⁴ On the other hand the missionaries were uncertain of their political

³¹ For a detailed analysis of the subject of religious liberty in the period of Company rule in Buganda, see Hansen, 1984, pp 37ff

³² Baskerville: Journal entries for 13/7/1891 and 14/7/1891 M.U.K.A.

³³ R.P. Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*, 1894, p. 279; Ashe to Lugard 30/4/1892 R.H. Lugard Papers 42.221

³⁴ See for instance, Ashe to Lugard 19/2/1892 R.H. Lugard Papers 42.189. This letter is marked *Important* by Lugard.

objectives and struggled to hold on to contradictory principles. Tucker was away from Uganda for most of this period, and he offered no guidance to the missionaries remaining in Buganda, nor yet did he appoint anyone to take special responsibility for political matters.

Tucker's personal involvement in the politics of Uganda began even before his arrival in the country. While he was preparing in Mombasa for his safari to Uganda in August 1890, he met regularly with Colonel Euan-Smith and Captain Lugard to discuss the points that Lugard intended to present to the Kabaka.³⁵ Lugard travelled in advance of Tucker, taking his prepared Treaty. In Buganda he shared the main points with Walker and Gordon with a view to their enlisting the support of the Protestant chiefs.³⁶ However, Mwanga refused to be pressurised and delayed signing until 26 December 1890. When Tucker arrived he met up almost daily with Lugard; unfortunately neither man recorded details of these conversations.³⁷ One small glimpse may be found in that Tucker wrote to Lugard in early January 1891 to tell him that the Protestant chiefs were aggrieved, thinking that Lugard was showing greater favour to the Catholics.³⁸ This was by no means the first or last time that the Protestant chiefs sought to involve the missionaries in their own political agenda. Tucker briefly met with the French Fathers and they discussed some of the grievances of the chiefs, but little came of these meetings.

Any influence that Tucker may have had in the country was considerably diminished by his short stay, during which he was hardly able to grasp the complexities of its politics. Ashe was particularly scathing about his involvement: "The bishop left in less than a month, apparently under the impression that he had been instrumental in effecting a settlement of the difficulties by a hurried conference with the French Fathers, the results of which however as one might have expected proved valueless."³⁹ The superficiality of Tucker's grasp was reflected in his comment to Wigram in London

³⁵ Lugard: Diaries Vol. I p. 231

³⁶ Lugard: Diaries Vol. II pp 32-33

³⁷ Many references in Lugard's Diaries for December 1890 and January 1891. Vol. II pp 49ff

³⁸ Lugard: Diaries Vol. II p.52

³⁹ R. P. Ashe, 1894, p. 155

that he was convinced that following Lugard's Treaty "things will settle down and justice be done to both parties."⁴⁰

When Tucker left Mombasa for England on 27 April 1891, his intention was to find men and money for the work in Uganda. He appealed for forty men to join the mission at his welcoming meeting at Exeter Hall in London on 2 June⁴¹, but he was soon to find himself engaged with another purpose. That month he became aware of rumours that the I.B.E.A. Company was considering withdrawal from Uganda on financial grounds. This was confirmed at a meeting of the Directors on 16th July.⁴² Tucker's response was immediate; he wrote to Sir Fowell Buxton, the Treasurer of C.M.S. and a director of the company, outlining the reasons why he deprecated the decision. His argument was that the position of the C.M.S. mission in Uganda had changed since the arrival of the company as a consequence of that arrival. For the previous fourteen or so years C.M.S. missionaries had been in the country without looking for any protection from any government. During that time a large number of people had become Christians. For some time in Uganda there had been a political struggle between the Protestant, Roman Catholic, Moslem and pagan parties. When Jackson and Gedge arrived in 1891 as representatives of the I.B.E.A. Company, it was only the Protestants who welcomed them and were willing to accept Jackson's treaty. It was a similar story when Lugard came later in the year. The Protestants exerted their influence to persuade the Catholics and the Kabaka to accept the treaty offered them. This action of the Protestants compromised them in the eyes of their fellow countrymen. Tucker continued to argue that should the I.B.E.A. Company withdraw from Uganda, the result would be the dispersal of the converts and the probable destruction of the missionaries, all of whom were British subjects. This last point was important because in his opinion the actions of the Company had compromised the neutrality of the missionaries. Tucker alluded to a letter written by Lugard to him in Uganda in which he informed him that unless the Christians co-operated with him, he would be forced to withdraw which would mean destruction for the mission. In response to this letter the Protestants exerted their influence on Lugard's behalf. Besides this Tucker argued that the

⁴⁰ Tucker to Wigram 30/12/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891.124

⁴¹ Report in C.M.G. July 1891 and C.M.I. July 1891

⁴² P. L. McDermott, 1893, p. 193

Company had an obligation following the Treaty with Mwanga. It would not be possible for the missionaries to withdraw and abandon the converts should the Company depart. He argued that the British government had a responsibility within Uganda because of the Treaty with Germany, which committed the country to the sphere of British influence. Moreover the I.B.E.A. Company had been acting as the agent of the British government and was in fact indistinguishable from the government in the eyes of Ugandans. Tucker concluded his letter: "But I will not attempt further to show how the responsibility in the matter rests upon either the Company or the government.... I will only say that should the Company withdraw from Uganda and the result be (as I believe in all probability it will be) the destruction of the mission and the death of our missionaries, that the whole of a very solemn responsibility for such a terrible disaster will rest equally upon the I.B.E.A. Company and H.M.'s government."⁴³

Not for the last time did Tucker write such a tendentious letter, shamelessly conjuring up the shadows of Gordon and Hannington. He wrote with minimal knowledge of the situation within Uganda, offering no evidence for his assertions on behalf of the Protestant Christians of Buganda who had after all been looking after themselves with a fair degree of success up to this point. The letter was significant, however, in that it was written only two weeks after the Directors had made the decision to withdraw from Uganda, indicating the close contact between the institutions of the C.M.S. and the Company. Buxton epitomised such a link. Tucker's letter was followed in August by a meeting between General Hutchinson, a prominent member of the C.M.S. committee and a former Lay Secretary, and General Sir Arnold Kemball of the Company, who warned the Society that they required more than sympathy to enable the Company to remain in Uganda.⁴⁴ It was the following month that Tucker and two members of the C.M.S. Committee met by coincidence Sir William Mackinnon in Scotland.⁴⁵ The latter explained the need of the Company for some forty thousand pounds to enable them to remain in Buganda for another year. He was assured that the C.M.S. could

⁴³ Tucker to Sir Fowell Buxton 30/7/1891. Copy in R.H. Lugard Papers 44.110-111

⁴⁴ J.S. Galbraith, *Mackinnon and East Africa*, 1972 pp. 211-212. See also B.H. Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 1990, p. 129

⁴⁵ There is little doubt that Tucker would have interpreted this in terms of Providence rather than coincidence.

not use its funds for such a purpose, but it was felt appropriate that an appeal could be made to the friends of the Society. A draft appeal was written and Sir John Kennaway and General Hutchinson agreed in principle to become the Trustees of a proposed Uganda Guarantee Fund. Little more was done at this stage, although opinion was hardening within the C.M.S. Africa Committee that it was essential to the work of the mission in Uganda that the Company should remain.⁴⁶ A Special General Committee meeting of the C.M.S. was held on 29th September, at which Tucker spoke of the necessity of the Company remaining, and it was resolved to send a memorial to Lord Salisbury to request government support for this purpose. In the meantime it was understood that any question of issuing a general appeal should be deferred until Salisbury had replied.⁴⁷ On 28th October there was a meeting between some of the C.M.S. Committee and Directors of the I.B.E.A. Company at which the C.M.S. representatives agreed to promote a fund to support the Company in Uganda. Tucker was planning to return to East Africa. His farewell coincided with the Annual Meeting of the Gleaners' Union at the Exeter Hall on 30th October. He spoke powerfully of the needs of Uganda. This was followed immediately by an appeal from Eugene Stock, the influential Publications Secretary of C.M.S., who stressed the urgency of a response to the Uganda Guarantee Fund. He announced that friends of the Society were expected to contribute £15,000 of which some £1,600 had been received. The response was overwhelming and within ten days £16,000 had been given or pledged.⁴⁸ Tucker, Kennaway and Hutchinson followed up the Exeter Hall appeal with a private letter of appeal to various wealthy individuals at the start of November on the same day that a telegram was sent to Mombasa to notify Lugard that he should remain in Buganda.⁴⁹ Being assured of the success of the appeal Tucker left London to return to Mombasa on 2nd December.

At most a respite had been bought for the I.B.E.A. Company to remain in Uganda through 1892, and so there was continuing activity throughout the year in Britain to put pressure on the government to take responsibility for Uganda. Added impetus was given to this campaign by the involvement of

⁴⁶ Wigram to Hutchinson 14/9/1891 C.M.S.A. G/Y/A7/1/1

⁴⁷ The Memorial was reprinted in C.M.I. November 1891. The Minutes of the Special General Committee are found in C.M.S.A. A5 Precis book for 1891

⁴⁸ Report in C.M.I. December 1891

⁴⁹ Mackinnon to Hutchinson 2/11/1891 C.M.S.A. G/Y/A7/1/1

H.M. Stanley and Captain Lugard who had by this time returned to Britain.⁵⁰ C.M.S. publications during the year included Sarah Stock's Uganda: Its Story and Its Claim, arguing that the British Government should take over responsibility for Uganda. A book of Tucker's sketches was produced with a foreword arguing that a British withdrawal from Uganda would be disastrous in its effects. One fruit of this campaign was that 147 sets of resolutions, 11 memorials and 16 petitions urging the retention of Uganda were received by the government.⁵¹ It is noticeable that from this time the words "retain" and "retention" became the common currency in the debate about the future of Britain's relationship with Buganda.

Meanwhile in east Africa for the first part of 1892 Tucker was largely taken up dealing with problems in Frere Town. Then in June 1892 he wrote to Sir Gerald Portal, the Commissioner-General of Zanzibar, to inform him that in the event of any British withdrawal from Uganda, the C.M.S. missionaries would nevertheless remain. He questioned Portal as to whether the British government would be prepared to take any steps towards the preservation of law and order in the country and argued that if the British failed to act, then the Germans might respond to any situation of anarchy and appeals for help.⁵² The latter was a shrewd argument on his part, because Tucker was well aware that if the British government was reluctant to take any responsibility in Uganda, it was even more reluctant to see another European power do so. That Tucker succeeded in touching a raw nerve was indicated by the prompt reply from Portal that he had referred the Bishop's point to Lord Salisbury who in turn had assured him that "the Germans will certainly not be at liberty to undertake any occupation of the British sphere."⁵³

Later in September 1892 Tucker wrote to Wigram to encourage him and the Society to use all their influence to bring the whole area in east Africa that was considered to be a sphere of British influence

⁵⁰ For instance see Stanley's speech when he was granted the Freedom of the Town of Swansea, reported in the Western Mail 4/10/1892. See also Lugard's letters to the Times 8/10/1892 and 17/10/1892. Both of Lugard's letters were reprinted in C.M.I. November 1892.

⁵¹ D.A. Low, "British Public Opinion and the Uganda Question" U.J. XVIII/2 1954 pp. 81-100. See also PRO FO 566 Register which records the receipt of 165 letters about the retention of Uganda in November alone.

⁵² Tucker to Portal 15/6/1892 Copy in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.227

under the terms of being a British Protectorate.⁵⁴ In the issue of The Standard of 13th September 1892, a letter was published by Tucker in which he argued that the war in Mengo in January 1892 had been between political rather than religious parties. He then drew the lesson that the war provided the object lesson of what might ensue should the British withdraw from Uganda. His letter concluded: "...the abandonment of Uganda means dishonour to the English name, the revival of the slave-trade in Central Africa, the absolute waste of all that has been spent in the development of the country, the dispersion of the Native Church, the murder of our missionaries, and the continued disorder and bloodshed of a State at war with itself."⁵⁵ This is a remarkably audacious letter that piles on assertions without evidence. Its tendentious nature is exacerbated by the emotive tone adopted, and it can only be described in terms of unworthy propaganda. The propaganda war of 1892 continued when a letter was sent by some leading Baganda Protestants to C.M.S. in London: "We Baganda are under the Queen's flag; we very much want the agents of the Company to stay in our country."⁵⁶

However, not all the letters received were so positive about the C.M.S. campaign on behalf of the I.B.E.A. Company. The veteran missionary W. Salter Price had written in 1888 expressing his anxiety lest the C.M.S. should identify itself too closely with the Company.⁵⁷ In line with this feeling he wrote to Hutchinson about the Uganda Appeal: "I am grieved, deeply grieved, to see the dear old ship drifting from her ancient moorings into a troubled sea. I shall be only too glad should the result prove my fears to be unfounded, but at present I shall think it a gracious interposition of Providence if the extraordinary appeal for funds meets with little response."⁵⁸ In his opinion the active campaigning by prominent C.M.S. figures on behalf of a British Protectorate went against the tradition epitomised by Venn.

⁵³ Portal to Tucker 19/6/1892 Copy in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.230

⁵⁴ Tucker to Wigram 13/9/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.383

⁵⁵ Tucker in The Standard 13/9/1892, reprinted in C.M.I. October 1892

⁵⁶ Letter from Baganda chiefs to the Committee of C.M.S. C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.385. The signatories were Katikiro Apolo, Nikodemu Sebwato, Mugema Joswa, Henry Duta, Paulo Bakungu, Bataomeyo Musoke, Sitbano Kalibwano, Zakariya Kizito, Yohanna Bunjo, Yohanna Alliyiro, Yonathan Kagizi, and Mika Sematimba.

⁵⁷ W. Salter Price to Smith 22/10/1888. C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P1888

⁵⁸ W. Salter Price to Hutchinson 2/1/1892. C.M.S.A. G/Y/A7/1/1

From within Uganda itself there was relative silence while Tucker was engaging in his campaign. The exception was Walker who was not impressed with the emotive overstatement of many of the arguments deployed: "I have seen statements which make it appear that the C.M.S. in Buganda depends on the presence of the I.B.E.A. Company, and that were the I.B.E.A. Company to withdraw there would follow the destruction of the C.M.S. etc etc. This is not at all the case."⁵⁹ He thus highlighted the lack of evidence behind the more emotive appeals of Tucker and others.

The major event of Tucker's second visit to Uganda was the Commission of Sir Gerald Portal to determine the nature of Britain's relationship with Buganda following the departure of the I.B.E.A. Company. After his involvement in the propaganda campaign for the "retention" of Uganda, Tucker was favourably disposed towards positive involvement in Portal's mission. Hearing of Tucker's plans to travel to Uganda in September 1892, Portal wrote to him that he should consider that he and his party would travel at their own risk and that the British authorities bore no responsibility for their welfare.⁶⁰ Tucker's immediate reply stated firmly that such a disclaimer did not relieve the Government of their responsibility. On the contrary the treaties signed by the I.B.E.A. Company had committed the Government to take responsibility.⁶¹ It was not in Tucker's interests to allow Portal to draw clear distinctions between the I.B.E.A. Company and the British Government that might be used to justify a complete withdrawal from Uganda. Portal did not follow the matter up with Tucker, but he tacitly conceded the case.⁶²

En route to Uganda Tucker's party met that of Captain Macdonald. Tucker handed over orders from the Company to Macdonald instructing him to return to Uganda. Macdonald saved Tucker from making a tactical blunder when he refused to travel together with the Bishop lest the Roman Catholics in Uganda should make capital of their close companionship.⁶³ On the same journey Tucker received the news that the British Government had decided to enable the I.B.E.A. Company to remain

⁵⁹ Walker to his brother 14/7/1892 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.185

⁶⁰ Portal to Tucker 21/9/1892. Copy in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O/1892 402

⁶¹ Tucker to Portal 21/9/1892 G3/A5/O/1892 402

⁶² There is something slightly suspicious about this correspondence. Although it cannot be proved, collusion between Portal and Tucker to establish the point would be in both of their interests.

in Uganda until the end of March 1893. He correctly read the signs that this was a step in the direction of a commitment to a more permanent occupation of the country.⁶⁴ This was further confirmed by the announcement of a Commission under Sir Gerald Portal in November 1892. Tucker would have been even more heartened had he known of the letter from Lord Rosebery to Portal in December 1892, expressing his “confident but not official opinion that public sentiment here will expect and support the maintenance of the British sphere of influence.”⁶⁵ This agreed with Portal’s own opinion that withdrawal of British influence would lead to war and that his hand had already been forced by Lugard’s activities within Uganda.

On his arrival in Uganda Tucker found that Captain Williams of the Company had plans to amend the treaty made by Lugard after the war in 1892 in order to respond to some of the grievances that had been felt by some of the Catholic chiefs in particular. However, Tucker’s response was to deprecate any attempt to modify the status quo before Portal’s arrival. He set out his reasons in a memorandum to Williams, arguing that those who wanted modification were rebellious against the Kabaka, that the whole question of Britain’s involvement was under judicial review, and that there was current uncertainty as to the intentions of the British government.⁶⁶ Without conceding Tucker’s points, Williams did not pursue his proposed amendments.

Sir Gerald Portal arrived with his entourage of eight men on March 17th 1893. He visited Tucker the next day; they dined together a couple of days later. The following week Tucker formally agreed that the missionaries should assist Portal in his work. March 31st 1893 saw the formal ending of the Company’s involvement in Uganda, and this was followed by the raising of the Union flag on the next morning. This event had little immediate significance for the Baganda who understandably saw little if any distinction between the Company and the British government. In any case Lugard had used the ensign freely instead of the Company flag and had been accustomed to present himself as an

⁶³ J.R.L. Macdonald, 1897, p. 128

⁶⁴ Tucker to Stock 30/9/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/1892 429

⁶⁵ Rosebery to Portal 9/12/1892 R.H. Portal Papers 113.152

⁶⁶ Tucker to Williams 7/1/1893 in U.N.A. A2/1. See also Tucker to Baylis 11/2/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O/1893 133

officer of the Queen.⁶⁷ In contrast the C.M.S. missionaries saw this as the climax of what had begun at the meeting of the Gleaners' Union in 1891 and as a work of divine providence. Accordingly Tucker recorded that after the raising of the Union flag, the missionaries all met for special praise and prayer.⁶⁸

At the request of Portal, Tucker formally set out his arguments as to why the British government should take over the administration of Uganda: that the latent tensions between the Roman Catholic, Protestant and Moslem parties would erupt into open warfare should the British withdraw. He argued that if the Moslems should ally with Kabarega in Bunyoro, the result would be "the practical enslavement of the people and the effacement of all the civilising influences at present at work."⁶⁹ As Director of the mission in Uganda Tucker naturally was concerned that there should be a stable political context in which the work of evangelisation could proceed unhindered. But his imagination of such a context was limited to a vision of a British Protectorate. He certainly maximised the propaganda appeal that came from his episcopal position, but he completely failed to consult with both missionaries and African Christians within Uganda.

Having established the fundamentals of British responsibility in Kampala with the raising of the flag, Portal was concerned about the appropriate organisation within the country. To this end he invited Tucker and Hirth of the White Fathers to meet him on April 6th 1893.⁷⁰ They were invited as representatives of the respective Protestant and Catholic chiefs who were not consulted by Portal at this stage. Tucker agreed that the Protestants should make some concessions regarding land and offices, but Hirth was not satisfied. In the end the Bishops came to a compromise, signing a paper to the effect that they would take these proposals to the chiefs in order to persuade them to give their consent.⁷¹ Regarding these negotiations Portal paid official tribute to Tucker: "I cannot speak too

⁶⁷ Portal to Rosebery 9/4/1893. R.H. Portal Papers 109.8

⁶⁸ Tucker to Stock 30/9/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893 232

⁶⁹ Tucker to Portal 30/3/1893. U.N.A. A2/1. This copy is badly damaged. Thankfully there are further copies in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.174 and in Tucker, 1908, Vol I p.260

⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion of the negotiations, see Hansen, 1984 pp. 59ff and Holmberg, African Tribes and European Agencies, 1966, pp.384ff

⁷¹ G. Portal, The British Mission to Uganda in 1893, 1894, p. 225

highly of the straightforwardness, the conciliatory tone and attitude and the strong wish for a peaceful settlement even at a sacrifice shown by Bishop Tucker."⁷² His more personal feelings of near exasperation with two strong-willed Bishops surfaced in his communication with his relatives!⁷³

One proposal of Portal's that caused a great deal of controversy when Tucker shared it with the chiefs was the peculiar plan of double chieftainships. In a detailed letter Tucker set out the objections of the chiefs, notwithstanding their sympathy for Portal's principle that people should be judged by their co-religionists. The chiefs felt that the principle could be catered for by an adequate mechanism of appeal to the King in cases of disagreement. But the chiefs expressed their willingness to try and make the system work if Portal should insist, but only under protest.⁷⁴

Tucker's important role in this process was underlined by the fact that it was finally signed by the Protestant chiefs on the 19th April 1893 following his careful explanation that this was a treaty between the British government and the Kabaka and chiefs of Uganda and not between the bishops. It is uncertain how much this was done to salve the episcopal conscience and to what extent this explanation was convincing to the Baganda chiefs. Before signing the document Tucker got the gathering to kneel and he asked God's blessing on what was done.⁷⁵

Tucker was basically satisfied with the outcome of the negotiations and especially with Portal's private assurances that within the system of double chieftainships the Protestants would be the senior partners. He was satisfied that the principle of religious liberty was granted without disadvantaging the Protestants, and also that he felt the treaty was negotiated in a Christian spirit. He also expressed the fear that some of the C.M.S. supporters in Britain might denounce him for making any

⁷² Portal to Sir Percy Anderson, Foreign Office 9/4/1893 R.H. Portal Papers 109.10

⁷³ Portal to his mother 7/4/1893 and Portal to his wife 4/4/1893. R. H. Portal Papers 113.225-6

⁷⁴ Tucker to Portal 15.4.1893 U.N.A. A2/1

⁷⁵ Tucker to Wigram 24/4/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.241 (this letter was marked Private) and Tucker, 1908, Vol. I p. 270

concessions at all to the Roman Catholics.⁷⁶ Tucker's concern was less that he be denounced for political meddling as a missionary than that he concede the political agenda to the Catholics.

With the completion of Portal's mission in Uganda, Tucker enquired of London whether the Committee would care to invite him to be present in England when Portal returned. The reply came that they were not prepared to invite him at that stage, because they felt his continuing presence in Africa was of greater importance. But they would invite him at a later stage should that be thought worthwhile.⁷⁷ That came on the 26th October 1893; and Tucker duly departed once more for England.

On his arrival he became almost immediately involved in the matter of Lugard's reputation, which had been under attack for some time by the French White Fathers and their allies. Captain Macdonald had been dispatched to report on Lugard's conduct, but his report had not been made public. When Tucker wrote to the Foreign Office for a copy in December 1893 he was rebuffed.⁷⁸ Nonetheless he was well aware that Macdonald had been very critical of Lugard. He was quick to criticise what he knew of the report and the way in which it had been compiled. He criticised Macdonald's allowing a German journalist, Wolf, to sit and hear evidence with him, feeling *inter alia*, that he was biased against the Protestant mission. Secondly he criticised the refusal of Macdonald to admit evidence from any African, and thirdly, he felt that the failure of Macdonald to call Roscoe, the representative of C.M.S. at the relevant time, constituted another reason why the inquiry should be regarded as "little else than a solemn farce."⁷⁹ Tucker was firm in his support for Lugard, the opinion which eventually prevailed in Britain.

Tucker remained in the United Kingdom until the British government made a clear decision on their intentions regarding Uganda, although there is no evidence to suggest that Tucker's presence made

⁷⁶ Tucker to Wigram 24/4/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.241

⁷⁷ Tucker to Wigram 4/4/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.185. The reply is recorded as a Minute of the Group 3 Committee 25/7/1893 in G3/A5/P4

⁷⁸ Correspondence in PRO F.O. 566.1642. A copy of the Report itself may be found in U.N.A. A1/1

⁷⁹ Tucker to Lugard 21/12/1893. R.H. Lugard Papers 44.109

any difference to the proceedings. He wrote to Wigram in March 1894 that he was only staying until a decision was announced.⁸⁰ He expressed his delight when the announcement of a British Protectorate came the following month, interpreting this as an answer to prayer. His second response was to say that the Society had now to rise to the challenge of evangelisation in Uganda.⁸¹ Walker's comment from Uganda was rather cooler: "The news that Uganda us to be under British Protection will settle many of the restless feelings that have been floating about."⁸²

Two clear instances of British political authorities engaging the assistance of the C.M.S. missionaries occurred when they had problems with the Sudanese troops in 1893 and again in 1897. Shortly after the departure of both Portal and Tucker in 1893, Captain Macdonald who was the senior British officer in Kampala considered it an urgent matter to disarm the Sudanese troops under Selim Bey lest they be persuaded to add military support to the Baganda Moslems objecting to the land allocation granted by the Portal treaty. Macdonald went to Roscoe, the acting head of the C.M.S. mission, to invite the missionaries to join him in disarming the soldiers.⁸³ In a long letter to C.M.S. headquarters Roscoe set out his justification of the positive response to this request.⁸⁴ He argued that although he was opposed to the principle of bearing arms, he was aware of having taken an oath of allegiance to the Queen in his ordination vows which implied that he should be obedient to the orders of the Queen's representative. Roscoe defended his action by arguing that he and the other missionaries did their duty in standing by their fellow-countrymen. He continued to point out that they were not taking up arms against the Baganda but to prevent the mutiny of troops under British command in the first place. Although Tucker was not present, that he accepted Roscoe's explanation is indicated when he quoted with approval the comment made by Ernest Gedge, the Times correspondent in Kampala, that

⁸⁰ Tucker to Wigram 26/3/1894 C.M.S.A. G/AC4/15/2931

⁸¹ Tucker to Wigram 13/4/1894 C.M.S.A. G/AC4/15/2916

⁸² Walker to his sister 19/6/1894 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.235

⁸³ Macdonald's account may be found in Macdonald, Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa, 1897, pp 244f

⁸⁴ Roscoe to Baylis 16/3/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.139

“The English missionaries likewise deserve the warmest thanks for the important services, which they rendered upon this occasion.”⁸⁵

In 1897 the Sudanese troops in Uganda did rebel against their British officers and fled to a fort at Luba's in Busoga where they killed three Englishmen. The coincidence of this event with the flight of Mwanga to Buddu and the attempt led by him to overthrow British hegemony constituted a most serious threat to the political *status quo*. Once more the services of the C.M.S. missionary body were requested and granted. Captain Macdonald together with the former missionary George Wilson persuaded them. The purpose of their involvement was ostensibly to act as interpreters between the British officers and African troops.⁸⁶ Two of the missionaries justified their actions in terms of performing their duty.⁸⁷ A slightly different perspective came from Cook in his reminiscences recalling himself and Pilkington, “two lay missionaries at the head of Her Majesty's Forces, consisting of 3000 Baganda. How we enjoyed it all.”⁸⁸ Tragically during the encounter in Busoga Pilkington was fatally wounded. Tucker's attitude to the missionaries' involvement was similar to his response to the earlier events that the peculiar circumstances justified the active involvement of the missionaries in quelling the rebellion.⁸⁹ This corresponded with the reaction of the President of C.M.S. Sir John Kennaway who wrote to Major Ternan to thank him for the care taken of the missionaries during the troubles. Ternan assured the President of the valuable service rendered by the missionaries themselves.⁹⁰

Before 1897 Tucker's political involvement with Uganda related primarily to the macro-scale of Britain's relationship with the country. The fundamental assumption that he brought to the country

⁸⁵ Tucker, 1908, Vol II p. 285

⁸⁶ Walker to his sisters 23/10/1897 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.380

⁸⁷ Pilkington to his parents 23/11/1897 in Harford-Battersby, 1898 p. 327; Lloyd, *In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country*, 1899, pp. 267-268

⁸⁸ A. R. Cook, “The Journey to Uganda” U.J. I/2, 1934, p. 94

⁸⁹ Tucker, 1908, Vol II p. 121

⁹⁰ The correspondence is found in Lloyd, 1899, p.233

with him in 1890 was that the I.B.E.A. Company in general and Lugard in particular were major factors for stability in the country. Closer to the situation Walker perceived them more acutely as disturbing factors to the extent of believing that the war of 1892 would never have occurred without the Company's presence.⁹¹ Tucker was aware that the events of January 1892 required interpretation in political rather than religious terms, but his lack of experience within the country meant that he was unable to develop any real understanding of the political conflicts within Buganda. He assumed the conclusion that the continued presence of the Company would be the guarantee of relative peace within the country. When it was clear that the Company could no longer afford to remain in Buganda, he fell into the assumption that this would best be replaced by a declaration of British Protectorate status. With his activity in the propaganda battle for continuing British political involvement Tucker was pragmatically prepared to utilise any argument that he felt could be effective in winning. Underlying this pragmatism was his conviction that the whole situation was "divinely ordered". Throughout Tucker was at one with the most influential voices within C.M.S. Only W. S. Price as a retired missionary offered a more critical analysis. Tucker's role as a spokesman was given credibility within Britain by his experience within Uganda, but it would be easy to exaggerate his role in the campaign. One commentator on the saga of the I.B.E.A. Company hardly mentions Tucker's role at all.⁹²

In 1897 the diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa was divided with Tucker taking episcopal responsibility for Uganda alone. Until 1907 he was able to spend most of the time in the country, giving him the opportunity to participate more extensively in the work of evangelisation. In 1897 also the infant Daudi Cwa was crowned as Kabaka of Buganda with the authority vested in three Christian Regents. Tucker seized the opportunity to help Buganda develop towards a Christian society thus afforded by his links with both British and African political authorities. Tucker's understanding of evangelisation extended beyond the dimension of purely personal conversion to the ambition that the Gospel should lead to some transformation of the political culture. According to Tucker a significant

⁹¹ Walker to Lang 29/9/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.392

step in the direction of a more Christian society occurred in 1893 with the declaration by forty Protestant chiefs that slavery should be abolished and that forthwith they would set their slaves free. The background to this was that certain slaves belonging to Moslems had run for refuge to Protestant chiefs. In March 1893 a test case came before the Katikiro who ordered the return of the slaves in accordance with Kiganda law. This judgement was upheld by the Kabaka, but Bartolomoyo, the chief in question, refused. When the chiefs came to Tucker, he explained to them what he considered the relevant Biblical teaching and he encouraged them to come to their own conclusions. The result was the decision by the chiefs to free all of their slaves and abolish slavery.⁹³ This declaration was treated with some suspicion by Portal, a judgement given some credence by a more recent analysis by Twaddle who argued that this declaration was a tactical move to gain favour with the British.⁹⁴ One may doubt whether it made any great practical difference to the lives of those in the households of the great chiefs. By 1893 Tucker's knowledge of the socio-economic structure of Kiganda society was inevitably superficial and so it is doubtful whether he and the chiefs shared a common understanding of the meaning of slavery as a social institution. In 1895 Walker wrote to his sister quoting sympathetically the opinion of George Wilson the Commissioner that the declaration that all men and women were free was the cause of great confusion in the country.⁹⁵ The real issue facing the country in the 1890's was no longer that of raiding other regions for slaves nor the buying and selling of slaves, but the question of what level of compulsion could be legitimately employed in making people work. The 1893 declaration failed to address this. The declaration of the forty chiefs was considerably less than the wonderful triumph trumpeted in the C.M.S. literature of 1893, but nonetheless it did have value in encouraging Tucker and others to believe that the transforming power of the Gospel had at least begun to work in the society.

⁹² Galbraith, 1972

⁹³ Tucker to Baylis 8/4/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.173. See also the longer account in C.M.I. October 1893

⁹⁴ Twaddle, *Kakungulu*, 1993, p. 100

⁹⁵ Walker to his sister 31/12/1895 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.294

Tucker was committed to the kind of "quasi-Establishment" that was noted in the discussion on Venn's political thinking. There was no legal establishment of the Anglican Church within the Protectorates, but nonetheless within Uganda the C.M.S. mission sought to develop a quasi-establishment in relation to both British and African authorities. From the beginning Tucker assumed the right of access to Lugard and later to Portal together with the assumption of consultation. This was carried into the twentieth century and was based on the cultural experience of the establishment of the Church of England that was common to both missionary and administrator. This assumption made certain demands on the missionaries in terms of the cultivation of loyalty on the part of the subjects including regular prayers for the British monarchy, willingness to provide suitable religious ritual on British state occasions and the use of conventional channels for communication between Church and State. These demands were implicit and tacitly acknowledged by both parties. Following the political troubles of 1897 it was a matter of pride among the C.M.S. missionaries that they had taught "obedience" and that few Anglican Christians had taken the part of the Kabaka.⁹⁶ Walker commented that the missionaries had done a "good work of pacifying the people by regular quiet teaching."⁹⁷ The themes relating to the British monarchy surfaced prominently in Tucker's addresses in Namirembe Cathedral at memorial services for both Queen Victoria and King Edward VII.⁹⁸ He clearly saw the role of the Anglican Church in Uganda as articulating thanksgiving for them both as individuals and as the figureheads of the British Empire.

Similarly there was a policy within the C.M.S. body in Uganda to cultivate strong personal and where possible institutional links with the African authorities.⁹⁹ In return support for their authority was offered. Any formal establishment of the Anglican Church was out of the question because of the strong Roman Catholic presence in the country. However there was some debate about the relationship of Kabaka Mwanga with the Anglican Church in 1895. Although there was general

⁹⁶ Walker to Baylis 3/8/1897 G3/A5/1897.296

⁹⁷ Walker to his sister 21/7/1897 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.369

⁹⁸ The texts of both addresses may be found uncatalogued in the archives of Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono, Uganda.

⁹⁹ The institutional links are discussed at great length in H. B. Hansen, 1984, chapter 17

consensus that he should have a special seat in the church as the Kabaka but that as an individual there was no role for him, Pilkington argued that one ought not to distinguish between the office and the man.¹⁰⁰ This hesitation to acknowledge that Mwanga might have a role within the church *qua* Kabaka regardless of the nature of his personal faith might have been expected among those influenced by a Keswick approach to ecclesiology. But even Walker showed hesitation over the baptism of Daudi Cwa in 1897 on the grounds that neither of his parents was a Christian. But Tucker overruled this decision in spite of Walker's reluctance to engage in any "scheming" to help with their work. A compromise was reached with the postponement of the child's baptism until his mother had been taught and the Kabaka had written to ask the Anglican Church to be responsible for the education of the child.¹⁰¹ The baptism of the child was an essential dimension for Tucker in the development of quasi-establishment links with African political authorities. In 1910 following the death and burial of Mwanga, the Kabaka Daudi was confirmed by Tucker, further securing the linkages between the Anglican Church and the authorities of Buganda.

Tucker valued such linkages inasmuch as they provided not only a secure context for the work of evangelism but also as providing the opportunity for some influence on political affairs. Commenting on the baptism in 1899 of the infant son of Kabarega in Bunyoro, he remarked that the time had now clearly come for the evangelisation of Bunyoro.¹⁰² In 1908 there took place in Bunyoro and Toro respectively the "coronations" of Andereya and Kasagama.¹⁰³ At each of these events C.M.S. missionaries played prominent roles together with the British administrator. In the case of Hoima, the administrator Knowles took the opportunity of encouraging the people to loyal and united service to the king. The events signalled the continued recognition and legitimisation of African institutions by both British administration and the Anglican Church. That both were intimately involved in the events symbolised the concern for quasi-establishment.

¹⁰⁰ W.A. Crabtree: Journal entry for 26/5/1895 . R.H.

¹⁰¹ Walker to his brother 31/7/1898 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.410

¹⁰² Tucker to Baylis 16/3/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.87

¹⁰³ For Bunyoro see Fisher: Celebrations in Hoima C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.252. For Toro see L. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, 1978, p. 68f

Nevertheless the concern to develop quasi-establishment was considerably less than the seamless identification of the British administration and the C.M.S. mission. In 1906 the missionary Kitching in Acholi was firmly rebuked by Roscoe, then acting in the capacity of Secretary to the Mission, for acting as a Collector¹⁰⁴ in the district and thereby identifying himself with the colonial process in the eyes of the people.¹⁰⁵ In Ankole Willis arrived in 1901 to find that the Collector, Racey, had been encouraging the chiefs to adopt formally any "religion" be it Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, or Islam. Both the Omugabe and the British favoured the former. Willis approved of this scheme, not that he was under any illusion that it meant genuine conversion on the part of the chiefs, but that it did mean a relatively free hand in the country to carry out the work of evangelisation.¹⁰⁶ However, Racey's successor, Galt, caused some confusion the following year when he attempted to explain to the chiefs the official policy of the colonial authorities, which was one of religious neutrality. This created the impression among some chiefs that the C.M.S. missionaries had fallen out of favour. One chief actually expelled some teachers from his land.¹⁰⁷

The nature of quasi-establishment was essentially informal and dependent upon tacit acceptance of all parties concerned. In Uganda it followed the missiological pattern established by Mackay at the court of the Kabaka. The early indigenous church leaders generally held positions within the Kabaka's court and moved in the orbit of the court. The powerful Kiganda concept of *kitiibwa* (generally translated as kudos or glory) was not only relevant to the Baganda. It also applied to the C.M.S. missionaries who gained a certain *frisson* through their close association not only with African royalty but also with British political authorities. Baskerville clearly derived great pleasure from

¹⁰⁴ "Collector" was the name given to local officials in the British administration.

¹⁰⁵ Roscoe to Pleydell 12/5/1906. Copy in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.133

¹⁰⁶ Willis: Journal entry for 9/1/1902 M.U.K.A.

¹⁰⁷ Willis: Journal entry for 26/2/1902 M.U.K.A.

being involved in the Kabaka's fourth birthday party in August 1900 when the full array of senior chiefs and British administrators gathered with selected missionaries at "five tables nicely laid."¹⁰⁸

In the Edinburgh Report Tucker made special mention of the role Walker and he had played in the 1900 Uganda Agreement, which applied actually only to Buganda but which provided the model for colonial administration in all the territories that would comprise the whole Protectorate of Uganda.¹⁰⁹ Walker and Tucker were drawn into the discussions in January 1900 when Walker was invited to translate for Johnston, and he in turn invited the Bishop also to attend the discussions.¹¹⁰ Both Tucker and Walker were initially critical of Johnston's methodology in that he had seemingly arrived in the country with preconceived ideas of an appropriate settlement that he thought he could more or less dictate to the Regents and chiefs.¹¹¹ Tucker was particularly critical of the effect that Johnston's initial proposals were having on the chiefs who agreed with the popular idea that "England is eating the whole country".¹¹² In Ngogwe Baskerville was aware of the general disturbance caused by Johnston's proposals.¹¹³ Tucker advised Johnston in February to postpone some of the more radical changes and that "not a single chief would at the present moment sign the treaty with a willing mind."¹¹⁴ Both missionaries were most critical of Johnston's arrogant and dismissive attitude towards the Baganda chiefs, whom he called brutish and offensively as "only ten years and two pieces of barkcloth in advance of the naked savages of Kavirondo."¹¹⁵ As translator Walker was well placed to modify Johnston's language on occasions. But he functioned as more than a translator in that he also explained Johnston's proposals to the chiefs and their objections to the Commissioner.¹¹⁶ Walker was

¹⁰⁸ Baskerville: Journal entry for 9/8/1900 M.U.K.A.

¹⁰⁹ H. B. Hansen has referred to the conclusions of the Uganda Agreement as "one of the best researched events in Ugandan history", 1984, p.107. For the best introduction, see Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 1970, Part 1.

¹¹⁰ Initially Johnston had suggested Roscoe for the work of translation, but he accepted his deputy's alternative suggestion of Walker as the more senior and circumspect man. Low and Pratt, 1970, p.38

¹¹¹ Walker to his sister 8/1/1900 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.464; Walker to his brother 17/1/1900 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.470

¹¹² Walker to his sister 8/1/1900, quoted in Low and Pratt, 1970, p. 39

¹¹³ Baskerville: Journal entry for 9/1/1900 in M.U.K.A.

¹¹⁴ Tucker to Johnston 10/2/1900 in U.N.A. A6/8

¹¹⁵ Walker to his sister 30/1/1900 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.471

¹¹⁶ Walker to his sister 18/2/1900 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.473

able to take a more active role in this regard than Tucker because of his command of Luganda, with which the Bishop struggled. Both missionaries were present at the decisive meeting at Entebbe in February, aiming to achieve as close to what they considered a just settlement as possible. Tucker was realistic when he wrote to Fox at the close of the negotiations that the result was a compromise and far from ideal. However he recognised the necessity of such a compromise because the bottom line in the negotiation was the decision by the British Government that Uganda had to pay more.¹¹⁷ Within this constraint Tucker concluded with hindsight that the final Agreement from the point of view of the Baganda was a wise one.¹¹⁸ Walker, when offered payment by Johnston for his services as a translator, suggested a donation to C.M.S. and revealingly continued: "Personally I shall feel abundantly repaid for any trouble in translating if my capacity of Translator allows me the opportunity of pointing out to you how hardly the Agreement will press on some of the Waganda chiefs, who as the result of many years' acquaintance have become my most intimate friends."¹¹⁹ Walker was concerned to argue the case for the Protestant chiefs and it was the great chiefs who benefited most from the 1900 Agreement and who in later years became its staunchest defenders. Neither of the missionaries expressed any particular concern over the effects of the Agreement on the *bakopi* (Luganda for peasants) who according to one study suffered greatly as a result of having to produce money for the Hut Tax.¹²⁰ Such folk were never considered. The influence of Walker and Tucker on the negotiations with Johnston was considerable and probably represented the highest point of the political influence of the C.M.S. missionaries within Uganda.¹²¹ Johnston retained the basic respect for Walker and Tucker that he denied the African leadership. In return Walker supplied the detailed knowledge of Kiganda society and Tucker the authority respected by Johnston such that their arguments carried some weight with the Commissioner.

¹¹⁷ Tucker to Fox 15/2/1900 C.M.S.A. G/AC4/30/5925

¹¹⁸ Tucker, 1908, Vol II p.259

¹¹⁹ Walker to Johnston 10/2/1900 U.N.A. A6/8

¹²⁰ J. A. Atanda, "The Bakopi in the Kingdom of Buganda" in U.J. XXXIII/2 1969, pp 151-162

¹²¹ H. B. Hansen, 1984, p. 116

In his Edinburgh report Tucker referred to certain issues that carried a moral dimension which were a proper concern of both church and state. He distinguished such issues from the purely secular that were the preserve of the state's interest. However in practice Tucker's application of this principle proved extremely flexible allowing him considerable freedom in deciding those issues on which he would speak. There were occasions on which Tucker brought African grievances to the notice of the British authorities. In 1895 he notified Berkeley, the first civilian Commissioner in Uganda, of a complaint against Captain Ashburnham in Toro. Ashburnham had put Kasagama in chains and had flogged the Katikiro and two other senior chiefs in connection with an alleged offence related to the selling of ivory. Tucker's primary concern was with the injustice of Ashburnham's conduct, although significantly he added that his action had resulted in the break-up of much of the church work in Toro.¹²² This latter was added almost as an afterthought as if Tucker felt he needed to justify his complaint beyond having a concern for justice. As it happened Berkeley received Tucker's letter sympathetically and Ashburnham was removed. When Tucker reported this incident to Baylis in London, he commented that he thought it "better for the sake of our relations with the Governor here that this account should not be published."¹²³ Tucker realised that there was more to be lost than gained by unnecessarily alienating the colonial administration. He concurred with Berkeley's opinion that the matter was best dealt with quietly in order not to undermine the authority of other colonial officials.¹²⁴

The difficulty of maintaining a consistent distinction between secular and moral issues was illustrated in 1896 when Berkeley proposed a general registration of guns. The chiefs were concerned that this might be a prelude to their guns being taken from them. Kabaka Mwanga asked Tucker to meet with the Roman Catholic bishops and plead the chiefs' case with the commissioner. Tucker refused him on the grounds that this was a secular matter and none of his business. However, following a discussion

¹²² Tucker to Berkeley 27/11/1895 U.N.A. A6/1

¹²³ Tucker to Baylis 14/1/1896 G3/A5/01896.102

¹²⁴ Walker to his sister 8/5/1896 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.313

with Berkeley he returned to Mwanga to persuade him to agree with the proposals. In this case it is very difficult to see what moral dimension he discerned in taking the side of Berkeley.

In the Edinburgh report Tucker claimed one great success for missionary influence and that was with regard to marriage legislation.¹²⁵ Without doubt this was one area in which he could legitimately claim an interest. In November 1902 the Foreign Office proposed an Ordinance for marriage legislation in Uganda. The major proposals were that provision was made for the registration of marriage before registrars after the completion of certain formalities. These marriages were valid only if they complied with British law in such matters as kindred and affinity. It was made a criminal offence to contract a further marriage either under the Ordinance or by native law and custom. It was also an offence to marry under the Ordinance while married under native law and custom to another person. This legislation came as a surprise to the Uganda administration as to Tucker. The Bishop immediately responded. He felt that the proposals were unworkable and in fact breached the Uganda Agreement of 1900 as an unjustifiable interference in the jurisdiction of the country. Secondly he felt that any hindrance that was placed in the way of marriage constituted an unwelcome incentive to immorality.¹²⁶ But his greatest objection was to the legitimisation of marriage between a man and his deceased wife's sister. In 1902 this was still unlawful in Britain, but a change was being contemplated then and the draft Ordinance anticipated this change.¹²⁷ At the time in England most evangelicals were vehemently opposed to this proposal, and Tucker took up the challenge with a vengeance. He wrote not only to the C.M.S. Africa Secretary, requesting the President of the Society to raise the matter in the House of Commons, but also to the Secretary of the Marriage Law Defence Union with a copy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, suggesting that the Duke of Northumberland should raise questions in the House of Lords.¹²⁸ He took this latter step when the C.M.S. Africa

¹²⁵ See also the discussion in Hansen, 1984, pp 260-267 and in H. F. Morris in Anderson, ed. *Family Law in Asia and Africa*, 1968, pp 34-38

¹²⁶ Tucker to Baylis 27/12/1902 G3/A7/O1903.43. See also Tucker to Hayes-Sadler 19/12/1902, copy in G3/A7/O1903.44

¹²⁷ This change came about in Britain in 1907.

¹²⁸ Tucker to Baylis 27/12/1902 G3/A7/O1903.43. Tucker to Secretary of the Marriage Law Defence Union 3/6/1903. Copy in R.T. Davidson Papers and Letters, Vol 88 pp 266-295 L.P.L.

Committee intimated that they would not be able to take up the question of the prohibited degrees.¹²⁹ What was remarkable about this episode is that Tucker took no cognisance whatever of the fact that in Uganda it was a hallowed tradition that a man was obliged to marry a deceased wife's sister. Within many African societies this custom closely paralleled the Levirate law in the Old Testament. Hayes-Sadler the Commissioner was sympathetic to Tucker's arguments and was also aware that the Roman Catholic bishops were equally critical of the draft Ordinance. The proposal to allow marriage of a deceased wife's sister was withdrawn. Tucker's other objections were also met. A separate Native Marriage Ordinance was enacted providing for the formalities preliminary to marriage to be dispensed with in the case of Africans marrying in church; and the fees were substantially reduced. What is particularly significant in this episode is the way in which Tucker's agenda of concern for the prohibited degrees was drawn entirely from the conservative evangelical agenda in Britain. He completely failed to engage with the traditions of customary marriage within Uganda.

Tucker was very much within the C.M.S. tradition in his concerns over issues of slavery in east Africa. The situation at the coast drew him into direct negotiation and even confrontation with British political authorities. By 1895 slave trading at the coast had been abolished, but within the Sultanate of Zanzibar the holding of slaves was still legal. The legal position was also that any runaway slaves had to be returned to their owners. In 1895 Tucker's particular concern was to clarify the position now that the coastal region was a British Protectorate. The Commissioner, Sir Arthur Hardinge, was personally opposed to the abolition of slavery, and so Tucker decided to argue the case in Britain. In December 1896 Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, granted him an interview. This was followed by a meeting with Curzon, a minister in the Foreign Office and Hardinge. In April 1897 there was a decree promulgated by the Sultan of Zanzibar, abolishing the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba. But there were three aspects of the decree that Tucker found unsatisfactory. Mombasa and the territory within ten miles was excepted from the decree. Secondly all concubines were exempt from the provisions and thirdly, the question of returning fugitive slaves was not addressed. Tucker's

¹²⁹ Group Committee Minutes, December 1902 in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/Precis Book 1903

response was to write to the mission in Mombasa to instruct them to shelter any fugitive slaves in his house and that he would return to Africa to face any charges which might ensue. He further instructed the mission to send him a number of demands for the surrender of fugitive slaves. When they came he passed them to J. A. Pease, M.P., who used the material in a debate in the Commons in June 1897. This led directly to a declaration by the Attorney-General that the return of fugitive slaves was an illegal act under British law. The legal status of slavery itself in Mombasa and the coastal district was not abolished until 1907. In the meantime Tucker became personally embroiled in controversy upon his return to east Africa in 1897. A young runaway slave Kheri Karibu came to Tucker and the Bishop resolved to claim her freedom in the Mombasa court. Tucker was unable to afford a lawyer and so he argued the case himself in court. The case lasted three months during which time Tucker immersed himself in legal study. He finally won the case on the grounds that the girl was a "raw slave" brought from the interior in 1884 or 1885.¹³⁰ This case clearly illustrated Tucker's persistence when faced with an issue which he considered a just concern for direct Christian involvement. It also marked the end of his involvement with the question of slavery at the coast, because in 1897 he took responsibility for the newly-formed diocese of Uganda, handing over the coastal areas to another bishop.

Within Uganda Tucker extended his concerns over slavery to issues of what he considered unjust exploitation of African labour. Sir Harry Johnston was the most notable advocate of a policy of recruiting labour from Central Africa for the mines of South Africa.¹³¹ A delegation from South Africa came in 1903 but failed to attract recruits in spite of the offer of high wages.¹³² This attempt provoked a strong denunciation from Tucker published in the Times.¹³³ This matter was taken up by the C.M.S. Africa Committee who organised a delegation to the Foreign Office together with a number of other interested societies. The result was an agreement that there would be no recruitment

¹³⁰ Tucker's account is given in Tucker, 1908 Vol II pp. 99-103

¹³¹ For example in Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, 1902, Vol II p. 283

¹³² Precis note in C.M.S.A. G3/A7 Precis book 1903.

¹³³ Tucker: letter in the Times 13/3/1903

without the express permission of Parliament.¹³⁴ Again in 1909 Tucker took action when the Governor proposed a scheme to enable Indians to come to Busoga which had experienced recent population loss through the devastation of sleeping-sickness. He typically employed all arguments that he thought might prove effective from the possibility of exporting sleeping-sickness to India to the more weighty argument that it would be taking advantage of a temporary depopulation to deprive the Basoga of land. He disputed the Government claim that sleeping-sickness alone was the cause of depopulation, pointing out the effects of food shortages partly caused by forced labour on roads and partly by the enforced cultivation of cotton. He further argued: "that there has never been any formal acceptance of British rule by the Basoga chiefs or nation and that Busoga was not included in the original Protectorate over Uganda in 1895... Thus any appropriation by the British Government of the lands of the Basoga for the settlement of Indian immigrants would from this point of view be regarded as an act of spoliation, an act without any warrant of law – simply the triumph of might over right."¹³⁵ Tucker included copies of this letter not only to the Africa Secretary of C.M.S. but also to the Secretary of the Anti-Slave and Aborigines Protection Society and to the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹³⁶ Archbishop Davidson spoke with Lords Crewe and Sanderson and replied to Tucker that there was no question of any Indian immigration to Busoga taking place under Government auspices. This reply satisfied Tucker.¹³⁷

These issues illustrate the nature of Tucker's political involvement after the resolution of Britain's relationship with Uganda after 1895. He saw his role in terms of the protection of what he considered to be the best interests of Africans. Significantly he did not engage in discussion with African authorities over the issues. Neither was he always successful in pursuit of his concerns. During the

¹³⁴ H. B. Hansen, 1984, p. 208

¹³⁵ Tucker to Secretary of Committee on Indian Immigration 7/9/1909. Copy in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.300

¹³⁶ Correspondence re: Indian Immigration to Uganda 1909. R. T. Davidson Papers and Letters Vol 160:300-342 in L. P. L.

¹³⁷ Tucker to Davidson 16/11/1909 R. T. Davidson Papers and Letters Vol 160:300-342 in L. P. L.

latter years of his episcopate he was much exercised on the subject of *kasamvu* or forced labour.¹³⁸ In a letter to the Acting-Governor, A. G. Boyle in 1909, he typically mustered all arguments that he thought might have a bearing on the matter. He doubted whether labour camps were economically viable as a means of supplying labour and more fundamentally he criticised them as a betrayal of the principles of freedom and justice which were the "mainspring of our colonial enterprise."¹³⁹ He further criticised the forced cultivation of cotton as an example of taking advantage of the subservience of the peasants to the authority of the chiefs. The forced labour in Bunyoro probably contributed to the food shortage in the area, he continued. Finally he added that this was all imposing too great a burden on the people. Tucker's letter was received and ignored. There were three main reasons why this was so. In the first place Tucker's views were known to be untypical of the missionary body as a whole. Earlier in the same year Walker had written to the Baganda Regents and the *Lukiiko* (the Council of Baganda chiefs) on the subject of *kasamvu*, requesting that the residents of Church land be excused from the work enforced. In the letter he conceded the basic point that "it seems to be necessary for the general good of the country that a large number of men are forced to work for the Government as porters or day labourers."¹⁴⁰ Many missionaries were willing to use labour under the Government scheme for their projects.¹⁴¹ Secondly the great chiefs also benefited from *kasamvu* and were not willing to lend their support to Tucker in Synod or in the *Lukiiko*. Thirdly it was known that Tucker was soon to retire.

Tucker was equally unsuccessful in his attempts to provide a legislative framework for *Sabbath* observance. He addressed this issue with a pastoral letter in July 1905, pointing out that Sunday was not only the day for Christian worship, but that the import of Biblical teaching was that Christians

¹³⁸ Hansen has helpfully discussed the subject of forced labour in great detail in Hansen, 1984 pp 178-182 and 208-211; and in Hansen: "Mission and Colonialism in Uganda" in Christensen and Hutchinson, ed. 1982, pp 104-117

¹³⁹ Tucker to Boyle 20/12/1909. Copy in G3/A7/O1910.38

¹⁴⁰ Walker to Regents and *Lukiiko* 29/3/1909 Walker: Letter Books 1909-1912 in M.U.K.A.

¹⁴¹ Hansen, 1984, makes a great deal of this point, discussing at length the major differences between Tucker and Willis, who would succeed him as Bishop, p. 217

should not work on that day as on other days.¹⁴² He was soon made aware that the chiefs were insistent that people should work on a Sunday.¹⁴³ So Tucker wrote to the Governor arguing that no chief had any right to make people work on that day.¹⁴⁴ The matter arose at the first full Diocesan Synod of 1906 when Apolo Kagwa the Katikiro pointed out that the chiefs were required by Government officials to do work at short notice. So he passed on the responsibility to the colonial administration. Nothing was done until the Synod in 1907 when Tucker raised the subject, and it was agreed to write to the Governor: "That the Church of Uganda in Synod assembled desires to express its deep sorrow at the great prevalence of Sunday labour more or less throughout the Uganda Protectorate, and would respectfully venture to entreat His Majesty's Government to use its influence in as far as possible lessening this great evil and thus secure for the Christian population of this Protectorate the blessing of a Sunday rest."¹⁴⁵ 1909 came and the matter had not improved from the Bishop's point of view. Tucker proposed that Synod request the *Lukiiko* to pass a law forbidding Sunday work.¹⁴⁶ The request was made, but nothing was done, although many member of the *Lukiiko* were also Synod members. The Bishop expressed concern that many Christians themselves were willing to work on Sunday, which undermined any appeal to the authorities. His suggestion that no Christian chief should order his people to work on a Sunday without making a protest to the Government was heard, but no such protests were made. At Synod the following year Tucker reported that the Governor had ordered the closure of markets in four towns on Sunday and that he had instructed his officials that work should not be done on a Sunday. Tucker felt, however, that it was still necessary to write to the chiefs to inform them that they need not work on a Sunday if so instructed by a European official.¹⁴⁷ The basic problem faced by Tucker was his failure to convince the body of Ugandan Christians to observe Sunday as he thought appropriate. The Synod passed motions as proposed by Tucker, but these ran into the sand in the *Lukiiko* of which body Tucker was not a member. Likewise there was no will in the colonial administration to pass any sabbatarian legislation and certainly not in the face of general African indifference.

¹⁴² A copy of this letter is found in U.N.A. A22/1

¹⁴³ For example Samwili Mukasa to Tucker 28/9/1905 U.N.A. A22/1

¹⁴⁴ Tucker to Hayes-Sadler n.d. U.N.A. A22/1

¹⁴⁵ Minutes of Diocesan Synod 1907 in M.U.K.A.

¹⁴⁶ Minutes of Diocesan Synod 1909 in M.U.K.A.

One recurrent theme throughout his episcopate was Tucker's concern for what he considered a correct procedure in any contact with British political authority. As early as 1892 Lugard objected to the C.M.S. missionaries "writing home" with their complaints rather than coming to discuss them with him.¹⁴⁸ When Tucker arrived the following year he quickly pointed out that all political negotiations should be conducted through him alone.¹⁴⁹ He established the basic principle with the missionaries that political questions were not a matter for the Finance Committee of the C.M.S. but for the Bishop and otherwise for the Secretary as local representative of the C.M.S. Parent Committee.¹⁵⁰ However in practice it was not so straightforward and complaints were made by missionaries directly to the colonial authorities. In 1900 Tucker wrote apologetically to Johnston about Leakey, a C.M.S. missionary who had written to the Commissioner to claim compensation from the Protectorate authorities for goods that he had lost in Koki. Tucker not only acknowledged that his claim had no ground, but also significantly that Leakey had employed the wrong channels to make such a claim.¹⁵¹ Later in the year Johnston had occasion to contact Tucker to complain over the activities of Fisher in Toro, whom he considered was interfering with the political administration there. Regardless of the details of Fisher's complaint, the particular significance of Johnston's letter came in the last paragraph: "If Mr Fisher or any other missionary sees things going on in the country either on the part of the Administration officials or anybody else which he thinks are reprehensible, the course he should pursue would be to communicate his information to you, and if you saw there was cause to go further in the matter, would bring the affair to my notice."¹⁵² Johnston thus drew the sting of Fisher's complaint by disputing the procedure adopted.

¹⁴⁷ Minutes of Diocesan Synod 1910 in M.U.K.A.

¹⁴⁸ Lugard: Diaries Vol III p.173

¹⁴⁹ Note by E. Gedge. Gedge Papers, R H Afr 4/6

¹⁵⁰ Tucker to Baylis 17/1/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.246

¹⁵¹ Tucker to Johnston 24/2/1900 U.N.A. 6/8

¹⁵² Johnston to Tucker 19/8/1900 U.N.A. 23/1

In 1906-7 J. B. Purvis, a C.M.S. missionary in Nabumali in Bugisu, protested strongly to the British administration when a punitive expedition in the area resulted in a number of deaths. An official inquiry was set up and the official concerned was exonerated.¹⁵³ Tucker acknowledged that Purvis had a good case for his complaint, but he weakly concurred with the administration's view that Purvis had failed to go through the right channels and so the missionary body dropped the matter. In the meantime Purvis was invalided home with malaria. He was interviewed by the C.M.S. Africa Committee who subsequently wrote to Tucker that although Purvis' story had made a great impression on the Committee, "we are always anxious to avoid anything like unnecessary interference in political matters; and certainly in the case of a strong Mission like the Uganda Mission it would seem quite improper for an individual member of the Mission to raise big issues of the kind apart from those of you who are in chief authority over the Mission."¹⁵⁴ Purvis was incensed and resigned from the C.M.S. two months later. In 1908 Tucker appointed Buckley to be Archdeacon of Busoga, partly as a response to the "Purvis affair". The Governor had requested Tucker for one person in Busoga who could be a reliable mediator between the missionaries and the sub-Commissioner. Buckley was considered *persona grata* with the colonial authorities.¹⁵⁵ Once again a matter of injustice was allowed to be diverted into a question of procedure both by Tucker and the C.M.S. authorities in London and the opportunity to address a substantive issue of brutality was missed. The episode also illustrates a less attractive aspect of Tucker's character in that he tended to react with some irritation when he felt that his personal position as Bishop and Director of the Uganda mission was threatened. This came to the fore again in 1909 when he heard that the C.M.S. President Sir John Kennaway had raised the matter of forced labour in Bunyoro without reference to himself. He felt that the situation had been resolved satisfactorily within the country. His letter betrayed the personal affront he felt by Sir John's intervention.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ See Hansen, 1984 p309ff. Also Tucker to Baylis 9/8/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.213

¹⁵⁴ Baylis to Tucker 4/7/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

¹⁵⁵ Tucker to Baylis 13/1/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/1908.57

¹⁵⁶ Tucker to Baylis 31/5/1909 G3/A7/O1909.219

There were occasions on which Tucker was openly critical of the moral behaviour of British officials. For instance in 1899 he wrote to Colonel Ternan, the Commissioner, about Tarrant the official in Busoga. He alleged that Tarrant had taken a Musoga girl "by force for immoral purposes."¹⁵⁷ He further alleged that the girl was a Protestant reader and that Tarrant had failed to fulfil his promise to Tucker to release the girl. Ternan's reply rather blandly stated that investigation had shown that Tarrant had not held her by force.¹⁵⁸ Administration officials did not consider that this was any of Tucker's business. More positively when Walker met with the C.M.S. Africa committee in 1900 he shared with them the problem of trying to work for the spiritual good of the European community and to influence their moral behaviour. The Committee appreciated the problem, but they held to the received wisdom within the Society that it was not their business to provide chaplains for Europeans.¹⁵⁹ There the matter rested until 1903 when Tucker sent Willis to work at Entebbe with the instruction that he should combine the work of a missionary and of an unofficial chaplain. Willis was an urbane and sophisticated young missionary who had already shown himself socially acceptable and at ease with the officials.¹⁶⁰ The C.M.S. committee concurred with this arrangement as long as no chaplain's salary went through their books.¹⁶¹ This was an attempt by the missionary body to extend a moral guardianship to the wider expatriate community. However, beyond the informal and personal links there was no official recognition of Willis' position as chaplain. In 1910 the Acting Governor stated quite unequivocally that there was no official chaplain within the Protectorate, adding that neither was any money paid for the maintenance of religious buildings or services.¹⁶² The pursuit of quasi-establishment did not extend as far as official chaplaincy.

In the Edinburgh Report Tucker's one direct criticism of the British authorities in Uganda was that the policy of religious neutrality actually favoured Moslems in practice. He felt that past experience revealed that while the loyalty of the Christians to the British administration had been assured that of

¹⁵⁷ Tucker to Ternan 24/10/1899 U.N.A. A6/7

¹⁵⁸ Ternan to Tucker 11/11/1899 U.N.A. A7/5

¹⁵⁹ Baylis to Tucker 27/7/1900 G3/A7/L1

¹⁶⁰ Tucker to Baylis 8/5/1903 G3/A7/O1903.96

¹⁶¹ Baylis to Tucker 10/7/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

the Moslems had been shown to be more doubtful. This attitude of Tucker's concurred with that expressed by Johnston a decade previously in response to a letter from the Bishop expressing concern over the use of Baganda Moslems as political agents in Busoga. Johnston's reply indicated that it was the aim of the British administration that Islamic influence be kept as far down the Nile as possible.¹⁶³ Tucker's criticism in the report was safe and bland and in that particular context non-controversial and in keeping with loyalty to the colonial authorities.

Throughout Tucker's episcopate there was an implicit policy of accommodation to the colonial state. It also became apparent that there developed two attitudes towards the colonial authorities after about 1897. Purvis was most unusual in making a careful statement of criticism of the British Protectorate in Bugisu, declaring that, in spite of the best intentions, there seemed to him to be "less peace, less security of property and more bloodshed than during the period without direct British administration."¹⁶⁴ Much more typical of the books pouring forth from missionaries at the turn of the century was a statement by A. B. Lloyd: "Britain's sons have planted her flag in her (Uganda's) very centre, not to suck her life-blood for the sake of her wealth, but to bring her the priceless treasures of Peace, Prosperity and Religion."¹⁶⁵

In the first decade of the twentieth century J. J. Willis emerged as the great advocate of the benefits of the colonial enterprise. In 1904 he wrote: "the recent Report of H. M.'s Commissioner on the Uganda Protectorate serves as an indirect reminder of the extent to which we as missionaries are indebted to the presence of the Government in this country. And we would not forget, when we reckon up the triumphs of the Cross in Uganda, how large a measure these Victories have been owed under God to the fact that the way has been paved for us by others, and that an immense amount has been done for

¹⁶² Acting-Governor Russell to C.O. 29/6/1910. P.R.O. C.O. 682.2 Letter 23535, now destroyed.

¹⁶³ Johnston to Tucker 1/12/1900 U.N.A. 23/1

¹⁶⁴ J. B. Purvis, Through Uganda to Mount Elgon, 1909 p. 359. This book was published after Purvis' resignation from C.M.S.

¹⁶⁵ A.B. Lloyd, 1899, p.xiii

us which we could never have done for ourselves, and which has rendered the progress of Missionary work incomparably easier than it otherwise would have been.”¹⁶⁶ This was a tune that Willis sang on a number of occasions, on one of which Walker was provoked to reply quite sharply: “to say that the people of Uganda owe their Christianity to the efforts of the Government is a statement that no-one who is familiar with the history of Uganda could possibly make.... Without fear of contradiction I would point out that the people of Uganda owe their Christianity and civilisation primarily to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as taught by the members of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions; to the circulation of the Word of God in their own language; and to the efforts of the Chiefs and other leading natives to establish Christian law and customs in this country.”¹⁶⁷

Tucker’s attitude is discernible in a sermon preached in 1906 on the text of I John 3:8 “For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil.” He illustrated the text with various examples from Ugandan history. For example at the death of Kabaka Suna many Baganda were killed, which he contrasted with the fact of there having been no human sacrifices at the death of Mutesa one generation later. Tucker made the point that there was no British governmental influence but only that of the Gospel. He concluded the sermon, “In Uganda as elsewhere, men who once lived lives of debauchery, sin and immorality stand before us with their fetters broken and themselves freed; something of the character of Christ is seen in them, something of His compassion, pity and love. This not as the result of contact with so-called civilisation but wrought by the touch of the Most High....”¹⁶⁸ Like Walker Tucker preferred to credit moral change within Uganda to the power of the Gospel rather than to the colonial enterprise. Such views were typical of the older generation of missionaries who came before 1897. The new orthodoxy represented by Willis and others was more sycophantic with regard to the colonial administration. In the introductory chapter to his book on his work in Uganda T. B. Johnson referred to the “permanent” responsibility of England for Uganda and stated that the character of the administration “can not but

¹⁶⁶ J. J. Willis: “Administration and Missions: A Mutual Debt” in *Uganda Notes* 1904 p 49-53

¹⁶⁷ R.H. Walker in *Uganda Notes* August 1906

be regarded with admiration and pride.”¹⁶⁹ The import of the new orthodoxy represented by Willis, Lloyd and Johnson was to legitimise colonialism in ideological terms, which is subtly different from the attitude of the older missionaries, whose advocacy of the Protectorate in the early years of the 1890’s was based on their assessment that it was the best possible option available at that time.

By 1890 the African Church leaders had resolved among themselves that their best option for securing the future of the Church would be through seeking and retaining a grasp on political power in the country. This was in spite of the missionaries’ injunctions to concentrate on spiritual matters. The pattern of political development through the 1890’s was a convergence of shared interest initially with the I.B.E.A. Company represented by Lugard and later with the British colonial administration. This convergence of interest between the British administration and the leading chiefs in Buganda was cemented by the 1900 Uganda Agreement. There was little sense of a typically Johannine critical distance between political authority and the Christian community. In fact the development of a quasi-establishment on the part of the Anglican Church went beyond the Pauline injunction to live at peace as far as possible with the political authorities. Tucker’s fundamental attitude to political authority was guided by Romans 13 with its theme of “the believer’s obligation to the State.”¹⁷⁰ This attitude allowed for specific political criticisms but not for proposals of alternative models of political authority. Thus Tucker operated within the paradigm shared with the colonialists; to have thought otherwise would simply never have occurred to him.¹⁷¹ That this particular paradigm also suited the interests of the Ugandan Christian chiefs simply reinforced it. Like Venn, Tucker was most comfortable in relating to British political authority and was considerably less comfortable with African political institutions. However, whereas Venn had the ready excuse of unfamiliarity, this clearly did not apply to Tucker. Tucker was very quick to accept the judgement that the best option for political stability in Uganda lay with the establishment of a Protectorate regime. He together with

¹⁶⁸ Tucker: “Is the Gospel effete?” An address delivered in St Michael’s Church, Cornhill 19/12/1906 and reprinted in C.M.R. March 1907 pp 159-163

¹⁶⁹ T. B. Johnson, *Tramps Round the Mountains of the Moon*, 1908, pp 7-8

¹⁷⁰ Cranfield, *Romans*, 1979, p. 651

¹⁷¹ D. Bosch, 1992, p. 312

Walker and other missionaries who had been in Uganda since the early 1890's grew uncomfortable with the ideological commitment to the imperialist agenda displayed by Willis and others after 1900, but it can hardly be denied that their position represented a logical extension of Tucker's work to establish a Protectorate in the first place. Within Uganda Tucker readily accepted the political institutions of Buganda as normative for the whole region. He showed no appreciation of the different socio-economic and political structures to the north and east of the Nile. The particular issues with which he became involved in east Africa tended to reflect those that were on the agenda of evangelical Anglicans in Britain, such as his concern over forbidden relations in marriage and sabbatarianism. His involvement with issues of slavery and labour reflected an extension of traditional evangelical philanthropic concern.

There was an enduring and serious contradiction between Tucker's activities and his repetition of the evangelical shibboleth that he was "entirely opposed to missionaries mixing themselves up in the political affairs of the country."¹⁷² This general principle proved unsustainable in practice for a number of reasons. In the first place, evangelisation took place within a holistic culture to which any separation of religion and politics was alien. Secondly there is an obvious limit to the number of exceptions that can be permitted before the principle requires amendment! But one very serious effect of this shibboleth was that it precluded any systematic theological reflection on the precise nature of Christian involvement in political life. Tucker's concern was perfectly legitimate inasmuch as he wanted to avoid any reduction of the Gospel to political or social matters, but within the Christian Gospel itself there is a necessary dialectic between involvement and detachment. Tucker's practice reflected this, but it was insufficiently realised in his repetition of the old evangelical shibboleth.

When it came to his specific involvement in political activity Tucker showed a remarkable ability to muster *ad hominem* arguments in support of his case, sometimes in the face of considerable evidence

¹⁷² Tucker in Edinburgh Report, 1910 Vol VII p.75

to the contrary. He also displayed great persistence in pursuit of his goals, but, not surprisingly, he was successful only when he was able to mobilise enough support for his causes. When it came to *kasanvu* and Sunday legislation he signally failed to achieve a sufficient level of support. He had strong views about the right procedure to be followed in the pursuit of complaints against the British authorities, partly because of a legitimate concern not to cause unnecessary tension with the authorities and partly because of his own rather prickly awareness of being the person in charge of the mission and Anglican Church in the country.

Nevertheless Tucker made a number of significant contributions towards the development of a society in east Africa informed by Gospel values. In particular one could highlight his contribution towards the demise of slavery at the coast and his interventions to prevent exploitation of labour within Uganda. When he left the diocese in 1911 the chiefs paid him tribute which reflects their understanding of his contribution: "We also thank you... for helping us with our difficulties with the Government, by explaining to us anything that we did not understand and giving us your advice; and also by explaining to the Government what our customs and modes of thinking were, so that they did not put upon us anything that we did not understand, which would have brought a great deal of misunderstanding and trouble between us and the Government."¹⁷³ Even allowing for hyperbole there is a genuine appreciation of Tucker's concern for the well-being of the people of Uganda in that statement.

¹⁷³ Address to Tucker from King and Chiefs of Buganda, reprinted in Uganda Notes June 1911.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TUCKER AND THE C.M.S. TRADITION OF EVANGELISATION

Henry Venn considered the primary task of C.M.S. to be evangelisation. Equally he considered evangelisation to be the vocation of the whole church which is why he thought that one of the marks of the maturing church was self-propagation or self-extension. He emphasised mission "from below" with the evangelistic impulse coming from the indigenous Christians in a new church. The work of missionaries lay in fostering, encouraging and sustaining this impulse and then in teaching and assisting with the organisation of the evangelistic enterprise. This chapter examines the developing patterns of evangelisation in Uganda during Tucker's episcopate, some of the issues that arose and the Bishop's response. Evangelisation was initially understood in Uganda primarily in terms of personal evangelism, which led naturally into a concern for church planting within Buganda and beyond into the surrounding regions. Tucker's role within this process was limited but nonetheless significant. As the church grew outside Buganda, the resolution of the language question took on greater prominence, and this will be examined. Thirdly we shall consider the place of industrial training, medical work and education in the evangelisation of Uganda. It was never the C.M.S. tradition to understand evangelisation solely in terms of church-planting, but from the time of Venn until the present, there have been tensions within C.M.S. over the precise nature of evangelisation and the role of the Society with regard to industry, medicine and education.

A. Primary Evangelism and Church Planting

Between 1890 and 1911 the Church in Uganda grew from around 1,000 Protestant Christians based at the capital Mengo to nearly 80,000 people who were baptised or enrolled as catechumens. Eighty per cent of these were in Buganda. But by 1911 there were also African Anglican Christians throughout most of what is included in present-day Uganda and also in eastern Congo, northern Tanzania, western Kenya and southern Sudan, all of whom could trace back their origins to the C.M.S. mission in Mengo in 1890. This was a period of remarkable church growth, the primary agents of which were

African working in conjunction with C.M.S. missionaries.¹ The foundations for this growth were laid during Tucker's first visit to Uganda in 1890. At that time the Protestant Christians numbered about 1,000. They were gathered around Mengo and included a number of the great chiefs. The vast majority of Christians were members of the extended households of the chiefs and of the Kabaka. On his arrival Tucker made a brief appraisal of the situation in order to identify key groups of men for the work of evangelisation. There were the Christian chiefs, a number of whom were members of the Church Council. When Tucker met them he addressed them on three points. He emphasised the need for them to develop their own spiritual life and suggested that they should meet together for regular prayer and Bible study. He then spoke of the confirmation that he proposed to hold and requested them as church elders to assist in the preparations for the service. Finally he encouraged them to assist in the ongoing work of teaching communicants' classes. Secondly, Tucker expressed his intention to license four or five young men to be trained and deployed as evangelists. He drew on the model that he had seen at Rabai at the coast. His objective here was that these should be candidates for ordination in due course.² A third group of key men was the C.M.S. missionaries to teach and lead the evangelistic work.

In January 1891 Tucker licensed six men as evangelists, but they were not the young men he had intended, but rather a selection of men from the first group.³ They had been chosen by Tucker after consultation with the Church Council and the missionaries. They were all Christians of some years standing. Five had been leaders of the Protestants during the Christian exile in Ankole after Mwanga had been overthrown in 1888. The other, Sembera Mackay, had been with Alexander Mackay south of the lake. Four of them had senior political responsibilities in Mengo. Tucker instructed Walker among the missionaries to take responsibility for their training as evangelists. He also sent Walker to Budu with the Pokino (chief of Budu) Nikodemu Sebwato, accompanied by Yohanna Mwiri and Mika Sematimba, two of the newly licensed evangelists. Tucker's idea was that "Walker shall make a

¹ The classic study of the Baganda evangelistic enterprise is that by L. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists* London 1978

² Tucker to Wigram 30/12/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891.124

³ They were Henry Wright Duta Kitakule, Sembera Mackay, Yohanna Mwira, Mike Sematimba, Paulo Bakunga and Zakariya Kizito Kisingiri.

beginning and that when after a brief stay in the country he returns to Mengo, he shall leave in occupation two or three native teachers who shall carry on the work until reinforcements come from England."⁴

After a brief six weeks in the country Tucker left. He had decided that a further seven missionaries were required and the major reason for his swift return to Britain was to plead for more recruits.⁵ Both missionaries and African Christians were disappointed by his departure, but they rose to the challenge of evangelisation. The first reference to Baganda evangelists being sent out by the Church Council was in February 1891 just after Tucker left.⁶ By June 1891 the Church Council was discussing the possibility of setting up a "native church missionary society".⁷ In August the Council resolved to invite volunteers who would be willing to devote themselves to teaching and evangelism in return for their keep which would be provided by the chiefs with whom they went to work.⁸ By this time Pilkington had collected the names of thirty-six chiefs who had offered to build a house and feed a European missionary at their place.⁹ The fact that a *European* missionary was specified indicates that the motivation was possibly more complex than a simple concern for the spread of the Gospel. There was considerable *kitiibwa* in hosting a European. But the missionaries tended to be very naïve about the wider socio-political dimensions of evangelisation. Walker's concern about the evangelists was that they had been little taught, and it was only on the basis of Luke 9:6 that he could see any justification for their going.¹⁰ In 1891 the first Baganda evangelists went outside Buganda. Three went to Nassa south of Lake Victoria where they worked faithfully but with little success. The other venture was a disaster in Busoga in 1892. F. C. Smith led a party of Baganda Christians to the chief Wakoli, but few readers were attracted and the Baganda were at best tolerated. In July 1892 the exercise came to an ignominious, abrupt and tragic end when one of Smith's companions accidentally

⁴ Tucker to Wigram 30/12/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891.124

⁵ By the time he reached London he was asking for forty recruits!

⁶ Baskerville: Journal entry for 2/2/1891. M.U.K.A. Unfortunately Baskerville noted no further details of name or destination or fate of the mission.

⁷ Baskerville: Journal entry for 19/6/1891. M.U.K.A.

⁸ Baskerville to Stock 13/8/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.50

⁹ Pilkington to Stock 11/8/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.341. Walker noted the number of chiefs requesting European missionaries as thirty-seven in his letter to Miss Honeybun of October 1891. C.M.S.A. Acc 88.157

and fatally wounded Wakoli.¹¹ This failure indicated not only the inexperience and lack of preparation of Smith but also the missionaries' ignorance of the socio-political agenda of Baganda working in Busoga. For decades Buganda had been seeking to extend political dominance over their neighbours. It was with justification that the people of Busoga were suspicious of any Baganda who came across the Nile, and especially so when they insisted that they would only teach in Luganda.

The political uncertainties and disruptions of 1891-2 provided a context in which it was difficult to organise a systematic training or deployment of missionaries, whether European or African. Events subsequent to Tucker's early departure showed that it was one thing to inaugurate a scheme for evangelisation, but that its implementation raised other questions and issues. Tucker left no clear structure to deal with these when he rushed off to gather more men for the work. The Church Council did rise to the challenge of providing for a number of evangelists, but their motivation was never simply that of evangelisation. This was a period of jostling for political supremacy. Various members of the Church Council were highly aware of the opportunity afforded through evangelisation of increasing their own political influence. Nonetheless their concern must not be reduced to the political dimension. Nikodemu Sebwato for instance was respected as a man of considerable Christian devotion.

Tucker returned to Uganda at the end of 1892 with the extension of the church on his mind. He thought in terms of setting up a mission station in Kyagwe and visiting the Ssesse islands and Toro, even going as far as the Ruwenzori mountains.¹² In fact because of pressure of work Tucker was not able to travel so far, but he led the establishment of two mission stations outside Mengo. The first was in Kyagwe where Baskerville and Crabtree followed up the Baganda evangelists sent by the Church Council the previous year. The other was in Singo where Gunther and Fisher went together with a Muganda evangelist in April 1893. In Mengo Tucker ordained to the diaconate the six evangelists whom he had licensed in 1891. He further licensed ten more lay evangelists whose names

¹⁰ Walker to his brother 3/10/1891 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.165

¹¹ For a more detailed account of the mission led by Smith and the beginnings of the Anglican Church in Busoga, see Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, 1980, p. 22ff

had been suggested by the Church Council and endorsed by the missionary body.¹³ Additionally the Church Council continued to select and send out men as evangelists. In March 1893 Tucker wrote almost as an observer rather than a participant of a service which was “a valedictory meeting to some two or three Missionaries (native) who are going into Busoga. The dismissal was entirely one of the Native Church. They prayed for the men, and indeed are sending them forth. It was like an incident in the Book of Acts.”¹⁴ The initiative for selection and deployment of the evangelists was clearly with the Church Council. There was no systematic training involved of these men, although Tucker confirmed Walker’s responsibility for training the licensed evangelists. During his second visit Tucker did little more than to affirm this work without addressing the substantive issues of training or deployment. When Baskerville suggested to Tucker that one missionary should be set aside for the work of teaching people how to teach, the Bishop recognised the need but he did not feel that he was able to give one of the mission staff completely to this work at that stage.¹⁵

In this early period the method of evangelisation was educational. The task of the evangelist was to teach people how to read using the *Mateka*¹⁶ initially and secondly the text of the New Testament. The assumption was that exposure to the word of God would itself bear spiritual fruit in the lives of the readers. The requirement of teachers/evangelists was primarily that they should be able themselves to read. There were no agreed spiritual criteria by which the Church Council selected those to be sent as readers, although personal spirituality was a factor in choosing those to receive the Bishop’s licence. During this second visit of Tucker’s there was a growing realism among the missionaries about the work involved in evangelisation. Millar wondered how many wanted to read because they wanted to become Christians, noting wryly that a man who could not read would never be made a chief. Pilkington assessed that no more than 5% and possibly as few as 2% of the people in provinces where there was a Protestant chief were readers in any sense, and that among the non-

¹² Tucker to Baylis 26/12/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.104

¹³ Tucker to Stock 29/5/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.233

¹⁴ Tucker to Fox 16/3/1893 quoted in C.M.I. October 1893 p. 763

¹⁵ Tucker to Stock 29/5/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.233

¹⁶ The *Mateka* was a little book containing the alphabet, syllables, simple words, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments with a few texts of Scripture. It was the basic tool for teaching reading.

readers there was a good deal of obstinate but not active opposition. Pilkington noted that the readers were “for the most part the younger and more pushing men.”¹⁷ The number of readers and with it some knowledge of the Christian faith was certainly growing, but the extent to which this equated with church planting was a more open question. But it was not a question that troubled Tucker; he left Uganda again in June 1893 and he was not to return to Uganda for another two years.

In the meantime there was a major spiritual boost to the work of evangelisation. Pilkington was becoming increasingly depressed about the lack of spirituality among the readers and their teachers and his own inability to address the situation. In December 1893 he went to the island of Kome for a period of reading and prayer and while there had an experience of spiritual renewal which he described in terms of a Pentecost experience of the power of the Holy Spirit. He returned and shared this with Roscoe and Baskerville, and this experience imparted a new vigour into their work. Pilkington went with the Baganda army under Colvile to fight the Banyoro. His expressed purpose was to preach to the *bakopi* in the army. On his return he travelled through Singo and saw the work being done by Fisher and Sugden (who had replaced Gunther) at Mityana. He was struck by the systematic plan for evangelisation he found there. Fisher had opened some 12 or 15 reading-houses or “synagogues” at short distances from the main mission station and had put a young man in charge of each. The Revd Yairo Mutakyala¹⁸ and Fisher visited these regularly in order to instruct both the teachers and the people gathered there. On his return to Mengo Pilkington decided that Fisher’s scheme could be adapted for the whole country. He mapped out Buganda and suggested a particular European to be in charge of each district together with Baganda teachers/evangelists. Applied to Kyagwe he suggested that Baskerville should take charge of the whole work; under him there were to be four licensed evangelists who would have charge of four centres, attached to which would be some fifteen or twenty “synagogues”. These would be staffed by the young men chosen by the Church Council. Pilkington further proposed that twice as many should be selected as were needed in order that they could spend six months in training in Mengo and then six months teaching in the country.

¹⁷ Pilkington to Baylis 21/2/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.192

¹⁸ After his work as a licensed evangelist Mutakyala had been ordained to the diaconate by Tucker in 1893.

This was a realistic attempt to relate the work of the teachers more systematically to the task of church planting. Secondly it provided the basic model for evangelisation through Uganda and beyond, even if the name of "synagogue" swiftly passed into obscurity. However, Pilkington's idea of sending one hundred teachers for six months while training a second hundred to succeed them while they returned for further training never actually worked in practice. In the first place there was no missionary assigned for this specific task and secondly, there was a growing demand for teachers and a higher priority was accorded to sending them out in preference to concentration on training.

Within the capital itself there was some decentralisation of the work which occurred almost by accident when the great church on Namirembe hill collapsed in October 1894. Before a new church could be built there were some fifteen churches established within an hour's walk of the hill and a rota was established for services led by both C.M.S. missionaries and those ordained and licensed by the Bishop. Tucker himself robustly declared that he did not know that a greater blessing ever befell the Church in Uganda than the blowing down of the structure on Namirembe hill, because of the effect it had in establishing the district churches.¹⁹ Certainly the extension of the Anglican Church was considerable in 1894 following Pilkington's work in shaping the pattern of evangelisation in the field after the more *ad hoc* approach previously. In his Annual Letter he reported that whereas at the beginning of the year there were no more than twenty country churches; now there were not fewer than 200, of which the average capacity was about 150. About 20,000 met in these on Sundays to hear the Gospel and on weekdays no fewer than 4,000 assembled.²⁰

One danger of all this development was that of the Church outgrowing its strength, especially because it was becoming part of the culture for each chief to build a church regardless of whether there were any baptised Christians in the locality.²¹ From late 1894 there came the first expressions of concern by missionaries about some aspects of the work of teachers. Walker commented that some were

¹⁹ Tucker to Stock 14/10/1895 quoted in C.M.I. April 1896 p. 271

²⁰ Annual letter of G. L. Pilkington, quoted in C.M.I. May 1895 p. 363

²¹ Walker to Baylis 28/10/1894 C.M.S.A.G3/A5/O1895.77

trying to behave like chiefs and others were falling short of expected standards.²² The great issue raised was the tension between satisfying the increasing demand for teachers and the need for adequate training for those going into the field. Walker was the most vocal advocate for more training as well as for greater concentration on organising the burgeoning church. He and Pilkington were agreed on the Venn doctrine that the role for the European missionary was to be found primarily in the areas of organisation and training while the pioneer work of evangelisation was best done by the African Christians. But this view was not popularly accepted by all the C.M.S. missionaries, among whom the feeling was strong that they had come not to train Christians but as "missionaries to the heathen."²³

Prior to his arrival in Uganda in October 1895 Tucker had spent a total of six months in the country since his consecration in 1890. During the subsequent eight months he travelled about one thousand miles in the country, being on the road for at least half of his time. He visited all the mission stations in Buganda as well as travelling on to Toro. He confirmed 2052 candidates who had been trained by the church. This visit to Uganda was particularly significant for the Bishop as his first real opportunity to gain experience in and knowledge of the country and the work of evangelisation in that context. The experience of evangelisation during the previous years provided the agenda for him to address on this visit. He was completely affirmative of the "synagogue" system that had been developed.

However, some clarity was required over the precise status of lay agents in the church. Recognition was given to the hierarchical structure that had evolved with the institution of the "synagogue" scheme. At the lowest level were "teachers in local connexion". These were selected and subsequently paid by the local church governing bodies and the missionary in charge of that particular locality. Secondly there were Church Council teachers, who had been recognised by that body and sent with a commendatory letter. They were paid by and accountable to the Church Council

²² Walker to Baylis 30/12//1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.111, in which he tells of two young teachers who did not go to conduct the morning service but waited until midday when they combined it with the evening service, presumably to save the trouble of two trips to church!

in Mengo. Thirdly there were those with the Bishop's license who became Lay Readers. Tucker recognised the need for more education for each of these groups. Those to receive Lay Readers' Licences were to come to Mengo for six months instruction under Walker and Millar, focusing especially on Prayer-Book, Articles and Church History. Tucker further recognised that there was great demand to send out Church Council teachers, but this should be resisted in order to ensure that those sent received six months teaching at Mengo first. He recommended that their training should be "somewhat on the lines adopted by the Church Army."²⁴ However there is no evidence that this was followed through in practice. Thirdly Tucker instructed all the missionaries in the out-stations to devote as much attention as possible to the continuing education of the teachers working in their charge.

Another issue that was addressed in 1895 was the evangelisation of women in Uganda. Part of the reason why Tucker's return to the country in 1895 was delayed was through his waiting to accompany the first C.M.S. women missionaries. Their coming was in response to the belief first expressed in 1891 that the mission required some women missionaries to come and take particular responsibility for teaching the women of the country. Pilkington expressed this when the *Nalinya* (Queen Sister) brought him four girls to prepare them for baptism.²⁵ He felt himself ill-equipped for this task. Walker took on the challenge and enrolled a class of about 20 women in 1892, mostly the wives of Church elders and other leading Baganda Christians.²⁶ This question of teaching women was highlighted by a problem discussed with the Church Council in 1893 about whether they should continue marrying parties when one or other was unbaptised. The feeling was that they did not want to continue this practice, but with the current imbalance in catechumens between men and women, it was proving almost impossible for a baptised man to find a baptised wife. When Walker was on leave, the Church Council resolved to appoint a few women as teachers to instruct other women. They were few and appointed for the expedient of relieving the men from the embarrassment of having to teach women, something that was alien to the cultures of both the C.M.S. men and their

²³ Walker to Baylis 30/4/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.254

²⁴ Tucker to Baylis 14/1/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.102

²⁵ Pilkington to Stock 7/12/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.91

African colleagues. Nevertheless within a couple of years, Roscoe was praising the work of the women teachers, singling out Juliya Nalwoga in Mengo who was involved in teaching the final classes for baptism.²⁷ But in spite of such women it was still considered desirable that women missionaries should join the C.M.S. staff, and this was linked in the missionaries' minds to two extraordinary and culturally-blinkered beliefs about Uganda. The first was that there was no home-life in Uganda and that women missionaries were required to initiate African women into its meaning.²⁸ The second was that Ugandans could not sing and that women missionaries would be best placed to teach them.²⁹ In November 1894 the General Committee of C.M.S. passed a cautious Minute permitting women to go and work in Uganda with the provision that they should either have been married for some years or be prepared to forego marriage for some time.³⁰ Tucker followed this up immediately with a leaflet calling for workers and specifying senior married men with their wives and single women aged between 30 and 40.³¹ There was however, an air of unreality in the thinking about the role of women missionaries. The C.M.S. Africa Committee warned the Uganda missionaries that no marriages would be sanctioned.³² Walker was critical of this attitude on two grounds, that the male missionaries *in situ* were likely to welcome women and also that wives and mothers would be likely to have more influence than single women in the culture of Uganda.³³ Walker was in any case reluctant to welcome women to the C.M.S. mission. He pointed out that if a group of women came to Mengo one likely consequence would be that the Europeans would spend so much time in each other's company that their contact with Africans would be considerably diminished.³⁴ When the women did come they were all together in Mengo concentrating on learning Luganda and it was not until mid-1896 that they were ready for actual deployment in mission work. Tucker resolved that Miss Furley be given responsibility for training women teachers; that Miss Brown take over the women's class from Walker and that the others should hold classes to teach

²⁶ Walker to a friend Mr G. C.M.S.A. Acc 88.175

²⁷ Roscoe to Baylis 14/2/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.142

²⁸ Baskerville: Journal entry for 5/4/1892 in M.U.K.A.

²⁹ Tucker to Stock 14/10/1895 in C.M.I. April 1896 p. 272

³⁰ C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L7 Minute for 23/11/1894

³¹ Tucker also added that the women should be "robust in mind and body"! Leaflet: "Urgent Call from Uganda". Copy appended in Precis Book C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P4 November 1894

³² Baylis to Walker 15/3/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L7

³³ Walker to his sister 29/10/1894 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.255

basic reading and writing.³⁵ Tucker was keen that women should be deployed outside the capital, but his initial suggestion of women going to various stations occupied by single men provoked immediate and reasonable protest from Walker who pointed out that many African teachers would also soon have their “sisters” come to live with them and be a cause of widespread immorality.³⁶ Some of the new women missionaries were not content with staying at Mengo, and Miss Furley and Miss Chadwick contacted the Africa Committee in June 1896 with the request that they be permitted to go to Toro so that they could go and work among the “heathen” in direct evangelistic work.³⁷ Tucker opposed this request, and the Africa Committee supported his stand that the women could not go anywhere unless recommended by the local authority. More significantly they agreed with the Bishop that the role of the women was to be in teaching and discipling the Christian women especially in morality and not in pioneer work of primary evangelism.³⁸ To this end Tucker directed two women to Gayaza and two to Kyagwe, while retaining four in Mengo. There was no response to the suggestion of the Africa Committee that problems of misrepresentation possibly connected with unmarried women away from Mengo could be avoided if they were sent with African women as partners.³⁹ When the first women came to Uganda they never had the experience which had benefited earlier male missionaries of living and working in close partnership and proximity to African colleagues. From the beginning they retained a cultural and a physical distance. In their immediate allocation to tasks of teaching, they were given a sense of cultural superiority, which would unfortunately remain a noticeable feature of many women missionaries for a number of years.⁴⁰

During this first period of evangelisation during Tucker’s episcopate, he clearly established the principle that the primary agents of evangelism were to be African and he affirmed this with the licensing of six evangelists on his first visit. But he left others to establish the actual pattern of

³⁴ Walker to MEW 22/9/1895 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.283

³⁵ Walker to Baylis 10/6/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.249

³⁶ Walker to his mother 17/9/1896 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.331. See also Walker to Baylis 2/3/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.182

³⁷ Furley to Baylis 15/6/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.182

³⁸ Baylis to Furley 9/10/1896 and Baylis to Walker 6/11/1896. Both letters in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L8

³⁹ Marginal note in *Precis Book* 23/6/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P5

⁴⁰ L. Pirouet, in Christensen and Hutchinson, ed. *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era*, 1982 p. 231

evangelism. The Church Council took on the task of teaching, but their agenda had a greater political dimension than was realised by many of the missionaries. It was Pilkington who related the work of these evangelists/teachers more directly to church-planting with his development of the “synagogue” scheme, which had initially been devised by Fisher. On his third visit Tucker affirmed this system and helped to structure the *ad hoc* structure of evangelists that had developed.

By 1897 Tucker had only been in Uganda for a total of fifteen months. Between 1898 and 1911 he was in the country for just over nine years. During this time the number of Anglican Christians (those baptised together with catechumens) grew from 14,500 to just over 79,000. In 1897 there were Christians in Buganda, Busoga, Toro, Koki and Nassa. By 1911 the Anglican Church was also represented in Ankole, Bunyoro, Acholi, Bugisu, Kavirondo, Teso and Lango. In 1897, 97% of the Christians were in Buganda; in 1911 this proportion had fallen to 81%. Tucker travelled widely not only to confirm but also to encourage all aspects of spatial extension as an expression of his conviction that missionary expansion was essential to the nature of a living Church. He used the analogy that since the political vitality of an Empire was seen most truly in its expansion, so “the vital energy of a Church is manifest in its power of self-extension.”⁴¹ He developed this imperialist picture of self-extension in his address to the Church Congress of 1901, when he argued that missionary work is the primary work of the Church and should be undertaken wholeheartedly in order to win the world for Christ.⁴² Within this process Tucker insisted on the central role of African evangelists: “My chief hope lies in our native agency.”⁴³ Crucially significant for him were evangelists from Buganda: “the Baganda appeared to us to be fitted for this great work of bringing the nations without into the fold of Christ. Intellectually they are far in advance of their neighbours. They have a peculiar aptitude for teaching as well as a great desire to impart that knowledge which they themselves receive so greedily.... The Baganda have long since emerged from the patriarchal stage of social development and in political life are as far ahead of the surrounding nations as Europe in the Middle Ages was in

⁴¹ Tucker: “The Spiritual Expansion of Buganda” C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.203

⁴² Tucker: Speech to Church Congress in C.M.I. Nov. 1901 p.840

⁴³ Tucker to Baylis 18/1/1900 G3/A7/O1900.56

advance of the tribal system of an earlier age."⁴⁴ The role of European missionaries was seen primarily in terms of teaching and training African evangelists. However, in his later years Tucker added a new element to this role in seeing the missionaries as essential leading participants in pioneer evangelisation: "New problems present themselves for solution, new conditions have to be reckoned with, strange languages have to be learnt, and for this new work (the Church) needs the European leader and guide."⁴⁵ With this statement Tucker moved much closer to the notions propounded by Willis and others that the African evangelists will naturally look to the European for such items as selecting a site for a mission station, relating to chiefs and elders, arranging food supplies, protection, leadership and encouragement than he was to the initial experiences of African evangelists in the early 1890's.⁴⁶ After 1907 the development of an evangelisation strategy owed a great deal to the thinking of Willis. This new thinking was put into practice in the extension of the church into Kavirondo for which Willis was responsible. He explained his strategy at Maseno as one based on the early Celtic missionary policy at Iona. It was to establish a strong Christian base from which men (*sic*) might go out to evangelise. In Kavirondo Willis encouraged the chiefs to send their sons to a boarding-school in Maseno. These boys were first evangelised at school and after the first baptism in 1910, they were sent out in pairs to evangelise the surrounding villages at weekends.⁴⁷ This development corresponded with the increasingly high profile in Uganda given to missionary involvement in educational and medical work.

The Anglican Church extended from its base in Buganda at the time when European powers were consolidating their positions within Africa. It was inevitable that the political dimensions of evangelisation were evident after 1897 in relation to the colonial powers. An example of this was to the west of Uganda where prior to 1906 there was no clear boundary between Bunyoro and Toro and the Congo Free State. African evangelists from Toro and Bunyoro, most notably Apolo Kivebulaya, worked in Mboga and looked to extend their work further to the west. No European C.M.S. missionary was permanently stationed in Congo, although various missionaries including Tucker

⁴⁴ Tucker: "The Uganda Diocese: A Statement and an Appeal" C.M.I. Nov. 1906 pp. 813-814

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ J. J. Willis: "The Mission of the Uganda Church" in C.M.I. Feb. 1907 p. 86

himself visited regularly. In 1902 the Belgian authorities arrested Tegart a C.M.S. missionary and some of his African colleagues in Balegga to the west of Mboga. Tegart was allowed to return to Uganda, and Hayes-Sadler, the British Commissioner, wrote to Tucker with the request that C.M.S. should not move beyond Mboga.⁴⁸ Tucker was willing to comply while he wanted clarification as to the position of African evangelists in Congo. He was told that they were there at their own risk.⁴⁹ He suggested that the C.M.S. Secretariat should consult with the Foreign Office on this matter, and in the meantime he wrote to the Governor-General of Congo to request permission for the evangelists to work in the country.⁵⁰ The reply came that the Administration in Congo did not wish to have Protestant missions on the territory and they requested Tucker to recall all the evangelists from Congo territory.⁵¹ Tucker did nothing of the kind, but he took refuge in two highly contrived and dubious arguments, that the exact boundary was as yet unclear and that the extension was not an initiative of the C.M.S. but a natural expression of the vitality of the "native Church" in Toro and Bunyoro outside of his own authority. The work of Kivebulaya and others continued and grew quietly.

However, Tucker was neither willing nor able to treat British political authorities in such a cavalier fashion as he did with the more remote Belgians. The British authorities in Uganda were particularly interested in any C.M.S. plans to extend northwards because of their concern lest the mission's activity should provoke unrest. Before the establishment of any mission station in Bunyoro Tucker consulted with Ternan, the Commissioner. Ternan added to his reply some advice: "I am not aware if it is in your mind to push missionaries further northwards into the Nile district, but it appears to me that it would be premature to do so at present.... The Nile district has so lately been occupied that great care will be necessary for some time to gradually accustom the natives to European ideas, and I am most anxious to avoid taking any steps which may be the unwitting cause of embarrassment to the

⁴⁷ J. J. Willis: MSS on Maseno, n.d. M.U.K.A.

⁴⁸ Hayes-Sadler to Tucker 22/12/1902 U.N.A. A 23/1

⁴⁹ Tucker to Baylis 3/3/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.86

⁵⁰ Tucker to Baylis 11/11/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.250

⁵¹ Tucker to Baylis 24/11/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.254

Administration.”⁵² Ternan succeeded in laying down the principle that future missionary extension to the north should follow consultation with the British political authority. In 1903 Tucker entered into correspondence with Hayes-Sadler about the proposed safari of the missionary Lloyd to investigate the possibilities of establishing a mission station in Acholi. The Commissioner’s first response was that he was “disposed to regard favourably the establishment of a C.M.S. station in the Acholi country, adding that there should be no ‘interference’ with the Sudanese troops and followers nor extension beyond Acholi without prior reference to himself.”⁵³ Later in 1904 Lord Cromer suggested in an article in the *Times* that the C.M.S. should extend the mission into Sudan beyond Gondokoro. Baylis responded by asking Tucker whether there were any chance of Baganda evangelists for this work.⁵⁴ Tucker contacted Wilson, the Acting-Commissioner, to learn what he could about the situation in Sudan.⁵⁵ In the meantime he developed a grand scheme to set up a string of mission stations northwards from Patiko in Acholi into Sudan to be known as the “Mission of the Upper Nile.” He appealed for missionaries to lead this. In 1906 he reported that two Baganda evangelists had been sent to Gondokoro at the expense of the church in Buganda.⁵⁶ The Minutes of the C.M.S. Executive Committee in Mengo recorded that British officials from Entebbe had offered to contribute towards the support of a missionary in Gondokoro. Tucker was in Britain; Walker recorded the committee’s gratitude for the offer. Tucker was well aware that such an offer was not made for purely altruistic or religious reasons. He wrote: “Lord Cromer, in encouraging the Nile project, is evidently of the same mind as Sir Charles Eliot, who told me that in his opinion, a mission from an administrative point of view, in certain stages of the development of a country, was of infinitely more value than a Government station.”⁵⁷

However, Tucker’s grand vision failed to come to fruition for a number of reasons. The C.M.S. missionaries sent to Acholi were not equal to the task. Tucker himself had reservations about their

⁵² Ternan to Tucker 3/7/1899 U.N.A. A7/5

⁵³ Tucker to Hayes-Sadler 9/12/1903 U.N.A. A22/1 and Hayes-Sadler to Tucker 5/5/1905 U.N.A. A 23/1

⁵⁴ Baylis to Tucker 25/11/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

⁵⁵ Tucker to Wilson 27/2/1905 U.N.A. A22/1

⁵⁶ Tucker to Baylis 1/3/1906 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.215; Walker to Baylis 8/10/1906 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.216.

leader, Albert Lloyd.⁵⁸ The team was completed by the inexperienced Kitching and Pleydell. The situation deteriorated rapidly when in March 1905 while Lloyd and Kitching were on safari to Gondokoro, Pleydell accidentally killed an Acholi woman with his gun. Hayes-Sadler was surprised by what he considered a casual response by Tucker, who merely rebuked Pleydell for his carelessness but allowed him to remain in Acholi in an increasingly deserted mission station.⁵⁹ Secondly, it became apparent that British political support for the Acholi mission evaporated. Patiko was abandoned as a government station and the missionaries were told that they could not travel anywhere more than ten miles east of Patiko without first obtaining a licence from Nimule or Gondokoro. This prompted Tucker to contact the authorities in Entebbe to point out the absurdity of this regulation being applied to missionaries whose presence had been fully approved in the first place. An exception was made for them, but the close relationship was pushed into the background.

Thirdly Tucker's grand scheme foundered on the rocks of ecclesiastical politics. In 1899 Tucker contacted Archbishop Temple about the boundary between his diocese and that of Bishop Blyth who had nominal jurisdiction over Egypt and Sudan. Tucker conceded that Bunyoro had formerly been regarded as part of Egyptian Sudan, and he requested that the northern boundary of his diocese should be defined "sufficiently far from our centre to give free scope to the forceful energies of the Uganda Church."⁶⁰ Temple referred Tucker's letter to the Bishop of Salisbury whose response was that Tucker should be encouraged to "extend his missions wherever he can be advised of the protection of the British authority of the Uganda Protectorate until such time as the political division between Uganda and Sudan is drawn."⁶¹ In 1903 Tucker registered surprise that C.M.S. was opening a mission station among the Dinkas at Shambe with Khartoum as the base, hoping that this would not prejudice his plans for expansion in and from Acholi.⁶² It was more than surprise that Tucker noted in

⁵⁷ Tucker to Baylis 10/5/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.216

⁵⁸ Tucker to Baylis n.d. G3/A7/O1907.127. Lloyd had offended some British officials, but Tucker's preferences of Willis, Maddox or Clayton were not available at that time.

⁵⁹ The failure of the first mission in Acholi is discussed in L. Pirouet, 1978, pp.149-159. See also A. B. Lloyd, *Uganda to Khartoum* London, 1906

⁶⁰ Tucker to Temple 30/3/1899. Temple Papers Vol 33:161-165 L. P. L.

⁶¹ Bishop of Salisbury to Tucker 15/6/1899 Temple Papers Vol 33: 166-167 L. P. L. See also Memorandum of interview between Baylis and the Bishop of Salisbury C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1

⁶² Tucker to Baylis 31/12/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.38

1905: "none of us here realised that the new venture in the Sudan would not be an organic part of the Uganda Mission. We had no idea that Bishop Blyth would claim jurisdiction up to the limits of the Uganda Protectorate... I had not thought that Bishop Blyth would seriously claim to exercise his powers beyond Fashoda in territory which he has never made any attempt to evangelise during a long episcopate. The pagan tribes marked off as a British sphere of missionary work – ethnologically speaking – have absolutely nothing to do with the tribes north of Fashoda. They are however, practically one with the tribes further south in the Uganda Protectorate and among whom we have now commenced to work. Continued ecclesiastical control by Bishop Blyth is a serious ecclesiastical scandal."⁶³ In spite of Tucker's bluster, Blyth was perfectly in order to claim episcopal jurisdiction over Sudan, and Tucker showed a serious lack of judgment in failing to consult him over the matter of evangelisation from Uganda. Baylis was able to respond that Blyth had appointed Gwynne to be Archdeacon of the Church of England in Sudan with specific responsibility for the south of the country.⁶⁴ Fourthly, the grand scheme of the Mission of the Upper Nile failed to work, because Kitching found out very quickly that Baganda evangelists had no affinity with the Acholi and that they were not prepared to make that cultural bridge.

It was not only Kitching among the C.M.S. missionaries who was critical of Tucker's attitude towards Baganda evangelists. This issue was raised even more acutely in Bugisu in a dispute between the Bishop and his C.M.S. colleague Crabtree. The latter had been in Bugisu since 1899, having served in the country since 1892. He had not settled in any one place for more than two years and had gained the reputation among the missionaries of being awkward and eccentric as well as being a brilliant linguist.⁶⁵ In Bugisu he concentrated on language work and by 1903 he had produced a reading-book, hymnbook, prayer-book and a book of Bible stories in the vernacular. His wife's involvement in medical work contributed to their local popularity among the Bagisu, recognised by Tucker when he visited in 1903. In 1904 the Crabtrees returned to Britain on leave and later resigned from C.M.S. There were major differences on mission policy with Tucker. In an interview with

⁶³ Tucker to Baylis 10/5/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.127

⁶⁴ Baylis to Tucker 26/5/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

⁶⁵ Walker to Baylis 22/8/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O18989.178

Randall of the C.M.S. Secretariat, Crabtree argued that the customs of the Bagisu differed from those in more western parts of Uganda. Consequently he felt that different methods of evangelisation were required rather than the use of Baganda evangelists. He stated that Baganda evangelists would only work with those who were prepared to learn Luganda and that they would not use books in the local vernacular.⁶⁶ Tucker's response was that it was quite impossible for the Crabtrees to return to Bugisu: "His relations with the Buganda colony only seven miles away make this clearly impossible....I hold that these Christian Baganda must be the evangelists for the regions beyond... The fact is he dislikes the Baganda, and I am bound to say that the Baganda cordially reciprocate the feeling."⁶⁷ Crabtree contacted Tucker to share his concern that the region from Nassa to Karamoja could never be adequately worked from Mengo because the Baganda were out of touch with the people by language, custom and geography.⁶⁸ Further correspondence failed to resolve the differences and Crabtree resigned from C.M.S. in 1905.

The fact was that Bugisu provided the clearest example of what has become known as sub-imperialism by the Baganda, in this case under the leadership of Kakungulu.⁶⁹ Crabtree was replaced by Purvis who was initially impressed by Kakungulu and his willingness to support Baganda evangelists working among the Bagisu. But like Crabtree he became increasingly wary of their motives. In 1909 Crabtree and Purvis both contacted Baylis to express their regret that the centre of the Bugisu mission was being moved by Tucker from Nabumali to Mbale which was the government centre and a Baganda colony. They represented the move in terms of the initiative for evangelisation passing completely from the Bagisu to the Baganda.⁷⁰ In Bugisu itself Ladbury referred to one Muganda evangelist who had beaten a Mugisu man and commandeered his goods.⁷¹ But following the resignations of Crabtree and Purvis, Tucker met with no more missionary opposition to his insistence that the Baganda were the appropriate agents for the evangelisation of the Bagisu. But the evidence from Ladbury suggests that relationships between the evangelists and the Bagisu did not

⁶⁶ Memo of interview between Crabtree and Randall 5/4/1904. C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.93

⁶⁷ Tucker to Baylis 28/7/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.167

⁶⁸ Crabtree to Tucker 22/10/1904 C.M.S.A. Acc 27

⁶⁹ Kakungulu's career has been brilliantly traced by M. Twaddle, 1993. See especially pages 135ff

⁷⁰ Crabtree to Baylis 24/9/1909 and Purvis to Baylis 24/9/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/AT/O1909.290

greatly improve. The whole rather sorry episode illustrates the negative side of Tucker's dogged determination. He failed to perceive the political agenda of Kakungulu and other Baganda and he failed to consider the cultural appropriateness of Baganda evangelists in both Acholi and Bugisu in the face of missionaries who knew the situation and the people.

B. The Question of Language

Fundamental to Anglican identity is the conviction that this meant that worship and the Scriptures should be in the language of the people.⁷² Venn was insistent that all missionaries should learn the local language, and one of his major priorities remained the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. But it was by no means straightforward to interpret this tradition in the context of the Uganda Protectorate of many languages and dialects.

It is remarkable that Tucker himself never became fluent in Luganda or any other African language. He committed a number of addresses and prayers to memory in the language, but his Luganda was insufficient to allow him to follow debates in the Synod satisfactorily. Willis recalled how proceedings in Synod were invariably slow because of the need to translate for the chairman.⁷³ However, it would not be wise to speculate about how much Luganda Tucker did know. After his death Walker commented that the Bishop often found it useful to allow people to think that he knew considerably less than he actually understood.⁷⁴ Tucker's biographer commented that he acquired a useful grasp of conversational Luganda, but what is certain is that he was never fluent or wholly confident in the language.

When the first missionaries came to Buganda in 1877, they worked through the medium of Swahili and translated some of the Gospels and Prayer Book into that language. Mackay translated the Gospel

⁷¹ H. B. Ladbury: Journal entry for 9/10/1909 in M.U.K.A.

⁷² cf Article XXIV: *Of the Speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth*. It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood by the people.

⁷³ Willis: *Memoirs* C.M.S.A. Acc 120

⁷⁴ Walker: *Alfred Robert Tucker* in C.M.R. August 1914 p.489

of Matthew into Luganda and printed it.⁷⁵ But shortly before his death, he recommended the promotion of Swahili as a *lingua franca* for east Africa, partly because of the relative ease of providing literature in one language.⁷⁶ But his advice was not heeded by Tucker, who later completely rejected Swahili as a language too closely associated with Islam.⁷⁷ In 1891 he instructed the Cambridge classicist, Pilkington, to concentrate on translating the Bible into Luganda as well as producing a Luganda grammar.⁷⁸ Pilkington himself strongly favoured the use of Luganda over Swahili on the grounds that it was the language of the people, whereas Swahili belonged to the outsider. He did not want to confuse the learning of Swahili with becoming a Christian.⁷⁹ With the help of Henry Wright Duta, he completed the New Testament by June 1892; the manuscripts reached the B.F.B.S. by November. The Old Testament was completed by 1896.

While the extension work of the Church was within Buganda there was no question that Luganda was the most appropriate language, but this was tested by extension outside, in the first instance to Busoga. In May 1894 Crabtree went to re-open the mission in Busoga, and became quickly aware that the church service in Luganda was not understood.⁸⁰ By the following year he and his colleague, Rowling, had become increasingly frustrated with the Baganda evangelists because of their lack of willingness to learn Lusoga and local customs. Rowling in particular blamed the members of the Church Council in Mengo for not believing the report that Lusoga was necessary and for their failure to encourage the evangelists to learn the local language. It was clear that the evangelists were listening more to the Baganda elders in Mengo than to the C.M.S. missionaries in Busoga. Crabtree

⁷⁵ There is a minor dispute as to the one more responsible for translating this work. In a typewritten note in M.U.K.A., dated January 1953, the Revd Claude O'Flaherty claims that the bulk of the work was done by his father, the Revd Philip O'Flaherty, but that Ashe gave the credit in his writings to Mackay.

⁷⁶ Mackay: "The Solution of the African Problem" MSS in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1889.329

⁷⁷ Tucker, 1908 Vol II, p.215

⁷⁸ Tucker to Pilkington January 1891, quoted in Harford-Battersby, 1898, p. 123

⁷⁹ Pilkington to Lang 2/6/1892, quoted in Harford-Battersby, 1898, p. 193

⁸⁰ Whereas Luganda was the language spoken throughout Buganda by all Baganda, Lusoga was the name given to a more loosely related family of dialects spoken through Busoga. The two most widely spoken dialects are Lutenga, spoken more in the south and Lupakooyo in the north. Both claimed to be the pure Lusoga! See Tuma, 1980, p.50

discerned a clear tendency among the Baganda to despise the Basoga and their language.⁸¹ The response of the missionaries was to hold Lusoga services, while the evangelists continued their main teaching in Luganda. Tucker first came across Christians in Uganda whose native tongue was not Luganda on the island of Bugaya; they spoke a dialect of Lusoga. His immediate reaction was: "if these islands are to be effectively evangelised we shall have to use the language 'understood of the people' and to abandon the use of Luganda."⁸² Travelling on through Busoga he met Crabtree and agreed with him that Lusoga should be the language of the mission for a trial period of three years.⁸³ However, the Baganda evangelists refused to comply and continued their work in Luganda.⁸⁴

Toro was the place where the hegemony of Luganda within the Church was successfully challenged. Tucker visited Toro more than any other region outside Buganda; he was there six times between 1898 and 1906. After his visit of 1898 he wrote a long paper "The Spiritual Expansion of Buganda" which presented a very positive picture of the work in Toro and extension into Mboga.⁸⁵ The title itself indicates a major theme of Tucker's that the Church in Toro was a testimony to the success of Baganda evangelists. Tucker showed less sensitivity to the language and culture of Toro than he did in Busoga on his visit in May 1896. It was a rushed judgement by one whose grasp of Luganda was very poor when he wrote: "The language seems little more than a dialect of Luganda. The work will therefore be carried on in that language which is perfectly understood by the people."⁸⁶ In 1899 he predicted the political absorption of Toro within Buganda, and he denied any intention of regarding Toro as a separate sphere of work from Buganda. It might be in future that Toro could develop into a separate diocese, but in 1899 Tucker considered it "absurd to think of Toro as anything else than a part of the work of the Church of Buganda."⁸⁷

⁸¹ "National pride and prejudice runs deep and strong in Buganda" represents the typical opinion of Crabtree. See his Journal entries June-September 1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.1

⁸² Tucker to Stock 28/12/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.101

⁸³ W. A. Crabtree: Journal entry for 24/12/1895 R.H.

⁸⁴ Even to the present day Luganda is the language of the Prayer Book in common use in Busoga, although the sermons and fellowships are in the vernacular.

⁸⁵ C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.203. This paper formed the basis of A. R. Tucker: Toro, 1899

⁸⁶ Tucker to Stock 14/4/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.352

⁸⁷ Tucker to Baylis 23/3/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.101

However, within Toro the missionaries, Fisher and (especially) Maddox were both suspicious with reason that Buganda was scheming to annex Toro. Walker thought it a pity that Kasagama rejected the overtures of Kangao, a Muganda chief, to integrate Toro within Buganda, and regretted that Maddox had encouraged Kasagama in his independence.⁸⁸ Fisher and Maddox both made it a major priority of their work to train Batoro to be evangelists and teachers. In 1900 they were joined by Edith Pike and Ruth Hurditch (later Mrs Fisher), who likewise concentrated on training women evangelists. In 1900 Walker was informed that no more Baganda were required as evangelists, because sufficient Batoro had been trained to replace them. In 1901 there were 120 Batoro evangelists, including ten in Bunyoro and three in Ankole.⁸⁹ The first ten women evangelists were commissioned in 1902. As Batoro evangelists replaced Baganda, they had a natural preference to conduct work in their own language rather than Luganda, and it was this that led to controversy.

The Baganda evangelists who went to Toro in 1896 worked in Luganda. Walker was the chief advocate who believed that the work should continue in Luganda, which was a belief that was partly based on what he was told by Baganda.⁹⁰ He argued there would be a great saving in time and expense of printing were Luganda to be adopted by all. Secondly, Luganda was more studied, and therefore more help could be given in teaching. Thirdly, he argued that if missionaries were to move from station to station, it would save time if they did not have to learn a new language each time. Fourthly, he argued that as communications developed, the differences between the tribes would tend to be removed and in the end all would speak the same language.⁹¹ He later added the argument that since the colonial authorities were working to draw together all the regions around Buganda, that it was the duty of all European missionaries to co-operate with this process.⁹²

⁸⁸ Walker to Baylis 17/12/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.27

⁸⁹ Fisher to Baylis 12/9/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.228

⁹⁰ Walker to Baylis 26/8/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.196

⁹¹ Walker to his father 22/10/1899 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.459

⁹² Walker to Baylis 19/8/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.199

From within Toro the most powerful advocate of Lunyoro was Maddox.⁹³ In 1900 he set out the main arguments in its favour. He pointed out that many of the chiefs and their dependants who initially received the evangelists had been brought up in Buganda or strongly influenced by Buganda. Since 1898 evangelisation was taking place among the peasants who knew no Luganda. The New Testament was required in Lunyoro for it to become a devotional book and not merely a lesson textbook.⁹⁴ In this argument Maddox was supported by a letter from Apolo Kivebulaya, the Muganda evangelist, who compared the situation in Toro with that in Buganda in the earliest period when teaching was in Swahili and understood by few. When Luganda was used, a great period of growth ensued. Kivebulaya translated the Gospel of Matthew into Lunyoro.⁹⁵

The political dimension of the language debate was very apparent to Lloyd when the Mengo Church Council discussed the issue in 1901: "it seems to me more of a political matter with them than a spiritual. A very strong idea among the Baganda is that, once get the Banyoro to talk Luganda, and they are morally putting themselves under the rule of Buganda."⁹⁶

Tucker's initial impression was that Lunyoro was no more than a dialect of Luganda, but when he visited in 1899 he decided that all services should be in Lunyoro.⁹⁷ By 1900 he had reached the conclusion that Lunyoro was the language spoken from Bunyoro to Rwanda and was a language older than Luganda. He accepted the argument of Kasagama and the chiefs of Toro that Lunyoro should be the language of instruction. Nonetheless his capitulation was less than complete. He still felt that the Baganda were the "dominant race", and that Lunyoro would ultimately yield to Luganda, a process in which the missionaries would be wise to assist with the aid of a Bible and Prayer-Book in Luganda. In practice he advocated the compromise of using Lunyoro for elementary instruction

⁹³ In contemporary writing Lunyoro was the term used for the language used in Toro whereas Rutoro is the term used today. The language issue in Bunyoro is also helpfully discussed in L. Pirouet, 1978, pp. 101ff

⁹⁴ Maddox to Fox 8/9/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.101

⁹⁵ This letter is reprinted in C.M.I. June 1901, pp 468-469

⁹⁶ Lloyd to Baylis 9/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.219

⁹⁷ Walker to Baylis 19/1/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.72

and Luganda for higher instruction.⁹⁸ However, he seemed to contradict this when the following month he gave permission to Maddox to translate the entire New Testament in Lunyoro.⁹⁹ The viewpoint of the C.M.S. Parent Committee was to argue that there was a good deal to be said for pushing the use of one language (Luganda) throughout the country.¹⁰⁰ When Tucker met Baylis in 1901, he clarified that what he meant by higher instruction was that involving more literature than the Bible and the Prayer Book. Tucker was also unwilling to insist on the principle that missionaries had to learn more than one language. He and Baylis agreed on the following ground-rules:

The Parent Committee should send out a memo saying that there was much advantage in Luganda ultimately prevailing over dialects if it would be so naturally.

That every missionary would find it advantageous to know Luganda even if using another vernacular. But this should not be a matter of rule.

That questions of the language to be used in each place and the extent of literature so much affect the Church of the future that they properly belong to the Church authorities to decide, that pending the organisation of a constituted Church, the Committee do not like such questions to be settled by the Society's authority alone, but prefer the Bishop to do so in consultation with others.¹⁰¹

Tucker's defence of Luganda as the sole language of evangelisation was weakening at each point. In 1902 Cook wrote a paper on "The Future of the Language of Bunyoro".¹⁰² He argued that a clear choice faced the Church: either to conduct all teaching in Luganda or to determine to translate the Bible into Lunyoro and other languages. He continued to argue that the Christian faith should be taught in the "heart language" of the people, and that the Gospel was not only for the chiefs and educated people but also for the general masses that understood no Luganda. Cook referred to the Anglican principle that worship should be in the language "understood of the people", and on this

⁹⁸ Tucker to Baylis 10/8/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.170

⁹⁹ Tucker to Baylis 28/9/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.198

¹⁰⁰ Baylis to Roscoe 1/6/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

¹⁰¹ Memorandum of interview between Tucker and Baylis 8/11/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.216

¹⁰² Reprinted in C.M.I. February 1902 pp. 97-100

basis he concluded that translation work should be a priority not only for Lunyoro but also possibly for Lunyankole and the languages of the east.

In response, C.M.S. followed Baylis' line that the language question ought to be decided locally, but they did express the opinion that there would be great advantage in Luganda becoming the language of the whole region, but that this development should be neither hastened nor hindered by missionaries. In the meantime they agreed that basic Christian literature was required in the several languages in the area.¹⁰³ This response failed to address the issue; the idea that the missionaries remain neutral with regard to the language debate was culpably naïve. Clearly whether or not the Bible was translated would have a major if not decisive impact upon the future of the language in question.

The significance of the decision to endorse work in the vernacular was summed up for Toro in 1905 by Ruth Fisher: "Since Lunyoro was adopted in place of the neighbouring dialect of Luganda, the work has gone forward in leaps and bounds, and to it must be attributed largely the wide spread of Christianity among the peasants in the villages."¹⁰⁴

In 1905 the discussion moved forward in Toro with the question of translating the Old Testament also into Lunyoro. Maddox, who greatly favoured this, asked for Fisher's opinion. Fisher had returned as the senior missionary to Hoima in 1904, and his reply to Maddox gave five reasons why he considered a Luganda Bible to be sufficient:

Fully one third of the original population and one half of the original Kingdom of Bunyoro now belong to Uganda and are by force of circumstances compelled to learn the Luganda language.

Nowhere, except in the extreme north, is the Kingdom of Bunyoro more than one long day's march from Uganda.

¹⁰³ Memorandum of the C.M.S. Committee on the Language Question in the Uganda Mission in C.M.I. February 1902 pp. 100-101

¹⁰⁴ R. B. Fisher, *On the Borders of Pygmy Land*, 1905, p. 95

Two of the six Sazas and two of the six Myukas in the Kingdom of Bunyoro are Baganda, and together with a very large number of minor chiefs do all they can to encourage Luganda. A very large portion of the entire trade of Bunyoro is in the hands of the Baganda, hence the Luganda language is very generally known through Unyoro.

In attending the Hoima Church services the Baganda Christians stick to their own books and cause great confusion in the responses and Psalms.¹⁰⁵

If anything this letter only served to inflame a general anti-Buganda feeling in Toro, and Tucker was made aware of a steady demand for a Bible in Lunyoro. In May 1907 Bunyoro was in political turmoil with the issue of "Nyangire", the attempted expulsion of Baganda chiefs who had been imposed following the defeat of Kabarega in 1898.¹⁰⁶ Within Bunyoro anti-Baganda feeling had been stirred up in 1906 by various delegations from Toro coming to leading Christians in Bunyoro to encourage them to demand a Lunyoro Old Testament and to disclose to them the contents of Fisher's letter of 1905.

Fisher's response to the demand for an Old Testament in Lunyoro was that it was "absolutely political and not required for any other purpose."¹⁰⁷ In an article for Uganda Notes Rowling argued that the true imperial idea was one of unity, which would best be served by promoting Luganda as far as possible throughout the Protectorate.¹⁰⁸ Tucker, however, decided against considerable pressure from other missionaries to ask Maddox to translate the Old Testament into Lunyoro. He acknowledged that the demand for a Lunyoro Bible was partly motivated by political considerations, but he saw that as no reason to ignore it. He acknowledged Mrs Fisher's analysis of the growth of the church in Toro following on from the translation of the New Testament into Lunyoro, and argued further that "For us to resent the demand for a Lunyoro Bible would be in the eyes of many of the Banyoro to side with those who are resisting their just natural aspirations."¹⁰⁹ He explained his

¹⁰⁵ Fisher to Maddox December 1905 in C.M.S.A. Acc 84.F2. L. Pirouet, 1978, p. 104 rightly points out that every sentence was politically explosive.

¹⁰⁶ *Nyangire* is helpfully discussed in L. Pirouet, 1978, pp. 103-108

¹⁰⁷ Fisher to Baylis 1/5/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P.149 (Original missing). See also Fisher to Tucker 25/5/1907 C.M.S.A. Acc 84.F2

¹⁰⁸ F. Rowling: "The Luganda Language" in Uganda Notes May 1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O.205

¹⁰⁹ Tucker to Baylis 9/8/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.213

decision more simply to Fisher that they should encourage people to read the Scriptures in their own language; otherwise there would be only a “vener of Christianity.”¹¹⁰

The particular significance of the decision in favour of Lunyoro was that this was taken as the model for other regions. In 1902 Willis recorded a debate in the Church in Ankole, when in spite of the chiefs favouring Luganda, the people more generally favoured Lunyoro. Willis chose the latter as the language of evangelisation in Ankole.¹¹¹

Walker's views in favour of Luganda as the language for the entire mission did not prevail, even though he was undoubtedly clear on the relevant issues. He did listen to African opinion, but no further than the Baganda. Tucker considered the views from elsewhere. Walker was correct in his arguments that much time and expense would be saved with only one language in the Church and that Luganda had been more studied, and the learning of many vernaculars would make it harder to move missionary locations. But he failed to weigh these against the heavy consideration that evangelisation and worship should be in the language of the people. Walker was also correct that improved communications within the Protectorate would tend towards the promotion of a common language, but he was wrong in his assumption that this would be Luganda. His argument that the missionaries ought to co-operate with the desire of the colonial authorities was uncritical and unworthy. Tucker heard these arguments and showed a cautious willingness to change his mind and the policy of the Church to allow for a greater flexibility within the parameters of belief in the ultimate triumph of Luganda as the language of higher education. Tucker made a distinction between the work of evangelisation and education. For the former the use of the vernacular was proper, whereas for the work of education it was more advantageous to promote a single language.¹¹² However, with the extension of the Church it became increasingly apparent that there were more non-Luganda speakers

¹¹⁰ Tucker to Fisher 30/5/1907 C.M.S.A. Acc 84.F2

¹¹¹ J. J. Willis: Journal entry for 27/8/1902 in R H

¹¹² Tucker, 1908, Vol. II p. 214

in the whole country. The development of including English within the curriculum of intermediate education contributed towards the undercutting of Luganda as an appropriate national language.¹¹³

C. Industrial Training, Medical Work and Education in Evangelisation

Before 1890 Mackay was a practitioner and advocate of imparting industrial skills to Africans as part of the process of evangelisation. He included industrial training within his proposals for an educational Institution, which he put at the heart of his mission strategy along similar lines worked out by his fellow-Scots at Livingstonia.¹¹⁴ But the generation of missionaries who came in 1890 under the influence of the China Inland Mission were less favourably disposed to any direct C.M.S. involvement in industrial training.¹¹⁵ When in 1891 Captain Williams of the I.B.E.A. Company suggested that C.M.S. should teach industrial skills, the reaction of the missionaries in Tucker's absence was that such work did not fall within the province of those sent out as spiritual agents. Baskerville referred to the traditional C.M.S. motto of "spiritual men for spiritual work".¹¹⁶ But by 1892 his thinking had developed to consider that industrial work would be good although it was not the task of C.M.S. to start such work. In line with this Walker contacted Sir Fowell Buxton in London with the suggestion of opening an industrial mission not for evangelistic purposes but to "train young men in habits of industry and perseverance."¹¹⁷ Tucker was not involved in this discussion until 1896, when he suggested to Baylis that if a missionary were available for industrial training and not more spiritual work, there could be a place for him in Uganda.¹¹⁸ Such a man was Kristen Borup who arrived in Uganda in 1897. His coming was greeted with considerable hesitation by the C.M.S. Finance Committee in Mengo who recorded in their Minutes that "industrial work must be subordinate to the spiritual work of the mission."¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Tucker's belief that there would be one language for the whole country for higher education was fulfilled, but the language was English and not Luganda.

¹¹⁴ A. Mackay: "The Solution of the African Problem" MSS in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1889.329. For the model of Livingstonia, see J. McCracken, 1977

¹¹⁵ Industrial training and industrial mission were the favoured ways of referring to what later generations have called vocational training.

¹¹⁶ Baskerville to Lang 1/6/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891. Also Baskerville: Journal entry for 28/5/1891 M.U.K.A.

¹¹⁷ Walker to Buxton 10/3/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894

¹¹⁸ Memo of interview between Tucker and Baylis 9/12/1896. C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.348

¹¹⁹ C.M.S. Finance Committee 12/4/1897 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1897.186

By 1898 the perception was growing among C.M.S. missionaries in Uganda that the Baganda were lazy, but they were still hesitant about the value of an industrial mission. Walker suggested to Baylis that C.M.S. might send out two Indian mechanics to come and work as mission servants and instruct Baganda in their trade.¹²⁰ He acknowledged that an industrial school would be a civilising agency, but he did not want to see this added to the existing burden of C.M.S. work.¹²¹

In 1898 Tucker invited Borup to organise an Industrial mission in Mengo. His C.M.S. colleague, Leakey, objected to this proposal on the grounds that the attempt at Frere Town had merely trained men for work as traders or with the government.¹²² However, Apolo Kagwa, the Katikiro of Buganda, responded immediately by sending six boys for training and agreeing to pay for them. African expectations for this new venture were high, but Borup found that far from being able to devote attention to developing the Industrial mission in Bulange, he was expected to supervise the building of Mengo Hospital and other structures on Namirembe hill. He failed to secure from C.M.S. the sum of £2500 that he considered the minimum cost of a proper technical school.¹²³ In 1900 he was informed that extensive trading operations should not be part of the mission. Under all these conditions it became impossible for Borup to continue and in early 1900 with Tucker's approval the C.M.S. Africa Committee met with Professor C. A. Carus-Wilson to discuss the possibility of moving the Industrial mission on to a commercial basis.¹²⁴ On the basis of Carus-Wilson's recommendations the C.M.S. General Committee confirmed that the Industrial mission in Uganda should be continued by means of an independent association.¹²⁵ Borup's estimate for 1902 that he needed £3000-£4000 to put the Industrial mission on a proper footing only confirmed the C.M.S. resolve to hand the work over to a private company. At the end of 1903 the Uganda Company was registered.¹²⁶ This was a

¹²⁰ Walker to Baylis 12/11/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.19

¹²¹ Walker to Baylis 9/2/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.75

¹²² Leakey to Baylis 16/10/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.175

¹²³ Walker to Baylis 9/2/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.75

¹²⁴ Memo of interview between C.M.S. Africa Committee and Prof Carus-Wilson 4/1/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.11

¹²⁵ Minutes of the C.M.S. Africa Committee 30/12/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1

¹²⁶ C. Ehrlich, *The Uganda Company*, 1953, p.6. The Directors of the Company were all deeply involved in the work of C.M.S. in London: T. F. V. Buxton, who was also C.M.S. Treasurer, A. F.

transposition of the work in that the focus changed from training Africans to commercial trading. Borup remained as a C.M.S. missionary in charge of the Company, but by 1904 Tucker had concluded that this was anomalous in two respects: other traders were complaining that the Uganda Company was being subsidised by C.M.S. and that Borup himself was a C.M.S. missionary who worked without being held accountable to Tucker. The result was that Borup was disconnected from the Society while continuing for some years in charge of the Uganda Company.

In 1906 Savile, a missionary in Kavirondo, suggested to Baylis that it was essential to develop industrial work in Maseno, but this was firmly rejected as an unsuitable project for C.M.S. involvement.¹²⁷ However in 1909 Baylis agreed in principle to help fund four schemes for industrial development when further details were forthcoming. Nothing was attempted on the scale of Borup's work in the previous decade, but mission stations in Teso and Bugisu in particular became centres of active encouragement to grow cotton and coffee. In his report to the Edinburgh commission, H.W. Weatherhead commented on the spasmodic nature of industrial training in Uganda, identifying the economics of establishing this work as the major reason why it never developed beyond initial stages.

The overall picture that emerges is one where the C.M.S. generally agreed that some form of industrial mission was desirable. The key question was the same as faced by Venn, that of the precise role of C.M.S. in its development. Among the missionaries themselves after Mackay there was a reluctance to accept responsibility for industrial mission that owed more to the sensibilities of social class than to more theological considerations. Borup was unusual as a Danish-Canadian from an artisan background in being willing to accept industrial mission. Purvis noted the effect that the attitude of the missionaries had upon African Christians who "think a good deal of themselves as a non-industrious body, amongst whom anything like normal labour is considered beneath their

Buxton, H. Carus-Wilson and H. E. Millar, who was the brother of the Revd E. Millar in the Uganda C.M.S. mission.

¹²⁷ Savile to Baylis 16/4/1906 G3/A7/O1906; Resolution of Committee of Correspondence 3/7/1906 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

dignity.”¹²⁸ Tucker shared Venn’s understanding that evangelisation should include a concern for development in material terms; it was he who invited Borup to establish the industrial mission and he was heartened by the establishment of the Uganda Company as a worthy expression of a Christian care about vocational development.

Venn paid little attention to the place of specialised medical work in mission, although missionaries were all aware in practice of the need for some medical understanding. In Uganda Mackay had realised the need for missionaries to have a good knowledge of medicine as early as 1879 not only to maintain their own well-being, but also to address the situation where “all native gods and sorcerers are cure-workers and all medicine-men looked up to as possessed of more than natural powers.”¹²⁹ Missionary letters frequently regretted a lack of more medical knowledge. The first request for a specialist medical missionary came from Bishop Parker in 1887.¹³⁰ This was echoed in a similar request from Tucker in 1890.¹³¹ It was not in Tucker’s mind at this stage to set up a specialised medical unit, but it was primarily a response to the losses of missionaries through disease and to provide a resource-person who could be consulted by other missionaries on medical matters. When Dr Wright joined the Mengo missionaries he carried a full weight of teaching and preaching as well as treating many and various complaints.¹³² Wright had to return to Britain in 1894 exhausted by his labours. When a replacement doctor was proposed in Dr Albert Cook, he was determined to come as a medical specialist. Tucker saw the evangelistic opportunity of setting up such work in Mengo in terms of reaching the Moslem population with the Gospel. On the other hand Walker was sceptical: “the expenses will be very great indeed, and I am not sure that the patients will get as well looked after as they would in their own homes. And further it will take up all Cook’s time to look after it.”¹³³ But in spite of this concern Cook came and Mengo Hospital was founded in 1897.

¹²⁸ Purvis: Annual Letter for 1897 in C.M.I. May 1898 p. 354. Purvis, however, was “not of the first blood by birth” remarked Walker on one occasion.

¹²⁹ Mackay to his sister 23/12/1879 in J. W. Harrison, 1890, p.171

¹³⁰ Minutes of Missionary Conference at Usambiro Dec. 1887 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1888.120

¹³¹ Tucker to Wigram 9/6/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1890.158

¹³² Baskerville: Journal 18/6/1892 M.U.K.A.; Tucker to the editor of the *Times* 12/9/1893, reprinted in C.M.I. Dec. 1893 p. 909

Tucker believed that medical work had a valid place in the work of evangelisation in two respects: in direct evangelistic appeal and in teaching pastoral concern in “the duty and privilege of ministering to the sick and suffering.”¹³⁴ Even after the founding of the hospital Walker continued to be sceptical over the value of medical work as an appropriate activity for C.M.S. missionaries. When he queried this with the C.M.S. Africa Committee, they confirmed Tucker’s opinion that medical work was an integral part of the mission and as such was subject to the Finance Committee in Uganda.¹³⁵ When Tucker requested C.M.S. to send three more doctors to Uganda in 1898, Walker again demurred and argued that more clerics were needed instead because of their greater value in the work of evangelisation.¹³⁶ He continued to argue that the building of Mengo hospital was a larger draw upon the limited resources of the church than was wise. But Tucker’s view prevailed. Against Walker he now argued that Mengo hospital in practice provided a more pastoral than evangelistic role, but he did acknowledge that medical work could swallow endless resources and he accepted that medical work should not be developed at the expense of other aspects of the mission’s work.¹³⁷ Tucker rejected Cook’s ambition of developing a medical school to train African doctors as too expensive.¹³⁸

In 1898 Cook asked Tucker if he could accompany him on his safari to Toro in order to see something of the medical work in the mission and to obtain a better idea of the prospects for its extension. Tucker readily agreed and Cook found many patients in Toro and clearly attracted crowds. This success convinced Tucker of the need for a medical missionary for Toro.¹³⁹ They felt that a medical missionary would attract the *bakopi*. In 1901 Dr Ashton Bond arrived in Uganda and Tucker sent him to Toro where he set about opening the first hospital. As before Walker expressed his hesitations about the evangelistic effectiveness of medical mission: “As regards the medical results I

¹³³ Walker to his brother 15/2/1897 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.347

¹³⁴ Tucker, 1908, Vol II, p. 157

¹³⁵ Baylis to Walker 25/2/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

¹³⁶ Walker to Baylis 15/6/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.152. Wandira, Early Missionary Education in Uganda, 1972, wrongly attributes this view to all the C.M.S. missionaries.

¹³⁷ Tucker to Baylis 27/6/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.164

¹³⁸ This ambition was stimulated by a suggestion from Baylis that great value should be placed on the training of Africans in medical work. Baylis to Walker 22/4/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

¹³⁹ In this Tucker was supported by Cook, Maddox and Roscoe. Tucker: “The Spiritual Expansion of Buganda” C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.203; Tucker to Baylis 14/12/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.47; Maddox to Baylis 13/1/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/1900.73

have not much confidence in them as one failure seems to cause people to forget so much of the good done in other cases."¹⁴⁰ It appears that Walker's fears were largely unjustified. From 1908 Johnson looked back to the opening of the new hospital in Toro as marking the time when the Gospel began to make inroads into the local community.¹⁴¹

Within the Uganda mission there was general recognition that medical work did form a valid part of evangelisation. In promoting this view Tucker was on theologically sound ground and displayed astuteness in recognising both its pastoral and evangelistic potential. However, Walker was also correct in ensuring that medical work did not consume a disproportionate amount of limited resources. Tucker's insistence that medical work was integral to the whole mission and thus subject to the strict control of self-support meant in practice that during his episcopate medical work was unable to move beyond the provision of a service to the longer-term training of Africans. That it was seen as a part of evangelisation meant that there was no reduction of evangelisation to medical provision as arguably happened with respect to educational work.¹⁴²

In 1892 Lugard recorded a conversation with Pilkington in which he repeated a favoured theme in attempting to persuade the C.M.S. missionaries to establish secular schools for boys.¹⁴³ Although Pilkington was under no illusion that all who were learning to read were doing so for the sake of the Gospel, he felt that secular education was not the responsibility of the C.M.S. This accorded with Walker's opinion that secular education was the work of the I.B.E.A. Company.¹⁴⁴ There the matter rested until 1894 when the Finance Committee noted that African Protestants had seen the Roman Catholics provide some education for their Christians.¹⁴⁵ This fell short of a formal request to begin such work, and no action was taken. Indeed when Roscoe wrote to ask for reinforcements for the

¹⁴⁰ Walker to Baylis 1/2/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.72

¹⁴¹ T. B. Johnson, 1908, p.60

¹⁴² The development of education in Uganda is a huge subject. The most useful introductions may be found in A. Wandira, Early Missionary Education in Uganda Kampala 1972 and Hansen, 1984, pp 224-258

¹⁴³ Lugard: Diaries Vol. III pp. 221-222

¹⁴⁴ Walker to his brother 18/5/1891 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.146

¹⁴⁵ Minutes of the Finance Committee 26/3/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894

mission he specifically requested that no schoolmaster be sent.¹⁴⁶ In their discussion about the possibility of a boarding-school for boys the Finance Committee were decidedly opposed on the grounds that it “too often unfits boys from their own sphere and religion... they will not be able to stand the cold winds of persecution, etc.”¹⁴⁷ Tucker first entered the discussion in 1896 in an interview with Baylis. He did not feel that children were very “get-at-able” and there was no pressing need for the C.M.S. to take on board and secular education. But nonetheless he felt that he would welcome a schoolmaster in the Uganda mission.¹⁴⁸

The reluctance to engage in secular education began to change in 1895 when Tucker detailed the new women missionaries to teach women and children in Mengo as soon as they had acquired sufficient Luganda. There was also increasing pressure from African Protestants on the missionaries to provide more education. The training of evangelists had always included basic mathematics and geography as well as reading and Scripture, and the Protestant chiefs were keen that this knowledge should be shared more widely. Thirdly an educational problem was posed by the practice of infant baptism. Adults who requested baptism were required to learn to read. The question arose of the responsibility of the mission for children who were baptised before they could learn to read. Either the linkage between baptism and reading would be broken or some provision for primary education would have to be made. African opinion strongly favoured the latter option. So in 1898 in response to these pressures Tucker commissioned Hattersley to open a school at Namirembe. The same year Maddox was given permission by Tucker to open a school at Gayaza as a means of evangelising the people whom he considered to be unresponsive to the more established methods of evangelisation.

Tucker took the initiative to introduce a more systematic approach to education at a conference for men missionaries in June 1899. Under a discussion on “How best to organise a more thorough system of education for the young”, a number of resolutions were passed. The basic resolution was the one proposed by Tucker: “that this conference is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to place

¹⁴⁶ Roscoe to Baylis 25/4/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.218

¹⁴⁷ Roscoe to Baylis 29/5/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.222

¹⁴⁸ Memo of interview between Tucker and Baylis 9/12/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.348

the work of educating the children of this country upon a thoroughly organised basis." Supporting resolutions were passed that the Mengo Church Council should be called to discuss the details of such a scheme, that in education work religious training should be permanent and co-ordinated with children's services within church, that immediate steps should be taken to train school workers, that the European mission station should be a centre for training teachers outside Buganda as well as within, that a system should be devised to include "heathen children" who wanted to read, and that the Church Council should consider building schools all over the country.¹⁴⁹ Tucker explained that in developing this scheme he had in mind children of Christian parents and admitted that the mission would feel its way into the development of education work. He felt that the actual teaching work belonged to the African Church and that the missionary contribution lay in training the teachers.¹⁵⁰ Apolo Kagwa immediately responded to the scheme by directing that all parents in his shambas should send their children to be taught and that other chiefs should follow his example. African evangelists around the country were suddenly faced with children expecting to be taught. Walker commented that they "hardly know what to do."¹⁵¹

In 1899 Tucker's vision for education was to provide a basic primary education. The level of achievement was set no higher than the modest educational level of the evangelists.¹⁵² After 1900, however, pressures increased for education at intermediate and higher levels. There were three particular reasons for this. A number of Ugandans expressed their wish to be taught English.¹⁵³ Behind this was the declaration by the Protectorate authorities that knowledge of English was necessary for those who wanted to hold certain Government offices. The C.M.S. Executive Committee considered it more desirable to teach English to Baganda than for the authorities to bring in people of other nationalities for clerical work. Secondly, there was the factor of rivalry with the Roman Catholics to realise the potential of educating an African elite. In 1899 Mugwanya, the

¹⁴⁹ Minutes of the conference of men missionaries held at Mengo 28-30 June 1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.197

¹⁵⁰ Tucker to Baylis 5/7/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.150

¹⁵¹ Walker to Baylis 31/7/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.172

¹⁵² Tucker to Baylis 5/7/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.150

¹⁵³ Baskerville: Journal entry 8/5/1900 M.U.K.A.. This indicates that the desire to learn English was not only found in Mengo/Kampala.

Catholic Regent, called a meeting of Catholic chiefs and urged them to recognise the need for education at a higher level than was available and which specifically included the teaching of English. Mugwanya led a delegation of chiefs to the priests of the White Fathers, and by 1902 there were schools teaching at an intermediate level at Rubaga and Namilyango. It was inconceivable that Tucker would allow the Roman Catholics to develop a monopoly in intermediate and higher education. Thirdly there emerged among the C.M.S. missionaries after 1899 a new philosophy of education. By 1906 in total contrast to the view generally held a decade earlier, there was a general consensus that it was beneficial to remove children from home influence. School was seen as an antidote to what was commonly perceived as "native idleness."¹⁵⁴ H.W. Weatherhead was the most forthright in propounding the new philosophy: "We are dealing with a child-like race....What then should be the practical bearing of this upon the Church's missionary work? It should concentrate its efforts very largely upon educational work, realising that there lies its great opportunity. For those who lead the natives in future, and frame the beginning of native public opinion will be the educated natives, and therefore the Church will aim now at seeing that those natives are educated on sound Christian lines."¹⁵⁵

In May 1903 Tucker present to the C.M.S. Executive Committee in Mengo a scheme for intermediate education drawn up by the relatively new missionary A. G. Fraser. Its purpose according to Tucker was to facilitate an educated ordained ministry.¹⁵⁶ The Executive Committee acknowledged that the time had come for "providing a better school than at present exists for the sons of chiefs and those who are training for the ministry."¹⁵⁷ They agreed to ask the C.M.S. Africa Committee for a substantial grant to enable this development, but the response came that it was not possible in the current financial circumstances.¹⁵⁸ Tucker then threatened to raise money independently of C.M.S. in Britain with a public appeal. The compromise position was reached that private appeal to individuals could be made with the money channelled through C.M.S. In Britain Charles Flint gave £500 to which

¹⁵⁴ R. S. Tanner: Village Life in Uganda in C.M.I. July 1904, p. 504

¹⁵⁵ H. W. Weatherhead: Uganda Notes October 1906

¹⁵⁶ Tucker to Baylis 5/5/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.95

¹⁵⁷ Minutes of the Executive Committee 4/5/1905 M.U.K.A.

¹⁵⁸ Baylis to Walker 13/11/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

Tucker added £800 from his Diocesan Fund to enable King's College Budo to open with thirty pupils in 1906. Fraser had had to leave Uganda for health reasons. Tucker appointed the Revd H. W. Weatherhead as Principal with his brother H. T. C. Weatherhead on the staff. From the outset there was ambivalence about the purpose of the school. Whereas Tucker saw the need to provide an educated clergy, there was clear African pressure most notably from Apolo Kagwa to educate Africans for greater participation in the development of Uganda in co-operation with the Protectorate authorities. While Weatherhead paid lip-service to Tucker's aims, he was more concerned to promote Budo as a model school to educate a Christian African elite to take a leading role in the development of their country. It was an equivalent role for Africa to that played by public schools in Britain. His aim was explicitly to "train up strong manly leaders and examples to serve God in Church and State and be the pioneers and guides in the new civilisation of Africa."¹⁵⁹ So Tucker told the Governor in 1907 that "This school was intended to provide a sound secondary education on Public School lines."¹⁶⁰ During Tucker's episcopate not one pupil of the King's School was ordained, while less prestigious secondary schools were set up in Ngora, Gayaza (for girls), Toro, Nabumale, and Mbarara. However, the establishment of the King's School was not without its critics. Walker argued that this did not seem to him to be a natural development of the missionary work in Uganda but it was an expensive diversion from the main calling of evangelisation.

In 1904 Roscoe outlined the thinking behind the new proposals for intermediate education. The elementary schools would provide government clerks, artisans and lower grades of catechists, and the intermediate school would turn out higher grades of catechists and schoolteachers, chiefs and higher-grade government employees. Also significant was the establishment of a Board of Education in 1904 comprising six Europeans and four Africans under the chairmanship of the Bishop and answerable to the Synod of the Church of Uganda.

Characteristic of this period was a growing defensiveness about church and mission involvement in education. To prevent the possibility of alien influence in the country, English would be taught.

¹⁵⁹ Weatherhead: "The Educational Work of the Anglican Mission in Uganda" in C.M.R. 1907

Tucker opposed the request of the British authorities to teach Swahili in the schools, suggesting to Hayes-Sadler that English would be more valuable in the longer-term while arguing elsewhere that Swahili was too closely associated with Islam.¹⁶¹ In fact Tucker worked extremely hard to maintain a missionary monopoly on education, and in the face of this stand, successive Protectorate officials recognised the mutual interest of the relatively cheap option of supporting missionary work in education with a grants-in-aid system in preference to the development of secular education.¹⁶²

Although Tucker had argued that it was the particular contribution of the mission to train the teachers, it was not until 1906 that he requested C.M.S. to send out a man qualified for this work.¹⁶³ In the meantime mission stations were given the responsibility to train teachers but without additional and necessary resources. Baskerville realised in 1900 that the new commitment to education work would make great demands upon the already stretched mission staff.¹⁶⁴ There resulted a confusion in role between the established role of an evangelist who concentrated on teaching adults to read in preparation for baptism and the newer role thrust upon them of being schoolteachers.

The dominant personality in the growing commitment of C.M.S. in Uganda to the development of schools catering for an African elite was H. W. Weatherhead who declared the new orthodoxy in his paper for the Edinburgh Conference: "Primary education has been the backbone of our mission work in Uganda."¹⁶⁵ In effect he reduced the work of evangelisation to that of education. So Tucker's statements on education in this period were at some variance with the realities developing in Uganda. In his Lambeth Conference speech in 1908 he spoke of the need for education not to alienate pupils from their own culture ("national and racial characteristics"), and he argued that education in the vernacular was essential at the time when the English language was found increasingly on the curriculum.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Tucker to Hayes-Sadler 30/11/1903 U.N.A. A22/1; Tucker, 1908, Vol II p.215

¹⁶² Hansen, 1984, pp 225-227 contains a very enlightening discussion of this aspect.

¹⁶³ Memo of interview between Tucker and Baylis 18/5/1906 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.107

¹⁶⁴ Baskerville: Journal 8/5/1900 M.U.K.A.

¹⁶⁵ H. W. Weatherhead in 1910 Edinburgh Report Vol. III p. 188

¹⁶⁶ Tucker: Speech at Lambeth Conference 1908. L. P. L.

The latter emphasis on education came in for severe criticism from J. B. Purvis after he had left C.M.S. He accepted the value for education in the country, but he questioned the extent of the involvement of C.M.S. in its secular development. Uganda was not, he argued, like India, where the provision of education was the only possible means of evangelisation. He continued to argue that the state authorities should take up the responsibilities to build up a general elementary education system and higher education. It was the Church's business to concentrate on preaching the Gospel. In this criticism one can hear echoes of Venn's concerns over "secularity", and the keen distinction between what is good for the development of a country and what is the specific responsibility of C.M.S.

D. Conclusions

In the evangelisation of Uganda before 1911, three phases may be discerned. From 1877 to around 1893 the dominant concern was for the conversion of individual adult men. This was centred at Mengo. Between 1894 and around 1905 the dominant concern of evangelisation was in church-planting especially but not exclusively through the agency of Baganda evangelists. Pilkington was the main architect of this new enterprise. After 1905 the third phase concentrated on providing education for a new generation of Africans; Willis and Weatherhead were key architects of this emphasis in evangelisation. In identifying these phases there is no suggestion that the activities of one phase were totally lost in subsequent periods. Certainly the work of church-planting continued through Tucker's episcopate and beyond, but the greater energy of the mission that had been devoted to church-planting after 1894 was directed after 1905 towards the development of schools for the new elite. Behind these changing phases there lay a complex dynamic of changing missionary motivations and priorities and changing African demands and initiatives. Tucker's role in each phase was not as the most significant initiator. But as the Bishop and director of the mission his was the responsibility for the development of the second and third phases. In terms of the evangelical tradition of mission represented by Venn the development from an emphasis on the conversion of adult males to that of church-planting inclusive of women and children as well as men was both a natural and an essential step. But after 1905 the concentration on the work of education provided an example of how easily

what Venn called "secularity" can slip in and subvert a holistic evangelisation relating to the whole community. Tucker may be held to account for his determination to hold on to the missionary monopoly on education, indicating his desire to control the development of a Christian elite. This concentration on the development of a Christian elite meant correspondingly less emphasis on the development of a church of and for all the people of Uganda. It also represented a departure from the Venn's tradition of evangelisation in a second sense. Venn held that the evangelisation of a people should take place "from below" by which he meant that the whole body of Christian people held the primary responsibility for evangelisation. The role of the missionary body was to equip them for this task. The post-1905 concentration on the education of an elite was a clear movement away from the principle of evangelisation "from below". One may also note a shift in the dynamic of evangelisation during Tucker's episcopate. In 1890 the initiative and dynamism of evangelisation was clearly in the hands of African Christians with whom the missionaries worked in partnership. The ordination of six men in 1893 was Tucker's acknowledgement of this. But by 1911 this situation had completely changed, so that the dynamic of evangelisation was in missionary hands. Theirs were the specialist skills of (Western) education and medicine and increasingly they became the pioneers of church planting, assisted by African clergy and evangelists whose role was subordinate and supportive.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TUCKER AND THE MATURING CHURCH

Venn's understanding of evangelisation included the process whereby a group of indigenous Christians matured into a recognisable church with its own ordained ministers and taking full pastoral responsibility for its members. Venn held that the missionary role was one of active involvement in this process of maturation in order to enable the local Christians to take ever-increasing responsibility. The development of an indigenous ordained ministry was a key indicator of the maturity of a church. In practice, however, Venn found himself in a continuing struggle with C.M.S. missionaries who, with very few exceptions, were unwilling to allow the development of responsibility by indigenous Christians beyond their own ability to control and direct. Similar tensions were evident in the maturation of the church in Uganda. From the outset Tucker determined to establish an African ministry. The establishment of a separate diocese of Uganda in 1897 gave Tucker the opportunity to devolve considerable responsibility to African Christians, which resulted in a long controversy between the Bishop and his missionary colleagues over his efforts to promote an appropriate constitution. With this constitution Tucker sought to give formal expression to the responsibilities of Africans for the church in the new diocese not in the sense of creating something entirely new but building on the experience of the Mengo Church Council.

In this chapter we consider the government of the church and mission in Uganda, paying particular attention to developments before 1898 inasmuch as they influenced the protracted debate about the constitution subsequently.¹ Secondly we consider the development of an indigenous ordained ministry in Uganda, and thirdly, the question of Christian unity and co-operation is considered. All of these are aspects of a maturing Christian community.

¹ This early period was not examined by Hansen in his otherwise crucial article, "European Ideas, Colonial Attitudes and African Realities: the introduction of a Church Constitution in Uganda 1898-1909", in *I.J.A.H.S.* 13, 2, 1979. See also the significant discussion in C. P. Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy Leiden 1990

A. The Constitution of the Church in Uganda

Alexander Mackay formed the Mengo Church Council in July 1885 when he thought that the European missionaries might be compelled to leave Buganda. It was an *ad hoc* measure designed to enable local Christians to carry on the work of evangelisation and teaching. Twelve men were elected by the body of baptised Christians, both men and women. They were Nikodemu Sebwato, Shem, Sembera Mackay, Mika Sematimba, Zakariya Kizito, Henry Wright Duta, Samwili Mukasa, Nua Walukaga, Paulo Bakungu, Tomasi Semafuma, Kidza, and Munyaga Byanjo.² By the time of Tucker's arrival in 1890, four of these men had died; in the war of 1892 the highly regarded Mackay was killed. When a council member died, he was replaced by election. As well as being leading Christians these men held senior positions in the Kiganda hierarchy. Before the missionaries fled south of the lake in 1888, Council members (known commonly as elders) played an active role in the life of the church. Gordon recorded that several assisted with interpretation and preaching. No candidates for baptism were accepted without their consent.³ During the period in 1888-89 when the Protestant Christian community was in exile in Ankole, responsibility for the entire work of the church fell upon the elders who continued to preach and catechise. Their leadership during this period gave them increasing credibility both within the African church and in the eyes of the missionaries. Gordon and Walker met up with them again in 1889 on the island of Bulingugwe just prior to the joint Catholic-Protestant invasion of the mainland of Buganda to restore Mwanga to the Kabakaship. Having returned to Mengo the work of the Church Council continued as before. The elders had extra responsibility to organise Christian burials. Tucker met with them early in his first visit to the country, suggesting to them that they should meet regularly for prayer and Bible study. He encouraged them to play a full role in preparing confirmation candidates and in communicants' classes. In doing this he both affirmed their role within the church and sought an extension of this role.⁴

² Walker: "Notes on Uganda" C.M.I. March 1893, p. 204

³ Gordon to Lang 20/6/1888 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1888.368 See also Walker to Lang 18/6/1888 G3/A5/O1888.389

⁴ Tucker to Wigram 30/12/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O/1891.124

Between 1891 and 1894 the Church Council experienced both increase in responsibility and emerging tensions with the missionary body. The work of evangelisation using Baganda evangelists was discussed in the Church Council with the missionaries present. The Council agreed to be responsible for the funding of all evangelists within Buganda.⁵ The Council made the initial selection of candidates for ordination and those to be licensed as evangelists by Tucker in 1893.⁶ Tucker made it clear that he would not ordain any Africans unless the Church Council agreed to be responsible for their continued maintenance.⁷ The Council itself was expanded in 1893 with the election of twelve more men and six women to be elders with the special responsibility to look after matters of particular concern to women Christians.⁸ The reason for the expansion of the Council was because of the many demands made upon the elders in terms of their secular as well as spiritual responsibilities. The Council met regularly in Mengo once a fortnight; African members and missionaries participated in the discussions and jointly owned the decisions made. Baskerville recorded a typical session of the Council in May 1892: "The church elders met this morning and we settled to enter the new church on the 31st of this month. We decided that all who take part in the service are to wear a white robe, that the church will be used as a teaching-place daily.... We also chose three men to go to the Baziba."⁹ The issues discussed in the meetings were those of local interest to the church at Mengo and also those of strategic evangelism through the country. In 1894 the Church Council took on further responsibility with respect to the books and collection of shells paid for them.

But alongside this increase in responsibility there was tension emerging with the missionary body. Baskerville recorded that in a Council meeting the elders were rebuked by the missionaries for preventing people coming to the Eucharist without first discussing the matter with them. He later recorded that he felt the elders would not be "so independent in the future".¹⁰ In March 1894 the

⁵ Baskerville to Stock 13/8/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.50

⁶ Roscoe to Baylis 4/9/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.311 See also Tucker to Stock 29/5/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.233

⁷ Tucker to Stock 27/1/1893 reprinted in C.M.I. July 1893 p. 507

⁸ Baskerville: Journal entry for 22/5/1893 M.U.K.A.. See also Walker: "Notes on Uganda" C.M.I. March 1893, p. 204

⁹ Baskerville: Journal entry for 22/5/1893 M.U.K.A.

¹⁰ Baskerville: Journal entries for 12/11/1892 and 15/11/1892 in M.U.K.A.

Minutes of the Finance Committee¹¹ of the missionaries recorded a discussion about the scheme for Baganda evangelists when it was agreed that the work should be organised by the European missionaries "in consultation with but in practical independence of the Church Council."¹²

These points indicate a lack of clarity about the precise responsibilities of the Church Council during the period when the missionaries were working out their own local administrative structure. The missionaries regularly attended the Church Council meetings and participated in their discussions, yet no African was invited to any of the missionaries' meetings. Tucker was absent from Uganda for much of this time and there is no evidence that he was even aware of any problem that needed to be addressed.

In 1894 Baskerville inaugurated a local Church Council in Ngogwe, composed of himself and his C.M.S. colleague together with the African deacon and six churchwardens.¹³ Their work was one of choosing and sending evangelists, hearing reports from village churches and settling any disputes that might arise. The development of this local council raised the question of its relationship with that in Mengo. This was addressed in December 1894, when Buganda was divided into thirteen districts within each of which wherever there were ten or more baptised men or catechumens, there would be elected six churchwardens, one of whom would be selected as a representative on the central district committee. For every hundred baptised in a district, one would be selected to sit on the Church Council in Mengo. It was anticipated that as the number of baptised Christians increased, the scales of representation would also be raised.¹⁴ The adoption of this new system required in turn some reorganisation of the Mengo Church Council. In August 1895 the newly reconstituted Church Council met for the first time with the Revd Henry Duta as Chairman. The Secretary was the missionary Pike, who also kept the accounts. Pilkington acted as secretary in relation to the work of evangelisation. Walker was at pains to emphasise that the Europeans were merely "advisers" to the

¹¹ This was the name given to the local committee in Uganda of the C.M.S. missionaries.

¹² Minutes of the Finance Committee 26/3/1894 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P1894

¹³ Baskerville: Journal entry for 2/5/1894 M.U.K.A. and Blackledge: Annual Letter for 1895 reprinted in C.M.I. May 1896 p. 356

¹⁴ Baskerville: Journal entry for 7/12/1894 M.U.K.A.

Chairman.¹⁵ These European missionaries were also meeting regularly by themselves in the Finance Committee. Two decision-making bodies were evolving and missionaries were involved in both, whereas African Christians were only in the Councils. It may be noted that Tucker himself played no role whatever in the reorganisation of the Church Councils.

Tucker formed the Finance Committee in 1891. All resident missionaries were members with Walker as the Secretary. The Bishop gave it responsibility for all the mission business.¹⁶ But Tucker's departure from Mengo in 1891 ushered in a period of confusion over the administration of the mission in Buganda. Walker departed for Budu. En route to Buganda in September and October 1892, Robert Ashe convened two conferences of missionaries to consider questions of the proposed location of Roscoe and various items of financial concern.¹⁷ Tucker's response when he heard of this conference was an angry denunciation of Ashe's actions as "altogether unconstitutional".¹⁸ The response of the C.M.S. committee in London was to issue a milder rebuke to Ashe.¹⁹ Ashe himself claimed rather disingenuously that the Bishop was under a misapprehension about the Conferences, which were "entirely informal".²⁰ The mild response from London was followed by their appointment of Ashe as Acting Secretary of the Finance Committee for the period when Walker was to be in England in 1892.²¹ Lang further suggested to Tucker that he reconsider the composition of the Finance Committee especially whether he should include those missionaries with less than two years' experience in the field. There was some implicit criticism of the short time that Tucker had spent in Buganda in the suggestion that he ought to make better provision for responsible government in the mission during his absence.²²

¹⁵ Walker to Baylis 3/8/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.317

¹⁶ Copy of Minutes of Conference of Missionaries 8/1/1891 at Mengo in G3/A5/P3. See also Tucker to Lang 8/2/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891.113

¹⁷ Resolutions of these conferences were sent to C.M.S. in London C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.45

¹⁸ Tucker to Wigram 11/1/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.31

¹⁹ Resolutions of the Group III (Africa) Committee 22/3/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P3

²⁰ Ashe to Lang 7/4/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.304 This statement fits uncomfortably with the fact that the Minutes of the Conference were sent to London as firm resolutions.

²¹ Lang to Tucker 25/3/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L6

²² Lang to Tucker 9/3/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L6

Meanwhile in Uganda the missionaries dissolved the Finance Committee as established by the Bishop, and they elected Ashe as the President and general Superintendent of the mission with Baskerville as the Clerical Secretary and Smith as the Lay Secretary and Treasurer. This was their response to their feeling that there should be some recognisable head of the mission with more powers than those entrusted by Tucker.²³ The missionaries informed C.M.S. in London of this, but not Tucker. The C.M.S. Africa Secretary, Baylis, was swift to respond. He informed the missionaries that the term "President" was considered novel and undesirable. The missionary entrusted with the primary responsibility was the Secretary who was appointed from London in consultation with the Bishop. At the same time Tucker was strongly requested to establish a proper Finance Committee with clear responsibilities.²⁴ When he reached Mengo, Tucker re-established the Committee consisting of Gordon, Walker, Baskerville, Pilkington and Roscoe. Crabtree, Millar and Sugden were added in 1894. Tucker accepted the argument from London that the Finance Committee should only consist of more experienced missionaries.²⁵ During Walker's absence on furlough, Roscoe was appointed to act as secretary.

On his way to Mombasa following his second visit to Uganda, Tucker met Walker returning from his furlough together with some other missionaries. Walker was much disconcerted when Tucker appointed him Archdeacon of Uganda. When Walker asked Tucker for details of the post, the Bishop replied with more wit than clarity that he was "entrusted with power to discharge all archidiaconal functions".²⁶ The C.M.S. authorities acknowledged this appointment, but made it clear that this was an ecclesiastical appointment for which the Society bore no responsibility.²⁷ When Walker arrived in Mengo the missionaries there were surprised to hear of this appointment, and all of them were confused over the relationship between the new Archdeacon and the Acting Secretary of the Finance Committee, Roscoe. He was senior in the mission over Walker, and Tucker had left letters with him which had entrusted him with all the responsibilities of the Secretaryship, which all left the

²³ Baskerville: Journal entry for 20/2/1892 M.U.K.A.. See also Walker to Lang 7/4/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.305

²⁴ Baylis to Tucker 3/11/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L6

²⁵ Tucker to Lang 11/4/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.163

²⁶ Walker to his sister 15/10/1893 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.205

Archdeacon in a most unclear position. Roscoe himself asked C.M.S. in London about the various roles with a series of well-directed questions:

1. What is the Archdeacon's position in the Finance Committee?
2. Has the Finance Committee any control over him?
3. Does he take any authority as director of the mission in the Bishop's absence?
4. Can he remove an ordained missionary at his discretion from one place to another irrespective of the wishes of the Finance Committee?
5. What authority has he over lay missionaries?
6. What is his position with regard to the native Church Council?
7. What authority has he over the native clergy with regard to location, etc?
8. Does he control the native teachers?²⁸

It is noteworthy that these questions were addressed to the C.M.S. authorities in London and not to Tucker who was both Bishop and Director of the mission in Uganda. The questions were never answered directly. Tucker was in London when they were received and he discussed the issues raised with Baylis and Stock. In their joint response to Roscoe, the original appointment of Walker as Secretary was confirmed and Roscoe was asked to assist.²⁹ By combining the offices in one man the distinctive roles involved could be blurred, although a valiant effort was made in a subsequent letter to distinguish between Walker's four roles. His office as Archdeacon was a purely ecclesiastical one; his role as Bishop's Commissary would be defined with and by the Bishop; as Secretary of the Finance Committee he was the direct representative of the C.M.S. Parent Committee; and as representative of the Director of the Mission, his role would be defined in discussion with the Director (Tucker).³⁰

The difficulties over Walker's appointment as Archdeacon were not made easier by the awkward personal relationship that existed between himself and Roscoe, who was in Walker's opinion, too

²⁷ Baylis to Walker 27/10/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L7

²⁸ Roscoe to Baylis 17/1/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.67

²⁹ Baylis to Roscoe 11/5/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L7

fond of the authority of being Secretary. Roscoe had suggested rather solicitously that Walker had quite enough to keep him occupied without being Secretary and that Millar would be good in the role.³¹ Tucker's appointment of Walker as Archdeacon does not seem to have been well thought through but a more impulsive act that caused considerable confusion when Walker arrived in Mengo. Tucker's later explanation of the appointment that because the missionary body was increasing, ecclesiastical questions needed resolution in the absence of the Bishop, looks like a justification in hindsight of a more impulsive act.³²

Even before Tucker was appointed as Bishop in Eastern Equatorial Africa, the Scottish Presbyterian Alexander Mackay wrote to C.M.S. in London to advocate the appointment of a Bishop for the Lake district alone.³³ In response to an earlier but similar letter from Ashe, Lang conceded that there was a case for a Bishop in and for Uganda, but that the C.M.S. were hesitant about multiplying bishops and in any case very special men were required for such a position.³⁴

When Tucker himself renewed the question of a division of his diocese in 1891, the relevant C.M.S. Sub-Committee minuted recognition of the need for such a division and recommended to the Secretaries that they "keep this matter in view".³⁵ When Tucker wanted an invitation to return to England in 1893, he cited as one reason his desire to consult over the proposed diocese of Uganda.³⁶ But the matter rested until January 1895 when Tucker wrote to Baylis to stress the opportunity that a separate diocese of Uganda would give to "shape the mould" of the church there.³⁷ Baylis thought mistakenly that Tucker would prefer to retain the coast district, but nevertheless he asked for his preference. Later in the year momentum was added to the discussion when information was received that the Roman Catholics were about to begin a second diocese within Uganda. The C.M.S.

³⁰ Baylis and Stock to Walker 7/6/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L7

³¹ Roscoe to Baylis 22/3/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.137

³² Tucker, 1908 Vol I p.288

³³ Mackay to C.M.S. London 26/3/1889 and 24/4/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1890. The second of these letters was the last he wrote before his death.

³⁴ Lang to Ashe 27/8/1888 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L5

³⁵ Minute of the Group III Sub-Committee for 10/6/1891 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P4

³⁶ Tucker to Wigram 4/4/1893 G3/A5/O1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.185

³⁷ Tucker to Baylis 8/1/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.44

authorities felt that this injected a new urgency into the question of a Protestant Bishop for the country. Recognising the opportune moment Tucker wrote to Baylis expressing a clear preference for Uganda.³⁸ In a letter to Archbishop Temple, Tucker set out the main arguments for the division of the diocese, including the vast size of the diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa and the consequent problems and difficulties of travel. But his main reason was that he felt the church in Uganda required a chief pastor to guide it at the time: "The Church needs organisation and organisation cannot be carried out without the presence of a Bishop."³⁹ It was not only to political authorities that Tucker was able to muster arguments which he put forward without any sense of the irony that he had spent only six months in the past five years in Uganda. He added in his letter that he was willing to go wherever he was sent, while aware that his true feelings were conveyed in a letter from Fox on behalf of C.M.S.⁴⁰

In later correspondence Tucker was more forthright about his reasons for preferring Uganda to the coast. He felt that he had failed to undo the policy at the coast that he had seen lead to a spirit of dependence on the missionaries, and that all attempts by him to carry out his policies had met with opposition. On the other hand he felt that in Uganda "from the beginning the policy which I've been able to pursue in Buganda has been with more or less consistency carried out."⁴¹ In the same letter Tucker expressed his disappointment that no reply had been received from the Archbishop regarding the proposed division of the diocese. So in January 1897 he once again seized the initiative to write to Temple and repeat the arguments of his previous communication.⁴² In August he wrote to Fox to urge him to make formal representation from C.M.S. to the Archbishop about the proposed division.⁴³ In October 1897 the division of the diocese was confirmed by the General Committee of the C.M.S. with Tucker as the first Bishop. The actual dimensions of the new diocese were those suggested by Tucker as coterminous with the boundaries of the Uganda Protectorate. The northern border was left

³⁸ Tucker to Baylis 7/10/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.342

³⁹ Tucker to Temple 17/10/1895. Temple Papers Vol. VII 191-194 L. P. L.

⁴⁰ Fox to Temple 20/1/1896 Temple Papers Vol. VII. 195 L. P. L.

⁴¹ Tucker to Baylis 9/9/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.272. See also Tucker to Baylis 8/11/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.48

⁴² Tucker to Temple 15/1/1897. Temple Papers Vol VII 199-202 L. P. L.

⁴³ Tucker to Fox 5/8/1897. B.G.A.

undefined; the western boundary was equally unclear. Tucker got his way in retaining the mission station at Nassa south of Lake Victoria within the diocese of Uganda.⁴⁴

Before the inauguration of the new diocese in 1897 there may be discerned two feelings about Tucker among the C.M.S. missionaries in Uganda. Firstly there was a feeling of resentment at the little time that he spent in the country. In 1891 Baskerville and again in 1895 Fisher recorded the disappointment of the Baganda over this.⁴⁵ Baskerville even went so far as to speculate that Ashe might be appointed Bishop in Uganda.⁴⁶ In 1894 Roscoe as Acting-Secretary of the Finance Committee commented on the need felt for a resident Bishop in the context of there being more clergy and difficult pastoral problems regarding marriage, divorce and church discipline.⁴⁷

A second discernible feeling was a fear lest Tucker should be an autocratic Bishop. This was most clearly expressed by Ashe in his resignation letter of 1892.⁴⁸ The strong emotions expressed in this letter perhaps indicate Ashe's own feelings of resentment about the way in which he felt Tucker had treated him. But the cooler-headed Walker expressed a not dissimilar attitude in 1896, when he commented on the fear which the Bishop seemed to have that his prerogative might be interfered with.⁴⁹ This echoed Venn's concern over missionary bishops who he felt were not subject to the same finely tuned system of checks and balances found in the established Church of England. With his concentration on the peculiarly African factors, Hansen misses the fear of the autocratic bishop, which lay behind a great deal of the opposition to Tucker's proposals for a constitution.

These factors explain why the missionaries greeted Tucker's proposals for the organisation of the new diocese with less than whole-hearted enthusiasm. Within Uganda the feeling was that greater attention should be paid to the question of organisation and consolidation of the work. Walker

⁴⁴ Minute of the Group III Committee of Correspondence 5/10/1897 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L8

⁴⁵ Baskerville to Stock 13/8/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.50 and Fisher to Baylis 8/2/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895

⁴⁶ Baskerville: Journal entry for 21/5/1895 M.U.K.A.

⁴⁷ Roscoe to Baylis 29/5/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.222

⁴⁸ Ashe to Baylis 12/12/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.60

⁴⁹ Walker to his sister 9/6/1896 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.316

suggested that this organisation should be "that of the Church of England" until such a time when "the natives are old enough to think for themselves" when they may be able to introduce improvements.⁵⁰ Tucker's response to this suggestion was twofold: he felt Walker was being premature in that any decision about the organisation of the Church should await a Bishop for Uganda who would meet "in consultation with the native Priests and Deacons and representative laymen to form a Constitution for the Church suited to the characteristics of the people and the peculiar arrangements of the country." Secondly he argued that what was needed in the meantime was to keep a watchful eye on the Church's developments rather than "any attempt to pitchfork a foreign organisation into these conditions."⁵¹

Tucker's thinking about the principles behind the organisation of the church in the new diocese was spelt out in his Charge of 1897. In this he referred to the characteristic which to his mind hindered the development and independence of churches: "The deep-rooted tendency which there is in the Anglo-Saxon character to anglicise everything with which it comes into contact." In contrast he argued the need to adapt to local circumstances, to discover the genius of the people in administration, and to build on this "native method". He continued: "We should take this matter in hand at the very earliest stages of our work and never rest satisfied until we see springing up into life the vigorous shoots of a healthy system of self-government."⁵² Tucker saw self-government as a process within the development of a church in Uganda.

However, in spite of these sentiments that were perfectly in accord with Venn's thinking, Tucker's consultations about the shape of the constitution for the new diocese took place entirely in a European milieu. He discussed the issue first with Baylis in December 1896. Tucker responded to Baylis' suggestion that the C.M.S. Africa Committee should feel itself responsible for drawing up a constitution, by arguing that it would be wiser to avoid any tendency to dependence on C.M.S. Baylis retreated to the position that the Africa Committee should consider and approve any proposal

⁵⁰ Walker to Baylis 30/4/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.254

⁵¹ Tucker to Baylis 14/1/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O 1896.102

from the Church along the line of lay-patronage. Behind this argument lay the traditional C.M.S. fear of the autocratic missionary bishop. But Tucker remained firmly against any right of C.M.S. to veto the proposals of a "native Church".⁵³

In May 1897 there was a further interview between Tucker and Fox, Baylis and Stock of the C.M.S. Secretariat on the subject of the government of the Uganda mission and church. The Secretaries agreed that there should be a Native Church Synod with representation of C.M.S. missionaries, but they also expressed one particular concern and made two suggestions. The concern was over any effective influence of the C.M.S. Africa Committee upon the work, and the suggestions were that C.M.S. should be supplied with copies of all official documents from the Synod, thus having the material for any advice that they thought appropriate. Secondly they suggested that the missionaries should hold a regular conference among themselves, keeping C.M.S. informed of all proceedings and being open for advice and instruction from the same.⁵⁴ One result of this interview was to set up a sub-Committee under the chairmanship of Sydney Gedge on the constitution of the church in Uganda, and this first met in July 1897. Remarkably "by accident" no notice had been sent to Tucker. Three resolutions were considered, the first two being carried unanimously:

That in the opinion of this Sub-Committee any constitution of the Church in Uganda should be voluntarily adopted by the Christians in that country and not be forced upon them by the C.M.S. or its missionaries or by the English Bishop.

That if a constitution be adopted satisfactory to the C.M.S. their missionaries should hold with regard to it a position similar to that of the native clergy.

A third resolution was rejected on the casting vote of the Chairman:

⁵² Tucker: *A Charge on the Occasion of the Division of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa* pp 15-16 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O 1898.355

⁵³ Memorandum of the interview between Tucker and Baylis 9/12/1896 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.348

⁵⁴ Memorandum of the interview between Tucker, the Revds H. E. Fox and F. Baylis, and Mr E. Stock 26/5/1897 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1897.135. See also C.M.S.A. G/Y/A7/1/5.

That in forming the constitution, the Church in Uganda should be considered as a branch of the Church of England⁵⁵

Had Tucker been present at the meeting, he would no doubt have been heartened by the resolutions which indicate support for his major concerns in the proposed constitution to allow considerable autonomy to the church in Uganda. This Sub-committee was less concerned than the Secretaries with the issue of autonomy, particularly on the part of the Bishop.

The concern over the Bishop's autonomy surfaced in a controversy between Tucker and Baylis in December 1896 over the role of Director of the mission. Tucker argued that his position as Director of the mission in Uganda should be unaltered, whereas Baylis considered that the occasion for a Director fell through with a resident bishop and that there should be "democratic government as elsewhere".⁵⁶ Tucker made his position clear in a letter to Fox: "When Mr Wigram spoke to me about going out as Bishop I asked him what my powers were to be. His answer was, 'Your powers will be plenipotentiary'. I may say that in interpreting the clauses of the Resolutions of Committee of Correspondence of November 2nd 1886 I have always relied on the preamble as giving the intention of the Committee 'a final resident Authority in the Mission with full powers.' Of course in all this I acknowledge in the fullest and most complete manner my responsibility to the Parent Committee."⁵⁷

Within the Secretariat there was some disagreement between Fox on the one hand and Baylis and Stock on the other. Fox supported Tucker's interpretation of the Directorship.⁵⁸ On the other hand Stock and Baylis preferred to reinterpret the role in terms of the Director as the local representative of C.M.S. who should work in close co-operation with the Finance Committee and missionaries in annual or half-yearly conference. Should there be any disputes between the Director and the

⁵⁵ Minutes of the Special Sub-Committee on the Constitution of the Church in Uganda 19/7/1897 C.M.S.A. G.AC4/22/4318

⁵⁶ Memorandum of the interview between Tucker and Baylis 9/12/1896 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.348

⁵⁷ Tucker to Fox 24/3/1897 C.M.S.A. G/Y/A7/1/5. Underlining original.

⁵⁸ Private and confidential memorandum by the Hon. Sec. (Fox) on the Directorship of the Eastern Equatorial Africa Mission 22/3/1897 C.M.S.A. G/Y/A7/1/5

missionaries, this should be referred to London for resolution. The particular concern of Baylis and Stock was to have a system of checks and balances on the authority of the Director of the Mission with the London authorities having a crucial role in the whole process. Tucker, however, was determined to retain as much independence as he felt had been implied in his original appointment. By 1897 the main figures were in position for the debates on the constitution which would consume so much energy over the following decade. Tucker himself was looking for a unified constitution that would integrate the African Christians and the missionaries. He was also keen to retain a certain independence from the C.M.S. authorities in London. The Ugandan Christians were engaged in developing the structure of Church Councils at both national and local levels. The C.M.S. missionaries were fearful of losing their independence to the African Church and wished to retain a decisive role for the Finance Committee. There was considerable concern among them shared with the C.M.S. Secretariat lest Tucker should become an autocratic bishop. There was ambivalence in the attitude of C.M.S. in London. While nominally in support of the development of an independent church in Uganda, they argued for the retention of some form of Missionary Committee, and the majority opinion was to reinterpret Tucker's role of Director of the mission in terms of his being the executive arm of the Parent Committee.

Without any consultation with Ugandan Christians, Tucker prepared for the C.M.S. sub-committee the first draft of his proposed constitution:

1. The Church shall be governed by a Synod, which shall meet every three years. It may however be summoned by the Bishop whenever he and the Church Council at Mengo consider that a necessity has arisen.
2. The Synod shall be composed of all licensed clergy within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Buganda and of lay delegates chosen by the district councils.
3. The President of the Synod shall be the Bishop, and in his absence his Commissary in Buganda.
4. The powers of the Synod shall be as follows:

- To organise and carry on the missionary work of the Church and discuss regularly all questions relating thereto.
 - To deliberate on all questions which concern the well-being and progress of the Church in Buganda
 - To frame laws for the Government of the Church in Buganda
5. The present Church Council at Mengo shall be the standing Committee of the Synod of the Church. It shall continue to be called the Church Council. It shall be distinctly understood that its powers are delegated to it by the Synod of the Church of Buganda.
 6. The Chairman of the Church Council at Mengo shall be the Bishop and in his absence his Commissary.
 7. The Church Council shall be re-elected by the Synod every three years.⁵⁹

This draft was sent initially to Baylis whose response was to indicate various areas that required further details. He argued that the draft was vague on the place of the missionary, asking whether the missionary was responsible to the Church Council acting for the Synod. He was also concerned at the Synod's right to frame laws and he suggested the need to have the ratification of such laws by some outside authority, indicating that in West Africa the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of C.M.S. was required.⁶⁰

On his arrival in Mengo in 1898 Tucker circulated the male missionaries – and only these - with a revised copy of the Draft Constitution together with a Memorandum from the Secretaries, and summoned a conference for October to discuss the documents. Within the draft there was no specific reference to the place of the C.M.S. missionaries; they were implicitly included in the provisions. Tucker included an introductory preface that looked forward to a Provincial Synod, which would come into place when there were three bishops in the Protectorate. Until such time there would be a Tribunal of Reference composing the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London and two other English Bishops. With this provision Tucker acknowledged the point made by Baylis

⁵⁹ Tucker: Suggestions as to a Constitution for the Church of Buganda C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1897

to his original draft. This copy represented the direction in which Tucker wanted the church to go and not the final destination. For instance, the ongoing work of evangelisation and the consequent expansion of the church was recognised in paragraph 65:

“It shall be within the power of the Synod to include within its sphere of operations during such time as may seem advisable such outlying places and congregations as may be conveniently worked with the diocese, though not within its legal boundaries. And such places and congregations shall be represented in the Synod and elsewhere as if they were locally situated within the Diocese of Buganda.”⁶¹

But before the conference in October, the draft met with criticism from people in both Uganda and Britain. From within Britain W. S. Bruce argued that C.M.S. should have retained control longer in Sierra Leone, which would have been more favourable to its Christian development. He also raised the question of what would happen in Buganda were there another Kabaka, another civil war or another Bishop. He added that it was important not to turn the attention of the “native mind” from spiritual matters to technicalities. His advice was that the C.M.S. should “keep in touch with Mengo and not let the reins go altogether.”⁶² In February 1898 the C.M.S. Sub-committee on the constitution recorded that they were “not favourably inclined to see missionaries under the control of the native Church.”⁶³ The Memorandum from the Secretaries pointed out that the draft constitution was the work of Tucker and the Sub-committee and that it had not been submitted to the Parent Committee, which was therefore not committed to its approval. It noted that there was no provision within the draft for the formal approval of the Parent Committee, whereas this might have been expected if C.M.S. missionaries were to continue work in Uganda. It indicated a number of differences between Tucker’s proposals and anything else in other C.M.S. fields. In most other places the “Native Church” developed through the Native Church Council Scheme which gave freedom to the “Native Church” to develop without control of missionaries. The Memorandum raised the question of whether the “future in Buganda was so far secure as to make us ready to allow the C.M.S. work to pass from

⁶⁰ Baylis: Memo on Uganda Church Constitution 1897 C.M.S.A.

⁶¹ Tucker: Draft Constitution of the Church of Buganda C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1897

⁶² W. S. Bruce to Fox 19/7/1897 C.M.S.A. G/Y/A7/1/7

our hands to the control of the Governing Body of the Church as such.” It further raised the question of the relationship between C.M.S. and the missionaries, where the Society would be responsible for stipends, furloughs, etc, but would hand over to the governing body responsibility for locations, duties, etc. It asked whether missionaries would have sufficient say in the councils of the church and whether women’s work was adequately provided for. Finally the Memorandum asked whether the church in Uganda was sufficiently self-supporting.⁶⁴ This Memorandum was an open invitation to the missionaries to question the draft proposals to the extent as to make its adoption before considerable amendment extremely unlikely.⁶⁵

From Uganda opposition to the draft came from a number of quarters. Walker considered that any constitution was both premature and unnecessary: “A few simple rules for the management of the affairs of the native church are undoubtedly needed”, but nothing more.⁶⁶ He referred to Tucker’s idea that all the C.M.S. missionaries should become either Readers or Deaconesses with concern that this would give the Bishop ecclesiastical authority over all with the consequent “danger of the whole mission being conducted on the plans and principles of one man.”⁶⁷ Fletcher argued that such a constitution might be appropriate in about eight or ten years. In the meantime he appealed to Baylis that he preferred to be a full member of C.M.S. rather than be on loan to a church, the capabilities of which he did not consider to be up to the mark.⁶⁸ Baskerville wrote to Tucker objecting to the proposed “equality of European and native workers” and to the voting by orders in Synod, which effectively gave the Bishop a veto.⁶⁹ The women missionaries wrote to Tucker to object to any change in their relationship with the C.M.S. Parent Committee and to express their doubts as to whether any African women were suitable to be deaconesses or even to be delegates to a women’s

⁶³ Sub-committee on the constitution minute 25/2/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1

⁶⁴ Fox and Baylis: Memorandum from the Secretaries on the Proposed Constitution of the Church of Buganda 25/2/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898

⁶⁵ C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 246 rightly emphasises this point against Hansen’s assessment of the Parent Committee as neutral and pragmatic in his 1979 article pp. 241-242

⁶⁶ Walker to Baylis 20/9/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.187

⁶⁷ Walker to his father and sister 27/5/1898 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.403

⁶⁸ Fletcher to Baylis 8/6/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.156

⁶⁹ Tucker to Baylis 24/9/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.184

conference.⁷⁰ This last was a remarkable statement in the light of earlier high estimations of the role of African women in the work of evangelisation such as Juliya Nalwoga in Mengo and the six women who had worked in the Church Council since 1893.

Tucker knew the various arguments against his proposed constitution and the number of people who had expressed opposition, but nevertheless he decided to press ahead with the October conference to try and gain acceptance of his proposals. At the conference Tucker argued the need for a legally constituted governing body within the Church with full legislative powers. He described the situation where the sphere of work of the African church and the European missionaries was co-extensive. He acknowledged that in practice the European missionaries effectively controlled the Africans who were entirely supported by the indigenous church. He considered it intolerable that the "Native Church" should not have control over its agents. Thus Tucker contradicted any clear distinction between church and mission and laid the basis for missionary involvement in the government of an African Church. Tucker acknowledged that while the Church of Uganda was still young, the European voice would be strong, but the European element would disappear as the Church matured. When the extent of the opposition became apparent at the conference, Tucker withdrew his draft without putting it to the vote.

Walker identified the key issue as whether or not the European missionaries were to be regarded as an integral part of the Ugandan Church or "friends and advisers" solely. He argued that the former would destroy the temporary nature of the residence of Europeans and that furthermore the Europeans would dominate the Church Council if they sat as members. Thirdly he objected to Europeans being "under the natives" in any way. His resolution before the conference that "as time had not yet come to combine the Native and European methods of organisation, the C.M.S. missionaries should be regarded as only advisers of the Native Church" was rejected.⁷¹ Walker's second argument neglected the empirical evidence that missionaries and Africans had been co-operating within the Church

⁷⁰ Copy of letter from women missionaries to Tucker September 1898. C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.185

⁷¹ Unfortunately the original records of the conference in 1898 were not preserved. This account is based on the *Precis Book* C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1.1899: 4-8

Council for a number of years without there being the "domination" of the Europeans he feared. His first criticism assumed a clear distinction between church and mission, whereas his own position of Archdeacon compromised his assumption that he was in Uganda only as a "friend and adviser".⁷² Walker's third criticism was fair reflection of the majority position within the conference which favoured a unified organisation for the church within which there were special laws and special representation for Europeans on the Diocesan Council. In the introduction of a racial criterion this position was totally unacceptable to Tucker.

The result of this impasse was to appeal for guidance to the C.M.S. Africa Committee, which set up a sub-committee to consider which parts of the draft constitution should be adopted. The Africa Committee in London received a number of letters from missionaries objecting to the proposed constitution. Typical of these was one from Purvis who argued that the presence of Europeans on the working councils of the Church of Uganda contradicted the fundamental reason for such a constitution in the first place, which was that the Africans were ready and competent to govern their own church.⁷³ But this argument misunderstood a central part of Tucker's argument that his constitution was an appropriate next step in the development of the church and was not an end in itself. Tucker saw the adoption of the constitution as giving the necessary space into which the Church could grow.

In March 1899 Tucker received the response of the C.M.S. Sub-committee who advised the adoption of a Minute that in any Church Constitution there should be no distinction of race. Secondly they advised that the missionaries should consult again over the alternatives proposed by Walker and himself, so that they could guide the Africa Committee as to the best course. Baylis added that there were similar debates in India about whether self-support and self-government were better reached by establishing a separate "native" body advised by Europeans or by a joint body in which Europeans and "natives" worked together. The Africa Committee could not lay down universal principles but Uganda should be dealt with locally. He added that under Tucker's scheme the C.M.S. missionaries

⁷² Hansen, 1979, misses this point

would be regarded as paid agents on loan to the Ugandan Church.⁷⁴ In a subsequent letter Baylis hinted at the way in which the Committee saw the way forward by reference to “necessary consultation with the Native Christians”. He also indicated that any scheme leading to good results would carry a more unanimous approval of the missionary staff than any proposal considered thus far.⁷⁵

Tucker called another conference for June 1899. In the meantime Walker notified C.M.S. in London of another argument against Tucker’s draft. As long as the missionaries were not part of the Uganda Church, they could not be accused of becoming part owners of the land and therefore of “eating the country”. He added that the situation with the missionaries outside of the formal structures of the Church was similar to that of the political Protectorate, where there remained a “native” government and room for “native” development.⁷⁶

Before the conference Tucker contacted Fox. He expressed satisfaction with the General Committee’s endorsement of the principle that there should be no racial distinction in any proposed constitution. But the application of this was the problem. He identified three possible options for the coming conference. There was his own proposal, which he recognised to be opposed by at least half of the missionaries. He considered Walker’s proposal quite impossible and unacceptable in giving no power and control to the African Church. A third option to which he felt driven was the one favoured by most missionaries, that was to improve the existing methods of church government without a formal and legal constitution.⁷⁷ Reluctantly Tucker regarded this third option as the most likely result of the conference. In his letter to Fox he expressed considerable frustration at what he felt was an opportunity thrown away to develop a progressive constitution. He added that were the constitution to be adopted along the lines of his proposal, he would resign his position as Director of the Mission,

⁷³ Purvis to Baylis 18/10/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.39

⁷⁴ Baylis to Tucker 10/3/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

⁷⁵ Baylis to Tucker 24/3/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

⁷⁶ Walker to Baylis 22/6/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.151

⁷⁷ As for instance recommended by Baskerville reflecting on the 1898 conference: “All were agreed at the importance of a better church organisation and a good many developments of existing

thereby resolving what had been a problematic post as far as the C.M.S. Secretariat had been concerned.⁷⁸

Thirteen missionaries attended the conference of 28-30 June 1899.⁷⁹ Tucker withdrew his draft, since he felt that it should receive unanimous support to be adopted. He announced that he would never agree to Walker's proposal that the European missionaries should not be included in the constitution. Thirdly the draft as amended by the select committee in Uganda was deemed to contain racial distinctions and therefore was excluded by the Minute proposed by the Parent Committee.⁸⁰ As a way forward Tucker proposed: "That further steps towards a permanent Constitution for the Church of Uganda should be delayed, but that in the meanwhile the present condition of things should be maintained, on the understanding that efforts be made, as opportunities occur, towards bringing into force those provisions of the amended Draft Constitution that have a general consensus of opinion in their favour."⁸¹

It was agreed that Tucker should be the Chairman of the Mengo Church Council with a right of veto, and that the Council should be expanded to include all "Native" clergy and Lay Readers in charge of Districts as well as Lay representatives from the Districts. However, the recommendation from the select committee that C.M.S. missionaries who were in charge of church work should be ex-officio members of the Church Council was rejected. Furthermore Walker's proposal was accepted that the document should be clarified that where the terms "Licensed Clergy" and "Licensed Lay Reader" occurred, this should be understood as referring to "Native Licensed Clergy" and "Native Licensed Lay Reader". Finally it was agreed that the resolutions passed should be printed in Luganda and

machinery will I hope work up to the definite scheme by the time it is ready for adoption." Journal entry for 19/10/1898 M.U.K.A.

⁷⁸ Tucker to Fox 7/6/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.149

⁷⁹ They were Tucker (Chairman), Walker (Secretary), Gordon, Baskerville, Crabtree, Millar, Fisher, Blackledge, Clayton, Hall, A. R. Cook, Hattersley and Borup. Minutes of Conference p.1 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.197

⁸⁰ At this point Hall insisted on the inclusion within the minuted record of the conference his view that "racial distinctions... would be more adequately described as intellectual distinctions."

⁸¹ This proposal was seconded by Walker. Minutes of Conference p.2 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.197

circulated for African opinion.⁸² This last resolution contrasted sharply with Tucker's decision after the 1898 conference that it was useless to consult the Africans until the missionaries were agreed among themselves.⁸³

Tucker's assessment of the conference was "exceedingly unsatisfactory" and a "compromise".⁸⁴ It fell short of being a constitution, which he could present for the Archbishops' approval. The expansion of the Church Council made it far too large for the work of administration. Tucker anticipated that it might function in a similar way to the Synod, which was a key part of his draft constitution, requiring a standing committee. His more personal feelings were expressed in a letter to Fox in which he expressed his profound dissatisfaction with the attitude of the C.M.S. Committee, which he felt should have offered at least certain broad principles rather than "benevolent neutrality".⁸⁵

The debate about the government of the Church was taking place within a much changing context of Uganda. In 1899 there arose the legal question of the registration of land. Ternan advised Walker that the Church should ensure that it had a sound title to its lands, which presupposed that the Church in Uganda had a legal status in English law. In the meantime the land was registered in the names of Tucker and Walker on the understanding that when the Church of Uganda was properly constituted the land should be transferred to that body.⁸⁶ The changing context of the discussion about the constitution is significant in that the idea of a formal and legal constitution made little sense in a traditional African framework but a great deal in relation to English law. This would take on even more significance after the 1900 Agreement and as the British Protectorate increasingly set the political and legal agenda for Uganda.

⁸² Minutes of Conference p.2 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.197

⁸³ Tucker to Baylis 15/10/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1

⁸⁴ Tucker to Baylis 5/7/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.150

⁸⁵ Tucker to Fox 15/9/1899 C.M.S.A. G/AC4/29/5675

⁸⁶ Resolutions of C.M.S. Committee of Correspondence 2/1/1900 recorded in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1

The discussions of 1898-9 were the first round of talks about the government of the Ugandan Church. Tucker introduced the subject of the draft constitution only among the (male) missionaries and not in the Church Council. By default he conceded that the missionaries were the more significant decision-making body. In spite of the words of his Charge, Tucker's proposal was not developing "from below" as it were but it was imposed by him "from above". He introduced the matter just weeks after his arrival in Uganda after an absence of nearly two years. He was open to the suspicion that he did not really know the country or the church. In bringing his draft constitution Tucker was high-principled in seeking an integrated system. Hansen's designation of Tucker as "by nature very much a pragmatist"⁸⁷ fails to do justice to this. The term "pragmatic" applied more appropriately to the missionaries who considered the whole matter to be non-urgent in comparison with the real work of evangelisation and spiritual education. Most missionaries simply wanted to see some development of what was already in place and they were suspicious of grand schemes. In presenting his proposals of 1898 Tucker was more naïve than pragmatic. Walker's proposals of a complete separation of missionary and African church did not meet with majority support any more than Tucker's proposal of complete integration. But the fact that the conference rejected the recommendations of the select committee of 1898 that missionaries in charge of stations should ex-officio be members of the Church Council indicated that the general missionary opinion was beginning to swing the way of Walker.

It was also misleading of Hansen to refer to the stance of the C.M.S. Parent Committee as "pragmatic".⁸⁸ In 1898 they very clearly signalled disapproval of the draft proposed by Tucker and the London sub-committee. In 1899 they were characterised more by uncertainty and confusion. The traditional Venn goal of promoting a church to be self-governing remained a very distant objective when they proved unable to give practical guidance as to the means of achieving this end. Throughout the discussions they were reactive and this justified Tucker's complaint about their failure to adopt a more proactive role.

⁸⁷ Hansen: 1979, p.242

⁸⁸ *ibid.* Peter Williams, 1990, p.243ff discusses the attitude of the Parent Committee in a most illuminating manner.

The net result of the 1899 conference in extending the Church Council to include representatives of the wider church than Mengo and potentially to be inclusive of representatives from outside Buganda was more significant than Tucker's negative assessment suggested. It would prove to be a major step towards the eventual development of a constitution. In September 1900 this scheme of Church organisation was "fervently adopted by the Church Council", having met with the approval of the Parent Committee in London and translated into Luganda. The new Council was inaugurated in April 1901.

There was a certain urgency at this time because of the question of the registration of land following the 1900 Uganda Agreement. Tucker was insistent that Church land should not be registered as C.M.S. property, and agreed with Johnson the wording that the land would be held in the "Mengo Council of the Anglican Church in Uganda represented by the Right Revd A. R. Tucker, Bishop of Uganda."⁸⁹ In a letter to Jackson, Tucker offered further explanation why the land should not be registered as C.M.S. property in that the idea was in due course for there to be a "Native" Bishop.⁹⁰

In April 1901 Tucker returned to England after three years in Uganda. Within a couple of months he consulted with the C.M.S. Secretaries over the government of the Uganda church, and subsequently they sent a letter to the missionaries on the subject of the constitution.⁹¹ There were three major influences on this letter. As a result of its Centenary Review, C.M.S. published a Memorandum on Independent Churches in the Mission Field in 1901.⁹² The primary focus of this paper was on the situation in India, but there were obvious implications for Uganda, particularly in its emphasis on the development of Church Councils as a means of moving towards independent churches. Tucker

⁸⁹ Tucker to Baylis 15/9/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.172

⁹⁰ Tucker to Jackson 19/9/1900 U.N.A. A22/1. This is one of the very few references in Tucker's writing to the idea of an African Bishop in Uganda.

⁹¹ Letter from the Secretaries of the C.M.S. to the Missionaries of the Uganda Mission July 1901. C.M.S.A..

⁹² In C.M.I. April 1901, pp 241ff. For an illuminating discussion of this document see C. P. Williams, 1990, p. 241ff.

indicated his general approval of this document.⁹³ Secondly, the hand of Tucker is evident in the first part of the letter, which set out the basic arguments in favour of a constitution. The letter assumed that the church in Uganda was sufficiently self-supporting. Since there was a church government in terms of a “voluntary mutual compact”, this should be formalised in a constitution. There was a need to give real control to the church over the African agents. The letter concluded with the argument that the needs and rights of the Church would best be met by the adoption of a Church constitution. Thirdly, one may discern the influence of the C.M.S. Secretariat in that considerable attention is paid to the assertion that the C.M.S. would continue to exercise a “powerful moral and spiritual influence” in the absence of any ecclesiastical control. It would be quite impossible to have a constituted church without any recognised place for European missionaries. The personal interests of the C.M.S. missionaries would be ensured for the clergy; other missionaries would be accredited as Church workers of the most responsible grades. Some agreement would have to be made between the Church authorities and the C.M.S. as to the nature and conditions of the missionaries’ work and the ultimate sanction of their withdrawal. Finally the letter requested the views of the missionaries as to the ripeness of the time for the constitution of an independent church and secondly, as to the comprehensiveness of the church. There was nothing in the letter about the development of an African episcopacy.

This letter surprised the Uganda missionaries. Walker’s immediate response was to question the necessity of any formal constitution when, in his opinion, there was a considerable gap between the European missionary and the African Christian that no constitution could bridge. He argued that laws alone did not produce independence, and that what was required was a more evident spirituality and evangelistic zeal among the African Christians together with a greater determination among the missionaries to keep themselves in the background and allow the Africans to govern the Church.⁹⁴ In subsequent letters he added that few missionaries felt that the adoption of a constitution would improve the spiritual health of the church and that they were reluctant to come to a conference to discuss the issue. He also suggested that the constitution debate was more about how the church

⁹³ C.M.I. April 1901, p. 243

would be regarded in England than how it would work in Africa.⁹⁵ Nevertheless a conference was scheduled for November 6 in Mengo to discuss the issues raised by the C.M.S. letter of July.

At the conference there were twelve missionaries. Walker, the leading opponent of Tucker's draft constitution, was in the chair. The first item was to read the written opinions submitted by seventeen male missionaries unable to be present together with the report of the C.M.S. Women's conference. Of the correspondents only Skeens and Davies from Busoga gave unreserved approval to the draft constitution inclusive of the missionaries. Skeens wrote: "the day would be a long way off when we should consider the native Christians capable of their due responsibility in governing their own Church, and the best way of teaching them it was to give it to them."⁹⁶ The Women's conference accepted the constitution on the grounds of accepting the Society's advice. Rather paradoxically they agreed that the Ugandan Church was not ready and that it was not fair to say that they were not ready without trying it. The hesitations about the constitution expressed by women in their individual submissions suggest that any approval of the constitution offered by the whole conference was very qualified. Likewise nearly all submissions argued that the Church was not ready for a constitution. The most substantial paper came from Gordon, a very experienced missionary, who wrote against both the adoption of the constitution and the inclusion of the missionaries. Many submissions argued that the African Christians were insufficiently qualified and educated; in particular they lacked knowledge of English and of accounts. Others argued that the Church was not really self-supporting. Some were unwilling to move to a different relationship with C.M.S. Other submissions argued against the constitution because of the perceived weaknesses of African Christians: the "native" councils were poorly run, the work of extension was heavily dependent on missionary leadership, Africans lacked initiative and tended to shirk responsibility; African Christians lacked interest in work with women and children. One correspondent felt that the whole debate was a distraction from the real work of concentrating on evangelisation and building up spiritual maturity among the

⁹⁴ Walker to Baylis 24/8/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.200

⁹⁵ Walker to Baylis 9/9/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.200 and Walker to Baylis 24/9/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.217

⁹⁶ Skeens to Walker 29/10/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.255. All of the following submissions may be found in this substantial file.

Christians. Gordon argued that the Africans themselves did not want the constitution with statements like: "We are still children,, how can we rule our parents?" Such traditional statements of respect were meat and drink to those who adopted what Hansen has called a "paternalistic-evolutionary attitude."⁹⁷

Most of the correspondents were content to argue that the Church was not ready for a constitution. It was only Kitching and Rowling who suggested a possible criterion that it would be ready when there was a suitable candidate to be Bishop or Assistant Bishop. Missionaries from outside Buganda raised the issue of the relationship between the Church in Toro and Ankole with the Church Council (and proposed Synod) based in Mengo. They indicated the general unwillingness of non-Baganda to submit to a Church authority dominated by Baganda.

Opinions were divided over the inclusion of Europeans within the constitution. The missionaries of Busoga felt they should be included; those in Budu argued that it was essential for Europeans to be included in order to offer guidance to the Church which could not be trusted on its own. Willis argued that if missionaries were needed in the Church, this was a sign that the Church was not yet ready for a full independent constitution. He saw the transition period in these terms:

"let missionaries remain on in each district to advise and help until the natives can do with only a small consultative body of Europeans at the capital and finally can stand together alone."⁹⁸

The written submissions were read at the conference before Walker accepted the suggestion that discussion should be structured around the themes of self-support, self-extension and self-government. Participants agreed that the Church was capable of self-support, though currently falling short; with regard to self-extension, European guidance was still required. Regarding self-

⁹⁷ Hansen, 1979, p.256. Hansen's discussion of what he calls a "paternalistic-evolutionary attitude" as distinct from a racist attitude is the most useful section of his 1979 article.

⁹⁸ Willis to Walker, n.d. in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.255

government, concern was expressed over the educational standards of African Christians and their unsuitability to have any authority over Europeans. The resolution proposed by Walker was carried:

“This Conference is of opinion that the members of the Native Church are able to take their adequate share in the government of their Church excepting in so far as the European members of it would be concerned.”⁹⁹

The conference concluded rather paradoxically that although the time was not right for the adoption of a constitution, nevertheless the missionaries would be prepared to accept and work under a constitution along the lines of Tucker’s draft. Tucker had made it clear at the previous conference that he was not willing to force the constitution in the face of missionary opposition.

The attitudes behind these rather bland resolutions are more discernible in the personal correspondence of Walker, when he summarised the majority feeling in the conference:

“it would be impossible for the Church of Uganda to develop without European Aid. And yet Europeans cannot become part of the Uganda Church. For to do so would mean that the governing body in the Church would be largely composed of natives. Now there are no natives that would in any sense be able to take charge of Europeans or in any way rule them.”¹⁰⁰

Fraser wrote about the “unconstituted adviser” who would be far more influential than the missionary who was an equal partner with the African Christian.¹⁰¹

In order to appreciate the reasons why the missionary body failed to endorse Tucker’s draft constitution at the behest of the Parent Committee, it is necessary to consider the personalities as well as the arguments. Walker, a known opponent of an integrated constitution, chaired the conference. The weightiest objections came from Gordon, then the most experienced missionary in Uganda and a man who had lived closely with Africans. Willis, who showed an alternative to Tucker’s plan, was

⁹⁹ Minutes of the Conference of missionaries C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.255

¹⁰⁰ Walker to his father 30/1902 C.M.S.A. Acc 88 Vol XXII. Letters in this book are not numbered.

¹⁰¹ A. G. Fraser: Journal entry for 11/11/1901 R H.

rapidly becoming known as a man of obvious intellectual capacity.¹⁰² Within Uganda Tucker lacked an experienced, knowledgeable and articulate advocate of his draft. This inevitably made some points made against the adoption of his integrated constitution appear more weighty than necessary. Tucker's argument for the constitution was not based on a positive assessment of the spirituality or pastoral care in the Church, and his understanding of self-support and self-extension was relative rather than the absolutist understanding that was fundamental to the 1901 conference. Tucker's argument was that the draft constitution was the appropriate next step in the development of the self-government of the Church. This was more subtle than was realised by some of the missionaries who understood the debate in more stark terms of an alternative between total control by Africans and overall control by European missionaries standing in the formal role of advisers but in reality with all the effective control. The African church leaders were deemed as insufficiently qualified for total control; therefore, the missionaries must remain in authority. This latter view corresponded neatly with the political theory of the Protectorate and this parallel should not be underestimated. In 1901 the vast majority of missionaries regarded the Protectorate government in Uganda as successful and in the best interests of the Africans. Also underlying the debate was a fundamental lack of trust on the part of many missionaries in African Christians, which was usually disguised as concern for their spirituality or educational standards. There was also a lack of trust in Tucker's judgment. This crisis of confidence encouraged the missionaries to retain control and deny real authority to African Christians.

There was disappointment in London over the results of the 1901 conference. Baylis pointed out to Walker that many of the objections raised were beside the point, and many of the real problems such as the relationship between the Church in Buganda and elsewhere, could be better dealt with in the framework of a constitution rather than being in themselves problems which obviated a need for a constitution.¹⁰³ In a letter to all the Uganda missionaries, Baylis and Stock argued that the African

¹⁰² One may note that none of the men mentioned in this paragraph as opponents of an integrated constitution had any close affinity with Keswick theology or spirituality. This contrasts with Porter's observations on the situation in West Africa, where he drew a strong correlation between the opponents of Crowther and men of a Keswick spirituality.

¹⁰³ Baylis to Walker 24/12/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

Christians of Uganda needed more training both to work in and under authority in a united Church; that provision was required to guard against spiritual and doctrinal error, which would best be found in an integrated Church; and that an authority was required to speak for the whole body of Christians within Uganda. The argument that Europeans would have a more certain influence from within the Church rather than from outside as advisers was developed at considerable length. Missionaries would exercise a double veto in the Synod in the person of the Bishop and because a majority of clergy were European. Additionally the C.M.S. Parent Committee would remain "a force in the counsels of the Church in any matter which concerned their missionaries."¹⁰⁴

This letter reveals an implicit agreement with many of the missionaries whose major concern was to retain a strong European influence in the Church. Most missionaries believed that this could be achieved through standing outside of the formal structures of the Church. The Secretaries felt that this could be achieved from within. Both positions contrast with Tucker's main emphasis in promoting his draft which he made clear in his address to the Church Congress in 1901. He stressed the participation of all communicants in the Church Councils and the real authority vested in the African Church.¹⁰⁵ Although ostensibly Tucker and the Secretaries were at one in commending an integrated constitution, this obscured a divergence between Tucker's primary concern to give a real authority to the African Christians and a major concern of the Secretaries to retain a strong European influence within the Church of Uganda.

There was little movement on the subject of church government until 1904. In 1903 the inaugural Women's Conference was held at Mengo, Tucker having expressed willingness that the conference should proceed along the lines of similar conferences in other parts of the C.M.S. field in that it should be "purely advisory".¹⁰⁶ For once the C.M.S. Parent Committee was more radical than Tucker in suggesting that a few African women be included as members of the conference in a way which was not found in other places. However, no women were invited and at the first conference, at which

¹⁰⁴ Baylis and Stock to all the C.M.S. missionaries in Uganda 25/2/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

¹⁰⁵ Tucker: Speech at the Church Congress in C.M.I. November 1901 p. 840

¹⁰⁶ Tucker to Baylis 11/7/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1902.111

Tucker presided, it was decided that the members would be the women missionaries in full connection with the Society. In a debate about the presence of African women, it was resolved that it would be possible to call in any to give their opinion on any subject under discussion.¹⁰⁷ This was significant in revealing the attitude of the women missionaries in wishing to consult with African women, but entirely on their own terms and otherwise excluding them from the decision-making process.

Another feature of this period was the growing frustration felt by Crabtree regarding what he felt was the unrepresentative nature of the Mengo Church Council with regard both to areas outside Buganda and to the peasant classes everywhere.¹⁰⁸ But his criticisms were not heard, and in 1905 he resigned citing *inter alia*, his unwillingness to work under Mengo dominance.¹⁰⁹

Towards the end of 1903 Tucker once more announced his intention of holding a missionary conference in order to settle the question of a church constitution. This was held on 15-18 June 1904, the matter of the constitution being the business of the first day. Present were eighteen ordained missionaries and nine laymen together with the Bishop and T. V. Buxton representing the C.M.S. Parent Committee. In his opening remarks Tucker rehearsed the familiar arguments for the adoption of the constitution. The response was predictable; some missionaries argued that the church was not ready. Walker and Rowling both invoked the parallel of the child while Willis argued that the Church was too young in comparison with others on the C.M.S. field. Whereas Weatherhead argued that the Church needed to be stronger before a constitution was appropriate, Tucker argued that the Church would become stronger through having a constitution. This latter argument was supported by Buxton who pointed out that "the Waganda might learn side by side with the missionaries to administer the affairs of the Church."¹¹⁰ Baskerville contributed the argument that not only was he in favour of the

¹⁰⁷ Minutes of the first meeting of the Women's Conference 13/5/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1903.124

¹⁰⁸ Crabtree to Stock 5/4/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1902.92 and Crabtree to Baylis 24/11/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1903.2. The question of the status of churches from outside Buganda within the proposed constitution is not considered by Hansen, 1979.

¹⁰⁹ Crabtree to Baylis 15/2/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.58

¹¹⁰ Minutes of the Men's Conference 15/6/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.158. All references in this paragraph to opinions expressed at the conference are drawn from these Minutes.

constitution, but that he had organised his district according to the lines of Tucker's draft and that it was working well.¹¹¹ Rowling repeated his argument of 1901 that the Church was not ready for a constitution until there was a suitable candidate for the episcopacy, but Tucker countered this by arguing that a church developed in self-government and that a constitution could precede the appointment of an African bishop. With this argument Tucker reversed the order suggested by the 1901 Memorandum. A majority of the conference was persuaded by Tucker to accept the need in principle of a constitution for the Church in Uganda.

However, there remained the question of the precise shape of such, and in particular the relationship of the European missionaries to the constituted Church. Early in the debate Weatherhead and later Walker referred to what they perceived as a general anti-European feeling among African Christians. He referred to the "swollen heads" many had, and Roscoe commented on the need for stern discipline among church teachers. Blackledge suggested that the Europeans themselves should take responsibility for any discontent among the Africans by their spirit of "standoffishness", but his point was not appreciated by many of the senior missionaries. It was fundamentally on the grounds of the perceived unsuitability of the Africans to have authority over any European missionary that Walker argued it would be "fatal" to give any power to the Africans. Rowling agreed that it was "unjust to give weaker men an equal vote with the stronger and able." Tucker's response that it would never lead to a successful issue for missionaries to be included in the constitution and yet be governed by an outside body did not meet the weight of feeling behind Walker's fears. A.R. Cook asked whether it would be possible to appoint a European board to consider questions directly relating to Europeans similar to the existing Executive Committee.¹¹² Tucker admitted this was a possibility. In the end a compromise resolution was passed:

¹¹¹ For Baskerville's description of how he implemented church government in Kyagwe, see C.M.I. May 1902 pp. 349-350

¹¹² This was the new name given to what had been called the Finance Committee

“that the time has come for the adoption of a Constitution for the Church in Uganda on the understanding that the relations between the C.M.S. and the Uganda Church will provide adequate safeguards for the interests of the work entrusted to the Society’s missionaries.”¹¹³

It was significant that Buxton did not support Tucker in his argument that the missionaries should be wholly included within the constitution. The resolution passed was a significant advance on the 1901 decision that the Church was not ready for a constitution, but the debate had moved on to the major disagreement over the place of the missionaries under its provisions. The terms of the 1904 debate were still those of 1898, and two crucial issues were not given adequate consideration. When Johnston raised the question of the relationship of the church in Toro with that in Mengo, Roscoe brushed it aside. The other issue not addressed was the place of the Executive Committee under Tucker’s scheme. The status quo in 1904 was that there existed a European Board independent of any African input. Tucker failed to make clear his intentions regarding the Executive Committee that with every passing year was becoming established as the central decision-making body among the missionaries.

The conference was discussed at an Executive Committee (E.C.) meeting when Tucker was in the chair. They passed the following resolution:

“In view of a Constitution for the Uganda Church being adopted, a fundamental principle of which will be that there should be no racial distinctions, the E.C. beg to recommend that a condition of the C.M.S. missionaries being lent to the Native Church be that a Board of Missionaries should be nominated by the Parent Committee and appointed by the Synod; their work being to make the locations of the C.M.S. missionaries and to control the spending of C.M.S. money and the use of C.M.S. property within Uganda.”

Buxton suggested to Walker that such a Board be composed of ten Europeans and two Africans, but Walker after consultation with other missionaries, decided that no Africans should sit on any Board that had to do with European missionaries.¹¹⁴ He explained that Africans were “children

¹¹³ Minutes of the Men’s Conference 15/6/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.158

¹¹⁴ Tucker to Baylis 15/8/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.172

intellectually” and none were fit to have a full voice in the affairs of the mission. Walker admitted that on this point Tucker was “at loggerheads” with himself and other missionaries.¹¹⁵

The C.M.S. Africa Committee understood from the E.C. Minute that Tucker was prepared to concede the point that a European Board be appointed under the Synod and they agreed to this as a *pro tem* measure.¹¹⁶ But in correspondence with Tucker Baylis expressed a clear preference for the appointment of a C.M.S. Committee entirely independent of the Synod to deal with the affairs of the missionaries. He contrasted the situation in West Africa where Africans had been under C.M.S. for some considerable time and were able to think like Europeans unlike the circumstances in Uganda that he regarded as exceptional.¹¹⁷ The implication that Africans were fit to take on responsibility as they became Europeanised contrasted sharply with Tucker’s understanding of the matter.

Tucker was not prepared to see a Board under the Synod consisting of Europeans only, and he expressed great surprise that the Parent Committee had been willing to countenance this.¹¹⁸ In February 1905 Tucker notified the Parent Committee of his crucial decision that if he had to choose between the alternatives of a Board of only Europeans under the Synod and a C.M.S. Committee independent of the Synod, he would reluctantly choose the latter. This decision explained his action the previous month when he handed over his power of locating missionaries to the E. C.¹¹⁹ The episode of 1904 revealed that where Tucker had the clear backing of the Parent Committee as in the proposal that there should be a constitution, he was able to persuade the missionaries. But where the Parent Committee was ambivalent or opposed to his proposal, such as the inclusion of the missionaries wholly within the constituted Church, the missionaries were able to hold out against their Bishop.

¹¹⁵ Walker to Baylis 16/11/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.238

¹¹⁶ The response of the Group III (Africa) committee is recorded in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1904

¹¹⁷ Baylis to Tucker 23/12/1904 in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2 and Baylis to Tucker 14/10/1904 in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

¹¹⁸ Tucker to Baylis 10/11/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.227

¹¹⁹ Minutes of the Executive Committee 5/12/1904 in M.U.K.A. AR N3/3

In 1905 the matter of the constitution took an unexpected turn when the catechists and teachers threatened to strike in support of their claim for more pay. Tucker interpreted this as indicating an urgent need of a means of ventilating and settling grievances within the Church, and he called a Synod informally according to the terms of the draft constitution. This body met in May 1905 and the discussion convinced Tucker of the need for a regular Synod.¹²⁰ The urgency of settling the dispute overrode his desire that missionaries should find a place in an integrated constitution, and so he suggested that the "Mission of the C.M.S. should continue to be governed as heretofore."¹²¹ The major issue was expressed succinctly by Tucker in 1906:

"Nine-tenths of the missionaries in Uganda want their relations to the Society to remain as they are –and I want a Synod. I felt I could in the circumstances only get the Synod by yielding the point which I have been fighting against from the first."¹²²

There followed correspondence with Mr King, the lawyer drafting the terms of the constitution. The C.M.S. Parent Committee insisted that a clause be inserted to the effect that missionaries serving in Uganda with "a Foreign Missionary Society should be controlled solely by the body by whom such a person is employed."¹²³ Such insistence indicated the extent to which C.M.S. was determined to retain its guiding role within the nascent Church. It was with the full support of the E.C. that Tucker wrote to Baylis to argue for the independence of the committee to spend its grant from London according to local conditions.¹²⁴ This was a substantial protest against the increasing tendency of the Parent Committee to establish further control over local autonomy.

In May 1906 Tucker was in Britain. When he met Baylis he informed him of a conversation with Dr Hunter, a barrister then working at Entebbe. He had advised the Bishop that the adoption of the Laws of the Church of Uganda at the meeting of the Church Council in September 1900 had in fact

¹²⁰ Tucker to Fox 29/5/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.137

¹²¹ Tucker to Baylis 17/7/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.166

¹²² Tucker to Baylis 16/1/1906 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.45

¹²³ Baylis to the Acting Secretary of the Executive Committee 10/11/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

¹²⁴ Tucker to Baylis 15/12/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.10

constituted a legally recognisable Church, albeit a Church expressly excluding Europeans.¹²⁵ This discovery formed the basis of Tucker's activities in Uganda following his return in 1907. During his absence, however, a second Diocesan Synod was held in June 1906 under the chairmanship of Walker. The Minutes record the presence of six other C.M.S. missionaries, who considered themselves to be "advisors", as well as over two hundred and fifty African delegates. Discussion focused largely on issues connected with the pay and deployment of African church workers. The standard of debate recorded was high and clearly the decisions about pay were those owned by a larger representation of the African Church than had been found in the old Mengo Church Council alone.¹²⁶ This Synod clearly represented the development of government in the Church of Uganda.

Tucker was aware, however, that the Synod, successful as it had been in 1906, had no formal or legal status. He returned to Uganda determined to rectify this. He called a third Synod in June 1907, and by formal resolution the Mengo Church Council was re-constituted as the Synod of the whole Church of Uganda. It specifically excluded all missionaries other than Tucker himself.¹²⁷ This situation pertained until the following year when in the January meeting of the Executive Committee there was discussion about the relationship of the missionaries with the Synod. This was prompted by a request from C.M.S. for a report on the progress and policy of the mission. Tucker pointed out that inasmuch as the work of the mission was inseparably bound up with the work of the Church, it was impossible to make such a statement without consultation with the representatives of the Church. This raised again for him the question of the relationship of the missionaries with the Synod. He proposed to call a conference of missionaries to consider an Agreement that he had drafted to the effect that all missionaries should be members of the Synod. He added the clause that every such missionary should be "subject to the location and direction of the missionary authority of the Society by which he is supported, or to which he is responsible, in consultation with the Central Council of the Church of Uganda."¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Memo of interview between Tucker and Baylis 18/5/1906 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.107

¹²⁶ Minutes of the Diocesan Synod held at Mengo 5/6/1906 in M.U.K.A.

¹²⁷ Tucker to Baylis 26/6/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.181

A conference of missionaries was duly held in February 1908 and the draft Agreement proved acceptable. With it was carried the proposal that a "European Board be appointed by the Synod to consider all matters exclusively affecting Europeans."¹²⁹ However, after consultation with Baylis in London, Tucker accepted his recommendation that this European Board should in fact be appointed by the C.M.S. Parent Committee.¹³⁰ This was formalised at a meeting in London in September 1908, when a great deal was made by Baylis and his colleagues on the Parent Committee of the need for them to have some representative body within Uganda. They proposed that this should be the Missionary Committee, appointed by and answerable to themselves, to deal with "all questions which affect only C.M.S. missionaries."¹³¹ The existing Executive Committee would act as the Missionary Committee *pro tem*. On his return to Uganda Tucker called a Synod in 1909 which formally adopted these proposals.¹³² In May 1909 the Executive Committee dissolved itself to become the Standing Committee of the Missionary Committee. It was resolved that the Committee should continue to meet monthly with a full meeting of the Missionary Committee prior to any Synod meeting. With this the long story of setting up a constitution for the Church in Uganda ended.

When the Constitution was finally ratified in 1909, Tucker expressed great satisfaction with the result. He wrote to Baylis: "It is practically the Constitution for which I have been striving and struggling for the past eleven years."¹³³ Hansen fairly raises the question whether Tucker was right in claiming a victory or was he deluding himself.¹³⁴ In a literal sense Tucker was right. The Constitution did give a Synod representing the Church throughout Uganda in which there were no racial distinctions. African Christians and C.M.S. missionaries alike were subject to its provisions. In a letter to Archbishop Davidson, Tucker also hailed the fact that the Synod was thoroughly representative. The communicants, both men and women, elected its members. Missionaries were

¹²⁸ Minutes of the Executive Committee 5/1/1908 M.U.K.A.

¹²⁹ Minutes of the Conference of (Male) Missionaries 11/2/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.98

¹³⁰ Tucker to Baylis 2/4/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.120

¹³¹ Memo of interview between Tucker, Walker and Millar of the Uganda Mission and the C.M.S. Group III Committee 22/9/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.226

¹³² Minutes of the Diocesan Synod April 1909 in M.U.K.A.

¹³³ Tucker to Baylis 24/4/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.173

¹³⁴ Hansen, 1979, p. 276. C. P. Williams (1990, p. 253) argues that Tucker was a tired and self-deluded man at this point.

members *ex officio*. In his letter Tucker underlined what he believed to be a unique feature of the Constitution in its provisions for a District Women's Conference and a Central Women's Conference with power to send resolutions and advice to the Synod with respect to women's work.¹³⁵

One significant feature of the 1909 Constitution was the way in which it laid the foundation for a future Anglican Province incorporating the Church in Toro, Bunyoro, Busoga, etc. together with the Church in Buganda. In 1905 Fisher wrote to Tucker about the treatment of a delegate from Bunyoro to the 1907 Synod. This unfortunate had failed to find accommodation in spite of carrying letters of introduction from the Church in Bunyoro. This experience, while relatively trivial in itself, confirmed fears in Bunyoro that the new Constitution could simply become an instrument to further Kiganda influence in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Bunyoro Church Council passed a resolution to be independent of Mengo and to control all church funds and teachers in the region. Tucker refused this in 1905, but he relented the following year. In 1907 he presided at the meeting of the Council that elected Nakiwafu as chairman.¹³⁶ This set the model for the Church Councils in other regions to take control of local funds and organisation of teachers and to send delegates to the annual diocesan Synod. But two problems emerged from this. The fact of an integrated Church made possible complete local domination by European missionaries, excluding Africans altogether from the Church Council. That this was not entirely a theoretical problem is shown by the fact that the inaugural Bukedi Church Council consisted solely of Europeans.¹³⁷ The second problem was that there was no equivalent devolution in Buganda. There was a lack of clarity about the responsibility of the Synod being for the whole of Uganda and for Buganda also.

But against a more positive assessment of the 1909 Constitution must be set Tucker's contradiction in 1908 of his stand in 1904 against any European Board being appointed by the Synod as a wholly unacceptable introduction of a racial distinction. It was pressure from Baylis and the C.M.S. Parent Committee that led to the amendment that the Missionary Committee should be appointed by

¹³⁵ Tucker to Davidson 29/5/1909. R. T. Davidson, Papers and Letters Vol 160.271.289 L. P. L.

¹³⁶ Ladbury: Journal entry for 21/8/1907. M.U.K.A.

¹³⁷ Ladbury: Journal entry for 3/3/1911 M.U.K.A.

themselves and not the Synod. The establishment of the Missionary Committee meant a second governing body in the Church of Uganda. Hansen rightly points out that the boundary between this committee and the Synod was “semi-permeable” in the sense that missionaries could cross it by being members of both, whereas Africans could not.¹³⁸ What he fails to point out is that this represents a very similar situation to that pertaining in the early 1890’s with the Finance Committee operating alongside the Mengo Church Council. The major difference was that the 1909 Constitution formally enshrined the situation, allowing for “continued missionary influence and control without any built-in mechanisms for an African replacement of Europeans, which had been the essential ingredient of Tucker’s original scheme.”¹³⁹

It was clear in the minds of many missionaries that the Missionary Committee was the more significant governing body. In 1912 Tucker’s successor Willis acknowledged that, although the Missionary Committee was theoretically outside the church organisation, “it has a dominant voice in the conduct of native church affairs.”¹⁴⁰ His view of the Synod was that it came to serve as a “safety-valve for the pent-up feelings of the members rather than as a serious and responsible body legislating for a diocese.”¹⁴¹ Although he had opposed Tucker’s plans to integrate the missionaries within the Church, he later acknowledged that Tucker had been correct, but for very different reasons. He argued that had missionaries remained outside the structures of the “Native Church” as advisers, their influence would have been negligible, but from within they were able to guide a young Church through its formative stages.¹⁴²

In this latter point Willis was in harmony with the C.M.S. Parent Committee. Williams has traced the consistent concern of the Parent Committee to retain a channel for control in the Church of Uganda.¹⁴³ This objective was assured in their appointment of the Missionary Committee. In part this concern itself stemmed from a thoroughly Venn-like concern lest Tucker become an autocratic

¹³⁸ Hansen, 1979, p. 277

¹³⁹ Hansen, 1979, p. 278

¹⁴⁰ J. J. Willis: “The Policy of the Uganda Mission” July 1912 G3/A7/O1912.157

¹⁴¹ J. J. Willis: “Memoirs and Thoughts” MSS. n.d. M.U.K.A.

¹⁴² *ibid.*

Bishop. But Williams has demonstrated how by the early twentieth century the Society had moved from Venn's primary desire to promote the independence of maturing churches without any predetermination of the shape of the church. The later position stressed the need to retain influence and a level of control that would have been unacceptable to Venn. The Missionary Committee was formed ostensibly to consider matters exclusive to the Europeans. But these matters were never defined, and nothing in this committee was ever ruled out of order on the grounds that it was not an exclusively European matter!

During the last round of talks on the Constitution Tucker's most entrenched opponent was Rowling, who expressed his desire to "safeguard the position and rights of the superior race."¹⁴⁴ In a series of letters against the Constitution, he objected to what he considered Tucker's sleight of hand in announcing the Church as already constituted. He made a great deal of the well-worn arguments about the spiritual and educational fitness of the African Christians, but amid all the bluster, he did point to what he felt was a serious departure from the C.M.S. tradition. The C.M.S. Memorandum of 1900 on independent churches saw an indigenous episcopate as a *sine qua non* of an independent church. He asked the question of how the Church in Uganda could be regarded as ready for a constitution as an independent Church when there was no prospect of a Muganda clergyman being even a suitable candidate for a Suffragan Bishop.¹⁴⁵ Certainly Venn saw the independence of a church being reached when there was an indigenous Bishop.

Rowling's point was never addressed either by Tucker or by London, partly because it was obscured in a long and rather tedious list of objections to the constitution and partly because it was a question that arose in a different framework from that adopted by the Bishop. Tucker's whole argument was for an integrated Church where there was no racial distinction and where the boundary between mission and church was blurred. In an integrated Church, it became a secondary issue whether the Bishop was European or African, whereas in Venn's scheme of a sharp theoretical distinction

¹⁴³ Williams, 1991, chapter 8

¹⁴⁴ Tucker to Baylis 7/1/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.70

¹⁴⁵ Rowling to Baylis 28/2/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.106

between church and mission, it functioned as a primary level question. It is therefore arguable that Tucker's pursuit of an integrated church removed any pressure to promote the ordained ministry of Africans to the point of consecrating a Suffragan Bishop.

It is further arguable that Tucker's long struggle to promote an integrated Church and his expression of joy in 1909 was misdirected not only because his purpose of promoting African responsibility was frustrated through the subsequent operations of the Missionary Committee. It was also misdirected inasmuch as he sought a structural answer to what was more fundamentally a cultural and spiritual problem. After he had left Uganda, Purvis reflected on the failure of nerve on the part of many missionaries to allow real responsibility to Africans on the grounds of their limitations. In an analysis that anticipated Roland Allen's, he argued that "all the evidence goes to prove that where the Muganda has been trusted with responsibility, he has done extraordinarily well, but that where he has been a factotum to the white man, he has been more or less a failure."¹⁴⁶ In his 1913 Memorandum, Tucker himself analysed this failure to trust Africans with real responsibility as fundamentally a failure to trust the Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁷ The Constitution of 1909 assuredly provided a structure in which the African Church could exercise genuine responsibility, but required considerable trust on the part of the missionary body to ensure that this was the case. Sadly, there was failure at precisely this point. A second failure of trust related to Tucker himself. Clearly the Parent Committee in wanting to retain a channel of influence in the Ugandan Church were reluctant to allow him what they saw to be too much freedom to become an autocratic bishop, but there was also a failure on the part of some of the Uganda missionaries to trust Tucker. Willis wrote of his predecessor in a remarkably patronising fashion that he was still new to the country when he introduced the draft constitution and that his knowledge of the people and the language was small. He continued: "He did not know as the missionaries knew only too well, how immature and unreliable the native converts still were."¹⁴⁸

B. The Development of an Indigenous Ministry

¹⁴⁶ Purvis, 1909, p. 211

¹⁴⁷ Tucker: Memorandum to C.M.S. 5/11/1913 C.M.S.A. ci 343

¹⁴⁸ J. J. Willis: *Memoirs and Thoughts* n.d. M.U.K.A.

In Venn's understanding of the process of maturity in a church, a key indicator was the development of an indigenous ordained ministry with increasing pastoral responsibility. Such ordination was regarded both as a sign of a maturing church and a means of achieving greater maturity. This was clearly understood by Mackay. As early as 1878 he looked forward to training Africans for ordination and beyond that to the day when a Muganda would be "primate of all Nyanza". Ashe, similarly before Tucker's arrival, looked forward to the time of African bishops and clergy. But Tucker was the first to be able to do something about it. In 1890 he expressed his intention of working towards the ordination of some young men who had proved themselves in the work of teaching and evangelism.¹⁴⁹ Before he left Uganda he instructed Walker that he was responsible for training the evangelists with the view of the later ordination of some.¹⁵⁰

Within a month of his return to the country in 1893, Tucker initiated a discussion with the Church Council over possible candidates for ordination to the diaconate. He asked them to suggest "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom."¹⁵¹ They suggested fourteen names, of whom Tucker selected seven after further discussion with the missionaries. One dropped out nearer the planned ordination date. They were senior men who were all members of the Church Council and had been leaders among the Protestant exiles in Ankole during 1889. Tucker pointed out that they had been performing nearly all the duties of deacons except baptism and assisting in the administration of Holy Communion, and that they were men of evident and widely recognised spirituality.¹⁵² They were not the young men Tucker had envisaged in 1891, but this was simply not possible when the criterion for selection concerned spiritual maturity, experience and having gained the respect of the Church Council. Following their selection the men were given four months of training. Pilkington taught the Articles, Roscoe the Prayer-Book and Church History; Walker continued the Bible teaching and Tucker himself taught Pastoral Theology. The actual ordination service took place on 28

¹⁴⁹ Tucker to Wigram 30/12/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891.124

¹⁵⁰ Walker to his father 7/1/1891. C.M.S.A. Acc 88.

¹⁵¹ Tucker to Baylis 17/1/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.246

¹⁵² Tucker to Baylis 17/1/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.246. The men were Henry Wright Duta Kitakule, Yairo Mutakyala, Yohanna Mwira, Yonasani Kaidzi, Nikodemu Sebwato and Zakariya Kizito.

May, an event which Tucker found emotionally draining and thrilling.¹⁵³ Tucker was very aware that he could be criticised for ordaining Africans at this early stage in his episcopate, particularly in the light of contemporary concerns over what was then perceived as a failure in African ministry in the Niger. But having considered this, he remained convinced that God was guiding him to ordain the men.¹⁵⁴

In ordaining these six men Tucker was departing from usual Anglican practice in two respects. He discounted any educational achievements in accepting these men on the grounds that were such regarded as indispensable, it would postpone indefinitely hopes for African ordinations when clearly the demands of a growing church were for a pastoral ministry.¹⁵⁵ The second departure was that Sebwato and Kizito were ordained to the permanent diaconate with the principle established that only those who resign their chieftainships should be permitted to proceed to ordination to the priesthood.¹⁵⁶ Venn had refused to countenance the possibility of a permanent diaconate as too radical a departure from Anglican tradition, but Tucker felt that their situation as senior men in both church and state justified his action. Within the story of the development of the ordained ministry in Uganda, this proved to be an exceptional response to the peculiar circumstances of two men rather than a pioneering exploration of a new understanding of ordination. It is not apparent precisely how Tucker foresaw the deployment of these men. He considered it would be an unwise diminution of Christian influence for Sebwato and Kizito to give up their secular positions. Unfortunately Sebwato died in 1895. According to a later reflection of Walker's, Kizito became so involved in his responsibilities as a chief that he had little time for diaconal activity.¹⁵⁷ However, this statement indicates Walker's narrow understanding of diaconal activity in terms of ecclesiastical work. The most significant aspect of the ordinations of 1893 lay in their symbolic nature as anticipation and promise of an indigenous ministry and an interesting experiment in the idea of a permanent diaconate.

¹⁵³ An account of the ordination and Tucker's reactions may be seen in Tucker to Baylis 29/5/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.233 reprinted in C.M.I. October 1893 p. 760

¹⁵⁴ Tucker to Baylis 17/1/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.246

¹⁵⁵ The issue is discussed in A. R. Tucker, 1908, Vol. I, p.233

¹⁵⁶ Tucker to Baylis 20/1/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.

After Tucker's departure in June 1893 and at his instigation the Church Council set about choosing men for training, in preparation for their ordination to the diaconate on his return. Seven were chosen and four of the deacons¹⁵⁸ resigned their minor chieftaincies in order to concentrate on preparation for ordination to the priesthood. By mid-1894 Roscoe considered that they were ready for priesting such that they could be put in charge of the work of evangelism in areas of pressing need.¹⁵⁹ The training of ordination candidates was informal. In Mengo Walker taught them for an hour each day, while the candidates spent the morning hours in teaching others. In Kyagwe Crabtree was detailed to prepare Kaidzi for the priesthood while he continued to serve as a deacon.¹⁶⁰

But by 1895 the missionaries in Uganda were becoming increasingly aware of problems with this system of preparation. The limitation of teaching when there were no books other than the Bible and Prayer-book in Luganda and when the candidates spoke no English became increasingly apparent.¹⁶¹ Also Walker was becoming frustrated at disruptions when members of the ordination class were regularly called to supervise work away from Mengo. He expressed some suspicion that some African evangelists or – for that matter, European missionaries – might regard ordination as a means of achieving a social position that might otherwise be denied them.¹⁶²

When Tucker returned to Uganda for the third time in October 1895 the Church Council presented him with a list of those men they were willing to maintain after ordination. Tucker was willing to ordain them on this basis provided that the missionaries made no objections to any of the names.¹⁶³ They had no objections, and the six men were invited to Mengo for a six-month period of uninterrupted training under Walker and Millar. Tucker asked them to concentrate teaching on Prayer Book, Articles and Church History.¹⁶⁴ The ordination service took place on Trinity Sunday when

¹⁵⁷ Walker: "The Native Clergy in Uganda" MSS 1900 in C.M.S.A. Acc 88

¹⁵⁸ Duta, Kaidzi, Mutakyala and Mwiri.

¹⁵⁹ Roscoe to Baylis 4/9/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/01893.311

¹⁶⁰ Walker to his sister 24/11/1894 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.253

¹⁶¹ Walker to Baylis 30/4/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1895.254

¹⁶² Walker to his father 8/11/1895 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.286 and Walker to his sister 27/5/1896 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.311

¹⁶³ Tucker to Stock 14/10/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.60

¹⁶⁴ Tucker to Baylis 14/1/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.102

three Africans were ordained priest and five made deacon.¹⁶⁵ As on the previous occasion the basis of their selection was a proven track record of ministry together with evidence of having earned the respect of the Church Council and C.M.S. missionaries. By no means was this taken lightly. One of those made deacon in 1893 was not considered for the priesthood in 1896 because of a moral lapse. Those who were ordained were senior men among the Christians of Uganda. But Tucker introduced a change in the candidates for selection when he invited, after consultation with the Church Council, eight of the young teachers to come to Mengo for training with a view to ordination after two years. Walker and Millar continued to be responsible for their teaching, which Tucker specified should also include practical work.¹⁶⁶ Tucker also recognised that there was a need for some kind of training institution for ordinands, but he postponed any action on this matter until the division of the diocese had been settled.¹⁶⁷

In his Charge of 1897 Tucker criticised the fixed attitudes of many missionaries towards the ordained ministry. He acknowledged that the three-fold order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons was necessary for the building-up of the Church. But he added, "there is a great gap between the rank and file of our earnest Christian men and our fossilised ideas as to the qualifications necessary for admission to the order of Deacons."¹⁶⁸ On the basis of Ephesians 4:11 he argued for a more flexible model of ministry, and suggested that the orders of readers and teachers provided just this. In this Tucker was plainly in Venn's tradition of seeing ministry as belonging to the whole people of God and not limited to the ordained orders.

The selection procedure for those to be ordained continued as previously. In 1897 names were suggested by local churches to the Mengo Church Council of those considered suitable for training. From them a dozen were selected and brought to Mengo. Tucker made a great deal of the fact that

¹⁶⁵ The priests were Henry Wright Duta Kitakule, Yonasani Kaidzi, and Yairo Mutakyala. The deacons were Samwili Mukasa, Bartolomayo Musoke, Nasanali Mudeka, Henry Mukasa, and Nua Kikwabanga.

¹⁶⁶ Tucker to Stock 6/6/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A65/O1896.271

¹⁶⁷ Tucker to Baylis 14/1/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.102

¹⁶⁸ Tucker: "A Charge on the Occasion of the Division of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa 1897" C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O/1897.335

they were chosen by the African Church without adding that this selection was subject to the veto of the missionaries.¹⁶⁹ Their background was as evangelists; Walker commented that they were of “lower social standing” than those formerly chosen.¹⁷⁰ He also noted that on one occasion a man was ordained in spite of being guilty of immorality, because some of the leading Christians were unwilling to tell Tucker. Walker, who had the major responsibility for training those to be ordained, felt in 1900 that a greater emphasis should be laid on educational and intellectual ability as criteria for selection for ordination.¹⁷¹

Walker also correctly identified a tension that was developing with the growth in the indigenous ordained ministry. Venn had emphasised that indigenous Christians were to be ordained to take a particular concern for the pastoral work of the Church. Yet those ordained in Uganda were selected on the basis of their involvement in the more directly evangelistic role of catechists, and they lacked pastoral skills: “As evangelists they have had some training and they are fairly well taught in the Scriptures, but visiting the sick and aged, looking after the baptised children and getting them to school, going after those that have fallen into sin and who are growing cold in the Christian faith, choosing out men for teachers, settling disputes and questions that arise concerning doctrine and church order, in all this the native Christians need help.”¹⁷² The solution favoured by Walker was for C.M.S. to send out more experienced clergy to train African pastors. In Uganda certainly Baskerville was skilled at training African clergy in pastoral skills. In south Kyagwe there were 160 churches in 1904. He divided them into four pastorates and delegated pastoral and administrative responsibility to African pastors. He showed that Walker’s pessimism about the pastoral capabilities of African pastors was less than wholly justified when they were given both local training and genuine spheres of responsibility.

¹⁶⁹ Tucker to Baylis 25/1/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.77

¹⁷⁰ Walker: Annual Letter in C.M.I. July 1899 p.589

¹⁷¹ Walker: The Native Clergy in Uganda MSS 1900 in C.M.S.A. Acc 88

¹⁷² Walker to Baylis 1/3/1899 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899. See also Walker to his father 8/3/1899 in C.M.S.A. Acc 88.434

By 1900 the majority of missionaries agreed with Walker that it was necessary to concentrate on the further education of those already ordained and raising the educational standard of those in training. In 1903 the C.M.S. missionary H. H. Farthing died and left money for a theological hall in Mengo, which was built according to a design by Maddox. But the staffing was still on the informal basis that had for many years been seen as inadequate by Walker. This stimulated discussion in 1904 that a proper theological college was required to take and train students from the Intermediate school.¹⁷³ At the Diocesan Synod of 1906 there was considerable discussion but no conclusions about the further education of African clergy but no discussion at all about the encouragement of vocations. In the meantime the number of those ordained was declining. Between 1898 and 1903 Tucker made twenty-two African deacons and ordained fourteen priests. However, between 1904 and 1909 he made five deacons and only eight priests.

There were a number of reasons for this relative decline. Tucker betrayed a lack of decisiveness over three crucial areas. If the standard of education was to be raised, either there had to be a concerted effort to translate theological works into Luganda or those in training had to be taught English. Neither course was taken. Secondly, in spite of approving the matter in 1896 Tucker failed to develop a centre for theological training in Mengo. Thirdly while one of the expressed reasons for promoting intermediate education was in order to improve the educational standard of African clergy, the selection procedure was not adjusted for them but remained on the basis of potential displayed by catechists in the field. There was no clear path from intermediate education to ordination save through the low-paid work of the evangelist. That was another reason why there was a decline in the number of those ordained after 1903. There were other and more attractive paths for educated and gifted men to follow, particularly with the development of Protectorate administration. On the other side among the missionaries there was a growing lack of sympathy with ordained Africans. After 1903 they were becoming more vociferous in their demands for a better stipend. Tucker was planning to ordain some deacons as priests in that year, but this number was cut when a number of them wrote

¹⁷³ Roscoe speaking at the Men's Missionary Conference in 1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.158

a letter of complaint about their pay.¹⁷⁴ The missionaries interpreted this as worldly ambition, which was why they approved fewer names for ordination in subsequent years.

Tucker's own thinking about ministry began not with the clergy but with the fundamental theological insight that ministry itself belongs to the whole people of God to be exercised by all Christians. In his view this ministry is primarily evangelistic: "every worker for God, male or female, even the humblest who is seeking to guide from love to Christ the tottering footsteps of the most ignorant seeker after the Truth, is to my mind a minister of the Church."¹⁷⁵ In his Lambeth Conference speech in 1908 Tucker pointed out that one in five communicants in Uganda worked as a licensed evangelist. Regarding the ordained ministry Tucker expressed two particular concerns: one was his uncompromised insistence that all African clerics had to be fully supported financially by the indigenous church. Secondly he argued that the African cleric should not be culturally separated from his people. He felt that his food, accommodation, dress and church customs should be indigenous and not modelled on the non-essentials of an imported Anglicanism.¹⁷⁶

When Tucker left Uganda in 1911 there were eleven African deacons and twenty-seven priests in active service. Seven of these deacons and three priests had been ordained just before Tucker's departure. In spite of Tucker's declared intention of promoting Ugandan ministry there was clearly a slowing down in the rate of ordination during the second half of his episcopate. There were a number of related reasons for this. One followed from the new commitment to secular education in Budo. It remained mission policy to draw ordination candidates from the ranks of the most able evangelists. But certainly after 1906 the most able and ambitious evangelists sought entrance to Budo school rather than being willing to enter theological education leading to ordination. Roscoe commented on the discrepancy that whereas Budo students were housed, clothed and fed, the theological students barely received enough to clothe themselves and had to find accommodation and food for themselves. He further noted that Budo students could hardly be expected to become pastors at an annual salary

¹⁷⁴ H. Clayton to her mother 7/6/1903 M.U.K.A.

¹⁷⁵ Tucker: "The Uganda Diocese" in C.M.I. November 1906 p. 815

¹⁷⁶ Tucker: Lambeth Conference Address 1908 L. P. L.

equivalent to one month's wages in Government employment.¹⁷⁷ In 1909 Weatherhead admitted that the main reason why Budo students failed to go on to ordination was that the Church did not provide a living wage.¹⁷⁸ Also until Daniell was asked to concentrate on ordination training in 1910, theological education was undertaken on an informal basis by senior missionaries like Walker and Roscoe who had considerable responsibilities in other spheres of work. Writing in 1917 J. Britton commented that a major reason for the decline in ordination was the division in 1909 of the church's theological board and the board of education. These developed independently with the greater attention and resources devoted to the work of secular education, which continued to attract the more able candidates. It was a major failure of Tucker's to provide the necessary resources to attract the most able candidates into the ordained ministry.

It was also clear that Daniell who was given responsibility for ordination training in 1910 did not share Tucker's concern to develop a more indigenous culture for African pastors. He came from the generation of Anglican evangelicals in the early twentieth century who had come to appreciate many of the outward forms of Anglican worship that had originally been promoted within the Oxford Movement and vehemently opposed by Venn *inter alia*. Daniell actively worked to introduce stoles, frontals and other forms of Anglican ceremonial to the Ugandan clergy.¹⁷⁹ This necessarily inhibited the development of the indigenous Church culture that Tucker professed to seek.

C. The Search for Christian Unity

The Anglican evangelical constituency in the nineteenth century remained hostile towards the Roman Catholic Church. Venn's relatively positive consideration of the missionary work of Xavier was exceptional. The political events in the period 1888-1892 underlined the hostile attitude between the Roman Catholic and the Anglican missions and churches. Following the war of 1892 the Catholic White Fathers concentrated their work in the Province of Budu. The development of the Anglican and Catholic churches from that time took place in parallel with little effective interaction. Waliggo has

¹⁷⁷ Roscoe to Baylis 3/10/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.225

¹⁷⁸ H. W. Weatherhead to Baylis 1/4/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.153

¹⁷⁹ E. S. Daniell: Annual Letter for 1910 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1911.29

examined brilliantly the development of the Catholic Church in Budu and also the impact of competition with the Anglican Church after 1894.¹⁸⁰ The relationship between the two churches was characterised by a mutual hermeneutic of suspicion and rivalry. For instance Tucker complained to Baylis that C.M.S. was able to send out only one male missionary in 1898. He argued that unless C.M.S. were able to send more, then the Roman Catholics would go into Bunyoro before they could.¹⁸¹ In 1900 he pointed out that the Catholic missions had received thirty recruits in the previous year while C.M.S. had only six.¹⁸² However, there was one instance of co-operation between the Catholic and Anglican missions during this period when the Catholic Bishops accepted Tucker's suggestion to standardise the Lord's name as *Yesu Kristo* and not *Isa Masiya*.¹⁸³ Tucker approached the Bishops following a conference of different missionary societies with an interest in east Africa at Lambeth in 1906.

However, there was a contrast apparent between Walker and Tucker with regard to their personal attitude towards Roman Catholics. In his correspondence Walker tended to emphasise his good personal relationships with individual Catholics, his respect for their evident spirituality and the need to learn from their missiological methods. In particular he had a deep respect for the system of lay brotherhood.¹⁸⁴ His responses were on the personal level, which contrasts with Tucker's tendency to respond at an institutional level where he was much more critical. He was reflecting typical contemporary evangelical beliefs when he described the Roman Catholic Church as "holding doctrines and guilty of practices contrary to God's Word written."¹⁸⁵ But he went further in the same letter when he described their missiological policy as one of "aggression on the work of the Protestant Church of England." Both Tucker and Walker were aware of the home constituency of popular Protestant prejudice, but whereas Tucker tended rather uncritically to reflect this, Walker was more

¹⁸⁰ J. M. Waliggo, 1976

¹⁸¹ Tucker to Baylis 26/12/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.48

¹⁸² Tucker to Baylis 18/1/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.56

¹⁸³ Bell, *Randall Davidson*, 1935, p. 566

¹⁸⁴ Walker to his father 22/10/1896 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.335

¹⁸⁵ Tucker to Baylis 24/9/1893 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1893.296

prepared to challenge this attitude, gently reminding one correspondent that the "bad wicked Jesuits" had clothed and fed him for three weeks.¹⁸⁶

Although they supplied literature to Uganda, the British and Foreign Bible Society had no direct role in Uganda. In 1902 the B.F.B.S. Secretary contacted C.M.S. to suggest that a local committee should supervise the work in Uganda and surrounding countries and that Phillips, a C.M.S. missionary in Mengo, should be employed half-time by the Bible Society.¹⁸⁷ Tucker's response was to express caution about the multiplication of committees in Uganda and concern that the relationship between B.F.B.S. and the local Church should not compromise the independence of the Church.¹⁸⁸ On being reassured on these points, Tucker agreed to the proposal and a B.F.B.S. local committee was formed with himself as President, Roscoe as Treasurer and Phillips as Secretary. This was the first Protestant society other than C.M.S. to become directly involved in Uganda and the episode reveals Tucker's concern that he as Anglican Bishop should retain control of such.

When the diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa was divided in 1897, Tucker had insisted that the mission station at Nassa on the southern shore of Lake Victoria remain under his jurisdiction. Baganda evangelists had been working there since 1892, but there had never been a good working relationship between them and any of the European missionaries stationed there. In 1898 Tucker visited Nassa to investigate (unspecified) allegations made by Baganda evangelists against Wright, the senior missionary. Tucker's investigation exonerated Wright, who was nonetheless advised to be "most careful to have none but boys serving in his house."¹⁸⁹ All the Baganda evangelists were withdrawn the following year at Wright's request and Tucker's approval. Walker had also visited Nassa and reported that the missionaries there assumed the attitude of rulers and worked through instilling a "fear of the white man."¹⁹⁰ With the withdrawal of the Baganda in 1899, the main reason for maintaining the link between the mission station in Nassa with Uganda disappeared. Tucker

¹⁸⁶ Walker to his sister 18/11/1888 C.M.S.A. Acc 88

¹⁸⁷ A. Taylor to Baylis 12/3/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1902.44

¹⁸⁸ Tucker to Baylis 24/3/1902 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1902.44

¹⁸⁹ Tucker to Baylis 7/11/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.44

floated the idea of Usagara and Unyamwezi be considered a separate field of work and be given episcopal jurisdiction.¹⁹¹ But this received no support in C.M.S. in London, and there the matter rested until a meeting in November 1906 between Tucker and Bishop Peel of Mombasa, Wright and Baylis. Peel did not wish to assume responsibility for the mission station any more than Tucker wished to retain it. They concurred with Wright's view that Muanza (sic) ought to be the chief station south of the lake with Nassa becoming an out-station. They speculated as to whether the German Moravian Mission might be interested in taking over the work.¹⁹² But although three German societies were approached before 1908, none was willing to take over Nassa.¹⁹³

In November 1908 Tucker met Charles Hurlburt, Director of the recently formed Africa Inland Mission *en route* to Mombasa. In lengthy conversations, Hurlburt told Tucker that A.I.M. would not be unwilling to take over Nassa as a base for the evangelisation of Usukuma and Unyamwezi. After necessary consultations, both C.M.S. and A.I.M. ratified this in 1909.¹⁹⁴ The A.I.M. was an interdenominational faith mission, and Tucker's discussions with Hurlburt carried much more significance than the future of one mission station. Hurlburt told Tucker that he thought the shape of the Church in areas of Uganda and British East Africa should be on a Church of England model, and that he strongly wished to work with this, because he recognised the C.M.S. work to be on definite evangelical lines. In response Tucker pointed out that at the present time the Church in Uganda was very much tied to Canterbury, but there was a prospect of an independent Province "at no distant date", when it would be possible to make the prayer-book better adapted to local circumstances. Also in other respects it would be possible for the Church to become more acceptable to evangelical

¹⁹⁰ Walker to his father 21/4/1898 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.397. See also Walker to Baylis 21/4/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1899.144

¹⁹¹ Tucker to Baylis 13/3/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.81

¹⁹² Memo of meeting between Tucker, Peel, Wright and Baylis 9/11/1906 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1906.214 The suggestion of a German society came because Nassa was under German colonial rule at the time.

¹⁹³ After the Moravians declined, the Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsche Ost-Afrika were approached and declined. Finally the Leipsic (sic) mission declined. See copy of letter from Bishop La Trobe to Bishop Hasse (Moravian Mission) 10/1/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.20 and Handemann (Leipsic Mission) to Baylis 15/1/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.41

¹⁹⁴ A.I.M. ratified this in March 1909 Hurlburt to Holden (A.I.M. London) 9/3/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.131 and the C.M.S. Council ratified it in May 1909. Baylis to Walker 14/5/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

nonconformist bodies seeking union with the Church in Uganda.¹⁹⁵ In the tradition of Venn, Tucker was unwilling to decide prematurely on the shape of the Church in Uganda. On the basis of his evangelical convictions he was willing to envision a united Protestant Church in east Africa.

This was the subject of a conference of Protestant missions held in Nairobi in June 1909.¹⁹⁶ Tucker sent Willis and Walker. At the Conference there was a willingness to work for unity as far as possible with four basic principles accepted in the formation of a "common Native Church":

1. That the Bible should be accepted as the standard of belief and that what is not contained therein, or can be proved thereby, should not be taught as necessary to salvation.
2. That the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds should be accepted as an expression of the faith of the Church.
3. That the two Sacraments should be duly administered.
4. That there should be a duly ordered and properly safeguarded ministry in the Church.¹⁹⁷

On this basis the Conference affirmed "the development, organisation and establishment of a united self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending Native Church as the ideal of our Missionary Work."¹⁹⁸ Willis was asked to join a working group to look for a common form of liturgy and to prepare a scheme for the organisation of a united Native Church. He foresaw two particular problems to be overcome before such a Church could be formed: the question of the historic episcopate and the reaction of home supporters to the proposals, which had considerable financial implications. There was a cool response from C.M.S. in London to the report of the conference. Baylis wrote that he saw the present epoch as favouring the strong development of denominational organisation and did not see much more in the direction of unifying the work of Missions from different denominations at any

¹⁹⁵ Tucker to Baylis 24/11/1908 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1908.293. To this day A.I.M. missionaries in Uganda work with the Church of Uganda, whereas in other parts of Africa, their activities have led to the formation of new denominations, for instance the Africa Inland Church in Kenya.

¹⁹⁶ This was the second such conference; the first was held in 1908, but there was no representative from Uganda. In 1909 there were representatives from C.M.S., A.I.M., the Mennonites, the Friends' Industrial Mission, the American Friends' Society, the Scottish Presbyterian Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Primitive Methodists.

¹⁹⁷ Walker: Report on 1909 Conference in C.M.R. October 1909 p. 622. See also Willis: Journal entry for 24/6/1909 M.U.K.A.

early stage.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, Tucker responded very positively to the idea of a united Church in east Africa. He set this out clearly in a letter to Hurlburt in September 1909. He laid out his vision that the Anglican Bishops of east Africa would form a Province with the power to consecrate other Bishops. The Province would hold to the Lambeth Quadrilateral: a belief in Holy Scripture as the Word of God, the two Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and the three-fold order of the Ministry. He envisioned the consecration of ordained ministers from the other Churches, which would imply a whole-hearted recognition of their orders on the one side and acceptance of episcopal government of the Church on the other side.²⁰⁰ In correspondence with Baylis, Tucker argued that the federation scheme should be accepted because it would tend to promote Christian unity and would raise the standard of Christian teaching and living among the converts of the various denominations. The one major difficulty that he found with the scheme was the inclusion of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Quakers, but he felt that these would most probably not wish to join the scheme for federation.²⁰¹ This was Tucker's last contribution on the theme of ecumenism as an active missionary. The next major development came at the Kikuyu Conference in 1913 when the Presbyterian Mission, A.I.M., C.M.S., the Methodist Mission and the Gospel Missionary Society hammered out an agreement on a Federation of Missions. At the closing service the Bishop of Mombasa administered Holy Communion to all the delegates, which was an action to cause Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar to accuse Bishops Willis of Uganda and Peel of heresy and schism.²⁰² From Durham Tucker followed the Kikuyu Controversy with great interest and support for the positions of Willis and Peel. He wrote to Bishop Headlam in support of the Kikuyu proposals.²⁰³ Hensley Henson, Dean of Durham, recalled in a memorial sermon Tucker's failure to understand how such a project carefully planned and carried through with prayer for the Holy Spirit's guidance could have been condemned by the Anglican hierarchy. The thwarting of the Kikuyu proposals was a deep disappointment to Tucker at the end of his life. The conversation between

¹⁹⁸ J. J. Willis, "Memoirs and Thoughts", p.22

¹⁹⁹ Baylis to Willis 18/10/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

²⁰⁰ Tucker to Hurlburt 15/9/1909 quoted in Peel and Willis, 1914, pp. 29-30

²⁰¹ Tucker to Baylis 28/4/1910 G3/A7/O1910.181 and Tucker to Baylis 23/5/1910 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1910.194

²⁰² The full story of Kikuyu remains to be told. See the brief accounts in Anderson, 1977, pp. 71-72, and Hewitt, Vol. I pp. 142-151

Tucker and Hurlburt in November 1908 had been a significant step in the direction to Kikuyu. Throughout all discussions in which he was involved Tucker was faithful to the demands of the Lambeth Quadrilateral while seeking on the basis of the evangelical convictions he held in common with other Protestant missionaries to find a means of expressing a unity in the Spirit in terms of a unity of Church. It is only to be regretted that neither Tucker nor any of the other missionaries involved in discussions about a united Church or a federation of missions actually invited any African Christians to contribute their ideas.

Conclusion

Venn saw clearly that bringing a church to maturity involves a twofold process, whereby an indigenous church grows in taking real responsibility for its affairs and the foreign missionary body relinquishes its control of church affairs. That Tucker shared Venn's vision is clear from his words, but the story traced in this chapter has revealed a growing discrepancy between Tucker's words and the reality of the situation in Uganda. To a very great extent Tucker's fellow missionaries failed to appreciate his vision for a maturing church. Tucker's inability to speak Luganda or any other African language adequately meant that he was unable to communicate the vision effectively with the Ugandan church. This discrepancy was exacerbated by the way in which Tucker continued to invite more and more missionaries into Uganda. In 1897 at the division of the diocese there were thirty-five male missionaries and eight women. By 1911 this had increased to fifty-three men and sixty-nine women, including wives. On a number of occasions Tucker appealed for more missionaries to come to the country. He seemed not to consider the tension this inevitably caused for the implementation of more responsibility for the African church. At crucial stages Tucker also failed to exercise decisive leadership over the clear division of responsibility between the Synod and the Missionary Committee and in the development of the ordained ministry. His vision for a maturing church included a strong commitment to Protestant ecumenism, which was clearly distinct from the Roman Catholic Church developing in parallel but with minimal interaction with the Anglican Church.

²⁰³ Tucker to Headlam 29/1/1914 Headlam Papers MSS 2620 (45-47) L. P. L.

CHAPTER NINE

TUCKER AND FINANCIAL ISSUES

At the heart of Paul's understanding of *koinonia* was the notion of a mutual recognition of being in Christ. In the letter to the Philippians Paul considered with great sensitivity the subject of the financial gift sent to him through Epaphroditus. While not wishing to be ungrateful, he clearly expressed his unwillingness to be beholden in any way to the Philippian Church. Henry Venn was equally aware of the potential of the financial agenda in the relationship between churches to become an issue of control and power and so to undermine a truly mutual recognition and respect. It was this awareness that lay behind his slogan of self-support as an essential ingredient of a maturing indigenous church. It was often in the face of opposition from his fellow missionaries that Tucker strove to maintain the principle that all activities of the African Church should be supported financially by the African Church.

Throughout the period there was an interest within C.M.S. in London to keep expenses to a minimum. At the time of Tucker's first visit to Uganda in 1890 their particular concern was to limit "hongo", which was the tribute paid to chiefs through whose territory missionary caravans passed and to limit presents given to chiefs and others. On the journey Tucker wrote to C.M.S. with suggestions of how economies could be made, suggestions based on minimal missionary experience.¹ On his arrival in Mengo Tucker noted that the missionaries lived on land donated by Christian chiefs and ate food that had been given them. He came to two conclusions: that there was little room for economising and that the African Christians were well able to support the extension of the mission beyond Mengo.² At this early stage it was appropriate to think of this kind of informal and small-scale support based on the generosity of individual chiefs. When the first Baganda evangelists were

¹ "Resolutions for respecting elementary principles for work in the Lake District" in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P3 for 14/12/1888. Walker was scornful: "It is all very well for our Committee to sit in Salisbury Square and pass laws for the giving of presents to African chiefs" in Walker to his brother April 1889 in C.M.S.A. Acc 88. Tucker wrote to Lang 3/11/1890 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/01891.35. Although he was travelling in a caravan with two thousand porters, he included the suggestions that "hongo" be ended and missionary allowances reduced.

² Tucker to Wigram 6/1/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1891.124

commissioned in 1891 it was readily assumed that the local chiefs would provide for their needs, together with a small contribution from the "native church fund". No more than their basic keep would be provided. This would apply only to those going to work within Buganda. Outside Buganda C.M.S. would provide for their needs.³ The C.M.S. Parent Committee were enthusiastic about this commitment: "It is very remarkable how early the Christians in Uganda have learnt the privileges and duty of self-support....It is often said that native Christians are not sufficiently ripe for self-support; but the fault has too often been that they were started on wrong lines and early acquired a wrong conception of their standing and duties as Christians that has taken years of patient teaching to remedy."⁴

The larger scale extension of the mission after 1893 required more consideration of economic maintenance with the firm principle established by Tucker of self-support. Tucker made it clear to the Church Council that a condition of ordination was that the Council should provide a maintenance for those ordained by way of a "shamba" (garden) being given to the Church and registered as Church property with the I.B.E.A. Company. Tucker was quite specific that it should be "a sufficient amount of land to maintain him and his family. It will not be regarded as his freehold nor will it be of such value as to make it an object of seeking ordination."⁵ Alongside this Tucker acknowledged that all but one of those to be ordained in 1893 were men of some property, and so the principle of self-support was established initially without any immediate great demand on the resources of the Church. Similarly it was agreed that those licensed as Church Council evangelists should be supported wholly by the Ugandan Church. In practice this meant that a sympathetic chief gave them a shamba. Shells collected at church services were collected by one of the missionaries who acted as a treasurer for the Church Council.⁶ With the shells the evangelists were able to purchase basic clothing.

³ Baskerville to Stock 13/8/1891 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1892.50

⁴ Lang to Baskerville 9/3/1892 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L6

⁵ Tucker to Stock 27/1/1893 in C.M.I. July 1893 p. 507

⁶ Baskerville: Journal entry for 28/4/1892 in M.U.K.A.

In mid-1895 there were about two hundred evangelists who were each receiving the equivalent of thirty shillings a year in shells, which according to Walker, took a "lot of collecting".⁷ Roscoe noticed that the concept of regular and systematic giving in support of these evangelists was a cultural innovation.⁸ Nevertheless the practice of self-support was adhered to with some rigour. When Fisher and Sugden supplied the evangelists within Singo with cloth, the Finance Committee rebuked them for contravening the rules of the Church Council.⁹ In 1894 the Church Council was supporting the evangelists in Buganda, Toro and Koki, but those in Nassa, Kavirondo and Busoga were paid by C.M.S. But this was challenged by the Parent Committee who refused a grant to pay for any African evangelist working from Buganda, although they did allow the possibility if necessary of obtaining support from friends of the missionaries in Britain.¹⁰

When Tucker returned to Uganda in October 1895, he was struck by a greater measure of prosperity than previously. But Walker, who recognised that the development of a cash economy was creating grave problems for some, corrected this impression. Exports were diminishing; slaves were no longer sold and ivory was scarce. This was compensated to some extent by the soldiers who wanted to buy food and the start of a labour market in the country.¹¹

It was on this third visit to the country that Tucker set out most clearly his principle of self-support on the grounds of duty and privilege. It was the duty of the Church to provide for the spreading of the Gospel, which they had received, and, secondly, there was the privilege in God's grace of being the instruments of carrying the Gospel to others. Tucker was strengthened in his resolve to promote this self-support in Uganda partly because of his experiences at the coast. He felt that here compromise of the principle had led to an unhealthy state of dependence: "Of course in some respects it is much easier to dispense the contributions of loving friends at home than to toil on the path of making the Native Church realise its responsibilities. It is a temptation which comes, I suppose, sooner or later to

⁷ Walker to his sister 19/5/1895 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.271

⁸ Roscoe to Baylis 25/4/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.218

⁹ Minutes of the Finance Committee 12/2/1894 Copy in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1894.138

¹⁰ Baylis to Walker 19/12/1894 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L7

¹¹ Walker to Baylis 11/5/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.222

every missionary, but it is one that must be resisted. Once let the native realise that the Church at home is prepared to undertake this work, then 'good-bye' to independence."¹²

Before he left Uganda in June 1896 Tucker chaired a meeting of the Church Council, which doubled the rate of pay for evangelists to eight thousand shells a year.¹³ It also resolved to send a letter to all the churches explaining the charge on the funds of the Church and encouraging generous giving. At this time the Church Council fund was just in credit thanks to some recent large gifts of ivory and cattle. However, soon after the Bishop's departure the Fund went into debt of £50 by September which became £60 at the end of the year. Walker gloomily estimated that annual expenditure would be about £510 while the projected income was no more than £120 not counting any large and unbudgeted gifts from chiefs.¹⁴ Walker and a number of the other missionaries drew the "obvious" conclusion that because of the exceptional circumstances of extension, the implementation of self-support would have to be postponed until the Church was ready to take the full responsibility. In the meantime support was required from friends in Britain if not from C.M.S. itself. So in February 1897 Walker wrote to the Parent Committee that it seemed reasonable to him to support the work until it could stand alone. He argued that most other missionaries agreed with him that in starting a new church, European aid could be given until the people were able to support themselves.¹⁵ The only dissenting voice was that of Pilkington who was prepared to recall evangelists rather than compromise the principle of self-support. In a circular letter to all the other missionaries in June 1897 he set out the principles as he saw them in terms which reflect faithfully the views of both Venn and Tucker:

1. To support any native with foreign money is to wrong the native church, depriving it of a privilege and stimulus to which it has a right.
2. It is unfair to the evangelists depriving them of a powerful testimony to the Gospel: when supported by native funds they can appeal to these as evidence that natives like

¹² Tucker to Baylis 8/11/1895 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.48. In the margin of the *Precis Book* the Africa Committee minuted their full agreement with these points.

¹³ This was the equivalent then of around £2.

¹⁴ Walker to Baylis 23/9/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/P326 (Original missing); Walker to Baylis 14/1/1897 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O/1897.110; Walker to Baylis 19/9/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.403.

those with whom they plead have found the Gospel so worth while that they have been willing to deny themselves in order that others might have it.

3. European support lays the evangelists open to the suspicion that they are the bribed agents of foreigners who desire to denationalise the country for their own ends; it alienates the patriotic men who are the very ones needed to build a truly independent Church.¹⁶

At this time Tucker was in England, and Baylis consulted him about a suitable reply to Walker and the other missionaries. The result was a strong appeal by them not to “spoil” the Uganda Church by encouraging missionaries to solicit funds from England. They pointed out that Tucker had a Diocesan Fund, from which he was willing to make grants when necessary, and that any funds for Uganda should be properly and only channelled through this Fund.¹⁷

Tucker’s Charge at the division of the diocese set out more of his thinking on financial self-support: “It must always be remembered that where European money is used, there will sooner or later, follow European control. The power of the purse in hindering the development of Native Churches is truly appalling... From the moment of the conversion of a soul there should be the setting forth before that one of the duty and privilege of giving.... The missionary does not realise oftentimes as fully as he ought that in using European money for purposes for which the Native Church should be responsible, he is guilty of inflicting an injury upon that Church.”¹⁸

However, this viewpoint was not that of the majority of missionaries in Uganda. They were acutely aware that the political disturbances of 1897 had meant that the income had reached only a quarter of the estimated figure. They were also aware of the anti-European feeling of many chiefs. So at an informal gathering of missionaries in October 1897 under Walker’s chairmanship, there was passed a resolution that in the current circumstances of the country, the missionaries were justified in using

¹⁵ Walker to Baylis 24/2/1897 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1897121

¹⁶ Pilkington: Circular letter to all C.M.S. missionaries 3/6/1897. Copy in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1897.228

¹⁷ Baylis to Walker 18/6/1897 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/L8

money sent from England to maintain the work.¹⁹ While Tucker was on his way to Uganda, the Parent Committee replied to Walker that the Bishop's Diocesan Fund and the C.M.S. fund should be the first place to turn for missionary expenses beyond what the African Church could afford rather than that the missionaries should solicit funding from individual friends.²⁰ This response conceded in effect the missionaries' case that funding was required above that which could be raised by the Church in Uganda. The great concern of the Parent Committee was to maintain some effective control of the extra funding to Uganda rather than for the implementation of the fundamental principles of self-support outlined by Tucker.

On his arrival in Uganda Tucker robustly expressed his belief that the Church could easily double its income, and he set about instructing the clergy and lay-workers of the diocese on self-support.²¹ He accepted that the Church did not give as it should, and suggested teaching on such texts as John 13: 34 and Acts 20: 35. On the basis of I Corinthians 16:2, Tucker argued the need to teach the value and necessity of systematic giving, although care should be taken lest people feel that the weekly offering is a church tax. In 1900 Tucker reported an increase in church income in 1899 of over 50% more than that of the previous year. Tucker's belief that self-support would be difficult yet possible was borne out in the experience of Baskerville in Ngogwe. In March and July of 1900 Baskerville was keenly aware that the income was falling behind the necessary figures, but having discussed this in the District Church Council, an appeal was made to the local chiefs. They found that by the end of the year, the church accounts closed with a small balance.²²

In 1901 the Conference of Missionaries under the chairmanship of Walker agreed that the Church was capable of self-support in the very near future in spite of the fact that expenditure had to rise.²³

¹⁸ Tucker: A Charge on the Occasion of the Division of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa 1897 in C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1898.335

¹⁹ Copy of the Resolutions sent by Walker to the Parent Committee enclosed in a letter to his brother 2/11/1897. C.M.S.A. Acc 88.379

²⁰ Baylis to all Uganda missionaries 28/1/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

²¹ Tucker to Baylis 25/6/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.162; Tucker to clergy and lay-workers in Uganda 27/6/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.163

²² Baskerville: Journal entries for 19/3/1900, 10/7/1900 and 11/2/1901 in M.U.K.A.

²³ Minutes of the Conference of Missionaries in Mengo 6/11/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901.

Fraser argued that the Church was not self-supporting on the grounds that most of the Sunday collection was contributed by Europeans and that "charity" was supposed to be the work of the European missionary.²⁴ Tucker would certainly take issue with the second point. His integrated view of the church also meant that as members of the church, the European missionaries should contribute to its collections. During 1901 Tucker was in Britain, and in his address to the Church Congress he repeated his insistence on self-support as necessary for the maturation of the Church in Africa. This could only come about through teaching in the Church and consistent refusal of the temptation to allow funds from Europe to augment local funds.²⁵

The attitude of the missionary body towards self-support gives only one side of the picture. The other concerns the level of pay and support received by African church workers. In 1899 evangelists received about three and half rupees annually.²⁶ This afforded "few temptations to men to take up teaching with a view to enriching themselves".²⁷ By 1901 the pay received by ordained Africans was estimated at one-seventh that received by a printer or joiner after two years in the Industrial mission. It was widely recognised that the ordained men of the first generation usually had some form of private income, but that this could not be expected to continue. Evangelists were also asking for more money particularly since they were responsible for paying the hut tax in two places.²⁸ Tucker attempted to persuade Johnston in 1900 not to levy the hut-tax upon catechists initially on the grounds of the educational value of their work and secondly on the grounds that this gave the Roman Catholics an unfair advantage over the Anglicans, but Johnston refused to give way on this and insisted that Church workers had to pay the hut tax.²⁹ Tucker's attempt to persuade the authorities to exempt church workers from the tax was undermined by Walker, who wrote to Hayes-Sadler to say that the hut tax was not too heavy a burden in the light of the administrative costs of the authorities.³⁰

²⁴ A. G. Fraser: Report on Conference of Missionaries 6/11/1901 in Fraser Papers Box 1, R. H.

²⁵ Tucker: "Speech at the Church Congress" in C.M.I. Nov 1901, p. 838

²⁶ This was worth 4/6-.

²⁷ M. Hall: Annual Letter for 1898 in C.M.I. July 1899 p. 599

²⁸ Minutes of the Conference of Missionaries in Mengo 6/11/1901 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1901

²⁹ Tucker to Johnston 11/5/1900; Tucker to Johnston 16/5/1900 in U.N.A. A6/8; see also Tucker to Johnston 29/10/1900 U.N.A. A22/1. Johnston's refusal is found in 12/5/1900 U.N.A. A7/6

The impact of this decision on the evangelists was considerable; the hut tax was three rupees annually out of an income of ten rupees in 1901.³¹ Many were paying the tax on two properties, their own home and the place of work, creating an intolerable burden. Many left their work for spells in order to raise the necessary money. Crabtree commented that because of the inadequate pay many of the evangelists were able to work in the church for only six months in the year. So it was a positive step when the Church Council agreed in 1902 to pay the hut-tax for the workers.

In practice self-support meant a heavy reliance on the Christian chiefs who received a cash income from tax after 1900. Apolo Kagwa paid the debt of five hundred rupees for 1901. Leakey in Bulemezi testified to the reliance on the generosity of Zakariya Kizito.³² Between 1902 and 1903 there was a net decrease of nearly 15% in the contributions to the Anglican Church. But, as Tucker was at pains to point out, this did not include money contributed to the building of either the cathedral or the hospital. He felt there was a need for gratitude without being satisfied with the amount or the extent to which the Baganda had learnt the "privilege and joy of giving."³³ In 1904 the ordained Africans began to raise questions about the level of their allowances in the context of a rapidly changing society and economy. The costs of living especially around Kampala were increasing.

At the men's missionary conference in June 1904 a morning's session was devoted to discussion on self-support. Rowling opened with the statement: "absolutely everything native should be supported by native funds."³⁴ His argument was that clergy and evangelists should be paid more; that it was unsatisfactory to have to rely on the chiefs for the major income of the church. He suggested a couple of schemes for raising more money from the *bakopi*; and also he suggested that efforts be made to maximise income from church land. There was general agreement that there was a need to raise income as a whole, and there was support for using an Easter offering to increase the clergy's income and for bringing the church land into the market economy through growing coffee and other cash

³⁰ Walker to Hayes-Sadler 20/7/1902 in U.N.A. A7/6

³¹ In 1901 the rupee was worth about 1/3-.

³² News from Uganda in C.M.I. May 1902, p. 346 and in C.M.I. September 1902 p.689

³³ Tucker to Baylis 1/3/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.85

³⁴ Minutes of the Missionaries' Conference in Mengo 15/6/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.158

crops. Walker was strongly opposed to raising the stipend of the clergy if this involved cutting the number of evangelists. Roscoe argued that the clergy would not be satisfied with a rise. Rowling added that if the clergy were given a rise in their pay the catechists would also demand one. Tucker's contribution to the debate was minimal. His comment that "as the Church Council and not he were responsible for the ordination of pastors, therefore he as Bishop was not responsible for their pay" was an evasion of his responsibility at a crucial time.³⁵ The 1904 Conference did little more than to recognise that there was a problem; it was certainly not dealt with adequately nor did Tucker show clear leadership in translating fine principles of self-support into suitable practice for the context of 1904.

In 1905 Roscoe reported that the African pastors were agitating for more pay and that some catechists had threatened to stop work at the end of June.³⁶ Tucker's response was to call a Synod of church representatives from all over Buganda. The result was to make a substantial increase in pay, trusting that because the African Christians decided this, it would give sufficient impetus to the generosity of the wider church constituency.³⁷ A number of catechists left their work, but the majority continued. There was a sufficient increase to maintain the evangelists, although in October 1905 Roscoe reported that many of the evangelists still had not been paid for six months.³⁸ There was no clear resolution to the problem.

Tucker perceived this dispute in structural terms. For him it indicated the need of a suitable means to include Africans in the resolution of problems. It gave substance to his argument for an effective constitution for the church. However, Roscoe's observation that a great increase in giving had not followed the Synod rather undermined Tucker's argument that the Synod had led to a successful conclusion. Roscoe preferred to interpret the dispute in terms of spirituality. He held the belief that was widespread among evangelicals of the time that involvement in a strike was a sign of worldliness.

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ Roscoe to Baylis 16/5/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.128

³⁷ Tucker to Fox 29/5/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.137

By the 1906 Synod African clergy were still agitating for more pay. The Revd Tomasi Semafuma said that they wanted parity with English clergy.³⁹ But after discussion the Synod resolved that the clergy stipend could not be increased, since this would entail a decrease in the number of evangelists. Instead the Synod called for a number of special collections to raise the necessary funds to pay the arrears due to the catechists. In the Synods of 1907, 1909 and 1910 there were similar discussions about the need to raise more money in order to meet the Church's obligations. Tucker's consistent line was an encouragement to all clergy and evangelists to teach people that it was their Christian duty to give and to counter the common understanding that it was the duty of the chiefs only to give towards the Church's work. In the debates to which both Africans and Europeans contributed, there was no challenge of the fundamental assumption that the work of the Ugandan church should be supported by the church and not from outside.

From 1898 the Church in Toro had paid for its own evangelists even though they had come from Buganda.⁴⁰ By 1905 the Church was supporting over a hundred workers in Toro, but below the surface there were similar problems to those being experienced in Buganda. With the exhaustion of private supplies of ivory and the prohibition on hunting, the traditional means of support had closed, and the Church was beginning to experience difficulties in raising sufficient funds to think in terms of improving the pay of the catechists, which was regarded as inadequate.⁴¹ Regular collections were not begun in Ankole until 1903, when sufficient money was collected in the area to pay the evangelists and leave a small surplus to send to Mengo.⁴² In 1905 Fisher reported to Tucker the deliberations of the Bunyoro Church Council. The Council resolved to take responsibility for the entire work in Bunyoro, but it was not able to support all the Baganda working in the country. So Tucker was requested to withdraw all Baganda evangelists except the most senior. These would be replaced by new recruits from within Bunyoro who would be content with lower allowances. Thirty recruits were

³⁸ Roscoe to Baylis 10/10/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.208

³⁹ Minutes of Diocesan Synod held at Mengo 5/6/1906 M.U.K.A.

⁴⁰ Tucker: "The Spiritual Expansion of Buganda" C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.203

⁴¹ T. B. Johnson in C.M.I. Jan. 1905 p. 52

⁴² J. J. Willis in C.M.I. April 1904 p.278

ready to go to Acholi.⁴³ Fisher partly addressed the problem of low pay for Banyoro evangelists by insisting that they learn some manual trade to make them "more self-respecting and independent."⁴⁴ Behind this correspondence lay the feeling of resentment in Bunyoro towards Baganda evangelists who were unwilling to engage in any manual labour to supplement their income.

Self-support in the Church in Uganda related not only to cash income but also to land-ownership. By May 1896 ten large shambas had been given to the Church, and the Kabaka had agreed that these be exempt from tax. Berkeley, the Commissioner, agreed to this.⁴⁵ Those living on the land had to render local services such as making the roads, but they were exempt from other duties. However, in that year forty other evangelists settled on uncultivated land, and they claimed the same privileges for themselves and their dependants. Walker described quaintly the ensuing problem: "The Church is like a goodly tree in this country and affords shade and shelter, but we do not want a lot of birds to come and perch on its branches that do not work or in any way improve the tree."⁴⁶

This was discussed at a Church Council meeting, when it was resolved that a maximum of ten people per shamba should be exempt from public works, and that no land should be considered as Church land without first being recommended by the Katikiro. It was also strongly affirmed that such land remained the property of the Church and not of the holders or occupants.⁴⁷ When Tucker returned to the country in 1898 he was particularly concerned to regularise the Church's land-holding with the relevant political authorities in order to provide a firm foundation for the Church. In doing this he wanted to avoid any impression that Europeans were alienating land from Africans. The first objective was relatively straightforward until 1900 when the land was registered with the Kabaka and Lukiiko. At the 1900 Agreement the Church/Mission was allocated forty square miles of land (known as "mailos"). Tucker refused Johnston's suggestion that these be registered as C.M.S. property. Johnston would not register the land in the name of the Mengo Church Council which he did not

⁴³ Fisher to Tucker 12/6/1905 C.M.S.A. Acc 84 F3/4

⁴⁴ Fisher to Baylis 5/10/1905 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1905.210

⁴⁵ Walker to his brother 29/12/1895 C.M.S.A. Acc 88. 298

⁴⁶ Walker to Baylis 11/5/1896 C.M.S.A. G3/A5/O1896.22. See also Walker to his sister 3/5/1896 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.313

recognise as having full legal status. In the end a compromise was reached with Tucker's agreement that the land be registered in his name until there was a legally constituted Church of Uganda.⁴⁸ Tucker's insistent refusal to accept that the land be registered as the property of C.M.S. lay in his sensitivity to the accusation made in 1897 that the Europeans were "eating the country".⁴⁹ Tucker pointed out to Johnston that it was consistent C.M.S. policy to avoid any misunderstanding that missionaries came to preach the Gospel rather than to "grab land".⁵⁰ Tucker's point was challenged in 1899 from an unexpected source. Baskerville applied to register some land in Ngogwe that he had acquired for his house-helpers. Tucker objected strongly to this and suggested that the C.M.S. Parent Committee condemn any private acquisition of land by missionaries as "wholly inadmissible".⁵¹ But Walker responded more sympathetically to Baskerville's concern for his men.⁵² In the end Tucker allowed the registration of the land to pass, but it was to be regarded as an exception never to be repeated.⁵³

In 1898 Tucker was displeased to read in the Christian magazine Mercy and Truth an appeal by Roscoe for £500-600 to build a hospital at Mengo. He was equally displeased to read in the C.M.S. Record that the C.M.S. Medical Auxiliary had undertaken to receive subscriptions for the "Pilkington Memorial Hospital". He was also surprised that this had been done without any reference to himself.⁵⁴ Behind these appeals was Cook, who hoped to raise at least £500 from England and £100 from within Uganda towards the building of the hospital. He believed that a majority of the Finance Committee was supportive of this.⁵⁵ But Tucker persuaded him to build on a smaller scale, which was duly done. Tucker's keen support for medical work did not extend to breaking his principles of self-support. But the episode shows again that his colleagues did not wholly share his stringent views on this subject. In 1902 a fire destroyed much of Mengo hospital. But instead of appealing for funds to

⁴⁷ Church Council Minutes 9/5/1896 in M.U.K.A.

⁴⁸ Correspondence in U.N.A. A6/7, A6/8, A 22/1 and A23/1 files in U.N.A.. See also the exhaustive discussion of this material in Hansen, 1984, chapters 9-10.

⁴⁹ Walker to Baylis 18/12/1897 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.63

⁵⁰ Tucker to Johnston 21/5/1900 U.N.A. A22/1

⁵¹ Tucker to Baylis 14/3/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.83

⁵² Walker to Baylis 14/3/1900 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1900.88

⁵³ Tucker to Johnston 21/5/1900 U.N.A. A6/8

⁵⁴ Tucker to Baylis 24/9/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1898.184

Britain, Tucker met with the three regents and a representative of the Moslem community to talk over the share they would take in the work of rebuilding.⁵⁶ There was widespread recognition that the work of rebuilding belonged to a wider constituency than the Protestant Christians.

It is not so clear to discern Tucker's principles on self-support when it came to the extension of educational work into the post-primary sphere, although he remained firm in his insistence that the cost of primary education should be borne by the African Church. In 1903 A. G. Fraser presented his scheme for an Intermediate School to Tucker in which he included the statement that the school should not be dependent entirely upon the African Church, but that an endowment fund should be raised.⁵⁷ Tucker subsequently applied to C.M.S. for a grant for the accommodation of the missionaries involved in the scheme, while he would take responsibility for the dormitories, schoolrooms and maintenance of the scholars out of his Diocesan Fund.⁵⁸ But C.M.S. decided that it was unable to make a grant in the light of the "financial crisis of the Society."⁵⁹ Tucker was unimpressed. He responded that if this were not the work of the Society he should be told, but if it were merely a matter of finding the money, the decision represented a very shallow view of the responsibility resting upon the Committee. He continued by stating that if C.M.S. could not help, he would have to see what could be done with other potential sources of funding.⁶⁰ Baylis attempted to discourage Tucker on the grounds that special appeals tended to draw money away from the ordinary resources of the Society.⁶¹ But in the event a special appeal was rendered unnecessary by the offer of £500 from a certain C. A. Flint. Building in Budo began in 1904 funded by Flint's money together with £800 from Tucker's Diocesan Fund. When it came to Mengo High School, various bodies contributed to the building of dormitories, including sponsors from England and leading Baganda chiefs. The school-house itself was built with funds from the Diocesan Fund supplemented by grants

⁵⁵ Cook to Baylis 28/10/1898 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1.15

⁵⁶ Report in C.M.I. February 1903 p. 123

⁵⁷ A. G. Fraser: "Proposed Scheme for an Intermediate School" 1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1903.101

⁵⁸ Tucker to Baylis 16/5/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1903.116

⁵⁹ Resolution adopted by the Correspondence Committee 3/11/1903 on the proposed Intermediate Educational Institution C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

⁶⁰ Tucker to Fox 29/12/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.57

⁶¹ Baylis to Tucker 4/3/1904 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L1

from Alidina Visram, a Moslem trader and Wilson the Acting-Commissioner.⁶² In the case of the girls' secondary school at Gayaza, in 1907 the fees of twenty-two of the fifty-four girls were paid by people in England. The reason given for this was that the idea of female education was an innovation in Uganda. It was being supported from outside in order to show Africans its value.⁶³ In the same year Miss Baugh-Allen's proposal to build a secondary school for girls in Toro was accepted by the Executive Committee.⁶⁴ Shortly afterwards she met with Baylis and they agreed that an appeal could be made in England for this development.⁶⁵ But when Tucker heard of this, he objected that such an agreement had been made without reference to himself or the E. C. He argued that an appeal was quite contrary to the well-established rule of self-support in Uganda.⁶⁶ Baugh-Allen fell foul of her Bishop not over the issue of support from England for secondary education for girls, but over the way in which effectively she sought to by-pass his control of external funding.

These episodes show that Tucker's concept of self-support with regard to medical and educational work was related to the country as whole and not strictly to the Protestant community alone. He recognised the implications that educational and medical work should be owned by the wider community. He invited support from the political establishment both African and Protectorate authorities. However, he was equally concerned not to cede control of these institutions outside of the Church, but to retain the political establishment in a supporting role.⁶⁷ However, Tucker was not entirely consistent in his application of the principles of self-support especially when it came to post-primary education. He considered that the education of a Christian elite had priority over principles of self-support: "I came to the conclusion that if the Baganda Church is to rise to the full realisation of its true position in the region and to fulfil its God-given responsibilities and if the people of Uganda are to take their proper place in the political, commercial and industrial life of their own country, higher education must be given them."⁶⁸ This was not the only instance of Tucker's flexibility about

⁶² C. W. Hattersley in C.M.I. May 1905 pp. 353-356

⁶³ Walker to Baylis 6/6/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.164

⁶⁴ Walker to Miss Baugh-Allen 2/4/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.121

⁶⁵ Memo of interview between Baylis and Baugh-Allen 8/5/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.122

⁶⁶ Tucker to Baylis 8/10/1907 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1907.243

⁶⁷ This is discussed in greater detail in Hansen, 1984 pp 224-228

⁶⁸ Tucker to Fox 29/12/1903 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1904.57

self-support. When there was a famine in Bunyoro, he authorised some funds from Europe to go towards the support of evangelists.⁶⁹

Although Tucker laid great stress on self-support, the financial commitment of C.M.S. in Uganda rose considerably after 1898. This was largely because of the cost of building houses for missionaries, and was an increasing commitment at a time when the Society was looking to cut costs. The estimate for C.M.S. expenditure on building in 1907 was £8,536, which may be compared with £85 in 1898.⁷⁰ In 1908 the budget for the C.M.S. mission in Uganda was cut by £575 on the 1907 figure and again in 1910 the budget figure was reduced by £200. The financial climate itself of C.M.S. was favourable to self-support and there was a general recognition among the C.M.S. body in Uganda that there was no surplus available for purposes other than those directly related to the support of missionaries in terms of allowances and housing.

A key tool in the evangelisation of Uganda was literature, which necessitated the import of a considerable number of books. These were invariably sold notwithstanding the difficulty that many experienced in raising the money. Tucker, though sympathetic to this problem, insisted that books should not be given away. Reading material was produced cheaply by the British and Foreign Bible Society (B.F.B.S.) and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.). Costs of transportation were high, and so Tucker set up the Uganda Scripture Fund after his first visit to Uganda. This he administered jointly with the Revd H. E. Fox, who had been his vicar in Durham and became his Commissary in England. This later became the Diocesan Fund over which Tucker exercised strict control.⁷¹

In 1908 C.M.S. informed the Executive Committee that £2000 had been allocated to Uganda from the Pan-Anglican Thank-Offering. The immediate response of the Committee was to divide this money between the various mission stations under the misapprehension that the money was intended for

⁶⁹ Walker to Stockdale 6/11/1899 C.M.S.A. Acc 88.465

⁷⁰ C.M.S. Group III Committee Minutes in C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P1(1906)

buildings.⁷² When they were corrected and told that the money was for evangelism, they decided that the money should be invested with the interest used to support Baganda evangelists working outside Buganda in Acholi, Teso, Lango and Kavirondo.⁷³ Also in 1908 Tucker accepted a gift of £700 from a Mr Lloyd in England towards the cost of evangelisation in Bukedi.⁷⁴ Baylis thereupon challenged Tucker that he was breaking his own rules of self-support for the work of evangelisation in Uganda. The Bishop responded vigorously that the deployment of Baganda evangelists so far afield was a new departure and that, although a fund for the evangelisation of Bukedi had been set up and received some African contributions, of necessity this had to be supplemented from outside the country.⁷⁵ In his response Tucker could have pointed out the precedent that C.M.S. money had supported Baganda evangelists working outside Buganda in 1892. But instead he took recourse to the argument against which he had stood so firmly a decade previously that the Church could not afford to support the evangelists and so in the meantime required European help.

In September 1910 the Cathedral on Namirembe hill was struck by lightning and burnt down.⁷⁶ The leading Protestant Christians immediately set about organising subscriptions to rebuild. They estimated that a suitable building with an asbestos roof would cost about £10,000. There was no question of appealing for funds from England. Apolo Kagwa and other chiefs pledged to give 40% of their rent income for three years to the Cathedral appeal.⁷⁷ It was entirely Tucker's initiative to launch an appeal in England where he was at the time, and it was also his initiative to request the distinguished architect of strong Protestant convictions, Arthur Beresford Pite, to design a suitable structure.⁷⁸ Again Baylis questioned Tucker's actions as a breach of the Uganda Church's principle of

⁷¹ Unfortunately no accounts for this Fund may be found. Possibly they were among the papers destroyed by Tucker's unmarried son, Hathaway, just before his death.

⁷² Minutes of the Executive Committee 4/1/1909 M.U.K.A.

⁷³ Missionary Committee Minutes 31/5/1909 M.U.K.A. and C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.208

⁷⁴ Tucker to Baylis 21/9/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.306

⁷⁵ Tucker to Baylis 2/6/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.221 and 21/9/1909 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1909.306

⁷⁶ This was already the third church building on the site.

⁷⁷ Millar to Baylis 2/10/1910 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1910.259

⁷⁸ Tucker: letter in The Times 13/10/1910 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1910.263. See K. Moon, St Paul's Cathedral, Namirembe, 1994, for the fuller story of the architect and the design. The Cathedral itself was finished in 1929 at a cost of just over £29,000.

self-support.⁷⁹ But Tucker displayed his ability to conjure an argument when he wrote that to assist the Church of Uganda in these circumstances was “an act of obedience to an even greater law – viz. that of Christian charity.”⁸⁰ Following his retirement Tucker continued as a ceaseless fund-raiser for the proposed Cathedral, and his was the credit for raising almost the £10,000 for which he had made the initial appeal.

At his retirement Tucker laid out his rules of financial support from outside Uganda. There should be no appeal either private or public without sanction from both the Bishop and C.M.S. Secondly, all funds in response to sanctioned appeals should pass through the authorities of the Church of Uganda, and thirdly, the grant should always be supplementary.⁸¹

With regard to finances Tucker was very much in the Pauline and Venn tradition that money always carries an agenda of control. He was consistently aware that European financial support for the work of the African Church inevitably created an unhealthy attitude of dependence on the part of indigenous Christians. In the eyes of both Venn and Tucker, an emphasis on self-support was necessary and wise in the context of a church in the early stages of maturation. However, in the latter years of his episcopate when the fundamental principle of self-support had become part of the culture of the Church in Uganda, Tucker permitted more relaxation of the principle. When it came to secondary education and literature, Tucker continued to maintain sanction for any appeal and control over the money, which, he argued, should always be channelled either through his Diocesan Fund or through the Church of Uganda. Tucker’s emphasis on self-support was always highly regarded in London because it fitted in well with the constant struggle in the secretariat to maintain its budget.

⁷⁹ Baylis to Walker 7/10/1910 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/L2

⁸⁰ Tucker: letter in *The Times* 13/10/1910 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/O1910.263

⁸¹ Tucker to Baylis 1/11/1911 C.M.S.A. G3/A7/P2

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

“We believe in a God, who is completely engaged in mission and whose very life is a movement outwards to give and share divine life and joy.”¹

The entire justification of Christian mission is the nature of God and his initiative to call a people (*ekklesia*) to participate in this mission. However, Christian mission is also a human activity undertaken within the historical parameters of our existence. As a human activity Christian mission stands not only as a sign and instrument of God’s salvific work, but it also stands under the judgment of God. It originates in the divine nature, but inasmuch as it remains a human activity, Christian mission finds expression in divergent, sometimes opposing, traditions. Tucker stood self-consciously in the evangelical tradition of the Church Missionary Society, which had been founded in 1799 and given a particular shape in the mid-nineteenth century by its Secretary, Henry Venn. Venn believed that he was working in the tradition of the founding fathers in seeking to forward the development of indigenous churches in Africa and Asia. Tucker whole-heartedly shared this objective and looked to implement this tradition during his episcopate in Uganda that lasted from 1890 to 1911.

As Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa between 1890 and 1897, Tucker had responsibility for the C.M.S. work in the coastal region, but this aspect neither inspired his imagination nor did he make any lasting impression.² From his own experience of C.M.S. work at the coast he learnt the perils of an African Church developing in dependence upon European control and funding. He did nothing there to address this problem. His interest was clearly focused on Buganda where an indigenous church had emerged with enhanced credibility having passed through persecution and the political upheavals of 1888-1890 with a strong African leadership. What was generally perceived, in Europe at

¹ Lambeth Conference 1998 Section Two Report Final Draft

² In a recent history of the Anglican Church in Kenya, Tucker is accorded no more than a passing mention Provincial Unit of Research, *Rabai to Mumias 1844-1994*, C.P.K. 1994, p. 15

least, as the martyrdom of Hannington only added to the allure of the Church and mission work in Buganda.

However, in spite of his commitment to Uganda, Tucker's long periods of absence before 1897 proved particularly disastrous as far as his credibility was concerned. When he came to present his draft constitution in 1899, other missionaries were able to reject it partly on the grounds that he had had little experience of the church or the country. During his episcopate Tucker never gained a profound relationship of trust with his missionary colleagues. A remarkable number of letters written by them were critical, explicitly or implicitly, and frequently in a patronising fashion. Neither was he able to develop a deep relationship with African Christians simply because his grasp of Luganda was inadequate.

Acts witnesses to the creation of tensions resulting from the process of cross-cultural evangelisation. In particular we noted the tendency on the part of the older and sending church to control the development of the younger and receiving churches. This pattern was clearly echoed in Uganda at a number of levels, primarily with the reluctance of the British missionaries to hand over power to African Christians. But the pattern may also be seen in the assumptions of seniority by the African church in Buganda. Certainly there were a number of unresolved tensions in Tucker's ministry. From 1890 he made clear his aim to develop an indigenous ministry. He involved the Church Council in the selection of candidates and in a promise of financial provision. If he was to ordain men early in the life of the Church, it could only be on the basis of lower academic achievements than those required in Europe. He was also firmly in Venn's tradition in believing that these men should not be de-nationalised in any way. But particularly after 1900 the level of financial support offered by the Church was such that Africans with better education and greater ambition opted for government service instead of ordination. There was a high turnover of evangelists as the post was regarded by many as a stepping-stone to a more lucrative position. Tucker's successor, Willis, pointed out later that an adherence to self-support ensured that the educational standards of the African clergy remained low. While acknowledging this point, it could be asked whether it would have been in the

interests of the Church to attract men into the ordained ministry by making the rates of pay competitive with rates in the secular world. The great challenge of the period after 1904 was to find an acceptable balance between the situation where pay functioned as a real disincentive to men of ability and the point where men would be attracted to Christian ministry for less than spiritually worthy motives. From 1896 Tucker acknowledged in principle that there was a need for a theological training institution of some kind, but by 1911 such had still not been fully organised. The unsystematic way in which ministerial training was organised sat uncomfortably with the priority, of which Tucker spoke on a number of occasions, of the need to develop an indigenous ministry. The adoption of the integrated constitution also inhibited the development of an indigenous ministry. When Tucker required two archdeacons alongside Walker, he appointed the Europeans, Willis and Buckley. With their appointment the likelihood of an African cleric being chosen as a Suffragan Bishop receded ever further. In practice the integration of the European body of missionaries within the Church led to a firmer European grip upon the ordained ministry of the Church.

Another unresolved tension in Tucker's ministry was between his constant assertions that greater autonomy should be given to the African church and his ongoing recruitment drive in Britain for more missionaries. After his brief first visit in 1890 he raced back to London to find "forty" more missionaries for Uganda. He used C.M.S. literature in Britain not only to keep the profile of the Uganda work high, but also to recruit missionaries. He used statistics of the number of Roman Catholic missionaries in order to encourage more volunteers. Venn's clear notion was that the indigenous church would assume increasing responsibility for its own affairs as the missionary element *withdrew*. Tucker attempted both to increase the responsibility of the indigenous church *and* to increase the missionary force. This might have worked had the missionaries seen themselves as being under the authority of the indigenous church, but patently they did not. Any withdrawal of the missionaries was only a "withdrawing into a higher category in the administrative hierarchy."³ It seems that although Tucker in the promotion of the constitution genuinely wanted to see more responsibility for the life of the church in African hands, he did not sufficiently think through the

³ J. V. Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda, 1958, p.88

implications this held for the correlating disengagement of European missionaries. He continued actively to recruit even though he must have been aware that many of the new missionaries coming to Uganda did not share his vision of more authority in African hands for the life of the church.

There was a further tension, or even confusion, in his ministry between the themes of detachment and immersion as models of mission. Venn's work with C.M.S. provides a classic example of missionary detachment in that he sought to provide direction for the Society without ever visiting any of the areas of C.M.S. work. The apostle Paul at least knew personally a number of the Christians at Philippi and he had spent some time there. In his letter to the Philippian church he commended certain principles while giving the necessary space to the church to interpret and implement the principles in the way most appropriate to the context. Between 1890 and 1897 Tucker's relationship with the Ugandan church reflected a more Venn-like model of missionary detachment. In particular he gave to Walker, Pilkington and the African members of the Church Council a sense of direction and space for them to implement this. It is a more open question whether it was as appropriate for a Bishop of a church to adopt a model of missionary detachment as for a missionary administrator such as Venn. The Johannine model of mission reflected more of a theme of incarnation or immersion. In its extreme form it was adopted by Smith in Uganda when he renounced all things European before his breakdown. The China Inland Mission approach was more incarnational. In Uganda Pilkington was probably the most successful of the missionaries at immersing himself in the language and thought-forms of the Baganda, and so he provided the clearest example of an immersion mission practice. Among Baganda evangelists, Apolo Kivebulaya immersed himself with great success initially in Toro and later in Mboga. After 1898 Tucker spent over nine years in Uganda, but the fact that he never became wholly fluent in any African language severely limited his attempts to become more fully immersed within the culture of the people of the country. His widely acknowledged sympathy with African people necessarily lacked the intimacy of immediacy, which could only have come through his immersion in their language and culture. The tension in this period was that Tucker's position as Bishop and longer-term presence in the country implied his moving to a more immersion model of mission, whereas in reality he remained considerably detached from the

situation. In this respect Tucker contrasts sharply with the Roman Catholic missionary in Uganda, Henri Streicher (1863-1952). Streicher arrived in Budu in 1891, where he remained and was consecrated bishop in 1897. Even for this service he refused to leave Uganda, and by the time of his retirement in 1933, he handed over a mission "almost incomparably beyond anything else in Catholic Africa at that time."⁴

There were a number of theological tensions in Tucker's ministry. The Biblical material emphasised that it was the church in obedience and unity that is the instrument of God's mission. Waliggo has argued that the "co-existence of two competitive missions in Buganda, far from being a 'scandal to Christendom'... was on the contrary the reason for quick and widespread conversion by both missions and the main factor in bringing about a high quality of Christian instruction, beliefs and practices in both churches."⁵ While not disputing the force of Waliggo's case as a historical judgment, it must be considered too pragmatic in a more theological framework of assessment. The competitive spirit and actual hostility between Christians in Uganda was and remains a theological scandal in the light of New Testament missiology.⁶ The rivalry certainly impelled Tucker in his efforts to maintain as far as possible Protestant superiority in higher education, but the argument has been made that his pursuit led Tucker away from the implementation of the evangelical tradition that had been established by Venn. On the other hand, Tucker was remarkably open in his approach to other Protestant mission societies. His relationship with Hurlburt of the A.I.M. was a foundation of the later Kikuyu talks on greater unity and an inspiration for the Edinburgh Conference of 1910. In the longer term, Tucker's evangelical magnanimity has led to the integration of the work of A.I.M. within the Church of Uganda.⁷

⁴ A. Hastings, 1994, p. 565. Even after his retirement Streicher remained in Uganda where he died in the 1950's. Hastings further commends the opinion of Cardinal Costantini in Streicher's obituary that he was "the greatest missionary of the twentieth century."

⁵ J. M. Waliggo, 1976, p. 3

⁶ Even conceding Waliggo's point about the short-term benefits for the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in Uganda, the longer-term impact upon the country has been far from healthy with political conflict in the post-independence period having deep roots in the socio-religious divisions in the late nineteenth-century. See Hansen and Twaddle, ed., 1995, especially the chapters by Waliggo and Kassimir.

⁷ This contrasts with the situation in Kenya where the Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya is entirely distinct from the Africa Inland Church, which is rooted in the work of the A.I.M. The

It is an interesting parallel between Venn and Tucker that towards the end of their respective ministries they both came to lay a greater emphasis on the Holy Spirit than was evident in their earlier thinking and in the thinking of many of their contemporaries. In 1913 Roland Allen wrote: "The missionary spirit is the Spirit of Christ in the soul, our missionary efforts are the manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in us."⁸ Like Venn and Tucker, Allen struggled with the problem of finding that the vision of a more truly indigenous church was being frustrated by well-meaning missionary colleagues. Also in 1913 Tucker saw clearly that the failure to trust African Christians was at heart a failure to trust the Holy Spirit. But these observations were made when detached from the immediate missionary context.

John grounded his understanding of Christian mission in God's love for the world. In Philippians, Paul had a recurring prayer for the Church that their love be characterised by wisdom. There is no doubt that the C.M.S. missionaries working in Uganda loved the African Christians.⁹ The question is whether that love was characterised by the kind of wisdom of which Paul writes or whether the love became over-possessive and over-protective. The debates about spirituality and the constitution suggested that the missionaries' love was not one that could "bear to take the same risks with the church that God had taken in 1886."¹⁰ At the root of the protracted wrangling over the constitution of the Church was a reluctance on the part of the missionaries to take a risk over the responsibility of the African Church. Belatedly in 1913 Tucker analysed this in terms of this displaying a lack of trust in the Holy Spirit. But also involved was a question about the nature of the Christian love between missionaries and indigenous Christians.

For Paul in Philippians the importance of wisdom was emphasised by its link with humility. The Christian concept of humility was as alien to the traditional culture of Buganda as it was in Philippi

openness of the Anglican Church of Uganda to the wider Protestant Church was noted in a conference in 1995 for all mission partners working with the Church of Uganda. Mission partners from over a dozen Protestant missions were represented there.

⁸ R. Allen, 1913, p.60

⁹ J. V. Taylor, 1958, p.83

or indeed anywhere. In a variety of ways Paul commended this humility as an essential quality to be found particularly in the leadership of the church. He was less concerned with the actual shape and structure of the church than he was with the character of the leaders. The question is raised whether Venn and Tucker in their concern for the maturing church did not reverse Paul's priorities to give prime consideration to the structure of the church and relatively little consideration to the attitudes of the missionaries in particular. It may have been that they made too many assumptions of humility on the part of the missionaries. Paul called on the leaders of the church in Philippi to provide strong models of humility. One may ask whether this characteristic was as evident as it should have been among the missionaries and leaders of the Church in Uganda. Frequently missionaries complained about the African Christians' "swollen heads". But this complaint is rendered superficial unless they were given sufficient models of humility. But the fact of the missionaries' education, links with the dominant political power and feelings of cultural superiority made stronger the necessity of modelling humility at the same time as making it very much more difficult to do so. The concern expressed by many of the missionaries for the spirituality of the African Church revealed their expectations of conformity to the particular European spirituality, which they brought with them. It was not until the *Balokole* movement in the 1930's that the different tracks of spirituality of the Africans and the Europeans met creatively.¹¹

An over-protective love and a lack of trust also characterised the attitude from the C.M.S. secretariat during Tucker's episcopate. Venn objected strongly to the idea of "missionary bishops", which was favoured by Bishop Wilberforce and the Tractarian S.P.G. for two main reasons. Primarily Venn thought that evangelisation should be "from below" with a church growing from indigenous converts and not from an imported hierarchy. Secondly, he was suspicious that there could be no legal restraint to prevent colonial bishops from imposing a Tractarian agenda on their dioceses. But these were not issues in Tucker's diocese after 1890. Yet the suspicion continued from London as a legacy of the

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ For accounts of the Revival see C. E. Robins, *Tukutendereza*, 1975, and B. E. Stanley, "The East Africa Revival" *The Churchman* 92/1 pp. 6-22. P. St John, *Breath of Life*, London, 1971 and A. Coomes, *Festo Kivengere*, Eastbourne, 1990 both provide popular accounts of the East Africa Revival.

Venn period. Throughout the long and tedious debate about a constitution, the C.M.S. Secretariat consistently pursued a line to retain significant influence in the Church, indicating a lack of trust both in Tucker and the Uganda Church. They were unwilling to risk their independence.

Neill criticised Venn for his sharp distinction between mission and church quite rightly as lacking theological foundation in the New Testament.¹² But Venn's distinction was not intended to be theological as such, but it was a distinction relating to the locus of authority in a gathering of Christians. The response of the missionary body in Uganda after the adoption of the constitution in 1909 confirmed one of the fears that Venn attempted to address in his series of papers after 1859 about the maturing of a church. He understood that, unless there was a clear movement of the locus of authority from the missionary body to the indigenous church, any attempt to combine them would simply provide for the domination of the stronger authority. In the newer churches, this would effectively ensure the continuing dominance of the expatriate missionaries. Venn's scheme was that the missionaries should gradually withdraw from the indigenous church, whereas Tucker wanted the missionaries to remain and work under the authority of the integrated Church. Either could have worked, but neither approach did. The reason lies more in the area of spirituality than administrative structure. Tucker's own understanding of his episcopate did not allow him to make any sharp distinctions between church and mission. The Johannine understanding of apostolicity was entirely in mission terms (John 20:21). Tucker's extensive tours of evangelisation throughout his diocese and active encouragement of the evangelists in their work showed that he saw involvement in the evangelistic ministry of the church as an intrinsic part of his episcopal ministry. In contrast to Venn, Tucker worked primarily with the model of a church with a mission.

Both John and Paul characteristically followed a hermeneutic of suspicion with regard to the world of politics. Obviously the context of the Roman Empire in the late first century was very different from the British Empire from the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth. Venn was an uncritical inheritor of the Anglican establishment. Although he believed in the C.M.S. tradition that

¹² S. C. Neill, 1964, p. 260

missionaries should not involve themselves in politics, he actively promoted the idea of quasi-establishment where C.M.S. work coincided with the expansion of British political authority. Tucker carried this tradition to a logical conclusion in his active participation in the early 1890's in the campaign to "retain" British authority over the indigenous authority in Buganda. Following the establishment of British rule, Tucker pursued assiduously the policy of quasi-establishment for the Anglican Church. In return for offering legitimisation to the Protectorate authorities, Tucker assumed and exercised the right to be critical of specific government policies.¹³

The New Testament authors were aware that a tension exists between Christians' commitment to Christ's supreme lordship and their existence in the body politic. There was no suggestion that the church should seek confrontation; rather it was called to live and witness to Christ within the tension. The theological question facing Tucker and the other missionaries is whether too easily they resolved this tension in their active campaign for a Protectorate and in their subsequent pursuit of quasi-establishment. Tucker's appointments of Buckley and Willis as Archdeacons of Busoga and Kavirondo respectively were particularly welcomed by the British authorities with whom these men were *personae gratae*.

There were arguably also longer term consequences of the accommodation of the Anglican Church with the political authorities. After Tucker's retirement, there were relatively few controversies between the Church of Uganda and the Protectorate authorities. Certainly Bishop Willis did not continue Tucker's tradition of criticising the authorities over specific issues. In the post-Independence turmoil of Uganda, one commentator noted that the Church of Uganda lacked any theological tradition that enabled it to make any positive contribution other than validating the existing political power.¹⁴ Partly this was a result of the prevailing pietistic theology favoured in the Balokole tradition, which considered politics to be unspiritual. But it also followed on from the quasi-establishment

¹³ This has been analysed at great length by Hansen, 1984, but he curiously omits consideration of the influence of the tradition of the Establishment of the Church of England.

¹⁴ D. Z. Niringiye in private conversation

pattern inherited from the time of Willis and before him from Tucker, where the role of the Church was to validate and not criticise those in power.

A second aspect of the issue of politics was the way in which the thinking of many missionaries about the Church was shaped by a Protectorate mentality. Willis drew an exact parallel between the British Protectorate and the C.M.S. mission: "As the consummation of the best British rule, whether in Asia or in Africa, is ultimately self-determination and self-government, so the euthanasia of the Christian mission is the birth of the native Church."¹⁵ Drawing on the language of Venn, Willis employed the same terms to justify the protectorate mentality of both state and church. This was the dominant mentality among missionaries in Uganda, certainly after 1900. In the later part of his episcopate, Tucker's criticisms of the political authorities made him appear increasingly isolated and old-fashioned in the Protectorate of Uganda.

It is by the grace of God that Christian mission is entrusted to fallible and contingent people. "Fred" Tucker was widely liked among both Africans and Europeans, even though he was not always trusted, particularly by the latter. His fellow missionaries were grateful for the way in which he was concerned in his management of the mission to match the interests and capabilities of individual missionaries with appropriate tasks. He was never threatened by the capabilities of others. Among Africans "Omulabirizi" (overseer), as he was generally known, was seen as a hospitable man and one who visited others. In an African context the significance of hospitality can hardly be exaggerated. Reviewing his ministry later, both Walker and Baskerville noted his patience and gentleness with African Christians. He understood the painful process of Christian maturation, and he was never hasty to judge or condemn anything as a failure in the African Church. He was hard-working; it has been estimated that he travelled 22,000 miles in east Africa, mostly on foot though latterly he used Patrick his mule rather more. In Uganda his only relaxation was to paint water-colours, and indeed the only recorded instance of his losing his temper with an African was when a porter dropped his

¹⁵ Willis, 1925, p.6

painting-box into a raging torrent in Toro! His dry and tolerant sense of humour did not stretch that far.

Once he had made up his mind to achieve a particular objective, Tucker set about the task with a will. He employed his remarkable ability to conjure *ad hominem* arguments that at times obviated the need for him to do some more rigorous thinking. He could jump to conclusions and on occasions be impulsive; he did not always carry through some of his more interesting innovations such as the ordination of men to a permanent diaconate. But he could change his mind, as he did over the most appropriate elements for holy communion. In 1891 he wrote to Walker to insist on the exclusive use of the fruit of the grape and the flour of the wheat.¹⁶ The custom had been to use banana derivatives for both bread and wine. But Tucker reconsidered this issue in the light of missionaries' objections, so that by the Lambeth Conference of 1908, he maintained in the face of opposition from other bishops, notably the Bishop of Zanzibar, that the use of banana wine was a legitimate expression of an Anglican understanding of the Eucharist.¹⁷ He was said by his missionary colleagues to have mellowed by the time of his retirement. But by 1911 the number of African Christians and European missionaries had grown to the extent that the Church had acquired a momentum of its own. The "Protectorate mentality" was the dominant ideology in the church as among the political authorities, both African and European. But by his retirement Tucker was probably regarded more in terms of a benign figurehead than as an effective leader.

One of the more curious aspects of Tucker's ministry was the way in which he completely separated his two worlds. His wife Josephine and son Hathaway never came with him to Africa. Insight into his more private world is limited, because his son destroyed family papers before his death.¹⁸

¹⁶ Walker to his brother 3/11/1891 CMSA Acc 88

¹⁷ Lambeth Conference Papers 1908, LPL. It may be noted that still in Uganda indigenous elements are used whenever wheat bread and red wine are unavailable, although this is now the exception rather than the norm.

¹⁸ Hathaway rejected his father's evangelicalism to become heavily involved in the prominent Anglo-Catholic Church of All Saints', Margaret Street in London. Later in life he was ordained. He never married.

Any evaluation of Tucker's implementation of an evangelical tradition of mission must be set against the particular context in which he worked. No period was less favourably disposed to the idea of a self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending Church as understood by Venn than the twenty years 1890-1910. This was true in spite of the fact that Venn's slogan was often repeated. Nevertheless Tucker's exceptional role was deservedly recognised. At the time of Tucker's funeral Archbishop Davidson compared him to Augustine of Canterbury in planting the roots of Christianity in the country. Under Tucker's leadership the Church in Uganda developed with a strong impulse of evangelisation that has continued to the present. The Anglican Churches in Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and southern Sudan all look to the Church of Uganda as their mother church. The degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Church of Uganda following the adoption of the Constitution was remarkable by the standards of the early twentieth century. Without faltering in principle Tucker stood for the equality of all workers in the Church both African and European, and he sought to give this shape in an integrated Church in the face of considerable equivocation from missionaries in Uganda and from the C.M.S. secretariat in London. Recently Lamin Sanneh has highlighted the immense significance of the translation of the Bible into the languages of Africa.¹⁹ Buganda provides a splendid example of the impact of vernacular Bible-reading following the translation done by Pilkington at the behest of Tucker. The hard-fought decision in principle that each people in the country should have access to the Scriptures in their own language has provided a long-term and worthy task for the Church that still continues. Tucker's Protestant ecumenism that became evident in 1908 in many ways anticipated the concerns of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910. Tucker's writing about mission issues, although unsystematic and sporadic, has continued relevance, even though the implementation of his principles was often flawed in practice. In particular his words about the need to trust the Holy Spirit at work in the Church, echoing one of the major Johannine mission themes, resonates with any Christian engaged in mission. Whether Tucker should be considered among the greatest of missionaries to Africa is probably doubtful, but his contribution should not on these grounds be discounted. A later and undoubtedly great C.M.S. missionary in

¹⁹ L. Sanneh, 1989, p. 188

Uganda, J. V. Taylor commented that “the greatest service which Bishop Tucker rendered the Uganda Church was to believe in it.”²⁰ That stands as a fine tribute.

²⁰ J. V. Taylor, 1958 p. 84

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