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Ibadan History Series

General Editor: K O Dike

Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841–1891

The Making of a New Elite

J F A Ajayi

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Editor Dr. K. O. Dike
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Ibadan

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J. F. ADE AJAYI
Professor of History,
University of Ibadan

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Abbreviations

C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
Meth. (or W.M.M.S.)	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
U.P.	United Presbyterian Church of Scotland
S.B.C.	Southern Baptist Convention, U.S.A.
S.M.A.	Society of African Missionaries (Société des Missions Africaines, Lyons)
SAISC	Society for the Abolition of Inhuman and Superstitious Customs in Calabar
PP.	Parliamentary Papers
SP.	State Papers
DNB.	Dictionary of National Biography

Introduction to the Ibadan History Series

THE *Ibadan History Series* grew out of the efforts of some members of the Department of History, Ibadan University, Nigeria, to evolve a balanced and scholarly study of the history of African peoples south of the Sahara. In the years before the Second World War, the study of African history was retarded, and to some extent vitiated, by the assumption of many scholars that lack of written records in some areas of Africa meant also the absence of history. Documentary evidence had become so overwhelmingly important for the European scholar that he tended to equate written documents with history, and to take the absence of documents to mean the absence of events worthy of historical study. As a result in the nineteenth century, when Europe occupied Africa, her scholars did not attempt to understand or to build on the historical traditions in existence there; they sought instead to challenge and to supplant them. The history of European traders, missionaries, explorers, conquerors and rulers constituted, in their view, the sum total of African history.

Fortunately for the historian of today, African historical consciousness remained alive throughout the period of colonial rule: that tradition was too much a part of the African way of life to succumb to the attacks of the European scholar. Even in the heyday of white supremacy some educated Africans of the period were sufficiently dominated by their past to feel impelled to commit to writing the laws, customs, proverbs, sayings and historical traditions of their own communities. Notable among these may be mentioned James Africanus Horton of Sierra Leone, Reindorf and Sarbah of Ghana, Otomba Payne and Samuel Johnson of Nigeria, Apolo Kagwa of Uganda, to name but a few. The published works they left behind have become important sources of African history today; but they were swimming against the current of their time and made little impression on contemporaries. Historians continued to write as if Africans were not active participants in the great events that shaped their continent.

The decided change towards a new African historiography came with the movement towards independence. African nationalists rejected the European appraisal of their past. They demanded a new orientation and improved educational facilities to effect this reappraisal. With the establishment of new universities in Africa, it was inevitable that the teaching of history and the training of African historians would receive a new impetus. For obvious reasons the changeover was slow in coming. Even in the new universities the old theories for a time prevailed: besides European history, there were courses only on 'European activities in Africa' at the undergraduate level, and at the postgraduate level research was generally on British and French policy towards their African territories.

By the late 1940's, however, African research students were insisting that African history must be the history of Africans, not of Europeans *per se* in Africa; that local records and historical traditions must be used to supplement European metropolitan archives; in short, that Oral Tradition must be accepted as valid material for historical reconstruction.

No doubt the validity of non-written sources for historical research had been pointed out before, but it was new for university departments of history to accept it, especially in relation to African Oral Tradition. Even then not everyone was happy about it. Anthropologists replied cautiously that Oral Tradition, even when seemingly factual, was not history and could only be interpreted in terms of its functions in society and within the particular culture. But this did not destroy its validity as material for history; it only argued for a return to the link between history and sociology advocated in the fourteenth century by the famous Tunisian historian, Ibn Khaldum.

Even in studies of European impact on African societies and cultures, where European archival material still remains our major source, this source should be checked and supplemented by Oral Tradition, material artefacts and other sources of history in Africa. The achievement of the present position in the study of African history has been the result of individual and co-operative efforts of many scholars in different parts of the world, but I think it is fair to say that the Universities in Africa, and Ibadan in particular, have played and are playing their part in this pioneering work.

The History Department here has always tried to reflect the new approach to African history. It has pioneered some of the recent studies into African indigenous history and culture. These include the scheme for the Study of Benin History and Culture and two other schemes now in progress, concerned with the cultural history of the peoples of Northern and Eastern Nigeria. Our staff now include the largest concentration of trained African historians to be found anywhere in a single institution. Our postgraduate school is also expanding.

Hitherto, the fruits of our research have been published largely in articles in the *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria.* The aim of the Ibadan History Series is to facilitate the publication in book form of some of the major works which are beginning to emerge from the Ibadan School of History and to make available to a growing public, with the minimum of delay, the results of the latest contributions to our knowledge of the African past.

K. ONWUKA DIKE

Ibadan, Nigeria
18th January, 1965

Introduction

The years 1841–1891 covered, roughly, the last half-century before the establishment of British rule in Nigeria. 1841, the year of the first Niger Expedition, marked the beginning of the movement to re-establish Christianity in this country, following the failure of earlier Catholic missions in Benin and Warri. 1891, the year of Bishop Crowther's death, marked the end of the first phase of this new movement, the phase when the success of the missionary enterprise was associated largely with the creation and the encouragement of a Western-educated and Christian middle class.

For the history of Christian missions in Nigeria, this first phase was only the 'seedling' time in preparation for the great expansion that came later with British rule. For the history of Nigeria, however, it was in this earlier period that the work of the missionaries has its greatest significance. After 1891 their expansion was largely incidental to the establishment of the colonial administration. Before 1891 they had a greater measure of initiative and their work had its own decisive influence. Things had not 'fallen apart'.

With the exception of Lagos, the different city-states and kingdoms, towns and villages, although increasingly under pressure from the British navy along the coast, still retained enough political authority and cultural stability to deal with missionaries more or less on a basis of equality. There was no rush to join the Churches. Conversion among men in authority was negligible, except within the Delta states. For the most part, a dialogue was still possible between missionaries and the different communities, and there was room for ideas and personalities on both sides. It was not enough for the missionaries to be Europeans to be believed. They had to use education and the technology of Europe to argue, and to convince people. Later, the missionaries as Europeans became like gods, and tended to treat their parishioners as less than men. The dialogue was virtually suspended, for gods have no need to argue. The missionaries were able to exploit the prestige and the power of the white man already won by the colonial soldiers and administrators. It was then that, in the non-Muslim areas at least, the fabric of the old society gave way and people began to flock to the missions.

In the period 1841–91 there were five principal missionary societies working in Nigeria: the Anglican Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), many of whose missionaries at this time were Germans; the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, a committee of the English Methodist Conference; the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland; the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist

Convention of the United States; and the Catholic Society of African Missions (the *Société des Missions Africaines*, S.M.A.) of France. There were some important differences between the different missionary societies, both of doctrine and approach, and some of these differences will be brought out where they are essential for understanding their work. Each mission tended to emphasize how much it differed from all the others, but it is possible to exaggerate these denominational differences. From the point of view of Nigerians, what they had in common was far more impressive. In this work, at any rate, the different missionaries, whether British, German, American or French, Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian or Anglican will be considered as much as possible together as 'European' missionaries forming one single factor in the history of Nigeria.

It should, however, be pointed out here that the contribution of each mission to this common factor was not equal in either men, material, length of service, or significance. The C.M.S. was the largest and the most significant in this period. Being part of the established Church, and based in London, it had the greatest influence on the British government. Its missionaries were actively connected with the Niger Expedition of 1841. They established their mission in Badagri in 1845, in Abeokuta in 1846, and they led the expansion into the Yoruba country. The Methodists beat them to it at Badagri in 1842, but were poorly represented in Nigeria in this period: Ghana was the focus of their attention, and instead of expanding from Abeokuta and Lagos into the Yoruba country, they expanded to Porto Novo and Dahomey. While the Methodists had only a short-lived mission station on the Niger at Egga, the C.M.S. had several stations all by themselves both on the Niger and in the Delta states. The Presbyterians arrived in Calabar in 1846. They concentrated their attention there almost exclusively, with only a few outstations on the Cross River. The Baptists established their first station at Ijaye in 1853, and expanded into the Yoruba country. But within ten years their work was interrupted by the American Civil War, and they had to start all over again after 1875. The Catholics came even later, in 1867. But hardly had they arrived when the Franco-Prussian War and the consequent civil disturbances in France similarly disrupted their work. Outside Lagos they were just making their initial contacts after 1875. The Holy Ghost Fathers did not arrive in Eastern Nigeria until 1884.

Thus the missionaries touched only three areas of Nigeria in this period: the coastal city states, especially Badagri and Lagos to the west, Calabar, Bonny and Brass to the east, with Warri and Benin, the old centres, conspicuously left out; secondly, the interior of the Yoruba country, especially Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijaye, Oyo and Ogbomoso, each with a few outstations; and thirdly, the Niger Valley, especially Onitsha, Aboh, Idah, Lokoja and Egga. The missionaries laid the foundations on the coast between 1841 and 1853 and they were most concerned in that period to get the protection of the British navy for their work. Their great success came at the end of 1851 when they got the British government to order the bombardment and occupation of Lagos. This was followed by the opening in 1853–60 of several stations in the interior of the Yoruba country, and on the Niger in 1857. Wars in the interior of the Yoruba country from 1860–65, coupled with the American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War brought this period of expansion to an end. Further, the annexation of Lagos, showing British territorial ambitions, made enemies for missionaries and led in 1867 to their expulsion from Abeokuta and restrictions on the movement of all Europeans in the Yoruba country. Expansion continued only along the coast. When the missions began to be revived after 1875, it was on the wave of the new imperialism developing in Europe.

In short, the evangelistic work of the missions was patchy in this period. But in their linguistic and educational work, in their economic policies, and above all, in the class of Western-educated élite they were seeking to create, their influence covered the whole country. They concentrated on the South, but it was the Niger-Benue waterway that first attracted them to the country, and the North remained their lodestar. They studied Hausa and Kanuri before they learnt Ibo. The significance of this educational policy was not necessarily parallel with the success or failure of their evangelistic work. In fact, the years 1867–75, when the movement of Europeans into the interior was severely limited, offered the incipient middle class such a chance for development as did not occur again till the 1950s.

This is a revised version of my Ph.D. thesis presented to London University in 1958. A look at the footnotes and the Bibliography will, I hope, reveal something of the range of my indebtedness. Perhaps it will be enough here to make this a general acknowledgement to the many friends, archivists, librarians, missionaries, government officials and colleagues who have all by their kindness and co-operation helped me in writing this book. There are, however, a few names I must mention. First, the Rev. and Mrs. Cecil Roberson, of the Baptist Mission for allowing me to use and re-visit their most valuable collection of archival material; and Dr. Akin Mabogunje who helped me with the maps.

In addition, my thanks are due to Professor Jack Simmons under whom I read history at Leicester and who suggested this subject to me; to Dr. Roland Oliver who did a pioneer study of the Missionary Factor in East Africa and has given me useful advice; to Professor G. S. Graham and the late Dr. E. Martin who introduced me to historical research, to Dr. J. E. Flint and Professor Philip Curtin who read through the earlier drafts and made valuable suggestions; to Messrs Richard Brain and Michael Crowder for editorial assistance; and to Dr. K. Onwuka Dike, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ibadan and general editor of this series for having encouraged my work all along.

My researches were financed for two years by the University of London who awarded me the Derby Research Studentship and the Institute of Historical Research of the University who awarded me a Fellowship for a third year. A grant from the Nigerian Government enabled me to visit archives in Rome and Paris; another from the Yoruba Historical Research and the Ford Foundation enabled me to visit archives in America.

1 Christianity and Civilization

SOME people see religion as a limited set of personal beliefs about God and worship which can be isolated from a person's general culture and can be changed without necessarily upsetting that person's culture or his world-view. Others see it as an affair of the community so intimately bound up with its way of life that a change of religion necessarily involves a change of culture and the development of a new conscience.

With their emphasis on law, orthodox Muslims generally take the latter, comprehensive view of religion. But in considering conversion to Islam they think of a progression from the limited to the comprehensive view of religion as a growth from the minimal impact to a fuller realization of the faith. When Islam was introduced into Bornu and the Hausa states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[1] it spread informally at first as a set of ideas about God and worship, accommodated within the converts' monarchical and social customs. It was rather like a fashion associated with the courts and the military, mercantile and literate classes. Yet the elements of this fashion, the learned mallam as teacher, political or medical adviser; the widely-travelled Muslim trader as customer or informant; even immaterial things like charms and amulets, court music, styles of dress and architecture as symbols of status and power, all seemed to lead back to Islam. And the spread of these led to the spread of the religion, down the Niger into Nupe and Igalla, and across the Niger into Yoruba. Then at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with Usuman dan Fodio's *jihad* in the Hausa states, there was a formal attempt to convert Islam from the level of personal beliefs to one of communal law, an attempt to shake off the remnants of traditional customs and to create a theocratic empire where Islamic laws and practices would prevail. Bornu successfully resisted being incorporated into this empire only because its administration as well as its Islamic faith were reformed by El Kanemi. But even areas which had felt only the minimal impact of Islam were also incorporated. In Nupe there was a disputed succession; at Ilorin there was a quarrel between the military governor and his sovereign at Old Oyo; and two Fulani mallams took advantage of these to convert Ilorin and Nupe into southern outposts of the Fulani empire.

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[1] See J. S. Trimingham: *A History of Islam in West Africa*, Oxford 1961; J. Greenberg: *The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Kingdom*, New York 1946, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society; K. O. Dike: 'Sokoto' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1956 edition.

Within Christianity, on the other hand, the element of theology has always been more important than that of law, and priests and kings have by no means always seen eye to eye. As long as the Church was united, Christianity tended to take the view that religion was an affair of the community, and most aspects of life were regulated by religious laws. But the Reformation, the disputes between Catholics and Protestants and between different Protestant denominations, further emphasized theology and the element of personal belief and personal commitment. For a while the communal view survived in the sixteenth century dictum of *cuius regio, eius religio*, in which the Capuchin missionaries who tried to introduce Christianity into Benin placed so much confidence. But Christianity was by then already reflecting the increasingly individualized society of Western Europe. More and more aspects of life were being regulated by ideas and beliefs outside the purview of religion. The European conception of religion became limited in the sense that it was seen as a personal and not a communal affair and that it was confined to only a special area of a man's life.

This development explains at least in part the ineffectiveness of the Christian missionaries in Benin and Warri.[1] The Oba of Benin himself had asked for Portuguese missionaries, but when they arrived in August 1515, he was away fighting the Idah War. He summoned them to join him on the battlefront, asking meanwhile that lessons on religion be postponed 'because he needed leisure for such a deep mystery'. He returned after a year and asked that one of his sons and others of the chiefs be baptized and taught to read. He was soon back at his wars and presumably the missionaries returned home. When three other missionaries arrived in 1538, they found the Oba no longer interested. Portuguese trade in Benin had declined and the missionaries were unwilling to supply ammunition as requested by the Oba. Thereafter the missionary effort in Benin was fitful and intermittent, and it failed completely to displace the traditional religion.

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[1] A. F. C. Ryder: 'The Benin Missions' and 'Missionary Activity in the kingdom of Warri to the Early Nineteenth Century' in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1961; vol. 2, no. 1, 1960. J. W. Blake: *Europeans in West Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 6–12; 58–9; 78–9 (Hakluyt Society Publications, Second Series lxxxv, London 1941); Father Cuthbert O.S.F.C.: *The Capuchins*, London 1928, vol. II, pp. 306–12. Father Ralph M. Wiltgen: *Gold Coast Mission History 1471–1880*, Illinois, USA, 1956, pp. 8–13.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Spanish and Italian Capuchins made a determined effort. But they held on to the belief that because the Oba was 'adored' by his subjects with 'fear and unbelievable reverence . . . if he were converted to the Faith, the rest of his subjects would easily be won over'.[1] They were given rooms in the palace, but denied free access to the Oba. They saw him only twice in ten months. They were denied the services of interpreters, and when in August 1651 they tried to disturb a religious festival involving human sacrifice, they were thrust out by an angry mob and subsequently deported. A number of missionaries tried to re-enter Benin through Warri, but without much success. In a moment of grave constitutional crisis in 1709–10 apparently one Oba invited the Capuchins back in the hope that their support might be useful, but he did not live long enough to give them a foothold.

In Warri, however, it did appear in the 1570s as if the Portuguese had successfully planted their religion there, since the Olu, anxious to maintain his independence from Benin, decided to enlist Portuguese support. He welcomed Augustinian missionaries from São Tomé and allowed his crown prince to be baptized as Sebastian. This prince later sent one of his sons, Domingos, to Portugal to be educated, and he came back with a Portuguese wife. The son of Domingos by this marriage, Dom Antonio Domingos, when he became the Olu, carried on this tradition of close Portuguese and Christian connections. Indeed, for about a century and a half, 1570–1733, the Warri rulers became well known as professing Christians. But the European religion did not spread beyond the court. Even at court its hold was recognized to be shaky. 'True Christianity,' said the Bishop of São Tomé in 1620, 'is almost wholly confined to the king and the prince; the rest only call themselves Christian to please the king. They take their children to baptism only with the greatest reluctance, believing that a baptized child will die immediately. The majority of them take wives without the sacrament of matrimony, they circumcise their children and practise superstitious rites and sorcery.'[2] Catholic baptism means little without the sacraments, and the Warri rulers could not even ensure a regular supply of resident clergy to administer them. Eventually the traditional religion reasserted itself at court, and from 1733 onwards the ruling family began to turn against Christianity. In the eighteenth century, the missionary enthusiasm of the Catholic countries of Europe declined; the Protestant countries showed none, and therefore few missionaries came to Warri. By the beginning of the nineteenth century there was little to show for the earlier missionary endeavours: only a few relics like the huge cross in the centre of old Warri, a few church decorations surviving among the traditional shrines, a few memories reflected in oral tradition and in the ritual of traditional gods.[1]

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[1] Father Columbin of Nantes to the Vatican, 1641. Ryder, op. cit. JHSN, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 241.

[2] Bishop Pedro da Cunha of São Tomé. Ryder, op. cit. JHSN, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 8.

There were, no doubt, other subsidiary factors hindering the Christian missionaries: difficulties of language, of transport, of health; inadequate numbers of missionaries and opportunities. Compared with their Muslim counterparts, the Christian missionaries laboured under great disabilities. The Muslims were usually fellow-Africans who, like the Fulani, could settle down or travel regularly with relative ease to the main centres of Islam not only in the Sudan but also in the Middle East and North Africa. The Christians were a few ailing Europeans, struggling to keep alive in the swampy creeks and depending on sailing vessels for communication with their bases in Europe. But the roots of their failure went deeper than this. After all, European traders working under similar disadvantages did not fare so badly in comparison with North African and Sudanese traders. The real problem was that to the people of Benin and Warri religion meant one thing, and to their Christian teachers quite another thing. To a people for whom religion was co-extensive with life, the Europeans presented trade and religion as two separate institutions, championed by two separate sets of people and guided by two different sets of principles. The missionaries were dependent on the traders for their transport and provisions, but they could not convincingly reconcile their teaching with the Atlantic slave-trade and slavery as practised in the New World. Ultimately, as the Dutch said, the two were incompatible. Thus the missionaries concentrated only on the aspect of personal belief and forms of worship, and consequently paid inadequate attention to education. For the same reason, they failed to understand the society they were dealing with. They saw in traditional religion no more than fetishes, idolatry and juju. The people of Warri, said a Capuchin in 1710, were 'obstinate, idolatrous and given to witchcraft and all sorts of abominable vices'.[2] As Dr. Ryder has said, not one of the Christian missionaries for all their devotion 'came near an adequate understanding of the complex religious system they were trying to displace'.

The essential point about the complex religious system was that it was not so much a matter of personal beliefs as the culture of the whole of the community. Religion, it has been said, was 'the cement of goodwill and fear that kept the family as a unit and the village as a distinctive community'.[1] The welfare of the individual, the family, village or larger community was believed to depend on the members severally and collectively maintaining the right relationships with the ancestors, gods and other unseen powers through a complex system of ritual observances. There were beliefs, of course, about the organic philosophy of the community, the proper relationships between the gods, between them and man, man and woman, the living and the dead; beliefs about the mysteries of life, sickness and death, good and ill fortune, and so on. But there was really no theology in the sense of dogmatic tenets. The traditional religion was an attitude of mind, a way of explaining the world, a way of life. It was expressed in laws and customs hallowed by time and myth as being essential for the well-being not just of the individual, but of the whole community.[2] To the problems of life to which these customs tried to provide an answer, a catechism that was no more than a set of beliefs necessary for personal salvation must have appeared irrelevant.

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[1] M. J. Bane: *Catholic Pioneers in West Africa*, Dublin 1956. Ryder, op. cit.

[2] Father Cipriano, quoted by Ryder, op. cit. JHSN, vol. 2, no. 1.

This is not to say that the traditional culture was rigid and unchanging. Even from our fragmentary knowledge, we know that between 1486 and 1841 there were many political, social and economic changes in Benin and Warri and all along the coast. The power and influence of Benin expanded and contracted; the nature of its monarchy and hence its religion were 'clearly subjected to profound changes'. Many people migrated to the coast to take advantage of the expanding European trade. The development of Warri as an independent state was probably part of this process. In a similar way, old fishing villages developed into the trading city-states of the Delta:[3] Calabar, or old Calabar as the Europeans called it; Kalabari, which they called New Calabar; Bonny and Brass; as well as Lagos and Badagri to the west. The European trade dominated the lives of these states. None of them could maintain its population and prosperity without it. This led to important social and political adaptations. Because of the cosmopolitan nature of the communities, the traditional social unit, the lineage or clan based on blood-relationship, was replaced by the 'House' in which economic and military organization counted for almost as much as kinship, and into which foreign slaves could be formally integrated. There were changes going on, but as long as the traditional rulers remained the arbiters of the destinies of their people, they saw to it that these adaptations were inspired by the traditional culture and not by the beliefs and practices of the European traders or missionaries.

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[1] C. G. Okojie: *Islam Native Laws and Customs*, Lagos 1960, p. 146.

[2] Cf. R. G. Horton: The Kalabari World-view: an outline and interpretation, *Africa*, vol. xxxii, nos. pp. 197–220; E. B. Idowu: *Olodumare, God in Yoruba belief*, London 1962, pp. 62f.

[3] K. O. Dike: *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*, Oxford 1956, chapters 1 and 2. Daryll Forde (ed.): *Efik Traders of Old Calabar*, Oxford 1957. G. I. Jones: *Trading States of the Oil Rivers*, Oxford 1963.

They were willing to cultivate new crops from the New World, like maize and cassava. These became important not only on the coast but also over wide areas in the interior. Similarly, items of household use and luxury goods were adopted by the wealthier classes, and some of them, like umbrellas, even became symbols of traditional authority. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it was becoming fashionable in Calabar and Bonny to import pre-fabricated houses and to fill them, to excess, with imported European furniture.[1] Usually, however, their owners lived in traditional houses and displayed these only on special occasions. Above all, the leading traders along the coast were willing that their children, or more usually selected slaves, should undertake the tedious task of acquiring the skill of speaking and writing European languages and of keeping accounts. This they did either in Europe or by a system of apprenticeship on board the trading vessels. This type of education was preferred to the type which interested the missionaries, the memorizing of the catechism and the training of priests to say the mass and administer the sacraments. Secular education was in the hands of traders and they had a fair measure of success. Most European traders had no difficulty in finding interpreters locally. Portuguese was fairly widely spoken in Lagos, Warri and Benin, and English in Brass, Bonny and Calabar. In Calabar the nineteenth-century missionaries found people who were keeping not only regular accounts but also diaries in pidgin English, and had been doing so for half a century or more.

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[1] Cf. this description by Hope Waddell in 1846 of the state room of King Eyo II of Calabar:

'The floor was covered with oil cloth and the walls well papered with a rich, crimson-coloured paper. The windows were all glazed. There was a profusion of large and handsome mirrors. At each end was one about five feet square. On the wall facing the door were four, each about four feet long and three feet broad, between the windows, and four round, dining-room mirrors in other places. On each side of the door was a good-sized one. These were in rich gilt frames and in large letters on all *King-Eyo Honesty*. There were two good household eight-day clocks and one handsome sideboard clock in a glass frame. They were all going and keeping good time. Three well-cushioned mahogany sofas invited friendly conversation and repose. Two handsomely carved gilt and stuffed armed chairs seemed made for a king and a queen, and a superior rocking-chair, stuffed below and above with hair cloth, afforded so tempting an opportunity for getting rest and air that I wheeled it round facing the door, sat down and rocked myself to sleep. This put an end to my taking notes, of course, but there were many other excellent things, as tables, sideboards, well-covered drawers, glasses, immense blue jugs (holding) 10 or 15 gallons each, decanters (holding) 2 gallons each etc., etc., too numerous and various to mention.' Waddell: *Journals*, vol. 1, p. 56.

But there the cultural influence of Europe stopped. Not one of the coastal states so much in touch with Europeans for so long adopted the religion or the system of government, taxation, or justice, of their European customers and teachers. Rather, while continuing to trade, the coastal peoples deliberately erected barriers to shut off European cultural influence. Missionaries had been allowed to build houses in Benin and Warri, and Portuguese and Brazilian traders were allowed to build barracoons and tenements on the beach some distance from the town of Lagos. But with these exceptions it became a firm policy throughout the coast to prevent Europeans from building on land and to confine them to their trading-hulks. They were also prevented from sailing or travelling inland, with the result that they did not realize that the rivers they had long known as the Escravos, Forcados, Nun, and so on, were outlets of the legendary Niger, until the Lander brothers made the great discovery in 1830. Apart from restrictive laws, the coastal states erected cultural barriers. They tended to formalize the organization and training of the priests of the traditional cults[1] as an answer to the formal organization and training of the European missionaries. Further, they developed new integrative societies like the Ekpe of Calabar, and exploited to the full the traditional cults and religious festivals as symbols of cultural identity. Rather than accept Christianity, they were willing to offer admission into these cults and associations to a few favoured Europeans.

The leaders of the new missionary movement in the nineteenth century were much concerned about this failure of European commerce and Christianity to make a cultural impact on the coastal peoples of Nigeria. They saw it, of course, not as unique, but as part of a general failure in Africa. The experience in Warri was paralleled on a grander, more dramatic scale in the kingdom of the Kongo. And there had been the even greater failure in North Africa, where Christianity took root, flourished and flowered, and yet was nevertheless effectively displaced by Islam. The problem then was not only to re-establish Christianity in Africa, but also to ensure its permanence in the face of the tenacity of the traditional religion and the aggressiveness of Islam.

The religious impetus behind this new missionary movement was largely the evangelical revival of the late eighteenth century which owed so much to the work of John Wesley. This revival created a new and growing Methodist Church and an increasingly powerful evangelical party within the established Anglican Church. It infected all Protestants in Europe and North America with a new fervour and zeal in religious matters which resulted in the foundations of various missionary societies in the last decade of the eighteenth century. It was a Methodist leader, Dr. Coke, who in 1787 first drew up a plan for the 'Establishment of Missions to the Heathen', but the Methodist Church did not officially take this up till 1813, when they established the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. In 1792, an English Baptist, William Carey, founded the Baptist Missionary Society. In 1795, attempts were made to found interdenominational missionary societies in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, but the denominational tradition was too strong. The London society soon became Congregational, and the Scottish ones Presbyterian. In 1799 the evangelicals within the Anglican Church founded the 'Society of Missions to Africa and the East', later known as the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.). A necessary aide to them all was the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804 to subsidize the production of the Bible in different languages and in adequate quantities.[1] It was thus the evangelical revival that inspired four of the five missionary societies we are concerned with in this study: the C.M.S., the Methodists, the Presbyterians of Edinburgh, and the Baptists from the Southern Baptist Convention, U.S.A. The fifth, the Society of African Missions from Lyons, France, was a product of the Catholic revival in Restoration France which arose partly as a reaction against the atheism of the French Revolution, and partly as the Catholic answer to the Protestant evangelical revival.

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[1] Cf. G. Parrinder: *West African Religion*, London 1949. Paul Hazoume: 'The Priest's Revolt' in *Présence Africaine*, nos. 8–10 new series, June–November 1956.

On the face of it, this evangelical Christianity seemed even less likely than sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholicism to make permanent impact on traditional religion in Nigeria. It abhorred ritual, dancing and finery in religious ceremonies and distrusted them in social life. Its emphasis was on theology, though of a plain and fundamentalist type, and it carried the element of personal belief and personal commitment so far that some evangelicals claimed they could tell who had achieved personal salvation and at what particular moment in time. Moreover, since denominational rivalries remained so strong in spite of the common inspiration of the evangelical faith, would-be converts inevitably had to be approached as individuals and not as communities. However, it had the advantage of a strong and indomitable faith, as well as a certain egalitarian belief that while all men were sinners until 'regenerated', all were equally capable of 'regeneration'. But probably the most significant advantage of this evangelicalism was its close association with the anti-slavery movement.

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[1] There is a good summary of 'The Missionary Awakening' in C. P. Groves: *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, London 1948, vol. I, ch. x.

The anti-slavery movement had its roots partly in the humanitarian feeling of a small group of people whose hearts were touched when physically brought in contact with the sufferings of the slaves, and partly also in the radical philosophies of the eighteenth-century age of reason and enlightenment, with its ideas of the noble savage, the natural rights of men, the inherent values of liberty in political, social and economic relationships, and the power of environment and law to change the character of man. This humanitarian feeling was at first directed, not to abolishing the status of slavery, but improving the condition of slaves and freed slaves. John Wesley had himself felt for the suffering of the slaves during his visit to America; he had also shared the current ideas about the idyllic existence of the noble savage who must not be disturbed.[1] But as he developed his evangelical doctrine of sin and redemption, he went beyond these humanitarian ideas. He concluded that the noble savage was 'a sinner and degenerate idolater' who must be converted; slavery was not just a cruel and inhuman practice that should be improved but a sin that must be abolished. In this way Wesley brought the whole weight of the evangelical revival behind the anti-slavery movement.

This alliance was by no means inevitable. Slave-owning and extreme evangelicals continued to protest against it on the grounds that slavery was a social and economic, not a spiritual matter; and that the worst crime of the worldly Christianity of the Age of Reason against which evangelicals were reacting was in obscuring the line of division between temporal and spiritual matters. But the main body of evangelicals saw in the anti-slavery campaign a challenge with which to awaken the conscience of the Christian to do his duty to his neighbour. The deadening of this conscience, they felt, was the real guilt of the generations of Christians who had tolerated slavery and had taken little interest in the expansion of the Church. Obscuring the line between temporal and spiritual matters was dangerous, not in itself but only because it could easily lead to this deadening of the conscience. To prevent this the clergy must observe this distinction and take no risks with their own consciences so that they could always keep awake those of their parishioners. But the parishioners themselves must carry their evangelical faith into every aspect of their lives. In short, from a faith withdrawing itself from the world, evangelicalism, largely through its involvement in the anti-slavery movement, produced a pressure group seeking to exert a corporate influence on many aspects of public life. It sought to do this, not directly through the clergy, who must remain withdrawn in the background, but through 'influential laymen'.

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[1] 'Thoughts on Slavery' in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley M.A.*, London 1872, vol. XI, pp. 64–5.

This involvement in the anti-slavery movement led the evangelicals down many an unexpected path. The movement, itself always a heterogeneous and unorganized body, had to rely on the effective organization and the enduring devotion of the evangelicals for its propaganda and for carrying out many aspects of its programme. As this programme broadened out to cover the diverse interests of the supporters of the anti-slavery movement, the evangelical missionaries in Africa found themselves champions not only of Christianity, but also of European commerce and civilization.

The trade of Britain with West Africa up to the eighteenth century had been based on its western ports like Bristol and Liverpool. From the end of the century onwards a new group of merchants, at first principally from London, took an interest in developing new fields of trade in West Africa. In contrast to the older established traders who had adjusted themselves to trading only on the coast, they were anxious to penetrate to the interior where larger and more advanced populations were reputed to exist. As a first step, they supported exploration of the interior, especially the Niger waterway. Soon after the Lander brothers' discovery, they were arguing that 'a new hope has been opened for Africa—a new opportunity . . . of bringing into cultivation some parts at least of this vast, neglected Estate, to the great benefit of the world; that it lies with England to improve this opportunity.'[1] Among those interested in this commercial penetration were some of those influential laymen whose counsels carried much weight in both evangelical and anti-slavery deliberations. It was Buxton, a leading evangelical and leader of the anti-slavery movement, who took up this commercial argument and in his book *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* converted it into the anti-slavery slogan.

Buxton argued that the efforts of Britain to stop the slave trade through diplomacy in Europe and naval patrols on the Atlantic had not visibly reduced the number of slaves taken out of Africa; that the only effective remedy was to attack the slave trade at its source of supply in Africa:

> We must elevate the minds of her people and call forth the resources of her soil. . . .
>
> Let missionaries and schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go

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[1] 'The Niger Expedition', *Edinburgh Review*, January 1841, vol. 72, p. 456.

> together and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened; confidence between man and man will be inspired; whilst civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity operate as the proximate cause, of this happy change.[1]

His plan for achieving this comprehensive programme had the attractive merit of simplicity. It was that the British government should supplement the naval patrol trying to blockade the coast with action on the mainland. He urged the government to undertake pioneer expeditions through the large waterways into the interior in order to make treaties with chiefs and to demonstrate what opportunities there were for private capital; that industrialists and merchants should follow the lead of the government and invest capital in the development of Africa; and it would be this new trade that would displace the slave trade. But in view of the fact that European trade on the coast both in slaves and recently in palm oil had had no beneficial effect, the new trade must be carefully organized to stimulate agriculture and to civilize. The old trade was controlled and restricted by the coastal chiefs, the new one must be free; it must produce both a free peasantry and also a new commercial and industrial class. For this reason, and also because of the climate, the government and the merchants supporting this programme should rely on using Africans from Sierra Leone and the Americas as their agents. These Africans, protected by Britain, guided by the missionaries, and working with capital from European merchants, would not—like European merchants—stay shyly away from the people, in hulks along the coast, but move inland and man factories at every strategic point, living together in little colonies, little cells of civilization from which the light would radiate to the regions around. As catechists and schoolmasters, they would preach Christianity; as carpenters, tailors, sawyers, masons and artisans, they would improve the standard of housing and household furniture and build the necessary roads and bridges to make a highway for legitimate trade. They would be commercial agents to encourage the cultivation of crops like cotton and indigo, which they would buy for the European market in return for European manufactures. They would teach new arts and new ideas and in every way bring down the old society on which the slave trade was based and set up in its place a new social order.

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[1] T. F. Buxton: *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, London 1840, pp. 282, 511. Buxton's ideas were first printed privately in a memorandum: 'Letter to Lord Melbourne' in 1838. Then his review of the *African Slave Trade* was published alone in 1839, his *Remedy* being held over because it was feared that the French or the Arabs might try to forestall Britain on the Niger. The full book was published in 1840. Soon after, a popular abridged version was released, as well as a reprint of all the favourable reviews. A German edition was published in 1841.

Buxton at once set about persuading Lord Melbourne's government to try out these proposals by sending an expedition up the Niger. He gave the manuscript of his book to the government, who withheld publication of his proposals to prevent the French from forestalling British action. Buxton founded 'the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa', with a Journal entitled *The Friend of Africa*, as well as an Agricultural Society. These, with the support of the evangelicals and the skilful manipulation of public opinion,[1] managed to convince the government. The result was the carefully prepared Niger Expedition of 1841, at a cost of some £100,000.[2] It was to symbolize the whole civilized force of Britain. There were three steam-boats; four commissioners of the government authorized to make treaties and explore the chances for a consul somewhere on the Niger; scientists of all types equipped with the latest instruments to make observations about the climate, the plants, the animals, the soil, the people themselves and their social and political institutions; commercial agents to report about the trade, the currency, the traffic on the river; a chaplain and two C.M.S. missionaries to report on the possibilities of missionary work. In addition there were agents of the Agricultural Society to acquire land at a suitable point near the confluence of the Niger and the Benue and there to establish a model farm that was to be the first cell of civilization. This was to be settled at first by twenty-four Africans who had been recruited after very wide publicity from Sierra Leone. They were to be managed by two British agriculturists, with Alfred Carr, a West Indian 'man of colour', as superintendent, and an African catechist, Thomas King, from Sierra Leone to look after their spiritual welfare before the full resident missionary party arrived.[3]

Little came of this Expedition. Treaties were signed with the Obi of Aboh and the Atta of Igalla; land was acquired at Lokoja and the model farm established. One of the ships went up the river as far as Egga. However, when forty-five of the 150 European members of the Expedition died, the model farm was wound up, the treaties were not ratified, and 'philanthropy' was laughed to scorn as the wishy-washy dreams of old women not fit to guide the actions of governments.[1] In 1843, the African Civilization Society and the Agricultural Society were disbanded. Buxton died broken-hearted two years later. But his influence did not die with him. Between 1839 and 1842 he had given the Niger as much publicity in Europe as any other African territory not the scene of war or within the path of the charismatic David Livingstone was to receive.

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[1] 'Quite an epitome of the State,' wrote Buxton. 'Whig, Tory, and Radical, Dissenter, Low Church, High Church, tip-top Oxfordism, all united.' E. Stocks: *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. I, p. 453.

[2] C. C. Ifemesia: 'The "Civilizing" Mission of 1841' in JHSN, vol. 2, no. 3, 1962.

[3] Allen and Thomson: *Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger River in 1841*, London 1848; J. F. Schon and S. Crowther: *Journals of the Expedition of 1841*, C.M.S. 1842.

It has been necessary to examine these events at some length because, in spite of immediate disillusionment, the Niger Expedition of 1841 marks the beginning of the new missionary enterprise in Nigeria. The publicity set in motion a train of events which the failure of the expedition could not hold back.[2] In particular, Buxton had achieved a far-reaching change in government policy. Hitherto generally averse to getting involved in West African local politics, the government now began to encourage the signing of slave-trade treaties to strengthen the hands of its naval officers by securing for them the support of favourably disposed African rulers on the mainland. That meant that the missionaries could now bank on more effective protection from the anti-slavery preventive squadron. Secondly, wide publicity in Sierra Leone gave new impetus to the spontaneous movement of the Liberated Africans there seeking to return home to Nigeria. In turn this led directly to the extension of the work of the Wesleyan Methodists and the C.M.S. from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone to Badagri. Scottish missionaries in Jamaica anxious to foster a similar movement from the West Indies received inspiration directly from reading Buxton's works. They established a mission sponsored by the United Presbyterian Church[3] at Calabar in 1846. It was an account of the work of the Methodists at Badagri that led Bowen of the Southern Baptist Convention there in 1850.

Thus the failure of the Niger Expedition did not stop European advance in Nigeria. It only meant that, for a crucial period, the initiative in the matter passed from the government, and even from the anti-slavery movement as such, to the missionary societies. The missionaries in fact set out to try to accomplish the programme outlined by Buxton for the civilization of Africa. It remains to consider more carefully what they meant by civilization.

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[1] Ten years later Charles Dickens still had England laughing at the Niger Expedition, caricatured in Mrs Jellyby's philanthropic schemes for civilizing Borrioboola Gha in *Bleak House*.

[2] Cf. J. Gallagher: 'Fowell Buxton and the New African Policy' in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. XI, 1950.

[3] I.e. the United Secession Church which on its union with the Relief Church in 1847 became the United Presbyterian Church.

Roman Catholics had always maintained that membership of the Church in any part of the world was a civilizing process both in the sense that the Church was the fountain-head of European civilization in art, music and literature, and in the old Greek sense that it was only by such membership that a man could fully justify the whole of his being. Most Protestants would have agreed with this view, although they would have emphasized that it was not so much membership of the Church that civilized as the power of the Gospel working in individual hearts. Yet in the middle of the nineteenth century it was precisely the Roman Catholic Church itself in Europe that was being attacked for its opposition to 'civilization' and 'progress'. Many Protestants also implied that there was a distinction between civilization and Christianity when they debated whether one should precede or follow after the other. Clearly, then, Buxton and the missionaries who shared his view meant by civilization more than was implicit in membership of the Church.

Civilization meant to them all that they considered best in their own way of life. In the first place, they expected conformity to their own social manners and customs. They insisted on even minor observances as necessary outward and visible signs of an inward 'civilized' state. The missionary on his first wedding anniversary at Badagri gave a tea-party and called it a token of civilization. He brought out cakes and biscuits, called his friends and assistants to the school-house, and as they sat down to tea commented:

> Could our friends but behold the very interesting sight which presents itself and witness the evident token of civilization which on all sides appeared . . . they would be delighted.[1]

Similarly, the new missionary in West Africa did not mind sweating in his clerical black; rather, he was worried that an older missionary should allow himself to be served at table by a young man and a girl each in a state of 'semi-nudity . . . [having] on only the waist cloth, being from the waist upwards and from the knee downwards naked, and that too in the presence of ladies'.[2] There was a proper and an improper way of doing things in Victorian England. And many of the customs and habits were regarded not just as unimportant matters of social convenience; to the missionary, each had a religious significance. He considered it not only more 'civilized' that a boy should bow to his elders instead of prostrating; he considered also that prostration might imply a sinful element of worshipping a human being. Similarly, Victorian Christian virtue demanded that 'nature's secret' be kept. It was permissible perhaps that a Yoruba lady convert should wear her *buba* and *iro* and *gele*, but it was more civilized still to wear the Victorian frock, high-necked, long sleeved, reaching down to the ankles.[1] The Victorian frock was an essential part of the Victorian doctrine of feminine modesty. The missionary who complained about the way houses were built in Badagri 'without any regard to anything like order or convenience'—

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[1] Rev. S. Annear, Journal entry for 20 Oct. 1844 (Meth.).

[2] Hope Waddell, *Journals*, vol. I, p. 21, giving an account of a visit to Freeman at Cape Coast, on Waddell's first voyage to Calabar, under date 26 Mar. 1846.

> Several times I followed what I supposed to be a public thoroughfare, but found it to terminate in a private yard—[2]

soon began to allude to the theological implications of life in the family compounds. Quite late in the century, a missionary asked:

> Is it proper to apply the sacred name of home to a compound occupied by two to six or a dozen men each perhaps with a plurality of wives?[3]

He had in his mind the rows of houses hedging a straight road in his own village, with just one man and his wife and children in each house. The European missionary from an individualist society found the African family system not only odd, but a negation of some of the things he considered most vital in life, not only monogamous marriage, but also the freedom of worship and the responsibility of each adult to God for his own soul.

Social reform is implicit in the preaching of a new religion. Consciously, as a preacher of Christianity interpreted in the light of European social and economic history, and unconsciously, as a man produced by that particular environment and as a man who taught not only by word but also by example, the missionary brought to Nigeria various aspects of European life such as fashions in dress, architecture and town-planning, and even of eating and salutation. However, what distinguished missionary work in the mid-nineteenth century, what made its social and economic influence go much further than the limited number of converted people was that the missionaries who saw civilization as allied to Christianity attempted more than just a reform of the manners of the converted. Early Victorian England had seen the coming of railways, of gas lighting, of public sanitation. The products of the Industrial Revolution were by then beginning to reach down to the masses from among whom many of the missionaries arose. When the missionaries talked about civilization, it was not so much the reform of manners that they referred to—they took that more or less for granted—as the 'temporal blessings which resulted from the spread of the true religion and its inseparable companion—Civilization',[1] as a missionary put it.

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[1] This was less true in the case of men. Henry Townsend at least thought that the Yoruba costume 'is very becoming as regards the male sex'. Journal for quarter ending December 1847, p. 6. C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] 'Journal of H. Townsend while on a Mission of Research', entry for 29 Dec. 1842; C.M.S. CA1/0215.

[3] Rev. W. T. Lumbley: *Foreign Mission Journal*, SBC, May 1897, vol. XLVII, no. 13, p. 405.

Among these temporal blessings, political changes along the lines advocated by Earl Grey[2] were sometimes included, but generally politics were in the background. The emphasis was on technical and industrial changes. 1851 was the year of the Great Exhibition of Britain's industrial achievements. Prince Albert in opening a jubilee meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in that year called the exhibition 'a festival of the Civilization of Mankind . . . This Civilization rests on Christianity, can only be maintained by Christianity.'[3] Buxton's 'Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa', after declaring it their unanimous opinion that 'the only complete cure of all the evils' that the slave trade caused in Africa was 'the introduction of Christianity into Africa', defined their programme of civilization as:

> [to] adopt effectual measures for reducing the principal languages of Western and Central Africa into writing;
> prevent or mitigate the prevalence of disease and suffering among the people of Africa;
> encourage practical science in all its various branches;
> investigate the system of drainage best calculated to succeed in a climate so humid and so hot;
> assist in promoting the formation of roads and canals, the manufacture of paper and the use of the printing press;
> afford essential assistance to the natives by furnishing them with useful information as to the best mode of cultivation, as to the productions which command a steady market and by introducing the most approved agricultural implements and seeds. The time may come when the knowledge of the mighty powers of steam might

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[1] S. Annear: Journal of a visit to the Encampment, August 1844 (Meth.).

[2] In 1853, Earl Grey described Lord John Russell's policy on the Gold Coast as being:
'to keep constantly in sight the formation of a regular government on the European model, and the establishment of civilized policy as the goal ultimately to be attained. . . . The real interest of this country is gradually to train the inhabitants of this part in the arts of Civilization and government'.
Earl Grey: *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, London 1853, vol. II, p. 286.

[3] Stocks, op. cit., vol. II, p. 12.

> contribute rapidly to promote the improvement and prosperity of that country.[1]

In spite of the slogan 'The Bible and the Plough',[2] it was not so much agriculture that the missionaries considered the civilizing occupation, as the commerce that resulted from it. Agriculture was recommended to the African as a way of producing the 'legitimate' articles of the trade that would link him with Christian Europe. Agriculture in mid-nineteenth-century England was a respectable occupation of the aristocracy, but civilization was a middle-class affair. When a missionary, an Irishman, on leave from Calabar, visited Newcastle and saw for the first time the London-Edinburgh train, he declared:

> Old things are passed away, and all things are become new. The baronial and feudal age are gone never to be recalled. The railways and trains can never yield to old barbarism. Border warfare and internicene feuds fall before them. The lords of the land and the Queen of the realm must come down from their chargers and state carriages and ride in the cars of commerce made by plebeians for their own use.[3]

By no means every missionary shared the radicalism of this Irishman. But it might be said that for most of them, whether or not they encouraged the African to wear the top hat and drink tea, it was the railways, the cars of commerce, that symbolized the highest achievement of civilization. Also that they considered it the achievement of the middle classes, the type which they wished to see created in Africa.

This desire of mid-nineteenth-century missionaries to create an African middle class must be emphasized. It was reinforced by the argument that, for reasons of climate and of expense, a large part of the missionary staff had to be African. But the aim was often pursued deliberately and for its own sake. 'In the history of man,' said the American pioneer missionary, 'there has been no civilization which has not been cemented and sustained in existence by a division of the people into higher, lower and middle classes. We may affirm, indeed, that this constant attendant upon human society—gradation of classes—is indispensable to civilization in any form, however low or high.' It was to the lack of this gradation of classes that he traced African backwardness. For, he said, in Africa there was

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[1] 'Prospectus of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, instituted June 1839' at the beginning of Buxton: *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, pp. 8–16.

[2] Buxton adopted the slogan from Read, a missionary in South Africa. Read had said: 'We take a plough with us, but let it be remembered that in Africa the Bible and the Plough go together.' Buxton, op. cit., p. 483.

[3] Waddell, *Journals*, vol. X, p. 15.

> no class of eminent men whose attainments may give unity, force and direction to Society; no middle class who are prepared by their attainments to receive impulses of knowledge and wisdom and power from their superiors and communicate it to the millions of the common people. With the single exception of political chiefs, themselves barbarians, the whole society of Sudan rests and stagnates on a dead level, and the people remain poor, ignorant and wretched, because they have no superiors.[1]

The emergence of such a class was perhaps the most concrete feature of the social revolution the missionaries envisaged.

There was another reason, more intimately related to their work, why missionaries wished to see an African middle class emerge. Most Catholics accepted as normal that their ordained missionaries should themselves foster the arts of civilization. On the other hand, there was always, as we have noticed, an undercurrent of opinion among Protestants, particularly evangelicals, to the effect that things temporal and spiritual did not mix well together, that ministers and ordained missionaries were essentially preachers of the Word who should not meddle with politics, trade, agriculture, or even education, except in so far as these things directly aided the work of conversion. In spite of the collaboration of evangelicals and humanitarians within the abolitionist movement, the two remained distinct. There were humanitarians like Palmerston who remained eighteenth-century sceptics and there were fervent evangelicals who did not feel the call to reform prisons or mitigate the severity of old laws or even to seek emancipation for slaves. It may be said that it was humanitarians who set out to civilize the African, the evangelicals set out to Christianize him. But as the evangelical missionary wished to see active religion influence every aspect of life at home by emphasizing the role of pious laymen like Buxton in business, government, and society as a whole, so in Africa he looked to the incipient middle class brought up in the mission to lead the civilization movement.

The missionaries placed emphasis on the development of trade because they believed that it would inevitably lead to the formation of such a class who would then themselves begin to carry out the social reforms the missionaries wished to see carried out but would rather not meddle with. Commerce, said Bowen, will aid the 'change in Society which the Gospel seeks'. For example, he said, 'commerce will erect new standards of responsibility and thus remove one of the strongest props of polygamy'.[2] The President of the C.M.S. wrote in a letter on behalf of the Queen to the rulers of Abeokuta in 1850: 'The commerce between nations in exchanging the fruits of the earth is blessed by God.'[1] But the C.M.S. consistently condemned the palm oil trade which was replacing the slave trade on the coast, on the grounds that it was conducted in a way that did not lead to the emergence of a middle class and so left African society unchanged. The commerce the missionaries wanted must penetrate the country, must be based on the produce of peasants, to be collected and processed by the agents of civilization. In short, they aimed more at a policy of planned economic development than just an expansion of trade.

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[1] T. J. Bowen: *Adventures and Missionary Labours in several Countries in the Interior of Africa*, New York 1857, pp. 339–40.

[2] Ibid.

Buxton quite naturally had looked to the Niger as the obvious highway along which to penetrate the country. Events, however, led the missionaries in the first instance not to the Niger but to Badagri and Calabar. It was Badagri in fact that became the gateway. When, in 1842, missionaries established the first station at Badagri and began to penetrate to Abeokuta, rulers everywhere else along the coast, including those at Calabar, were continuing to bar the way to European intervention in the country. It was the southern extension of the Fulani empire, referred to earlier, that had begun, as it were, to weaken the line of defence.

The Fulani conquest of Ilorin had been the last and decisive blow that led to the dissolution of the Old Oyo empire and the consequent Yoruba wars.[2] From about 1825 until they were defeated at the battle of Oshogbo in 1840, Ilorin-based Fulani armies destroyed many large towns in Northern Yoruba. Large masses of people fled southwards, increasing the population of the southern Oyo provinces and, in alliance with Ife and Ijebu adventurers, destroyed the Egba towns, settling on their land and pushing the Egba people further south still. In other words, the Yoruba replied to the Fulani threat by moving southwards and seeking among other things European arms and other means of restoration. But the supply of arms from the south did not solve the political problems in Yoruba. No single leader, town or group was able to restore order throughout the whole country. Internecine wars therefore continued to plague the Yoruba throughout the nineteenth century.

One result of this upheaval was to weaken the traditional social, political and religious ideas and institutions. The new towns and states were experimenting with new forms of government and military organizations. Turbulent characters were challenging tradition in various ways. Confidence in the old gods was shaken at many points. And as the century progressed, there was in the air expectation of some change that would restore order and stability. Missionaries in the 1840s and 1850s often reported how they were welcomed in different places and what prophecies had preceded them about the coming of the white man who would herald in an era of peace and prosperity. Generally the missionaries interpreted this to mean that the traditional gods and religious concepts were doomed to an easy extinction. They were often surprised later to find out how stubbornly the old gods held on to life and how instinctively even genuine converts of many years' standing went back to traditional social and religious concepts. Nevertheless war-weariness and the expectation of change provided opportunities for the Christian missions, though not less for Muslim missionaries as well.[1]

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[1] Stocks, op. cit., vol. II, p. 114.

[2] J. F. A. Ajayi and R. S. Smith: *Yoruba Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge 1964.

One other effect of the Yoruba wars was a temporary intensification of the slave-trade. This was at a time when, on the one hand, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were asserting their independence, and developing sugar and coffee plantations, often with English capital, and when on the other hand the British preventive squadron on the West African coast was becoming increasingly effective in capturing slave-vessels. Prisoners captured in the wars, as well as stray refugees on the way, were taken to the coast and sold into slavery. One of the earliest victims of this was the boy Ajayi, the future Bishop Crowther, aged about 15, made prisoner in the dry season of early 1821 when his town of Oshogun, a few miles south of Iseyin was sacked. He changed hands several times, but in the end was sold to Portuguese traders. He was put on board the *Esperanza Felix* on 7 April 1822; but, that same evening, while still in the Lagos roads, the Portuguese ship was captured by two ships of the British navy.[2]

When he arrived in Sierra Leone in June 1822 to embark on his extraordinary career, Ajayi was one of the earliest Yoruba there. By 1827, largely on account of the wars mentioned above, the Yoruba had

[1] Cf. T. J. Bowen, op. cit., p. 113: 'At the time of my arrival in the country, many of the Egbas and Yorubas, looking round on their ruined country, felt sick of war and the slave trade, and sighed for a return of their former peace and prosperity.' Also D. Hinderer's conversations on his first visit to Ibadan with the Agbakin 'whose favourite topic of conversation is the peace that is to come'. Journal entries for 2, 11 and 22 June 1851 (C.M.S. CA2/049). Hinderer more than anybody else was conscious of the Christian/Muslim confrontation in the Yoruba country at this time, e.g. his Journal entry for 15 April 1855 reports an encounter with a Muslim missionary: 'He says Mohammedans must conform a little with heathen fashion because they are not yet enough in number and power to get on without.' Hinderer replied: 'Our power must be in our religion, not in our number, nor in our position.'

[2] S. Crowther to Major Straith, 22 Feb. 1837; C.M.S. CA1/089. H. Macaulay: 'The Romantic Story of the life of a little Yoruba boy named Adjai' in *Nigeria Magazine*, November 1946.

become a recognizable group in the colony. They were called Akus (Ackoos, Acoos, Ockoos) because of the way they greeted, which also shows that up till then the majority of them were Oyo, since it is the Oyo-Yoruba who greet in this way. In 1830 John McCormack, an old resident in Sierra Leone, told a Parliamentary Committee that the 'Akoos' or 'Eayows' were the predominant group in the colony.[1]

During the 1830s the Egba became more numerous in Sierra Leone than the Oyo, for it was the Egba who paid the greatest price for the revolution in the Yoruba country. For this reason they were also the most ready to welcome the arrival of Europeans. Some 153 Egba towns and villages had been destroyed in the wars. In about the year 1830, under the leadership of Chief Sodeke, the Egba began to assemble on the defensible site around Olumo rock to found the town of Abeokuta. When missionaries arrived offering education, Christianity and European skills in the defence and the development of the town, Abeokuta was barely twelve years old, already with a population of thirty to forty thousand people. The task of fashioning an acceptable and workable constitution for the government of the town had scarcely been tackled yet. People from each of the old towns settled in a group with their particular ruler, behaving as if the towns were still physically separate or, as a missionary later said, 'as if all the German principalities and little kingdoms were brought together in one town, each acting, but seldom in unison'.[2]

Sodeke addressed himself primarily to the external problems of defence. He saw clearly that the greatest threat to Abeokuta came from the Ijebu, and that if the Egba were to survive, they must have direct access to ammunition from the coast, own a port of their own, and make contacts with the European world. Badagri, weak and divided, was the obvious port to choose. Sodeke therefore sought to control the Egbado and the Awori people who lived between Abeokuta and Badagri. He did not develop any machinery for the effective government of those parts, only insisting that the rulers should be people favourable to the Egba, people who would welcome them, give them land to farm, and protect their traders on their way to and from the coast.

Dahomey, freed from the rule of Old Oyo, was expanding also into the Egbado area and inevitably viewed Abeokuta as a dangerous rival. While Dahomey effectively controlled Whydah, and to some extent Porto Novo, and had acquired a monopoly of the trade and regulated the activities of European traders on her coast, she saw to it that Abeokuta did not succeed in controlling Badagri in a similar manner. When in 1842 Sodeke sought to remove the last remaining obstacle on the Abeokuta-Badagri route by besieging the hostile town of Ado, Dahomey came to its aid. The siege was to last till 1853, when missionaries intervened to get the Egba to decamp.

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[1] PP 1830 x, p. 69.

[2] Townsend to Commander Wilmot, 5 Aug. 1851; PP 1852, LIV, *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, p. 157. Also S. O. Biobaku: *The Egba State and its Neighbours*, Oxford 1957, p. 2.

Few towns can have had a more turbulent history than Badagri. It was founded soon after 1727 by a group of Egun, Hueda and Wemenu who fled from Allada and Whydah when King Agaja Trudo of Dahomey annexed those coastal states. At first the people lived on a little fishing and a small trade in salt made by evaporating sea-water, but before long they drew the attention of European slave-traders who rejoiced to see a bit of inhabited coast not under the power of a strong African monarch. Soon Badagri became an important slave market, stretching for over a mile along the coast opposite the several barracoons of Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and English merchants, who lived tolerantly side by side, each doing business with one or the other of the eight wards of the town. The population increased rapidly, with traders and slaves coming, in particular, from the Porto Novo and Egbado areas. It remained politically weak because it did not develop any strong central organization; no hereditary monarch as at Bonny, no powerful council like the Ekpe at Calabar. It was an anomalous, cosmopolitan little republic, ruled over by a group of disunited chiefs. They had an ineffective council, presided over by Akran, the 'Portuguese' chief; in the event of war Possu, the 'Dutch' chief, was expected to take command of all the troops.

Divided political authority did not preclude prosperity when the slave trade was at its height, but as soon as the effects of the British preventive squadron began to be felt, Badagri fell out of favour with the slave traders. For one thing, the town might be a useful port in peaceful times, but it had not the harbour facilities necessary for eluding the vigilance of the squadron. It was on a lagoon, cut off from the ocean by a mile of sandy shore, with no outlet between Cotonou and Lagos, so that it was impossible to load a cargo and slip away to sea unobserved.

Unfortunately, the English 'legitimate' trader did not come to revive Badagri's trade because Badagri had little to offer him. The soil around Badagri was sandy and infertile,[2] and there was little palm-oil in the immediate hinterland, and no ivory, no gold. When Richard Lander

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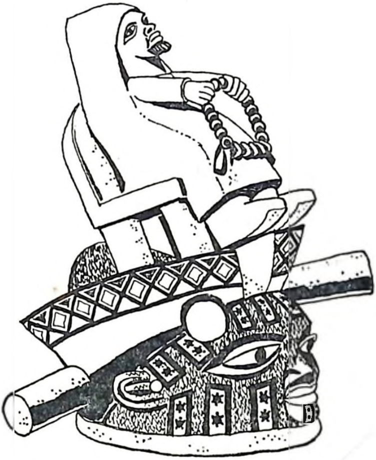
[1] C. Newbury: *The Western Slave Coast and its Rulers*, Oxford 1961, pp. 30–2; D. N. Duckworth: 'Badagry—its place in the Pages of History' in *Nigeria Magazine*, 1952.

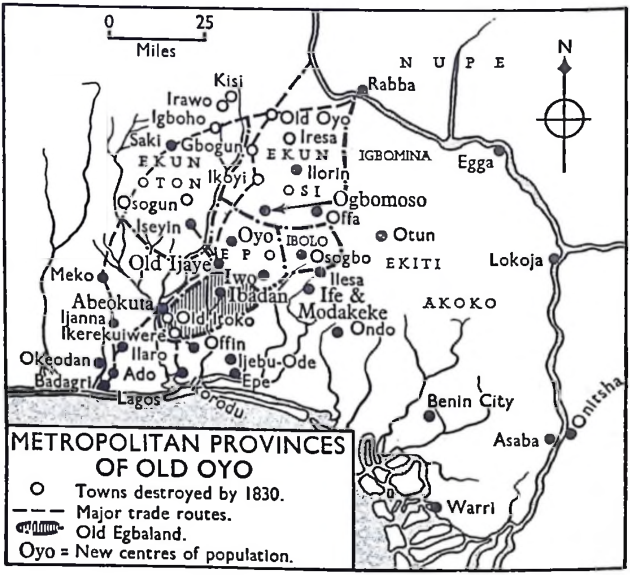
[2] Gollmer: Journal, June 1847. 'The soil here is anything but rich.'

returned to Badagri in 1830, he reported neither slave-trader nor Englishmen. 'Everything bore an air of gloom and sadness totally different from what he had been led to expect,' said his brother. In 1840 a Captain Marmon tried to establish a factory there and failed; Captain Parsons, agent of Thomas Hutton & Co., in 1844 barely received enough oil to pay his expenses. And Captain Parsons was the one English trader the first missionaries found there in 1842.

It was because Badagri was weak, divided and poor that it was open to the Egba to build up some influence there. It was also for this reason that the emigrants, largely Egba, and not welcome in Kosoko's Lagos, found in Badagri a home or a route to the interior. In this way, Badagri became the first mission station in Nigeria. In other words, the dissolution of the Old Oyo empire and the consequent Yoruba Wars, the unsettled political situation, and the pressing demand from the Egba for European arms and ammunition had made Badagri an open door to Europeans seeking to penetrate the country. Indirectly therefore the last advance that Islam made to the south prepared the way for the advance inland of the influences of Christian Europe.



The Changing World View. A Gelede mask from Western Nigeria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Epe
Lagos
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Benin City
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Asaba
Warri

METROPOLITAN PROVINCES OF OLD OYO

O Towns destroyed by 1830.

--- Major trade routes.

▨ Old Egbaland.

Oyo = New centres of population.

2 The Return of the Exiles

The vision of home had a great power of attraction for the Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone, those who (unlike the Maroons or Nova Scotians)[1] had been recaptured by the British preventive squadron, often within a few days of their being shipped, and set free in Sierra Leone two or three months after that. To most officials and missionaries, they were just liberated 'Africans', but among themselves, they were Ibo or Nupe or Hausa. The Yoruba, who as a result of the wars of the early nineteenth century quickly became the most numerous group, were not even just 'Akus', but Oyo, Egba, Ijebu, Ijesa, Ife.[2] Home meant to them some remembered family homestead, father or mother, aunts, cousins, children.

On their arrival in the colony some enlisted in the West Indian regiments; some were apprenticed to artisans and traders in Freetown or settled in farming villages under superintendents; the younger ones were mostly sent to mission schools.[3] Many became Christians, others remained Muslims or continued to adhere to their traditional religion. A good number of them learnt to read and write and sought employment from the government, the missions or the commercial houses. By 1840, when few of the Liberated Africans had spent more than twenty years in the colony, some were already successful traders on their own.

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[1] Sierra Leone colonists included (a) *The Settlers*, who in 1787 founded the colony; (b) *Nova Scotians*, who were former slaves in America, emancipated on joining British troops during the American War of Independence, later located in Nova Scotia, and moved to Sierra Leone in 1791; (c) *Maroons*, who were ex-slaves of the Spaniards from whom the British seized Jamaica in 1655; they lived as free Negroes on the mountains, revolted against the British in 1795, and were removed to Sierra Leone via Halifax in 1800; (d) *Mandingoes*, *Kroomen*, and *Temne*, who came from the surrounding countries to look for work in the colony; (e) *Liberated Africans*.

[2] Cf. also the fact that although official records were almost always silent about their ethnic origins, their own personal records, e.g. tombstones, were often specific on this point. Also, the Rev. Koelle, whose *Polyglotta Africana* (C.M.S. 1856) was evidently based on personal interviews, listed Egba, Ijesa, Oyo, Ijebu as different languages.

[3] C. H. Fyfe: *A History of Sierra Leone*, Oxford 1962. R. R. Kuczynski: *Demographic Survey of the British Empire*, vol. 1. West Africa, Oxford 1958.

There was Thomas Will,[1] for example, the head of the Yoruba in Freetown, who died that year leaving behind him '£2,000 and a good corner house in Walpole Street which he had bought two years earlier for £305'. There was John Langley,[2] an Ibo, educated at the C.M.S. Regent School, who, dismissed as a village teacher, took to trading and in 1837 was appointed Superintendent of Charlotte village, the first Liberated African to be appointed to such a post. Others, like John Ezzidio, a Nupe, William Pratt, an Ibo, and Benjamin Pratt, a Yoruba, were rising young men, investing money in land, making contacts with business houses in Europe, supporting the missions fervently, seeking good education for their children, trying to live as much as possible like Victorian gentlemen.[3]

Others were rising in mission employment, the most notable of whom was Ajayi,[4] who arrived in the colony in June 1822 and was baptized by the Rev. J. C. Raban in 1825 as Samuel Crowther, after the Vicar of Christ Church, Newgate, a prominent supporter of the C.M.S. He was an industrious, intelligent, humble young man, the type beloved by missionaries. He learned to read and write; he learned some carpentry from Weeks, the Industrial Agent of the mission, who later became Bishop; he went to England with the Rev. and Mrs. Davey in 1826 and spent some months at the parish school in Islington. He returned, in 1827, in time to be the first student enrolled for the institution that was to become Fourah Bay College.[5] He taught in various mission and government schools, probably helping Raban in collecting vocabularies of the Yoruba language, studying Greek and Temne, a local language. By 1840 he had become sufficiently important to sign petitions on behalf of other Liberated Africans. In August of that year, with one John Attara, he addressed a petition to the special meeting of the local committee of the C.M.S. about higher education.[6]

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[1] C. H. Fyfe: 'View of the New Burial Ground' in *Sierra Leone Studies*, new series no. 2, June 1954, p. 89.

[2] Ibid.

[3] C. H. Fyfe: 'The Life and Times of John Ezzidio' in *Sierra Leone Studies*, new series no. 4, June 1955.

[4] See p. 20.

[5] Stocks, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 450–1.

[6] Crowther and Attara, Petition to Special Meeting of Local Committee; C.M.S. CA1/M9, 17 Aug. 1840:
'We hear that the committee in England is very glad to do anything for our children in Europe, but is very much concerned about their health and life.

'We do not deny this: but still we have had many examples of boys who have been sent to England, several of whom have already returned to the colony after many years spent in that country, which make us hope for the best and therefore we are willing to make our children an example, on our part.

'Our chief motive in writing to you on this important step is, should it please God, after they are qualified they may be usefully employed as the servants of the Church Missionary Society in this benighted continent.'

He was at the same time advocating the establishment of a model farm and the formation of an agricultural society. In these activities he first showed his gift of leadership, his persistent advocacy of progressive measures and his unmistakable intellectual ability, as well as a firm, practical evangelical faith, expressed in a blameless life, both at home and in public office. When asked to join the Niger Expedition of 1841, he readily agreed, but when it was further suggested that he should emigrate, and be the catechist in charge of the settlers at the model farm at Lokoja, he protested, pointing out that he had a family, and he recommended instead Thomas King, who was a widower with a daughter old enough to be left with her uncle.[1]

To the majority of the Liberated Africans, however, success did not come so easily. Women were scarce; markets, farming land, opportunities in general were restricted. Many of them therefore began to look for opportunities beyond the colony. John Langley had been trading with the peoples to the north of the colony, but in 1834 the Governor had to intervene to rescue him from jail when the Alkali of Port Lokko imprisoned him for selling gunpowder to his enemies, the Mendes.[2] A little later, others, singly or in mutual aid groups, bought condemned slave-vessels and traded down the coast as far as Badagri and Lagos. It was here that some of them found people they knew and old family ties were renewed. As Crowther described it two years later:

> Some found their children, others their brothers and sisters, by whom they were entreated not to return to Sierra Leone. One of the traders had brought to Sierra Leone two of his grandchildren from Badagri to receive instruction. Several of them had gone into the interior altogether. Others in this colony have messages sent to them by their parents and relations whom the traders met at Badagry.[3]

In November 1839, while Buxton's *Remedy* was still a secret plan being urged on the government, twenty-three leading Yoruba merchants, led by Thomas Will, presented to Governor Doherty a petition which contained ideas similar to Buxton's. The humble petitioners

> feel with much thankful to Almighty God and the Queen of England, who had rescued us from being in a state of slavery, and has brought us to this colony and set us at liberty and thanks be to the God of all mercy who has sent his servants to declare unto us poor creatures the way of salvation, which illuminates our understanding so we are

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[1] Warburton, Sec. of Local Committee to C.M.S. Secretaries, 20 July 1841; C.M.S. CA1/03.

[2] C. H. Fyfe: 'View of the New Burial Ground', op. cit.

[3] Extracts from Samuel Crowther's Journal for the term ending June 1841 in C.M.S. CA1/M9, p. 438.

> brought to know we have a soul to save, and when your humble petitioners look back upon their country people who are now living in darkness, without the light of the Gospel, so we take upon ourselves to direct this our humble petition to your Excellency.
>
> That the Queen will graciously to sympathize with her humble petitioners to establish a colony to Badagri that the same may be under the Queen's Jurisdiction and beg of her Royal Majesty to send missionary with us and by so doing the slave trade can be abolished, because the dealers can be afeared to go up to the said place so that the Gospel of Christ can be preached throughout our land. . . .

Governor Doherty recommended the proposal to the favourable consideration of Lord John Russell;

> If it should consist with the designs of Her Majesty's Government for the extirpation of the slave trade and the civilization of the continent to encourage the establishment of any settlements of this description.'[1]

'We cannot send them,' the Secretary of State minuted, 'without giving them security and protection, which implies expense. But they can go if they wish.' Even in March 1841, when the Niger Expedition was about to leave England, Russell was more concerned with putting all sorts of pressure, short of actual coercion, on the Liberated Africans to emigrate to the West Indies than with assisting them to go to Nigeria. There was evidently no connection in his mind between the mass, spontaneous emigration of people who, according to his Under-Secretary, did not appear 'well-instructed in the arts of civilized life'[2] and the ordered movement of civilizing missionaries proposed by Buxton.

It must be said that the respectable petitioners, merchants with landed property, were not the people intending to emigrate. None of the twenty-three signatories of the petition is in fact known to have done so. By March 1840 Governor Doherty seems to have realized this, when he wrote another despatch on the 'pretty extensive and growing disposition' to emigrate that existed in the colony. The people concerned were smaller men and they were not waiting for the British Government to establish a colony for them. Two parties of fourteen and twenty, he said, had left.

The Governor was certainly not as enthusiastic about this mass-movement as he had been about the proposal for a British colony in

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[1] Doherty to Russell, 30 Nov. 1839 and enclosure dated 15 Nov. 1839; CO 265/154.

[2] Minute by Vernon Smith on Doherty's dispatch of 30 Nov. 1839

Badagri. Of the two hundred people who applied, he said that he issued passports to only forty-four men and seventeen women.

The missionaries in Sierra Leone at first frowned on a movement leading their parishioners to forsake a Christian settlement for 'a land of darkness'. The same opinion was later expressed at Abeokuta by Henry Townsend. By leaving Sierra Leone, he said, the emigrants had 'left the country where God was known for this where God was not known; thus turning their backs upon them'.[1] However, as Buxton's ideas were unfolded, the missionaries soon adopted a more conciliatory attitude. The publicity given to Buxton's ideas and the arrangements for the Niger Expedition created a good deal of excitement in the colony. Governor Doherty, still reporting on the emigration movement, no longer spoke of restless, poor people leaving the colony because they could not get jobs, but of merchants who wished 'to carry back among their countrymen the arts and improvements of Europe which they had acquired here, with the fortunes which had been amassed by them'.[1] Besides the traders to whom the Expedition gave promise of opportunities, many others entered fully into the hopes and aspirations for Africa entertained by Buxton and the Evangelicals. Crowther described the excitement, and forecast that if the Expedition succeeded, many, not just Egba and Yoruba, but Kanuri, Hausa, Nupe and Ibo would emigrate.[3] And as the various churches called prayer meetings and instituted special funds to aid the project, and as friends and relatives arranged little send-off parties for the members of the Expedition, there developed some of the drama and prophecy proper to the eve of such a crusade. Perhaps the most remarkable story was that of John Langley. He had been dismissed from Charlotte, and had become a bitter critic of the government and missionaries. Then suddenly, during an illness in 1841, he was converted into a pious evangelical and fervent advocate of the taking of 'the Bible and the Plough' to the banks of the Niger.[4]

The emigration continued, however, not to the Niger but to Badagri and the Yoruba country, and the failure of the Expedition did not stop it. The Methodists, who had played a less conspicuous part than the C.M.S. in the arrangements for the Expedition, were the first to adopt the emigration wholeheartedly as an alternative way of penetrating into Nigeria. As early as June 1841, the Rev. Thomas Dove, the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Sierra Leone, announced that he

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1 'Journal of H. Townsend while on a Mission of Research', entry for 5 Jan. 1843; C.M.S. CA1/0215.

2 Doherty to Russell, 3 Oct. 1840; CO 267/160.

3 Extracts from Samuel Crowther's Journal for the term ending June 1841, op. cit.

4 C. H. Fyfe: 'View of the New Burial Ground', op. cit.

had received two letters from the emigrants in Badagri, one anonymous, the other signed by James Fergusson, inviting missionaries to visit them urgently.[1] In recommending the letters for action by the Home Committee, Dove asserted that the desire of the emigrants for their country was

> that the Gospel of God our Saviour may be preached unto her, that schools may be established, that Bibles may be sent, that the British flag may be hoisted, and that she may rank among the civilized nations of the earth.[2]

But all this enthusiasm, much of which faded with the failure of the Niger Expedition, did not convert the movement of nostalgic exiles seeking home and opportunities into the conscious crusaders against the twin evils of idolatry and slavery for which the evangelicals were looking, though a few of them, like Crowther, did in fact become such crusaders. Many missionaries realized that the mass of emigrants[3] who in the early 1840s gave the movement its significant character of the 'return of the exiles from Babylon' and brought missionaries after them, did not exactly fit Buxton's description of the agents of civilization. Schön argued at the conclusion of his Report on the Niger Expedition of 1841 that the Africans in the West Indies were

> in many respects better qualified than the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone: they have seen more of European habits; are better acquainted with agricultural labours; and have a much greater taste for European comforts.[4]

He added, however, that Liberated Africans were preferable, since the West Indians did not fit easily into African society but were in greater and more urgent need of training. Crowther similarly was 'reluctantly led to adopt the opinion that Africa can chiefly be benefited by her own children' and they must be given the requisite training.[5] One result of this was an appeal for funds to expand the work at Fourah Bay as a training institution and to improve secondary education in Freetown. The emigrants did not wait for the training, and the improvement of education did not keep pace with the demand on its resources. Missionaries had to be sent after the emigrants at once.

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[1] Published in Meth. *Missionary Notices*, new series, no. 1, pp. 801–2. December 1841.

[2] Letter of Dove, 1 June 1841, ibid.

[3] In a sense they were immigrants into Nigeria, emigrants from Sierra Leone, Cuba or Brazil. But since they were also emigrants from Nigeria in the first instance, I have adopted the term emigrants by which they were generally known in the nineteenth century. In Yoruba, the Sierra Leone emigrants were *Saro*, the Cuban and Brazilian, *Amaro*.

[4] Schön and Crowther: *Journals of the 1841 Expedition*, pp. 62–3.

[5] Ibid., p. 439.

The Methodists acted first. The Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, the energetic Superintendent of the Methodist Mission at Cape Coast, who had shown outstanding abilities by his accounts of his two visits to Ashanti, was asked to occupy Badagri as an out-station of Cape Coast. His arrival on 24 September 1842 marked the effective beginning of missionary enterprise in Nigeria. He was accompanied by a Fanti 'assistant missionary', William de Graft, a native of Cape Coast who had been working at Winneba. He bought a small piece of ground on which he at once built a temporary bamboo chapel and, at a cost of some £300, a more elaborate mission house, the planks for which he had brought along—

> a large, airy dwelling-house, fit for an European family, raised from ten to twelve feet from the ground, on twenty-two stout coconut pillars, averaging about three-quarters of a ton each in weight . . . It appeared a thing so novel and extraordinary, that the people were often seen standing in groups at a short distance, gazing at it in astonishment.[1]

While working on it, he began holding prayer-meetings on Sundays with the Sierra Leone emigrants, settling their disputes, obtaining land for them from the authorities and sharing it out for them. He saw, however, that the majority of those who had arrived and of those who were still arriving did not stay at Badagri, but were moving out to Abeokuta, and he decided to pay them a visit. On Sunday, 11 December, Freeman entered Abeokuta and was very warmly received, both by Sodeke and the chiefs and by the emigrants. He stayed ten days, holding meetings with the emigrants, visiting the chiefs and discussing with them, looking round and making sketches of the town. He bought horses to use in his mission on the Gold Coast. On the eve of his departure, he gave a dinner party:

> Sodaka and a few members of his family and the principal men among the emigrants dined with me. We fixed a temporary table under the shed in Sodaka's yard and all things passed off well. Our party amounted, to the best of my recollection, to about twenty-five persons. Sodaka seemed much delighted; it was the first time he had ever eaten food after the manner and customs of Europeans.[2]

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[1] T. B. Freeman: *Journals of various visits to the Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku and Dahomi.* Part III, published first in *Missionary Notices* and later as a book, 1844.

[2] Ibid.

Freeman returned to Badagri on Christmas Eve to find Henry Townsend, a C.M.S. missionary, just arrived on a similar exploratory journey.

The Local Committee of the C.M.S. in Sierra Leone, not wishing to be outdone by their Methodist friends, had decided to send a missionary to look after the interests of their own members among the emigrants. They picked on Henry Townsend, a young man of 26, frail-looking, but intelligent, determined and very ambitious. He had wished to join the Niger Expedition but had been turned down in favour of Samuel Crowther.[1] He was sent to Abeokuta only on 'a mission of research', to collect information about the country, the emigrants and the chances of a missionary establishment.[2] He was given free passage by Captain Harry Johnson, a Sierra Leonean trader, in his vessel, the *Wilberforce*, with fifty-nine emigrants on board, paying 12 dollars each, self-fed.[3] He arrived on 4 January 1843 at Abeokuta, where he received as warm a welcome as Freeman had received. He was impressed by the goodwill of Sodeke, who at once offered him land for a mission, but he refused to commit the C.M.S. in advance. Rather, he asked Sodeke to send two of his children with him to Sierra Leone to be educated, but Sodeke declined on the grounds that if missionaries were in fact going to settle in Abeokuta, there was no need.

Townsend was also impressed by the fact that the emigrants had been well received, and were treated not like ex-slaves but as honourable members of society whose skills in the arts of writing, of building houses and sawing timber and sewing clothes were being utilized. It was said that Sodeke, with characteristic warmth of heart and indifference to political calculations, suggested they could have a whole quarter of the town to themselves. The missionaries would have liked nothing better, but, as was commented in 1851, the emigrants took the suggestion lightly.[4] They had not travelled from so far, seeking friends and relatives, only to arrive and voluntarily segregate themselves; but they kept their European clothes, exploited their wide travels and made good traders.

Townsend went back to report on his mission and to prepare himself for ordination, leaving behind the emigrant who had acted as his interpreter, Andrew Wilhelm, to look after the interests of the C.M.S. Samuel Crowther, whose *Journal of the 1841 Expedition* greatly impressed the C.M.S. Committee, was called to England to spend some time at the

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[1] Townsend to C.M.S. Secretaries, 8 March 1841; C.M.S. CA1/079. Townsend was a little sore at the disappointment.

[2] 'Instructions of Local Committee' in J. Warburton to H. Townsend, 9 Nov. 1842; C.M.S. CA1/0218.

[3] Townsend: Journal while on a Mission of Research, entry for 14 Nov. 1842; C.M.S. CA1/0215.

[4] Townsend to Major Hector Straith, 28 Jan. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085.

Training College, Islington. He was ordained in 1843 and was sent back to Sierra Leone to prepare for a mission to Abeokuta by beginning to conduct services in the Yoruba language.

Freeman went back to Cape Coast by way of Dahomey. Meanwhile de Graft remained in charge of the Methodist Mission in Badagri. He began regular Sunday services in the chapel for the emigrants and others who cared to come along. With his wife he opened a day school which he called the 'nursery of the infant church'. There were some forty to fifty children on the roll, belonging mostly to the emigrants and to one or two of the chiefs, Possu having sent no less than six. In the evenings de Graft preached in the open air at the market-place or instructed those who came to visit him. Within six months, in July 1843, he held his first baptismal service for five men and one woman. One of them was a refugee from the north, an elderly man of about 50, 'son of Ageza Lakunde', who had been prince of Obohon (Igboho) till he was displaced in 1835 by a wicked uncle. He compared the new teaching about Christ with 'the Moor's religion prevalent in these countries' and declared himself a convert. He was baptized Simeon, and his wife, Anna. Two of the men baptized were from his household. The other two were Fanti. To give Methodist readers in England an idea of his progress, de Graft sent extracts from his journal of which the one for Tuesday, 4 July 1843 will serve as sample. In the morning, he was engaged for the most part in

> gardening, transplanting pineapples and cocoa-roots, [i.e. coco-palm], trimming down our guinea corn and settling seeds of apples . . .

In the evening he gave a tea-party for the children of the mission school:

> The friends I invited to witness and partake of the same, made their prompt attendance, in a handsome manner, in proper time, among whom were two native chiefs with their numerous retinue. . . . The chapel was crowded and wore, on the whole, a very cheerful aspect. The children, about forty in number, both of Sierra Leoneans and of this place, were neatly dressed in the European clothes, and the members of the society who attended were all in their best; the chiefs also wore their neat country costume. The crowded meeting and the chapel, nicely arranged and well-lighted up, gave a very delightful appearance. I opened the meeting with singing and prayer, and then had the tea, cakes and bread shared out to the children, to the chiefs and to the members of our Society present; and while the children were drinking their tea, we had eight of our principal men

> in the society by turns to improve the time by short and appropriate addresses to the children and to the meeting at large, in the English tongue as well as in the varnacular language. . . .[1]

The de Grafts were replaced in April 1844 by the Rev. Samuel Annear and his wife, who had been colleagues of Townsend at Hastings, Sierra Leone.

In January 1845 the main C.M.S. mission arrived. It consisted of the Rev. C. A. Gollmer, a Wurtemburger from the Basel Seminary who had been in Sierra Leone since 1841, as well as Townsend and Crowther. Besides these, there were two Sierra Leonean schoolmasters (Marsh and Phillips), one interpreter, four carpenters, three labourers and two servants. Their instruction[2] was to make straight for Abeokuta, but at Badagri they learnt that Sodeke had died some eight days before their arrival and they could not proceed to Abeokuta till a new ruler had been elected there. It was thus by accident that the C.M.S. came to realize the need for a coastal base, for they proceeded at once to establish a mission station at Badagri. By March they had built a church and were working on a mission house. They also built a school, and put Townsend in charge, while Gollmer and Crowther went into the streets and the outlying villages to preach.

Thus Badagri became the first missionary base in Nigeria. From it the missions hoped to penetrate into the interior. However, they found it a most difficult station. There was no open hostility or persecution, but the hold of the traditional religion on the people was very firm. They had welcomed missionaries, not because they wanted Christianity, but because they were weak and poor and they hoped that the missionaries could attract some trade back to the town.

There was no doubt that the campaign against the slave trade had brought ruin and decline to Badagri. Every missionary remarked on the poverty of the people, their pre-occupation with 'what shall I eat?' and their persistent grumbling about the absence of trade. The missionaries advised them to take up agriculture. Gollmer even tried to organize an agricultural show and offered prizes, but it had no effect. As he himself admitted, the soil was most infertile, '80 per cent sand and 20 per cent decayed vegetable matter'. They wanted not agriculture but trade. Their common saying, said Gollmer, was: 'Trade we shall, trade our fathers taught us,' even though they had nothing to sell or buy.[3] Poverty and political instability formed part of a vicious circle, for poverty made the place weak in the face of aggression and without stability no trade could be attracted. Neither the missionary establishment nor the emigrants could flourish:

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[1] De Graft to Meth. Secretary 10 July 1848, published as an appendix to Part III of Freeman's *Journal of various visits*, pp. 284 ff.

[2] Dated 25 Oct. 1844, in C.M.S. CA2/11, p. 3.

[3] Gollmer, Journal entry for 18 Dec. 1850; C.M.S. CA2/043.

> Comparatively nothing can at present be done to promote civilization, prevent slavery, or accomplish any other good object. For if you enter into an agreement or compact with any one of the chiefs, the others are sure at once to oppose you and consider you their enemy . . .[1]

Freeman visited Abeokuta and Dahomey in order to put the Badagri mission in the care of each of those rival powers. He would, no doubt, have welcomed either of them establishing a firm and effective rule in Badagri,[2] but it was to Britain that he looked for protection. This was not as easy as it sounded. Until the Badagri mission began to make its impact on the British government, that government's attention was focused, not on the Bight of Benin, but on the Niger Delta, where the palm-oil trade was flourishing and British traders were in keen competition with other European and American traders. While the British were urging the slave trade treaties on every ruler in the Delta in the 1840s, they neglected the Bight of Benin. In 1843, when Freeman appealed to Commander Jones of the preventive squadron to sign a treaty with the chiefs of Badagri along the lines of those in the Delta,[3] no one took any notice. Freeman did the next best thing. He consulted his good friend, Governor Maclean of Cape Coast Castle, suggesting that he accept Badagri as an extension of his informal and largely illegal protectorate. Maclean sent one Fanti soldier, a Sergeant Bart of the Gold Coast Corps, with instructions dated 16 August 1843, to proceed at once to Badagri

> to hoist the English flag in the English town and afford due protection to all English subjects . . .
> to afford every protection to the Christian mission establishment there, and to all connected with it, as also to Mr. Hutton's factory and all other English traders.

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[1] Annear: Journal, October 1884; Meth.

[2] Cf. Annear: ibid., 'If Sodeka were to send his forces here and add this place to his territories, he would confer greater benefit upon the town and all the surrounding country, and would contribute more to aid the mission cause and the diffusion of civilization than [any] other movement which he is capable of making.'

[3] Freeman gives a full account of these activities in ch. XXX of his MSS book, op. cit.

> [He] must not, however, interfere in the native palavers, but behave in all cases with moderation and forbearance.[1]

Sergeant Bart seems to have acted with much energy and zeal, for, according to Annear, the mission house became 'at the same time the fort, the jail and the temple'.[2] Annear imagined himself as having become responsible 'if any political affair go wrong demanding the interference of British law and authority'.[3] When, on the change of administration on the Gold Coast, Sergeant Bart was withdrawn in December 1844, in slightly hysterical terms Annear declared that:

> The last relic of British authority is now withdrawn. . . . Our Queen is gone: Her laws are abolished. Her invaluable protection ceases to be held out.

But that was not so, as the real basis of Sergeant Bart's influence at Badagri was not the flag but the knowledge the chiefs had that he could hoist a 'Black Peter' on the beach and attract warships. Commander Foote had issued instructions

> to all cruisers to call at Badagry now and then. To hoist a Union Jack at the main and fire a gun and wait off the place for two or three hours in order that the residents at Badagry may have an opportunity of communicating with any vessel of the squadron that may call.[4]

Thrice within the first eighteen months, this privilege was invoked. By May 1845 the chiefs of Badagri—bribed, said the missionaries, by Kosoko of Lagos—were beginning to wonder why they should be expected to harbour the English, who brought them no trade and yet exposed them to constant attacks. They decided on their expulsion. The English missionaries and traders believed that their continued existence at Badagri—indeed, in the whole Bight of Benin—had become involved in the chieftaincy dispute at Lagos.

The struggle in Lagos was between two branches of the ruling family. It was not a struggle between a slave-trading and an anti-slave-trading party.[5] Just as African chiefs had for long exploited the jealous rivalries of European traders on the coast, European traders of various nations had similarly exploited chieftancy disputes. At this time English traders supported Akitoye, who had been made Oba of Lagos with popular support, it was said, and who had been crowned by the Oba of Benin, after a disputed succession, in 1841. His rival, Kosoko, was supported by Brazilian and Portuguese traders who resented Akitoye's open-door policies. Kosoko succeeded in 1845 in ousting Akitoye through a general revolt in Lagos, and the latter fled to Abeokuta, where the Egba welcomed him. From there he appealed to the English, both at Cape Coast and at Badagri, for help.

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Annear: Journal, October 1844; Meth.
[3] Ibid.

[4] Freeman's MSS book, op. cit.: Memorandum of Captain John Foote, H.M.S. *Madagascar*, senior officer commanding the Bights division, dated 15 May 1843.

[5] J. F. Ade Ajayi: 'The British occupation of Lagos 1851–61, a critical Review' in *Nigeria Magazine*, August 1961. For the early history of Lagos, see C. A. Gollmer: 'Kings of Lagos', September 1853 in *State Papers*, vol. 44, p. 1220; J. B. Wood: *History of Lagos*, London 1880.

The English residents at Badagri reacted at once. Led by Annear, they drew up a petition 'to any of H.M. Naval Officers on the West Coast of Africa' against Kosoko, who, they said,

> will not close hostilities until he has conquered the whole line of coast to Whydah. . . . Nothing less than the entire extirpation of the English wherever he is capable of exerting his power will satisfy him.
>
> Feeling that we have no power to resist so formidable a foe, and being sure of his intentions towards us, we feel it both our duty to the hundreds of British subjects in the interior[1] and expedient for ourselves to make you acquainted with our state and to solicit most earnestly your assistance.[2]

Captain York of H.M.S. *Albatross*, received this letter and came to Badagri a fortnight later. The missionaries were united in saying that but for him they would have been driven out.[3] He could, by the presence of the cruiser, overawe Badagri chiefs; but the restoration of Akitoye was a different matter.

In December 1845 Akitoye left Abeokuta for Badagri, where he could the more easily plan the invasion of Lagos.[1] From Badagri, his canoemen blockaded Lagos in an attempt to cut Kosoko off from his allies in Porto Novo. Then, in March 1846, in alliance with Abeokuta, he made a combined attack on Lagos by land and lagoon. The expedition failed, but it is important for two reasons. First, it was financed by Domingo José Martinez, a Madeira trader and a great rival of the Portuguese and Brazilian traders who supported Kosoko at Lagos.[2] His motive was undoubtedly the commercial concessions that would have been his had he become king-maker in Lagos. Though he dealt in palm-oil and cowries, and sold rum and tobacco for cash, he was well known as a slave-trader and his support of Akitoye destroys the simple picture that the Lagos dispute was between slave-traders and anti-slave-traders. Second, the failure of the expedition immediately led the Egba chiefs to receive at Abeokuta the C.M.S. missionaries who had been waiting for over a year at Badagri. For, in spite of the friendliness of Sodeke, the chiefs had hesitated to allow missionaries to settle at Abeokuta before they had resolved their internal problems. They had insisted in 1845 that the missionaries should wait at Badagri till a new ruler had been appointed in place of Sodeke. But suddenly in 1846, before such a ruler had been appointed, they gave the necessary permission enabling Townsend and Crowther to move at once to Abeokuta, leaving Gollmer on the coast. The most likely explanation was that the chiefs hoped to use missionary influence to secure the support of the British navy for a second attempt on Lagos.

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[1] I.e. the Sierra Leone emigrants. It suited missionaries to assume that they were British subjects, but in fact the legal position of those of them not born in Sierra Leone was far from clear. In 1856, after taking legal advice, the Foreign Office told the Consul at Lagos that the emigrants were not in fact British subjects.

'Liberated Africans . . . in the absence of any special legislation to that effect . . . cannot be so considered even in the Queen's Dominions, and under these circumstances they cannot, of course, be entitled to expect as a matter of Right that they should be treated as British subjects when they voluntarily return to and become Residents in the Territory of the Native Chief whose subjects they were by Birth. Nevertheless, Her Majesty's Government can never cease to take a warm interest in the Welfare and Safety of these Africans . . .' F.O. Draft to Hutchinson 19 Oct. 1856, FO 84/1001.

All that this meant was that any consul who did not wish to exert himself on their behalf had a document to cite; on other occasions, they continued to be regarded generally as British subjects.

[2] Dated 20 Aug. 1845. Annear sent a copy to Methodist House with his Journal for the term ending October 1845.

[3] Ibid.

The arrival of missionaries at Abeokuta, was an event of considerable importance. For the first time the missionaries found themselves in a town judged to be ideal for applying Buxton's principles. Born out of upheaval, attuned to welcome new and revolutionary ideas, it offered every opportunity for agents of civilization to participate in the work of reconstruction. It was an inland town, away from the swampy coast, connected by the river Ogun to the sea, with roads leading to many large centres of population, to Ijebu, Ife, Ibadan, Ijaye, Ketu, Porto Novo and places beyond. Here, ready to hand, was a community of two to three thousand[1] Sierra Leone emigrants, mostly Egba, once given up as lost but now returned with new ideas and skills, and all grateful to the English who had redeemed them. Abeokuta soon became a symbol of the hope of Christian missionaries in Africa—the 'Sunrise within the Tropics',[2] as it was called. Efforts were made to clear the sky, that the sun of Abeokuta might shine forth and convince Europe that the missionary plan for Africa had every chance of success if well supported, and convince Africans what good things lay in store for them if they followed Abeokuta's example.

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[1] 'Thinking that I should have a better chance to communicate with the English and that I might be nearer Lagos to watch the movements of Kosoko and the affairs of my kingdom, I took residence at Badagry.' Petition of Akitoye to Beecroft, encl. in Beecroft to Palmerston, 24 Feb. 1851, PP 1852, LIV; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*. I find no evidence for the view sometimes taken that he was driven out of Abeokuta by the machination of Kosoko.

[2] John Martin, Journal, March 1846 reported that Domingo was prepared to spend 5,000 dollars on the expedition, and commented that Domingo must have felt that the trade of Lagos was worth it. For other references to Domingo see Gollmer, Journal for March 1851, postscript; also Journal entries for 4 March 1851, 31 Aug. and 27 Nov. 1851, and Gollmer to Venn. 19 Sept. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

The work of evangelization went on apace. Townsend settled at Ake, Crowther at Igbein. Each built a mission house, a church and a school. Mrs. Crowther, who was a teacher in Sierra Leone, made special efforts to establish a girls' school.[3] In addition, there were open-air sermons in the market-place, discussions in the compounds of the chiefs, and the instruction of 'enquirers' in the mission house. The first baptismal service was held within eighteen months, 5 February 1848, when three women were baptized, two of them wives of chiefs, the third Crowther's own mother, who was discovered in one of those reunions that made the return of the exiles and the coming of the missionaries such heart-warming affairs.[4] The Methodists, who had been the first to reach Abeokuta, did not wish to leave all the excitement to the C.M.S. In the absence of an ordained clergyman, Freeman sent a Fanti schoolmaster named Morgue, who had served in Badagri under Annear, to occupy the station at Ogbe, till he was relieved in 1849 by Edward Bickersteth, an Egba Sierra Leonean emigrant, who was destined to be the sole Methodist agent there till 1859. The missionary magazines proclaimed the missionary successes in conversions and gave accounts of the religious experiences of the converted. In 1849 they related how the first Christian burial provoked persecution and how persecution called forth loyalty and fervour of faith among the Christians.[5] The importance of Abeokuta in the thinking of missionary circles in England lay, however, not so much in the number of baptisms already carried out, as in the hope of conversions still to come, and in the hope it gave for the civilization of Africa. Soon Abeokuta became a household word among the readers of missionary magazines, long before Lagos was known. Soon, it even qualified for the honour of jokes in *Punch*.[1] It became the policy of the missionaries to establish themselves firmly at Abeokuta, and foster the 'civilizing' influence of Abeokuta down to the coast, to Badagri and Lagos, and into the interior. But the true significance of this policy can only be seen against the general background of the advancing interest of Britain in Nigeria.

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[1] See below, p. 40.

[2] Title of a highly publicised book by Miss Tucker, C.M.S. 1852.

[3] *A Short History of the Introduction and Spread of Christianity into Egbaland under the Church Missionary Society*, compiled during the centenary celebrations of 1946 (based partly on oral tradition in the church, church registers, and perhaps some notes left by Andrew Wilhelm (p. 2), archives of St. Peter's Church, Ake, Abeokuta). By kind permission of Archdeacon Ashley Dejo.

[4] Ibid.; Stocks, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 103–4.

[5] Crowther: Journal entry for 13–29 Oct.; C.M.S. CA2/031b. E. Bickersteth: journal entries of the same date; Meth.

Meanwhile, the emigrants continued to arrive from Sierra Leone, from Brazil, from Cuba. This went on continuously throughout the century. It is very difficult to estimate the numbers of people involved. The Sierra Leone government was supposed to issue a passport to each immigrant, but the records were so notoriously defective that even in 1842 the Officer Administering the Government could only give an estimate of 500 'as near as can be ascertained'.[2] In 1844 Governor Fergusson estimated that some 600 to 800 'are now established in the Yarriba or Aku country'.[3] Since the government was anxious that the figures should not give the Colonial Office any impression of large-scale dissatisfaction with the conditions in the colony, and since many people did emigrate without passports, these figures must have been underestimates.[4] In 1851 a naval officer who reviewed the emigrants at Abeokuta said there were 3,000 of them.[5] It was the same figure that Consul Beecroft, who visited Abeokuta earlier that year, mentioned to Hope Waddell.[6] At that date, too, another naval officer referred to 'hundreds' of emigrants at Badagri.[7] There were others at Lagos, Ibadan and Ijaye, in towns and little villages as far away as Ede, Iragbiji and Ilorin. Two years later, emigration from Sierra Leone received a fresh impetus with the establishment of a British Consul at Lagos and the monthly mail packets of the African Steam Company.

One of the main arguments for securing government subsidy for the mail-boats was that it would facilitate communication between Sierra

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[1] *Punch* (leading British satirical magazine), 11 June 1864. Cit. below, p. 170.

[2] Kuczynski, op. cit., p. 137. In December 1842 Freeman estimated 2–3,000 at Abeokuta—probably an over-estimate.

[3] Kuczynski, op. cit., p. 137.

[4] Kuczysnki, op. cit., pp. 132–6.

[5] F. E. Forbes to Bruce, 9 Dec. 1851. *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, PP 1852, LIV, p. 180.

[6] Waddell, Journal entry for 10 Feb. 1851, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1851, p. 120.

[7] Bruce to Secretary of the Admiralty, 1 Nov. 1851. *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, p. 158.

Leone and Nigeria. McGregor Laird, who secured the contract in competition against Liverpool traders long established on the coast, argued that it would encourage traders in the development of trade in the interior of Nigeria, and he looked to small Sierra Leone traders to take an important share.[1] The mail-boats undoubtedly speeded up the rate of emigration, particularly among the mercantile class who had earlier been reluctant to emigrate. With the advent of the mail-boats, the Christian missions themselves began to encourage emigration. As the missionaries expanded inland into Yoruba country, many a missionary endeared himself to the local rulers by mentioning how many of his subjects were to be found in Sierra Leone and asking him to invite them to return home. In 1853 Townsend mentioned that within eight months of his writing such a letter for the Are of Ijaye 85 emigrants arrived in town.[2] In 1854 Hinderer and Irving, trying to overcome the reluctance of Ijebu people to welcome strangers, suggested to the Akarigbo of Ijebu Remo that they write a similar letter.[3] It was, however, to the Niger where there was no spontaneous movement of emigrants that the C.M.S. was most anxious to influence Sierra Leoneans to proceed and introduce the Gospels.

Influential Ibos in Sierra Leone were equally eager. They petitioned the local committee of the C.M.S. to take advantage of the mail-boats to extend Christianity to the Niger as it had done to the Yoruba country. In 1853 the C.M.S. asked the Rev. Edward Jones, a West Indian, Principal of Fourah Bay College, to lead an expedition of three Ibos to visit the Niger and report on the prospects awaiting emigrants there. The delegation did not reach the Niger. By the time the mail-boat had taken them to Fernando Po, Jones said he was

> fully satisfied in [his] mind from conversation with naval officers and others that it would not be possible for them to ascend the Niger and reach Aboh unless in a steamer.

He added that Beecroft was of the same opinion and that he directed them to go to Calabar instead, where there was already a sizeable colony of Ibos.[4] At Calabar King Eyo of Creek Town declared himself in favour of welcoming emigrants. From then on, emigrants began to arrive in Calabar. A few went over to Creek Town, but the majority of them settled on the mission land at Duke Town. Again it is not clear how many of them there were in Calabar. In 1856 a missionary reported a dozen families in Duke Town;[1] in 1859, sixteen Sierra Leone men were listed as having joined the Presbyterian Church,[2] most of the others remaining either the Methodists or Anglicans that they were, though they usually did attend the Presbyterian Church.

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[1] PP 1852 XLIX, *Correspondence relative to the Conveyance of the Mails to the West Coast of Africa.*

[2] Townsend, Journal of a visit to Ijaye, 19–21 Aug. 1852; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Hinderer, Journal entry for 19 Dec. 1852; C.M.S. CA2/49.

[4] E. Jones, *Journal of a Mission to the Niger*, 1853; C.M.S. CA1/0129. Also U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1854, pp. 39–41.

The failure of the Jones mission was an added reason for the C.M.S. to join McGregor Laird in pressing the government for a contract (like that of carrying the mails) for a new expedition to open up the Niger. The travels of Dr. Barth in Northern Nigeria and his accounts of the resources of the country made the government ready to co-operate with Laird. The expedition went up the Niger in 1854 under Dr. William Baikie. Samuel Crowther was the C.M.S. representative on it. The expedition reported success in the prospects of trade, in the ready welcome promised to emigrants, and in the absence of any disastrous mortality among the members of the expedition.[3] McGregor Laird, with the moral support of the missionaries and of philanthropists in England, therefore redoubled the pressure on the government to grant an annual subsidy for five consecutive years to send more pioneering expeditions to trade on the Niger. 'The reasons I venture upon your Lordship to continue the exploration of Central Africa,' said Laird in a memorandum to Lord Clarendon in 1855,

> are the scientific and geographical results . . . and the advantage we possess in the colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone and of the Gold Coast, most efficient agents by whose means new life and energy and a higher standard of living may be introduced naturally, unobtrusively, and rapidly into the remotest regions of the interior. To succeed, this return of the civilized African to his native country, carrying English habits and language with him, must be spontaneous and self-supporting.[4]

He added that they only required regular and assured means of communication and they would soon be settling on the Niger. When the subsidy was granted and the 1857 Expedition was being fitted out, notices were posted up in Sierra Leone inviting emigrants who could pay their passage to take advantage of the opportunity. More than that, Crowther was again on the Expedition, this time with the Rev. J. C. Taylor, an Ibo, and 25 emigrants as schoolmasters and evangelists who opened a mission station at Onitsha and another at Igbebe at the confluence, opposite Lokoja. The period of emigration to the Niger had begun.[1] More will be heard about this later, but it must be said again that this emigration to the Niger, largely inspired by missionary and commercial expansion on the Niger, was different in character from the earlier emigration to Yoruba. As Taylor pointed out in 1866,

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[1] William Anderson to Consul Hutchinson, 30 May 1856, encl. in Hutchinson's despatch no. 71, 24 June 1856; FO 84/1001.

[2] U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1859, p. 118. There was bitter trade rivalry between the European traders in Calabar and the emigrants (see K. O. Dike, op. cit., pp. 199–26) and some of the emigrants had been obliged to return to Sierra Leone. Most notable among them was Peter Nicholl. He was Efik, liberated in Sierra Leone 1830, enlisted in West Indian Regiment, returned from the Bahamas as Sgt.-Major, became a trader in Freetown, lent his Church (Meth.) £400, interest free. Went to Calabar in 1854. Helped with translations. Was persecuted by traders. Returned to Freetown. Visited England in 1858. Died in 1880, bequeathing £50 to the Presbyterians; U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1858, p. 181; 1881, p. 208.

[3] W. B. Baikie: *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage . . .*, London 1856; S. Crowther: *Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and Tshadda . . . in 1854*, London 1856.

[4] Laird to Lord Clarendon, 5 March 1855; FO 2/23.

> There is a great difference between those who go to the Yoruba mission and the Niger. The former return to their own home, meeting their parents or surviving relatives, whilst the latter though descendants of the Ibo or Hausa are perfect strangers to the country at large. There are only two in our mission (on the Niger) who are actually sons of the country.[2]

Parallel with this movement of emigrants from Sierra Leone were various attempts to organize the return of ex-slaves from the New World. Except in a few places where first generation slaves who still remembered home secured their freedom and had a spontaneous desire to return home, these attempts were largely unsuccessful. However, even the expectation of an emigration movement from the West Indies and America led to two missionary enterprises in Nigeria.

One of the principal grounds for Buxton's optimism about the rapid development of Africa had been the reported nostalgia of free Negroes in the New World, many of whom were educated Christians and skilled artisans.

Discussing in his book the question of 'native agents', he quoted enthusiastic letters received by the Secretary of the African Civilization Society, in reply to his circular, about the many Africans in the West Indies who were longing to return to Africa.[3] In missionary circles there were stories of how, as emancipation was being celebrated in August 1838 with much laughter and many tears of joy, several Africans came forward volunteering themselves as a freedom offering to take the evangelical light which they had seen to their 'benighted' brethren in Africa. 'The conversion of Africa,' said a Baptist missionary, 'is the theme of their conversation and their prayers, and the object of their most ardent desires.'[1] A Presbyterian minister reported that:

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[1] S. Crowther and J. C. Taylor: *The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger*, C.M.S. 1859, p. 39.

[2] Taylor to Henry Venn, 15 Dec. 1866; C.M.S. CA3/037.

[3] Buxton, op. cit., pp. 491–7.

> Our emancipated people, finding their condition so much improved by freedom, and appreciating their Christian privileges, began to commiserate their brethren in Africa. . . . All our congregations held meetings for consultation and prayer about the subject and also began to form a special fund for the benefit of Africa, which in the course of little more than a year amounted to six hundred pounds.[2]

Individual Africans, like Thomas Keith and James Keats, were reported to have embarked on pilgrimages to convert their people in Africa to Christianity.[3]

The missionaries in the West Indies encouraged this nostalgia and this enthusiasm. They made arrangements to train and to select would-be emigrants as evangelists, teachers, planters, industrialists and artisans, and urged churches in Europe and North America to sponsor them as missionaries. William Knibb, of the Baptist Mission, came to England in 1840 and persuaded his society to embark on a West African mission. The Rev. John Clarke and Dr. G. K. Prince were appointed to go on an exploratory journey.[4] They applied to join the Niger Expedition but the government, having already accepted C.M.S. missionaries, rejected their offer. One Mr. Kingdom 'in connexion with the Baptists but not sent by them as a missionary', thereupon joined the Expedition as a settler, 'with a view to make himself useful to the natives wherever he should find an opening'.[5] Prince and Clarke went to visit Fernando Po and the Cameroons. They took a favourable report to England in 1843, and Clarke, with Alfred Saker and his wife, returned to Fernando Po, accompanied by two West Indian missionaries and thirty-nine settlers.

The Scottish missionaries, who were great rivals of the English Baptists in Jamaica, similarly turned their attention to West Africa. In July 1841 the Presbytery meeting at Goschen spent two days in prayer and deliberation on the subject. They heard the Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell read extracts from Buxton's *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* and they emerged from their retreat with resolutions declaring the time ripe for missions to Africa. They called on their congregations at home to undertake an African mission, and eight of the ministers present, including Hope Waddell, volunteered to join it. They drew up plans 'to evangelize Africa through the means of the converted negroes of the West Indies' operating in agricultural and industrial colonies.[1] In reply, they were informed by the Board of the Scottish Missionary Society that their proposal was:

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[1] Ibid, p. 493.

[2] Rev. G. Blyth: *Reminiscences of a Missionary Life*, p. 178.

[3] Groves, op. cit., vol. II, p. 28, note 2.

[4] Ibid., pp. 23–30.

[5] Schön and Crowther: *Journal of the 1841 Expedition*, op. cit., pp. 134–5.

> premature, displaying more zeal than judgement, not accordant with the state of dependence in which our Jamaica Church stood, both for means and missionaries; [it was] highly presumptuous after the failure of vastly greater efforts by others than we could possibly put forth.[2] [a reference in particular to the Niger Expedition].

The missionaries were undaunted, however. In 1842 two of them, Rev. George Blyth and Rev. Peter Anderson, on leave in Scotland, canvassed the idea of a West African mission in various churches. Further, they asked Dr. Fergusson, a Liverpool merchant who had been a surgeon in West Africa, to put them in touch with supercargoes trading on the coast. From such consultations the missionaries decided that Calabar was the most eligible spot for a pioneering mission. They sent a letter through Captain Turner, a supercargo, well known in Calabar, who had been a local preacher in a Methodist church in Liverpool, to sound the views of the rulers of Calabar. Turner replied in January 1843:

> At a consultation of the chiefs held this morning in the king's house, it was settled that to sell the tract of ground required was out of the question. The land, however, will be at your service, to make such establishments as you may see proper. It will be guaranteed to its occupiers on those terms for ever. A law will be passed for its protection, and the colonists may dwell in peace and safety, none daring to make them afraid. There seems no doubt of your obtaining land sufficient for plantations for a number of families.[3]

They also consulted Beecroft, an Englishman long resident on the coast, Governor of the Spanish colony of Fernando Po and the most influential European in the whole Bight of Biafra, who reported in March 1844 that the chiefs of Calabar were favourable to the proposal of the missionaries. Thereupon the Presbytery of Jamaica decided to embark on the Calabar mission on their own. They obtained two years' leave of absence for Hope Waddell and asked him to lead an exploratory mission to Calabar. He was accompanied by Samuel Edgerley, an English printer, together with his wife; Andrew Chisholm, a mulatto carpenter; and Edward Miller, a Negro teacher. Hope Waddell arrived in England to gather funds for the mission, prepared if need be to form a separate missionary society to organize it.[1] However, the United Secession Church, which on its union with the Relief Church in 1847 became the United Presbyterian Church, decided to adopt the new mission. But it did so with an important modification of the original plan: Hope Waddell had to give up his idea of agricultural settlements as part of the missionary scheme.

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[1] J. McKerrow: *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church*, pp. 368–9; Hugh Goldie: *Calabar and its Mission*, Edinburgh 1901, p. 73; Hope M. Waddell: *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa*, 1867.

[2] Donald M. McFarlan: *Calabar, the Church of Scotland Mission, 1846–1946*, Edinburgh 1946, p. 7.

[3] Goldie, op. cit., p. 75. Also Hutchinson's despatch, no. 71, 24 June 1856, enclosing copies of Capt. Turner to the missionaries, 4 Jan. 1843 and 19 Jan. 1843; and Beecroft to the same, 18 Mar. 1844; FO 84/1001.

On reaching Calabar in April 1846, Hope Waddell saw that, particularly in the Delta, trade, not agriculture, was the civilizing force, and that the chiefs were not a 'land-owning aristocracy' but middle-class traders. After visiting their houses, many of them imported from England, surveying the household furniture in them, some of which he bought for his own house, attending their weekly dinner parties and, above all, watching them conduct their trade, he saw that they would not have placed much value on a body of West Indian Negro farmers as agents of civilization. He saw King Eyo's son keep accounts, 'writing and copying into an account book the memoranda of business which his father had made on slates . . . neatly entered and all in English'. And he commented that this, in addition to other observations, convinced him that the teachers for Calabar 'must really be competent men', for neither the schoolmaster he brought along, nor the carpenter, was 'equal to this young man in writing and arithmetic'.[2]

Artisans from the West Indies would, however, have been welcome if they had been forthcoming. Waddell himself later took to recruiting from Sierra Leone the teachers, carpenters and sawyers whom he needed for the mission and for the chiefs, when he could not get them from the West Indies. The truth would appear to be that although individual West Indian missionaries continued till this century to be important in many West African missions, hopes of a large-scale emigration of nostalgic exiles from the New World, entertained in the ecstasy of the moment of emancipation, were completely false. Various attempts by different people, friendly and unfriendly to the Negro, have consistently borne this out.

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[1] Waddell's original appeal for the formation of a Society to take up the new mission was published in *Friend of Africa*, Journal of the African Civilization Society, III, 15–16, 1846.

[2] Waddell: Journals, vol. I, pp. 94–5.

This was the experience of the Southern Baptist Convention in the United States, whose pioneer missionary, the Rev. T. J. Bowen, first appeared in Nigeria in 1850. American Baptists had followed English Baptists in undertaking foreign missions, but the American Baptist Convention was split into two by various factors that were dividing the United States into two hostile camps. The breaking-point came in 1844 when Baptists in the south asked the Mission Board, meeting at Boston and dominated by northerners, to say categorically whether they would accept as minister and missionary a slave-owner. The Board replied that they could not.[1] Baptist churches in the south therefore formed a separate convention of their own, and they were anxious to show their northern brothers that economic interest in continued slavery at home in no way interfered with evangelical faith and concern for the safety of the souls of Africans abroad. It was towards the resettlement of free Negroes in Liberia and missionary work by and among them that the Southern Baptist Convention first turned its attention. But colonization, either in Liberia or elsewhere, was unpopular among the Negroes, and the disfavour extended to missionary societies countenancing the idea, which they regarded as a device of the slave-owners to weaken the struggle for emancipation at home.[2] The S.B.C. hoped to rely to a large extent on Negro missionaries, but it constantly had to record its failure to secure suitable candidates. The Negro Baptist churches withheld their support from the Convention.[3]

Thomas Jefferson Bowen was the first outstanding missionary of the S.B.C. He volunteered for missionary work on condition that he should be sent to 'the Sudan' or 'Central Africa', that is to say, to the interior of Africa, and he relied mostly on European missionaries' training in the mission field itself the African staff they needed. But on his retirement in 1856, after six arduous years in Nigeria, he went whole-heartedly into a colonization project that proved once again a mirage.[1] He wished to get the United States government to sponsor a Niger Expedition like the British ones, and to get the Colonization Society (the founding fathers of Liberia) to obtain a charter from the government to set up an American colony 'in the region of Lagos and Abeokuta' where they would give 'land to free negroes and encourage their settling, free the slaves the settlers acquire after a time, give all privileges of citizenship to civilized blacks except directorships and higher offices of the colony.'[2] Bowen and the Colonization Society went so far as to get the Senate in February 1857 to pass a bill authorizing the expenditure of $250,000 on the proposed Niger Expedition, but the House of Representatives turned it down.[3] In any case, Bowen himself, the principal figure in the project, broke down in health. He began to show signs of the mental illness which but for brief interludes made his later life, until he died in 1875, a long sad epilogue to his remarkable career in Nigeria. The project was dropped. Its sponsors were succeeded by English cotton manufacturers, who formed an African Aid Society, seeking to rescue Negroes from the 'unfavourable climate' of Canada and the northern United States and the 'growing prejudices of the white population',[4] and to support their return to Africa, where their skill would be a benefit to the local populations and produce cotton for British industry. In 1859 they sent a Jamaican printer, Robert Campbell, and a Negro Canadian physician, Dr. Martin R. Delany, on a deputation to Abeokuta and other parts of Yoruba to prepare the way for the intended emigration. Their activities there will be noticed later,[5] but when Delany returned to Canada he failed to persuade the Negroes to emigrate. The Negro newspapers argued, as they had always argued, that:

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[1] George W. Sadler: *A Century in Nigeria*, Nashville, Tennessee 1950, pp. 29–30.

[2] As the North American Convention of Coloured People said in September 1859, 'A colonization and a bitter pro-slavery man are almost convertible terms.' J. K. A. Farrell: *The History of the Negro Community in Chatham, Ontario, 1787–1865*, Ph.D. thesis, Ottawa 1955, pp. 157–8. While the Colonization Society appealed to the Northern States on the platform that emigrating Negroes would provide useful artisans, technicians and evangelists to Africa, they appealed to Southerners by saying that these would-be 'evangelists', the free Negroes, were a menace to society and their evacuation would be a blessing to America. See Jacob E. Cooke: *Frederic Bancroft, Historian, and Three Hitherto Unpublished Essays on the Colonization of American Negroes from 1801–1865*, Oklahoma 1957, p. 162. Also P. J. Staudenraus: *The African Colonization Movement, 1816–1865*, New York 1961, and Henry Wilson: *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, pp. 208–22.

[3] After the Civil War, for a while the Negro Baptist churches tried to co-operate with the S.B.C., but the experiment was short-lived and it was believed to have been unsatisfactory by both sides. H. A. Tupper: *Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention*, vol. II, p. 140; C. E. Smith in *Foreign Mission Journal*, S.B.C., vol. xxiii, no. 1, August 1891; vol. xxiv, no. 12, July 1893.

> the mortality among colored emigrants in Canada is no greater than among others. . . . If Africa is the real home of the Negro, so is Europe the real home of the American European.[6]

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[1] He had little support from his mission and opposition from his colleagues in the field. See e.g. A. D. Phillips to Poindexter, 31 Mar. 1859; S.B.C.

[2] Bowen to Taylor, 18 Feb. 1818, from New York; 23 Feb. 1857, from Anap, Maryland (*Bowen Letters*). See also Bowen's 'Report on Central Africa and the Niger', presented to Congress, 4 Feb. 1857; *Senate Documents* No. 29, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, vol. iv.

[3] Bowen to Lippincott and Co., 21 Nov. 1868, *Bowen Letters*.

[4] *African Times*, (monthly) official organ of the African Aid Society, 23 April 1863, advertisement for funds to aid the project of settlement which had by then been diverted to Ambas Bay, near Victoria.

[5] See below, pp. 191–3.

[6] J. K. A. Farrell, op. cit., pp. 154–5.

To most Negroes in the New World, Africa was only vaguely their home. The slaves, with no knowledge of world geography, transported across the seas lying usually on their backs in the crowded bowels of the ships, separated quite often from everyone they could speak to in their own language, soon lost even imaginative contact with Africa. To their children, born into slavery in a strange land, home was generally either the very colony they knew and to whose development they were contributing, or some vague unattainable 'Zion' or 'Jerusalem' of the Negro spirituals. Thus the various attempts of missionary or secular bodies to convince them otherwise have always met with less than the expected success. The nostalgia of the songs had not enough practical force to attract men from the colonies on the hazardous, unromantic journey to the vast unknown of Africa which, they had often been told, offered such meagre resources for welfare that slavery in European colonies was to be preferred to liberty and freedom there.[1]

There was, however, in a few places a different kind of nostalgia. To Brazil and Cuba,[2] slaves had come continuously for centuries from the same regions of West Africa. A tradition had grown up in these countries of keeping the slaves together in linguistic groups, sometimes under appointed chiefs, and with opportunities to amuse themselves and their masters with their traditional ceremonies, dances and songs. This deliberate policy of limiting the assimilation of plantation slaves by keeping them divided in their old ethnic units and preventing them from acquiring a lingua franca they could conspire in helped to preserve their culture. It was also into these same parts of the New World that there was large scale importation of slaves at the time of the Fulani jihad and the Yoruba wars. Thus, for different reasons, the vision of home remained real among many slaves in Cuba and Brazil, and nostalgia did often mean a desire to return to some specific part of Africa. The slaves sought various ways of emancipating themselves, sometimes through the favour of a kind master, sometimes by running away from a wicked one. More usually, they tried to save up for it through the mutual aid clubs so common among African peoples. 'Often they banded together,' said Donald Pierson, 'to buy the freedom of a friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was often determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the rest until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa.'[1] With the growth of the abolitionist cause in the nineteenth century and more chances of emancipation and of repatriation, while efforts to provoke an organized return from the West Indies continued to fail, this spontaneous return of the 'exiles' from Brazil and Cuba from a trickle became one of the most important cultural streams in nineteenth-century Nigerian history.

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[1] Sociologists have shown that in fact, as is to be expected, many African customs, habits and turns of phrase have survived in the British West Indies; e.g. E. V. Goveia: *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands*, Ph.D. thesis, London 1953. But there was little memory of Africa in concrete terms of particular places and people.

[2] For accounts of Brazilian slavery, see Gilberto Freyre: *The Masters and the Slaves*, trans. Samuel Putnam, New York 1946, and Donald Pierson: *Negroes in Brazil*, Chicago 1942.

Figures for the movement from the New World are even more difficult to get at than those for the Sierra Leonean movement. By 1853, when the Brazilian emigrants, who were mostly Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholics, gathered together and acquired a piece of land for a church in Lagos, there were perhaps only about 200–250 of them.[2] Emigration continued, sometimes direct on Brazilian merchant vessels, sometimes to England and then by the mail-boats to Nigeria. Some of the emigrants traded back to Brazil and, like the Sierra Leone emigrants before them, began to ask for a missionary of their own. However, Portuguese priests in Brazil did not share the missionary enthusiasm of English pastors in Sierra Leone.

It was a French Catholic missionary body, the Society of African Missions, with headquarters in Lyons, which set up Roman Catholic missions first in Sierra Leone, and then in Dahomey. The first missionary arrived in Dahomey in 1861, and soon began to visit Lagos, but did not assign a missionary there till 1867.[3]

However, one *emancipado* in Brazil had volunteered to answer the call on behalf of the Portuguese Fathers. He was Antonio, originally from São Tomé, brought up in a seminary in Bahia. It is not clear exactly when he arrived in Lagos, but he soon made himself a venerable figure to the emigrants. Pa Antonio, as he was called, built a little chapel and there every Sunday he tried to re-create the religious ceremonies he had known at Bahia: the catechisms, the chants, the blessings of the bread; in short, he went near saying mass. Every Saturday he gathered his flock together to recite the rosary. He baptized new-born babies, blessed marriages like the patriarchs of old, and was called to the side of the dying for the last ministrations.[1]

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[1] Pierson, op. cit., p. 39. Cf. also Lorenzo Turner: 'African Survivals in the New World' in *Africa as seen by American Negroes*, Présence Africaine, Paris 1958: 'In Brazil manumission was comparatively easy: a child of a slave mother and a white father became free; owners who mistreated their slaves could be forced to liberate them. On 85, in some states 104, days of the year, slaves were allowed to earn money to buy their freedom at a price no higher than that at which they had been purchased.'

[2] Gollmer: Journal entry for 10 April 1853; C.M.S. CA2/043. Vice-Consul Fraser reported, in December 1852, 130 families in Lagos, all Yoruba, mostly Egba; FO 2/28.

[3] René F. Guilcher: *Augustin Planque*, Lyon 1928. *S.M.A. 100 Years of Missionary Achievement*, Cork 1956. J. M. Todd: *African Mission: A Historical Study of the Society of African Missions*, London 1961.

In 1859 Consul Campbell reported that there were 130 Brazilian families in Lagos.[2] When Father Broghero visited Lagos in 1863, there was already a Catholic church in being. At the mass he celebrated, there were 400 present.[3] When Father Bouche arrived in 1867 to take charge of the church, he reported 'about 500 Catholics'.[4] There must have been many other Brazilian and Cuban emigrants who did not go to church. There was a sizeable colony of them at Abeokuta, and like the Sierra Leone emigrants they were to be found scattered about in the Yoruba country. There was no mention of them in the Delta or on the Niger, but in 1859 Campbell issued passports to some Hausa and Nupe Brazilian emigrants.[5] A Census in Lagos in 1872 showed 1,237 Brazilians and Cubans compared with 1,533 Sierra Leonean emigrants.[6] It was after 1888 when Brazil at last abolished the status of slavery and Governor Moloney helped to establish regular communication between Lagos and Bahia for the returning 'exiles' that this other movement of emigrants reached its climax.[7]

The emigrants had an importance in Nigerian History out of all proportion to their numbers. Left to themselves, and scattered all over the whole country, they might have had no more significance than a band of ex-servicemen, people who had taken part in a nightmarish experience, with a useful stock of strange tales, and a stock of other arts for which there was not much scope at home. But the missionary movement kept most of them together in a few focal centres, gave them scope and encouragement. For the Sierra Leoneans, they offered commercial opportunities, employment as catechists, evangelists and schoolmasters; for the Brazilians, houses to build, roads to construct, and other facilities to practise the arts they had acquired. It was the emigrants who introduced the missionaries into the country, and they were an essential and integral part of the missionary movement.

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[1] Biographical Note by Father Holley in *Les Missions Catholiques*, 20 May 1881. Based on questions to Antonio himself.

[2] Campbell to Malmesbury, 4 Feb. 1859; FO2/28.

[3] Father Broghero in *Les Missions Catholiques*, 21 Dec. 1863. Also Journal entry for Sunday, 25 Sept. 1863; S.M.A. archives, Rome.

[4] 'Premiers Temps de la Mission de Lagos d'après Mère Véronique' in *Missions de la Nigéria*, S.M.A. Rome. The Lagos Census for 1872 listed 572 Catholics; Rev. J. Rhodes to Secretaries, 15 Aug. 1871, said there were about 2,000 *Amaros* in Lagos; Meth.

[5] Campbell to Malmesbury, 4 Feb. 1859; FO2/28.

[6] Lees to Colonial Office, 28 Feb. 1879, referring to figures collected in 1872; CO806/130. At that date, 1872, Pope Hennessy had estimated 6,000 Brazilians in Lagos (to Kimberley, 31 Dec. 1872; CO267/317), while Sir Harry Johnston estimated in 1875 4,000 Brazilians in both Lagos and Whydah; *The Negro in the New World*, New York 1916, p. 98.

[7] Pierson, op. cit., p. 39. Moloney returned the figure of 2,723 for Brazilians in Lagos in 1881, and 412 arrivals between 1881 and 1886: Moloney to Holland, 20 July 1887; CO14/59.

3 Missionaries, Traders and Consuls

On his arrival in Calabar in 1846, Hope Waddell found a flourishing busy trade in palm-oil[1] which had brought the town as much prosperity as in the days of the unhindered slave trade. Calabar was in some ways similar to Badagri. The Efik in Calabar, like the Egun in Badagri, had been attracted to the coast by the slave trade. In both places, settlement had brought new political divisions. In Calabar there were three separate establishments: Creek Town, Old Town and Duke Town. There was great competition especially between Creek Town and Duke Town over the control of the European trade. Further, there were internal rivalries between the various Houses in each town. But in spite of these divisions, the Efik developed in the Egbo or, more correctly, Ekpe society an organization covering the whole of Calabar and superseding the sectional interests of the various Towns or the personal ambitions of the 'gentlemen', the heads of the Houses, of whom it was largely composed.[2]

In that way Calabar not only dominated the original inhabitants of the mouth of the river (the Kwas) but also, by agreement or force, largely controlled the markets in its hinterland. Calabar was, in this, typical of the Delta city-states. What distinguished Calabar from the rest was the length and the depth of its attachment to English traders. English was the only European language spoken by Calabar traders, and Hope Waddell found 'very intelligible journals of the affairs of this country kept by its rulers, written in English, of so old a date as 1767'.[3] The predominance of English traders in Calabar encouraged and hastened the change from the slave trade to that in palm-oil, so that it became the principal source of palm-oil till it was surpassed in output by Bonny in the 1840s.[1] When, in 1839, the British Government, largely in response to Buxton's appeal for anti-slavery action on land, embarked on the policy of signing treaties with the coastal rulers, it was at Calabar that the readiest response was found.

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[1] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 38–9, 44. For the different European traders in Calabar at this time, see the petition of the masters and supercargoes to Beecroft dated 31 Jan. 1851; State Papers, vol. 41, p. 268–9.

[2] *Efik Traders of Old Calabar*, ed. Daryll Forde, Oxford 1957; Waddell: *29 Years in the West Indies and Central Africa*, London 1863; Talbot: *Southern Nigeria*, vol. I. London 1926.

[3] Waddell to Sommerville, 21 Sept. 1848, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1849, p. 58. This was probably Antera Duke's diary which was later brought to Scotland; only some transcripts from it have survived, now published in *Efik Traders of Old Calabar*.

The rulers were asked to make a clear choice between renunciation of the slave trade in return for some compensation as well as English trade and friendship on the one hand, and the persistent menace of the warships on the other. To them the British campaign was only another phase of the struggle that had been going on for generations between various European nations competing for the lion's share of the trade on the coast. The English had changed their article of trade; for reasons not quite clear to the Delta people, they began to refuse to deal in slaves and were calling more and more for palm-oil, for elephant's tooth, camwood and gum copal. Their intention to capture the market remained the same, however; they brought warships to fight their Portuguese and Spanish, Brazilian and French rivals. The new proposals that England began to make in 1839 were examined very critically. It appeared that England was offering not only hopes of increased trade, but also hopes of a more equitable, less one-sided trade than the merchants on the coast had hitherto engaged in.

It should be pointed out that the coastal traders had long complained of the quality of goods the Europeans brought them and their refusal to bring them the things they needed most. The coastal chiefs amassed capital from their trade but could not obtain the goods they wanted. Several chiefs imported houses they did not live in, filled like museums with European furniture and fineries. The more enterprising ones began to look for other ways of spending their money. In 1828 Captain Owen, who was making a survey of the coast for the Admiralty, reported that the chiefs of Old Calabar wished

> to be instructed in the methods of making sugar and to obtain the necessary machinery for which they say they have repeatedly applied to their friends in Liverpool without success. For these advantages they are ready to pay handsomely.[2]

The chiefs and traders wanted not just worthless finery but tools and machinery and they wanted also that their children should be taught European languages, how to keep accounts, and so on. When officers of the British navy came to negotiate the slave-trade treaties, it was these very things they offered. They also spoke of Buxton's 'confidence between man and man', of missionaries and teachers who would come and create a new era of things in place of the age of the slave traders and the hulk-dwelling palm-oil ruffians.

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[1] Dike, op. cit., pp. 49–51.

[2] Owen to the Colonial Office, 28 April 1829; CO82/, cited in Dike, op. cit., p. 67. Cf. also Oba Adele's request in 1830 at Badagri for 'a carpenter's chest of tools, with oils, paints, and brushes', Richard and John Lander: *Journal of an Expedition to explore the course and termination of the Niger*, 3 vols., London 1832, p. 30.

Many of the rulers were attracted by these new proposals. But even where, as in Calabar, they regarded the British as valuable and reliable customers, they still hesitated to sign the slave-trade treaties[1]. To give up their right to trade with whomsoever they wished and in whatever commodities they chose was a diminution of their sovereignty. Worse still, there was a distinct threat in the clause of the treaties which spoke about the 'severe displeasure' of the Queen of England, who claimed the right to use her navy to enforce the treaties unilaterally if she thought they were violated. The chiefs tried to negotiate cautiously. Bonny agreed in 1839 to sign a treaty, but with so many reservations and with such evident hesitation that the British officials themselves did not expect the treaty to be kept and so the government refused to ratify it. It was not till 1844, after repeated attempts, that Bonny agreed to sign another.

The Calabar chiefs were more ready to negotiate. After some hesitation, they were willing to accept the slave-trade treaty[2] provided it would in fact usher in the era of economic and industrial development promised. Asked in 1842 what they wanted for the annual 2,000 dollars compensation agreed to in the treaty, they replied:

> Now we can't sell slave again, we must have too much man for country, and want something to make work and trade; and if we can get seed for cotton and coffee, we could make trade. Plenty sugar cane live here, and if some man can teach we way for do it, we get plenty sugar too. . . .
>
> Mr. Blyth tell me England glad for send man to teach book and teach for understand God all same as whiteman. If Queen do so, I glad too much.[3]

In fact, the chiefs welcomed missionaries to Calabar principally because they wanted agricultural development, a sugar industry and schools. They realized that missionaries brought their own hazards.[1] Unlike traders who could be kept at arm's length, missionaries came not only to visit but to settle, to build a house and live all the year round in Calabar and to cultivate Calabar soil. King Eyo and the chiefs took all the precautions they could. They told Captain Turner that selling land to the missionaries was 'out of the question'.[2] They declared themselves willing to pay for services they received. Like shrewd businessmen, they haggled over the terms on which the missionaries were to be allowed to settle. Waddell reported that King Eyo asked him:

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[1] Capt. Blount reported in 1841 that Calabar chiefs wanted a treaty of amity and commerce but refused 'to enter into any treaty for the total suppression of the export slave trade . . . although the slave trade there is of no importance'; enclosure in Tucker to Admiralty, forwarded to the F.O., 30 July 1841.

[2] Admiralty to F.O., 22 April 1843, including Raymond to Capt. Foote, 11 Dec. 1842, enclosing treaties and kings' requests, and Foote to Herbert, 12 Dec. 1842; FO 84/384.

[3] Enclosure in Raymond to Capt. Foote, 11 Dec. 1842; FO 84/384.

> 'Suppose man go away from his master and come to my Town [i.e. mission compound] . . . Would I keep him?' In reply I stated that my house would be no refuge for bad people; that if any servant run away from his master and beg for him and tell him to do no more bad again their master must forgive him and not flog him, neither kill him. 'That be very good,' he replied. 'You bring man back and beg for him and tell him "Go do no more bad again". That be very good.' 'You won't kill a man, king, when I beg for him?' 'No,' he promptly answered. 'We no kill man again, only for some very bad crime, same as you kill him in your country.'[3]

In 1848, the chiefs of Bonny wrote to Liverpool to ask for missionaries. They stated their terms as follows:

> We agree to let them have ground for a house and garden or gardens, for a period of twenty years; we will take back the ground at the expiration of that period. And if payment for their services be required, we also agree that every gentleman sending a son to their school shall pay for the education of such son five puncheons of palm oil. They would require to bring material to build their own houses and a carpenter to put it up, as we neither have joiners nor the requisites for building a proper house for them; but we are anxious to afford them everything as well as every assistance in our power. And we further expect that those gentlemen to be sent us shall be capable of instructing our young people in the English language.[4]

Not only could missionaries not be kept at arm's length; they could not be engaged on stated terms as the chiefs of Bonny imagined. No Christian missionary would accept his wages from the people to whom he was sent. He must remain responsible to an outside power, to God and his conscience, as well as to the missionary society which had sent him out. He came to help; if he was not wanted in one place, he would go to another. He must remain a philanthropist, expecting not money but gratitude—which can sometimes be more exacting.

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[1] Hope Waddell records that a few days after his arrival King Eyo said his chiefs were already asking why he gave land to missionaries. They feared that 'by and by, more will come and they will take the country away from them', *Journals*, vol. i, p. 68, 21 April 1846.

[2] See above, p. 45.

[3] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. 1, p. 61, 17 April 1846.

[4] King Pepple and chiefs to Messrs C. Horsfall & Sons, 30 May 1948, passed on to the United Presbyterian Church and published in the U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1848, p. 201.

Missionaries in Nigeria did not always question the theory that Christianity, Commerce and Civilization would work together for the great benefit of Africans. But they liked nevertheless to emphasize their own philanthropy and how much it set them apart, in objectives, approach, methods and morals, from their profit-seeking fellow countrymen who came to trade. The truth of course was that traders and missionaries were interdependent. The Christian missions made a considerable impact on the trading situation. In turn, the expansion of European trade and political influence greatly facilitated the work of missionaries. Traders and missionaries often quarrelled. Many missionaries despised most traders and the compliments were fully reciprocated. Nevertheless, they had to co-operate most of the time.[1] By definition, missionaries were incurable optimists with severely limited funds and resources but unlimited hopes and aspirations, and they were for ever seeking allies in the most unlikely places, not least from traders.

It should be emphasized how limited the funds of the missionary societies were in order to appreciate the extent of their dependence on the traders. The funds at the disposal of Freeman in 1842 were £4,000 a year. With it he maintained a chain of missions along the Gold Coast, sought a footing in Ashanti, went to establish one in Badagri, and sought further openings at Abeokuta and in Dahomey.[2] The Presbyterians at Calabar in 1850 had some £2,000, and by 1860 were spending over £3,000. The C.M.S. in the Yoruba Mission started on a budget of £3,000 and gradually rose to £5,000.[3] These funds came largely from the pennies and sixpences of faithful worshippers, but often the mission ran short of funds or a new crisis in some part of the world necessitated opening new missions and special appeals had to be made. In such circumstances £100 or £50 from a Liverpool or Glasgow or London merchant made a considerable difference to the missionary budget.

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[1] See below, pp. 82–3.

[2] Circular of 29 Feb. 1844, imposing financial stringency on the mission. Freeman had exceeded the grant for the previous year, went on leave and raised subscriptions to clear the debt. The grant was then increased to £4,500, with the note that 'we have either to give up a large portion of the field and recall 30 or 40 missionaries, or enforce economy'. No furniture, no expensive repairs, no costly journeys without the most pressing necessity. (Meth.)

[3] See annual estimates in the *Missionary Record and Proceedings of the C.M.S.* These are cited for rough comparative purposes. Miscellaneous expenses on passages, building grants, presents to African rulers, etc. will have to be added and there is the field left open for voluntary subscriptions which varied from mission to mission. The budget of the American Baptist Mission for 1855–6 stood at 3,750 dollars, which, with the rate of exchange on 1 Jan. 1856 at 4·8 dollars to the £, comes to under £850. (*Bowen Letters*, p. 74.)

The dependence of missionaries on merchants, however, went much further than mere occasional contributions. Until the establishment of the mail-boat in 1853, every missionary depended for passage, freight and correspondence on the trading vessel, as every supercargo went in his own ship and the missionary could rarely afford the expense and maintenance of a ship. Passengers and freight were taken as a favour because it was more profitable for the traders to carry trade goods than missionary houses, gift boxes and other equipment. They were quite often taken free. Even the Presbyterians who received the free loan of a brig from the well-known Liverpool trader, Robert Jamieson, with an annual £100 for its upkeep, used it in Calabar and could not always send it back to England for new recruits and new equipment needed. No missionary could afford to maintain the sort of establishment the trader maintained in his hulk at Calabar or his factory at Badagri, and it was, for example, more convenient for the missionary to hire a trader's canoe than to maintain one himself with its complement of canoemen. The traders came to expect this dependence; they objected where the missionaries tried to be self-sufficient, for fear they would import trade goods and undersell traders.[1] Usually, therefore, missionaries received from the trader's hulk or 'factory' any provision or other goods they required on bills of credit which the merchant houses in Britain or France presented for payment at the mission headquarters. The merchants thus acted also as bankers to the missions.

In return, the missionary brought some social life to the trader. While traders generally 'kept women', the missionaries brought European wives and, occasionally, children—a settled family life which an ailing trader greatly appreciated. To begin with, relations were generally cordial. The missionaries, with their faith in the virtues of commerce, made a genuine effort to co-operate with merchants in order to secure the revolution in Africa that Buxton had prophesied. At Calabar missionaries followed traders; at Badagri and Abeokuta traders were beginning to follow missionaries.

By Christmas 1846, within four months of the arrival of missionaries at Abeokuta, Thomas Hutton, Agent-General in Cape Coast of the firm of Thomas Hutton & Co. visited their factory in Badagri, still the only establishment there. He visited mission schools, contributed '120 heads of cowries to the good cause',[1] and, together with his agent, Parsons, proceeded to Abeokuta in January 1847. There he gave the school-children a New Year feast, contributed to mission funds, and in particular looked round the town and investigated prospects for trade.

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[1] Sommerville to Goldie, 6 Sept. 1848; Letter Book, vol. I, p. 158, National Library of Scotland. Waddell: *Journals*, p. 175, 26 May 1851.

Very soon other traders followed and Badagri trade began to revive. The Huttons tried but failed to maintain a monopoly of the trade. In February 1848 two traders representing a Bristol firm arrived in Badagri and the Huttons could not dislodge them.[2] Besides Sierra Leonean emigrants trading between Freetown, Cape Coast and Badagri, there were Brazilian traders from Porto Novo and Whydah selling rum and tobacco for cowries or palm-oil.[3] About 1850, Domingo Martinez even established a factory at Ajido some 10 miles east of Badagri.[4]

By 1851 Badagri began to feel her old self as a trading centre. In May of that year Sandeman arrived with two assistants and established a factory for the firm of 'Forster & Smith', which pleased Gollmer very much. 'Now we may hope,' he said,

> the missionaries will be able to get a comparatively comfortable passage out and home in the vessels of 'F. & S.' which bears a high character on the coast, and are no longer obliged to put up with the wretched Jersey crafts.[5]

—presumably the Jersey crafts of Thomas Hutton & Co.

Missionaries and traders easily saw that they had a common interest to protect in Nigeria. They were all 'British residents'; and if ever they felt endangered they chose one of themselves, missionary or trader, to write to officers of the squadron for aid. But there were situations for which the occasional appearances of the warships on patrol were unsuitable and for which both traders and missionaries were beginning to demand the full-time services of a resident British official, that is—without going yet into the various possible conceptions of the duties of such an official—a British consul.

Already, in emergencies, traders and missionaries had been turning to the Governor of the Spanish island, Fernando Po, who happened to be an Englishman, John Beecroft,[1] as to a British Consul; the British government also had recourse to his services. Following a visit to Calabar by two French boats in 1847, offering French trade in return for the suppression of human sacrifice at funerals and other practices (an offer which King Eyo rejected), the English missionaries and traders there asked Beecroft to send for a British warship to plant the English flag in Calabar.

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[1] Gollmer to C.M. Secretaries, 14 Jan. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[2] Gollmer, Journal entry for 23 Feb. 1848, the Randolph Brothers; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[3] Gollmer: Journal entries for 31 Aug. and 27 Nov. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[4] Gollmer: Journal entry for October 1850, referring to a riot near the factory; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[5] Gollmer: Journal entry for 8 May 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043. See also list of British residents who petitioned Capt. L. G. Foote for protection on 16 June 1851 in *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, p. 126. One of Sandeman's assistants was probably Thomas Tickell, later to become famous as trader, Vice-Consul and administrator in Lagos and Badagri.

Hope Waddell further persuaded the Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh to approach the government to set up a protectorate in Calabar, himself declaring that already 'this country is almost equivalent to an English colony'.[2] The government rejected the appeal but a British warship, accompanied by Beecroft, was sent to Calabar as a counter-demonstration to the French, and Eyo pledged that he would 'use his utmost influence and power to induce his subjects' to give up human sacrifice.[3]

It was the missionaries' rather than the traders' move that had been effective in this instance. In attempting by themselves to influence government action, British merchants tended to cancel out; in petitions to the government, they made rival demands; in evidence before Select Committees and Commissions of Inquiry, their testimony was usually divided. The missionary bodies, however, in spite of occasional differences, tended to act together; and in Britain they had country-wide organizations, and all the influence of the humanitarians. Their agents in West Africa lived among the people, wrote letters frequently and sent extracts from their daily journals, which were widely circulated in the missionary magazines, notices and records, which recent research has shown formed the bulk of the reading-matter of the Victorians.[4] When on leave, they enlarged on these in recounting their experiences to various audiences throughout the country, or in addressing the annual mammoth meeting in Exeter Hall. Some of these missionaries were beginning to penetrate into the country ahead of traders, and were therefore in possession of information not to be had elsewhere and on which even the government had to rely.

The importance of all this began to be evident during the debate provoked by the efforts of William Hutt, M.P., to secure the withdrawal from West Africa of the naval squadron which missionaries and traders alike now regarded as their lifeboat. The squadron was opposed on the grounds that it was expensive and also ineffective in its object of suppressing the slave trade. Hutt was Chairman of a Select Committee of the House of Commons which failed to reach a decision on this matter in 1848. In 1849 he used the Chairman's casting vote to recommend a withdrawal of the squadron, an increase of diplomatic measures, and the continuance of the 'instruction of the natives by missionary labours, by education and by all practical efforts'.[1]

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[1] K. O. Dike: 'Beecroft 1835–49' in *Journal of the Nigerian Historical Society*, vol. 1, no. 1, December 1956.

[2] U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1848, pp. 28, 56.

[3] Commander Murray to Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, 24 March 1848, in appendix to the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Slave Trade (1849). Also extracts from Waddell's Journal in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1848, p. 24 ff.

[4] Margaret Dalzel: *Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago*, London 1957.

The government was not happy at the recommendations of this committee. Lord Palmerston, then at the Foreign Office, was most conscious of the commercial interest of Britain in West Africa as well as the need for government to foster those interests. His first reaction, therefore, was to appoint John Beecroft of Fernando Po in May 1849 as Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. It is noteworthy, however, that while Beecroft was to remain at Fernando Po and supervise the Niger Delta which was still the focus of British interest, William Duncan, a trader was also named unpaid Vice-Consul to the kingdom of Dahomey to which British traders at Cape Coast were anxious to be admitted. In the instructions to Beecroft and Duncan no mention was made of missionaries, no mention at all of Badagri, Abeokuta and Lagos.[2] It was then that missionary influence, working through a pressure group in London, stepped into the picture.

The organizer of the group was Henry Venn, who became a member of the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. in 1835 and was soon recognized as its leading figure. He became Honorary Secretary in 1841 and remained so for 31 years (1841–72).[3] By 1849 he had grown to full stature and was able to show that in spite of the set-back caused by the failure of the Niger Expedition the Evangelical party in England, if properly organized, was still capable of exercising considerable influence on the government.

He had brought to England to give evidence before the Hutt Committee his oldest missionaries in the Yoruba Mission, Gollmer and Townsend, the one from the coast, the other from the interior, to testify to the work of the squadron at Badagri, the remarkable improvements that the decline of the slave trade and the rise of the missionary party had brought to Abeokuta, and the awful results that would come from the withdrawl of the squadron. There were other missionaries from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, and Hope Waddell from Calabar. Venn had also rallied naval officers like Trotter and Allen who commanded the Niger Expedition, Captain Denham, and other disciples of Buxton, not only to testify, but also to publish pamphlets, reviews, memoranda and articles in favour of the retention of the squadron.[1]

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[1] C. Lloyd: *The Navy and the Slave Trade*, London 1949, p. 111.

[2] Palmerston to Beecroft, 30 June 1849; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, PP 1852 LIV.

[3] John Venn: 'Henry Venn of the C.M.S.' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and *Venn Family Annals*, London 1903. Rev. William Knight: *Memoirs of Henry Venn*, London 1881. J. F. Ade Ajayi: 'Henry Venn and the Policy of Development' in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1959.

When in spite of all this, in spite of the exertions of Sir Robert Inglis, an active missionary supporter on the Hutt Committee itself, the committee began to pass hostile resolutions, Venn thought of other measures. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, son of the more famous William, also of the missionary party, moved for a separate Committee of the House of Lords, which interviewed the same witnesses and came to a decision the exact opposite of that of the Committee of the House of Commons. The problem then was how to get the House of Commons to reject the report of a Committee of their own House and to accept that of the House of Lords.

Under the date 30 January 1850, at the opening of the parliamentary session in which the two rival reports were bound to come up, Venn wrote in his diary:

> Hastened to Sir E. Buxton's to a meeting of Abolitionists; present, Lord Monteagle, Gurney, Gurney Hoare, Captain Denham, Capt. Trotter, Capt. Beecroft. Two hours' discussions upon parliamentary tactics for the session. Agreed that the squadron must be maintained.[2]

In other words, Venn brought together missionaries, naval officers, politicians and the new Consul. They intensified their lobbying and the pamphlet warfare, and they organized more petitions including a touching one from Liberated Africans and their sons in Sierra Leone who had benefited from the services of the squadron. But there was only one parliamentary strategy that could save the squadron, namely, that the government, at that time threatened by public discontent at the handling of the 'Don Pacifico Affair', should make the issue one of confidence—in spite of the fact that many supporters of the Whig government were known to be inclined towards Hutt's views. Yet this was what another of Venn's deputations secured from Lord Palmerston on the morning of Tuesday 12 March.[3] A week later, in an unusually crowded debate in the

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[1] C. Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 112–13.

[2] W. Knight: *Memoirs of Henry Venn*, op. cit., p. 200.

[3] 'To breakfast at Sir T. D. Acland's; a West African party—Lord Harrowby, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir Edward Buxton, Capts. Denham, Pelham, Trotter, and

House of Commons, Hutt's motion was defeated by a majority of 78. The morning after the debate, *The Times* editorial lamented that in order to save the squadron the government had enslaved members of parliament by invoking the party whip:

> by a sort of vicarious bondage, the British M.P. has taken the place of the African and done task work to the music of the lash of 'Massa Russell'.

The *Spectator* thought the squadron—'this costly failure, this deadly farce'—had been forced on parliament and country. The *Morning Chronicle* added that the 'cruel, hopeless and absurd experiment' was doomed in spite of it all. But the government's paper, the *Morning Post*, replied that the editor of *The Times*

> forgets, or he never knew, that the abhorrence of the slave trade, which with him was only an expedient in political strategy, was and is with the people of England a religion.[1]

The 'Scramble for Africa' was still a very long way off. The acquisition of fresh imperial commitments was in 1850 certainly very unpopular in many circles in England. But opinion in England was not one- but many-sided. In 1846 the same Lord Palmerston supported the abolition of the sugar duties because the abolition favoured industrialists in England and encouraged the development of trade with Cuba and Brazil, whose products depended on the slave trade. In 1850 he risked office

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Mr Evans. The consultation was to be upon parliamentary tactics in reference to Mr Hutt's motion next Tuesday for the removal of the squadron. A request was sent to Lord Palmerston at about 10 o'clock to see some of the party on the subject. The answer was that his Lordship was not up, upon which the messenger was sent back to ask for a note. The answer returned was that he would be ready to see us at 11.30 a.m., at which hour we all went in a body to his private residence, Carlton House Terrace, except Lord Harrowby. Lord Palmerston received us in his dining-room as cheerfully as if the Greek affair [Don Pacifico] existed only in Herodotus. We sat round a table. Sir T. Acland opened the business admirably, putting a few points tersely. Lord Palmerston's answers were frank and very satisfactory; the maintenance of the squadron was a government question; it was to be stated in the House that the measure had been successful to a great extent, but that our experience had taught us that it might be rendered more effectual by new arrangements without an increase of expenditure; that Lord Palmerston was to write a dispatch explaining the law respecting property employed in the slave-traffic—that it may be seized and destroyed as well as the barracoons.' Venn, Journal entry for 12 March 1850, cit. in Stocks, op. cit., pp. 107–8.

[1] W. L. Mathieson: *Great Britain and the Slave Trade, 1839–65*, London 1929. Greville, the famous political commentator, hearing before the debate that the government intended to make the issue one of confidence, thought that they were 'demented at taking this violent course in reference to so unpopular a question and one so entirely fallen into disrepute'; ibid.

to keep the preventive squadron in West Africa to fight the slave trade at its source and to bolster up the expansion of British interests in Nigeria. For the real result of the great controversy over the squadron was to prompt the government to propose measures to improve its efficiency and to strengthen Palmerston's hand in extending the slave-trade-treaty system from the Delta to the Bight of Benin, with new clauses and new interpretations allowing the agents of the British government to interfere more actively in the internal affairs of the areas concerned, in pursuit of the joint policy of trade and philanthropy.

When Hope Waddell was giving evidence before the Hutt Committee, he expressed the opinion that while Britain was

> exerting itself to prevent the selling of slaves upon the coast, I think it would be equally its duty to use all its influence with the native authorities to prevent their killing their slaves, for it is certainly just as bad to kill them for nothing as to sell them, and perhaps rather worse.[1]

It is doubtful whether Waddell considered the full implications of this forceful argument. At any rate he proposed that the naval squadron should go further than the matter of the external slave trade and undertake the abolition of human sacrifice, a matter of internal reform. Even before the British government accepted the argument and included the clause in the new treaty forms, the missionaries in Calabar had taken steps to see such a measure enforced.

Hope Waddell returned to Calabar in 1849. In February of the following year, while he was on a short visit to Bonny, two notables died in Duke Town and there were rumours of human sacrifice at their funerals. William Anderson, the missionary in charge of Duke Town, feeling 'that a united moral force on the part of all white people in the neighbourhood whether missionary or trader was fully warranted if not imperatively called for',[2] convened a meeting at the mission house. Ten supercargoes, one of them a Dutchman, three surgeons, Edgerley (the missionary in Old Town), and Anderson himself met and 'resolved that all present go in a body to King Archibong and the gentlemen of Duke Town at 5 p.m. and denounce the murders committed on Tuesday and to protest against the recurrence of such barbarities'.[3] The protest meeting was duly held and King Archibong and the gentry said they would like to meet the rulers of Creek Town and take common action. The following day the reformers met and resolved to form themselves into a 'permanent Society for the suppression of human sacrifices in Old Calabar or the destruction of human life in any way, except as the penalty of crime'.[1] They met King Eyo of Creek Town and threatened to break off all intercourse unless an Ekpe law was passed within a month to that effect. On Friday, 15 February such a law was solemnly proclaimed in both Duke Town and Creek Town.[2] The new society then met to discuss how to get such a law extended to the neighbouring towns and ensure its strict observance. By then Hope Waddell had arrived, and it was he who proposed the motion, which was carried unanimously, that the aims of the society be broadened, and the name be changed to the *Society for the Abolition of Inhuman and Superstitious Customs and for promoting Civilization in Calabar*[3] (hereinafter referred to as SAISC).

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[1] Minute of evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave trade, 1849. Question no. 451, PP 1849 XI.

[2] Anderson: Journal extracts in *Missionary Record*, 1850, pp. 105–10, entry for Wednesday, 6 Feb. 1850.

[3] Ibid., Thursday, 7 Feb.

Waddell was carrying to its logical conclusion his argument before the Hutt Committee that once Britain's right to enforce prohibition of the external slave trade was accepted and extended to the enforcement of internal reform, her right to suppress anything her missionaries regarded as 'superstitious customs' must also be accepted. In November 1850 John Beecroft, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, came to Calabar from Fernando Po and not only agreed to join the Society but also added that if Kings Eyo and Archibong had any difficulties in enforcing the laws they made under pressure from the reform society, they should appeal to him to bring warships to their aid.[4] Thus social reforms which the rulers of Calabar under pressure from missionary reformers agreed to carry out became matters which the Consul undertook to enforce by the navy of an outside power. And these reforms included not only prohibitions of human sacrifice, twin murder and trial by ordeal, but also provision for such things as the right of the mission house to be an asylum, the Presbyterian conception of Sunday observance, and Victorian dress fashions. It was, to say the least, a very questionable method of reform. SAISC as a reform society will be discussed later. What is important here is to see how both traders and the Consul took advantage of this desire of missionaries for combined intervention in

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[1] Ibid., Friday, 8 Feb.

[2] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. VII, p. 157, entry for 15 Feb. 1850. There was thanksgiving in many Scottish churches on the second Sunday in July; Somerville to Waddell, *Letter Book*, vol. I, p. 572, in Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

[3] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. VII, entry for 19 Feb. 1850.

[4] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. VIII, pp. 94–5, entry for 19 Nov. 1850. Mr. George Horsfall, 'junior member of the Liverpool trading family', joined SAISC on 28 March 1851.

African society to weaken the African states without pursuing the objects the missionaries had in mind.

Even before the fate of the squadron was known, the missionary party had made new impressions on Palmerston's mind. For, unlike the traders, they wanted the squadron and the new consul for more than merely protecting coastal trade. They wished to see British influence penetrate inland to protect missionaries and support their efforts in seeking economic development as well as social reform in the country. To achieve this they began to build up a picture of Abeokuta as a land full of promise for the future evangelization and civilization of the country and as the gateway to an overland route to the north with as much potential economic value as the Niger waterway itself.

At the time when the campaign against the Hutt Committee was taken to the House of Lords, Townsend, who had come from Abeokuta bringing gifts from the chiefs to Queen Victoria, was asked by Venn to put in writing 'such considerations as appeared to him to make a deputation to Lord Palmerston desirable'. He produced a very able, clearly-expressed document, setting out the aims and objectives of the missionaries at Abeokuta, their immense success there, the 'menace' of Kosoko and of Dahomey, the huge possibilities for the economic development of the area, the friendly disposition of the chiefs and the loyalty of the emigrants, all pointing to the conclusion that Abeokuta ought to receive prior if not privileged consideration from the Government as the advance post of civilization and Christianity against slave traders and barbarism. On the basis of Townsend's paper, the C.M.S. drew up a memorandum setting out a new policy to be urged on the government. The key point was made in paragraph 2:

> Most of the advantages which were proposed by the expedition up the Niger in 1842 are now within reach of the British Government by securing the navigation of the Ogun. Traders from the banks of the Niger visit the principal markets of Abeokuta and there is little doubt that the road to Egga and Rabbah, the former of which towns was the highest point reached by the Niger Expedition, might be opened for trade through the channel.[1]

Then followed the enumeration of such advantages of Abeokuta as the favourable disposition of the Egba chiefs; the reduction of their language to writing on which the C.M.S. had been engaged; the introduction of the English language through the emigrants; and the fact that the

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[1] Townsend to the Secretaries of the C.M.S., Exeter, 17 Oct. 1849; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, p. 30.

Yoruba people lived 'under a free form of constitutional government very different from the tyranny of Dahomey and Ashantee'.[1] This was all well calculated to impress Palmerston, the godfather of liberty and constitutional governments in Europe.

Both Townsend's paper and this memorandum had been presented to Palmerston on 4 December 1849. Palmerston decided to send Beecroft, who was home on leave, on a 'diplomatic' mission of enquiry to Abeokuta. His instructions quoted the C.M.S. memorandum on that place, adding that

> Lagos is therefore said to be the natural port of Abeokuta; but the slave trade being carried on at Lagos with great activity, the Yoruba people have been obliged to use the port of Badagry, between which and Abeokuta communications are carried on by a difficult road by land.[2]

He was therefore to visit Abeokuta 'to ascertain, by inquiry on the spot, the actual wants and wishes and disposition of the Yoruba people', and to report on the Lagos succession dispute. Two other points need to be noted in Beecroft's instructions of February 1850. Compared with his commission of June 1849, his functions had been extended, in fact transformed with obvious influence from the missionaries. Before going to Abeokuta, he was asked to visit all the rulers on the coast and to urge slave-trade treaties on them. He was to tell them

> that the principal object of your appointment is to encourage and promote legitimate and peaceful commerce whereby those chiefs and their people may obtain in exchange for the products of their own country those European commodities which they may want for their own use and enjoyment, so that the great natural resources of their country may be developed, their wealth and their comforts increased and the practice of stealing, buying and selling men, woman and children may be put an end to.[3]

In 1849 he was only the protector of British trade. In 1850 he was asked to be first and foremost a philanthropist. The second point to note is that it was only gradually that Palmerston, under the pressure of the missionaries, was turning to Abeokuta and Lagos. Even in February 1850 he was still waiting for the report of his envoy to convince him that the missionaries' claims for Abeokuta were justified.

Beecroft first visited Dahomey, failed to persuade the king to accept a slave-trade treaty, but discovered that an attack on Abeokuta was being planned, of which he properly warned the missionaries. The missionaries appealed to the government. The government instructed the commodore of the naval squadron to send a warning to Dahomey to desist from Abeokuta because there were British subjects there and to instruct a naval officer 'to meet the wishes of the missionaries as far as practicable until the period for the Dahomian war is past'.[1] In addition, the Governor of Sierra Leone, acting on orders from home or on an appeal from the Liberated Africans in the colony, sent to Badagri four boxes of bullets for the defence of Abeokuta.[2] Further still, Palmerston was by then veering round to the missionary point of view that for Abeokuta's sake immediate action should be taken in Lagos.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Instructions to Beecroft, 25 Feb. 1850; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, pp. 29–30.

[3] Ibid.

Beecroft was informed that Palmerston thought Kosoko should be invited to sign a treaty or be subjected to a blockade or replaced by 'the former chief, who is understood to be now at Badagry'.[3] But Beecroft's *instructions* remained those of February, namely to enquire and report.

Beecroft arrived at Badagri on 2 January 1851. He was met on the beach by the missionaries and their schoolchildren, and the traders, including Hutton from Cape Coast. He stayed five days as the guest of Gollmer[4] and before he proceeded to Abeokuta, accompanied by Dr. van Cooten, the C.M.S. Medical Officer, Beecroft had had time to reflect on the mounting tension in Badagri. Trade was growing, but was as yet by no means enough to feed the people. In the circumstances the Badagri people resented the competition of the emigrants.[5] Above all, for four years the Badagri people had incurred the enmity of Lagos for harbouring Akitoye and a large number of his supporters. Beecroft asked Akitoye to prepare for him a petition of all his grievances against Kosoko and a declaration of his readiness to accept a slave-trade treaty.[6]

At Abeokuta, Beecroft was the guest of Townsend for twelve days. Townsend later reported how he had prepared the way for the Consul,

> to give weight and influence to his visit . . . as a person of great con-

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[1] Commodore Farnshawe to the Admiralty, 28 Oct. 1850, reporting the mission of Lt. Boys to Badagri, 21 Oct. 1850; ibid., p. 81.

[2] Gollmer to Venn, 20 March 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[3] F.O. Memorandum to the Admiralty, 11 Oct. 1850; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, p. 45.

[4] Gollmer to Venn, 3 Jan. 1851; Gollmer to Capt. Trotter; ibid., p. 87–8.

[5] There was a clash on 3 Oct. 1850 between the emigrants and the Egun near the 'Bristol' factory; Gollmer, Journal entries for 3 and 7 Oct., C.M.S. CA2/043.

[6] Beecroft's report of his visit to Abeokuta and Badagri to F.O., 21 Feb. 1851; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, pp. 91 ff. Gollmer: Journal for January 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

> sequence and one calculated to be the means of doing great good to their country.[1]

Townsend also wanted to impress on him the great possibilities at Abeokuta for Britain and for civilization. Among the party that went to meet him were a contingent of schoolchildren and converts and the missionaries of C.M.S. and Methodist missions. He was shown round all the mission stations. At a public meeting on the 14th, in front of Ake Ogboni House, Beecroft presented the ammunition from Sierra Leone and the chiefs agreed to sign the proposed treaty whenever the British were ready. Then Beecroft visited all the prominent chiefs individually, discussing the general political situation, Akitoye and Lagos, as well as economic development. Ogunbonna, the chief whom the missionaries found most eager to adopt European ideas, had ready for the Consul 'a load of cotton, a bag of ginger and a bag of pepper as specimens of the products of the country'. On the 18th the Baloguns (war chiefs) called as a body on the Consul and reaffirmed their willingness to accept the treaty. At the meeting the missionaries indicated what their conception of a consul was, by calling upon Beecroft to interfere in local politics and judicial procedures. Townsend raised the issue of jurisdiction among the emigrants:

> I brought before them and the Consul a grievance that I had felt, viz., that persons in the Society's employ, being also British subjects, were brought under country laws that no principle of justice could tolerate.[2]

Beecroft was impressed by what he saw at Abeokuta. By the time he returned to Badagri he had decided that Britain must intervene in the Lagos dispute on the side of Akitoye. He received the petition he wanted, duly prepared for Akitoye by Gollmer. 'My humble prayer to you,' concluded the document,

> is that you would take Lagos under your protection, that you would plant the English flag there and that you would re-establish me on my rightful throne at Lagos and protect me under my flag; and with your help I promise to enter into a treaty with England to abolish the slave trade at Lagos and to establish and carry on lawful trade, especially with the English merchants.[3]

[1] Townsend to Major Straith, 28 Jan. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Petition of Akitoye to Consul Beecroft enclosed in Beecroft's dispatch to the F.O., 24 Feb. 1851, op. cit. How much this document was of Gollmer's composition may be judged from the fact that when the arrival of Beecroft was expected in Badagri, on 9 Dec. 1850, Gollmer noted in his journal: 'Akitoye sent for me this morning to tell him what to do. I accordingly went and told

To commit the British government to intervening in the Lagos dispute, and to ensure that the dispute was not settled before the government could be persuaded to act, Beecroft decided to take Akitoye with him to Fernando Po. His argument was that Akitoye's life was in danger at Badagri. But far from seeking this protection, Akitoye pleaded that his departure would only aggravate the situation; it would be like deserting his friends in their hour of need; it would encourage his enemies and weaken the morale of his supporters.[1] Beecroft compelled him to leave all the same.

At once the tension was heightened. The two parties in the town began to consolidate: the European missionaries, traders, emigrants and other supporters of Akitoye, led in his absence by Chief Mewu on one hand; Possu and the other leading Badagri chiefs and Kosoko's supporters on the other hand. After a number of violent incidents, civil war was touched off on 11 June when a group of women traders from Lagos sang songs in the Badagri market, deriding the cowardice of the absentee Akitoye and the poverty of his supporters, in contrast to the manliness and the prosperity of Kosoko and his partisans. The British party met at once and signalled for help.[2] Five days later, Commander L. G. Heath in H.M.S. *Niger* arrived. He suggested that the Europeans should come on board for safety because, for fear of illness, he could not land his men in the rainy season to defend them. Gollmer pointed out that they could not desert their friends, and that in any case the emigrants were British subjects entitled to protection too. Commander Heath then decided to issue out arms which the emigrants could use to defend themselves. He obtained a receipt for 'One thousand pistol-ball and two thousand musket ball cartridges.'[3] Domingo Martinez also gave Mewu 'twenty guns, twenty kegs of powder, twenty iron bars for shot and a quantity of rum'.[4] In the ensuing battle, Possu and the Badagri chiefs were defeated and expelled from the town. Their attempts to force their way back,

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him that he should clearly state his right to the Lagos throne, how he was expelled, that he desires the British government to plant the English flag there and establish him and protect him under it [did Akitoye later insist on the change from 'under *it*' to 'under my flag'?] at Lagos and that he would make a treaty with the British government to abolish the slave trade and carry on lawful trade, which he said he would do'; Journal, 9 Dec. 1850, C.M.S. CA2/043.

[1] Beecroft's report of his visit to Abeokuta and Badagri to F.O., 24 Feb. 1851, op. cit.

[2] Quite a detailed account of these events in the Journal of Gollmer for June to December 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[3] Commander L. G. Heath to British Residents in Badagri, 17 June 1851; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, p. 127.

[4] Gollmer to Venn, 19 Sept. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

with support from Porto Novo and Lagos, subjected Badagri to a state of siege for the rest of the year. Captain Jones and Commodore Bruce saw to it that warships came frequently to aid the 'English' party in Badagri.[1]

The Commodore felt obliged to justify the policy of issuing arms to the emigrants. He referred to the right of the few British traders and missionaries to be defended, and the moral if not legal duty to defend the 'several hundred' emigrants, who were 'legitimate traders, whose freedom had been solemnly pronounced by competent British tribunals', many of them Christians. Their interference in the war had been compulsory: 'They have been obliged to fight, not that Akitoye might resume the throne', but in self-defence, because if Kosoko had conquered Badagri, 'their adopted country', they would inevitably be doomed to slavery for the remainder of their lives.[2]

In March 1851 Gezo, the King of Dahomey, invaded Abeokuta territory. He marched his troops in person, with the Amazons in the vanguard, to the very gates of the town. They failed to take it by storm and were defeated with heavy losses on both sides.[3] Gezo's action was widely reported in England, as Abeokuta was now well known and regarded with affection in many churches and in many homes. Congregations prayed for its prosperity and defence against its enemies; many an old lady contributed money, or collected gifts, or embroidered a jumper for Abeokuta schoolchildren. Exploiting this emotional upsurge, Venn exerted the utmost pressure to get the government to issue the direct order for action in Lagos and to give more arms for the defence of Abeokuta.

Palmerston, however, found it difficult to persuade the cautious Lords of the Admiralty to authorize naval action of doubtful legality in Lagos —no British subject or property was endangered or detained in Lagos. All he could do in the circumstances was to ask Beecroft to go himself to Kosoko and urge on him a treaty with a mixture of blandishment and threats—a veritable cocktail of imperialistic gin and philanthropic tonic—

> Tell him that lawful commerce is more advantageous to the nations of Africa than slave trade, and that therefore the British Govern-

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[1] 'Obba Shoron' to Capt. L. T. Jones, Badagri, 3 July 1851; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, pp. 130–1.

[2] Bruce to Secretary of the Admiralty, 1 Nov. 1851; ibid., pp. 158–9.

[3] Biobaku, op. cit., pp. 43–5. H. Townsend to Major Straith, 4 March 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085. T. J. Bowen: *Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa*, op. cit., p. 118 ff.; E. Dunglas: 'La première attaque des Dahoméennes contre Abéokuta' in *Etudes Dahoméennes*, 1948, Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

> ment, in putting down slave trade and in encouraging lawful commerce, is conferring a benefit upon the people and chiefs of Africa. That Great Britain is a strong power both by sea and by land; that her friendship is worth having; and that her displeasure it is well to avoid.[1]

But Venn had thought of a brilliant way to move the Lords of the Admiralty to action.

When the news of the Dahomey War reached England, Venn had taken Samuel Crowther's eldest son, of the same name, studying in London, to call on Lord Palmerston, who discussed the war and 'showed great interest in the subject, and listened with such kindness to all our remarks'. Now Venn decided to confront Palmerston and the Lords of the Admiralty with Samuel Crowther himself, once a slave-boy in Lagos, rescued by the Navy, now a clergyman of the Church of England, promoting Christianity and civilization in Abeokuta, evolving an orthography of the Yoruba language and translating the Bible into Yoruba. Crowther was the missions' greatest propaganda weapon, and Venn invoked him. He was on leave in Freetown when Venn suddenly sent for him to make haste for England. So sudden was the summons that when Townsend saw a suggestion somewhere for a black bishop for Abeokuta, he jumped to conclusions and at once forwarded a petition against Crowther's consecration.

Meetings were arranged in various places in the country for Crowther, including one at the University of Cambridge. More important still, interviews were arranged for him with ministers, in particular both Lord Palmerston and Sir F. Baring, the First Lord of the Admiralty. A memorandum on the subject-matter of these interviews repeated the old case of the Egba, 'a native tribe struggling with uncommon energy and bravery to suppress the interior traffic in slaves', and called for British aid and support. Two specific requests were made. In the first place, that

> efficient aid might be rendered by allowing a few natives of Yoruba who have been trained artillery men in Sierra Leone—and there are many such—to return to their native land with two or three light pieces of artillery to defend the walls of Abeokuta against a second attack;

And secondly,

> Mr. Crowther is able to show that if Lagos were under its lawful chief and in alliance with Great Britain, an immense extent of country,

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[1] Palmerston to Beecroft, 21 Feb. 1851, enclosing copy of treaty to be proposed to Kosoko; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, p. 85.

> abounding with cotton, of which he has brought specimens, would be at once thrown open to commerce, extending from the coast to the River Niger at points 200 or 300 miles from the mouth of the river.[1]

Finally Venn arranged that after Crowther had seen the ministers he should have an interview with the Queen and Prince Albert. Crowther himself wrote an account of the meeting immediately afterwards. He was led to the palace by Lord Wriothesley Russell, the Prime Minister's brother. Prince Albert received them in his study, and Crowther began with a geography lesson of West Africa, illustrated with a map from a Blue Book. Then the Queen came and joined in.

> Lord Wriothesley Russell doubted whether I was aware that the lady who took so much interest in the interview was the Queen; he made use of the words 'Your Majesty' once or twice that I might take particular notice. . . .
>
> Lagos was the particular object of inquiry as to its facility of trade, should the slave trade be abolished, which I pointed out, as I did to Lord Palmerston and Sir F. Baring. She asked what did Lord Palmerston and Sir F. Baring say? I told her that they expressed satisfaction at the information. The Prince, 'Lagos ought to be knocked down by all means.' . . .
>
> The Prince asked whether the people of Abeokuta were content at merely getting something to eat, and merely having a cloth to cover themselves. I told him that they were industrious, and were fond of finery, as well as inquisitive to get something new. He then said, 'That is right, they can easily be improved'.[2]

The Queen stayed half an hour and left; the interview with the Prince lasted an hour and a quarter in all.

Venn claimed that it was Crowther's visit that finally moved the Government to action. At any rate, when Crowther was ready to go back, Palmerston wrote to thank him 'for the important and interesting information with regard to Abeokuta and the tribes adjoining that town' which he had communicated to him at their meeting in his house in August.

> I request that you will assure your countrymen that Her Majesty's Government take a lively interest in the welfare of the Egba nation,

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[1] Straith to Palmerston, 20 Aug. 1851; *Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos*, op. cit., pp. 133–4.

[2] Dated Windsor, 18 Nov. 1851, and quoted in full in Stocks, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 111–13.

> and of the community settled at Abeokuta, which town seems destined to be a centre from which the lights of Christianity and civilization may spread over the neighbouring countries.[1]

In September, Palmerston drew up a new memorandum for the Admiralty, referring to Abeokuta in these same words, and arguing that the government could not any longer permit the accomplishment of the 'great purpose' of Abolition to be thwarted by Kosoko and Gezo; and that the attack of Gezo on Abeokuta in spite of the solemn warning he was given was a possible *casus belli.*

The Lords of the Admiralty were therefore asked to order a blockade of the ports of Dahomey till the king signed a treaty. Further, they should issue orders for the restoration of Akitoye, since Captain Denhan, Crowther and Beecroft had assured the government 'that there would be no great difficulty in sending into Lagos the small force which would be sufficient' for such a purpose.[2] The Admiralty then issued instructions to Commodore Bruce to institute the blockade 'according to the views of Lord Palmerston' and they left to his discretion and judgement 'the mode' of carrying out the part of the instructions relating to Lagos. They directed, however, that he was not to retain possession of the island, nor to remain there longer than was absolutely necessary.[3] He was also instructed to meet the other request of Crowther in full, to recruit volunteers from Sierra Leone and send them with an officer and ammunition to the value of £300 for the defence of Abeokuta.

Bruce obtained from the ordnance depot in Freetown

> two light field-pieces (3-pounders), with three hundred rounds of powder and shot; 159 musket flint-lock, with bayonets; twenty-eight thousand musket-ball cartridges and two barrels of flints.[4]

Though Liberated Africans had already sent thirty-two large kegs and fourteen small kegs of powder to Abeokuta for the same purpose,[5] those trained in artillery felt they could not volunteer, as no provision had been made for their remuneration. The ammunition was landed in Badagri, in November, Gollmer helping to arrange its transport to Abeokuta, the field-pieces presenting great difficulties. Commander

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[1] Ibid., p. 114.

[2] Palmerston to Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 27 Sept. 1851; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, op. cit., p. 135.

[3] Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Commodore Bruce, 14 Oct. 1851. The letter was signed by F. T. Baring and R. D. Dundas; ibid., p. 138.

[4] Bruce to the Admiralty, 6 Dec. 1851; ibid., p. 161.

[5] Gollmer to Secretaries of the C.M.S., 13 Oct. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/043.

F. E. Forbes was sent to Abeokuta with a few marines. He met the emigrants there, recruited thirty of them, drilled them, supervised the mounting of the field-pieces and the repairs of Abeokuta's walls.[1]

With respect to Lagos, however, Bruce was more cautious. He went to Fernando Po to hold consultations with the Consul, met Akitoye, and on 1 November, when off São Tomé, sent to the Admiralty a despatch explaining his hesitation. 'Akitoye,' he said, 'does not appear to me to be a man likely to maintain his place by physical influence, if he could be reinstated.' And if Akitoye could not rule, what would be the future of Lagos? 'The European trade with Lagos is very considerable, particularly in Hamburg vessels.' Beecroft was of the opinion that to protect this trade effectively, 'Lagos ought to be taken under the protection of England,' but this could not be done because of the climate. He referred also to Article VI of the Convention of May 1845[2] by which England and France promised not to resort to force on the African coast without the consent of both powers.

Beecroft, however, did not hesitate to rush in where Bruce feared to tread. The evidence suggests that there was a conflict between the two men, a conflict both of personality and of policy, a conflict between a disciple of Buxton (for the Commodore was a devout evangelical) responsible to the Admiralty, and a coastal trader holding a commission from the Foreign Office. Whether there was an open quarrel we shall probably never know. But Beecroft proceeded to manoeuvre the law out of the Commodore's discretion into his own hands. He went straight to Badagri, arriving on 17 November. He sought out Commander T. G. Forbes, the naval officer in charge of that division of the coast. Together they went with four warships, and called Kosoko to a meeting on the southern tip of the Lagos island. Kosoko rejected the offer of British friendship and declined to sign a treaty, using the ingenious argument that Lagos was under Benin and the Oba of Benin should be persuaded to sign the treaty on his behalf. Then, wrote Beecroft later,

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[1] F. E. Forbes to Bruce, 13 Nov. 1851, 9 Dec. 1851, enclosing the speech he declaimed to the emigrants on the 24th: 'Your religion, your duty, teach you to trust in God; but God will not save you without exertions from yourselves. . . . You are a great number and should be all men of some education; set an example to the Egbas; show them the advantage of the knowledge the white men have, through God's assistance, ingrafted in you . . .'; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, pp. 177–8, 180–2. Townsend remarked that Forbes was a very energetic officer, a little jealous of his position *vis-à-vis* Consul Beecroft, and seemed to live only for promotion.

[2] Convention between Great Britain and France for the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, signed in London 29 May 1845, ratified June 1845. *Article VI*: 'When ever it shall be necessary to employ force, conformably to the law of nations in order to compel the due execution of any Treaty made in pursuance of the present Convention, no such force shall be resorted to either by land or sea without the consent of the Commanders both of the British and of the French Squadrons.' SP, vol. 33, pp. 8–9.

> It was decided to collect such a show of force as the moment could supply, with the firm belief that such force, judging from the character of African chiefs, would have the effect by simple demonstration of our power, to cause him to accede to our terms.[1]

An abortive attempt to assault Lagos took place, for which Beecroft was later severely censured,[2] but there could now be no going back, as the prestige of England had become involved in the dispute. Commander Bruce arrived off Lagos on Christmas Eve and attacked on Boxing Day. On the second day of the battle rockets from one of the boats succeeded in blowing up the royal arsenal, causing great havoc, and, with his leading supporters, Kosoko fled down the Lagoon towards Epe. Lagos was captured for the loss of only sixteen men killed and seventy-five wounded on the British side. 'Had an engineer from Woolwich been on the spot,' said Beecroft when he landed, 'the defence of Lagos could not have been better planned.'[3]

Sandeman, one of the traders at Badagri, later claimed that in signing the petitions for British intervention, he had been misled by the missionaries. 'The fact is,' he declared, 'Akitoye was made a tool to carry out the ambitious views of these two men, Messrs. Gollmer and Townsend.'[4] Akitoye was indeed made a tool. The missionaries led the way in this, but they were supported by the traders and the traders reaped much fruit from it. The British Consul also had certainly played a prominent part.

On New Year's Day, Akitoye signed a slave-trade treaty which, besides the usual clauses about renouncing the slave trade, and the British right to enforce it if violated, contained additional ones breathing the spirit of the times. There was a clause guaranteeing to British traders 'most-favoured nation' terms; another abolishing human sacrifice; another guaranteeing to missionaries of all nations freedom to follow 'their vocation of spreading the knowledge and doctrines of Christianity and extending the benefits of Civilization.

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[1] Beecroft to Palmerston, 26 Nov. 1851; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, op. cit., p. 147.

[2] Granville to Beecroft, 24 Jan. 1852: 'I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government are of the opinion that you were not borne out, either by the circumstances of the case, or by your instructions from Her Majesty's Government in directing that Her Majesty's naval forces should land and attack Lagos. . . . I regret to be obliged to disapprove of your conduct in this affair.' Also 23 Feb. 1852, that this, too, was the opinion of Commodore Bruce; ibid., p. 167.

[3] Beecroft to the Foreign Office, 3 Jan. 1852; ibid., pp. 188–9.

[4] Sandeman to Campbell, 28 Aug. 1855, in *Correspondence relative to the Dispute between Consul Campbell and the Agents of the Church Missionary Society at Lagos*; F.O. Confidential Print 4141, 15 July 1856, p. 24.

> Encouragement shall be given to such missionaries in the pursuits of industry, in building houses for their residence, and schools and chapels. They shall not be hindred or molested in their endeavours to teach the doctrines of Christianity to all persons willing and desirous to be taught . . .[1]

An identical treaty was signed by the chiefs of Abeokuta on 5 January, except that two additional clauses were added at the instigation of missionaries, guaranteeing freedom of movement about the country for themselves and for the emigrants. The same treaty was presented to Mewu for signature on behalf of Badagri while Possu and the other chiefs remained in exile. In March 1852 Gollmer came to Lagos and obtained from Akitoye for the C.M.S. five pieces of land on the island, 'without any condition, free of expenses, and without limit of time.'[2]

Gollmer went back to Badagri to pack as much of the mission property as had not been evacuated during the war. He reviewed the failure of the mission at that first station. For the Badagri people, as we have seen, had replied to the Gospel, with the cynical indifference of a cosmopolitan town that welcomed all comers and tried to outwit them in turn. Hardly any Egun had received baptism. But the emigrants, some refugees and traders had benefited from the missions. The C.M.S. had baptized 14 adults and 36 children, celebrated one marriage and 18 funerals in 7½ years. The schools fared better. At one period the C.M.S. boarding school actually flourished and a boy was sent to Sierra Leone for further studies. But even the schools had been broken by war. 'The monuments of our mission in this place are the four missionary graves [in one of which lay the first Mrs. Gollmer] as witness of the devotedness of our works of faith and love among the people here.'[3] Other Europeans at Badagri and elsewhere on the coast were similarly taking stock and making up their minds to move towards the brighter prospects in Lagos. Gollmer moved faster than most: he set out for Lagos with his wife, schoolmasters, interpreters, and Scripture readers, leaving only a catechist behind. He was followed a year later by John Martin, the

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[1] Enclosure in Beecroft to F.O., 3 Jan. 1852; *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, pp. 188–9. Copies of these and other treaties with Badagri, Ijebu and Porto Novo will be found in *State Papers*, vol. 42.

[2] 'Memorandum of Agreement' dated 1 March 1852; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[3] Gollmer, Journal entry for 22 June 1852; C.M.S. CA2/043.

Methodist assistant missionary who had succeeded Annear. There was an exodus also of the emigrants from Badagri, and the town gradually passes out of this story. Four months after Gollmer reached Lagos, Louis Fraser, a trader who had succeeded Duncan as vice-consul at Whydah, arrived to act as consul until he was relieved in August 1853 by Benjamin Campbell, the first Consul of Lagos.[1]

Initially Campbell stayed with the C.M.S. missionaries and seemed to concur with them in their support of Akitoye and his policy of pursuing the war against Kosoko, who had control of the principal sources of palm-oil at Ijebu.[2] But later Campbell switched to the views of the traders, who were for appeasing Kosoko in the hope that he would divert the Ijebu trade to Lagos. Missionary and trader, allies in war, became enemies in the post-war settlement. Matters came to a head between the missionaries and Campbell when the latter decided to depose Mewu, the missionaries' old ally and ruling chief at Badagri (a refugee from Porto Novo), since he was an obstacle to the trade of Porto Novo passing by Badagri on the Lagoon to Lagos. Campbell asked Townsend and the Egba to persuade Mewu to give up the British treaty he held, and offered, if this were done, to negotiate with the king of Porto Novo to allow Mewu to remain in Badagri as a private individual provided he would allow Possu and the other chiefs who had supported Kosoko to return.[3] The Egba refused to do this, and the missionaries denounced the policy of Campbell.[4] Campbell then resolved to expel Mewu by force. He brought charges of slave-trading against him but, as the Egba pointed out, Mewu could not have been more guilty in the matter than Possu or the favoured king of Porto Novo. The important point was, as Campbell said, the oil-palm trade:

> between Badagry and countries watered by a fine navigable lagoon extending through more than 100 miles of country yielding a commerce in palm oil alone of the present annual value of about a quarter of a million pounds sterling, nearly the whole of which is at present monopolized by Domingo Martins.[5]

Campbell called in a warship, restored the exiled chiefs and expelled Mewu, who took refuge in Lagos, where he died a year later. The C.M.S.

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[1] Bruce in recommending the appointment of consuls and vice-consuls to each of the important towns on the coast added: 'the persons best adapted for these situations would be intelligent and fairly educated Creoles of the West Indies or natives of Sierra Leone'; Bruce to the Admiralty, 17 Jan 1852, in *Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos*, PP 1852 LIV.

[2] Campbell to Gollmer, 2 Sept. 1854.

[3] Campbell to Townsend, 12 May 1854; C.M.S. CA2/04.

[4] Townsend to Campbell, 15 May 1854; C.M.S. CA2/04.

[5] Campbell to Townsend, 30 April 1854; C.M.S. CA2/04.

sent memoranda and deputations to Lord Clarendon saying that Campbell was befriending slave-traders and antagonizing Britain's friends, particularly the Egba on behalf of whom the British had intervened in Lagos. They insisted that

> the best hope of introducing civilization into that part of Africa and of putting effectual stop to the slave trade consists in the encouragement of the Egba tribe situated at Abeokuta, which contains a thousand British subjects in the persons of the Sierra Leone emigrants.[1]

Here, then, was the crux of the disagreement between the C.M.S. and the traders between 1852 and 1855. To the C.M.S. Abeokuta counted for far more than Lagos; to the traders, Lagos was the focus of attention. The Methodists, who were not so committed to Abeokuta and who were not yet so ready to penetrate into the interior, tended to side with the traders.[2] The C.M.S. were preparing for their great advance into the Yoruba country, and under the leadership of Townsend they based their advance on an 'Abeokutan' policy.

In Henry Townsend the C.M.S. had a missionary who saw his work in Africa very largely in political terms, and he had the ambition and ability to carry it out. He was the sponsor of the policy of setting up Abeokuta rather than Lagos or anywhere else as the main centre of both missionary and British influence in Nigeria. He realized more than anybody else that the survival of the Church in Abeokuta depended on the survival of the town itself, and that the spread of the Gospel from Abeokuta depended on the outcome of the political struggle for power between Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijaye, Oyo and Ijebu. He had the advantage of bringing the realism of a politician to reinforce the idealism of the missionary, but also the disadvantage that, like all politicians, particularly when not actually in control of affairs, he was prone to make mistakes and miscalculations. He first visited Abeokuta within twelve years of its foundation. He arrived to settle there two and a half years later and was to be a regular resident for the next twenty years. He spoke Yoruba fluently and met the rulers of Abeokuta on personal terms. He knew them and understood their aspirations. They, too, came to know him and to repose confidence in him. It is therefore not surprising that he soon decided on the policy we have noticed of building up Abeokuta politically, militarily and economically, fostering its influence and using that to get Christianity established in the land. If the power of Abeokuta could be increased and extended along the coast, and commercial prosperity brought in through the emigrants and European traders, then the influence of such a strengthened state would carry the Gospel further inland. The supply of ammunition and the training of an emigrant artillery force for defence against Dahomey, the installation of Abeokuta's partisans, Mewu at Badagri and Akitoye at Lagos, the 'Abeokutan' port, completed the first part of this programme.

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[1] C.M.S. Secretaries to Lord Clarendon, encl. in Venn to Irving, 22 June 1855; C.M.S. CA2/12.

[2] For details of this dispute see F.O. Confidential Print 4141, July 1856: *Correspondence relative to the Dispute between Consul Campbell and the Agents of the C.M.S. at Lagos.* The C.M.S.–Methodist dispute came to involve a doctrinal issue in Abeokuta, where C.M.S. missionaries were said to have made fun of the doctrine of the Assurance of Salvation, a fundamental tenet of Methodism, which their catechist had been labouring hard to get across to his congregation; Freeman to Secretaries, 9 Jan. 1855, Meth.

The next step was to get a British vice-consul appointed at Abeokuta. Venn approached Lord Clarendon, who had taken over the Foreign Office, but Clarendon demurred, saying that the Consul at Lagos could supervise affairs at Abeokuta, barely sixty miles away, until British trade there had grown sufficiently to justify the extra expenditure. That did not satisfy the C.M.S. The consul they expected was not Clarendon's jealous guardian of the interests of a foreign country so much as a benevolent resident helping and advising the chiefs in their daily work and a leader of the emigrants and educated Africans in their work of civilization. He was to be a secular missionary, relieving the clerical ones of the secular duties which Gollmer at Badagri said were calculated to make a clergyman sin against God and man. Venn felt a pang of conscience at having exposed Gollmer to so much political intrigue at Badagri. He consoled himself that it was in a crisis and *inter arma leges silent*, but he would avoid making the same mistake at Abeokuta. He looked round for a suitable person who would be 'receiving a salary from the society but having some recognition from the Government . . . to execute the office' of consul.[1] He picked on Dr. Edward Irving, a surgeon and commissioned officer of the Royal Navy, who had accompanied Captain Foote to Abeokuta in 1852 to continue the work begun by Captain Forbes on the defences of the town.[2] The government itself could not have picked on a better qualified consul. He was to choose an African 'Under-Secretary', who, it was hoped, would succeed him, possibly as an official consul. Dr. Irving's duties were defined as

> to co-operate with the missionaries in ameliorating the social, political and economic condition of the native tribes. . . .
> to promote their civilization and social welfare . . .
> to advise chiefs . . . respecting the principles of law and sound policy

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[1] Venn to Gollmer, 23 March 1853; C.M.S. CA2/L1.
[2] Samuel Crowther, jun., to Venn, 28 Dec. 1852; C.M.S. CA2/032.

> . . . [so that] right views of law and justice should supply a better foundation than that which is crumbling away.[1]

He was further to be 'a counsellor of the chiefs in respect of their military policy and warfare', to teach them the best way of fortifying their town and securing it from sudden attacks, and to dissuade them from aggressive warfare. Finally, he was to be a channel of communication between the mission and the consul and officers of the squadron. These functions of the 'lay agent', as he was called, were submitted in a memorandum to the Foreign Office and the Admiralty. In June 1853 Lord Clarendon 'entirely approved' of the proposal and he instructed Consul Campbell at Lagos 'to afford every assistance to Dr. Irving, in whose success Her Majesty's Government take a lively interest'.[2] When Dr. Irving was about to set out in December 1853, the C.M.S. Committee added one important detail to his duties. He was

> to make arrangements with the Vice-Consul Campbell [sic] for securing the water frontage assigned to the society as a free wharf, with special reference to native traders.

He was to study the resources of the country in marketable products like cotton, gums, indigo and dyewood, and to direct the attention of the emigrants and the Christian converts towards them, so that, in words commonly used at the time:

> these parties may rise in social position and influence while they are receiving Christian instruction and thus form themselves into a self-supporting Christian Church and give practical proof that godliness hath promise of the life that now is, as well as that which is to come.[3]

Dr. Irving's mission was a failure, largely because there were some major miscalculations in Townsend's policy which Irving was supposed to carry out. The first was that the traders and the British Consul whom the missionaries attracted to Lagos did not regard Lagos as the port of

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[1] Venn to Irving, 29 March 1853; C.M.S. CA2/L1. Irving was to secure the assistance 'of a young educated Native . . . to be himself thereby trained for some post of agency in connection with the objects before us.' In February 1855 Samuel Crowther, jun., who had had a medical training in London, was appointed Irving's 'Secretary and Assistant'. Venn to Local Committee of the Yoruba Mission, 23 Feb. 1855; C.M.S. CA2/L1.

[2] Clarendon to Lord Chichester, President of the C.M.S., F.O. 11 June 1853; C.M.S. CA2/L1.

[3] Final instructions to Dr. Irving, 23 Dec. 1853; C.M.S. CA2/L1. Cf. Hope Waddell, who, when King Eyo remarked that if a man was always thinking about death and his soul and his God he would become lazy, decided to preach his next sermon on 'the advantages of godliness for this life as well as for the life to come'; *Journals*, entry for 30 June 1950, vol. VIII, p. 36.

Abeokuta but as the centre where British influence was predominant and whose trade was to them an end in itself. Irving, on his arrival, wrote to Venn saying that trade was expanding in Lagos:

> The Abbeokutans are already beginning to master and have entire command over the navigation of the river [Ogun] and it would be a most desirable thing to keep infusing more and more Egban element, until Lagos becomes the Abbeokutan seaport for which it is so admirably adapted.[1]

But in fact it was the English element that was being infused into Lagos, not to supplement, but to replace existing African rule. The greatest opponents of the proposed ascendancy of Abeokuta were Kosoko and the chiefs driven away from Badagri, and Consul Campbell preferred to negotiate with them, using force to disloge Mewu from Badagri in favour of Possu and the other exiled chiefs.

Lord Clarendon approved of the negotiations with Kosoko. He disapproved of the treatment of Mewu,[2] but there could be no going back. When Irving also quarrelled with Campbell, Clarendon asked the Admiralty to send a naval officer to look into all the disputes. Before the Commission of Inquiry arrived, Dr. Irving had died.[3]

The differences between the different European groups were important and should be pointed out. However, their significance can be exaggerated. Traders and missionaries combined to get the consul installed. In 1853–55 the missionaries attacked him for being too much inclined to the views of the traders. In 1855–56 the traders wrote petitions to get him removed for meddling too much with trade affairs, antagonizing Kosoko unnecessarily, and expelling Madam Tinubu who owed them much trust.[4] From the African's point of view, these quarrels had little effect on the growing power of the consul within the African states. If anything, they tended to increase it, for the consul, in addition to powers to champion Europeans, began to acquire powers to be their umpire. The moments of disagreement could not undo what had been achieved in the periods of agreement, and it was the cumulative effect that mattered. The missionaries were most conscious of this interdependence.[1] That was why, in spite of recognized differences of objectives, they continued to seek the co-operation of traders and consuls for the task of social reform in the African states.

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[1] Irving to Venn, 20 Jan. 1854; C.M.S. CA2/052.

[2] Wodehouse to Lord Chichester, President of the C.M.S., 12 June 1855, encl. in Venn to Irving, 22 June 1855; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

[3] For 'The Skene Commission', see F.O. Confidential Print 4141. Also Crowther, 3 Dec. 1855; C.M.S. CA2/031.

[4] Ibid. Also Campbell to Crowther, 15 Oct. 1856, enclosing copy of the petition of the traders and asking Crowther to give him a testimonial refuting the charges. Campbell to Irving, 5 Jan. 1855, 10 Jan. 1855, on his efforts to break the Trust System in Lagos; C.M.S. CA2/04. Crowther to Venn, 30 Sept. 1856, 3 Nov. 1856, reporting generally on the situation and the virtual revolt of the traders. A naval officer sent to inquire censured the traders; C.M.S. CA2/031.

The reputation of the 'palm-oil ruffians' was not unknown to the missionaries. A good deal was written, and much of it by missionaries, about the personal degeneracy of the men, their quarrels over women, their addiction to drink, their wanton cruelty, the negation at practically every point of the morality the missionaries were preaching. Yet the missionary often stood by him. Sometimes the missionary assumed that the trader was after all inherently an honest man doing a difficult job for his company and country, far from home and in a climate he found trying. At other times he seems to have pretended that, Europe being a Christian continent, every European bearing a Christian name, however unworthy, must have something on moral grounds to offer in the reform of the African. But it was not the personal morality of the trader that separated him from the missionary so much as his trade, his very livelihood and the method in which he pursued it. Hope Waddell relates that soon after he got to Calabar, he approached a much respected trader who alone on the river had a reputation for treating his crews and workmen like human beings, and he suggested the idea of holding services on the trader's hulk every Sunday. 'With usual candour,' the trader replied that the 'mode of carrying on trade in this river was so contrary to the principles of religion that it seemed to him to savour of hypocrisy to attempt to gain both objects.'[2] A major bone of contention was the Trust system.[3]

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[1] In 1854, when Lagos was threatened by an attack from Kosoko, Campbell offered some ammunition to defend the C.M.S. House which he said was 'the only place in Lagos capable of making a defensive stand'. Gollmer accepted the arms, saying: 'We are entirely defenceless, having neither guns nor powder, nor people to use them and therefore cannot object to any arrangements you deem necessary'; Campbell to Gollmer, Gollmer to Campbell, 2 Sept. 1854; C.M.S. CA2/043. In April 1855, when Dr. Irving lay on his death bed, he asked for some port. His colleagues had none, and the traders had none to sell. Consul Campbell, hearing of this, sent him a bottle. Irving was for refusing it, but Crowther pressed him to take it, saying that the dispute 'was not a personal grudge but of a public nature in the cause of justice'. Irving drank the wine, murmuring, 'That was very kind; we cannot enjoy a hearty quarrel in this country being so dependent upon one another.' Crowther to Venn, 8 May 1855; C.M.S. CA2/031.

[2] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. 1, entry for Sunday 21 June 1846.

[3] See K. O. Dike: *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*, p. 60, where the Trust system has been discussed. What is here attempted is an examination of the attitude of the missionaries to the system and of the effect of their policies on it.

The philanthropists had attacked the Trust system of trade from the start. They realized that the expansion of European commerce in Africa did not of itself necessarily mean widespread economic development and social reform for the African. The promotion of 'legitimate commerce' would be a civilizing force, they said, provided it was directed to root out slavery at the source, to alter the subsistence economy on which it was based, reach down to the masses in the interior, create new wants and engage the labour of the hitherto surplus manpower. It was obvious to them that, as it was then conducted, the palm-oil trade, like the slave trade it was succeeding, was not doing this. However, they never really understood why, and quite often they acted as though they forgot the proviso that qualified the virtues of 'legitimate commerce'. To explain why the palm-oil trade was not having the desired effects on the African states, the missionaries argued that palm trees grew wild and required no cultivation, and that under the trust system a few coastal chiefs in ignorance exploited the labour of domestic slaves for the benefit of unscrupulous European traders. By taking this simple view they missed the real nature of the economic alliance between Europeans and the coastal traders. They underrated the difficulties of changing the system, and they did not realize that the cultivation of cotton, even by peasant farmers, could produce the same system if someone brought sufficient capital to develop the trade.

In the 1850s Venn embarked on an important venture to see that the production of cotton in Abeokuta was increased without the trust system, and in a way to promote the emergence of an African middle class. He went up to Manchester, met leading members of the Chamber of Commerce and finally persuaded Thomas Clegg, an industrialist, 'one of those lay men of the Church of England who form its real strength',[1] to co-operate with him. Clegg agreed to provide a few saw gins and cotton presses, train some African youths to use them and prepare cotton for the European market. However, he was to pay for cotton only when he had received it, and would not give out any credits. He promised to act 'simply to benefit the natives and to secure no more profit to himself than a bare commission upon the transaction'.[2] The boys he trained were to be independent traders on their own, transmit the cotton they gathered directly to Clegg in the name of and with the sign of each producer, taking a bare commission for their services. Needless to say, it did not work. At first there were enough farmers who enjoyed the joke of sending their produce directly to England with their own marks, and since cotton was only a side issue they did not mind waiting six to twelve months for the returns.[1] But the young men trained in England, the first of whom arrived in February 1856, could not live on such a game when they could get much more from being agents to some palm-oil trading firm or other. By October, therefore, Venn made a concession. He approved the foundation of an Industrial Institution at Abeokuta which besides teaching brickmaking, carpentry, dyeing and so on, would act as 'a depot for receiving, preparing, and sending cotton to England'. Henry Robbin and Samuel Crowther, jun., who was also medical officer to the mission,[2] were appointed managers and therefore assured of some income. Venn, however, insisted that the Industrial Institution

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[1] Venn, journal entry for Sunday 16 Nov. 1856. Also other entries for the week 11–17 Nov. for the visit to Manchester. W. Knight: *Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn*, 1882, loc. cit., pp. 134–6.

[2] Ibid., 15 Nov.

> will not be a trading concern in itself, for not one shilling of the Society's must be employed in purchasing cotton or any other material. It will only transact the cotton business on commission for other parties.[3]

But within six months Venn discovered not only that Clegg had been giving out trust to the managers and was now seeking to get control of the Institution into which he had been sinking money so that he could run it in the most profitable manner, but also that the managers were supporting him in this, preferring to be his agents if he gave them enough capital to trade with. Venn wrote a stirring appeal to Robbin pointing out that the object of the Industrial Institution would be defeated if he became direct agent of a European trader. The object was to enable Africans,

> to act as Principals in the commercial transactions, to take them out of the hands of European traders who try to grind them down to the lowest mark. We hope that by God's blessing on our plans, a large body of such Native independent Growers of cotton and traders may spring up who may form an intelligent and influential class of Society and become the founders of a kingdom which shall render incalculable benefits to Africa and hold a position amongst the states of Europe.
>
> What on the other side is the object of European Traders to Africa? It is to obtain the produce of Africans for the least possible considera-

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[1] List of Exporters of cotton at Abeokuta in 1856 in Samuel Crowther, jun., papers; C.M.S. CA20/32.

[2] See below, p. 160–1.

[3] Venn to Samuel Crowther, jun., and Henry Robbin. 21 Oct. 1856; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

> tion at the cheapest rate. They prefer to deal with savages whom they can cajole into parting with their goods for beads, and rum, rather than to deal with civilized and intelligent races who can compete with them in the markets of Europe. . . .
>
> I do not speak of individuals like good Mr Clegg, but I speak of two opposite systems. Now into which of these systems will you throw your energies and those acquisitions which you have made in England through the liberality of the Friends of Africa? I am sure you cannot hesitate. You will prefer being an independent Patriot to being an agent of Europeans.[1]

The issue of the Trust system involved more than a question of patriotism and goodwill. Venn was in fact grappling with the problem familiar today as that of securing capital for 'under-developed territories' in a way that would not sacrifice the economic and political aspirations of the people of the territory to the ambitions of those who provide the capital. When the accounts of the Industrial Institution were made up in 1858 it was discovered that apart from some C.M.S. money the Institution owed trusts of up to £1,800 to Clegg. He had to be allowed to take control of the Institution and run it in the way he liked.[2] However, he made a point of using educated African agents. He retained Henry Robbin, who gradually paid off the debts by 1864. In this way Clegg was working out the system which, as we shall see, he later used on the Niger.

Large-scale capital was the essence of the Trust system. The Europeans brought capital in trade goods which they gave on credit to the chiefs, who undertook to use it to negotiate in the interior to bring down to the Europeans whatever goods they wanted. The capital enabled the chiefs to own large fleets of canoes and canoemen and other equipment necessary for the trade. By giving trust in advance, European traders secured the produce in advance and thus made it difficult for interlopers to join in the trade. By accepting trust the chiefs made profit for themselves, and were able to regulate and to limit the incursion of the European into African society. The large capital in the trade made it a highly organized business but it also imposed on it a pattern of monopoly and rigidity, particularly in the Delta, where it was most developed. The capital imprisoned both those who gave and those who received it in trust. If the European traders had been willing—which they were not—to give up their monopoly in the hope that a freer trade would open up new and increased opportunities for them, they would have had to write off a good many bad debts.[1] If the African customers wanted to regain their liberty to trade freely in cash with all comers, they would have had to expropriate forcibly, or gather in produce for a year or two to pay off past debts with the usual expenditure but no income for that period.

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[1] Venn to Robbin, 22 Jan. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

[2] Venn to Crowther, 31 March 1857, to Townsend, 31 March 1857. In a letter to Hinderer, 21 Dec. 1859, Venn talked of 'Mr. Clegg's imprudent ventures'; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

The Trust system partook of all the villainy and inhumanities of the trade in human beings that produced it, but normally it had a rude justice of its own. The returns for Europeans were slow; war, fire, or other accident might destroy the stock of oil for which trust had been received and expended in advance; debts were collected in difficult, often brutal, conditions; but the rate of profit was very high, particularly because the Europeans could inflate the prices and exaggerate the value of the goods they brought. On the other hand, a strong African government could by playing one set of traders against another, keep prices down and by instituting trade boycotts curb the excesses of particular traders. As long as the European traders could not expect armed support from Europe, particularly with the transition from the trade in slaves to trade in oil, which took longer to collect and required more stability on land, it was often in their interest to encourage such strong African governments on the coast. And in fact they fostered the influence of monarchs like Eyo I and Duke Ephraim of Calabar who had a reputation for fairness in adjudicating between European traders and their African customers. But when the philanthropists had a consul invested with naval power far in excess of what the African rulers possessed, and when they strengthened his hand on land by the privileges they secured for missionary intervention, they were weakening the African states and turning the Europeans from negotiators into arbiters of trade.

It should be repeated that this was far from being the intention of the missionaries. As we shall see, they continued to train and to encourage the middle class to whom they expected the powers of the chiefs to pass. They not only educated them, they put them in touch with business houses in England, and on every possible occasion urged on the merchants and government in England the policy of entrusting to them the conduct of their affairs in Nigeria.

Meanwhile, most missionaries consoled themselves with the knowledge that politics was not their main concern, that they were preachers of the Word patiently seeking to establish the Christian Church and an indigenous clergy and laity at whose touch all the old antiquated ways of life would wither away. Before turning to these other duties of theirs, particularly in regions where they had fewer dealings with traders and consuls, it must be added that much of the development of the power of the consul in Nigeria was due to the nature of the intervention of the missionaries themselves. While the intervention of the traders in African society was limited and intermittent, that of the missionaries was all-embracing. While traders sought to limit intervention to the coastal states, where they themselves could stay near the gunboats and expect people to bring them the goods they wanted, it was the missionaries who sought actively to penetrate into the country because they were obliged to take the Gospel to the people in every town and village.

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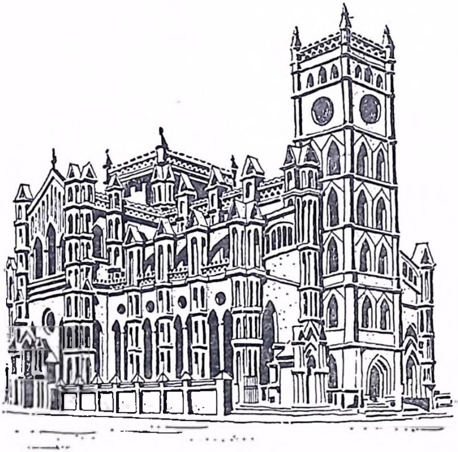
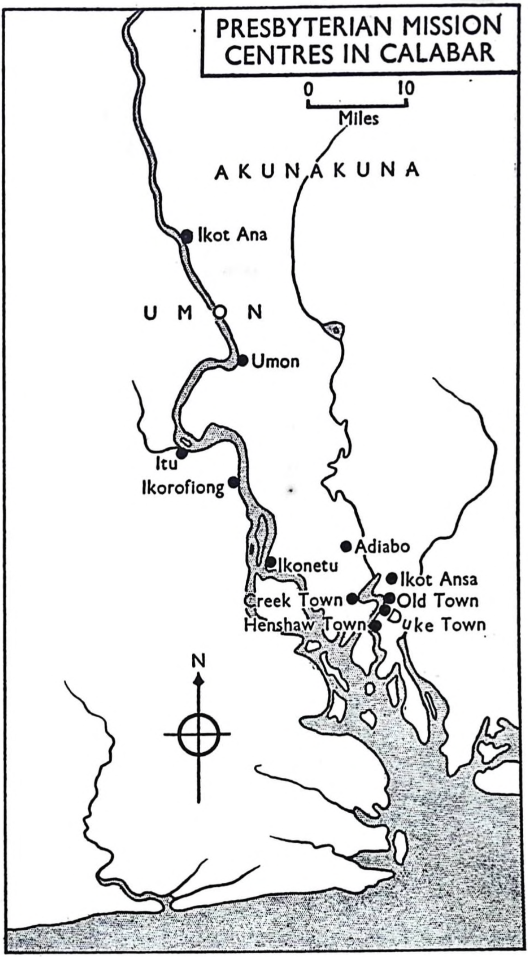
[1] In 1850 a supercargo on the Benin River, agent of Harrison & Co., said he was instructed to discontinue the Trust system, but first he demanded the year's output of oil at no further cost to himself than the trusts his predecessors had given out; encl. 3 and 4 in Beecroft's dispatch to Lord Palmerston, 24 Feb. 1951; *State Papers*, vol. 41, p. 268 f.



Catholic Holy Cross Cathedral, Lagos, built 1881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4 The Mission and the State

WITH the coastal bases secured at Lagos and Calabar, there followed in the years 1853–60 an expansion of missionary activities in Nigeria unequalled till the last decade of the century. Before examining the nature of these activities and discussing some of their social and political consequences it is necessary to indicate briefly the rate at which each of the missions expanded and what areas of the country they tried to cover.

The basic problem that faced each mission was the old one of how to achieve the maximum results with limited resources.[1] To take a classic example, the simple parishioners who contributed their pennies and sixpences to send David Livingstone to South Africa must soon have begun to wonder about the wisdom of his tramping north to the Zambezi.[2] In the highly emotional missionary meetings by which their enthusiasm was aroused they were told that hundreds of Africans died every day without ever having heard of Jesus and they were to make contributions to rush the Gospel to save as many of them as possible before they had to meet their Maker. Perhaps the missionary could safely spend his first year or two travelling about, and sending home exciting reports like Freeman's *Journals of Visits to Ashanti, Aku and Dahomi*. If, however, he did not settle in one place, build a church and send home accounts of conversions, the parishioners in Europe or America might begin to doubt how effectively their money was being spent. The trouble was that the same enthusiasm and sense of urgency that made the parishioners hungry for news of actual conversions tended to promote in some missionaries of the greatest ability and piety the urge to sow the seeds of the Gospel far and wide and leave to others the joy of reaping the harvest. Livingstone retorted to his critics:

> If we call the actual amount of conversions the direct result of missions, and the wide diffusion of better principles the indirect, I have no hesitation in asserting that the latter are of infinitely more importance than the former. I do not undervalue the importance of the conversion of the most abject creature that breathes; it is of over-

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[1] See above, pp. 57–8.

[2] Groves, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 172–3.

> whelming worth to him personally, but viewing our work of wide sowing of the good seed relatively to the harvest which will be reaped when all our heads are low, there can, I think, be no comparison.... Time is more important than concentration.[1]

However, not every Christian could take that long-term investment view about conversion. There was no way, some people would say, of comparing the importance of the large harvest of tomorrow with the personal salvation of the individual today. To many evangelicals, Livingstone's emphasis on the 'Indirect' method, the patient planning to capture future generations by good works in place of rushing by preaching for the souls of the contemporary few, must have sounded heretical. But though evangelical theory remained unchanged, the influence of humanitarians and the consequent preoccupation with civilization and commerce as necessary adjuncts of Christianity laid down the path of virtue as being somewhere between 'time' and 'concentration'.

Freeman was on the side of Livingstone without Livingstone's unique ability or opportunity wholly to despise his critics and yet like Livingstone rise to glory by lonely, stubborn grandeur. His attempt to expand the Methodist Gold Coast Mission to the Yoruba country has already been noticed. He placed a European missionary temporarily at Kumasi, African catechists more permanently at Whydah, Badagri and Abeokuta, and whatever other missionary he could spare at Lagos. The European missionaries were young, inexperienced and by no means highly qualified. They were changed frequently and therefore rarely got down to learning the local languages.[2] To supervise them closely Freeman had to be constantly on tour. The question arose whether, with the material at his disposal, Freeman would not have done better to concentrate on a more limited area.

His view was that the wide diffusion of the pioneering missionary effort was producing 'social progress' from which his successors would reap abundant fruit. A former head gardener, he was proud of his model farms on which he cultivated cotton, coffee and vine. He was opening up the country, encouraging the people to produce better roads, houses and furniture, and he prophesied 'at no distant date ... the general adoption of those useful European domestic habits and usages which are capable of judicious adaptation to a tropical clime'.[1]

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[1] R. Oliver: *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, London 1952, p. 10, loc. cit.

[2] The basic problem was that the Methodists were proud of the unity of their foreign and home missions. If a young man volunteered for the unpopular climate of West Africa, after a tour or two he was offered the chance of a position at home or in some other mission field. The Gold Coast District Meeting led by Freeman in 1850 had to petition against this; Meth.

The Methodist Secretaries in England, because they accepted Buxton's philosophy, did not question Freeman's policy as such, especially since he did not wholly neglect the work of conversion at each of the mission stations, however isolated. Whatever vague feelings they had that Freeman's policy was wrong found outlet in their recurrent criticism of the expense it incurred. His incessant journeys made him write always 'in haste'. His accounts were ever in a muddle, and his expenditure always exceeded the estimates, sometimes by as much as a half.[2] After having been repeatedly warned, he was removed as Superintendent in August 1857 on the grounds that if every Superintendent were to act as he had done 'in the expenditure of public money, our missionary society must soon cease to exist and all its holy and benevolent operations would be paralyzed, if not entirely destroyed', and he was asked to make reparations for the amounts he had overspent by having £50 deducted from his allowance every year.[3] Freeman chose to resign from the mission so that he could try to earn more than the £250 the mission paid him and in that way be able to pay the levy more comfortably.[4] He was replaced by more orthodox and less energetic men. His policy was not reversed, but the removal of his dynamic supervision left the initiative to the individual missionaries, and there was only one Methodist missionary of note in this period in Nigeria. He was Thomas Champness, at Abeokuta from 1859–1863, who made an unsuccessful but noteworthy attempt to open up the Ijebu country to the Gospel.[1]

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[1] Freeman's 'Report to His Excellency Major Hill on the Social Progress of the Natives of this part', 31 Dec. 1853; Meth. Secretaries' Letter Book.

[2] Secretaries to Freeman, 18 July 1844; Meth.

[3] Secretaries to Freeman, 16 Aug. 1857, conveying the decision of the Wesleyan Conference meeting at Liverpool; Meth. Secretaries' Letter Book.

[4] Freeman was an extraordinary man, a pious visionary, yet immensely practical in his way. He was a trusted adviser of the governors and traders of Cape Coast on political and commercial affairs; but in the financial affairs of his mission he was either superbly careless or ingeniously naïve. When, in 1849, he had exceeded his budget of £5,500 by £2,000 and the Home Secretaries began to treat his bills of credit as overdrawn cheques which they refused to honour, he argued that since they did not ask him to give up part of the mission field, he took it they were going to find money for the work. Then he called a meeting of eight European merchants of Cape Coast, on some of whom he had drawn the bills, to examine his books publicly at the mission house. When they finished, he retired and they proceeded to pass resolutions: 'That it appears to this meeting that the Management Committee [in England] has been themselves the cause of the present unsatisfactory position of the finances of the Gold Coast Mission. That this meeting is unwilling to characterize the conduct of the Management Committee for failing to give their Superintendent the checks which were necessary at the time, but it cannot avoid expressing surprise that a course which would have been considered little short of unfair dealing should have been adopted by a Religious Society. . . . That this meeting entertains the greatest respect for Mr Freeman's character.' He sent the document, dated 24 Jan. 1849, to Methodist House, marked 'Private' and continued as blissfully as before. After his resignation he farmed, traded, and worked for the government in turns. Then in 1873, after seventeen years as it were in exile, he returned to the mission as a village pastor.

The story in Calabar was the opposite of Freeman's. There the missionaries concentrated their energies mainly on Duke and Creek Town. In 1846 Hope Waddell had made an exploratory visit to Bonny. In 1848, as we have seen, King Pepple and the gentlemen of Bonny wrote to England asking for missionaries.[2] In that year also there was in Calabar an impetuous missionary, N. B. Newhall, who rather than be an assistant in Duke Town wanted to go up the Cross River to open a new station in Umon. The two proposals were debated in Edinburgh. Waddell, who was home on leave, wrote a paper in which he opposed any premature expansion:[3] Umon, he said, was 70 to 80 miles away; the people spoke a different language from the Efik of Calabar; and, further, it was necessary to occupy the intermediate places first, for which purpose a better foundation was needed in Calabar. The Foreign Mission Committee shared some of Newhall's impatience. They declared that the missionaries should not look upon themselves

> only as the messengers of Christ to the inhabitants of Old Calabar, but as the harbingers of many to the many millions that occupy the vast regions of Central Africa drained by the Niger, the Tshadda [i.e. Benue] and the Cross River.[4]

Hope Waddell was therefore asked to expand his activities to Old Town, but before moving further into the interior, to answer the invitation from Bonny.[5] He went there in December 1849 to ask for a site and that the people should give up human sacrifice and destroy 'Juju House', the centre of traditional worship. The gentlemen who were anxious to have the school responded agreeably, but King Pepple warned Waddell that

> no man in Bonny could agree to destroy Juju House. That if anyone

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[1] For general accounts of Methodist expansion in Nigeria, see F. D. Walker: *Hundred Years in Nigeria*, 1942; *Thomas Birch Freeman*, 1929; and Allen Birtwhistle: *Thomas Birch Freeman*, 1949. Thomas Champness was one of the few Europeans of this period who reached Ijebu Ode, in 1860. After the death of his wife in 1862 he retired from the mission. In the 1890s he formed the *Joyful News* band of missionaries who, directly under his supervision but working in co-operation with the official Methodist missionaries on the spot, fulfilled his ambition of establishing the Methodist Church in Yoruba. He was a great friend of Townsend's and their ideas of missionary work were similar.

[2] See above, p. 56.

[3] Dated Edinburgh, 17 March 1849; Waddell: *Journals*, vol. VII p. 34.

[4] Somerville to Anderson, 26 Oct. 1848; U.P. Letter Book, vol. 1, p. 416.

[5] Mission Board to King Pepple, 4 June 1849; U.P. Letter Book, vol. 1, p. 306.

> told me so they were deceiving me and were liars. . . . But he said that the young boys and girls now growing up who would come to me to learn book would take after my ways. I could tell them anything I pleased and they might do as I told them if they pleased.[1]

A month later, Hope Waddell returned to Bonny with his wife and little daughter and Miss Miller, another missionary, carrying printed alphabets and spelling cards in English marked 'Grand Bonny, First Lesson Book'. They spent just a fortnight there,[2] after which the Presbyterians dropped the idea of a Bonny mission. They had not the resources to work in Bonny with the same intensity as in Calabar.

Their policy was one of extreme concentration. At both Duke Town and Creek Town they maintained usually two to three European missionaries and a few West Indian teachers, besides the medical officer and other lay agents. By the standards of other missionaries they were extremely cautious in declaring converts ready for baptism: their first baptism did not come until after seven years' work, in 1853, and Waddell, who was away, thought it unduly hurried, nor did they open their first chapel until 1855.[3] As against the emphasis on open-air preaching in other missions, the schools came first with them and instruction within the compounds of the various Houses. They did not rush; but nevertheless they regarded the contemporary generation in Calabar as potentially Christian. This was why they favoured concentration and were reluctant to expand rapidly. They had of course all the suspicions of the Calabar rulers to fight against, and in 1851 three conditions were imposed on missionary travels in the interior: they must get permission, must never take traders with them, and if going beyond a day's journey, must be accompanied by an official guide.[4] These conditions did not stop missionaries opening stations in the interior. In 1855 they took up Ikonetu and in 1858 Adiabo and Ikorofiong. There, however, the expansion stopped.

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[1] Waddell, Journal entries for Saturday 22 Dec. to Thursday 27 Dec. 1849; *Journals*, vol. VII, p. 104 ff.

[2] Ibid., Monday 28 Jan. to Wednesday 13 Feb. 1850; *Journals*, vol. VII, p. 139 ff. Miss Miller is better known under her later name of Mrs. Sutherland.

[3] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. X, pp. 37–43; vol. XI, p. 11.

[4] Waddell objected to these conditions, arguing that in Europe people travelled wherever they pleased, being obliged to inform no one except their fathers. 'Very well,' said King Eyo, 'you be my son.' Waddell replied that on the other hand, he was the King's spiritual father. He added that he might as well join Ekpe Society so as to be free of being treated as a foreigner in Calabar, but when King Eyo appeared to be taking him seriously, he said it was only a joke; Waddell: *Journals*, vol. VIII, pp. 128–30. The restrictions were on the whole faithfully adhered to by the missionaries. In 1861 when Thompson threatened to call the gun-boat to assert the liberty of the British subject to wander wherever he listeth, and thus provoked the rulers of Duke Town to attempt to expel all the missionaries, both his colleagues on the spot and the Foreign Mission Board censured him severely; Somerville to Thompson, 21 June 1861; and the Resolutions adopted by the Standing Sub-Committee, 20 June 1861, both in U.P. Letter Book, vol. VI, p. 463 ff.

Some consequences of this policy of whole-hearted concentration will be discussed later. To return to the parishioners in Britain, they came to know about all the 'evils' in Calabar society and, after a while, they became bored. They wanted news of other places as well. When, in 1876, the United Presbyterian Church ordered an inquiry into the working of the various mission fields, the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee, fearing that they might ask the Calabar Mission to close down, advised Anderson that

> It may be well for you and all the brethren to understand that we shall need all the facts you can give us, all the evidence of progress, all the good prospects for the future you can make good, in order to convince some persons in and more out of the Board that your labour and sacrifice and the money spent and the lives surrendered might not have been better expended in some other heathen field. I hope you and the other brethren will be on the lookout for a full defence and justification. If you could open a back door into the interior!![1]

It was at that stage that Mary Slessor came in. Young and impetuous missionary, with something of the charisma of David Livingstone and following in his footsteps, she began to tramp north to Okoyong and Itu; first in spite of criticism, and then to the acclamation of admirers, she brought expansion and new life to the mission.[2]

The C.M.S. seems to have arrived more quickly at the happy medium which became a model for other missions. In 1845 the Secretaries had expressed the hope that, after Abeokuta, Rabba on the Niger would be the next place to be aimed at.[3] In January 1849 David Hinderer, a new recruit from the Basel Seminary, arrived in Badagri, with instructions that he was 'specially set apart for the study of Hausa language, for communicating with the Hausa natives and ultimately for a missionary visit to the Hausa country'.[4] But when Townsend and Gollmer went to give evidence before the Hutt Committee, Hinderer was placed temporarily at Abeokuta. It was there he became convinced that Hausaland must be approached by a chain of missions and the next link was not Rabba but Ibadan.[1] Townsend went further and, for reasons to be explained later, began to question the enthusiasm to get into Hausaland and do battle with Muslim emirates when the missionary work in Yoruba still wanted consolidation. He rejected on the one hand too much concentration on Abeokuta and on the other the idea of a chain stretching in a line. The links of the chain, he said, must not be too far apart, and the chain must stretch to all the centres of population and political power in the region already entered upon.[2]

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[1] McGill to Anderson, 18 February 1876; U.P. Letter Book, vol. XVIII, p. 463 ff. In the following year a circular letter dated June 1877 was sent round to the heads of all the different missions around Calabar from the Niger to the Gaboon to express an opinion on whether the work in Calabar should be strengthened or whether the resources of the mission had better be diverted elsewhere.

[2] For this account of the rate of expansion see the general histories of the mission: Goldie, op. cit., p. 7, McFarlan, op. cit., Chapters 4 and 5.

[3] Secretaries to the Yoruba Mission, 25 Oct. 1845; C.M.S. CA2/I

[4] Secretaries to Hinderer, 11 Jan. 1849; C.M.S. CA2/L1.

His advice was followed in the Yoruba country. In 1853 the missionaries in Lagos and Abeokuta were reinforced, an African catechist occupied Otta, and Crowther paid a preliminary visit to Ketu. Hinderer went to settle at Ibadan; Adolphus Mann, another Basel recruit, at Ijaye. From Lagos, Gollmer stationed agents at Igbesa, Ikorodu and Offin (Sagamu) but was refused permission to go to Ijebu-Ode. From Abeokuta, between 1853 and 1858, Townsend toured incessantly,[3] west to Ibara, Isaga and Ilaro, and north to Oyo, Awaye, Iseyin, Saki and Ogbomoso, at each of which he obtained grants of land and, as soon as he could, stationed emigrant agents. In that year two European catechists on probation were stationed at Iseyin and Oyo, under the supervision of Mann. In this way Townsend's policy was carried out. Mann visited Ilorin in 1855 and Townsend himself in 1858; they received a friendly enough welcome from the Emir, but no permission was granted to open a station.[4]

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[1] Conclusion to Hinderer's Journal Extracts for 13 Sept. to 16 Oct. 1850: 'And now for your chains again: Two good links are already towards it—Badagri and Abeokuta, and I am sure God will graciously hear our prayers and give us Ibatan [*sic*] . . . Next to that may be Ilorin . . . a fourth and fifth will bring us to the Tshad where we shall shake hands with our brethren in the East'; C.M.S. CA2/049.

[2] Townsend to Venn, 1 May 1850; and conclusion to his Journal Extracts for the term ending June 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] The journals of missionary travels in this period are a remarkable series of documents on the life, social, political and religious, of the Yoruba, Efik, Onitsha, Ibo, Igalla and Nupe peoples. Overland, the journey was mostly by foot along well-known trade routes, often in company of trading caravans. A catalogue of the journeys achieved by some of the missionaries reflects great credit on their zeal. Between 1852 and 1858 Townsend recorded 14 journeys: 3 return journeys to Ijaye; 2 to Lagos, 2 to Iseyin, one each to Ilorin, Badagri, Ilaro, Ado and Otta; one circular tour Abeokuta—Ijaye—Iseyin—Oyo—Ijaye—Ibadan—Abeokuta. One last one aiming at Rabba was broken off at Ijaye because of the illness of Mrs. Townsend who, as often happened, was accompanying her husband. C.M.S. CA2/085.

[4] There is no general history of the Yoruba Mission, but the accounts in Stocks, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 99–123 and Groves, op. cit., pp. 50–64 are good. See also *Church Missionary Atlas*; C.M S. 1873.

It ought to be mentioned, however, that the urge to reach Hausaland by a chain of missions remained like a legacy bequeathed to Samuel Crowther by his association with the Niger Expedition of 1841. He went up with the Expedition of 1857 and founded the Onitsha mission. He placed in charge the Rev. J. C. Taylor, born in Sierra Leone of Ibo parents, accompanied by three Christian Visitors and a Lay Agent. He went on and established a second station at Igbebe at the confluence, and put a schoolmaster in charge. When the *Dayspring*, the steamer conveying the Expedition, was wrecked near Jebba, he took the opportunity to acquire some land in the Nupe quarter at Rabba and built some huts. He said he was establishing not really a mission centre, but a missionary rest-house where passing agents of civilization could stay and where a missionary of the right sort could 'by conversation . . . kind, intelligent and Christian influence . . . dispel the mist of misconception and prejudice' that the Muslims had against the Christians. Meanwhile he stationed as agent there a young Kanuri, Abegga, whom the explorer Barth had taken to England in 1855 and had passed on to the C.M.S. When Crowther returned to the Niger in 1859, he was told the Emir of Bida had closed the Rabba station. Not until 1873 was Crowther able to establish a station north of the Confluence, at Kippo Hill opposite Egga. The difficulties of the Niger Mission will be discussed later,[1] but they did not diminish Crowther's rate of expansion. In 1861 he occupied Akassa at the Nun entrance of the Niger. In 1864 he was invited into Bonny by King Pepple, and that year also he established a station at Idah. In 1868 he moved into Brass. Like Freeman, Crowther believed in diffusing as widely as possible the efforts of the pioneering missionaries. 'We can act,' he said in 1869,

> as rough quarry men do who hew out blocks of marbles from the quarries, which are conveyed to the workshop to be shaped and finished into perfect figures by the hands of the skilful artists. In like manner, native teachers can do, having the facility of the language in their favour, to induce their heathen countrymen to come within the reach of the means of Grace and hear the word of God. What is lacking in good training and sound Evangelical teaching,[2]

others more experienced would later supply.

Thomas J. Bowen, the American Baptist Missionary, arrived in Badagri in August 1850, having read William de Graft's account of the conversion of Old Simeon of Igboho, and it was at Igboho that he wished to establish his first station, 'hoping in subsequent years to penetrate into Nyffe [Nupe], Hausa, etc.'[1] However, his penetration into the interior was barred for the moment by political unrest. He settled at Abeokuta as the guest of Townsend for over a year, learning the language and getting to know the people both in the town and on their farms. It was then he began to change his mind. He said he observed that the Methodists 'extend too much and act feebly'; the C.M.S., on the other hand, 'make their stations strong in men and in money and act much more efficient. A feeble attempt is a waste of means.'[2] He saw visions of a chain of Christian cities to the Niger, to Lake Chad and Abyssinia, but

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[1] See below p. 208 ff.

[2] Crowther: 'A charge delivered at Lokoja at the Confluence on the 13th September 1869'; C.M.S. CA3/01.

> It is not the work of a day or of a generation, yet this generation may prepare the way so that our successor may do more in a year than we could accomplish by a whole life-time of toil. In my anxiety I would run forward; but this is not practical now. . . . I see the necessity of a strong foundation.[3]

In other words, he was for balancing time with concentration.

Failing to get to Igboho, he tried Ketu and Iseyin in turn but found obstacles in his way. The ruler of Ijaye barred his route to the interior, but invited him to settle in his town.[4] Bowen therefore decided to make Ijaye his first station. He went back to America and returned, in August 1853, with two other missionaries, Dennard and Lacy, and their wives. Almost immediately after, Lacy found himself going blind and had to return home with his wife. Dennard was to occupy Abeokuta, having also to maintain communication with the naval packets at Lagos. He obtained the grant of a piece of land, christened 'Alabama', and started to preach, but his wife died in January 1854 and he himself in September. That month a new missionary, William Clarke, arrived to join Bowen and his wife at Ijaye. Together they established the Baptist mission at Ijaye and Ogbomoso. Bowen had built a mission house and a little chapel at Ijaye and baptized the first convert by July 1854. An American Negro from Liberia, J. M. Harden, joined the mission and established a base for them at Lagos. In 1855 Bowen moved to Ogbomoso and with Clarke explored as far as Saki, Igboho and Ilorin. Reid, a new missionary, occupied Abeokuta in 1856 and when relieved there by Phillips, another recruit, he moved to Ogbomoso and later founded a new mission at Oyo.[1]

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[1] Bowen to Taylor dated Quincy, Florida, 28 Dec. 1848; *Bowen Letters*; also *Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa*, op. cit., pp. 26 and 99. For Old Simeon, see above, p. 33.

[2] Bowen to Taylor, 26 March 1851; *Bowen Letters*.

[3] Bowen to Taylor, 7 Sept. 1851; *Bowen Letters*.

[4] Bowen: *Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa*, op. cit., p. 162 ff.

Thus, on the whole, the expansion of the Christian missions in the period 1853–60, particularly in the Yoruba country, was quite impressive. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this expansion was the almost total indifference to the political institutions of the people. The missionaries began in Badagri and Calabar by trying to strengthen the hands of the traditional rulers and using their power to protect and to further the cause of the missions. But the availability of the naval power of Britain was too tempting an alternative; they began to shield behind the navy and in consequence helped to weaken the political power of the states. In the interior where the navy was not available, their indifference was all the more surprising.

The only exception, as we have seen, was Townsend's 'Abeokutan' policy.[2] The C.M.S. authorities adopted it and urged it on the British government between 1849 and 1851. The government also accepted it. Other missions began to adopt it. Bowen in 1851 said his 'present hope is in Abeokuta';[3] the Catholics up till 1864 saw in Abeokuta the key to the interior and the place that could become the centre of the mission.[4] But even Townsend soon saw how inadequate the policy was to provide the political framework for the expansion of the missions. Abeokuta remained internally divided and there was no possibility of its extending its power over Ibadan, Ijaye, Oyo or beyond. Yet no one proposed an alternative and the missions held on to the 'Abeokutan' policy till the British government rejected it in 1861.

This indifference to the political implications of missionary expansion arose from two fundamental causes. The first was the inherent distrust that most Evangelicals had for government, as if it were no more than an evil to be tolerated. The second was the assumption that as soon as missionaries established themselves in the country, the traditional way of life was doomed, the rulers would embrace Christianity and behave just as missionaries hoped they would. A good deal of the ineffectiveness of the missions in this period arose from the fact that this assumption proved false. 'I do not doubt,' wrote Townsend to Venn at the time he was expressing his lack of faith in the old Abeokutan policy,

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[1] For general accounts of the Baptist Mission, besides Bowen's own narratives on which most of them are based, see G. W. Sadler: *A Century in Nigeria*; Louis M. Duval: *Baptist Missions in Nigeria*; H. U. Tupper: *Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention*, Richmond 1880.

[2] See above, pp. 79–80.

[3] Bowen to Taylor, 7 Sept. 1851; *Bowen Letters.*

[4] '*La véritable porte du Sahara du côté du Sud*' and the place '*qui puisse devenir le centre de nos éstablissements*'; Journal of Father Broghero, May 1864, p. 389; S.M.A. Rome.

> I do not doubt but that the government of this country is set against the spreading of the Gospel; they see what they did not at first, that the Gospel will overturn all their system of lies which they wish to preserve as entire as possible. . . . At the same time they want us without our religion. They want us on account of the people in Sierra Leone, because they see that through us they are likely to keep open the road to the sea and obtain trade and be well supplied with guns and powder for sale or war as may be required.[1]

Townsend was beginning to observe what he did not see before: that the conversion of the rulers was not going to be easy. They sent some of their children to school, and they put few obstacles in the way of the missionaries. When representations were made to them they accepted such minor reforms as forbidding Sunday markets or putting a ban on drumming near churches on Sunday. But they did not themselves accept baptism. That was the experience of missionaries everywhere in Nigeria at this time. 'The hearts of the people,' said a missionary in Calabar, 'are wholly bent on trade and most firmly glued to their heathenish and superstitious practices.'[2] That was hardly surprising. What is important here is that although each mission had respectable statistics of conversions to show, none of them made headway in the conversion of the rulers of any of the states. It is important to consider why this was so.

Nowhere did the prospects of converting the local rulers appear brighter than in Calabar, and no missionary made greater efforts to convert them than did Hope Waddell. His failure, therefore, throws useful light on this question. He had the advantage that, while the rulers of Abeokuta were anxious mainly about defence, the rulers of Calabar were from the start eager about schools and education and even some social reform. Nowhere else on the coast, said Commander Raymond in 1842, were the people so anxious to be civilized.[3] They threw open their courts to the missionaries and, since they spoke English, themselves volunteered to act as interpreters to their people every Sunday morning. The most instructive story concerned the partnership of Waddell with King Eyo of Creek Town.

Within a few days of Waddell's arrival in Calabar they both met at breakfast on board one of the ships. Hope Waddell recorded:

> I spoke to him of the value of God's word, and the love of God to us

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 14 Nov. 1850, marked 'Private'; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] William Jamieson, Missionary in Calabar 1847–8, cited in Godie: *Calabar and its Mission*, p. 111.

[3] Commander Raymond to Foote, 11 Dec. 1842, encl. in Foote to Herbert, 12 Dec. 1842; FO 84/495.

> through his dear son, quoting the text, 'God so loved, etc.' He listened with attention, but made no remark, and soon after took his leave. He is really a fine man.

Then he reflected that there was no need to preach in Calabar that there is a God who made all things. That was known already. 'I proceed directly to the revelation of his character and will and his redeeming love in Christ Jesus.' The following Sunday he preached on a similar theme. King Eyo interpreted but later pointed out that the sermon was wasted. 'Calabar people no fit to saby all that yet—tell them about the fashions what God tells us to do or not to do.' The tendency for some missionaries was to preach with particular emphasis on the theological peculiarities of their various denominations. Now Waddell agreed with King Eyo that 'the first principles of religion must be taught first, though they may in themselves be inoperative to produce conversion: the law must be preached till it is at least understood, though it should be preached for years without making converts.'[1] Other incidents and similar exchanges of ideas deepened Waddell's respect for King Eyo. Once, the Ekpe Society passed some laws against the liberty of slaves to form associations. Waddell prepared a sermon on the duties of masters and slaves and he wondered if Eyo would agree to interpret such an embarrassing sermon. But he did so—admirably. 'He spoke loud and free and with increased energy,' interpreting and sometimes answering Waddell's rhetorical questions.[2] Once again, in 1849 Waddell felt depressed that three years' work had produced no converts in Calabar. He chose the parable of the barren fig-tree for his text. Eyo interpreted but later, like a father, consoled the missionary. 'He thought,' wrote Waddell,

> that our labours had not been quite in vain. He thought that the good seed we had sown was growing in some hearts. . . . But he added that the word of God had been preached in England for a thousand years and many there did not believe and obey it and God was patient with them and he hoped would also be patient with the Calabar people too.[3]

'There is a great deal of natural dignity about him,' said Waddell on another occasion, 'not pride, but good sense, great propriety of manners, temper and composure, with a just idea of the respect due to himself and to others.'[4]

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[1] Waddell, Journal entry for 14 Jan. 1856, recalling the incident; *Journals*, vol. VII, pp. 133–4.

[2] Waddell, Journal entry for 31 March 1850; *Journals*, vol. VII, pp. 7–8.

[3] Waddell, Journal entry for 2 Sept. 1859; *Journals*, vol. VII, p. 46.

[4] Wadell, Journal entry for 5 Jan. 1850; *Journals*, vol. VII, pp. 128–9.

When Waddell and the missionaries could no longer control their impatience and they turned to the 'moral' force of the traders and the physical force of the consul and the naval squadron to achieve reform through the Society for the Abolition of Inhuman and Superstitious Customs in Calabar, Waddell noted that King Eyo was

> rather chagrined that the white people should be urging him on in matters of internal government. . . . But everything could not be done all at once [he said]. Customs and prejudices required time to subdue. He was same as a missionary, speaking to everybody same as he heard me.[1]

Differences of outlook began to emerge between king and missionary. Waddell expounded the virtues of monogamy, the evils of trial by ordeal and of substitutionary punishment, the harmlessness of twins and twins' mothers, but, shrewd and intelligent as King Eyo was, he could not see the point of view of the missionary. The Efik king regarded religion as an affair of the community, whose customs and practices could only be changed when the community became generally convinced of the need for change. To him, offence against tradition was sin, a defiling of the community that required expiation. The Christian missionary regarded sin as the responsibility of the individual, a violation of the laws of God that were absolute and independent of the traditions of the community or even the beliefs of the individual. King Eyo conceded some reforms. The Council of the Ekpe Society passed laws against human sacrifice and twin murder, restricted the use of trial by ordeal to public trials only, abolished Sunday markets, and so on. But King Eyo wished to control the rate of change. He opposed the idea of boys at school being made to sign papers committing themselves to further reform, and to their accepting baptism before the rest of the Calabar people were ready for it.

> 'Slow and sure is his motto,' said Waddell. He is not an obstructive, but a strong conservative or modern Whig wishing all reform to proceed from himself and to be conceded cautiously and sparingly and only with universal consent.[2]

Eyo went further, to argue that if he relaxed his control and allowed indiscriminate change in the name of reform there would be chaos and both the state and the mission would suffer. Waddell's answer was that the Gospel was used to finding its own way and did not depend on any one man. By 1853 he was beginning to despair of converting King

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[1] Waddell, Journal entry for 3 Oct. 1850; *Journals*, vol. VIII, p. 72.

[2] Waddell, Journal entry for 1 Jan. 1851; *Journals*, vol. VIII, p. 105.

Eyo. He felt that though the king was intellectually convinced of the truth of much that the mission taught and did not hesitate to sweep away his *Ekpeyong* [images], his heart was unchanged; and without a change of heart he would never show that overwhelming conviction which placed personal salvation above all other considerations and signified conversion. The love of money and power he reckoned as chief among the king's besetting sins;[1] but what really symbolized his rejection of the Gospel was his refusal to give up polygamy. King Eyo added wife upon wife. By 1854 he was, in Waddell's mind, no more than 'a licentious despot . . . living a low, fleshy life', suffering from 'a miserable corruption of heart',[2] and by 1855 he had become 'the lecherous old hypocrite'.[3]

The teaching of the missions on polygamy deserve more than just a passing reference, for it was to polygamy that they attributed the failure to convert African rulers. It was to be expected that the missionaries would be opposed to polygamy; the teaching of the Church had been overwhelmingly against the practice.[4] What is surprising is the relative emphasis the missionaries placed on it in the middle of the nineteenth century in comparison with, for example, domestic slavery.

In 1849 the United Presbyterian Church broke off communion with Presbyterian churches in America who tolerated slave-owners. When, in 1853, Presbyterian missionaries in Calabar decided on having their first baptism, they asked the Foreign Mission Committee for a ruling on the question, 'Should slave-holders be received into Church fellowship?' They indicated that the answer should be 'Yes', with a proviso that converts should be made to sign a pledge declaring that since 'there is neither bond nor free in Jesus Christ', they would regard their slaves as servants, not property; that they would never sell or ill-treat them.[5] Some members of the Church in Scotland were naturally worried about this tolerance, but the missionaries argued back in strong force. They did not condone slavery, but they regarded it as a social evil to be reformed with time. They said that if they refused to receive slave-holders into the Church, 'We can form no Christian Church in Calabar'. It would mean, said Hope Waddell, that

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[1] Waddell, Journal entry for 30 June 1850; *Journals*, vol. VIII, p. 36.

[2] Waddell, Journal entry for November 1854; *Journals*, vol. X, p. 89.

[3] Waddell, Journal entry for 18 July 1855; *Journals*, vol. X, p. 181.

[4] A useful historical account of the attitude of the Christian Church to polygamy will be found in the Rev. Lyndon Harries's 'Christian Marriage in African Society', Part III of the International African Institute's *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*, edited by Arthur Phillips, 1953.

[5] See Resolution of the Old Calabar Committee, 6 Dec. 1853, and Anderson to Somerville, 6 March 1854, both in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1855, pp. 17–26.

> we cannot accept as Christian brethren those whom our Lord receives and saves. . . . You treat him as a heathen after he has believed in Jesus for salvation, and that for no fault of his own.[1]

More than that—the missionaries wrote essays on the theory and practice of domestic slavery in African society which destroy the impression the missionaries give in other respects that they took little care to study the society they were trying to reform. Domestic slavery, they argued, was far different from plantation slavery. 'The native [Efik] term *Ofu*, which we render slave,' wrote Hugh Goldie, the scholar of the Calabar Mission,

> is employed to denote servant, tributary, or one who in these or similar ways acknowledges the superiority or headship of another. . . . There is but little difference in many respects between the condition of the master and the slave.[2]

Goldie added that Calabar law did not recognize manumission; that even the slaves redeemed and kept in the Missions Houses were still regarded by the Efiks as slaves. It would take time to get the ideas changed. To this essay on anthropology, Waddell added one on political science:

> Before the [state of slavery] could be changed, a new and united government for this and neighbouring countries, with a system of laws for all classes alike especially preparatory for such a change as is spoken of would be indispensable.[3]

Without such laws, and a strong central government, the heads of Houses had to exercise absolute authority over the inmates of the Houses, which meant a state of domestic slavery for all the working classes.

> Absolute property [implied by domestic slavery] is just absolute authority, and our own country, free as it is, does not disown it. The power is indeed taken out of the hands of individuals and lodged in the state under the regulation of laws—a wise and blessed change indeed—but it still exists somewhere and is exercised over some persons.

Until there was such a government to exercise such a power,

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[1] Waddell to Somerville, 22 Jan. 1855; copy in Waddell: *Journals*, vol. X, pp. 113–15.

[2] 'The nature of Calabar Slavery, the laws relating to it and the conduct of the missionaries' in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1855, pp. 17–26.

[3] Waddell to Somerville, 22 Jan., op. cit.

> My plan of doing away with slavery would be as with a poison tree whose root is deep and [too] strong to be dug out. I lop its branches and prevent its growth and development continually, whereby the root will soon die. I argue not whether it is unlawful in the abstract, or in its origin, which cannot, in all cases, be traced.[1]

The Foreign Mission Committee adopted these arguments. They endorsed the solution that slave-holders could be baptized if they signed the pledge. They argued that this decision was consistent with breaking off communion with slave-owners in America, not just because domestic slavery differed from plantation slavery, but also because in Christian America it would be wrong to connive at slavery, whereas in Calabar it was necessary to tolerate slavery temporarily so that the Christian Church could be established, and when Christians became the majority and could influence laws, slavery could then be abolished.[2]

It has been necessary to detail the arguments on which the missionary attitude to domestic slavery was based, because it was in such contrast to the attitude to polygamy. In spite of the strong anti-slavery element in the missions it was decided that domestic slavery could be tolerated until the majority of the people became Christians and could see the evil and then abolish it. That was uniformly the attitude in all the missions. Freeman had argued like Goldie and Waddell in 1841–42 when Dr. Madden, a Commissioner asked to investigate, among other things, the state of slavery in the British Colonies in West Africa, recklessly proclaimed emancipation in Cape Coast.[3] In 1856 the new Bishop of Sierra Leone, Bishop Weeks, paying his first visit to Nigeria, startled C.M.S. missionaries in Yoruba by doubting the correctness of their tolerance of domestic slavery. Townsend sent anxiously to Crowther. Crowther despatched to C.M.S. House arguments like those of the Calabar missionaries:

> The slaves and masters in this country live together as a family; they eat out of the same bowl, use the same dress in common and in many instances are intimate companions, so much so that, entering a family circle, a slave can scarcely be distinguished from a free man unless one is told.[4]

Bishop Weeks also thought that in baptizing wives of polygamists the missionaries were showing a dangerous tolerance of polygamy. To this Crowther replied that the wife of a polygamist was an involuntary victim of a social institution and should not be denied baptism because of that. But he went further. He argued for a general policy of demanding from converts seeking baptism no more than the 'minimum qualifications necessary for salvation', leaving other refinements to time and their membership of the Church.

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[1] Waddell to James Simpson, draft dated April 1855 in Waddell: *Journals*, vol. X, pp. 158–61.

[2] Resolution of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in 1849.

[3] Freeman to Secretaries, 25 June 1843; Meth.

[4] Crowther to Venn, 4 March 1857. See also Crowther's earlier letter of 2 Jan. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/031.

> That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. (Acts 15, 29) . . .
>
> We use our discretion that such practices which the laws of the country allow, but not being among those in immediate requirements necessary for salvation, but which Christianity after a time will abolish, are not directly interfered with.[1]

Venn replied that whatever be the prevalent custom of a nation, the Ordinance of God could not be lowered to it; there must be one standard for the Church everywhere, as God could not condemn polygamy in an old-established Church and tolerate it in a newly established one. To clear whatever lingering doubts there might have been in Crowther's or any other person's mind that monogamy was not one of the minimum qualifications necessary for salvation, Venn proceeded to examine the Scriptural evidence for the teachings of the Church on the subject of polygamy in a paper which is still regarded as one of the most authoritative pronouncements on the subject.[2] He concluded that Christ regarded polygamy as adultery: 'It is written "Let every man have his own wife and let every woman have her own husband."' However a polygamist's wife if not herself a believer in polygamy could be admitted. The other missions took the same view and the Lambeth Conference of 1888 confirmed it.

Perhaps more interesting than this famous paper was the covering letter issued by Venn, in which he tried to reconcile the attitude on polygamy with the contrasting attitudes to domestic slavery and the Atlantic slave trade.

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[1] Crowther to Venn, 3 Jan. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/031.

[2] Venn's paper was issued as a Minute of the Parent Committee and sent in a circular round to the different missionaries; it was later printed as an appendix to the *Annual Report of the C.M.S. 1857* and subsequently issued as a pamphlet. It is discussed from the point of view of a High Churchman in L. Harries's 'Christian Marriage in African Society'. Crowther's reply to Venn, 6 April 1857, said the Minute was very acceptable. 'I have never at any time had a doubt in my mind as to the sinfulness of polygamy and as contrary to God's holy ordinance from the creation and confirmed in the time of the flood.' C.M.S. CA2/031.

> The Committee think there'll be no hesitation to refuse baptism to a kidnapper of slaves unless he has repented and left his evil way, because the practice is directly contrary to Scripture. But the Committee would not interfere with the discretion of a missionary in admitting a slave-holder to baptism. The Word of God has not forbidden the holding of slaves, though it has forbidden the oppression and injustice of various other evils which too often, though not necessarily, cleave to the character of the slave-holder. Christianity will ameliorate the relationship between master and slave; polygamy is an offence against the law of God, and therefore is incapable of amelioration.[1]

The discretion was also left to missionaries to baptize wives of polygamists 'because this has not been decided in Scripture; it is very conceivable that a wife may have had no power to prevent the polygamy of the husband'.

One must go beyond these theological arguments to realize why the rejection of polygamy became, as it were, the most essential dogma of mid-nineteenth-century Christianity in Africa. The missionaries frequently pointed out that Islam made more rapid progress than did Christianity because Islam accepted polygamy. They implied, perhaps rather complacently, that Islam in this tolerated a lax morality and was therefore regarded by Africans as an easier option than Christianity. But polygamy raised much more than a question of standards of morality. Both for the European missionaries anxiously seeking to get converts to reject it, and for the Africans holding on tenaciously to it, polygamy was not just a plurality of wives; it was a symbol of the communal way of life in the family compounds. The acceptance of polygamy by Islam implied the acceptance of the communal way of life, and it was as a unit that Muslim missionaries sought to convert the different communities: to convert the rulers and, through them, by a new law and a new system of justice, make the people progressively Muslim. Christian missionaries from an individualistic society, where whatever folk-culture survived the Reformation and seventeenth-century Puritanism had been virtually destroyed by the Industrial Revolution[2] and the new puritanism of the Evangelical Revival, found life in the family compounds at best incomprehensible, at worst the devil's own institution. Concerned as they were not only to destroy paganism but also to reform the existing social structure in Africa, they were bound, sooner or later, to attack polygamy. The crucial fact was that they refused to regard it as a social evil which could be progressively reformed, and they declared it a direct violation of the laws of God, which had to be rejected by the faithful *ab initio*. By this decision they abandoned the idea of leading the whole community as a unit gradually towards Christianity. The outward sign of his inward conviction that came to be demanded of the new convert was not so much the casting away of idols as his total rejection of life in the family compound symbolized by his adoption of monogamy.

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[1] Secretaries to missionaries in Yoruba, 17 Feb. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

[2] Nationalism has preserved some folk-culture in Scotland and Wales, and interest in anthropology has produced a twentieth century revival in parts of England, which shows that folk-culture never quite perished in the rural counties.

This takes us back to the argument about time and concentration, and the dual influence in the missionary movement of humanitarians willing to work for a long-term policy of economic development and Evangelicals anxious to ensure salvation for at least a few of the contemporary generation. Besides the need to show results to the parishioners in Europe, there was also the fact of denominational competition—from which, by the way, Islam was free. In many ways it was a source of strength and impetus to missionary work; but where, as in Badagri, Lagos, Abeokuta and Ijaye, two or three different denominations existed side by side, there was no question of their regarding the community as a unit to be converted 'with time'. The community became a pool from which the various fishers of men sought in friendly—or less friendly—rivalry each to attract individual fishes into his own denominational net.[1]

Without abandoning the policy of influencing the whole community by 'indirect' methods, the main missionary effort was being shifted from the court to the Mission House, around which the Church was being built from individuals fleeing spiritually and, quite often, physically from the old society. Far from seeking to master the political situation and strengthen the hands of the faithful in the councils of the land, they advised the converts for the safety of their souls to keep aloof. They urged the converts to make a clean break with the past. They tended to regard practically everything in the old society as somehow tainted with heathenism. Though quite often the need for some adaptation was referred to, rarely was anything found that could be adapted without making concessions to heathenism. Local names, local art, local music, local fables, were each in turn so closely bound up with the old society that objections were found to using them in the new society. An emigrant catechist was almost refused ordination because apart from being too fond of farming and hunting he was considered guilty of

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[1] One result of this was that when the Roman Catholic Church, with a traditional communal view of society, came to compete with other denominations it quickly adopted the attitude of the individualist liberalism of the Protestants. This, of course, was also what happened in Europe wherever the Roman Catholic Church was not the state church. And there were other ways in which the growing individualism of Europe had affected Roman Catholic missionaries, particularly in France, whence most of the earliest missionaries in Nigeria came.

> that loose, superstitious way of living of many Sierra Leone Christians. . . . He did not, for instance, scruple to help to dress out some neighbours' heathen ceremonies with European fineries such as plates and other English articles which he and his wife lent. Then he made *Komo jade* feast for his heathen relations for his children.[1]

When the Rev. Thomas King died at Abeokuta in 1862, said Dr. Harrison,

> there was some attempt at the native howling at the funeral, but it was checked. On the road from Igbein to the graveyard, which is a long distance off, there were a good many hymns sung.[2]

While some social segregation was inevitable, the important point here was that when the European missionaries found that the rulers were not to be easily weaned from their old ways they also began to urge political segregation on their converts.

Hope Waddell, who had been trying to secure social reforms through the Ekpe Society, bolstered up by the strong arm of the consul, began to advise his converts not to join the Society. King Eyo's eldest son, already a member, was asked to keep away from its councils, even its plays and amusements. Waddell related how Young Eyo, as he was called, insisted on joining an Ekpe parade called *Egbo Bunko*:

> It is high dress Egbo which parades the town in fanciful costume and closes the day with a sort of dance and procession. It is comparatively harmless and rather fanciful, being a sort of masquerade. Young Eyo enquired what harm was in it. In being finely dressed, I told him, no harm; in being absurdly dressed with tails and other extravagances of flaunting ribbons and feathers and masks, I said, much harm to a Christian disciple. I could not recognize a brother in the Lord in such a fellow. . . . But I did not know enough even of Bunko to mention all that might be bad in it. But so far as I knew I thought the less he had to do even with it the better for himself. . . . He used to like it well, and owned that he still had an inclination that way.[3]

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[1] Hinderer to Crowther, November 1868, quoted in Minutes of Local Committee, 25 Feb. 1868; C.M.S. CA2/011. *Komo jade* (now called *Ikomo*), the Yoruba naming ceremony, was usually on the 8th day after birth; the child is 'brought forth', and introduced to the family and friends, who are entertained with a 'feast'. [2] Harrison to Venn, 30 Oct. 1862; C.M.S. CA2/045.

[3] Waddell, Journal entry for Monday 23 Oct. 1854; *Journals*, vol. X, p. 85.

Young Eyo did not go that day, but a week later he informed Waddell that 'he had promised his father he would join [Egbo Bunko] that evening in the funeral ceremonies of the king's blacksmith, lately deceased'. Waddell said it was a 'fall' and a 'dishonour'. When they met two days later, argument was resumed. Waddell said the relevant question should be not what harm he had done but what useful purpose he had served by going. Young Eyo acquiesced on the grounds that 'however harmless it might seem to him . . . [the missionary] had more experience than he'.[1] The occasions on which Young Eyo acquiesced to the voice of missionary authority but went his own way and later expressed regret were so frequent that there can be no doubt that he was not convinced that he could give up his old culture. This became obvious when he succeeded his father in 1858.[2]

One more example from the C.M.S. must suffice. In 1859 some missionaries at Abeokuta were worried about converts and emigrants remaining in or joining the Ogboni, which was the Egba counterpart of the Ekpe Society.[3] Several of them, including some African agents who were members, prepared papers on the Ogboni, its place in the constitution and life of Abeokuta, and its initiation ceremonies. After reading these, the Parent Committee issued a minute that

> as the system of Ogboni is of the nature of a political institution and has existed from remote antiquity as a recognized power in the state, it is entitled to some degree of public respect even from those who separate themselves from it. It will be right, therefore, to avoid open opposition to the system. . . .
>
> That whilst there is a wide difference of opinion amongst those equally well informed respecting the connexion of the Ogboni system with idolatry, yet as all agree that it is inconsistent with the principles of the Christian religion and must fall when those principles prevail

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[1] Waddell, Journal entry for Friday 3 Nov. 1854; *Journals*, vol. X, p. 87. He added, 'Bunko is a town show and when I first came to the country the novelty of the scene amused myself.' Ibid., 1 Nov. 1854.

[2] Young Eyo became Eyo Honesty III in December 1858. His father's house and treasure were burnt down in a fire accident in January 1859, leaving him all his father's debt as well as greatly diminished prestige. He died in 1862. The mission's epitaph on him was written by Goldie: 'Much was expected of him as a Christian ruler, nor was such expectation altogether disappointed, but taking his father's place, he was surrounded with temptation addressed to the carnality still within him and he fell'; *Calabar and its Mission*, p. 208.

[3] For the place of the Ogboni in the Egba constitution, see Dr. S. O. Biobaku's 'Ogboni, the Egba Senate' in *Proceedings of the C.I.A.O.*, Ibadan 1949 (International West African Conference) Lagos 1956, pp. 257–64; 'An Historical Sketch of Egba traditional authorities' in *Africa*, vol. 22, pp. 35–49, 1952.

> in the country; it is necessary that the Native Christian Church should maintain its high position of witnessing for the truth by a broad separation from this and all other questionable 'country fashions'.[1]

Because the missionaries failed to convert the rulers, because no single mission captured the 'citadel' of any one state, there was a tendency to fall back on Waddel's argument that the Gospel would find its own way in spite of local politics. They argued that in any case the pagan way of life that the rulers stood for was 'crumbling away' and must fall when the principles of Christianity prevailed in the country. In the American Baptist missionary's words,

> As Christianity advances, common sense will advance and a better form of civil government will naturally and gradually result without any political interference on the part of the missionaries.[2]

All the political activities necessary were those to ensure liberty of action in the Mission House.

The symbolic structure of the Mission House, like the cells of civilization Buxton had hoped for, began to spread in the country and to make its influence felt in many a town and village. In many of the out-stations, the influence must have been small indeed: the Mission House was hardly distinguishable from any other building, except perhaps that two or three children might sometimes be seen chanting the A B C on the verandah, or might be heard singing a few hymns with the Evangelist and his wife most evenings and mornings. The light of Christianity and civilization that many of the mission agents were capable of showing was often no more than a flicker that after a year or two might go out and not for a long time be relit. But in the larger towns the Mission House was unmistakable. Its very physical appearance was calculated to impress, to be a model by which the standard of housing in the community was to be improved. The influence of some of the earliest buildings like Freeman's at Badagri or the Presbyterians' at Calabar on local architecture was negligible, as the material was imported.[1] Gollmer at Lagos had planks made for him locally, but he built a house like the imported ones in the 'colonial' style—a large, airy box standing on stilts, with balconies all round and a prominent flight of stairs in front.[2] But as the missionaries moved inland, their houses literally came down to earth and they built out of local materials large, commodious houses which the people could imitate.

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[1] Minute of the Parent Committee on the Ogboni System, dated 23 Nov. 1861; C.M.S. CA2/L3. Gollmer discovered in 1861 that his schoolmaster, J. King, had joined Ogboni. Further enquiries revealed that 'nearly all' the schoolmasters were members and 'all the young men at Ake' had been admitted too; King to Snaith, Abeokuta, 5 Oct. 1861; C.M.S. CA2/061. King argued that 'Ogboni in this country and chiefly among the Egbas is nothing but Civil Constitution or Political Community or, in other words, African Freemason[ry]. If not a member, when Oro is out, you all have to keep in. If caught 'unwittingly' you have to join to avoid trouble.'

[2] Bowen to Taylor, 7 Sept. 1851; *Bowen Letters.*

One of the earliest duties of many missionaries in the pioneering days, besides engaging porters, was to recruit labour for their building operations. Sometimes, as at Calabar, this was given them free, but when at Abeokuta they were offered free labour on condition that in the traditional communal way they feasted the workers, the missionaries reckoned that it would be more convenient, and perhaps cheaper in the end, to pay wages.[3] Considering that by 1855 the C.M.S. had five mission stations in Abeokuta and the Methodists and Baptists one each, work on mission buildings must have become a minor occupation for many women and children. Local masons were in demand too, for they were often found to be abler craftsmen than emigrant masons where building with mud and clay was concerned. Thus in the shaping of walls the earlier Mission Houses in the interior had little that was new. It was not until the late 1850s and the 1860s, when brick-making was introduced, that the masons from Brazil and probably also Cuba began to influence architecture. It was the carpenter and the sawyer, or rather their tools, that first impressed the people. The large windows and doors, planed and fitted, in place of the traditionally carved ones, soon began to be popular. So were boxes, tables, benches, even coffins, produced in the mission carpentry sheds. At both Abeokuta and Calabar the missionaries ordered tools from England and recruited more sawyers and carpenters from Sierra Leone, not only for the service of the mission but for the local rulers as well. Besides Sierra Leone emigrants, two Liberians, J. C. Vaughan and R. Russell, followed the Baptist Mission to Ijaye in 1855 and soon had prosperous establishments[4] as carpenters.

The greatest problem in building was the roof.[5] The people roofed in grass or a special type of broad leaves, both of which, if kept in good repair, made excellent roofing, their greatest merit being that they kept the houses cool. But practically every dry season there were outbreaks of fire which might consume as much as a third of a town, and if a store of gunpowder was involved, wider havoc might occur. The only defence against this was to keep the most important possessions in a room with mud ceiling and no windows, likely to escape damage even if the roof was burnt. It was also necessary to smoke the roofs to keep them resistant to decay and free from vermin. The missionaries, who considered windowless rooms and smoked roofs as unhygienic, had to embark on experiments to devise alternative roofs that were as durable, cool, resistant to rain, and yet inexpensive. They failed to make tiles to stand the local weather. The iron roofs that traders in Fernando Po and Lagos were introducing were intolerably hot for living houses besides being heavy for transporting by head far into the interior and being more expensive than most missions could afford. The missionaries tried as fantastic experiments as rolls of felt laid over with several coatings of coal tar. But the problem of roofing was not settled till the coming of the corrugated 'iron' sheets made at the end of the century.

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[1] For a description of Freeman's house, see above, p. 31. African merchants in Calabar had of course been importing pre-fabricated houses from Liverpool before the missionaries arrived.

[2] For Gollmer's house, see *Charles A. Gollmer: His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa*, by his eldest son, London 1886, pp. 70, 144.

[3] Townsend, Journal entry for 25 Sept. 1846: 'Our paying wages was a new thing in Abeokuta and many are anxious to know how we shall be able to meet what they suppose to be a wasteful expenditure of money'; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[4] Fragment of Bowen's Journal for 1855 in *Bowen Letters*; R. H. Stone: *In Africa's Forest and Jungle*, New York 1899, p. 129.

[5] Reference to problems of roofing are scattered, but cf. Crowther to Venn, 6 March 1855: 'I have more than four times narrowly escaped being burnt

The Mission House in the towns by no means stood alone. There were out-houses for schoolmasters, interpreters, boarders, redeemed slaves and other refugees, as well as carpenters' workshops and other industrial establishments. Nearby were the church and the school. The emigrants came to build their houses near the Mission House, and converts as well were encouraged to come to build there to escape either from actual persecution or from the temptations of life in the family compounds. Thus the missionary was showing models not only of European building but also of town planning. We saw Freeman at Badagri and Gollmer at Lagos doing some town planning. The emigrants in Calabar settled on the Mission Hill at Duke Town. At Abeokuta Townsend said there was

> a strong tendency for the Christians to group together. There are advantages seen and felt by themselves which impel them to it. We have not a model village nor anything like it, but Christians build houses as near to our stations as they can. I obtained land and gave it

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out of both my church and house; now I think we have had a sufficient warning to prepare ourselves fire-proof roofs', and he went on to discuss some of the experiments the merchants both in Lagos and in Fernando Po were trying out. Freeman at Cape Coast was the greatest experimenter of them all. One of the earliest missionaries to adopt the iron roof was Hinderer at Ibadan in 1854. In 1866 Townsend said the cost in England of an iron roof for a house was £100, £121 for the Church. 'Tiles would be also hot and so slate: in truth there is no material so good as grass but for the fires'; to Venn, 27 July 1806; C.M.S. CA2/085.

> away in building plots, obtained more and more, but we have more applications for lots than we have land. The Sierra Leone traders gravitate towards missionary stations and white men [i.e. traders] do the same.[1]

There were in fact three distinct settlements of emigrants and converts, called *Wasimi* (lit. come and rest), near the C.M.S. missions at Ake and Ikija, and the Methodist mission at Ogbe respectively. There were similar C.M.S. and Baptist settlements at Ijaye, and the same was true, though to a less extent, at Ibadan.[2]

The question then arises as to what was the relationship of these mission villages symbolized by the Mission House to the rest of the community. Townsend was anxious to insist that they were not 'Christian villages'. Christian villages were a Roman Catholic device made famous by the work of Jesuit Fathers in Paraguay, where the Fathers made mass conversions of Indians and established them in little theocratic states ruled absolutely by the Fathers. There was only one attempt to establish anything like it in Nigeria, and it deserves some notice here.

In 1863 Father Broghero, the pioneer Catholic missionary at Whydah, paid his second visit to Lagos. He referred to empty spaces along the coast and added:

> If the missionaries were to gather together in these places a small Christian population and if they were to be the directors of the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the community, they would soon form a little Christian State which would become the example and the refuge of the scattered flock.[3]

[1] Townsend, Annual Letter for 1865, dated 1 Feb. 1866; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] See J. A. Maser: Map of Abeokuta October 1867; C.M.S. CA2/068. 'Most of the people under the care of Mr Champness live together making a little village which we hope will be the centre of light to the surrounding population'; Meth. *Missionary Notices*, vol. XVI, p. 210, 25 Nov. 1861. Mann, Journal entry 13 June 1856, 'I had some men engaged in cutting and clearing a bush on a piece of ground where I intend to build a house for converts. . . . Besides this lot, much was left to me by Are which I now parcelled out for 7 small compounds'; C.M.S. CA2/066. Hinderer to Venn, 4 Jan. 1861, that in the Missionary Party there were about 70 people including 8 African families, boarders etc.; C.M.S. CA2/049.

[3] Father Broghero, dated Whydah 21 Dec. 1863, in *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1865, pp. 81–2. Besides the article referred to here, the principal sources for this account of Topo are: (A) Three contributions in a collection edited by Father L. Arial in 1921 of Reports and historical notes on the principal stations of the S.M.A. in Nigeria, called *Missions de la Nigéria*, viz: (i) '*Stations de Topo-Badagry*' by Father Ariel; (ii) '*Rapport de Topo-Badagry*' by Father L. Freyburgher with notes by Father Pages; (iii) '*Fondation de Topo d'après le P. Poirier*' (B) A collection called *La Mission de Topo* of

Owing largely to the disturbing effect on the Société des Missions Africaines of the 1870 War in France, nothing was done about it for over a decade. Then, in 1875, application was made through the Chief Justice, James Marshall, a Catholic convert from Protestantism, to the Governor of the Gold Coast (who was also responsible for the administration of Lagos) for permission to acquire a piece of land nine miles long on the land between the lagoon and the ocean just east of Badagri. The purpose was declared as

> the foundation of an agricultural establishment for raising the standard of agriculture so necessary in a colony, and so little developed in this part of Africa.[1]

The approval did not come till 1880, but an establishment was made in 1876 called St. Joseph's, Topo. It was described in an article in 1881 as an agricultural orphanage. This aspect of it will be discussed later,[2] but in spite of the letter to the Governor, Topo was more than an agricultural school. In 1888 Father Bel, the Superior of the station, said that besides the boys directly in the charge of the Fathers,

> We admit on the land of the mission families who wish to put themselves under the rules we have imposed. They cultivate the land for their own profit except for a little rent paid in kind. Their children must be baptized and brought up in the Catholic Faith. When they grow up, we see to their progress. For this reason we give them in advance a plot of land to cultivate, and when they have been sufficiently instructed to be able to live without the supervision of the mission, they get married[3].

In that year, there were still only 33 such families, 5 Catholic, 2 Protestant, 26 Pagan. They all attended mass every Sunday, and Sunday school. In addition there were, at varying distances from Topo itself,

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documents relating to the land dispute, fuller on in-coming letters than on out-going ones. Both these are in the S.M.A. archives in Rome. (C) Articles in *Les Missions Catholiques,* cited elsewhere. See also Father M. J. Walsh: *Catholic contribution to Education in Western Nigeria (1861–1926),* London M.A. thesis, 1953; chapter V, 'An early Agricultural Experiment', deals with Topo.

[1] Father Cloud to the Governor of Gold Coast, 4 Oct. 1875, cited in Notes by Father Pages on the history of Topo, op. cit.: *'C'est la fondation d'un établissement agricole pour favoriser le développement de la culture si utile dans une colonie et si méconnue dans cette partie de l'Afrique.'*

[2] See below, pp. 141–2.

[3] Father Bel to Father Planque in *Les Missions Catholiques,* 21 Dec. 1888. Father Walsh, op. cit., p. 115, says that they paid three heads of each product every three months and had to clear part of the bush and keep it clean.

three villages for refugees from the surrounding country to whom the Fathers were doing their best to minister. Further away still, 30 families from Ajido on the opposite shore were allowed to settle on mission land provided they conformed to the rules—no Muslims, no idols, no dancing.

Besides being a sanatorium and a plantation, Topo also attempted to be 'a little Christian State'. But neither the local communities nor the British administration in Lagos could tolerate the Fathers wielding the powers implicit in the idea of a Christian village—much as the zeal and enterprise of the Fathers in promoting agriculture[1] was admired. There were disputes over boundaries, over the right to pick palm-fruit, which the Egun said was inalienable. Father Landais, a hard, zealous, brutal man,[2] who succeeded Father Bel in 1888 made the prosperity of Topo surpass expectation, but he began to evict the Ajido families who had come to regard the place as their home. The rights of the mission to evict them were therefore called in question. The Lagos administration stepped in. Governor Moloney, himself a Catholic, declared

> that His Excellency conceives your mission to have no higher title to that estate than the Ajidos to the farms of which they have been recently so summarily dispossessed by your mission. His Excellency has however no intention or desire to exercise to the full or indeed at all the rights of the Government as your mission's landlord, in relation to that estate.[3]

The controversy did not end with the government's dubious claim to be landlord, and it dragged on for over a decade. Long before the end of that period, the Catholics themselves had begun to ask whether the idea of a Christian village did not do the mission more harm than good, and they realized that in any case it was not politically feasible in a country not under the rule of a Catholic government. Besides Topo, there were one or two cases of persecuted Christians moving out in a body to found small villages of their own, one near Asaba in the late 1880s, and earlier on in the 1870s Egba Christians led by John Okenla colonized the villages of Shuren, Ofada and Okenla, between Abeokuta and Otta.[4] But no attempt was made to claim political independence.

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[1] The Fathers tried a few things including dairy farming, but soon realized that the fortune of Topo lay in coconut.

[2] Father Freyburgher, in 'Rapport de Topo-Badagry', said Father Landais worked '*au milieu de beaucoup de difficultés dues pour une bonne part à la raideur de son caractère. On peut cependant se demander si le Père eut rèussi dans son travail s'il avait eu un caractére plus conciliant.*'

[3] Governor Moloney's private secretary to Father Pellett, 29 Oct. 1888, cited in *Notes sur les Missions de Topo.*

[4] Shuren, Ofada and Okenla were farm villages where, following the expulsion

Protestant opinion was traditionally against the idea of a Christian village, physically separate from and politically independent of the old community. With the Protestant villages in Nigeria there was not much physical separateness. There were many emigrants and converts who continued to live within the old society but were no longer part of it. It was the attitude of not belonging that characterized the Mission House, the attitude described by Bowen himself as 'our unbending foreign customs' which made the people 'feel that we are aliens'.[1] Attempts to assert independence were, however, not wanting.

When the Secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee detected, in 1848, a desire on the part of some of his missionaries to claim the right of asylum for the Mission House, he said it savoured of Roman Catholicism:

> The principle involved in this seems to me a dangerous one, liable to be greatly misunderstood and abused. It is the principle which in the palmy days of popery made the clergy demand exemption from the operation of the Civil Power. . . . Missionaries cannot interfere with the civil administration of a country any further than teaching what is right. Their office is instruction.[2]

In other words, the Mission House was under the civil authority of the local rulers. That put the missionary in the dilemma of obeying a civil authority he considered and declared ungodly. Waddell thought he solved the situation by saying that the local civil authority, however crude, must be regarded as rulers of their people, Christian or unconverted, 'though we should not regard them as our rulers'.[3] A few months later, Anderson, from the same mission, was writing to the same Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee: 'Is it nothing to

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of missionaries from Abeokuta, many followers of John Okenla, Townsend's protégé, settled. Rev. James Johnson said in 1877 that 'the proportion of Christians in them (130 out of 400, 120 out of 400, and 20 out of 500 respectively) is [too] small compared with the Heathen and Mohammedans to entitle them to the name of Christian villages'; Report on the State of Churches in Yorubaland 1877, C.M.S. CA2/056. In 1890 Idigo, a chief of Aguleri near Onitsha, 'seeing how difficult it would be to practise the true religion in the midst of pagans resolved to withdraw to a place three-quarters of an hour from the village, where he had a property on a lofty plateau. At the same time he offered to give land to all who would follow him provided they became Christians'; Father Lutz in a letter dated Onitsha 6 Jan. 1892, in *Annals*, 1892, pp. 252 f.

[1] Bowen to Taylor, 11 April 1855; *Bowen Letters*. Bowen adds: 'Why then am I doing here just as others do? Because I cannot labour alone and have no hope of seeing men who will do as I desire to do.'

[2] Somerville to Hugh Goldie, 20 Nov. 1848; U.P. *Secretaries' Letter Book*, vol. I, p. 211.

[3] Waddell, Journal entry for Tuesday 4 Dec. 1849; *Journals*, vol. VII, p. 95.

encourage the hearts of the members of the United Presbyterian Church that they have erected and are maintaining "a city of refuge" for the innocent in this land of blood?'[1] In short, how far each Mission House was a 'city of refuge' depended to some extent on the theology of each missionary, but to a greater extent on the ability of the local rulers to resist European visitors tempted to take the law into their own hands.

There were missionaries who were wont to regard themselves as above local laws and the Mission House as a 'Zion' and a 'stronghold', whose independence they were willing to maintain by force, if possible. In the first year of the Methodist Mission in Badagri, in 1844, Annear prepared a military defence of the Mission House to protect a slave rescued from his owner. 'As war was now proclaimed against us,' he wrote later,

> by a people who were before professedly our warmest friends, and in the midst of whose town we lived, all hands were busily engaged preparing for the threatened attack. A large fire was kindled in the yard, around which one party were busily employed casting bullets, another sharpening their swords, while a third examined the muskets and another ransacked the store for cartridges, ten rounds of which were appointed to every man.[2]

Next morning, though the expected attack did not come, Annear decided to yield up the slave.

There were a number of other missionaries who confused rudeness to people, rulers and gods alike, with courageous zeal. In 1856 Mann was trying to get a mission established at Awaye against the opposition of Muslims and pagan priests. He quarrelled with them all, caused offence to the local rulers and priests by disparaging them, and was apt to play his harmonica and ask his boys to sing at the tops of their voices when the Sango festival was at its height, or Oro was out at night. He gained the distinction of being one of the few missionaries in the country ever to suffer personal violence.[3]

Edgerley, at Old Town, Calabar, was like Mann in his ill-controlled temper and superior attitudes. In 1849 in a fit of temper following a minor conflict, he broke the Ekpe drum at the local Town Hall; he later apologized after one of King Eyo's dinner parties.[1] In 1854 the ruler of Old Town died, and Edgerley reported that there was human sacrifice at his funeral. He was so eager in demanding the pursuit and punishment of the culprits that he gave the initial pretext for the destruction of Old Town, ordered later by Acting Consul Lynslager, by bombardment from H.M.S. *Antelope* in January 1855. In fact the bombardment and burning of the town were opposed by the missionaries (including Edgerley) on the grounds that it would only make the work of reform more difficult and that 'native instrumentality and co-operation are indispensable to native moral reformation.'[2] The deed was really the contrivance of the traders and supercargoes, who thought a show of British force would help them in their dealings with Duke Town and Creek Town. The traders persuaded Lynslager to report that he was acting on the invitation of the Mission, encouraged also by their own assurance that 'there is no trade whatever carried on in it . . . the total destruction of that place would be of great benefit to the other towns, to the advancement of civilization.'[3]

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[1] Anderson's Journal entry for 31 May 1849, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1850, p. 25.

[2] Annear, Journal entry for 1 Nov. 1844; Meth.

[3] Mann, Journal entry for 22 Sept. 1856 at Awaye. He received blows from Sango worshippers at Ijaye, 17 Oct. 1856; Journal entry for that day, and Mann to Major Straith, 23 Jan. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/066. Also at Oke-Odan in October 1863. Since he was introduced to Oke-Odan by an agent of the Lagos administration, Mann's action involved the C.M.S. in correspondence with the Colonial Office; T. F. Elliot, directed by the Duke of Newcastle, to Venn, 16 Nov. 1863, and enclosures in C.M.S. CA2/L3.

While the Foreign Mission Committee, faced by angry jibes in Parliament and in the Scottish Press, were trying to establish the fact that the missionaries had opposed the destruction of Old Town, and were sending deputations to the Foreign Office to have the consular ban on the rebuilding of the town lifted, another missionary, Anderson, took the cause of the independence of the Mission House in Calabar a step further. In November 1855 he gave asylum in Duke Town Mission House to two men and a woman accused of having caused the death of a little boy by *ifot* (i.e. preternatural powers) and therefore called upon to undergo trial by ordeal. In January 1856 Hutchinson, the new consul, who was sent to say that Old Town could be rebuilt if the people would observe the law against human sacrifice, supported Anderson and agreed to regard the refugees as being under his protection. The upshot of this interference with the demands of local justice[4] was that an Ekpe ban was placed on the Mission House forbidding anyone to go there or send their children there or in any way have anything to do with the missionaries or with the emigrants who lived on the mission land. At the market people refused to sell to them. On Sunday nobody came to church. When Anderson approached them, they ran away 'as if they had seen a spectre'.[1] If he knocked at the door, he was told nobody was in, or that he should please go away and not put them in trouble. But in due course a naval force (H.M.S. *Scourge*, with commodore and consul aboard) induced Duke Ephraim to lift the ban on the Mission by the threat of blowing up Duke Town, as Old Town had been blown up a year before.

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[1] Waddell, Journal entry for 4 Dec. 1849; *Journals*, vol. VII, p. 95.

[2] Waddell, Journal entry for 16–19 Jan. 1855, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1855, pp. 206–11.

[3] Consul Lynslager, Journal of Proceedings at Old Calabar, October 1855; FO 84/975.

[4] As recorded by Anderson in pidgin English, the local demand was: 'When man kill man with Freemason, he must chop nut.' Journal entry for Saturday 14 June 1856, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1856, p. 155.

A few missionaries in the interior might have shared Anderson's conception of the Mission House as a city of refuge, but, lacking Anderson's dubious advantage of a naval force to maintain it, they had to proceed on a different principle. Even Anderson grew older and wiser and came to see that personal regard for and friendship with local rulers, unconverted though they were, did the cause of the mission more good than enforcing the theory of a Mission House that was above the law. At Lagos the missionaries had little interference to fear from Dosunmu and had only consular authority and traders to contend with. At Abeokuta, Townsend initiated the tradition of personal friendship with the rulers as the way to secure the objectives of the mission; but although the central government was weak, there were always the authorities in the townships and local war-chiefs to discourage the idea of the Mission House as a sanctuary.

At Ijaye, Ibadan and Ogbomoso, the governments were more powerful still. Once or twice missionaries there smuggled out young women persecuted by their husbands to the protection of their colleagues at Abeokuta or the consul at Lagos,[2] but there was never any doubt that they acknowledged the protection and authority of the local rulers. As the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. told missionaries going into different parts of Yoruba in 1856:

> The Committee cordially approve of the wise respectful deference which has been shown by the missionaries to the authority of the Native Chiefs and they enjoin a like conduct upon all who enter the Mission. Many of the modes of exercising authority may appear at first in the eyes of an European absurd; some of their governmental institutions are associated with idolatry. Nevertheless they are the framework of society and till they are replaced by a more enlightened system, they must be respected. This respect need not involve any

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[1] Anderson, Journal entry for Sunday 1 June 1856, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1856, pp. 151–8.

[2] E.g. Crowther to Venn, 7 Feb. 1856, announced the arrival in Lagos of two young Ibadan female converts escaping from the anger of their husbands; C.M.S. CA2/031.

compromise of the great principles of justice and humanity or of the personal independence of the missionary.[1]

The truth was that this acknowledgement did not destroy the large measure of independence that the missionary and the Mission House enjoyed. For where the missionary was not deliberately provocative, the areas of friction between the Mission House and the State were limited. Attempts to convert individuals and make them show contempt for tradition, or to remove them from the family compound were bound to be resented by the family. But this was not always the case. Many converts were able to fight and win their battles with their families without calling on the aid of the missionary or seeking refuge in the Mission House. In some cases, little or no conflict followed conversions. Many converts were strangers in the community.[2] Others were outcasts, various victims alike of chance and of the prejudices of men. Some, on the other hand, were wives or children of respectable families who were assigned by the head of the family to the Christian God in token of friendship to the missionary, or as one assigned some members of the family as devotees, this one to this god that to the other, one to Sango, another to Ogun, a third to Obatala, thus ensuring the goodwill of the gods at different points, in which case the new 'eccentricities' of the Christian devotees were tolerated without trouble. Persecution might follow later, or the whole family might be converted.

Those who, failing to convert the state as a whole, converted families as units are to be reckoned among the most successful missionaries. There were notable examples in Ibadan and Ogbomoso. Hinderer was the most humane of men, with a balanced, cultivated mind, and a sense of humour that Ibadan people highly appreciated. With him, religion was not an excuse for destroying human values, but for ennobling them. By his friendly disposition as a man he made friends with two families, one to whose care he was entrusted at Kudeti, the other at Aremo. These two families have been the pillars of the Church in Ibadan. They have given Christianity roots in the society and supplied in later days most of the clergymen and the two bishops Ibadan has produced.[3] William

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[1] 'Instructions of the Parent Committee to those about to join the Yoruba Mission, 21 Oct. 1856'; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

[2] Cf. Hugh Goldie: 'We have a large foreign population in Calabar [i.e. of converts] gathered in from about fourteen different tribes, to whom Efik is a foreign tongue. We have more members of the Mburutism tribe, the country of which we do not yet know, than we have of Calabar people.' In 1876 a Paper presented to the Gaboon Conference, Printed Report, op. cit., p. 12.

[3] *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country*, memoirs of Mrs. Hinderer, C.M.S. 1872, and the romance based on it: *Swelling of Jordan* by Ellen Thorpe. 'Beginnings of missionary work in Yoruba' written by a member of Hinderer's

Clarke, the Baptist missionary at Ogbomoso, was a man like Hinderer. His great success was the conversion of the Agboola family at Oke Afo, who similarly have given the Baptist Church a sure foundation in society and many pastors and leaders of the Church.[1] Such conversion limited friction between the missionary and the community.

The other important source of friction between the Mission House and the state was the number of lawsuits involving mission agents, emigrants, or converts who sought the protection of the missionaries. These were liable to lead the missionary to repudiate the law or to criticise court procedure. Some missionaries went further, like the medieval clergy, and claimed jurisdiction not only in cases between members of the mission village but also in all cases involving any member of the mission village.[1] This was almost invariably resisted, but the rulers usually showed such deference to the wishes and convenience of the missionaries as hospitality demanded.[1] Above all, the missionaries enjoyed the widest possible discretion in the internal administration of the Mission House and village. For although they despised the family compounds and signified this by the rectangular arrangements of the houses and streets in the mission village, they were looked upon as having created family compounds of their own. Like other heads of families or Houses, they were held responsible for regulating their affairs subject to the highest tribunals of the particular community.

The missionaries jealously guarded this right of internal administration, even when they doubted their ability in terms of law and power

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household and incorporating some of the oral tradition in the Ibadan Church; Nigerian Record Office, ECC 20/1.

[1] 'Notes on the Beginnings at Ogbomoso', among the collection of local histories of Baptist churches edited by Rev. Cecil Roberson for the centenary of the Baptist Church in 1953.

[2] E.g., the case of Isaac Smith, a church member and a servant of the missionary, the Rev. J. J. Hoch, at Abeokuta in 1856. He was accused of having poisoned a man on his farm and was summoned for trial by the Bashorun. The C.M.S. missionaries and church elders suspected that it was a plot of the Muslims to bring the church into disrepute. They therefore declared they would not give him up unless they found him guilty. They set up a tribunal and conducted their own inquiries. They found Isaac 'innocent of poisoning, but not innocent of having imprudently provoked [the deceased] by offending words'. The Bashorun pressed to have Isaac sent for trial; the missionaries appealed to the Alake, who tried him and fined him 40 heads of cowries; Hoch, Journal entry for 31 June and 25 Aug. 1856; CA2/050. See also Gollmer, Journal for March 1851; CA2/043; though Gollmer insisted that Muslim emigrants could not enjoy the benefits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

[3] E.g., Reid said that at Oyo the Alafin maintained the principle that 'the white man and his people must not be forced to obey country [i.e. local] customs'. He treated both the C.M.S. and the Baptist missionaries 'with great respect'; to Poindexter, 31 Aug. 1860; S.B.C.

to enforce their will. The threat of ecclesiastical sanctions was not always enough to make everybody in the mission village obey the missionary, who quite often was a young man in his twenties or thirties. The control of the missionaries, though firm enough on new converts, was never strong enough on the trading community of emigrants, some of whom were either not Christians or only just on the fringes of the Church or, like the emigrants at Calabar, did not belong to the particular denomination of the missionary,[1] but whose distinct status in society the missionary nevertheless considered essential to the progress of civilization and Christianity. The missionary, however, had other sanctions besides the ecclesiastical. He could threaten to commit the culprit to the local rulers, whose scale of punishment was likely to be harder to bear than the missionary's. He could on the other hand send him to the nearest consul or report him on the consul's next visit, since it was not generally known that the government had declared that emigrants not in a British colony were not British subjects, or that until 1872 the consuls had no judicial powers.[2]

In this way some rude sort of justice, partly ecclesiastical, partly civil, was maintained. The converts took their petty quarrels to the class leaders. The emigrants had recognized headmen who acted as magistrates, imposing fines, and, at least in Badagri and Abeokuta, had regular prisons. Serious cases involving mission agents or prominent people went to the conference of missionaries of that particular denomination, or were tried by special tribunals. Where situations cropped up that existing church regulations or known 'European Law' did not seem to have envisaged, particularly suits concerning marriage and divorce in which local law and church regulations and concern for social well-being merged into a legal jungle, the missionaries sought advice from home or just used their discretion.

By and large, the independence of the Mission House even in the interior where there was no naval force to maintain it was real and, from the point of view of the missionaries, satisfactory. So real was it that some missionaries in the Yoruba country came to consider it absolute. They began to analyse the basis of it and to see in it a vindication of the policy of discouraging emigrants and converts from seeking social and political importance within the states. The states, they said, would always defer to the wishes of the European missionary when necessary, not because of the naval force on the coast, or because of the demands of hospitality to a disinterested man who had travelled from so far, but because he was a European and the African himself was the first to acknowledge the European as his superior.[1]

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[1] The emigrants from Sierra Leone were either Anglicans or Methodists though most of them did attend the local Presbyterian Church; see Anderson to Hutchinson, 17 June 1856, encl. in Hutchinson's despatch of 24 June 1856; FO 84/1001.

[2] Though the slave-trade treaties provided a legal basis for bombarding the coastal states, the consul had no legal powers 'to oblige the British supercargoes stationed in the Rivers to obey any particular code of Trading Regulations'; FO draft to Hutchinson, 12 March 1856. For this reason, many emigrants in Lagos welcomed annexation, which turned the consul into a governor who had power over Africans and Europeans alike.

'I must testify,' said Townsend in June 1853,

> that the chiefs as far as I have had any intercourse with them have shown anything but a disposition to persecute. They have assisted me in every case of domestic persecution most willingly and as far as I can judge from their conduct in other respects, shown a growing attachment to Europeans and confidence in them. . . .
>
> We ought to be thankful to the Lord that we possess an influence over the natives such as causes them to submit quietly to an interference that no other than their chiefs could exercise, more especially as we have no legal right as these people are not British subjects.[2]

As long as the uneasy peace established in the interior continued, there was no occasion to test the validity of these arguments, and the missionaries settled down to their preaching and the fostering of the arts of civilization among the community of the Mission House.

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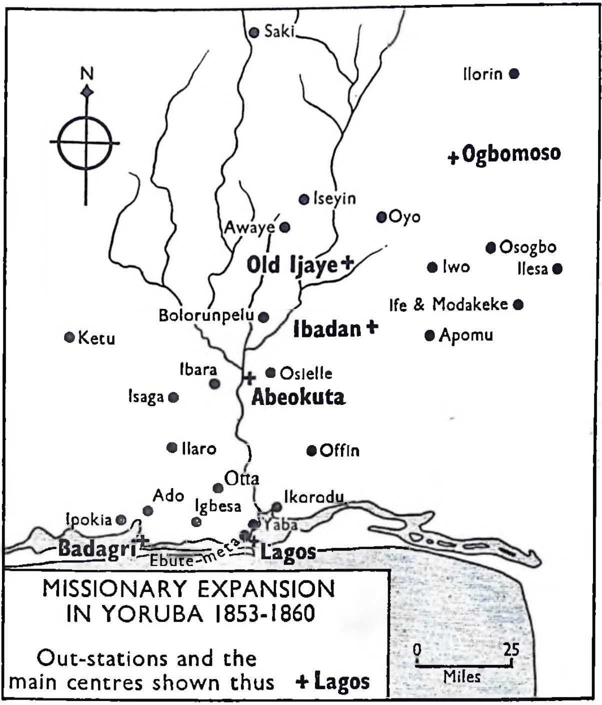
[1] The most explicit statement of this view at this stage was in a letter to Major Straith dated Oct. 29 1851, in Townsend's handwriting, signed by Isaac Smith, Townsend, Hinderer and Gollmer CMS CA2/016.

[2] Townsend, Journal entry for June 10 1855; CMS CA2/085.


N
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Ibadan+
Ketu
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MISSIONARY EXPANSION
IN YORUBA 1853-1860

Out-stations and the
main centres shown thus **+Lagos**

5 Civilization Around the Mission House

THE missionaries reiterated the arguments in favour of the indirect methods of evangelization from time to time as if to reassure themselves and to combat the undercurrent of evangelical distrust of mission agents engaging in activities other than preaching, baptizing and ministering. Struck by the high rate of European mortality and sickness in West Africa, and haunted by the memory that Christianity had been introduced once into West Africa and had left little or no trace behind, Bowen argued again in his book published in 1857 that

> Our designs and hopes in regard to Africa are not simply to bring as many individuals as possible to the knowledge of Christ. We desire to establish the Gospel in the hearts and minds and social life of the people, so that truth and righteousness may remain and flourish among them, without the instrumentality of foreign missionaries. This cannot be done without civilization. To establish the Gospel among any people, they must have Bibles and therefore must have the art to make them or the money to buy them. They must read the Bible and this implies instruction.[1]

Three aspects of this programme should now be noticed: that introduction of literacy, the training of missionary agents, and the fostering through technical education of a class of people 'with the art to make Bibles or the money to buy them'. The latter two were never free from controversy, but there was complete unanimity about the great importance of the first. Nothing shows the ardour of the pioneering missionaries better than the effort devoted, within the limited resources of the missions and the ability of the missionaries, to the study of the principal Nigerian languages, reducing them to writing, in most cases for the first time.

This study began in Sierra Leone where, as we have seen, several of the languages were represented among the Liberated Africans. As early as 1830–32, the Rev. J. T. Raban of the C.M.S., obesrving that the 'Akus' were fast becoming a majority in the colony, began a study of Yoruba with a view to facilitating evangelization within the colony. When arrangements were being made for the Niger Expedition and a mission was projected for the model farm at Lokoja, the Rev. J. F. Schön was charged with the duty of training interpreters and himself acquiring the languages he considered most essential. The languages he chose were Hausa and Ibo. For the same purpose Samuel Crowther intensified his study of his own language, Yoruba. The results of these studies were published in 1843.[1]

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[1] Bowen: *Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa*, op. cit., pp. 321 f.

The other missionaries in the Yoruba country were studying the language along with Crowther, comparing translations and discussing the orthography. In the winter of 1848, when Gollmer and Townsend were in England to give evidence before the Hutt Committee, the debates were carried to London. Venn secured expert advice from linguists such as Professor Lee of Cambridge, Edward Morris, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Max Müller of Oxford and, most notable of all, Professor Carl Lepsius, of Berlin. As a result of these discussions, Crowther published in 1852 a revised and enlarged edition of his *Grammar and Vocabulary*, as well as translations of four books of the New Testament.[2] It was Lepsius' orthography that continued to guide C.M.S. linguistic studies, be it in Hausa, Kanuri, Ibo or Ijaw.

The American missionary, Bowen, acquired a high degree of proficiency in Yoruba and among other things drew attention to the poetic excellence of the invocative prayers of traditional Yoruba worship, especially those of *Ifa*. But his *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language*, containing a collection of sayings and poems, remained outside the main stream of development since it was honoured with publication along with three other unrelated works in one of the fat volumes of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* in New York.[3] Crowther and Thomas King were the chief translators of the Bible and the Prayer Book; David Hinderer, the mission's Hebrew scholar, supervised the translation of the Old Testament and translated *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and Gollmer the Watt's Catechism and Carl Barth's *Bible Stories.*

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[1] J. F. Schön: (i) A *Vocabulary of the Hausa Language with Grammatical Elements pre-fixed*, 1843; (ii) *A Vocabulary of the Ibo Language*, 1843; S. A. Crowther: *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, 1843. See also J. F. Ade Ajayi: 'How Yoruba was Reduced to Writing', *Odu, Journal of Yoruba Studies*, 1961.

[2] S. A. Crowther: *St Luke, Acts of the Apostles, St James and St Peter in* Yoruba, C.M.S. 1851; *Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*, 1852.

[3] T. J. Bowen: 'Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language' in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. IX, part iv, New York 1862.

The orthography of Yoruba is today substantially that laid down by the missionaries. Their rules of grammar have been frequently criticized, but their translations are still recommended as works of high literary value.

In reducing a language to writing for the first time, Crowther said, particularly with a view to translating religious works, the most essential and most difficult thing was to get behind colloquial speech and work-a-day slang, with its preference for phrases in place of the rare meaningful words. For this reason he befriended pagans and Muslims alike, 'watched the mouth' of the elders and, while discussing theology and other serious matters with them, noted down 'suitable and significant words'. When he tried such words in common speech, he found that, like 'thrown away words', they sounded stale, but 'to the rising generation, they will sound sweet and agreeable'.[1] He went everywhere with pencil and paper—even up the Niger, at Lokoja and Rabba, where he claimed to have picked up useful Yoruba words. In December 1862 he had just returned to Lagos from the Niger and was paying a courtesy visit to the Governor when his house was burnt down. 'I had always made it a rule,' he wrote to Venn,

> that in case of a fire breaking out, not to hesitate but to snatch out the manuscripts of my translations the first thing, for security, and then I may try to save anything else if possible; but on this occasion I was not at home to put my resolution to practice.... Thus the manuscripts of nearly all the remaining books of the Pentateuch which I would have prepared for the press this quarter were destroyed. My collections of words and proverbs in Yoruba, of eleven years' constant observations since the publication of the last edition of my Yoruba vocabulary, were also completely destroyed. The loss of those is greater to me than anything else, in as much as it cannot be recovered with money nor can I easily recall to memory all the collections I had made during my travels at Rabba and through the Yoruba country, in which places I kept my ears open to every word to catch what I had not then secured, with which I had expected to enrich and enlarge my Yoruba vocabulary this year. Now all are gone like a dream.[2]

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[1] Crowther: Journal Extracts for September 1844; C.M.S. CA1/079. He added: 'In tracing out words and their various uses, I am now and then led to search at length into some traditions or customs of the Yorubas.' The results of these researches on topics like *Egungun* and *Ifa* which he gave in some papers in 1844 have, as far as I know, never been noticed. They will be found in C.M.S. CA1/079.

[2] Crowther to Venn, 12 Dec. 1862; C.M.S. CA3/04.

As a result, the revised dictionary was not published until 1870.

Interest in Hausa and Ibo revived with Henry Barth's travels in Northern Nigeria and MacGregor Laird's mail contract to ascend the Niger by steamer in 1854. Attention was also paid to Kanuri. A brilliant German missionary of the C.M.S., the Rev. S. W. Koelle,[1] in 1854 published two works: *Grammar of the Bornu or Kanuri Language* and *African Native Literature in Kanuri.* Koelle worked through interpreters and it is doubtful whether he ever became fluent in Kanuri himself. But P. A. Benton, the authority on Kanuri in the British Administration, said in 1916 that Koelle's works were 'of wonderful accuracy and interest'.[2]

In 1855 Barth took to England two boys from Northern Nigeria, Abbega, a Margi, and Dorgu, a Hausa, aged about 16 or 17, each of whom spoke Hausa and Kanuri.[3] In 1856, they went to live with Schön, who had by then become a chaplain to a Naval hospital in Kent. Through them, Dorgu especially, Schön was able to revise his long-delayed works, and he published in 1857 a *Primer* and in 1862 a *Grammar of the Hausa Language*. He kept up a regular correspondence with Hausa-speaking missionaries on the Niger and he was allowed to use the extensive papers of Dr. Baikie, who led the third expedition up the Niger in 1857 and remained in Lokoja till 1864, making notes and observations and translating the Bible. From these he obtained material to enlarge his earlier vocabulary into the dictionary[4] which, published in 1876, remained the standard work till the end of the century. Owing to economic development and growing political interest, Schön began to cater for other than missionary needs. In 1877 he published a *Hausa Reading Book and Traveller's Vademecum*, one of the earliest uses of which was to train officers to command the Hausa corps that since the Ashanti War had become a principal instrument of British policy in West Africa. Besides translations from the Bible, he published in 1885, as a more advanced reading book, a collection of texts called *Magana Hausa.*[1]

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[1] S. W. Koelle, also author of the *Polyglotta Africana, or a Comparative Vocabulary of nearly 300 words and phrases in more than 100 distinct African Languages*, London 1854. When a naval officer discovered the only known indigenous African script it was Koelle who was sent to study it. As a result of this he published *Narrative of an Expedition into the Vy Country etc.*, 1849, *Grammar of the Vy Language*, 1854.

[2] P. A. Benton: *A Bornu Almanack for the Year A.D. 1916*, p. 57, 'A note on Rev. S. W. Koelle'. Also by the same author: *Primer of Kanuri Grammar translated and revised from the German of A. von Duisburg*, Oxford 1917, Introduction.

[3] For the story of Abbega and Dorgu see 'Chapter I of the Life and Travels of Dorgu dictated by himself' in appendix to Schön's *Grammar of the Hausa Language*, 1872; A. H. M. Kirk-Green: 'Abbega and Dorgu' in *West African Review*, September 1956, p. 865 ff.

[4] Schön, in the introduction to *A Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, 1876.

When Schön concentrated his attention on Hausa, the responsibility for the study of the Ibo language passed to Crowther in spite of his other commitments. He took up Schön's primer of 1843, and in 1855 recalled Schön's interpreter—Simon Jonas, who was left with the Obi of Abo in 1841 and had since been in turn Christian Instructor and Tailor to the Obi and policeman at Fernando Po—through whom he learnt some Ibo and began compiling a vocabulary.[2] In 1857 he was relieved by the Rev. J. C. Taylor, who volunteered for the Onitsha Mission. Taylor was born in Sierra Leone of Ibo parents who did not both speak the same dialect of Ibo. When he arrived in Onitsha he still had to preach through an interpreter,[3] but he quickly learnt enough Ibo for his normal duties as a missionary, though not enough to make the contribution to the study of Ibo that Crowther was making to that of Yoruba. He received little of the expert advice Crowther got, nor had he the leisure of Schön in retirement. In addition, dialect variations were a more serious problem in Ibo—by no means resolved even today—than Crowther had to face in Yoruba.

In 1861 Taylor, having missed transport up the Niger on returning from Sierra Leone, founded the new mission at Akassa. This meant adding the Ijaw language to his studies. In 1866 he completed a translation of the New Testament[4] into Ibo which he sent to England for publication. The C.M.S. Secretaries submitted it for an opinion to Schön, who was critical, and it was returned to Taylor for revision. This made him feel 'entirely disheartened and discouraged', if not angry.[5] He left the mission in 1868 and returned to Sierra Leone. For similar reasons, the works of Crowther himself on Ibo and Nupe, the Rev. C. Paul and Henry Johnson on the Nupe language, P. J. Williams on Igbirra, though useful beginnings, were far from being definitive.[6]

Besides Yoruba, Hausa and Kanuri, the missionaries had a notable success with the Efik language. There the policy of concentration yielded abundant fruit. Before Hope Waddell set out in 1846 he had collected a list of Efik words from the Liverpool supercargoes and he began at once, along with the other agents, to memorize them and try to simplify and systematize the orthography. The results of these early studies were published in 1849 as the *Vocabulary of the Efik Language* in the names of Waddell and the irascible printer of the mission, Samuel Edgerley. Waddell had a clear, practical mind but he was no scholar or highly literary man. It was Hugh Goldie, who worked with him and succeeded him at Creek Town, who soon became the authority on Efik. He published in 1862 his *Principles of Efik Grammar and Specimens of the Language*, and translations from the New Testament into Efik the following year. But when the Foreign Mission Committee wished to prosecute more energetically the work of translation and Efik orthography, they sent to Calabar a younger man, a brilliant scholar, Dr Robb of Aberdeen, famous for his Hebrew. In 1866 Dr. Robb published his translations from the Old Testament.[1] But his health did not stand up well to Calabar and he was transferred to Jamaica. Goldie's ability blossomed out. In 1874 he published the *Efik Dictionary*, the *Efik Grammar in Efik* and the *Efik Grammar in English*. These works dominated the studies of other missionaries, who produced translations, primers, readers, hymns and sermons; and indeed to this day they remain the standard works on the language.

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[1] Rev. G. P. Bargery: *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Dictionary*, O.U.P. 1934 for the Government of Nigeria, p. xv.

[2] Crowther to Venn, 9 Dec. 1855; C.M.S. CA2/031.

[3] Rev. J. C. Taylor, Journal entry for 2 Aug. 1857 in S. Crowther and J. C. Taylor: *Gospel on the Banks of the Niger*, C.M.S. 1859, p. 249.

[4] Taylor to Colonel M. Dawes, 21 Nov. 1866; C.M.S. CA3/037. The other mission agents presented him with an address on the occasion.

[5] Taylor to Venn, 16 April 1867; C.M.S. CA/037.

[6] Crowther, S. A.: *Grammar and Vocabulary, Nupe Language*, 1864; *Vocabulary of the Ibo Language*, S.P.C.K. 1882. Johnson, Archdeacon H. A., Christaller, Rev. J. L.: *Vocabularies of the Niger and Gold Coast*, S.P.C.K. 1886.

The driving force behind the work on the Nigerian languages was the anxiety to teach the converts and would-be converts to read the Bible in them. For this reason, some missionaries argued that priority should be given to teaching adults rather than children, on the grounds that

> It is the adult population that show a willingness to hear us and to receive the word we preach. . . . To the same extent that the adult population are brought under Christian instruction will children and other dependents be brought under instruction likewise.[2]

Indeed, the strong evangelical influence in the missionary movement placed great premium on the Sabbath school for teaching adult converts and catechumens who could not come to school daily during the week to read the New Testament for themselves. It was specially for their sake that so much emphasis was placed on translating the Bible into the vernaculars; for their sake, too, that throughout the work on languages the emphasis was on simplicity of orthography rather than academic perfection. As a C.M.S. Secretary said:

> All marks [of orthography] not indispensable cannot fail considerably

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[1] U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1866, pp. 198–200.

[2] Townsend, Journal for June 1857; C.M.S. CA2/085.

> to increase the difficulties in the way of a native's acquiring the art of reading, and to teach them to read is our great aim.[1]

Sometimes the Sabbath school opened before the vernacular literature was ready and a beginning had to be made none the less. The Rev. J. C. Taylor describes the first Sunday school at Akassa, at the Nun entrance of the Niger, before either he or Crowther knew many words of Ijaw. They attracted forty-seven people into church—men, women and about a dozen children.

> Mr. Crowther took the first class at the head of the table in the centre of the room, a capital place for him, with his venerable, silver-bound spectacles, a [rod] in his hand, pointing to the phonetic alphabet characters, calling out loudly the well-known letters a, b, d, e . . .[2]

The people stood mute, watching him, because they did not know what to do; but as soon as Crowther found out the Ijaw for 'repeat together' and he could say 'a, *be-be-hie*', they threw away reserve and began to imitate him

> in the pronunciation of those wonderful characters which will in due time be beneficial to them and would not fail of preparing them to read the Word of God hereafter for themselves.

Meanwhile Taylor stood at the door, enticing more of the people who stood outside to enter, shouting to them in Ijaw: '*Ebi diri ebima*', i.e. 'Good white man's book is the best' . . . '*Ebi*! *Ebim*! *Ebima*! *Aa, beke diri ebima*!', i.e., 'Good! Better! Best! Yes, Englishman's book is the best'.[3] Soon after that, Taylor made friends with Koko, a local trader who spoke the best English at Akassa, and together they began composing an Ijaw primer. Unfortunately Koko died a few months later and the mission fell under a cloud of suspicion.

Besides the Sunday school, one or two stations where adult literacy was taken most seriously ran evening classes during the week.[4] Some others had reading lessons during their catechumens' classes. In these different ways the majority of the early converts, who by the nature of things had to be very keen and zealous, did learn to read in the vernacular at least some portion of the Bible, usually St. Mark's Gospel, telling the story of the life of Jesus, or the Catechism setting out basic doctrine, or a few of the most popular hymns. Some of the churches have maintained this tradition of adult literacy. The literacy was limited both in aim and achievements. Few of the adult converts were bothered about learning to write—so that they could hardly read handwritten script—in contrast with the gentlemen of Calabar and Bonny, who spoke and wrote English but as they were not familiar with the printed script had specially to learn to read the printed Bible—nor were they asked to learn to read or write English. In this lay the most important difference between the adults' and the children's schools. For in the teaching of children the missionaries were obliged to cater for the demand which prior to their arrival existed in the country for the knowledge of the English language, measurement and accounting for purposes of trade.

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[1] W. Knight to Crowther, 23 Dec. 1852; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] J. C. Taylor: Journal entry for Sunday 22 Dec. 1861; C.M.S. CA3/037.

[3] Ibid.

[4] E.g. at Abeokuta in 1858; Townsend, Journal Extracts for April to September 1858; C.M.S. CA2/085.

It was not a demand for general education as such. The trading chiefs who wanted missionaries to teach children English had their own way of bringing up their children to fit into life in the family compounds and the states. They imparted moral and religious education, with clear precepts reinforced by taboos. They gave training in the etiquette and conventions of society; they trained the minds of the children as they taught them to count yams and ears of corn, or to give answers to the conundrums, or to repeat in their own words the fables of the family history.[1] In the moonlight the children played games and told stories and learnt alliterative verses. As they grew older they were apprenticed to jobs or initiated into the further mysteries of life. There was little system, but the parents looked on it as education. What they expected from the European was not a substitute but a supplement, a system of apprenticeship by which the children acquired additional arts and skills, the art of reading and writing, gauging palm-oil or manufacturing gunpowder or sugar or building boats. As the Bonny chiefs said, when they did get a school and had to pay for it,

> They did not want religious teaching, for that the children have enough at home; they teach them that themselves; that they want them to be taught how to gauge palm-oil and the other mercantile business as soon as possible.[2]

Indeed, they wondered if three months was not enough to learn 'all book'. They would have thought little of a school that did not attempt to teach some English. At Calabar, said Goldie in 1876,

> so great is the desire to learn English that though it also is taught in

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[1] Cf. Crowther on the educational value of fables and proverbs in the Charge delivered to his clergy in 1869; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Crowther: 'Brief Statements exhibiting the characters, habits and ideas of the Natives of the Bight', 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04.

our schools and taught gratuitously in Duke Town, some of the chiefs engage at a high fee the services of any young man who may come in their way to teach their children only.[1]

The missionaries welcomed this demand, such as it was. They knew that it was one of the principal reasons why they were welcomed and allowed to settle in the city-states on the coast. They saw in schools 'the nursery of the infant Church', the principal hope for the success of their work. If most of the adults were too much wedded to the ideas of their fathers, the children, whose minds were as yet unhardened, should provide more fruitful ground for the sowing of the seed of the new religion. 'Preaching hath ever been the great ordinance,' said orthodox Evangelical doctrine. 'You must seek to convert the heart before you can instruct the mind.'[2] But the experience of many missionaries was that preaching to adults, particularly the scoffing, sceptical trading communities on the coast, was like sowing by the wayside or on the rock.[3] But let children come to school for any purpose whatever and it would be the fault of the missionary if he could not take advantage of the opportunity and make Christian converts of the children.[4] The problem was how to make the children come in sufficiently large numbers, how to make the demand for some form of European training more general on the coast, and how to create it in the interior, where it hardly existed except perhaps for the making of guns and gunpowder.[5]

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[1] *Report of the Conference of West African Missionaries held at Gaboon, Feb. 1876*, printed by the Mission Press, Calabar, p. 11; copy in C.M.S. CA3/013.

[2] Cf. Henry Venn to William Marsh, an African catechist, 17 April 1847: 'Remember that it is to affect the heart that you must chiefly aim. It will be easy to inform the understanding when the heart is inclined to listen.' C.M.S. CA2/L1.

[3] Cf. Crowther, Journal for July 1847; C.M.S. CA2/031.

[4] Cf. the 'official' Baptist view at home in America: 'The only means committed to us for the conversion of men is the preaching of the Gospel with simple reliance on the power of the Holy Ghost; the Gospel is to be addressed to men and women as of old, and not merely to children, for God is able to convert the parent as well as the child . . . teaching schools may be a benevolent work, but no more the work of a missionary abroad than that of a minister at home.' Several of their missionaries arrived with this preconceived notion and, gradually becoming disillusioned at the prospects of converting adults, turned to the children, e.g. J. M. Harden, 4 May 1858, to Poindexter, *The Commission*, July 1858: 'Brethren, I tell you again that I have *no* hope of the parents; my hope is in their children.' R. H. Stone to Culpepper, 9 July 1858: 'I am fast coming to the conviction that *schools for the rising generation* must be the *basis* of all missions among *barbarous* and *savage* heathen. The Gospel should be preached regularly and steadily, faithfully and prayerfully; but through the children we get at the root of idolatry and leaven the whole lump.'

[5] Cf. George Meakin, European catechist at Oyo, 1858–59, Journal entries for 15–20 June 1858. The first boy the Alafin offered for the mission school came on condition that he be taught to make 'snuffs, guns, powder, etc.'; C.M.S. CA2/069.

The response in places like Calabar, Badagri and Lagos was encouraging from the start. There were inducements, of course. The schools were free; the children received gifts from Europe—clothes, copy-books, slates, pencils and so on. At the annual public examinations, when the school was dressed up and shown off to the public, prizes were liberal. Each Christmas they had feasts, and on suitable occasions they had parades to show other children what fun they were missing. In the interior such inducements yielded some results, especially from the emigrants and their relatives and those who took quickly to European trade. The rulers began to see the advantages of having their children as clerks to write letters for them, but on the whole the response was poor. Some of the parents argued that if they were going to be deprived of the services of their children on the farms, they should be paid for it. Mann, at Ijaye, asked the C.M.S. for funds for such a purpose, on the grounds that his colleague of the rival Baptist mission was paying his pupils.[1] Other parents complained that the schools taught disrespect to elders and tradition.[2] At Abeokuta, Townsend said it was the children themselves who did not like school and he suggested that parental control was never strong enough to keep the children at school against their will. A more likely reason might be found in the inquiry which the Ake church later instituted into the causes of the deterioration in health of children used to open air being confined between benches all day long in schools which had everything in the curriculum except physical exercise.[3] Onitsha boys took a dislike to that aspect of school life from the very start. When Crowther opened the first school there in December 1858, fourteen children came regularly, all girls about six to ten years of age.

> The boys . . . like to rove about in the plantations with their bows and bamboo pointed arrows in their hands to hunt for birds, rats and lizards all day long without success; but now and then, half a dozen or more of them would rush into the [school] house and proudly gaze at the alphabet board and with an air of disdain mimick the names of the letters as pronounced by the schoolmaster and repeated by the girls, as if it were a thing only fit for females and too much confining to them as free rovers of the fields. But upon a second

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[1] Mann, Journal entries for 21 April 1856, 14 Aug. 1859; C.M.S. CA2/056. A. D. Phillips to Taylor, 25 Jan. 1859, certainly asked for funds to pay school children living at home 2 to 3 cents a day; S.B.C.

[2] One of the best informed and most informative documents on the attitude to education in the interior will be found in James Johnson's 'Report on Abeokuta Churches', 30 Jan. 1878, sheets 8 and 9; C.M.S. CA2/066.

[3] J. Johnson: 'Report on Abeokuta Churches', 30 Jan. 1878; C.M.S. CA2/056.

> thought, a few of them would return to the house and try to learn a letter or two.[1]

A few of them did settle down, of course, but farm work, particularly in the dry season, made their attendance very irregular. This was a difficulty the schools had to contend with everywhere. In Waddell's school at Creek Town in 1854 there were 120 names on the roll. The average attendance in July was sixty-eight, in August seventy-eight, in September eighty-one, in October seventy-five, in November fifty-four, in December forty-seven.[2] When, in November 1861, a missionary visited Isaga, an outstation to the west of Abeokuta (destroyed by Dahomey in 1862), there were nine children present, seven absent, 'among them all the best boys'. The four most advanced pupils present were all girls.[3]

The only inducement effective against irregular attendance and the premature withdrawal of pupils from school was to persuade the parents to allow them to be brought up by the missionary in his own household. For this reason the boarding-school became a regular feature of the Mission House.[4] It was hoped that from among the boarders, in close personal relationship with the missionary, the most advanced pupils, the monitors and future teachers as well as the most pious pupils, the future leaders and Pastors of the Church, would arise. The hope was often justified. Boarding out children was not new in the country. Many an indulgent father chose to send his beloved son to a trusted relative or friend for training. In the same way, missionaries who were found to like children or who made friends easily soon had children entrusted to their care. Sometimes it was calamity, not friendship, that produced this. A person in need of ready cash went to the Mission House to borrow, and in return gave his children to the missionary as a 'pawn', partly as security for the loan, partly also as interest on it. At Ijaye, where eight years of missionary endeavour had failed to bring many children to school, the war with Ibadan in 1860–62 suddenly flooded the Mission Houses of both the C.M.S. and the Baptists with children, with no conditions attached except that they should be fed and kept secure. The Baptists evacuated to Abeokuta about seventy children. The C.M.S.

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[1] Crowther to Venn, 2 Dec. 1858; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Waddell, 'Report on Creek Town Mission for 1854'; *Journals*, vol. X, pp. 130–1.

[3] Dr. A. Harrison to Venn, 28 Nov. 1861; C.M.S. CA2/045.

[4] Cf. Sarah M. Harden to Poindexter, 6 Aug. 1859, S.B.C. that in Lagos nobody, not even emigrants, would send children to a day school. 'Whoever wishes to instruct them must feed and clothe them too, for their idea is that it is a great favour shown to us when we are permitted to teach their children.'

at Abeokuta organized an Ijaye Relief Fund, which enabled Mann to evacuate 33 children.[1]

The boarders were in fact personal wards of the missionaries. How many each kept depended on his ability to organize private funds, as the missionary societies did not themselves allocate funds for the purpose. But in the pioneering days there were always people willing to contribute to such a cause. Personal friends and relatives of the missionaries in Europe, members of their old churches, individual humanitarians, Sunday school associations and missionary groups in different churches, perhaps as far away as Canada or Jerusalem, enabled nearly all the earlier missionaries to keep up large households. A lady in Brighton, Miss Barber, organized what was called the 'Coral Fund' specifically to enable C.M.S. missionaries to keep boarders at the rate of about £3 per child per annum. In 1851 Townsend said he had ten Coral Fund boys; in 1860, twenty-six boys and girls of various ages.[2] In 1863, Dr. Harrison, the C.M.S. Medical Officer, whose wife was an accomplished lady famous for her sewing and embroidery classes, had fourteen Coral Fund girls aged between 12 and 20.[3] In 1864 Taylor had six Coral Fund boys at Onitsha. In the 1880s the Association for the Propagation of the Faith had a similar fund to enable Roman Catholic missionaries to redeem slaves, secure 'pawns' and educate them as interns who, in the words of Father Broghero, would be

> rescued from the midst of paganism, and kept safe within our fort, [to] lead a perfectly safe life, as well-regulated as any within the walls of a convent in a Christian country, to keep the Church in good order, serve at the altar, and sing the sacred canticles, assist in the religious instruction of other children and serve as interpreters.[4]

The life and duties of the boarders varied, of course, from mission to mission and even more from missionary to missionary—from the household of genial people like the Hinderers[5] to the hard school of Topo, with the reputation of an approved school—but they were similar.

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[1] R. H. Stone: *In Africa's Forest and Jungle*, 1899, pp. 185 ff. He had about 70 children. Mann of the C.M.S. began by criticizing the Baptist policy of taking pawns (19 Oct. 1860 in a letter to Venn), but by October 1861 he had 33 boarders where before the war he had but two; Mann to Venn, 2 Oct. 1861; C.M.S. CA2/066.

[2] Townsend, conclusion to Journal Extracts for June 1851; Annual Letter for 1859 dated 30 Jan. 1860; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Harrison to Venn, 28 Sept. 1863; Mrs. Jane Harrison to Venn, 30 Dec. 1863; C.M.S. CA2/045.

[4] Broghero to Planque, 21 Dec. 1863, in *Annals*, 1865, pp. 81–2.

[5] For the household of the Hinderers see the memoirs of Anna Hinderer, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country*, 1872, and the book based on it, Ellen Thorpe: *Swelling of Jordan*, 1950.

Discipline and hard work were the keynotes. The records are full of the endeavours of the missionaries to keep the morality of their wards up to standard. Harrison was not a particularly morbid man, but all the clandestine amorous dealings of his girls aroused his interest. They were not allowed to go to wash clothes at the brook 'as the company at these washing streams is so bad'. They were kept away from their mothers who were thought to be trying 'to keep their daughters down to their bad old ways'. And when a conference of missionaries had sat upon a case of alleged misconduct between one of the girls said to have been 14 years of age and a boy of 16, the rules were only further tightened up.[1] Yet in spite of such absurdities and seeming harshness many a boarder has left on record testimonies of his gratitude for spiritual and material benefits received from missionaries.

With the boarders ensuring some regular attendance at school, the missionaries gradually built up a pattern of primary education at practically every mission station. There was, of course, no system in the pattern that emerged, no common syllabus, no general inspectorate. At Calabar in the early days the Presbyterian missionaries, like the Catholic Fathers and Sisters later, were themselves teachers, assisted by the emigrants.[2] In the other missions, where the proportion of European missionaries was smaller and the few missionaries there were needed to take time off for open-air preaching, the emigrants were directly in charge of teaching and the missionaries only supervised. Efficiency in the schools varied widely. Everything depended on the ability and zeal and personal whims of the individual missionary or teacher. But the schools had the common aim of propagating the ideals of Christianity and some of the basic doctrines of the particular denomination while teaching literacy and a little arithmetic to the children. Therefore the usual curriculum consisted of the four R's: Religion, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, with sewing for girls where there was a lady teacher.[3] At the larger mission stations, as the school progressed and in place of one or two began to have four, five or more classes, this curriculum was soon elaborated by the addition of subjects like Grammar and Geography. The time-table sent out by Freeman in 1848 to the head teachers of the schools under his management may be summarized as follows:[1]

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[1] Mrs. Harrison to Venn, 30 Dec. 1863; Harrison to Venn, 19 Dec. 1863; C.M.S. CA2/045.

[2] Waddell said that one of his West Indian schoolmasters was unhappy at not being put in charge of the school, and he added, 'If he expected to have sole charge of the school, he knew neither me nor the importance I attached to it'; Waddell to Somerville, September 1848, in draft in Waddell's *Journals*, vol. viii, p. 30.

[3] 'Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Sewing and Religious Instruction constitute the branches of education which so far we have taken up'; Hope Waddell in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1848, p. 146, A Circular Letter to Friends of the Mission. Sarah M. Harden, Baptist, said she would teach Reading, Writing, Sewing and Knitting. She intended to begin Grammar and Geography later but 'I fear that they will not understand Geography without maps'; to Poindexter, 6 Aug. 1959, S.B.C.

> 9.0 a.m.: Singing, Rehearsals of Scripture Passages, Reading one chapter of Scripture, Prayers.
>
> 9.15–12 noon: Grammar, Reading, Spelling, Writing, Geography, Tables [except Wednesday, when there was Catechism in place of Grammar].
>
> 2.0–4.0 p.m.: Ciphering [i.e. Arithmetic], Reading, Spelling, Meaning of Words.
>
> 4.0 p.m.: Closing Prayers.

This was more or less repeated every day except Friday, which was devoted to rehearsals of Scripture passages, revision and examinations. Girls followed a similar curriculum, but with important changes. In the afternoon session, from Monday to Thursday, they had Sewing and Embroidery, and therefore made up on Tuesday morning for the arithmetic, spelling and meaning of words they missed. On Wednesday, Bible Reading and Catechism occupied not just one period, but the whole morning session.

The first question that arose was what language were the children to be literate in. For most missionaries the demand by the people themselves for English was decisive.[2] Moreover, when the first mission schools were established at most of the large centres, the majority of the missionaries had still to learn the local languages, which were being reduced to writing. The emigrant schoolmasters had themselves been brought up on English, which they saw as 'the language of commerce and civilization', the road to success and advancement. Many, though not all, of the European missionaries themselves shared this view. The children at Creek Town, said Waddell in 1848,[3]

> are taught in English, not merely from necessity on our part, nor solely because some knew our tongue a little and all wished to learn

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[1] Freeman, 'Rules for Schools', 1848; Meth.

[2] Among the Catholic Brazilian emigrants in Lagos, Portuguese and Spanish were the earliest languages of instruction. But English soon superseded these.

[3] Waddell, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, p. 146. Cf. Dr. Harrison to Venn, 29 May 1862, that the arrival of three new Europeans to Abeokuta 'will give a considerable impetus to the progress of the English language which seems *of itself* to raise the person who is acquainted with it in the scale of civilization' ('of itself' was added as an omission, not italicised, in the original); C.M.S. CA2/045.

> it, but also from a conviction of the great importance . . . of promoting among them the knowledge of our own language.

Broken English, he said, was already spoken along the coast from the Gambia to Gaboon:

> By the aid of missionaries and schools, [English] may be made the common medium of communication, yea, the literary and learned language of all Negro tribes as the Roman language was to the modern nations of Europe while yet the modern European languages were in an infantine and unwritten state.

He added that the cultivation of the native Efik language would, however, not be neglected,

> as it must ever continue to be the principal means of communicating oral instruction to the hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions . . . who may never be able to acquire a knowledge of English.

English was the language of commerce and civilization; the vernacular, as much as possible, was the language of religious instruction. As the work on the languages progressed and vernacular literature was produced, reading and writing in the vernacular were introduced, at least in the junior classes. Although generally English remained the language of instruction, by the 1850s many missionaries were insisting that Religious Knowledge should be taught mainly, if not solely, in the vernacular, which the children most readily comprehended. Thus while on Freeman's time-table subjects like Grammar, Spelling and the Meaning of Words undoubtedly referred to the English language, and nobody thought of writing textbooks in the vernacular for subjects like Arithmetic or Geography, as soon as they were available the vernacular Bible and Catechism tended to supplant the English original. By 1854 a typical day in Waddell's school was something like this:[1]

> 9.0 a.m.: Prayers.
>
> 9.15–10.0 a.m.: Arithmetic for the seven different classes.
>
> 10.0–11.0 a.m.: A few verses of the scriptures taught in Efik and repeated by all. Then Efik reading and spelling lessons in the different classes—'during which period every person separately repeats to his class teacher the verse previously given out by me'.
>
> 11.0 a.m.: Roll call. Absentees enquired after. Tickets given to the most worthy of each class.
>
> 11.30 a.m.: Prayers. [Break]
>
> 3.0 p.m.: Prayers.

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[1] Waddell, 'Report of Creek Town Mission for 1854', op. cit.

3.15–4.0 p.m.: Writing (except Wednesday and Friday, when the two highest classes had Geography).

4.0–5.0 p.m.: Scripture verses as in the morning. Then Reading of English in the different classes—books ranging from a primer to the Bible.

5.0 p.m.: A lesson in the Calabar Catechism. Hymn, roll call, tickets.

5.30 p.m.: Prayers.

The most evident omission from this curriculum, besides physical exercise, which was hardly ever mentioned, was manual labour. There was sewing and embroidery for the girls, but nothing for the boys. The obvious choice of a manual labour subject would have been agriculture. But the parents, who were not anxious for schools except for the purpose of equipping children with new skills for trade, would have been most difficult to convince of the value of agriculture as a form of education, nor could the missionary anxiously trying—with inadequate success—to persuade children to forsake the farm and come to school make out a convincing case for putting agriculture on the curriculum. He did not even try. Many missionaries, of course, had farms on which the boarders, refugees and other residents in the Mission House worked after school hours. When the American Civil War cut off the funds of the Baptist missionaries, they considered ways and means of making their boarding-school self-supporting, largely as an alternative to closing it down. In June 1864 the older generation were 'put out on business on their own', leaving only 35 children from a total of about 70. By August 1865 classes were suspended; the girls were passed over to the C.M.S. and the boys set to work on the farm. Later the girls were taken back, and by June 1866 a regular pattern was established of boys working on the farm in the morning while the girls sewed or cooked; classes were held for 4–5 hours when it was too hot to farm, and the boys returned to the farm in the evening while the girls again cooked or sewed.[1]

But it was only at Topo that an attempt was really made to combine agricultural work with primary education. As we have seen,[2] it came later in the century, and was much more than an agricultural school. The section of it dealing with the training of children was an orphanage rather than a school. It soon acquired the reputation of an approved school, with which mothers frightened naughty little children, and indeed James Marshall, Chief Justice of Lagos, used to send juvenile delinquents there as an alternative to imprisonment. Few fathers would willingly send their children to it except as punishment. Most of the children there were redeemed slaves or pawns recruited from Whydah, Porto Novo, Abeokuta and other mission stations. The daily routine began quite early in the day with mass and catechism. Then the boys went to work on the farms till midday. After lunch they had school from about 1.30 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. and they went back to work till dark.[1] In the 1890s, when girls were brought in, they had classes in the morning, and spent the afternoon gathering coconuts or making *gari*. Father Landais, the Superintendent almost continuously from 1888 to 1916, drove the boys so hard that a colleague, Father Vanleke, accused him of using them like slaves.[2] Agriculture was pursued at Topo not as part of the normal education for children, but partly for profit, partly as reformatory training, and, especially at the beginning, essentially as the only industry round which pagan families could be collected in the attempt of the Fathers to found a 'Christian village'. What was important at Topo was that the pagan recruits should be willing to obey rules once they got there—they were invited to come with their agriculture; the essence of the typical nineteenth-century mission village was that the members had already broken away from the old life, of which agriculture was the basis. In the new life of the Mission House there was to be, not idleness, but new techniques and arts to promote commerce and civilization—processing the agricultural products of the old town, for example, printing, carpentry, masonry, shoemaking and so forth. Of these only sewing and embroidery were considered suitable for primary schools; the others required basic literacy, arithmetic and maturity; they were therefore to be acquired in secondary industrial schools and training institutions.

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[1] The school was the main preoccupation of A. D. Phillips between 1860 and 1867, and the main theme of his letters. See Phillips to Taylor, 5 Oct. 1860; 5 Nov. 1860; 6 Nov. 1860; 4 Dec. 1860; 5 July 1863; 4 Feb. 1864; 4 June 1864; 29 Aug. 1865; 2 Feb. 1866; 4 May 1866; 1 June 1866; S.B.C.

[2] See above, pp. 114–16.

It should be emphasized that, contrary to many assertions about missionary work in this period, the missionaries were far from fostering idleness in the mission schools, or even mere literary academic education; nor were they complacent about or indifferent to the social effects of the education they were giving the children. The mission school was conceived of as a process for drawing away children physically into the mission village or at least mentally and spiritually away from the family compounds. One result of this was that inevitably the children tended to regard themselves as better than their mates and elders, who did not belong to the new life of the Mission House. In a sense the missionaries thought they were, in so far as they were 'regenerated' and the others were not. But the consequent feeling their charges had of belonging to a superior caste worried the missionaries: it was dangerous for the children, dangerous also for the missionary cause, as it did not encourage parents to send more children, and, in any case, pride and indiscipline were certainly not Christian virtues. Townsend constantly inveighed against 'the pride of dress and caste'.[1] Bowen once said that 'children raised in the schools are vagabonds',[2] and Freeman once posed the question to the Gold Coast District Meeting,

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[1] 'Notes sur les Missions de Topo', p. 29 f. Father M. J. Walsh: *Catholic Contribution to Education in Western Nigeria*, pp. 120–2, argues that it was an agricultural school, classified as such as an 'Industrial school' later on by the Education Department in Lagos, though he agrees that the children at Topo were mostly slaves and pawns.

[2] Father L. Freyburgher: 'Rapport de Topo-Badagry'.

> whether it is wise to educate so large a number of children as the mission has been doing with the almost certain prospect that the greater number of them will be thereby . . . rendered not only useless members of society but injurious to its well-being on account of their instrumentality in the diffusion of habits of idleness and extravagance.[3]

The important point here is that it was almost generally to the 'habits of idleness' that the unpleasant results were traced, and almost invariably manual labour was the solution offered. Only occasionally was the inefficiency of several of the schools blamed. Hardly ever was the dichotomy they created in society referred to. All the time the panacea that was urged was a practical approach to education in place of the purely literary and academic, much in the spirit of the founders and organizers of the Poor Man's and the Workmen's Institutes in Britain.[4] If anything, the doctrine of the virtue of industriousness was re-emphasized in Africa, as the new civilization that was being built could not be raised on idleness, and years of propaganda in the New World had convinced some of the missionaries that the African was a loafer who would not work unless compelled by the lashes of a slave-driver or the teachings of a new religion. 'Manual labour schools or none is my motto,'[1] said Bowen. 'The separation of scholastic life and manual labour,' said Henry Venn, in language more typically Victorian,

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[1] Townsend, conclusion to the Journal Extracts for June 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Bowen to Taylor, 2 Oct. 1856; *Bowen Letters.*

[3] Minutes of the 1848 District Meeting, Cape Coast; Meth.

[4] Cf. Mabel Tylecote: *The Mechanic's Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851*, Manchester 1957; R. K. Webb: *The British Working Class Reader*, London 1955. Both authors show how in fact the Institutes tended to become social and cultural—'exhibition rooms of local vanity and drowsy essay-reading' (Webb, p. 64)—rather than practical. But the emphasis of the founders like Henry Brougham and Dr. Birkbeck, and of the industrialists who financed organizations like the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge' was undoubtedly practical and utilitarian.

> is a refinement of advanced civilization. It may be doubted whether even in this case it is desirable; but certainly it is not desirable in a mission school or according to the example of the Apostle of the Gentiles.[2]

Finally, the continued repetition of this prescription to deal with just one of the many symptoms showing that the new education was not producing the desired effect defeated its own end. It did not cure the disease. Rather, it became a cloak under which to hide the inaction that resulted from lack of resources or lack of will.

The missionaries were moderately successful in their schemes of industrial training, where the main limiting factor was patently and admittedly the availability of money. Henry Venn, in accordance with his basic principle of training an African middle class for both Church and state, tried to draw together the available resources of humanitarians, government and traders towards a scheme of industrial training for some African youths. In 1845 he got some 'Friends of Africa'—Sir Robert Inglis, T. A. Acland, E. N. Buxton and others of the disbanded African Civilization Society—to form the 'Native Agency Committee'.

> Their object is described in the name: it is to encourage the social and religious improvement of Africa by means of her own sons.[3]

They were to send out, at their expense, European artisans to work in Africa in collaboration with the missionaries and to bring African youths to English factories and workshops to train, and to buy tools for them on their return. In 1851 they sent out a German 'mechanic', I. V. Huber, to help the missionaries in their building operations and to take charge of the industrial training of the more senior pupils in the schools. It was he who helped Captain Forbes to construct the stands on which to mount the canons at Abeokuta,[4] but he died within a year. This only confirmed the views of the Committee that the second part of their programme, of bringing a few selected Africans to train in England, was more important than sending out Europeans. In addition to the efforts of the Native Agency Committee, Venn encouraged individual African merchants and mission agents to give their children practical industrial education in England. It should be emphasized that of all the boys known to have passed through Venn's hands in this way, only one went to England for a purely literary course—he was T. B. Macaulay, who went to the C.M.S. Training College at Islington and attended a few lectures at King's College, London. Another, Samuel Crowther, jun., after having been apprenticed to a doctor in Freetown, read Chemistry and Anatomy at the same College as part of a medical training. Two youths, Henry Robbin and Josiah Crowther, went to Thomas Clegg's factory at Tydesby, near Manchester, to learn to clean and pack cotton for the European market. Two others, Ellis and Wilson, went to Manchester to learn brick- and tile-making and building construction. Two were sent to Kew Gardens to study what new plants might be introduced into Africa; one learnt printing in London.[1] In addition, the Admiralty was prevailed upon to authorize the ships of the naval squadron to take on boys to train in navigation, so that they could become merchant ship captains. Thus at the time of the naval expeditions in Badagri and Lagos, two boys, James Davies and his brother Samuel, were on board Captain Coote's ship 'by the instruction of Commodore Bruce, for practical instruction in navigation and seamanship'. Coote felt that they did not come early enough to take easily to the sailor's life, and they stayed only fourteen months. But at the end of it, he considered them

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[1] Bowen to Taylor, 2 Oct. 1856; *Bowen Letters*.

[2] Instructions of the Parent Committee to Mr. W. Kirkham, school master, 29 Jan. 1856; C.M.S. CA/L2.

[3] Venn to Robbin, 22 Dec. 1855. Also W. Knight: *Memoirs of Henry Venn*, 1880, p. 510.

[4] Townsend, Journal Extracts for November 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085.

> both capable of taking the necessary observations and obtaining the results of navigating a ship. They have done so in the ships regularly and I have placed confidence in their work. . . . I consider their abilities above the average. They have made fair progress in sail-making and rigging, but these two [arts] required an apprenticeship.[2]

The Native Agency Committee bought equipment for them, sextants and parallel rules, a spy glass and mathematical instruments. James Davies soon had charge of a Sierra Leonean schooner engaged in the coastal trade,[3] and later became Captain J. P. L. Davies of Lagos. The Commodores who succeeded Bruce were not interested in this training scheme. In March 1863, however, Commodore A. P. Eardley Wilmot revived it and took on four boys, Josiah Brown, Alfred W. Lewis, Jack T. Gibson and Francis M. Joaque, from the C.M.S. Grammar School in Freetown, and trained them at C.M.S. expense. They remained on board for over two years, at the end of which time the Commodore reported that

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[1] Information about this training scheme is scattered. The most useful single source is C.M.S. CA1/023. See also personal files of Capt. J. P. L. Davies, CA2/033; T. B. Macaulay, CA2/065; H. Robbin, CA2/080; S. Crowther, CA2/032; and Venn to Dr. Irving, 23 Aug. 1854, and instructions of the Parent Committee to Henry Robbin, 22 Dec. 1855, both in CA2/L2.

[2] Commander R. Coote, H.M.S. *Volcano*, to Venn, 23 Oct. 1852; C.M.S. CA1/023.

[3] J. P. L. Davies to Venn, 3 Sept. 1856; C.M.S. CA2/033.

> their progress in navigation and mathematics generally has been very great, while in seamanship, in knowledge of the steam engine and other useful works, they have done exceedingly well.[1]

All of them soon had small vessels of their own to navigate except Joaque, who went into his father's trading business. Venn also tried to get the Admiralty to take on boys from the C.M.S. Grammar School in Freetown to send to England to qualify as surgeons for the naval squadron. Three are known to have been sent to Edinburgh; two qualified, and one of them, born in Sierra Leone of Ibo parents, Dr. James Africanus Horton, M.D., became famous on account of his published works.

The attitude of the founder of the Catholic Société des Missions Africaines was similar to Venn's. He insisted on the importance of training an African staff. Before his tragic death in 1859 at Freetown he had initiated a scheme by which one of his principal and most influential associates in Europe, the Abbé Papetard, was to open in a warm part of Spain a seminary for the training of African youths. His successor, Father Planque, did set up an S.M.A. institution for training in mechanical arts and trades, which started at an old convent outside Cadiz, moved to Puerto Real, and finally, after political changes in Spain created difficulties, settled at Bouffarick near Algiers. There, 12 Yoruba boys, brought to Wydah after their capture by Dahomey in 1862, were sent by Father Broghero and were joined by 12 more in 1865. By the end of 1867 the first of these boys were beginning to return to West Africa. They were trained in carpentry, shoemaking, masonry, tailoring, ironwork, cookery, and gardening.[3]

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[1] Commander A. P. Eardley Wilmot to Venn, 16 May 1865; Rev. Charles Chapman, chaplain and naval instructor, to Venn, 21 March 1864; C.M.S. CA1/023. Also *African Times*, 23 March 1865.

[2] J. A. B. Horton to Venn, Dec. 1863; C.M.S. CA1/023. Horton: *West African Countries and Peoples*, 1868, *Letters on the Political Condition of the Gold Coast*, 1871. See also reference to him in two articles in *Sierra Leone Studies*: (i) J. de Hart: 'Memorial Tablets in St. George's Cathedral' (no. 11 Sgt.-Major J. A. B. Horton's tablet, no. 29 his wife's); (ii) June 1956, Dr. M. C. F. Easmon: 'Sierra Leone Doctors'.

[3] This account is based largely on the work of Father Walsh, who has pieced the story together from various records, some of which, in particular those of the Jesuits at Bouffarick, I have not had the privilege of seeing. *Catholic Contribution to Education in Western Nigeria*, pp. 90 ff.

While Venn had expected many of his trainees to become independent churchmen outside the mission, the S.M.A. hoped that the Bouffarick boys would return to them and if possible become Lay Brothers. In this they were disappointed. By May 1869 it was said that only one third were giving satisfactory service to the mission. Augustin could build a wall better than any mason around, Benoit was a good gardener, Melchior baked the best bread the Fathers had tasted on the coast. Above all, Pierre was an excellent shoemaker. He had made five pairs of shoes for missionaries, one pair for the King of Dahomey, and was running a little shoe factory. Of the remaining two-thirds, some had been sent away for laziness, the rest had been discontented with conditions offered them and quitted the mission to establish on their own or join mercantile firms.[1] Even the satisfactory ones soon began to leave. Only two became Lay Brothers and apparently they soon resigned, as in 1872 two *ex-Frères* were referred to as having been engaged as teachers.

When the missionaries were so anxious to build up a wide range of African staff as teachers, catechists and clergy, it is indeed remarkable that until the late 1870s there was in Nigeria only a single Training Institution in all the five missions. It was argued not that there was not enough money for more, but that formal institutions produced academic training and were dangerous. In their place was suggested the home or family education practised by the Basel Evangelical missionaries on the Gold Coast: in effect that the best of the boarders should be trained personally by the missionary instead of sending them to a training institution, and that the training should be practical. The Basel missionaries were famous for the way in which they sought to make their missions self-supporting by training and employing carpenters, masons, sawyers and other artisans and by cultivating farms, and having a trade section—the Missionary Trade Society—to dispose of their products.[2] The number of trainees was limited, the craftsmasters were able and efficient, the standard of workmanship was high and it was based on thorough general education. A missionary who described it in 1853 called it 'a fatiguing, costly but promising method'.[3]

Until the establishment of the Theological Department in Lagos in 1879, the Methodists had no training institution, even in Sierra Leone. And until the time of the Rev. John Kilner, a disciple of Venn who became the General Secretary in 1876, the Home Committee opposed the sending of African youths to be trained in England.[1] Academic training was not thereby avoided; rather the reverse, because, of the pious boys who became teachers, those were promoted catechists who had either been able to attend the C.M.S. Grammar School in Freetown or had been near enough to European missionaries to borrow from their stock of books to read. And before they were ordained ministers they had to pass an oral examination in Theology and Church History conducted by all the existing ministers, European and African, sitting in conference. The Home Committee helped the catechists and assistant ministers to build up their libraries by sending out books to them and periodically asking them to send lists of books they possessed, in order to ensure that they continued to study the scriptures intelligently.[2]

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[1] Father Courdioux to Planque, May 1869; Walsh, op. cit., p. 99.

[2] Groves, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 228–9.

[3] Mann to Venn, October 1852; C.M.S. CA2/066.

The Presbyterians similarly had no training institution till the Hope Waddell Institute was founded in 1895. Up to 1879 two Africans had been ordained, both outstanding men, converts made through the schools and brought up in missionary households. By that time African agents were needed in large numbers and a missionary had been set apart for training them. He described in some detail his way of avoiding a training institution. Boys from the schools who could 'read any book in Efik, write a fair hand, work in the four simple rules of Arithmetic, show a fair acquaintance with Bible history and doctrine, and write a short historical essay', if certified pious by the local missionary or agent, were admitted into a training class. But instead of putting them in an institution and thereby running the risk of making them lazy, they were made teachers, evangelists, printers in training, or appointed to any other available post. They were given a reading assignment. Once a year they assembled for a session of four to six weeks, when they received lectures in Efik on the Bible, had practices in preaching, and had their notes of the lectures examined. 'The Bible lectures,' said the missionary in charge,

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[1] Cf. Synopsis of W. B. Boyce's letter to the Rev. William West, 23 May 1865: 'Objects to young Africans coming for education to England'; *Secretaries' Letter Book*; Meth. From West's reply to Boyce, 12 July 1865, it is possible to infer that Boyce based his objection largely on financial grounds, that the mission agents who wished to educate their children in England could not really afford the expense and would, if encouraged, be tempted to borrow money for it, or try to make money elsewhere, or appeal to the committee for aid. West disagreed with this view. Meth.

[2] Cf. this list of books in the Library of the African minister, the Rev. Thomas J. Marshall, at Abeokuta, sent to Methodist House in 1874:
Penny Encyclopaedia (27 vols); Chamber's Information (2 vols); Rollins Ancient History (8 vols.); Macaulay's Miscellaneous Writings. The Students' Gibbon; The Students' Hume; Africa and the West Indies; Johnson's Lives of the Poets (4 vols.); Milton's Paradise Regained; Hand of God in History; The Koran; Crowther's Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language; Yoruba Translations: Testament Titon, Testament Lailai; Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary; Graham: English Composition; Greek and English Dictionary; Dictionary of Scripture Names; [T. B. Freeman]: Missionary Enterprise no Fiction; T. J. Hutchinson]: Ten Years Wandering among the Ethiopians; Beecham: Ashanti and Gold Coast; History of Wesleyan Missions; The Student's New Testament History; The Student's Old Testament History; D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation (4 vols); Fox's Book of Martyrs; Baxter's Saint's Rest; Pentecost and the Foundation of the Church; Biddle's Scripture History; Blount on the Reformation; Bunyan's Holy War; Life of Dr. Bunting; Life of Dr. Adam Clarke; Life and Remains of Cecil; Life of Samuel Leigh; Life of Thomas Collins; Moses Right and Bishop Colenso Wrong; Thomson: The Land and the Book; Fletcher's Works (9 vols); Watson's Works (13 vols); Watson's Theological Institutes; Paley's Works; Butler's Anthology of Religions; Wesleyana; Wesley's Sermons (3 vols.); Edmondson's Short Sermons; Cassel's Family Bible; Burkill: Notes on the Old and New Testaments; Clarke's Bible; Help in the Reading of the Bible; Farrar's Bible and Theological Dictionary; Harvey's Meditations; Dick's Philosophy of Religion; Angus: the Bible Handbook; Dick's Theology; The Bible and Modern Thought; A Cyclopaedia of Illustrations of Moral and Religious Truths; Forty Days after our Lord's Ressurection; Conversion Illustrated from the Bible; Mill's Local Ministry; Gems of Piety; Jackson's Duties of Christianity;

> are of a very heterogeneous character, being out and out expository; science, geography, history, biography, etc. being brought forward, so that the meaning of the text, in all its ramifications, so far as my small ability goes, may be laid open before them.[1]

And he went on to add that there were also lectures on anatomy, physiology, astronomy, geography and 'common things', but that he avoided the dead languages and mathematics 'though simple laws in that science have been explained to them'.

Besides two Negro missionaries from America, the first three African Baptist ministers in Nigeria came from among the boys evacuated from Ijaye in 1862 and educated at Abeokuta till 1867. The first of them, Moses Ladejo Stone, made a pastor in 1880, had been apprenticed to the carpenter J. C. Vaughan, and had been interpreter, evangelist and assistant to a European missionary for five years.[2] The Baptists had no training institution till the end of the century. Their earliest teachers were emigrants who received further training in English,[3] or had an education

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Keysell: The Earnest Life; Rephram: Life of Faith; Tongue of Fire; Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints; Jeffrey: Eternal Sonship; Sympathy of Christ; The Exodus of Israel; Complete Duty of Man; Pierce's Principles and Polity of Wesleyan Methodists.

[1] Rev. S. H. Edgerley; U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1880, pp. 35–6.

[2] Rev. Cecil Roberson, 'Notes on Moses L. Stone', in a collection of local Church histories he edited for the centenary of Baptist Missions in Nigeria in 1953; Roberson Collection.

[3] Bowen to Taylor, Ijaye 18 Jan. 1855, said Thomas Coker, his emigrant schoolmaster, and James Cole, the Rev. W. Clarke's interpreter, were studying Grammar; *Bowen Letters.*

similar to Ladejo's. The Roman Catholic Fathers did most of the teaching themselves, used emigrants or boys trained in their households as assistants, had no training institution till after 1900 and did not ordain the first African in Nigeria till 1918.[1]

The only institution for training African staff belonged to the C.M.S. at Abeokuta. In 1851 Townsend argued that it was not necessary. He had ten Coral Fund boys. The eldest was apprenticed to a carpenter, the next three received lessons in English grammar from one agent, and the other instructed the rest.

> We are, in fact, I am happy to think, performing the work of training native schoolmasters without an institution, and it is our aim to check that pride of dress and caste that unhappily sometimes obtains with the African so that if driving of a nail would save a door from falling off its hinges, his own hands could not drive it.[2]

However, Henry Venn was not convinced by this argument. He sent a boy, T. B. Macaulay, from the Fourah Bay Institution to the C.M.S. Training College at Islington, London, in the hope that he would be of use in a Training Institution at Abeokuta. Meanwhile he secured the services of a Cambridge graduate, grandson of Paley, the great Evangelical theologian, who went out with his wife—and an English housemaid—to found the Institution. But Venn emphasized that the Parent Committee wished to avoid the type of academic grammar school they had created in Sierra Leone. 'We are not to educate a few young gentlemen,' he said, 'but to make a model, self-supporting, educational institution, by combining industrial labour [with book learning]'.[3] Paley arrived in January 1853 and died in April. Macaulay then took over the school, but Townsend considered him too academic and in spite of the protests of some missionaries like Hinderer,[4] had him removed to do parish work at Owu (where he was similarly accused of lecturing to his congregation instead of preaching to them). In 1856 Venn engaged William Kirkham, an experienced schoolmaster in England, but he too died within a year of his arrival. A German missionary on the spot, a product of the Basle Seminary, G. F. Bühler, was then asked to take over the institution. He was there from 1857 till his death in 1864 and under him the institution flourished. But it was a constant struggle between him and Townsend as to how much general education should be allowed besides theology and industrial training. In July 1861, he described the curriculum he adopted as follows:

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[1] *S.M.A.: 100 Years of Missionary Achievement*, 1957, p. 12.

[2] Townsend, Journal Extracts for June 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Venn to Townsend, 2 Dec. 1852; C.M.S. CA2/L1.

[4] Hinderer to Venn, 8 Feb. 1855, that 'Mr. Macaulay under a large hearted superintendent like the late Mr. Paley can manage such a grammar school, and it ought to be at Abeokuta, not at Lagos which is too iniquitous'; C.M.S. CA2/049. Also Bühler to Venn, 2 Nov. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/024.

> I lay particular stress upon Scripture history to give them a good and practical knowledge of it; in general history, they were taught the history of Rome to Constantine; in physical geography, Europe; in Bible geography, Paul's missionary journeys; in Arithmetic, fractions and application thereof; in reading, translation of verses or portions of whole chapters from English into Yoruba or vice versa.[1]

Two years later, he introduced Greek and Latin to the most advanced students. But more than once before that he had to threaten to resign because of Townsend's persistent opposition. Bühler said in March 1862:

> I entirely disagree with Mr. Townsend when he says too much instruction is given to the youths. We always differed on that point....
>
> As, however, not all my brethren agree with my present mode of teaching and as my training is not considered to be distinctly a missionary training; further, as it is feared . . . that a superior education makes young men often useless or worse than useless . . .[2]

and as he could not but try to do his best, he had better give up the institution and go out to preach. After his death little was done in the institution till it was reorganized in Lagos in 1872.

The character of the institution in Lagos may best be judged from a resolution of the Finance Committee that they

> cannot too strongly urge on the Parent Committee their desire that nothing should be done to prevent the future Native Pastors and Evangelists obtaining an education suited to their *future work and position*. This involves their retaining a full knowledge of their native language and receiving part of their education in that language. It also involves their not contracting habits of life which would render necessary a larger stipend than the native Yoruba Church would as a rule be able to provide.[3]

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[1] Rev. Gottlieb Frederick Bühler's Annual Report, July 1861; C.M.S. CA2/024 He described the Training Institution to the 1865 Select Committee of the House of Commons; Questions 6086, 6092, 6098, Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee, PP. 1865 V. See also a good discussion about the school in B. O. Rotimi: *The study of the recruitment, training and placing of teachers in the primary and secondary school levels in Nigeria, 1842–1927*, M.A. thesis, London, 1955, pp. 135–42.

[2] Bühler to Chapman, C.M.S. Secretary, 30 Jan. 1863; Bühler to Venn, 3 May 1862; C.M.S. CA2/024.

[3] Minutes of the Finance Committee of the C.M.S., Lagos, 26 April 1873; C.M.S. CA2/01.

They were, in short, in favour of a non-institutional education in which the mission did not have to bear the expenses of maintaining the student abroad. He was to be trained while he was carrying on active service in the Church and could be kept under observation. It required more insistence from London to get Charles Phillips and Isaac Oluwole, two future assistant bishops, to Fourah Bay where they could take advantage of the new special relationship of the College with Durham University. It is also not surprising that all the three clergymen that the C.M.S. Training Institution had produced up to 1890 passed through the hands of Bühler.

Indeed the outcome of this fear of academic training was not to avoid it, but to have more of it. Teachers and catechists and clergymen were required in large numbers. And those who could at least read and write properly had a chance of passing the necessary examinations. The result was continued dependence on the emigrants and the Sierra Leone Training Institution, and on English education. Up to 1890 both for the Yoruba and the Niger Missions forty Anglican clergymen had been ordained. Six of them had been trained in England, five at Islington, one at Highbury Training College; fourteen had been to Fourah Bay for longer or shorter periods; two to the Freetown Grammar School; six possessed no more than primary education; two went only to Sunday school. Besides the three products of the Abeokuta Training Institution, only two others had been trained wholly in Nigeria. One was Edward K. Buko, the son of Possu, from Gollmer's boarding school at Badagri; the other was Daniel Olubi, who had a few terms at the Abeokuta Training Institution but was trained mostly in the household of the Hinderers. And only these two last mentioned were not emigrants or sons of emigrants.[1]

The fact that the missionaries failed to avoid literary education in trying to avoid institutional training is even better illustrated in the development of secondary schools in Lagos which began in spite of missionaries and was moulded almost entirely by the needs of trade and the predilections of the Sierra Leonean emigrants for literary and academic education.[2] In 1859, in circumstances to be related later, Townsend had Macaulay transferred from Abeokuta and suggested that he could fit in nowhere in the Yoruba Mission and that he belonged really to the Freetown Grammar School. Macaulay, however, pleaded that he be allowed to start a grammar school at Lagos. Crowther supported the plea, and the Parent Committee after some hesitation agreed. Macaulay arrived at Lagos, having at his disposal nothing more than his salary and four rooms in the old cotton warehouse in Lagos. It was an emigrant business man, Captain J. P. L. Davies, who advanced £50 to buy books and equipment.[1] Of the first 25 boys in the school, the parents (or guardians) of 8 were classified as merchants, 14 as traders; only one was a clergyman, one a carpenter and one a scripture reader.[2] The books ordered are also instructive. They included the usual ones in Grammar, Composition and Arithmetic; History and Geography (including atlases and globes); also Book-keeping, as well as Euclid's *Elements*, Eaton's *Latin Grammar*, Valsy's *Greek Grammar*. Lastly, there was *Plain Treatises on Natural Philosophy* with a note by the principal that 'I should like some mechanical instruments to illustrate the sciences but I am afraid there may not be money enough just now'.[3] From the fees the loans were repaid, subordinate teachers were employed, and in July 1860 the Parent Committee resolved 'that the salary of the tutor of the Grammar School be reduced by one-third and that he receives one-third of the yearly payment of £1 for each pupil which at present numbers will prove an increase of his salary'.[4]

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[1] This analysis is based principally on information given about the African ministers in the Yoruba and Niger missions listed in the *C.M.S. Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy, 1804–1904*.

[2] See J. F. Ade Ajayi: 'The Development of Secondary Grammar School Education in Nigeria', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol. iii, no. 1, December 1963.

The Lagos C.M.S. Grammar School was such a success financially as well as in raising the mission's prestige, in the increasingly prosperous Lagos community that in 1872 a Female Institution was begun by the Rev. A. Mann, formerly of Ijaye, and his wife. The prospectus, with an eye on the opportunities in Lagos as well as on probable critics, declared that the Female Institution would provide 'a good and useful education, thoroughly English, but suited as much as possible to the peculiarities of this country'.[5] The reports of the public examinations, however, indicate that little adaptation was carried out. More than that, the pattern set by the C.M.S. institutions was soon being followed by the other missions. Leading Methodists in Lagos soon began to point out that Methodism was losing ground in society because the children of Methodists tended to go to the C.M.S. schools and were in that way lost to their denomination. They therefore began to urge their mission to found a grammar school also. Tired of waiting, in 1874 they collected

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[1] T. B. Macaulay to Venn, 5 April 1859; C.M.S. CA2/065.

[2] Macaulay, Annual Report of the Grammar School, 7 July 1859; C.M.S. CA2/065.

[3] List of books encl. in Macaulay to Venn, 5 April 1859; C.M.S. CA2/065.

[4] H. Straith to Townsend as Secretary of the Yoruba Mission, 10 July 1860; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

[5] Printed Prospectus, 1872; C.M.S. CA2/066.

£500 and asked the mission to add a similar sum towards the cost of building and provide a suitable principal.[1] It was to this institution that a few theological students were attached when it was finally opened in 1879. The grammar school section, or the Methodist Boys' High School, as it was called, was stated explicitly to be designed to prepare young men 'for a commercial and literary life'. The subjects offered were English, Reading, Writing, Orthography, Dictation; Arithmetic and Algebra; History, secular and sacred; Geography; Grammar; Classics, prose writers and poets. These were all in the normal curriculum. There were, however, additional subjects, at extra cost, with a note that 'the principal reserves to himself in every case, on due consideration with parents and guardians, the right of deciding what additional subjects each pupil shall take up as premature attention to higher studies is often disastrous to real educational advancement'. These additional subjects were stated in two parts. Part I included Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and other modern languages; Geometry, Trigonometry, Book-keeping, Drawing, Rhetoric, and Logic; Moral Philosophy and Political Economy. And Part II, Roman and Grecian Histories, mythology and antiquities, Natural Philosophy in its various branches, Astronomy, Chemistry, Physiology, Geology and Botany.[2] Lest this list of subjects be taken too seriously, it should be added that the principal had but two assistants, nor was the principal himself a super-man. In 1881 the Methodist Superintendent in Lagos noted

> the great dissatisfaction that reigns among our people in consequence of the appointment of a minister as the principal of the High School instead of a student from Westminster who would give himself exclusively to the work of the school and institution.[3]

The secondary schools were in fact no more than senior primary schools, conducted wholly in English, with a bit of Latin, and mathematics and recitations of poetry, depending on the ability of the teachers, supplemented as was usual by extra lessons from leading members of the community, doctors, traders, even government officials. The important point here was that this development arose partly from the lack of adequate resources, partly also from the doctrinaire avoidance of academic training, both of which combined to make grammar school education so wholly dependent on the needs of traders. And once begun, the different missions, each criticizing the work of the others, competed in the founding of similar institutions. The Catholic Fathers were extremely critical of the C.M.S. Grammar School boys. You can see them, wrote a Reverend Father,

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[1] Petition signed by 20 members to the Rev. T. R. Picot, Acting General Superintendent, Lagos, 27 Jan. 1874; Meth.

[2] Printed Prospectus, 1878; Meth.

[3] John Milum, Memorandum, 26 Feb. 1881; Meth.

> walk arrogantly about the streets of Lagos . . . a packet of books under their arms, believing themselves to be doctors before they are scholars, so that later when they are employed they become unbearable both to those who have to command and to those who have to obey them.[1]

But in 1881 they constituted the senior boys of their primary schools into a St. Gregory's College, and the Baptists, as soon as they could, began an Academy in 1883.

The training schemes in Europe for practical and mechanical arts, already described, were meant to supplement and to improve upon the skills the emigrants had already brought with them from Sierra Leone, Brazil or America. The missionaries always emphasized that they were not undertaking the industrial education of the country. All they needed to do as pioneers was to show the light in a few selected spheres of life and the demands of commerce and economic development would do the rest. We have seen how they were encouraging traders to follow them not only to Badagri and Lagos, but also into the interior, to Abeokuta and beyond, and up the Niger. In 1863 there were at Abeokuta, where there was none in 1851, five firms with resident agents, two of them Africans, three Europeans, besides two independent European traders and several Africans. In addition to making financial contributions, the traders sometimes helped in the schools, particularly during arithmetic lessons, when they helped to explain to the pupils—and to some of the teachers also—the mysteries of the English system of measurement and counting.[2] The important point here was that the missionaries exerted themselves to see that increased trade did not mean just more money for some European traders and a handful of African middlemen, but that it should bring in its train a wide diffusion of the knowledge of

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[1] '. . . passer avec fierté dans les rues . . . un paquet de livres sous les bras, se croyant docteurs avant d'être écoliers, tels ils sont dans les situations qu'ils remplissent plus tard: insupportables à ceux qui ont a leur commander ou à leur obéir'; *Les Missions Catholiques*, 27 Aug. 1880.

[2] Harrison to Venn, 30 May 1863. Talking about education in C.M.S. schools at Abeokuta, said: 'Arithmetic is very hard for them to learn.' The poor children apparently knew what $\frac{6}{7}$ of £1 was, and could multiply 4/8½d. by 4¼ but failed to do 'the rule of three sums' like 'If cowries are 40 strings a shilling, what is the price of 3 bags 8 heads?' which involved not only the intricacies of £ s. d. but also of 'strings', 'heads' and 'bags' of cowries. Harrison concluded by saying that Mr. Mills, one of the traders at Abeokuta, went into the Ake School to try to throw some light on the subject.

European mechanical and industrial skill. This they did by organizing a system of apprenticeship[1] through which they ensured that the knowledge of the men they had trained in England and of the best artisans among the emigrants, as well as of the traders and the lay and industrial agents of the missions, was passed on to the largest number of people, generally those connected in some way or the other with the Mission House. One of the earliest functions of the C.M.S. Industrial Institution at Abeokuta, and later of similar institutions at Onitsha and Lokoja, was to encourage the cultivation and export of cotton by giving instruction in cleaning and packing cotton. For this reason Henry Robbin and Josiah Crowther had been trained in Manchester. By 1861 there were already some three hundred gins at Abeokuta, a few at Ibadan and Ijaye, and some were beginning to ascend the Niger.[2] There were also a couple of grinding mills at Abeokuta, and in 1863 a European trader erected a steam-powered mill at Aro (near Abeokuta).

It was the missionaries who recruited apprentices for these from the primary schools, and especially from among the boarders. The missionaries who most strongly opposed academic education took the initiative in organizing the apprenticeship scheme. Townsend instituted a fund so that the mission could go on maintaining the apprentices as boarders while they went daily to their masters.[3] Besides, the missionaries maintained a panel of artisans most worthy to receive apprentices. It was Bowen who discovered the ability of Vaughan and Russell, the emigrant carpenters from Liberia resident at Ijaye.[4] Ribiero, a Brazilian emigrant, was the master tailor at Abeokuta.[5] Dr. Harrison discovered that a European trader was a watchmaker by profession and he at once apprenticed two boys to him to learn to clean clocks and repair minor disorders.[6] It is not possible to follow up in detail the results of these efforts, and in many cases they owed as much to economic development as to missionary endeavour. There were, however, three spheres in which the missions led the way, as they most intimately touched the life of the missions themselves.

The first was building and architecture, which has already been referred to.[1] As we have seen, the carpenters and sawyers made an immediate impact on the life of the people around and there was a demand for them or their qualified apprentices. Both the C.M.S. and the Presbyterian missionaries imported sawyers and carpenters from Sierra Leone; the Baptists from Liberia; and one or two Fantis came from Cape Coast to work for the Methodists. Nevertheless there was always a long queue of people wishing to buy planks. Between 1859 and 1860 Townsend said he had ordered up to £50 worth of carpenter's tools for people at Abeokuta and received payment in full, including expenses.[2] In 1861 Crowther said that many youths who were apprenticed by the missionaries had been trained as 'house carpenters' able to make strong batten doors and windows, simple tables, chairs and coffins, and that the most advanced could make panel doors and dovetail a box.[3] This description might have been made of the majority of the village carpenters of today who, as distinct from the 'cabinet makers' of the towns, are direct descendants of the apprentices of the 1850s. They use the same tools and in fact have reproduced the simple carpenter's shed of the Mission House.

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 17 May 1853, 15 Aug. 1854, and Annual Letter for 1859, dated 30 Jan. 1860; C.M.S. CA2/085. Harrison to Venn, 29 May and 30 June 1862; Harrison to Ford Fenn, 30 June 1864; C.M.S. CA2/045. Crowther to Venn, 6 April 1861; C.M.S. CA3/04. Mann, Journal entries for 3 July and 20 July 1855; C.M.S. CA2/066.

[2] Taylor to Venn, 23 Sept. 1862; C.M.S. CA3/037.

[3] Taylor to Venn, 17 May 1853; C.M.S. CA3/037.

[4] Bowen, Fragment of a Journal for 1855; *Bowen Letters.*

[5] Harrison to Ford Fenn, 30 June 1863; C.M.S. CA2/045.

[6] Harrison to Venn, 28 Sept. 1863; C.M.S. CA2/045.

In 1862 the C.M.S. transferred to Lagos J. A. Ashcroft, the industrial agent who had been teaching brick- and tile-making in Sierra Leone, and in that year also the two boys trained at Manchester in building and construction returned. The American Civil War having cut off the funds of the Baptist Mission, their agent, J. M. Harden, at Lagos returned to his old trade of brickmaking. He established a brickworks at Iddo, and Ashcroft set up another at Ebute-Metta. Their combined influence[4] soon made itself felt on the architecture of Lagos, when not only the missionaries but also the government and the growing commercial class were able to exploit the new sources of brick. The finest examples of architecture were to be found in the Brazilian quarter and perhaps the greatest single building produced in this period was the Holy Cross Cathedral, opened in 1881.[5] Missionary influence on architecture spread inland, though not without unexpected hazards. In 1864 Townsend began to build the first stone building at Abeokuta. It was in a period when relations between the Europeans in general and the local rulers were strained, and Townsend was suspected of building a fort behind which to shelter Europeans when they decided to capture Abeokuta as they had captured Lagos.[1] It required all the personal influence of Townsend to get the chiefs to allow the building to continue. The same view was taken by the Obi of Onitsha when Taylor went to Freetown and collected money for a new brick building and returned in 1867 with two of Ashcroft's boys to erect it.[2] The Obi and other elders wondered why anyone should want to make such strong foundations and build such walls if he meant to live at peace with his neighbours. When the missionaries proceeded, at a very solemn ceremony, to bury a bottle in which some curios and written documents were preserved—as was the custom when laying foundation stones—the suspicion of the elders turned to certainty that the missionaries did not mean well. They insisted at least that the bottle be dug up and destroyed.[3] However, when the initial suspicions faded, mission architecture soon passed beyond the confines of the mission village into the old town itself. In 1880 a Roman Catholic Father who visited Ado, that fortress of the old ways of life, remarked that the people were building for one of their gods a two-storey building, roofed in iron, its pillars carved with images '*les plus bizarres*', and with an emigrant in charge of the interior decoration.[4]

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[1] See above, pp. 111–14.

[2] Townsend, Annual Letter for 1859 dated 30 Jan. 1860.

[3] Crowther to Venn, 6 April 1861; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] For a detailed account of the organization of the brickworks, see the letters of Ashcroft to the C.M.S. Secretaries in C.M.S. CA3/020. For J. M. Harden, see Tupper, op. cit., p. 338.

[5] 'Le plus beau monument de la côte occidentale d'Afrique,' said Father Carambauld in an article on the opening of the cathedral in September 1881; in *Les Missions Catholiques*, 14 Sept. 1882. All Lagos took an interest in the building of the cathedral and a pride in the finished work. Father Carambauld was in charge of the building. The master mason was a Brazilian emigrant, Senhor Lazaro da Silva; 'Premiers Temps de la Mission de Lagos d'après Mère Véronique', in *Missions de la Nigéria*, ed. L. Arial.

Next to architecture, the missionaries took great interest in printing. The Presbyterians arrived with a printer and a printing press, and they began publication on the spot almost at once. In August 1849 the printer listed that he had produced eight hundred copies of the Primer, five hundred copies of *Bible lessons*, 150 of Arithmetical Examples, two hundred of multiplication tables, five hundred almanacs with the Commandments in Efik, three hundred copies of *Elementary Arithmetic* and four hundred of the Catechism in Efik and English.[5] By publishing on the spot the printer was training some apprentices. The other missions for a long time continued to rely on printing their requirements in Europe or America. However, as part of his industrial schemes, Townsend brought out an old hand-press, probably obtained from his brother, who was a printer. He taught himself how to use it and began to teach one of his boarders. The boy did well and in 1860 Townsend said he would have liked to send him for further training in England, 'for he is the best-behaved boy I have',[1] but he was convinced it would spoil him. More boys were apprenticed and a regular printing works was established. Townsend acquired more equipment and in 1859 Robert Campbell, the Jamaican who visited Abeokuta to pave the way for the projected immigration from the New World, was able to improve on Townsend's methods.[2] The press began to publish pamphlets of hymns, catechisms and prayers, and to undertake some binding. It was in 1859, too, that Townsend began to publish the *Iwe-Irohin*, a fortnightly journal in Yoruba giving news of Church and state from near and far, and educating the growing reading public through didactic essays on history and politics.[3] In the following year an English supplement was begun, and a missionary observed that one new feature of the civilized world was introduced, an advertisement column declaring vacancies for apprentices, clerks, houseboys and others. Townsend's example was soon followed. Robert Campbell returned to Lagos in 1862 and almost at once founded the *Anglo-African*. His printers came from the C.M.S. press at Abeokuta.[4] In that way Townsend had contributed to the keen interest in journalism and the technical excellence of many of the newspapers that began to appear in Lagos in the succeeding years. It may also be claimed that the large number of one-room printing works in several large towns in Nigeria owes something to the same source.

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[1] Townsend to Thomas Champness, 5 Jan. 1864; Meth. This letter is important as one of the very few strictly unofficial letters by missionaries that have been available for this study.

[2] Taylor to Venn, 15 Feb. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/037.

[3] Crowther to Venn, 27 Nov. 1868; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Father Antoine Durieux, 7 June 1880; *Les Missions Catholiques*, 27 Aug. 1880.

[5] U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1849, pp. 120–2.

Besides building and printing, the Christian missions took an interest in medicine. Compared with the end of the century, when the hospital almost rivalled the school as a means of evangelization, this interest was on a small scale. Crowther and Hope Waddell took an early interest in vaccination against smallpox[5] as one way of establishing good relations between the missionary and the community and as one of the marvels of civilized Europe that even the untrained missionary could exhibit; but it does not appear that the interest was kept up. Each mission tried to maintain medical agents whose attention was directed in the first instance to the health of the missionaries, but who on the one hand tried to train boys to help them, and on the other were willing in cases of emergency to treat all comers. For this purpose, too, some missionaries, like Bowen, not medically trained, tried to acquire some medical knowledge. It was perhaps typical of the age that except for a few men who took university degrees in medicine, several of the 'doctors' and 'surgeons' in West Africa took diploma courses as apprentices to doctors only as a stepping-stone to some political or mercantile career.[1] This part-time attitude to medicine, and the absence of hospitals as institutions which had to be carried on, made the influence of many of the missions' medical agents transient and limited. Three of them may be briefly mentioned.

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 28 Feb. 1860; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Townsend to Venn, 5 Nov. 1859; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Townsend, Annual Letter for 1860, dated 6 Feb. 1861; letter to Venn, 4 May 1860; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[4] Harrison to Venn, 1 Sept. 1863; C.M.S. CA2/045.

[5] Crowther to Venn, 25 March 1856; C.M.S. CA2/031. Waddell, Journal entries for 1 and 17 Sept. 1849; *Journals*, vol. I.

One was Archibald Hewan, a Jamaican who arrived at Calabar in 1855.[2] He had been given a diploma course by the Foreign Mission Committee to take the place of an earlier Scottish student who was declared physically unfit for service in West Africa after he had taken an M.D. degree. Hewan did not appear to the Committee pious enough and he was taken on only 'on trial', but at Calabar he became a reputable doctor who did 'far beyond [the Committee's] expectations'. But he complained of the attitude of Anderson, who after Hope Waddell's departure in 1857 became the senior missionary. And it was probably to secure himself more independence of the European missionaries that he urged the Committee to build a proper hospital where the people could come for treatment. The Committee censured Anderson for his excesses in his treatment of Hewan, but they turned down the idea of a hospital. Hewan turned to the traders and tried to get them to establish a hospital with himself in charge, but nothing came of it. Hewan left Calabar in 1864 for Britain. An affable man, he made friends easily. He found people to pay his university fees, and obtained an M.D. of Edinburgh. One of his professors recommended him to the Earl of Erne, who introduced him to high class society in England and he never went back to Calabar.

Samuel Crowther, junior, did establish a dispensary at Abeokuta when he returned from England in 1852, opening three days a week between 10.0 a.m. and 4.0 p.m. He began with about twenty patients attending but the number soon rose to about 110.[3] Missionaries who visited his dispensary or whom he went to treat said he was a good doctor.[1] But in 1855 he was appointed Assistant and Secretary to Irving. When Irving died, though still practising medicine, he went into the cotton business; and later still he also became an architect and builder of some note, among his creations being St. Stephen's Church at Bonny.[2]

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[1] Waddell said of the 8 ships' captains he found in Bonny in 1849. 'One was bred regularly to sea. The others had originally come out as surgeons, then became supercargoes and finally trading captains. This series of changes is quite common on this coast.' *Journals*, vol. VII, p. 120.

[2] Somerville to Dr. Fergusson, Liverpool Agent of the Foreign Mission Committee, 6 Feb. 1861; Somerville to Anderson, 3 July 1863; U.P. *Secretaries' Letter Book*, vol. VIII, and Minute of the Foreign Mission Committee, 25 Feb. 1865, quoted in the *Letter Book*, vol. IX, p. 62.

[3] Samuel Crowther, jun., to Venn, 26 Sept. 1852; C.M.S. CA2/032.

Finally, Henry Venn's ambitious scheme of founding a Medical School must be noticed. In January 1861 Dr. A. A. Harrison, M.D. (Cantab.), was appointed partly to succeed Dr. Irving as political agent in 'the cherishing of confidential relations with the chiefs of important towns as far as providential opportunities may arise', but more especially to look after the health of European missionaries and for 'the training of a few promising native youths or young men in the elements of medical and surgical science. 'You will find', he was told,

> that the native doctors are not merely quacks as among many uncivilized tribes. They have already discovered many herbs and roots, as well as some mineral substances which they occasionally compound together.[3]

He was therefore to look for some such people with some of the native art of medicine who might be willing to place themselves under his instruction for a time. He was to create a fund for running this Medical School, largely from fees he charged for treating non-C.M.S. Europeans. Dr. Harrison faced his formidable tasks in a very ordinary way. As if his assignments were not numerous and onerous enough, he got himself involved in the routine administration of the mission as Secretary of the Local Committee, editor of the *Iwe-Irohin*, something of an inspector of education, with keen interest in the apprenticeship schemes and his wife's sewing institute. However, he selected four boys from the Theological Training Institution, chosen as the cleverest boys, not as having the greatest interest in medical science, African or European. They attended classes at the institution in the morning, and between the hours of 1.0 p.m. and 2.0 p.m. daily, when they could have done with some rest, they came to Dr. Harrison's lectures to cover the whole range from anatomy and physiology to botany and zoology, chemistry and mathematics:

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[1] E.g., Hinderer to Venn, 31 May 1858: 'Mr. Crowther Junior has kindly come up from Abeokuta to see [Mrs. Hinderer who was ill] which was a great comfort to me and his advice seems to be very good and sound'; C.M.S. CA2/049.

[2] D. C. Crowther on the building of St. Clement's Church, Bonny in the appendix to Bishop Crowther's Charge to his clergy in 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04. See also his 'Sketches of Steamers in use on the Niger 1863 and 1875'; C.M.S. CA3/014.

[3] Instructions of the Parent Committee to Dr. Harrison, 22 Jan. 1861; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

> We began with anatomy, chiefly that of the muscles, with a little physiology. We had also some botany and *Materia Medica* and whilst waiting for a box of chemicals I expected from England, we did a little surveying with the chain and prismatic compass and made a slight attempt at Euclid but only got as far as the fifth proposition, over which the boys spent two or three lessons but did not seem able to master it. Since then we have been doing natural philosophy and chemistry . . . but I was disappointed when I went over the chemistry the last day we did it to find how little I had taught them.[1]

Their main text book was Hooper's *Vademecum* (a sort of 'Family Doctor'), which the mission bought for them and from which they had assignments for homework when they finished the afternoon session at the Training Institution. Dr. Harrison added:

> I daresay they have not much time to read at home, as I fancy Mr. Bühler keeps them pretty well employed with their other lessons, which it would be a pity for them to lose.

There was no nonsense about specialization. In less than two years one was dismissed, two were sent to teach in schools in Lagos, the fourth, Nathaniel King, became personal assistant to Dr. Harrison. When Harrison died in 1865, Venn asked for King to be sent to Sierra Leone to live as a student at Fourah Bay and serve as an apprentice to Dr. Bradshaw of the Colonial Hospital there. Eventually he got to England and qualified.[2] Another boy, Obadiah[3] Johnson, who lived in Dr. Harrison's household, later went to England to qualify as a doctor. He was a brother of Samuel Johnson, the one who edited his *History of the Yorubas*.

In these and various other ways the missionaries were building up around the Mission House something of the 'civilized' community Buxton had dreamt of. In Lagos the progress was so rapid that this community of the Mission villages soon overwhelmed the community of the old town. When Lagos became a British colony in 1861, development no longer depended exclusively on missionaries: town planning and the building of roads, clearing of creeks and lagoons and sanitary regulations were a responsibility of the administration—pursued energetically by governors like Glover. But the Mission House remained at the centre of the social life. In spite of the presence of Government House and occasional disagreements between Government House and Mission House, the new Lagos was made up essentially of the Christian villages of the different missions joined together. The main social events were the opening of new churches and schools, the weddings, the missionary meetings, the concerts that followed the public examinations of the schools. Nowhere else was the development so rapid; nowhere else did the community of the Christian villages come so quickly to threaten the existence of the old town. But it was in the development of places outside Lagos that the missionaries took the greatest pride.[1] For in those places the introduction of literacy and the knowledge of the industrial and mechanical arts that were the essence of European civilization depended more exlusively on their initiative. Their greatest achievement was at Abeokuta and, considering the limited ability and resources of the missionaries, it was impressive. By 1863, when the steam-powered mill was established, there was a Commercial Association—a type of Chamber of Commerce—with missionaries on the committee. For amusement, besides the usual social events mentioned above, there were public lectures and magic lantern shows. It is not clear whether Henry Robbin's photographic apparatus arrived, but there were harmoniums and harmonicas. There was a circulating library, and a bookshop was to come later. That most essential feature of Victorian society, the voluntary association, was also encouraged. Besides those with a missionary purpose, there was a Road-Building Association urging the widening of the Lagos-Otta-Abeokuta road, and undertaking the construction of the Abeokuta-Aro road so that heavy machinery could be transported on the Ogun up to Aro and wheeled by cart to Abeokuta. A Mutual Aid Society was organized. During the Ijaye war, an Ijaye Relief Committee was formed to send aid to Christians in the town and care for the children evacuated from there.

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[1] Harrison to Venn, 26 Feb. 1862; C.M.S. CA2/045.

[2] Venn to Nicholson, 23 Dec. 1865; C.M.S. CA2/L3. Nathaniel King was son of the Rev. Theophilus King mentioned earlier, and nephew of Henry Robbin. Robbin went to England in 1871 and arranged with Venn to pay part of Nathaniel's fees at King's College, London, the C.M.S. paying the rest; Venn to Robbin, 1 May 1871. By 1878 Dr. Nathaniel King had returned to Lagos; Hutchinson to Maser, 28 June 1878; C.M.S. CA2/L4.

[3] Harrison mentions Obadiah in a letter to Venn, 30 July 1861; C.M.S. CA2/045.

This civilization was essentially a civilization around the Mission House. That is to say the immediate beneficiaries besides European traders were those in close contact with the missionaries, the converts and their friends and relatives to some extent, the emigrants above all. Just before the session, the Consul observed that 'the progress of Lagos in civilization is much too fast to please the native chiefs' who could not compete 'either in mercantile or agricultural pursuits with the emigrants from Sierra Leone, Brazil and Cuba'.[1] At Calabar, emigrants and converts could not hope to displace the powerful chiefs and European traders, but there was scope for them as artisans and clerks. At Abeokuta, Madam Tinubu, who was an experienced coastal trader expelled from Lagos in 1856, was the only important trader independent of mission influences. The missionaries in the early days interested other chiefs like Ogunbona and Atambala in the cotton trade, but the rising trade of the town was dominated by emigrant traders.

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[1] For developments in Lagos see A. A. Aderibigbe: *The Expansion of the Lagos Protectorate* Ph.D. London 1959; and J. Herskovits: *Liberated Africans and the History of Lagos*, D.Phil. Oxon. 1960.

The emigrants and converts were bound by several ties to the Mission House; clergymen, European and African, wielded great influence among them but the society being built up was far from being over-clerical. With mission agents, the training of whose children was largely dependent on opportunities in the mission, the ministry was of course the most likely goal of ambition. Though Obadiah Johnson mentioned above became a doctor, his three elder brothers who financed his training were all pastors who owed their careers to the mission. Their father, Henry Johnson, was a Liberated African in Sierra Leone sent as a young man by the Native Agency Committee to Kew Gardens to study Botany. He did not profit much by it. He returned to Freetown to farm and trade and was a leading member of the church at Hastings when Hinderer in 1859 persuaded him to emigrate to Ibadan as a Christian Visitor. He was a most effective evangelist. When he died suddenly in 1865, Hinderer mourned his loss as a 'faithful fellow-labourer and a friend . . . a sincere Christian . . . [who led] a consistent life'.[2] Hinderer and the C.M.S. gave his children every encouragement they could. The eldest, Henry, became a tutor at Fourah Bay College, was later sent to study Arabic in Palestine, and became archdeacon on the Niger, where his linguistic studies won him an honorary M.A. of Cambridge University. His brother Nathaniel was sent to the Abeokuta Training Institution under Bühler and later became a well-known pastor in Lagos. Samuel, the historian, was brought up in Hinderer's household, appointed catechist at Aremo, Ibadan, in 1875 and pastor at Oyo in 1886. However, where fathers were more directly in charge of the training of their children, the ministry was less often the goal aimed at—even when the fathers were themselves loyal members of the church. If the Rev. J. C. Taylor at Onitsha had had his way, his eldest son who went to Fourah Bay and later became a pastor would have been trained in mercantile business or as a doctor.[1] The balance of opinion on this matter in the new society would seem to have been reflected in the family of Crowther, who took great care in the education and settlement of his children. All six of them were educated in England. Of the daughters, two married clergymen, one a trader. Of the sons, it was Dandeson, the youngest, who was set apart for the ministry. As we shall see later, he went to the C.M.S. Training Institution at Islington and later became archdeacon in the Delta. The eldest son, Samuel, as we have seen, had a scientific and medical training but later took to trade. Josiah had an industrial training in Manchester and became a business man.

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[1] McCoskry to Lord John Russell, 7 June 1861; Papers relating to the Occupation of Lagos, PP 1862 LXI.

[2] Hinderer to Venn, 30 March 1865. See also Hinderer to Straith, 23 April 1861; C.M.S. CA2/049, and J. F. Ade Ajayi: 'Samuel Johnson, Historian of the Yoruba', *Nigeria Magazine*, June 1964.

The emigrants and converts were in fact trying to become what the missionaries hoped they would, a rich, inventive, powerful middle class. They were not the idle people often imagined. It was trade rather than technological development that came to dominate their lives, for such development could only flourish if it was preceded by demand stimulated by trade. It was through trade that the emigrants and converts could expect to make their money quickly, but their early training was more likely than not to have been as artisans, or in an English factory or aboard a ship. Nor was trading in palm-oil or cotton in the conditions of those days an idle enterprise. They were loud in the profession of their faith, and generally were supporters of missionary work. They owned 'pawns' and domestic slaves, usually under the guise of redeeming them, but as we have seen, many missionaries did the same. Just as missionaries recruited 'pawns' as boarders, emigrants and converts were allowed to recruit domestic slave labour for economic development, provided such recruitment was regulated and did not lead to indiscriminate slave trading. In a community dominated by trade it was not alarming that there were occasional cases of fraud. What worried the missionaries most was the frequency of cases of adultery calling for church discipline, and of polygamy symbolizing the falling away of members of the mission village back to the society of the old town. But as Townsend said in 1875, the new class was 'no better and no worse than the majority of church-goers in England'.[2] It is in the light of the fortunes of this class that the further development of the work of the Christian missions must now be examined.

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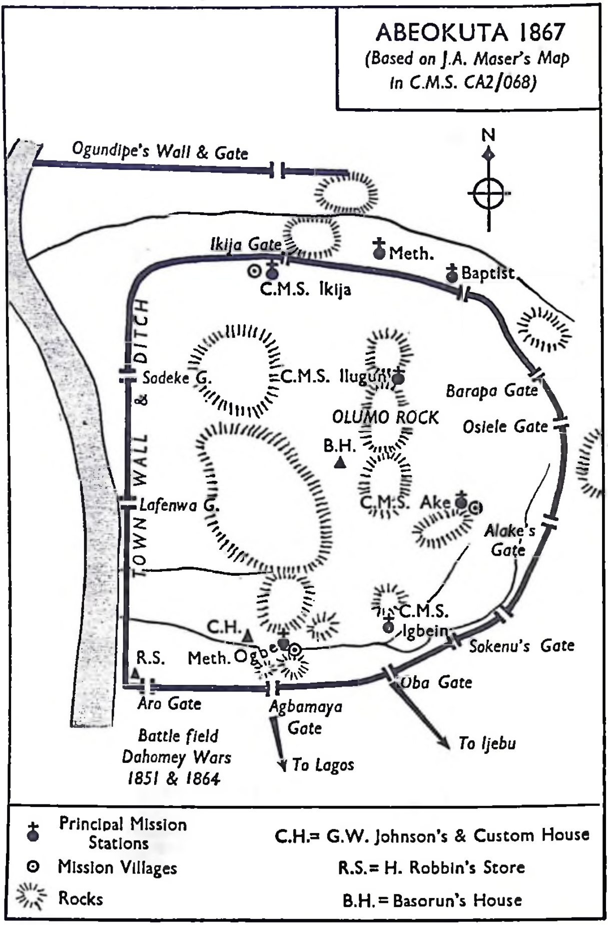
[1] Taylor to Venn, 21 Dec. 1864: 'I am thinking DV to send my son to Mr. Ford Fenn to complete his study in mercantile business next year. . . . I might have placed him to learn medicine for the use of the mission, but my means will not allow me to go through all the expenses.' C.M.S. CA3/037.

[2] Townsend to Wright, 9 Feb. 1875; C.M.S. CA2/085.



ABEOKUTA 1867
(Based on J.A. Maser's Map in C.M.S. CA2/068)

N
Ogundipe's Wall & Gate
Ikija Gate
Meth.
Baptist
C.M.S. Ikija
TOWN WALL & DITCH
Sodeke G.
C.M.S. Ilugun
Barapa Gate
OLUMO ROCK
Osiele Gate
B.H.
Lafenwa G.
C.M.S. Ake
Alake's Gate
C.M.S. Igbein
C.H.
R.S.
Meth. Ogbe
Sokenu's Gate
Oba Gate
Aro Gate
Agbamaya Gate
Battle field Dahomey Wars 1851 & 1864
To Lagos
To Ijebu
Principal Mission Stations
Mission Villages
Rocks
C.H.= G.W. Johnson's & Custom House
R.S.= H. Robbin's Store
B.H.= Basorun's House

6 Towards Self-Government in Church and State

THE progress of civilization in the sense of economic development and social change raised two important political problems: one was the problem of keeping the rulers of each state reconciled to the expanding civilization around the Mission House, the other was that of securing thoroughfare on long-distance trade routes which cut across existing political boundaries and necessitated peace between the different states. Up to 1861 consuls exhibited British naval power on the coast, and missionaries pursued the 'Abeokutan policy' of aiding the Egba against Dahomey and using Abeokuta as a showpiece of British philanthropy, trade and civilization. As soon as missionaries took expansion north of Abeokuta seriously, it became doubtful whether this policy was adequate. When war was resumed in the interior, it became imperative to find an alternative policy.

By 1860 the cotton supply of Abeokuta, though small in itself,[1] was regarded as of considerable significance in the English market because of the steep rise in the price of American cotton. This importance grew as America drifted into civil war. Even before that, Clegg, who was the pioneer cotton merchant of Abeokuta, was consulting Crowther about how to expand production in other regions north of Abeokuta.[2] In 1858 Hinderer said that cotton production was growing in Ibadan. Enterprising merchants like Madam Tinubu of Abeokuta had been buying it up and taking it to the cotton gins at Abeokuta. In the following year Edward Gurney, the Quaker banker and philanthropist, gave the C.M.S. £1,000 for industrial establishments in Yoruba, particularly at Ibadan, so that the progress made at Abeokuta could be repeated there.[1] A group of English merchants and philanthropists under Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P., formed the African Aid Society with the idea of sponsoring persecuted negroes in America who wished to settle and grow cotton in West Africa. In 1859 they sent two delegates, a Canadian negro, Dr. Delany, and a Jamaican, Robert Campbell,[2] who toured Yorubaland and in December signed an agreement with the Alake by which he promised to give land and other privileges to the expected settlers. This agreement will be referred to again later in this chapter. The point here is that the missionary effort at Abeokuta succeeded well enough to prove their point that the overland route to the Niger via Abeokuta could rival the Niger waterway itself in expanding British trade.

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[1] The Consul quoted the export of cotton from Lagos (chiefly from Abeokuta) for the year ending June 1861, 'not a favourable year', as 1,303 bales (118 lbs. to a bale); Table of exports encl. in McCoskry to Lord John Russell, 7 Jan. 1862, in *Papers relating to the Occupation of Lagos*, PP 1862 LXI.

[2] Venn to Clegg, 23 April 1858, referring to Clegg's offer to Samuel Crowther, jun., to join a venture to establish a cotton trading depot 'near the Niger', a scheme which Crowther, Sen., considered unrealistic. The quest for cotton from Abeokuta and the Niger began in 1850 when Venn wrote to Townsend: 'A great change has taken place since you left England [end of 1849] in the price and demand for cotton. The manufacturers have been eager for the encouragement of African cotton'; Venn to Townsend, 29 Nov. 1850; C.M.S. CA2/L1.

The Niger Expedition of 1857 further drew attention to the overland route. The steamer carrying the expedition was wrecked near Jebba. During 1858 the members of the expedition made several journeys to and from Lagos and arranged a regular postal system which worked effectively in spite of the war between Ilorin and Ibadan.[3] Dr. Baikie, who led the expedition, then established a settlement—'a market' as he called it—at Lokoja and was sending despatches home about the great prospects for British trade on the Niger—so great that he considered it justifiable to stay on, in defiance of his orders to return home, until he could convince the government of the necessity to appoint a consul to succeed him at Lokoja.[4] The government seems to have wavered about which route to concentrate on for the development of the Niger trade. The river was the obvious highway, but it could be ascended by large ships during only four or five rainy and mosquito-ridden months in the year, and the Delta people showed in November 1859, when they fired on Laird's ship, that they could put up a resistance. Then Laird, the only merchant ready at that time to put capital into developing the Niger trade, died in January 1861. All this emphasized the importance for the time being of the alternative overland route. The decision to annex Lagos in August 1861 was, in a way, a measure of the importance attached to that route.

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[1] Memorandum dated 14 Dec. 1859, Venn to Hinderer, 21 Dec. 1859; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

[2] R. Campbell: *Pilgrimage to my Motherland*, 1860; J. K. A. Farell; *The History of the Negro Community in Chatham, Ontario, Canada, 1787–1865*, op. cit., pp. 154–5.

[3] Crowther to Consul Campbell, 1 Oct. 1857: 'This is to be a regular traffic and the mail bearers are to be paid'; C.M.S. CA3/04. Also Crowther to Venn, 4 Jan. 1858; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Dr. Baikie to Lord John Russell, 10 Sept. 1861; Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular), PP 1862 LXI.

The great merit of the route was the fact that the entry to it was at Lagos, the next stage was at Abeokuta, and both these places, unlike Brass, were friendly towards British penetration. Provided peace was maintained along that route, the great problem was porterage. Dr. Baikie and Captain Glover solved this problem in a rough and ready manner in 1858. They declared that all slaves who volunteered for their service were *ipso facto* emancipated. Several domestic slaves, notably Hausas from Lagos, Badagri and Abeokuta, flocked to them. In retaliation some of their masters, in particular chiefs of Igbein in Abeokuta, lay in ambush for the convoy of the Niger Expedition and plundered their goods.[1] This became a frequent sequence of events. In short, the need to exploit the overland route emphasized the issue of domestic slavery. Hitherto it had been the external slave trade that was a sin, to abolish which Britain was penetrating the country. Domestic slavery, supplying labour for economic development, was a social evil which need worry no conscience unduly. Indeed, under the guise of redeeming slaves and 'pawns' it became a Christian duty. But from about 1858 onwards domestic slavery was becoming recognized as an offence against both British law and the Christian golden rule of 'do unto others as you would be done by'. The immediate consequence was to antagonize the Egba against increasing British influence at Lagos, thus endangering the very friendship on which the overland route depended. It was at that stage that war was resumed in the interior.

Latent hostility between Ibadan and Ijaye led to war in March 1860. The Alafin of Oyo supported Ibadan. The Egba, having just staved off an invasion from Dahomey, decided to join Ijaye. Soon, the Ijebu joined the Egba. Thus the war spread and came to involve practically the whole of the Yoruba country.[2]

The news of the outbreak of the war created anxiety in Lagos, for it was a threat to trade and to the overland route just when so much was expected from it. To begin with, the successive Consuls in Lagos continued to favour the Egba side. As late as April 1861, Consul Foote in his anxiety to end the war went with Crowther to Abeokuta and offered military assistance not only against Ibadan but also against Dahomey which every year either invaded or threatened to invade Egbaland.[1] A military officer was in fact sent to train Egba troops and to prepare the way for 250 soldiers from Sierra Leone. However, when he went to the battle-front and saw that a speedy end of the war was unlikely, he advised against such British involvement. William McCoskry, a trader long opposed to the Egba, became Consul when Foote died suddenly in June. It was he who began the complete reversal of the 'Abeokutan policy'. That same month, Lord John Russell gave orders for the annexation of Lagos and two months later was writing to McCoskry,

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[1] Cf. Townsend, Journal entry for 12 Sept. 1859: 'visited the Alake. He was very vexed about the Niger Expedition. He did not like their taking their old slaves up the country as freemen.' C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] J. F. Ade. Ajayi and R. S. Smith: *Yoruba Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge 1964.

> You should lose no opportunity of impressing not only on the Alake and Chiefs of Abeokuta but also on the other chiefs of the Yoruba country that Her Majesty's Government have no favour or predilection for one tribe more than another.[2]

The war had closed the overland route. It blocked further missionary expansion. In March 1862 Ijaye was destroyed completely, and with it the C.M.S. and Baptist missions there, save for several children and a few converts evacuated to Abeokuta.[3] Several refugees from Ijaye settled in Abeokuta and other places. But the war did not end until 1864, and even then the Lagos government had to send an expedition to drive the Egba away from Ikorodu in 1865.[4]

It is not easy to generalize about the reaction of missionaries to these events, for they were far from being united. The missionary at Ibadan identified himself with the Ibadan cause just as the missionaries at

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[1] In April 1864 the Egba defeated an invading army from Dahomey. The news of this was just being publicized in England by enthusiastic missionaries when Prussia invaded Schleswig-Holstein. Palmerston and Lord John Russell protested, but, to the annoyance of many people in England decided that there was nothing England could do about it. Punch published some verses about the 'savage' king of Dahomey and the 'savage' king of Prussia: the former, as was right, was foiled; the other, because he had rifles, was triumphant:

ABEOKUTA AND DYBBOL

Oh the king of Dahomey's infuriate ire
Against Abeokuta breathed slaughter and fire . . .
O, that right could at Dybbol, too, thus have prevailed,
And the savage attack upon Sonderborg failed. . . .
Great and grave is the peril wherein the world stands
From the weapons of science in savages' hands.
Let us look to our arms, that, in coming to blows
We may lick, like the Egbas, the like of their foes.

Punch, 11 June 1864, vol. XLVI, p. 240.

[2] Russell to McCoskry, 20 Aug. 1861; Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular), PP 1862 LXI.

[3] For the last days of Ijaye, see Mann to Venn, 15 May 1862; C.M.S. CA2/066. R. H. Stone: *In Africa's Forest and Jungle*, pp. 141 ff.

[4] Hinderer to Venn, 15 Nov. 1864; C.M.S. CA2/049.

Abeokuta identified themselves with the Egba cause.[1] However, it was Townsend's reaction that has been taken as representative of missionary opinion. Placed at Abeokuta, he no doubt occupied a strategic position. Besides, the Abeokutan policy destroyed by the war was in a special sense his own policy. His reaction will therefore be examined in detail later.

The government's reaction was apparently the annexation of Lagos. This might have proved an adequate solution if, as Governor Freeman urged, the government had been willing to bring enough money, troops and munitions to make Lagos the centre of an empire, to control the coast from Whydah to Palma and to annex Abeokuta. Lagos, said Freeman in 1863,

> must become the most important point on the West African coast if we join with it the exploration of the Niger and the exploration of the lagoons—but to do this we must have the influence of superiority over the natives.[2]

That would at least have created the political framework within which the agents of civilization could work. The people could have been 'civilized' through conquest if not through conviction. But Britain was not willing. It was announced that only Lagos island was annexed, and the Lagos government had to live on the customs dues of its trade. This created more problems than it solved. Whatever were the real reasons for the annexation of Lagos, it did not stop the war or solve the political crisis in the interior, or open the overland route. Lagos island was not an economic entity. The governors of Lagos therefore embarked on unauthorized expansion. This raised the problem of what diplomatic relations there could be between a Crown Colony and indigenous African states so closely knit politically and economically. The general effect was to create the fear of impending annexation in the states around Lagos, fear and suspicion and hostility towards all European penetration, philanthropic, mercantile or consular.[3] Where missionaries had before been welcomed, and schools and trade asked for, the people began to draw back, pointing to Lagos, where schools and trade led to annexation. An old ruler summed up the fear and hostility by saying that the menaces of Europeans were like those of the gorilla in the fable. The gorilla saw a hunter and his wife who went out plucking *agidi* leaves. They left their babe on a cloth spread under a tree. The gorilla came down and took the babe and was fondling it, singing, 'Ah, child, your father will not let me play with you, your mother will not let me play with you.' The child enjoyed the fondling and laughed and laughed till the parents' attention was drawn. The father ran to his bow and took a good aim. The gorilla shielded himself with the child. Then he got up and threw down the dead child and walked away, saying, 'I told you so; your father will not let me play with you.'[1]

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[1] Hinderer: 'As long as Ilorin stands as a Mohammedan power in this country, it is by no means to be wished that Ibadan's war power should diminish, or the Yoruba country would be overrun with Mohammedanism and Christian missions be at an end'; 24 Sept. 1860 to Venn, also 2 Aug. 1861; C.M.S. CA2/049. Townsend: 'The Egbas are the power that represents progress and advancing civilization, and it is to be feared if they should be conquered, our cause, or rather, that of God, would suffer at least for a time immensely'; 4 Oct. 1860 to Venn; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Governor Freeman's Memorandum on Lagos, 10 March 1863; CA147/4.

[3] Crowther, who was by no means hostile to Glover or the Lagos government in general said that at Igbessa, in November 1866, there was 'an open con-

By 1865 an alternative policy was being canvassed—that if Britain did not intend to be an effective ruler, it was not in her interest to continue to appear like the menacing gorilla. As C. B. Adderley said in Parliament in February 1865,

> Either we must render our governments secure by sending out larger forces, the opening up of the country, the making of roads and the extending of our power, or we must do less than is being done at present and stand out of the way of the native chiefs, who, if we were not there, would have full control over their own subjects.[2]

A Select Committee of the House of Commons under his chairmanship considered the annexation of Lagos a mistake—'a strong measure, of which not only the wisdom may be questioned, but the alleged justification also', and urged a gradual return to a policy of consular influence and advice, and education through missionary schools, a policy of co-operating with African rulers by training them in 'self-government'.[3] Historians have interpreted the resolutions of this committee variously as signifying the lowest point to which British interest in West Africa sank in the middle of the nineteenth century or as mere

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fession on the part of the elders that their indecision [about encouraging missionary work] was not from want of appreciation of our work but from fear; they were afraid that we were pioneers of the Lagos government which would follow our steps and take away their country; that they had been strongly warned against receiving us and that by persons from Lagos'; to Venn, 6 Nov. 1866; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[1] Reported by Samuel Pearse, the catechist who was sent to Ado, in a letter to the Secretary of the Yoruba Mission, 7 Oct. 1863, encl. in Harrison to Venn, 21 Oct. 1863; C.M.S. CA2/045. I have substituted 'gorilla' for Pearse's 'orangoutang' as a more likely translation of the Yoruba original.

[2] Hansard, 21 Feb. 1865.

[3] *Report from the Select Committee on Africa (Western Coast) together with the proceedings of the Committee. Minutes of Evidence and Appendix*, PP 1865, pp. xiv–xvi.

word-mongering in the safe confines of London, signifying nothing on the spot, where British interests and the reality of events marched relentlessly on. Or else that the emphasis of the committee was purely negative, 'not so much on withdrawal as on economy'.[1] The real point was that the committee took seriously their recommendation that the Africans be trained for self-government as an alternative to intermittent British political intervention. The implication was that in colonies Britain wished to retain, Africans, who cost less to maintain than Europeans, should be advanced into posts of responsibility in government, and in those Britain did not wish to retain, the local inhabitants should be taught the European art of government. Owing to the difficulty of wars about which Britain could do nothing constructive, and to the problems of economy and climate, self-government was being urged as a positive thing good in itself, good for the interests both of Britain and of the local communities.

The 1865 Committee was not alone in this view at this period. The remarks of Earl Grey, that the interests of Britain on the Gold Coast were best to be served by training the Fanti in self-government have already been cited.[2] Earl Grey was advocating not that British interests should be abandoned, but that Africans trained more or less along Western lines were to be the channel of British policy. In India, where British rule was firmly established and Britain was far from seeking to abandon her rights, there was discernible a marked desire to train Indians to play an increasing part in the administration of the country. It was in urging the training and employment of Indians in the civil service that Lord Macaulay in a debate in the House of Commons declared that 'having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age demand European institutions. . . . Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.'[3] Education in schools and universities of the Western model was in fact intensified, and the solemn proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1857 contained the passage so often quoted:

> And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.[4]

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[1] Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard): *A Tropical Dependency*, London 1905, p. 348; Dike, op. cit., pp. 167, 168.

[2] See p. 16.

[3] Macaulay in the House of Commons, 10 July 1833, quoted in *From Empire to Commonwealth*, ed. Jack Simmons, 1949, p. 83.

[4] The Queen's Proclamation in India, 1858, ibid., p. 154. For references to this passage in West Africa, see T. F. V. Buxton: 'The Creole in West Africa', in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XII, 1913, pp. 385–94.

This was an important principle. It was the assumption underlying a good deal of the missionary work we have been discussing, and it culminated in the doctrine of self-government as a virtue and not dictated only by the needs of economy. Economy and other necessities remained the most persuasive advocates of the doctrine, but by a few individuals who loomed large in the middle of the century, self-government was advocated for its own sake. The most important of them for this study was Henry Venn of the C.M.S. He urged the training and employment of Africans more as a virtue than as a measure of economy. He believed that the 1865 Committee had vindicated his policy:

> The positive Resolution that the natives are to be trained for ultimate self-government is an important principle on our side . . . and seems to have set at rest the senseless outcry against the [financial] support of the colonies and against the capacity of the negro.[1]

He regarded the annexation of Lagos as a mistake, not because it meant a displacement of Dosunmu, the ruling king, but, as he told Governor Freeman in 1863, because in the British administration established, Africans, whether traditional rulers or Western educated, had no place:

> many of those Europeans who had long been rivals in trade were at once exalted to places of authority and profit while no steps were taken to bring such advantages within reach of natives.[2]

And it was the fear that annexation would almost invariably lead to this that made him urge, not withdrawal, but a return to consular influence guiding an educated African middle class as the instrument of British policy.

It was easier for missionaries than for government officials to see the virtues of self-government because, though like the government they were subject to the fears of the climate, much more than the government they were pressed by the need to make every penny go as far as possible, and above all, because evangelization, much more than administration, required active response and co-operation from the people. Mere efficiency might be a sign of growth and health in an administration. 'The breath of life in a native Church,' said Henry Venn, depended on 'self-government, self-support, self-extension.'[3] That was the lesson he learnt from his study of the history of earlier Roman Catholic missions,[1] that the missionary who did not prepare for the day when he would no longer be in the mission by raising up an indigenous clergy and episcopacy was building on sand:

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[1] Venn to Townsend, 23 Aug. 1865, 22 Sept. 1865; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

[2] Venn to Governor Freeman, 23 Oct. 1863, ibid. Freeman had called on the Parent Committee, and Venn put down for him in writing 'the main objections to your policy felt by a large body of those who have been long interested in the welfare of Africa'.

[3] W. Knight: *The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn*, London 1882, p. 416.

> It is expedient that the arrangements which may be made in the missions should from the first have reference to the ultimate settlement of the native Church upon the ecclesiastical basis of an indigenous episcopate, independent of foreign aid or superintendence.[2]

Venn's greatest claim to the commanding position he came to occupy in the history of the expansion of the Church was the way in which he developed these ideas into something like a Code of missions.[3]

The cardinal doctrine was that a distinction must be made between 'the office of a *missionary*, who preaches to the heathen and instructs inquirers or recent converts, and the office of a *pastor*, who ministers in holy things to a congregation of native Christians'. While the missionary, maintained by a foreign missionary society, 'should take nothing of the gentile', the pastor must be supported financially by his congregation for 'the ox that treadeth out the corn should eat of the same'.[4] The converts a missionary made should be organized as soon as possible in little bands, each under a headman, and should start at once to make contributions to a native church fund separate from the funds of the foreign missionary society. Soon the bands should come together and form a congregation under a native teacher or catechist, whom they should endeavour to maintain. Soon the catechist or any other suitable native should be ordained pastor and the missionary should then move on to fresh ground. Thenceforth the missionary was 'to exercise his influence *ab extra*, prompting and guiding the native pastors to lead their flocks and making provision for the supply for the native Church of catechists, pastors or evangelists'.[1] If the missionary stayed behind and became the pastor, the goal, the *euthanasia* of missions and a 'self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating Church' would never be achieved.

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[1] Venn published in 1862 *The Missionary Life and Labours of St Francis Xavier* in which he traced the failure of Xavier's mission in the Far East to over-dependence on European political power and failure to raise a local clergy.

[2] William Knight: *The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn* (London 1882), p. 417.

[3] There are four important papers drawn up by Venn and issued by the Parent Committee as Instructions to missionaries on the subject of the Organization of Native Churches: (i) in 1851; (ii) July 1861; (iii) January 1866; (iv) 'On Nationality' June 1868. The first three are published in Appendix C of the *Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn* and the fourth in the *Memoirs of Henry Venn*, 1880, pp. 282–7. As these papers show, Venn's ideas on this subject developed with time, especially as a result of his correspondence with the Rev. Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the American Foreign Missions Board (for whose ideas see his *Theory of Missions to the Heathen*, Boston 1845, and *Foreign Missions, their Relations and Claims*, Boston 1869). Venn and Anderson both agreed on the distinctive roles of pastor and missionary but not on the training of the pastor. Anderson would have him 'unspoilt'; Venn at first tacitly agreed, saying that the best of the pastors would be better trained and graduate into missionaries, but in the 1861 paper he explicitly revised this: the leading pastors must be well trained, remain pastors, evolve a national church and eventually become bishops to preside over it. I have quoted more from Venn's mature views.

[4] July 1861; *Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn*, op. cit., p. 416.

The pastor, said Venn, must be of the people and maintained by them. He rejected the practice in Sierra Leone, where missionaries acted as pastors and everything was done to conform to the English pattern. Similarly he rejected the other extreme that because the pastor must not be cut off from his flock, he must be stuck to their social standards and preserved 'unspoilt'. The native teacher, he said, 'should not be too highly raised above his countrymen in his habits and mode of living . . . [but] he must always be a little ahead of the civilization of the people around him and by his example and influence lead that civilization forward'.[2] At first he thought that the best-educated pastors should graduate into missionaries, but he soon changed his mind because that might be misunderstood to mean that the difference between missionary and pastor was one of an upper and a lower degree. And in any case the best-educated pastors were required to organize the different congregations into a native Church as a national institution.

> The native Church needs the most able native pastors for its fuller development. The right position of a native minister and his true independence must now be sought in the independence of the native Church and in its more capable organization under a native bishop . . .[3]
>
> Let a native Church be organized as a national institution. . . . As a native Church assumes a national character, it will ultimately supersede the denominational distinctions which are now introduced by foreign missionary societies. . . . Every national Church is at liberty to change its ceremonies and adapt itself to the national taste.[4]

But that must be the work of the native pastorate. The temptation for European missionaries to assume the role of the pastor must be resisted, for 'such a scheme, even if the means were provided, would be too apt to create a feeble and dependent native Christian community'.[1]

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[1] June 1868; *Memoirs of Henry Venn*, op. cit., p. 285.

[2] Instructions to Townsend, Gollmer and Crowther, 28 Oct. 1844; C.M.S. CA2/L1.

[3] January 1866; *Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn*, op. cit., p. 425.

[4] June 1868; *Memoirs of Henry Venn*, op. cit., pp. 285–6.

In theory this view that all missionary effort was from the start to be directed towards the creation of a self-reliant Christian community and that this involved the training of an indigenous clergy to be raised to positions of responsibility in the Church as soon as possible was widely held in all the missions at this period. It was implicit in the church organization of the Presbyterians and Baptists, particularly the Baptists, who took the view that the pastor was directly responsible to the congregation to which he ministered. In the Methodist mission the very phrases of Venn were being echoed. In 1860 the Secretaries wrote to the Acting General Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in the Gold Coast and Yoruba:

> It is of the highest importance to the welfare of the work that wherever societies are formed they should be trained to contribute towards the support of the ministry they enjoy. . . . A missionary society may confer inestimable blessings in commencing a work in any country; but when a flock is gathered, the Divine Rule requires that it should supply the wants of its own shepherds, and not leave them to be provided for by strangers.[2]

Just when Venn was formulating his ideas into principles, Mgr de Bressilac, founder of the S.M.A., as a bishop in India, was advocating the same policy, making the same distinction between the roles of pastor and missionary, emphasizing the need to raise revenue locally, and above all, to raise an indigenous clergy who could approach the people as the foreign missionary could not. He believed passionately that

> without a numerous and indigenous clergy, nothing that has been achieved is stable, and no general movement will arise. I am so convinced of this that I would not hesitate, I am sure, to neglect more or less other activities for a few years in order to concentrate on that activity which would ensure the prosperity of everything else later on,[3]

that is, the training of a local clergy. He argued also that the training must be thorough, that it was ignorance that bred pride, not education;

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[1] July 1861; *Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn*, op. cit., p. 419.

[2] Secretaries to H. Wharton, Acting General Superintendent, 22 Dec. 1862; *Secretaries' Letter Book*, Meth.

[3] *Le Missionaire d'après Mgr de Bressilac*, S.M.A. Lyons 1956, p. 43. See also S.M.A. *100 Years of Missionary Achievements*, p. 11; J.M. Todd: *African mission: A Historical Study of the Society of African Missions*, London 1961, Chapter II.

that the most humble, most pious and most zealous Indian priests he knew were those who had the best education.[1]

Thus, with varying degrees of emphasis, those who directed missions in Nigeria at this time were more or less agreed in theory on the important role that African pastors must play. There were, however, important denominational differences in their points of view.

For one thing, self-government must mean different things to different denominations. Venn's emphasis was on the ecclesiastical aspect, the raising of an indigenous clergy, as distinct, that is, from doctrinal independence; but the two were inseparable. For example, the mature view of Venn, probably born out of his experience of the Indian Mutiny, that for the Church in a mission field to be fully established, it must be organized as a national institution, and that this could only be done by an indigenous clergy, was in the middle of the nineteenth century hardly orthodox Anglican doctrine. Nor was it a view that Roman Catholics could share, though it must be said that Mgr de Bressilac emphasized that the universality which was the crowning glory of Catholicism did not make the Spanish Church exactly the same as the Italian and that God wanted Indians to be not Frenchmen, but Christian Indians.[2] But the essential Catholic doctrine was the universality and the pervading influence of the hierarchy of the Church, of which the local clergy were only a small part. Even Methodists and Presbyterians who accorded some measure of independence to each 'society' or presbytery had a close-knit organization with the parent Churches, and local self-government could develop only within the framework of such organization. The Baptists, taking a more 'congregational' view of church organization, accorded greater independence to each congregation.

Doctrine and church organization apart, the time-table for promoting self-government was bound to vary. For, while the Methodists and the C.M.S. began with an African staff and congregations of emigrants ready made, the Baptists and Presbyterians had practically none of such advantages. The Roman Catholics did not arrive until a generation later and they had to raise a celibate clergy. Thus while the problem of the training of African pastors and the devolution of power to them was in the C.M.S. and Methodist missions already an issue by the 1850s, it did not arise till almost a generation later in the Presbyterian mission, in the late 1870s. In the Baptist mission until the late 1880s the problem arose only in the form of recruiting 'coloured' missionaries who were supposed to be able to stand the climate.[3]

Taking such basic variations into consideration, it may still be said that just as the training of agents did not measure up to the demand, the training of Africans for self-government in church affairs did not always measure up to the challenge of Venn's theory. The greatest obstacle was probably the one referred to by Venn—the tendency of European missionaries to wish to act as pastor to the congregation they had gathered, and to regard the African pastors as their rivals.

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[1] *Le Missionnaire*, pp. 46–7.

[2] Ibid., pp. 32–3.

[3] Bowen to Taylor 23 Nov. 1857; *Bowen Letters.*

The earliest mission to adopt some measure of self-government was that of the Presbyterians in Calabar. The departure of Hope Waddell in 1857 was taken to mark the end of the beginning of the Calabar Church. In September 1858 the 'presbytery of the Bight of Biafra' was established, giving the local Church some say in its own affairs, subject to the supervision of the Foreign Mission Board. But the missionaries there apparently did not accept Venn's distinction between missionaries and pastors, and the advancement of African pastors was as cautious as the rate of expansion. The missionaries met in presbytery as the pastors of the various congregations, European lay agents represented the congregations as elders and only where such men were not available were emigrant lay agents chosen.[1] Only gradually did indigenous church elders come forward. The reason for this extreme caution was given as the paltry ability of the Africans themselves. In 1880 the Rev. Samuel Edgerley jun., in charge of training African agents, argued in favour of limiting their education, as follows:

> That the morality and intelligence of our agents should be distinctly ahead of the morality and intelligence of the community is, I think, what we should aim at, and what we have got; but to require in our agents an educational standard in any way approaching to what would be required in missionaries and teachers at home is, I also think, requiring the unnecessary and impossible. Unnecessary, with reference to the requirements of the community; impossible, with reference to the ability of the agents. But as long as the training of the native agents is in the hands of European missionaries, the agents will be safely ahead of the community.

In the same breath, Edgerley talked of the agents'

> seeming inability to originate a scheme. They are good at imitation, but they seem as yet to be unable to do more than imitate. . . . I

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[1] Goldie, op. cit., p. 189. The members of the first Presbytery were Anderson as Moderator, Dr. Robb as Clerk, the Rev. Zerub Baillie and the Rev. William Thomson. The West Indians Archibald Hewan, medical officer, and Henry Hamilton, schoolmaster, were Elders representing the congregations of Duke Town and Creek Town respectively.

think we should not settle down to the belief that our native agents will relieve us of the pioneering duty.[1]

This attitude of the European missionaries inevitably led to conflict with some of the agents, but at Calabar, where the missionaries on the spot controlled the pace of development effectively, the conflict did not become an issue. The situation in the C.M.S. was different. Their African staff was much larger and more powerful than was the case in the Presbyterian mission, and the resistance of the missionaries on the spot could not match the encouragement the African staff received from the Secretaries in England. And there was the constant example of Sierra Leone with an even more powerful African clergy and laity with which the emigrants in Nigeria maintained close touch. Venn began to apply his principles there in 1852 when, since it was a British colony, he got the Colonial Office to appoint a Colonial Bishop and to authorize the annual appropriation of £500 of the revenue of the colony towards the endowment of the local Anglican Church. Then in the following year he drew up a Native Pastorate Scheme under which the missionaries yielded the pastoral care of each of the established C.M.S. churches to African ministers, and the C.M.S., while still retaining control over mission land and church property, shifted financial and administrative control of the churches and their clergy to a church committee and a church council on which the Bishop, the C.M.S. itself, as well as the pastors and laity, were represented. Owing to the deaths of the first three Bishops of Sierra Leone within six years, the scheme was not fully established till 1860. Meanwhile Venn had been working out a similar scheme for C.M.S. missions in Nigeria.[2]

With the same care and anxiety that Venn was developing the theory of advancing the indigenous clergy into office, and was seeking to convince not only missionaries of his own society but those of others as well of the need to put it into practice, Townsend was building up and publicizing arguments for a contrary policy—the missionary counterpart of the policy of annexation. In 1851, when Venn issued his first paper on the organization of the native Church, the only African clergyman in the mission was Samuel Crowther who, like Townsend, was ordained in London in 1843, and whom since the expedition of 1841 Townsend looked upon as a rival.[3] In that year Venn proposed that as soon as the new Bishop of Sierra Leone could get to Abeokuta, two more Africans should be ordained. One was T. B. Macaulay, who had recently returned from the C.M.S. Training Institution at Islington, where Townsend had been trained, and the other Theophilus King, who had distinguished himself as catechist to the ill-fated settlement at Lokoja in 1841, had gone to Fourah Bay, and was Crowther's able assistant as translator of the Bible in Yoruba. Townsend wrote to oppose their ordination.

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[1] S. H. Edgerley, in U.P. *Missionary Record*, 1880, p. 35–6.

[2] Stocks, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 100–1.

[3] See p. 32.

> I have a great doubt of young black clergymen. They want years of experience to give stability to their characters; we would rather have them as schoolmasters and catechists.[1]

When a C.M.S. publication reported that at the last anniversary meeting of the society, the Rev. H. Stowell, an influential supporter, 'made a distinct proposal for the erection of an episcopal see at Abeokuta, to be occupied by a black bishop', and Townsend learnt that Crowther had been summoned to England, his doubts became a panic. He announced that he would conduct a referendum among his African staff to find out how many of them wanted to be ruled by a black bishop.[2] And since Townsend could be nothing but thorough, he drafted a petition against the proposal and obtained to it the signatures both of Hinderer and Gollmer, German Evangelicals who on doctrinal grounds were not fond of the episcopal form of government anyway, as well as of one other English missionary, Isaac Smith.

The main argument of the petition was not that an African fit to be a bishop could not be found, but that an African bishop, however worthy, would lack in the country the respect and influence necessary for his high office:

> Native teachers of whatever grade have been received and respected by the chiefs and people only as being the agents or servants of white men . . . [and] not because they are worthy. . . . Our esteemed brother Mr. Crowther was often treated as the white man's inferior and more frequently called so, notwithstanding our frequent assertions to the contrary. . . .
>
> This state of things is not the result of white men's teaching but has existed for ages past. The superiority of the white over the black man, the negro has been forward to acknowledge. The correctness of this belief no white man can deny.[3]

He went on to argue that as long as the country remained heathen, no native who had no traditional title or rank could command respect outside the mission village, except as the agent or servant of the white man. He elaborated this by saying that the country was torn by sectional jealousies, and that the ethnic affiliation of an indigenous bishop would make his authority unacceptable even to converts of other sections. Finally, he plunged into deeper waters still :

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 21 Oct. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Townsend to Venn, 15 Oct. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/085, (55) Isaac Smith, Henry Townsend, David Hinderer and C. A. Gollmer to Major Straith, 29 Oct. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/016.

[3] Isaac Smith, Henry Townsend, David Hinderer and C. A. Gollmer to Major Straith, 29 Oct. 1851; C.M.S. CA2/016.

> There is one other view that we must not lose sight of, viz., that as the negro feels a great respect for a white man, that God kindly gives a great talent to the white man in trust to be used for the negro's good. Shall we shift the responsibility? Can we do it without sin?[1]

It is not known what Venn's immediate reaction to this letter was. But though he always gave credit to Townsend's missionary zeal, ability and clarity of thought,[2] he was constantly on his guard to resist his ambition to become head of the Yoruba Mission. In a sense Townsend was the founder of the Yoruba Mission, which began with his journey to Abeokuta in 1842–3. When he was sent with Gollmer and Crowther, one a German, the other an African, to establish the mission, he thought his headship was acknowledged by his appointment as Secretary while the other two were to take turns as Chairman of the Local Committee. But even at the risk of sacrificing unity of action, Venn insisted that every ordained missionary, including newcomers like Hinderer and Mann, was directly responsible to the Parent Committee, and none was above the other. The German missionaries, particularly Gollmer and Mann, complained of Townsend trying to rule them. Townsend resigned as Secretary in 1855 and the office went into rotation. Not till 1861 did Venn appoint another permanent Secretary with headquarters at Lagos. And even then the question of one of the missionaries being head over the others did not arise. Venn insisted that the institution of a hierarchy belonged to the organization of the native Church, and that it was not the work of the missionary. The result was that Townsend was left with a feeling of frustration, for he believed, with some justification, that it was the policy that Venn was pursuing that deprived him of the office to which his achievements entitled him and in which his abilities would have full scope. In another age, or another mission, Townsend would have been a much respected, renowned, if autocratic bishop. Under Venn he remained an ambitious but frustrated leader of the opposition.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Cf. Venn, 25 Oct. 1864, to Colonel Ord, who was on a Commission of Inquiry to West Africa, recommending to him which missionaries were likely to give him the most useful information: 'In the Yoruba Mission, the Rev. Henry Townsend is the most intelligent and experienced of our missionaries and the most influential with the natives.' C.M.S. CA2/13.

Against Townsend's wishes, King and Macaulay were ordained when at last the Bishop of Sierra Leone reached Abeokuta in 1854. In 1857 three other Africans were ordained. But the next step Venn took towards the establishment of the native Church was more effectively thwarted. In 1855, when peace seemed established in the interior, Venn said it was time that the pastoral care of some congregations should devolve on African pastors or catechists, while the missionaries moved on to occupy fresh ground in the interior. The two most flourishing congregations were Townsend's at Ake and Crowther's at Igbein, the first two stations at Abeokuta. Venn asked Crowther to move to Lagos, with a view to joining the next expedition and establishing new stations on the Niger; Gollmer, a reputed builder and handyman of the mission, was to move to Ake and there supervise the Industrial Institution; and Townsend should move to the small congregation at Ikija, near the Northern Gate of Abeokuta, from where he was to supervise expansion into the interior. But while Crowther and Gollmer were willing to move, petitions flowed into C.M.S. House from the Ake congregation and the Alake against the proposal to transfer Townsend.[1] Townsend pointed out the political interests of the mission which would be jeopardized if he left Ake, and Venn had to yield. Gollmer went to Ikija; the Training and Industrial Institutions were removed from Ake to Igbein, and Townsend remained as Pastor of the Ake congregation. It was Townsend who opened up much of the interior of Yoruba to C.M.S. missionaries, but the supervision of the catechists there fell to the missionaries at Ijaye and Ibadan, Mann and Hinderer respectively, Townsend being tied down to pastoral work.

While Townsend was seeking office and falling just short of attaining it, Venn was calling Crowther to posts of more responsibility and power than Crowther really cared for. What impressed Venn most in Crowther was that in all the bickering and struggle for power in the mission, Crowther not only showed no great desire for office, and was for that reason a most reliable counsellor, but he was also endowed with great tact, remarkable knowledge of human psychology and a consequent ability to feel for others, understand them and, if necessary, manage them. In a letter to Crowther in 1858, Venn remarked on the

> honour which you have long had of promoting harmony and brotherly love in the mission by your wise and humble spirit.[2]

Crowther was then on the Niger. He went on the expedition of 1857, established new stations at Onitsha and Igbebe, was shipwrecked near Jebba and stranded for almost a year, went down by the relief boat to Onitsha in October 1858, and returned to Lagos. Crowther then reported that the stations were established, that he hoped the expansion in Yoruba would push north and reach the Niger at Rabba, because he regarded the Niger Mission as an extension of the Yoruba Mission. But Venn replied:

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[1] Gollmer to Venn, 2 Nov. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/043.

[2] Venn to Crowther, 22 July 1858; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

> The Committee fully concur in your suggestion that the Niger Mission is to be regarded as an extension of the Yoruba Mission. It may ultimately be placed under the Yoruba Committee but as long as you remain in the Niger you are invested with sole authority to act and make all pecuniary and other arrangements.[1]

Again and again, Venn repeated this. Two months later he wrote:

> The Committee repose entire confidence in you as the Head and Director of the Niger Mission and commit to you all the arrangements in respect of the location of the new labourers [i.e. missionary agents].[2]

And a month later:

> The Committee still regard you as having the *direction* of the Niger Mission. You will of course consult with others but in any matters in which your judgement is decided, all must follow your directions.[3]

The repetition was due to Crowther's hesitation to assume responsibility. He returned to the Niger to visit the new stations in 1859, having to travel by canoe from Onitsha to Rabba and by horse overland through Ogbomoso, Ibadan and Abeokuta, to Lagos. Then, in January 1860, he wrote to the C.M.S. Secretaries that he had had enough of expeditions and explorations; that, besides the usual rigours of the traveller, he did not enjoy being in such close quarters with the 'mixed body of men of different characters, temper, view and aim and mostly of no right Christian principles' with whom he had had to travel and to camp for almost a year at Jebba; that he was getting on in years and his health was declining. He wished to leave the management of the Niger Mission to others. But he would not 'urge the grant of this favour' until the new mission stations at Onitsha and Igbebe were fully established, and if possible Idah be taken up as a station:

> Then I should like to spend the remainder of my days among my own people, pursuing my translations as my bequest to the nation.[4]

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[1] Secretaries to Crowther, 23 April 1858; C.M.S. CA3/L1.
[2] Secretaries to Crowther, 22 June 1858; C.M.S. CA3/L1.
[3] Secretaries to Crowther, 22 July 1858; C.M.S. CA3/LI.
[4] Crowther to W. Knight, 5 Jan. 1860, also to Venn, 4 April 1860; C.M.S. CA3/04.

Venn replied at once that he hoped the period of exploration was over, but that

> When we reckon upon rest, [God] often calls us to increased exertions. . . . The Lord has honoured you by making you his instrument for opening the Niger to the Gospel. Should a native Church be established there and should He call you to preside as a missionary bishop, you would not be the person to run away like Jonah.[1]

Venn's suggestion that Crowther might become a 'missionary bishop' was a little odd. A bishop at the head of a missionary party, as distinct from the head of a native clergy, was a High Church idea that Venn specifically attacked. It confused the roles of missionary and pastor; it contradicted the Scriptural example of the apostles going out to evangelize two by two, none being placed above the other. Venn used the term 'missionary bishop' to mean an Anglican bishop in non-British territory—sometimes called a 'Jerusalem' bishop as distinct from the diocesan at home or the colonial bishop on British territory overseas.[2] But another confusion remains. Venn suggested that Crowther might be a 'missionary bishop' should a native Church be established on the Niger and he be called upon to preside over it. Now, in 1860, no Church had been formed on the Niger: it was the churches in

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[1] Venn to Crowther, 23 Feb. 1860; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[2] See the 'Bishops in Foreign Countries Act', sometimes called the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, 5 Vict c6 1841. While a license under the great seal is required for the election of the ordinary bishop, for a Bishop in Foreign Countries, the archbishop having satisfied himself about the sufficiency of the candidate in good learning, the soundness of his faith and the purity of his manners, applies for a royal license under the royal signet and sign manual authorizing the consecration. If the candidate is not a British subject (as Crowther was) the archbishop can dispense with the Oath of Allegiance. Such a bishop has no right to be called Lord Bishop, but the Rt. Rev. Bp. X, and properly speaking, is not Bishop *of* a place, but a Bishop *in* the place. (Halsbury's *Statutes of England* (3rd edition 1955), vol. xiii, pp. 19–20 and notes, p. 62. Also Minute of the Parent Committee of the C.M.S., 21 March 1871 on the controversy over the Madagascar Bishopric. The Committee distinguished between a Colonial Bishop and a Bishop appointed under the 5 Vict. c6 Act, maintaining that all Anglican missionaries automatically came under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Bishop but that in the latter case, 'the law allows a discretion as to their converts being placed under a Bishop so consecrated. . . . The Committee must add that they conceive that the proper sphere of a missionary bishop consecrated under the Jerusalem Act is the *Native Church* when it is sufficiently advanced to require a resident bishop. Under this Act, the Society took the first step in the important branch of the extension of the native episcopacy by promoting the consecration of the native minister Dr. Samuel Crowther for the Mission on the Niger'; *Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn*, 1882, p. 443. (Crowther on the eve of his consecration was awarded an honorary D.D. by the University of Oxford.)

Yoruba that were in dire need of a bishop to conduct episcopal visitations, confirmations and ordinations. Hitherto the 'Colonial Bishop' of Sierra Leone had been performing these functions; but between 1854 and 1859 three bishops had died, each on his way from a visitation to Yoruba or shortly after his return to Sierra Leone. The Bishop of Sierra Leone was clearly too far away. It was even difficult to get a new Bishop of Sierra Leone, and Crowther's name was being canvassed. Venn said it was only with difficulty that he could prevail on the Secretary of State to leave Crowther to devote himself to the work in Nigeria.[1] He knew that the European missionaries led by Townsend would have resisted the authority of a Bishop Crowther at Lagos or Abeokuta. His mind was therefore working towards the slightly confusing compromise of a Bishop Crowther consecrated because of his outstanding position on the Niger, whose authority would with time and necessity gradually spread to the Yoruba country where it was most needed.

Even the decorum proper to the conduct of missionary affairs could not disguise the fact that Townsend and Crowther had become open rivals. With more than the usual *nolo episcopari* of bishops elect, Crowther declared himself unworthy of any other post than the one he was already 'sustaining under many disadvantages'. That, using Venn's arguments, he was a missionary, not a pastor: 'Younger persons should be trained up with the view should the native Church need a person of that capacity [of bishop] one may be chosen for the office.' Besides, he did not wish to stand in anybody's way:

> The European missionaries who have sacrificed everything to come out to Africa, taking their lives in their hands, have a greater right to this claim. . . .
>
> As a man I know something of the feelings of men. . . .[2]

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[1] Venn to the Rev. J. A. Lamb, Secretary of the Yoruba Mission, 23 Jan. 1864: 'Before Bishop Bowen was appointed to Sierra Leone [i.e. in 1858] the Secretary of State had determined to recommend Mr Crowther as Bishop of Sierra Leone and the late archbishop was strongly in favour of it. I objected on the ground that it was too much of an English colony and it was with difficulty that I could stop the nomination. I feel pretty sure that Bishop Beckles will resign and in that case the appointment of Crowther to Sierra Leone will be again revived and after the miserable experience of white Bishops [3 died in 6 years and the fourth apparently proved unsatisfactory] I cannot predict the result though I should rather that his services were confined to Lagos and the Niger.' C.M.S. CA2/L3.

[2] Crowther to Venn, 4 April 1860. He added 'I must confess that the use that has been made of my name in the English newspapers when the Bishopric of Sierra Leone was vacant has not done me good in the mission. Though I have not heard the remarks made by individuals myself, but from those who have heard them, that feelings of great contempt have been uttered, and a threat of quitting the mission has been expressed were such the case.' C.M.S. CA3/04.

Townsend was aware of what was going on. He argued back in force in favour of his claims, though he was losing the argument all the way. Once, in October 1858, he went near producing a reasoned counterblast against Venn's theory of the Native Church Organization:

> The purely native Church is an idea, I think, not soon to be realized. The white merchant and civilization will go hand in hand with missionary work, and foreign elements must be mixed up with the native, especially in such changes as are effected by a religion introduced by foreigners. The change of religion in a country is a revolution of the most extensive kind and the commanding minds that introduce those changes must and do become leaders. It is a law of nature and not contrary to the laws of God, and efforts to subvert such laws must produce extensive evils.[1]

Townsend knew, of course, that many of the Africans sharing in the leadership of that revolution were less concerned than himself about the mixing of foreign elements with the native, and that Venn's ideas on native Church organization implied no such exclusion of foreign ideas. Townsend's other arguments were even less impressive. Apart from the old one that an African bishop, however worthy, would command no respect, he embarked on a general denigration of Africans, using any stick whatever he could find to beat at them. Once or twice he hit the mark. He referred to Henry Robbin's and Samuel Crowther junior's mismanagement of the cotton business at Abeokuta, and recalled how two African clergymen sent from Sierra Leone to work on the Niger, 'their own country', ran back as soon as they arrived. 'And yet excuses are made for them!'[2] More often he missed the mark by a wide margin. Although European clergymen were paid £200–250 a year while the stipends of African clergymen varied between £50 and £150, by some strange arithmetic he worked it out with Dr. Harrison that the Niger Mission, using only African staff, was not only inefficient but was proportionately more expensive than the Yoruba Mission.[3] (This result was obtained by dividing the amount spent in each mission between 1860 and 1862 by the number of agents, making no allowance for the capital expenditure in the new mission.) Stranger still, when two German catechists who had been staying at Abeokuta were due to accompany Crowther to the Niger, Townsend not only dissuaded them from going; he wrote to Venn:

> It appears you intend to work up the native clergy to notice by sending

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 18 Oct. 1858; C.M.S. CA2/085.
[2] Townsend, Annual Letter for 1859, dated 31 Jan. 1860, ibid.
[3] Harrison to Venn, 21 Nov. 1863 and encl.; C.M.S. CA2/C45.

> with them inferior white men, but it won't answer. The white man must be in advance in ability, in religion, in position, to the native teachers of all kinds, or if he ceases to be so, he must leave the work.[1]

Three months later, he added

> If you want young men to go to the Niger, you must give them a white man as a leader. No opinion you can form, no statement you can make, no advice you can give will make them [i.e. black men] what they are not. They are not fit to be leaders at the present time.[2]

With characteristic efficiency Townsend had exhausted all the possible arguments, including the modern one so familiar in Central and South Africa, that the superiority of one race over the other is proved if you keep the worst of the one always above the best of the other. Since Townsend felt so deeply about the matter, it is not surprising that the quarrel spread from Crowther to educated Africans as a whole. In January 1859, the Parent Committee had to inform Townsend that

> such letters as were written to the Rev. J. White and Rev. J. Morgan in reply to their application for an increase of salary were not in that mild and Christian tone which ought to have characterized the letters of senior missionaries to native clergymen. The Committee have consequently felt compelled as Christian men to write to these native ministers in a different tone.[3]

The other European missionaries therefore kept studiously neutral over the controversy. Yet the controversy could not but spread. When in 1864 Venn asked the European missionaries directly whether or not they were willing to place themselves under the jurisdiction of a Bishop Crowther,[4] besides the views of Townsend and Dr. Harrison at Abeokuta, both violently opposed to the idea, Hinderer's answer was typical:

> Not that I should have the slightest objection to Bishop Crowther being over myself and the congregation which God may give me. On the contrary, I can only respect and love him. . . . But . . . The country is heathen and mixed up with and held up by heathen priest-

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 5 Nov. 1859; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Townsend to Venn, 18 Feb. 1860; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Venn to Townsend, 21 Jan. 1869; C.M.S. CA2/L2.

[4] Cf. Venn to Hinderer, 22 Sept. 1864: 'The Parent Committee leave both Abeokuta and Ibadan to take their choice between the jurisdictions of the one or the other [i.e. Crowther or the Bishop of Sierra Leone] though they have a strong conviction that Bishop Crowther will give the most valuable assistance.' C.M.S. CA2/L3.

> craft, and we are allowed to teach and preach the Gospel not because they are tired of heathenism, but because God gives us influence as Europeans among them. This influence is very desirable and necessary to us; but if they hear that a black man is our master, they will question our respectability.[1]

By and large, until 1867, European missionaries on the spot accepted Townsend's basic thesis that the success of the Christian missions depended on the prestige and influence of missionaries as Europeans. Inevitably the controversy spread to the emigrants at Abeokuta and, during the Ijaye War, took a political turn.

The emigrants were becoming increasingly wealthy and powerful at Abeokuta and (particularly the younger ones, who were products of the missionary training schemes and a good number of whom were educated in England) they regarded Crowther as their hero. As a body they were bound to resist Townsend's campaign against the ability of the African, and in doing so to challenge the authority of Europeans in general.

They were, however, a heterogeneous company and they were not united in their reaction. Most of them were traders, and there was trade rivalry to divide them. Others were not traders and had interests which could conflict with the interests of traders. Some were Egba in origin, others were not. Some were brought up by Townsend, others had grievances against him. Most of them were prominent churchmen and leading members of the missionary villages, but while some were ardent and pious Christians, or at least conformed and accepted the cleavage between mission village and the old town, others were beginning to question the wisdom of the cleavage. Some became polygamists; others, not being traders by inclination or not having achieved success in the limited opportunities of the mission village, sought greater scope for their energies in the old town. By 1866 at least two emigrants had become important chiefs at Abeokuta;[2] several more remained in or continued to join the Ogboni. A few were beginning to argue that it was futile to expect that the old society would just disappear and that it was the duty of emigrants to leave the apron-strings of missionaries and go into the old town to guide the chiefs in the establishment of 'a civilized government'.

The first group to challenge Townsend's authority were members of Crowther's own family—his sons Samuel and Josiah, and the Rev. T. B. Macaulay, who in 1854 married one of Crowther's daughters, all of whom continued to live at Abeokuta and were of some social and political significance. Indeed Samuel, 'the doctor' or 'Johnny Africa' as the Europeans nicknamed him,[1] laid claims to being the right person to conduct the political affairs of the mission with the local rulers and to be their adviser, on the grounds that Dr. Irving had taken over those duties from Townsend in 1854 and he (Samuel) had been appointed in 1855 Irving's Secretary and Assistant with the hope expressed of being his successor. Townsend's reply was that his influence with the Alake was personal and could not be delegated.[2]

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[1] Hinderer to Venn, 15 Nov. 1864; C.M.S. CA2/049.

[2] Townsend to Venn, 1 Nov. 1866; C.M.S. CA2/085.

Townsend did now stop at mere claims: he tried to build up a party. He had his own partisans among the emigrants, notably Henry Robbin, Samuel's rival in the management of the cotton business; Andrew Wilhelm, who had been Townsend's interpreter, ear and mouthpiece with the chiefs since 1843 and was now a venerable old man with an unrivalled knowledge of intricate Egba politics; and David Williams, later a pastor, but still schoolmaster in Townsend's school at Ake, whom Townsend was pushing to become the Alake's regular clerk and copyist.[3] Above all, Townsend had to outbid all other claimants to being the champion of Egba interests. He threw himself wholeheartedly into the Ijaye war from the start.

Even before the war, Townsend had secured the transfer of Macaulay away from Abeokuta. It will be remembered that earlier he had Macaulay removed from the Training Institution on the grounds that he was too academic. Now he complained that Macaulay was wholly unsuited for parish work at Owu and should be transferred to teach at the grammar school in Freetown. The Local Conference considered the proposal but thought it would be a pity for a mission not over-staffed to lose his services; they therefore transferred him to open a new station at Ibadan. Crowther intervened to make a strong plea that Macaulay be allowed to found a grammar school in Lagos.[1] The Parent Committee allowed this. After only two or three months at Ibadan Macaulay moved to Lagos in 1859, where he was to make a name for himself as founder and Principal of the Grammar School till his death in 1879. Meanwhile Townsend felt easier at Abeokuta, as the American immigration scheme turned matters in his favour.

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[1] Champness to Methodist Secretaries, 7 Nov. 1861. Commenting on the recall of Townsend to England in 1861 following his quarrel with Samuel, Champness said, 'Mr. Townsend has worked hard and it does seem hard that in his old age he is to be cashiered because he and Johnny Africa can't agree.' Meth.

[2] When in 1863 Venn suggested that Townsend might form a committee to manage the political affairs of the mission, Townsend replied: 'I don't think the mission will gain influence by it, for personal influence cannot be transferred nor absorbed by a committee.' 27 May 1863; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Townsend described the political activities of Andrew Wilhelm in an Obituary notice in his Annual Letter for 1861 dated March 1862. In 1865 when he first announced the formation of a 'company' of emigrants who wished to become 'chief advisers and writers of letters' for the chiefs, Townsend said, 'Robbin and others in this neighbourhood would not join them'; to Venn, 2–3 Oct. 1865, also 28 Nov. 1865. The rest of the group will be found among those who signed the Alake's declaration denouncing the Campbell and Delany treaty in February 1861; encl. in Foote to Russell, 9 March 1861, Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular), PP 1862 LXI.

The European missionaries remarked that though the delegates of the African Aid Society, Dr. Delany and Robert Campbell, visited them and gave public lectures under their auspices, and Campbell helped to reorganize Townsend's printing works, they were not consulted about the settlement scheme.[2] The delegates probably stayed with Samuel; and his father, who was by chance in Abeokuta on his way from the Niger was the only other witness to the treaty. Though there can be no doubt that on 27 December 1859 a treaty was signed, the validity and even the terms of the treaty soon became a matter of dispute. Crowther told Venn, and it was corroborated by Bühler, that the delegates had been persuaded to modify their plans, that they had

> given up the idea of settling as a body on a land of their own purchase upon a clear explanation of the disadvantages of such a settlement, both to themselves as well as to the country at large, and they have agreed to settle and disperse among the people and mix with them in any of the towns anyone should take a liking to settle in, as one people under the protection of the native rulers, as we now live.[3]

But Article I of the version of the treaty published by the delegates in England in 1861 read:

> That the king and chiefs on their part agree to grant and assign unto the said Commissioners on behalf of the African race in America, the right and privileges of settling on any part of the territory belonging to Abeokuta not otherwise occupied.

Samuel pointed out that this was the version the delegates had drafted but that it was amended during negotiations to

> the right and privilege of farming in common with the Egba people,

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[1] Crowther to Venn, 30 June 1858; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Bühler, writing to Venn from Germany where he was on leave, 24 Feb. 1860 said: 'The Americans Mr Campbell and Dr Delany go ahead without us. They are indeed not the white man's friend though they will take his money. . . . They have greatly modified their plans but they don't ask us to assist them, they manage for themselves.' C.M.S. CA2/024.

[3] Crowther to Venn, 4 April 1860, postscripts dated 9 April; C.M.S. CA3/04. Bühler to Venn, 24 Feb. 1860; C.M.S. CA2/024.

> and of building their houses and residing in the town of Abeokuta, intermingling with the population.[1]

While this contention of the Crowthers must have been true to some extent, it must be regarded as an afterthought, emphasized after the treaty had been signed and was being criticized. For Samuel did not repudiate Article II of the version of the treaty published by the delegates which still read:

> That all matters requiring legal investigation among the settlers be left to themselves to be disposed of according to their own custom.[2]

The Crowthers lacked political judgement and undoubtedly they behaved in the matter with more zeal for civilization than discretion. They played into Townsend's hands. Crowther's main argument was that the technical skill that the American emigrants would bring was just what the country needed and that it was worth some risk.[3] Venn did not favour the scheme.[4] Townsend felt that settlers who from the first kept aloof from European missionaries and claimed independence of the local authorities would form an irresponsible *imperium in imperio* that might endanger the existence of the Egba state, or at least corrupt the state by overrunning it with 'a civilized heathenism under the form of Christianity'.[5] It was not difficult to convince the Alake that in signing the treaty he had put his hand to a dangerous document and that the Crowthers, who were not Egba, had been signing away Egba land. Many of the chiefs and Ogboni elders were angry that they had not been consulted. As the agreement became public knowledge, popular fury against Samuel began to mount and he had to flee from Abeokuta in February 1861. Then the Alake signed a declaration repudiating the agreement and saying that he remembered 'Dr. Delany and Mr. Campbell coming to him to ask for a lot of land for farming; which he granted them, but he had no other transaction with them' and that he would accept no one unless recommended by 'the English Consul, the Church or Wesleyan missionaries'.[6] The Foreign Office told the African Aid Society to look elsewhere and they turned to Ambas Bay, near Victoria, in the Cameroons.

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[1] Two letters by Samuel Crowther, jun., to Lord Alfred Churchill dated 50 Baker St., Portman Square, London, 18 April 1861; encl. in F.O. despatch Wodehouse to Consul Foote, 23 April 1861, Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular), PP 1862 LXI.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Crowther to Venn, 6 April 1861; also the earlier letter of 4 April 1860; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Venn to Crowther, 23 May 1860; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[5] Townsend nowhere in his letters attacked the Settlement scheme by name, but this passage in the Annual Letter for 1860, written 6 Feb. 1861 at the height of the crisis, clearly referred to the scheme.

[6] Alake's declaration of 8 Feb. 1861, signed by J. M. Turner and others, encl. to Russell, 9 March 1861, op. cit.

This episode really completed the political eclipse of the Crowther family at Abeokuta. In February 1861, at the time when Consul Foote was co-operating fully with the Abeokutan policy, Townsend's prestige at Abeokuta was at its height. That is, his prestige in the old town, not in missionary circles. The expulsion of Samuel brought the reaction of the emigrants in the mission against Townsend to a violent pitch. There were trials and suspensions, recriminations and indiscriminate mud-slinging, enough to confuse and to cause grave anxiety to the Parent Committee.[1] The Committee asked neutral missionaries to hold an inquiry and Townsend was recalled home for consultations. Samuel Crowther junior also went to England. Venn attempted a reconciliation and Townsend promised to use his influence to get him reinstated at Abeokuta.

Townsend was thus away in England when the government reversed the 'Abeokutan policy' and annexed Lagos. The reaction of Venn to the annexation was to regret the violent way in which it was done, but to attempt to take advantage of the increased British interest and influence at Lagos for the philanthropic desires of the mission.[2] He judged it essential to send Townsend back to Abeokuta as the one man whose influence could smooth things over between the Lagos government and Abeokuta rulers besides encouraging self-support in the churches at Abeokuta with respect to the payment of class fees, the cautious introduction of school fees, the sending out of volunteer evangelists to work in outlying villages and so on.

Townsend returned in March 1862 to an impossible political situation. He arrived determined to try to establish good relations between Lagos and Abeokuta. He desired it; on it depended his claim to being the man whose influence could open all doors for missionary expansion in Yoruba, and consequently to being the right candidate for the bishopric.

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[1] Gollmer to Venn, 21 Jan. 1861, reporting the 'trial' of Samuel over which he presided, the procedure of which C.M.S. lawyers later condemned; C.M.S. CA2/043. James White to Venn, 15 Jan 1861, laying charges of cruelty and slaveholding against Townsend in what came to be known as the 'Lucy Talabi case'; C.M.S. CA2/087. Venn to Maser, 24 Dec. 1860, that Wood, Harrison, and Bühler have been asked to invesitgate the disputes; also Venn to Wood, 14 May 1861; C.M.S. CA3/L3.

[2] Venn to Maser, 23 Sept. 1861: 'The intelligence took us by surprise. . . . We fear that king Docemo must have been put under some pressure. . . . But looking at the event as accomplished, it must prove a great benefit to the mission and give it a stability which it could not otherwise have had. We pray to God to over-rule all to his glory.' C.M.S. CA2/L3.

But it was a hopeless task. The Lagos government tended to regard Abeokuta as an ungrateful protégé and as a prospective protectorate of the Lagos Colony as soon as they could persuade the British government to take the necessary measures. The Egba, on the other, hand wished to negotiate on a basis of equality, and regarded the Lagos government as a friend who knew their secrets, deserted them and turned against them.

Although Townsend was slow in admitting it, the basis of his influence at Abeokuta was gone. Townsend refused to act for the Lagos government in persuading the Egba to accept a British vice-consul (now seen as a precursor to annexation) in Abeokuta. The Lagos government, taking Townsend's influence at his own estimation, were angry that he did not exert it on behalf of British policy. They charged him with disloyalty and with loving power too much for himself and too little for his country. Bitter polemics between Townsend and Glover ensued. The reason for this bitterness lay not in Townsend's loss of influence at Abeokuta, but in the increasing frustration resulting from his failure to achieve his real goal of the bishopric. Henry Venn, who placed implicit trust in his political judgement, censured his language but defended his politics before all England, remained suspicious of his ambitions in the mission, and pushed ahead with the scheme for making Crowther a bishop. In January 1864 Townsend wrote to his Methodist colleague and friend Thomas Champness, who was in England in retirement. He talked about the declining prestige of the white man at Abeokuta.

> We are gone down so low that I am obliged to beg permission for Mr. Maser (a missionary) to come here. . . . How different to the time when a white face was a sufficient passport here.

Then he continued:

> It is reported here that we are to have a black bishop, a Bishop Crowther, a bishop of the Niger to reside at Lagos and to have nothing to do with us. He will be therefore a non-resident bishop. I believe it will be done if C.M.S. can do it, but it will be a let-down.[1]

In June 1864 Crowther was consecrated in England. Venn then appealed to each of the European missionaries voluntarily to place himself under Crowther's jurisdiction. 'I do not hesitate to say,' wrote Venn,

> that in all my large experience I never met with more missionary wisdom nor—I write advisedly—more of the Spirit of Christ than in him. Here I felt to him as much drawing and knitting of soul as to

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[1] Townsend to Champness, 5 Jan. 1864; Meth.

> my own brother. Be you a brother to Bishop Crowther. You will be abundantly repaid. God destines him for a great work. I should rejoice to be a helper, however, to him.[1]

Townsend replied:

> The appointment of a head over the Church always appeared to me desirable; the want of a head has produced weakness—a want of unity in design and a feebleness in execution.

There was indeed work for a bishop to do.

> We see around us much material; how to use it is the question. I believe we have in our congregation ample material for a native ministry for the extension of the work . . . but unfortunately the person of the bishop (Crowther) is not acceptable; by acts of partisanship he has made himself obnoxious to both chiefs and people. . . .
>
> It is now expected that we should voluntarily place ourselves under the superintendence of Bishop Crowther. If white men had been accustomed to look up to one as Superintendent it would have been easy to change one for another.[2]

In other words, a white bishop was necessary to accustom the European missionaries to episcopal obedience. When Venn pointed out that the government would not consent to consecrate a second bishop in the area, Townsend packed all his feelings into one final gesture of disappointment. He went near threatening secession:

> If the British Government won't authorize the consecration of Colonial or missionary bishops, then we must get power to ordain elders in the churches elsewhere. I don't see any necessary connection between the episcopal office in a foreign country and the Crown of England. If the episcopal office be necessary for the good of the Church, then it is a positive duty to provide it by the heads of the Church.[3]

Two months later he met Crowther at Lagos and he said that once the war was over he would have no difficulty at Abeokuta.

> I shall not stand in his way, I will help him rather and go to another part of the country wherever God may direct me. I don't believe in his power to become head of the Church here, notwithstanding. He is too much a native.[4]

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[1] Venn to Mann, 24 April 1865; C.M.S. CA3/L3.

[2] Townsend to Venn, 29 Nov. 1864; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Townsend to Venn, June 1865; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[4] Townsend to Venn, 28 July 1865; C.M.S. CA2/085.

The bishopric controversy is essential to the understanding of the situation at Abeokuta, not just because Townsend felt so deeply about it that it is impossible to understand his political role unless it is taken into account, but also because it was a major reason why in spite of his previous record, in spite of his continued hostility to the Lagos government and championship of the Egba cause, he failed to convince the Egba that all Englishmen were not agents of the Lagos government. This was largely because Townsend staked his claims to the bishopric on the fact that he was a European, too much of a European for the Egba situation of the 1860s.

In the Basorun's difficult task of building up an Egba government that would be able to stand up to the Lagos government on an equal basis, he began to take advice from Townsend's opponents among the emigrants, from the group of emigrants falling just outside the Church and seeking political advantage as advisers to the Chiefs. They were not united or highly educated; they were young and did not command much respect in society. In 1865 they acquired a leader in the person of George William Johnson. He was not impressive at first sight. He had been a tailor in Sierra Leone, and had adventured on board a merchant ship, as a footplateman and a member of the band.[1] This gave him among other things a chance to visit England. He came to Lagos in 1863. He visited Abeokuta and must have judged the situation favourable for his intervention, for he went back to Sierra Leone to pack his belongings. He had a reputation for stubbornness and doggedness. He was ambitious and a hard worker, coarse, with a bad temper; but since his was a one-track mind, he could be patient and bide his time. He later acquired the soubriquet 'Reversible Johnson'[2] but that was only because he was willing to try various means to fulfil his one unchanging ambition. In an age when most emigrants sought success in trade or industry and were advised for the safety of their souls not to get mixed up in pagan politics, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the immense task of creating out of the chaos at Abeokuta a 'civilized form of government'.[3] This was to be an adaptation of European methods of government to the situation at Abeokuta. It was to be a government of the traditional rulers with a powerful civil service of educated Africans as officials and advisers. He regarded missionaries as allies, especially those who took education seriously and placed no restrictions on the education of Africans. Missionaries like Townsend who considered that English education turned the head of the African he regarded as deceivers; missionaries, again like Townsend, who aspired to political power, he regarded as enemies.[1]

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[1] Obituary Notice in the *Lagos Weekly Record*, 16 Sept. 1899.

[2] There were three Johnsons very prominent among the emigrants: James Johnson, Henry Johnson, both referred to later, and G. W. Johnson. For easy identification, they were labelled 'Holy Johnson', 'Eloquent Johnson' and 'Reversible Johnson' respectively.

[3] In 1872 to W. P. Richards a leading emigrant Methodist trader who advised G. W. Johnson to be moderate and allow a settlement of the Lagos Egba dispute so that trade would again be resumed, Johnson replied that he could give away nothing. He condemned traders who 'in this our world of haste to be rich' were willing to sacrifice national interests, and he added: 'I have from

His arrival in 1865 was unnoticed. But within a few months Townsend observed, in October, that

> Some of the Sierra Leone people are jealous and ambitious of becoming chief advisers and writers of letters from the Chiefs here to Lagos. They have been forming a company to accomplish their purpose and have so far won over the Basorun to allow them to write. They have written one letter. Robbin and others in this neighbourhood would not join them.[2]

By April 1866 he announced that they were preparing to levy customs duties. Though he judged that the duties would not be paid, 'it will cause trouble amongst them for the natives are not used to them', he added:

> The Sierra Leone men are thus forcing on civilization, and English customs, teaching the people the use of writing and printing and bringing about the adoption of written laws. They are doing what we cannot, for we cannot use the means they do to accomplish their purposes. I am trying to influence them, I cannot command them.[3]

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the beginning done all I could to get all of us united in the carrying out of the good of a civilized form of government in this our father country', and that though the endeavour had left him poor, he was undaunted. In 1868, he wrote to the Editor of the *African Times* to 'tell England that their efforts to civilize and christianize Africa by sending missionary after missionary can have but very partial success until they become convinced that something more is wanted besides sending missionaries and putting men of war on the sea, and that is to encourage the forming of self-government among educated Africans.' Johnson received much support and encouragement from the African Aid Society and the *African Times*. Fitzgerald, the Secretary of the Society and Editor of the paper, wrote to Johnson in July 1868, lecturing him on diplomacy, e.g., 'I felt convinced that there has been a good deal too much reported here about the weakness of the Abeokuta government. No government is respected unless it shows strength either real or simulated'—and suggesting that the Abeokuta government should consider appointing a London Representative, presumably himself, like the old Colonial Agents. G. W. Johnson's Papers.

[1] One of the first public acts of the E.U.B.M. was to convene a public meeting, 30 Oct. 1865, which resolved that Townsend should be asked to return to England or to co-operate.

[2] Townsend to Venn, 23 Oct. 1865; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[3] Townsend to Venn, 3 April 1866; C.M.S. CA2/085.

Before the end of the year, he began to report rumours that there was a proposal to drive away, some said all European traders, some said all Europeans, from Abeokuta. Townsend thought that the rumours were instigated by the emigrants, who were deliberately creating an air of crisis in the town; that they were using the reforms Glover was carrying out in Lagos to play upon the fears of the people so that they could themselves get power to carry out similar reforms at Abeokuta, 'to upset the native government and make it more English than white men could if they tried . . .

> This is supposition of course. But these men are introducing a fixed duty on exports in imitation of European ways; they have a custom house, give permits. In doing this, the greatest opposition has been met but nevertheless it stands. This stir about the white men arises out of it I believe. We cannot fathom the bottom of their doings or motives. The great fact is that immense changes are taking place and the old chiefs, while providing as they think for the safety of the town and its institutions, are introducing the greatest changes.[1]

Clearly the missionaries were puzzled, but they did not all show Townsend's suspicion of the new changes. Venn told Townsend that from his experience of Indian affairs, the 'silent revolution: . . . towards a more advanced civilization' though 'urged forward by a Godless education and wordly politicians' would 'crush idolatry and make a highway for the Gospel'.

The Egba United Board of Management which resulted was conceived of as a Chancellery, with Johnson as Secretary and another emigrant as President, formulating policy and seeking to gain the backing of the traditional rulers for the execution of their policies.[2] They won over Basorun the Regent, Akodu the Seriki (an important war chief), and the Asalu, head of the Ogboni. Their Board's claims for support were based on their being essential in the struggle with Lagos, on their ability to speak the language and to understand the diplomatic trickeries of the Lagos government. Moreover they offered if properly supported to make the Basorun's government, through systematic customs duties in place of arbitrary tolls, the most wealthy, the most efficient and therefore the one supreme government in Abeokuta.

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 1 Nov. 1866; C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Cf. Biobaku: *The Egba State and its neighbours*, p. 79. The Board was much more than an 'empty bureaucracy parading sovereign pretensions and issuing largely idle threats'. It was never intended to be a 'proper council representative of the traditional, sectional and immigrant elements in Abeokuta'. The purpose of the Board was not to replace the traditional rulers, but, in the words of Townsend quoted above, to be their 'chief advisers and writers of letters' so that 'the old chiefs while providing as they think for the safety of the town and its institutions' would be introducing great changes.

The internal difficulties were formidable, since Abeokuta was so divided. When in July 1866 they tried to end the interregnum at Abeokuta by having a descendant of a former Alake of the pre-Abeokuta era recognized as king, they met stiff opposition in the Ake quarter itself, an opposition joined by Townsend and the loyal members of the Christian villages.[1] The attempt to impose customs duties alienated important emigrant merchants as well as the heads of several of the smaller townships who controlled gates of their own and were accustomed to receive tolls, Igbein most especially, who claimed the right to collect all tolls on the Ogun. In addition, customs duties involved the regulation of trade, which was the province of traditional trade chiefs, the Parakoyi, with whom a struggle was inevitable, especially as the E.U.B.M. proceeded to establish a new court to prosecute duty evaders.[2]

It was, however, the relationship with Lagos that presented the greatest difficulties. This may be illustrated by the attempt to establish a regular postal system between the two places. In December 1866 Glover sent to Abeokuta proposals for such a system. The E.U.B.M. welcomed this. In January Glover sent postal regulations, and appointed the three mail runners. He proposed to pay them for the next six months, during which time all postage on letters would be paid in Lagos. The E.U.B.M. rejected this, saying that they could not take dictation from Lagos and that the regulations ought to be negotiated.[3] Meanwhile Glover had appointed a Postmaster-General and the mails had started to run when the negotiations as well as the mails were interrupted by a moreominous quarrel.[4]

The E.U.B.M. had established a customs house at the Aro gate of Abeokuta. They soon discovered that not only was it easy to smuggle cotton and palm-oil through some other gate, but that many merchants, rather than bring their goods into Abeokuta before exporting them, sent them down the Ogun at once, thus by-passing the Aro customs house. The only answer was to open a new customs house on the river, south of Abeokuta. This was announced in the *Iwe Irohin* in June 1867. Glover wrote to Johnson on 8 July that His Excellency the Administrator of Lagos

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[1] Townsend to Venn, 27 July 1866; C.M.S. CA/085. The Ake objection was based largely on memories of Oyekan's ancestor, who was a most unpopular king and was deposed. Townsend said Oyekan was his friend but 'he is of the old school. . . . I earnestly wish he may not come to that high authority. I considered the subject to be one of the greatest importance and called a meeting of the senior members of the church to urge upon them the policy of non-interference but more especially the great need of prayer to God that he may overrule the counsel of the chiefs and cause them to appoint one who may become an instrument of good for his church.' Ibid.

[2] Wood to Venn, 2 May 1867, 1 June 1867, 1 Aug. 1867; C.M.S. CA2/096.

[3] G. W. Johnson to Glover, 10 April 1867; G. W. Johnson Papers.

[4] C. Foresythe, the Lagos P.M.G., to Johnson, 26 April 1867; Johnson to Glover, 30 April 1867; Johnson to Foresythe, 8 August 1867; ibid.

> considers this a fitting occasion to call the attention of the Egba Government to the undefined condition of our respective frontiers.[1]

He therefore suggested negotiations for a 'definite treaty on this subject'. The tone of the letter was calm, even flattering—

> Were there no responsible government at Abeokuta such settlement of frontier would be of little importance . . . but with the responsible government which Abeokuta at present enjoys and with which this government is in friendly intercourse, His Excellency is of the opinion that our relations with each other on our frontier should be placed on a firmer basis than the mere good or bad behaviour of petty chiefs and customs officers. . . .
>
> You will perceive, sir, that the spirit in which this communication is addressed is one of anxiety that the friendly relationship at present existing between our two governments should receive a further development.[2]

The implications, however, were grave. The Egba claimed the land down to the coast and recognized only the island of Lagos as having been annexed by the British. How, then, could Egba customs officers violate British territory? The Egba, replied Johnson, would set up 'customs houses and officers . . . in Abeokuta and its territories which are recognized to be quite free from the Island of Lagos'. That friendship may continue,

> the Bashorun and Directors of the Board of Management therefore request me to advise your Excellency to agree with them in considering the subject of our past and present communications in reference to treaty as closed.[3]

Glover did not agree. He regarded Ebute-Metta as 'Lagos Farms'. He argued that the Egba did nothing to benefit or even protect the people south of Abeokuta, from whom they wished to collect tolls. He recruited Hausa manumitted slaves, turned them into constables and placed them on the routes by land up to Otta, and by water up to Isheri. In expectation of an Egba attack, he distributed arms to some of the people.[1] The Egba were enraged. On 24 September Johnson wrote to Glover that it was with difficulty that the Basorun could 'keep back hundreds of their war boys who without authority were but too ready to go after the constables'.[2] It was these war boys, led by Akodu, the Seriki of the Egba, and Solanke, the Jagunna of Igbein, who started the riot to break up Mission Houses and insisted on the expulsion of all European missionaries and traders on 13 October. This was what the Egba called the *Ifole* (lit. Housebreaking).

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[1] Lt. Gerard, private secretary to Glover, 8 July 1867; C.M.S. CA2/07.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Johnson to Glover, 18 July 1867; G. W. Johnson Papers.

When it came, it seemed a spontaneous uprising against Christian missionaries.[3] But it was a most unusual type of persecution. The converts were left alone, but the house of every missionary was broken up, except the one at Ikija which was protected by Ogundipe, a war chief rising into prominence and following his own policies. Libraries were torn up, harmoniums broken down; even the printing works where the *Iwe Irohin* had so often proclaimed the Egba point of view was destroyed. 'Rather than a desire to get as much as possible,' said the Methodist missionary, 'they exhibited the most wanton destruction.'[4] It was not a persecution of Christians, but a persecution of Europeans. Many missionaries realized that, but could not believe that they had been identified with the action of the Lagos government to that extent. Some suggested that it was part of a carefully laid plot hatched with the Ijebu to stop the penetration of European influences entirely.[5] The Egba themselves insisted that it was not the deliberate act of the government so much as the angry gesture by an infuriated people.[6]

Whatever be the whole truth, the *Ifole* was the culmination of the events which began in June 1861 when Consul Foote died in Lagos and McCoskry became acting consul. The reversal of the Abeokutan Policy and the annexation of Lagos created hostility to the Lagos government and gave emigrants some political power in Abeokuta. The hostility of Townsend convinced the emigrant politicians that 'all white men were the same'. The Egba hostility to the Lagos government became hostility to all white men. The Lagos government humiliated Africans;

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[1] Biobaku: *The Egba State and its neighbours*, pp. 82–3. Johnson to Glover, 7 Sept. 1867; G. W. Johnson Papers.

[2] Johnson to Glover, 24 Sept. 1867; ibid.

[3] For accounts of the *Ifole* see the Rev. J. A. Maser, 'The Second Persecution of the Abeokuta missionaries, October 1867'; C.M.S. CA2/068, printed in the *C.M. Intelligence*, January 1868. (The first persecution was in 1849.) Also Grimmer to Methodist Secretaries, 4 Nov. 1867; Meth. Crowther to Venn, 3 Dec. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Grimmer to Methodist Secretaries, 4 Nov. 1867; Meth.

[5] Crowther to Venn, 3 Dec. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[6] G. W. Johnson to Glover, 17 Oct. 1867; C.M.S. CA2/07. Crowther to Kimberley (on behalf of the Egba rulers), 6 Feb. 1872; CO147/23.

the Egba humiliated Europeans. In 1864 three elderly Quakers visiting Abeokuta were made to prostrate themselves on the banks of the Ogun before they were allowed to pass.[1] In 1866 a German catechist was beaten up at Igbein for no reason whatever.[2] Townsend noted the growing hostility towards Europeans, but could not judge that the Egba seriously contemplated driving away Europeans, even European missionaries. He left Abeokuta in April 1867 on leave to England before the land dispute with Lagos came to a head. The riots of 13 October probably got out of hand and bungled whatever action the Egba authorities were contemplating. But once it happened G. W. Johnson began to use the possible expulsion of Europeans from Abeokuta as a bargaining counter in the negotiations with Lagos. It was only when Lagos refused to yield that, almost a year later, the E.U.B.M. in September 1868 issued the proclamation prohibiting 'for the time being' the entry of all Europeans to Abeokuta except by special permit, and banning the residence of all Europeans, missionary or commercial, in Abeokuta and its territories.[3]

In that way the Egba decided to drive away the gorilla but attempt to save the baby, the Christian community in their midst, though they could not expect the baby to go unharmed. Life in the mission villages was disrupted; churches were closed. Many converts left Abeokuta with the missionaries and formed settlements in Lagos, in Ebute-Metta and on some Egba farms. But every reliable witness agreed that the converts were not the object of the persecution. They were allowed to reopen or rebuild their churches. African pastors and catechists were allowed in freely, but not Europeans. In October 1868 the pastors and catechists received a circular requiring them to wait upon the President of the Egba United Board of Management in order that they might be 'acquainted with the views of this government relative to the future course of education of the Egba children', the most important point being that only English should be taught in the schools.[4]

Crowther made it quite clear that he had no sympathy with the action or the ideas of the E.U.B.M. In a charge he delivered to his clergy in 1869, he posed the question: 'Are Africans yet able to regenerate Africa without foreign aid?' His reply was a decisive 'No'.

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[1] West to Methodist Secretaries, 13 Jan. 1864; Meth. Crowther to Venn, 3 Dec. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Venn to Lamb, 23 Aug. 1866, 23 Nov. 1866; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

[3] Proclamation of the E.U.B.M. headed by Johnson's slogan, 'African shall Rise', 11 Sept. 1868; C.M.S. CA2/07.

[4] Dated 13 Oct. 1868, encl. in Grimmer to Meth. Secretaries, 3 Nov. 1868; Meth.

> Africa for the Africans, the rest of the world for the rest of mankind, indeed. If we have any regard for the elevation of Africa, or any real interest for evangelization of her children, our wisdom would be to cry to those Christian nations which have been so long labouring for our conversion, to redouble their Christian efforts.[1]

In January 1871 he said that he had received several invitations from the chiefs of Abeokuta but held back deliberately because

> There are some half-educated, unprincipled young men about the country who would have taken advantage of any seeming countenance from me or other natives of position, as if we were backing them in their short-sighted presumption when they said they were able of themselves to civilize and evangelize their own countrymen without European aid.[2]

The effect of the *Ifole* was not to keep out European interests and influence from the country, but to emphasize that as long as Africans continued to hold sway in the country, the policy of the 1865 Committee was likely to succeed better than that of the annexation of enclaves, and that the policy of Henry Venn was infinitely wiser than that of Henry Townsend. Europeans who believed that European and Christian interests could be protected only under European rule later redoubled their energies to see such rule extended from Lagos to cover the whole country. But meanwhile, for about a dozen years after 1867, European missionaries were confined to the coast and the work in the interior of Yoruba and on the Niger was entirely under Africans led by Bishop Crowther. At the end of that period Townsend himself felt obliged to acclaim the wisdom of the policy of Henry Venn. It was a remarkable period of training in self-government. Crowther's position was the more clearly emphasized since the *Ifole* was followed by a period of acute shortage of men and means which greatly reduced the supply of European missionaries in all the missions, and in the case of one cut it off entirely.

The American Civil War had cut off the funds of the Baptists, and their missionaries had to return home; it also so depressed Lancashire (an important source of British missionary—especially Methodist—funds) that Methodist missionaries were not ready to expand into the interior till 1879, when their Lagos District was separated from the Gold Coast District.[3] Although Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in

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[1] Bishop Crowther's Charge, delivered to his clergy, 1869; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Crowther to Hutchinson, 19 Jan. 1871; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] West to Boyce, 1 April 1863: 'With a deficiency of £1,300 in such a dreadful want, I am not surprised that the committee do not feel at liberty to strengthen

Lagos in 1867, eager to enter the interior, especially Abeokuta, the S.M.A. was severely hit by the Communes in France in 1871 and had to appeal for funds outside France before their work in Africa could continue with the occupation of Topo in 1876 and their mission at Abeokuta in 1880. The C.M.S. were diverting their attention to East Africa and India. In 1865, even before the *Ifole*, they had announced that 'our funds are sadly behind our expenditure and . . . we shall be crippled in all our missions', and Venn was talking of the 'want of men and means, the old check to expansion, and the universal check alas!' There was some expansion along the coast, and up the new route Glover was trying to open from Agbabu up to Ondo, through Ife to Ibadan. But the work was carried out by African agents and the European supervisors were resident on the coast. Some features of this period of training in self-government ought now to be examined in the light of the career of Bishop Crowther.

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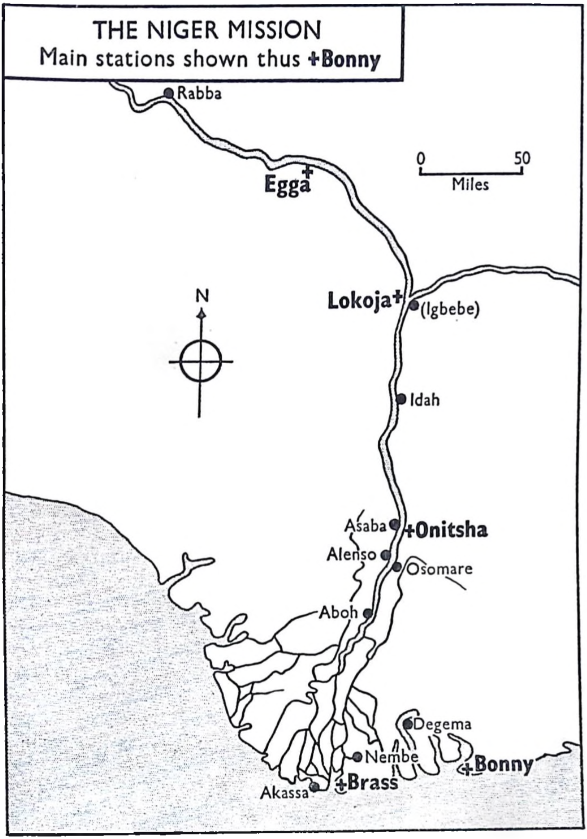
this mission.' Indeed, ten weeks later, Champness sent a draft for £10 7s. from the Methodist Church at Abeokuta to the 'Lancashire Relief Fund', 17 June 1867; Meth.


THE NIGER MISSION
Main stations shown thus +Bonny
Rabba
Egga
0
50
Miles
N
Lokoja
(Igbebe)
Idah
Asaba
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Alenso
Osomare
Aboh
Degema
Nembe
Bonny
Brass
Akassa

7 Bishop Crowther 1864-77

CROWTHER was consecrated not Bishop of the Niger Mission or Niger Territory, as is often asserted, but Bishop in an immense diocese described in the royal licence authorizing his consecration as 'the countries of Western Africa beyond the limits of our dominions', that is, West Africa from the Equator to the Senegal, with the exception of the British colonies of Lagos, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. C.M.S. lawyers drew up a 'minute on the Constitution of the Anglican native bishopric on the West Coast of Africa', approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, further elaborating on Crowther's jurisdiction. Since the European missionaries had not declared themselves willing to be placed under his jurisdiction, the minute said:

> There are, however, existing missions of the Church Missionary Society within such limits [of Crowther's diocese] which the Bishops of Sierra Leone have been accustomed to superintend, such as the Timne Mission, near Sierra Leone, and Abeokuta near Lagos, respecting which an arrangement must be made by the two bishops as to time and circumstances of transfer.[1]

Venn added in a letter to the Yoruba Mission that the present arrangement 'can only be regarded as temporary'.[2] Meanwhile, a comic Gilbertian situation prevailed. Crowther was not bishop over Lagos; nor over Abeokuta or Ibadan, where European missionaries happened to be; but he was bishop over Otta—midway between Lagos and Abeokuta—and other places in the Yoruba country where European missionaries happened not to be. He was bishop on the Niger, later Bishop in charge of the American Episcopalian Church of Liberia.[3] He even once visited his son-in-law, a government chaplain at Bathurst, and drew up plans for the evangelization of that area.[1] By fixing his seat at Lagos he was not being an absentee bishop, as Townsend said; he was only residing at the most central point of his diocese, to which he expected to be added before long those places in the Yoruba country over which European missionaries presided.

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[1] 'Minute on the Constitution of the Anglican Native Bishopric on the West African Coast', 1864. Copy enclosed in Crowther to Hutchinson, 4 Aug. 1873, C.M.S. CA3/04, quoted in full in appendix. Also the Parent Committee's charge to Crowther, 23 July 1864; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[2] Venn to missionaries in the Yoruba mission, 23 July 1864.

[3] Crowther to Rev. J. Kimber, Secretary and General Agent of the American Episcopalian Church of Liberia, 23 Bible House, New York, 12 Feb. 1878, giving an account of his visitation January–February 1878. Also address dated 30 Jan. 1878 by the Standing Committee of the Church asking him to become their bishop; C.M.S. CA3/04.

It must be emphasized that in 1864 Crowther controlled part of the Yoruba Mission, Otta specifically, and places not yet occupied by European missionaries; and the transfer to him of the rest was regarded as imminent. Unless this is understood, the duality of Crowther's position cannot be fully understood. Venn called his consecration the 'full development of the native African Church'.[2] This meant in theory that the mission established in Yoruba approached 'euthanasia' in two ways: that the new Church even if not wholly self-supporting, realized a measure of self-government by having an indigenous bishop; and since the bishop was directing missionary work elsewhere, the Church was also becoming self-propagating. Crowther was intended to organize the churches established into 'a national institution'. The minute referred to above went on to inform him that this did not imply a break-away from the Anglican Church; that the Archbishop of Canterbury was his Metropolitan; and that

> the Church in Western Africa over which he presides will be a branch of the United Church of England and Ireland and will be identical with the mother Church in doctrine and worship and assimilated in discipline and government as far as the same may be consistent with the peculiar circumstances of the countries in which the congregations are formed.[3]

These instructions clearly applied to the churches in Yoruba. As we shall see later, the expulsion of European missionaries from Abeokuta did hasten negotiations for the Bishop of Sierra Leone to hand over to Crowther the nominal control he exercised over Abeokuta and Ibadan. For a while Crowther undertook supervision of these missions, though his control over them was never really complete. It was not the problem of organizing the established churches in Yoruba but that of establishing new ones on the Niger that first and throughout most conspicuously engaged his attention. But his role as missionary on the Niger cannot be fully appreciated if the other perhaps less significant role in the Yoruba

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[1] Crowther to Wright, 18 June 1874, giving an account of his visit to Bathurst in March; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Venn to Lamb, 23 Jan. 1864; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

[3] 'Minute on the Constitution of the Anglican Native Bishopric on the West African Coast', op. cit.

Mission is completely ignored. Apart from the need to bear in mind his extra burden of Yoruba translation and orthography, unless he is seen, as Venn intended, as cut out for the headship of the churches in Yoruba, even the most obvious fact of the Niger Mission—that until the 1880s all the missionaries who worked there were Africans—does not make sense.

The Niger Mission was not originally intended to be worked in that way. Venn declared in May 1860 that the fundamental principle of the Niger Mission 'is not to be native agency and European *superintendence* or European agency and native *superintendence*, but native and European *association*'.[1] It was a series of accidents (and, as we have seen, some opposition from Townsend) that prevented any Europeans from going to work on the Niger under Crowther. But soon the Niger mission became clearly involved in the controversy about the headship of the Yoruba Mission. Venn decided in spite of the opposition of Townsend to press on with the scheme of making Crowther bishop of the 'Native Church' in Yoruba, and to bolster this up by regarding the Niger Mission as the 'self-propagation' phase of the 'full development of the Native African Church'. Hence he decided to accept Townsend's challenge of an all-African mission. It was as 'a palpable triumph of Christianity'[2] intended to show what the Church had made of Africans, and to convince those like Townsend still afflicted with doubts. It was to be a soul-warming experiment to cheer drooping missionary spirits in England[3] and to rally Africans to the cause of missions on the principle of 'self-government, self-support, self-propagation'. Since, however, Crowther never gained complete control of the churches either in Sierra Leone or Yoruba supposed to be propagating themselves as far as the Niger, the self-propagation was only partial. Thus Crowther was only nominally a 'native bishop', in practice essentially a missionary and in fact the symbol of a race on trial.

The problems of the Niger Mission were similar to those that faced the missionaries on the coast: problems of communication in days before the mail-boats, as well as the political problems of introducing foreign influences that could easily upset the existing pattern of trade and balance of power. Missionaries were dependent on traders for passage and freight, provisions and other supplies. Their salaries were

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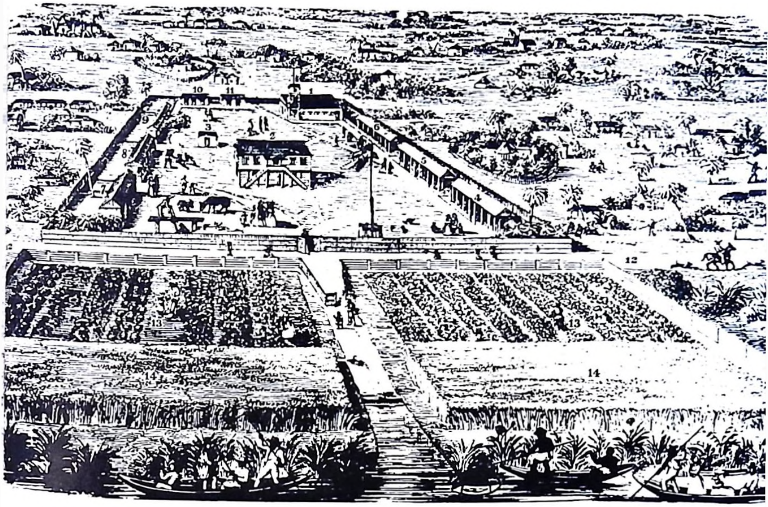
[1] Venn to Crowther, 23 May 1860; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

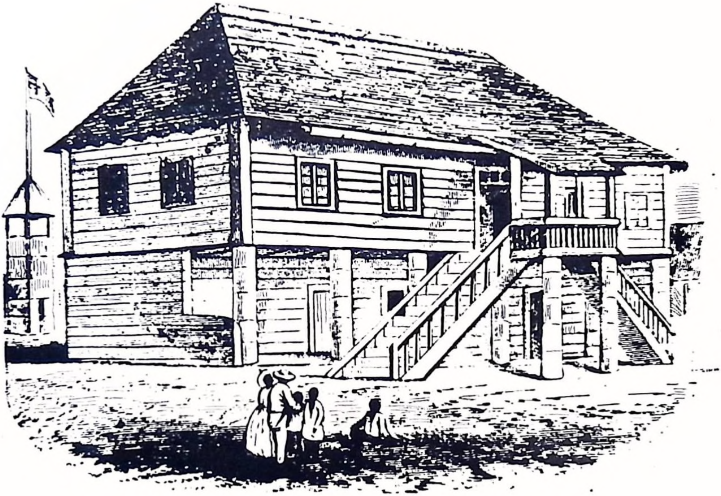
[2] Venn to Lamb, 23 Jan. 1864; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

[3] Cf. when Crowther's first charge was printed and circulated, Venn wrote to him: 'It forms the substance of many a missionary meeting and will bring much gold into our treasury'; Venn to Crowther, 23 Feb. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/L2.



BADAGRI, 1849

The C.M.S. Mission plan-view Key: 1 The Church, 2 The Mission House, 3 Kitchen, 4 Schoolmaster's House, 5 Boarding School, 6 Labourers' Dwelling, 7 Shed and Carpenters' Shops, 8 Interpreter's House, 9 Watchman's House, 10 Widows' Shelter, 11 Stable, 12 Street, 13 Vegetable Garden, 14 Rice Garden.



The C.M.S. Mission House at Badagri, 1849.

usually paid by bills of credit issued on merchant stores from which could be obtained the beads, cloths, tobacco, salt and other goods necessary to buy whatever they needed locally. The Niger Mission could work only on the basis of Buxton's principle of opening up Africa to commerce and European civilization by a combination of European capital and African agency.

When the first mission stations were planted at Onitsha and Igbebe (at the confluence) in 1857, the difficulties of developing trade on the Niger were underestimated. Since the 1854 expedition went up without opposition,[1] and navigated the Niger to Lokoja and the Benue for another 300 miles, made a substantial profit on trade, and discovered that the use of quinine reduced European mortality, it was assumed that if enough Sierra Leoneans could be encouraged to emigrate to the river, all that McGregor Laird would require would be a government subsidy for five years, before the end of which period the Niger was expected to be swarming every rainy season with merchant vessels. However, in 1859, the lesson was driven home that until the Delta opposition had been beaten down, merchant vessels would have to be convoyed up and down the river by a warship.[2] The Foreign Office agreed to provide the convoy 'to protect all the vessels navigating the Niger for lawful commerce'.[3] But the Admiralty was at first dilatory in offering co-operation. In July 1860 Crowther gathered a large missionary force together in Laird's vessel, the *Rainbow*, at the Nun entrance of the Niger. They carried a pre-fabricated iron house for Onitsha, saw gins for cleaning cotton, provisions, and other missionary equipment. But the warship failed to arrive. They waited, sixty-five of them in the little vessel, all July, August, September and October. As Crowther said, their 'strained eyes looked towards the sea in vain'.[4] Some of the mission equipment was landed at Akassa, but the agents had to return to Sierra Leone to await the next rainy season. The evangelists at Onitsha and Igbebe, like Dr. Baikie at Lokoja, received no supplies or mail for that year. It therefore became one of the principal cares of Crowther as he returned to Lagos each dry season to organize better co-ordination between the mail boats bringing mission agents from Sierra Leone, the trading vessels from England and the naval convoy from the West African squadron.

In January 1861 Macgregor Laird, the only merchant established on the Niger, died, and his executors decided to wind up his business.

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[1] S. Crowther: *Journal of the Niger Expedition*, C.M.S. 1855.

[2] Crowther to Venn, 23 Dec. 1859; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] Venn to Taylor, 23 April 1860; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[4] Crowther to Venn, 6 Oct. 1860. Also previous letters from Akassa, 4 July, 9 Aug., 6 Sept 1860; C.M.S. CA3/04.

The government had also written to Dr. Baikie that the Niger Expedition was regarded as being at an end and that he should return home.[1] If the Niger Mission had not acquired a symbolic significance, it might also have been withdrawn as a mistaken, premature establishment. Fortunately Dr. Baikie insisted on staying, and his despatches soon convinced the government of the great potentialities of the Niger area for trade and for the supply of cotton. When Crowther in 1863 reported the appearance of a French ship at the Nun, the government went further. They got the rulers of Akassa, Abo and Onitsha to sign treaties prohibiting the slave trade and human sacrifice, giving protection to trade and missionaries, stipulating that 'England and Englishmen are to have first consideration in all trade transactions' and making the rulers promise to sign no other treaty or agreement 'without the full understanding and consent of the British Government'.[2] Yet in spite of this government initiative, and the desire of cotton manufacturers during the American Civil War to obtain cotton from the banks of the Niger, no merchant came forward to replace Laird. Merchants hesitated to risk their capital on a river that could only be navigated four months in the year and even then against the wishes of the Delta people and the Liverpool traders established on the coast.

In July 1861 Crowther suggested that if no new company was formed to take Laird's place, the C.M.S. should act more independently of the traders, buy a little vessel of their own which under the management of a subsidiary committee like the Native Agency Committee could take passengers up and down the Niger and export the products of the Industrial Institutions. Venn replied that the mission could not afford it: 'Our chief hope is upon a road from the Yoruba country.'[3] When, however, the Ijaye war proved to be no simple, short engagement, he turned to the idea of getting friends of the C.M.S. to form a company to replace Laird.

The West Africa Company was formed in 1863, under the direction of Thomas Clegg, whom the C.M.S. had already used in developing cotton cultivation at Abeokuta. The new company was financed largely by humanitarians at Venn's prompting; shares were even bought for Bishop Crowther and by Josiah Crowther. But one of Laird's executors in the same year formed the Company of African Merchants with considerably greater capital.[1] Both companies applied for, but failed to obtain, a government subsidy of the kind that Laird had enjoyed.

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[1] Dr. Baikie to Lord John Russell, Lokoja, 10 Sept. 1861; Russell to Baikie, F.O., 23 Dec. 1861; Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular), PP 1862 LXI.

[2] Treaties, Aboh 8 Sept. 1863, Onitsha 12 Oct. 1863; SP vol. 59, p. 1187–8.

[3] Crowther: 'Notices of the Delta', 29 July 1861; C.M.S. CA3/04. Venn to Bühler, 23 Aug. 1861; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

Thus at the time when Crowther became bishop, the Niger Mission was far from being assured of regular communications. The refusal of the Treasury to grant a subsidy to tide over the inevitable losses of the years of pioneering was a great handicap. The two companies began to establish depots at the main mission centres, where they moored hulks and appointed African agents to trade for them all the year round. Each rainy season their vessels, with European agents and an Agent-General from England, convoyed through the Delta by a warship, traded up and down till convoyed out again. But the Company of African Merchants, finding the coastal trade more profitable, soon began to confine itself to the Delta. It was in fact the weaker, less well-organized West Africa Company that was the successful pioneer of the Niger trade and this was undoubtedly because of its connection with the Niger Mission.

Since Crowther regarded it as vital to the success of the Niger Mission that the company should succeed, he placed the resources of the mission at their disposal. Although the company's depots were usually physically separate from the mission stations and the management of their affairs entirely independent of the mission, and although the mission often complained that the company charged too much for their goods—sometimes 150 per cent to 200 per cent profit—or that some of their European agents were 'members of the Anthropological Society and disciples of [Richard] Burton' who considered missionary work useless if not positively harmful to Africans,[2] the company and mission realized that the growth of one depended on the growth of the other. The extent of the mutual dependence may be judged from the fact that in 1865 for freight, passage and provisions on the Niger alone, the C.M.S. paid to the company £600 5s. and in 1866 £379 18s. 3d.[3]

Thus, inevitably, the pattern that we saw earlier was repeated, of missionaries using their local influence to pave the way for and further the interests of traders. There was, however, a difference. While it was only occasionally that a European missionary was found talking of entertaining a brother-in-law or other relation who traded to the coast, and here and there a similar name might suggest unrecorded cases of kinship between trader and missionary, the African traders and missionaries were much more close-knit. Josiah and Samuel Crowther moved to the Niger and were agents for the West Africa Company at Lokoja. James L. Thompson, their brother-in-law, was agent for Laird and became agent for the company at Onitsha. Mrs Macaulay, from Lagos, on visits to see her sister, Mrs. Thompson, also traded.[1] Once, when Mr. Thompson was ill, Isaac George, the mission's industrial agent, acted for him.[2] Indeed, following Clegg's example at Abeokuta, the West Africa Company for a while took over management of the Industrial Institution at Onitsha with all its personnel.[3] W. Romaine, a catechist and later pastor at Onitsha, had a brother working for the company, and other examples may be cited. The emigrant traders and evangelists were friends or relatives from Sierra Leone engaged on the same mission, either through self-interest or religious duty, of opening up the Niger for European trade and influence. Crowther regarded the growing success of the West Africa Company as an achievement in which he could take a pride. 'If it be acknowledged,' he wrote to Clegg in January 1867,

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[1] *The African Times* (monthly), official organ of the African Aid Society, has much information about the Company of African Merchants launched in July 1863, not 1864 as is often said. It took over the intended Niger Chadda Company of Lyons McLeod, advertised in the same paper in March 1863.

[2] Crowther to Venn, 6 June 1865, 6 Oct. 1865; C.M.S. CA3/04. The reference was to F. Burton's anthropological works, in particular to *A Mission to Gelele*, 2 vols. 1864, in which there was a chapter entitled 'The Negro's Place in Nature' dedicated to James Hunt who had just outlined the views of his Anthropological Society to the public through a paper he read to the British Association in 1863 entitled also 'The Negro's Place in Nature'. (D.N.B. article *Hunt, James 1833–69*). Burton was Consul for the Bight of Biafra (1861–64) and he visited Abeokuta in 1861. The views of the Anthropological Society are further discussed in Chapter 8.

[3] Crowther to Clegg, 3 Jan. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/04.

> both myself on behalf of the Church Missionary Society and my sons have both by labour and money contributed greatly to encourage the West Africa Company, Ltd. in their attempts to develop the trade of the Niger.[4]

There were obvious disadvantages in this degree of affinity between trade and missionary work, and Crowther was not unaware of them. African rulers might fail to distinguish between the traders and the missionaries so closely associated; missionaries might be tempted to trade at the expense of their ecclesiastical functions, and opponents of the mission, such as European traders whom the missionaries criticized or who regarded African traders as rivals, might use the connection to damn the African traders and missionaries alike. But it was not till later, when the West Africa Company had succeeded sufficiently to attract other competitors, that its connection with the Niger Mission became a matter of grave embarrassment to the mission.

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[1] Venn to Crowther, 23 Dec. 1867, that Mrs. Macaulay's trading had implicated Crowther's name with trading, as an observer told him that the Bishop was looking after Mrs. Macaulay's consignments; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[2] Crowther to Venn, 28 Oct. 1868; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] From 1867 to 1870. Crowther to Hutchinson, 12 Jan. 1875; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Crowther to Clegg, 3 Jan. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/04.

In 1867 the West Africa Company was still running at a loss. In February of that year Venn wrote anxiously to Crowther that the mission might once again be plunged into difficulties as the losses of the company were so great that it might go bankrupt. Even as late as July 1869 Crowther still feared that the company might pull out of the Niger. However, less than four months later Crowther reported that the Agent-General found the trade so profitable that season that he changed his mind.[2] The decision of Crowther in 1870 to reconstitute the Onitsha Industrial Institution as a mission establishment, on the ground that the company had been neglecting the cotton trade, indicates an important reason for the new trading successes of the company.[3] For, since the end of the American Civil War, the demand for West African cotton had dwindled. The missionaries continued to insist that it was in the cultivation of crops like cotton by peasant farmers that there lay great civilizing forces, not in the making of palm-oil or the gathering of elephants' teeth. Nevertheless it was when the Company discovered the resources of Nupe and began to turn away from the doctrinaire search for cotton, ginger, indigo, and arrowroot to ivory and shea-butter as well as palm-oil that it began to make large profits. At once other companies from the Delta began to enter the Niger: Holland and Jaques in 1869, Alexander Miller Brothers and J. Pinnock & Co. in 1870, as well as more emigrants from Sierra Leone and Lagos, a few of them, like Captain J. P. L. Davies, with vessels of their own.[4]

Thus by 1870 the hope of more regular and assured communication with Lagos, Sierra Leone and England and between the various mission stations was greatly brightened up by the prospects of the Niger Mission. The increased trade did not bring all that Crowther and the C.M.S. had hoped and worked for. It did not destroy the trust system;[5] the peasant producer was far from exporting his produce directly to Europe. The European dealt with a middleman who was sometimes, as on the coast, a shrewd, traditional ruler who had turned to trade. More usually, however, he was an emigrant or convert educated in mission schools. Sometimes he was an independent trader; more often he was a clerk or agent

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[1] Venn to Crowther, 23 Feb. 1867; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[2] Crowther to Venn, 3 July 1869, 30 Oct. 1869; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] Crowther to Hutchinson, 12 Jan. 1875; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Crowther to Venn, 2 Oct. 1871, 30 Oct. 1871; C.M.S. CA3/04. Also W. H. Simpson's Report to Earl Granville, 21 Nov. 1871; F.O. 84/1351, op. cit.

[5] Cf. Crowther to Hutchinson, 4 Dec. 1872, that owing to the expensive visit of the Sultan of Gwandu to Bida, the Emir had been unable to pay his 'debts' to the merchants; C.M.S. CA3/04.

working directly for a European firm. Emigrants and converts were to be found in other occupations as well: they were coopers, stokers, pilots, sometimes even engineers and captains of trading vessels. And, with the All-African Mission, it can be said that Buxton's dreams had come true.

The 1870s were the golden decade for the missions' incipient middle class. The West African Company set the standard when in 1872–3 they reacted to the increasing competition on the Niger by gradually replacing all their European staff (except ships' captains and engineers) by African personnel who remained permanently on the river. In 1873 Josiah Crowther was appointed the company's Agent-General.[1] The position was further emphasized by the withdrawal of the European consul from Lokoja in 1869. The Foreign Office instead sent a Commissioner up the Niger in 1870 to sign an agreement with Masaba, Emir of Bida, whose emirate was becoming the focus of British trade on the river, committing to his care the protection of all British subjects on the river, whether traders or missionaries.[2] Crowther argued that such confidence in Africa rulers was a policy he himself advocated,[3] but that there was still need for a consul as the British representative through whom the British government could send acknowledgements of the Emir's services, as well as to give him guidance and advice.[4] The government refused to appoint a consul, and Crowther became in fact an undesignated consul on the river. Every year between 1871 and 1876 he communicated as a consul would have done with the British government and every year the British government sent to him, through the Administrator of Lagos or the Governor-General of Sierra Leone or the Gold Coast, letters and presents for Masaba, acknowledging his services. At set ceremonies in Bida or wherever the Emir was, these letters were formally read and the presents exhibited. Then Crowther, in his other capacity as missionary, presented gifts on behalf of the C.M.S., and the heads of the trading firms followed him to present their gifts. In return Masaba gave his gifts of friendship to Crowther to be sent on to the Queen.[1]

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[1] Flint, op. cit., p. 26, citing Consul Hopkins to F.O., 18 Nov. 1878, discussing the organization of the Company and praising the African staff.

[2] W. H. Simpson's Report, November 1871, op. cit., with Journal as encl. 3.

[3] Cf. conclusion to Crowther's Journal of a visit to Bida, September 1869. Crowther described how the emir had put down a revolt and restored peace: 'Thus the gnawing worms were removed from the root of the promising tree. It may now be expected to grow and flourish so as to afford agreeable shade to all under its branches. I sincerely hope Her Majesty's Government will really see the advantages of having such an ally or allies on the banks of the Niger and in other parts of the country. . . . It is better to have to do with one ruler who keeps order and the people in subjection, although with tyranny, whether he be a heathen or Mohammedan than to have to do with a people in a state of anarchy.' C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Crowther to Venn, 30 Oct. 1871; C.M.S. CA3/04.

It must be said that Crowther, along with MacGregor Laird and Dr. Baikie, had ensured the predominance of British trade and interests on the Niger before there was competition from the French and the Germans. They laid the foundation on which Goldie came to build. But what mattered most to Crowther in all his achievements on the Niger—the increase of trade, the increasing prosperity of emigrants, his own consular status—was not the genesis of an empire but the advancement of the missionary establishments.

We have already referred to the rate at which Crowther's missionary establishments expanded, and to the fact that he was for 'time' and not 'concentration'.[2] In 1864 he had a flourishing mission station at Onitsha and one at Igbebe, which was harassed by a disputed succession to the headship of the town. The dispute resulted in an armed conflict in 1866 and the mission was removed to the settlement at Lokoja that had grown round Dr. Baikie's 'market' and the factory of the trading company.[3] The attempt to establish a station at Rabba had failed in 1859, but one was established at Egga in 1873. An attempt at Idah in 1867 did not succeed. The Onitsha Mission gradually expanded to the surrounding villages, Obotsi in particular and to Osomare and Alenso, on the Niger, to the south.

The most remarkable expansion, however, took place in the Delta, which was first neglected in the urge to reach Hausaland. In 1861 Akassa, at the mouth of the Niger, was occupied, much as Badagri was occupied earlier when a coastal port was found necessary. But, like the people of Badagri, those of Akassa did not rush to become Christians. The death of the king as well as of his cousin, Koko, who welcomed missionaries and acted as their interpreter, within months of the establishment of the mission, was not a good omen.[4] But the mission established in Bonny in 1864 flourished. In 1868, the mission was invited into Brass, and they established stations at Tuwon in that year, and Nembe the following year. Here the mission had one of its most spectacular successes in the mass conversion of the Brass people between 1876 and 1879.[1] Kalabari and Okrika, the only other Delta states east of the Niger still without missionaries, were occupied in 1874 and 1879 respectively. The Kalabari mission was hampered by political difficulties between the Kalabari people and Bonny. When this culminated in war in 1882 and the Kalabari moved from the old settlement called 'Old Shipping', they carried Christianity with them to their new settlements at Abonema and Buguma.[2]

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[1] Crowther to H. Fowler, acting Administrator of Lagos, 4 Dec. 1872. Crowther to Hutchinson, 12 May 1874, enclosing copies of Crowther to George Beckley, Governor of Sierra Leone, 30 Oct. 1873; Beckley to Crowther, 25 Feb. 1874; Crowther to Beckley, 19 March 1874; Crowther to Capt. Strachan, Administrator-in-chief of the Gold Coast, 2 Oct. 1874; Crowther's Journals of visits to Bida, entries for 6 and 7 Sept. 1875, 13 Sept. 1876; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] See p. 91. There are two valuable accounts of the Delta section of the Niger Mission: D. C. Crowther: *The Establishment of the Niger Delta Pastorate, 1864–92*, Liverpool 1907; E. M. T. Epelle: *The Church in the Niger Delta*, Niger Delta Diocese 1955. For the rest of the Niger Mission see Crowther's general review in the Charge to his Clergy, 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger, July–September 1866; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] J. C. Taylor's Journal Extracts, December 1861–January 1862; C.M.S. CA3/037.

In this way, Crowther's Niger Mission came to stretch from the Nupe country to all the Delta states in the south. Between 1871 and 1875 he paid two or three visits to the Benin river but failed to get a footing there among the Tshekiri. His usual annual programme was to spend the dry season, from November or December to February or March, at Lagos, visiting Otta, writing his reports and despatches. Sometime in March he went on to Bonny and from there visited Brass and Kalabari, moved to Akassa in June and travelled up with the naval or mercantile vessel to Onitsha, Lokoja and Egga or Bida. By October he returned to Bonny, and to Lagos by November or December.

Crowther was brought up on evangelical doctrine and he subscribed to the fundamental tenets of that doctrine, but while the typical evangelical missionary was a preacher of the word, Crowther's whole inclination was to be a teacher of the word. His typical advice to a missionary at a new station was:

> Your ministerial duties will be very simple and plain: you shall have to teach more by conversation when you visit the people or they visit you at the beginning than by direct service.[3]

His missionary technique was similar to the one we have already described of using the Mission House as a nucleus of civilization and the centre of a new way of life. If anything, his mission stations tended to be more physically separate from the old towns. At Bonny for two years boys going to school had to travel round the island by canoe before a path was made to join the mission station (at Andony) to the old town.[1] In Kalabari the site he selected was on the side of the creek opposite the town. The chiefs protested, saying that they would be greatly inconvenienced if European traders should be attracted from their side to the mission side of the creek; but Crowther insisted that the suitability of the ground he had selected outweighed such considerations.[2] When a mission was established at Egga in 1874, it was placed on a lonely eminence; in Crowther's words,

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[1] In 1876, King Ockiya and other leading chiefs like Spiff and Sambo in a dramatic and much publicised episode sent their idols to Salisbury Square and later began to join the Church. When King Ockiya died in 1879, the adherents of the old religion attempted to stem the tide of conversions. The Christians were by then strong enough to take up arms to establish themselves firmly as rulers of the town. Rev. John Garrick, the local pastor, to Bp. Crowther, 29 Dec. 1899; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Epelle, op. cit., pp. 28–9.

[3] Instructions to the Rev. J. C. Taylor, encl. in Crowther to Venn, 26 Aug. 1857; C.M.S. CA3/04.

> on the slope of Kippo Hill opposite the town of Egga, about two miles across the river . . . commanding an extensive view of the river, dry and healthy, just the reverse of the town of Egga.[3]

Emigrant settlers and traders formed the nucleus of the congregations; particularly at Onitsha, Lokoja and Egga, the Mission House functioned much as at Abeokuta, Lagos or Calabar. Crowther relates in some detail how the rulers of Onitsha, at a conference with missionaries, traders and the commander of the naval escort ship in 1868, made a spirited attack on the policy of creating a dichotomy in society. They proposed not that emigrants and converts should stop going to church, but, among other things, that converts should not refuse to join their friends and relatives in performing the customary rites; that converts should be forbidden to use European clothes, and

> That an agreement should be entered into that there would be intermarriage between the children of the settlers and those of the natives of Onitsha that all may become one people, or else they could not see how we could profess to be their friends without such arrangements.[4]

Crowther, of course, rejected out of hand the suggestion that converts should continue to join the customary rites; but he insisted that the mission did not place any restrictions on dress and that marriage was a voluntary act that could not be ordered by law.

Inevitably the Mission House must maintain a separate, distinct identity. Yet it would appear that Crowther regarded the Mission House on its lonely eminence, high and dry and healthy, less as a baby that would grow, rival and in due course overcome the old town, than as a showpiece of the new way of life, like the example that the practical teacher held up his hand as he proceeded to educate the whole town to accept the new way of life. In this approach two important new trends should be emphasized here, as they became more generally adopted by other missionaries later, namely, a new approach to the use of education in missionary work, and an increasing emphasis on the need for missionaries and converts to exercise direct influence in changing laws and customs in the old town.

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[1] Epelle, op. cit., p. 10.

[2] Crowther to Hutchinson, 11 Feb. 1874, enclosing Dandeson Crowther to Crowther, 27 Jan 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] Crowther to Hutchinson, 8 Oct. and 24 Oct. 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger Mission 1868, entry for August 12 C.M.S. CA3/04.

The school was Crowther's chief method of evangelization. He introduced the mission into new places by getting rulers and elders interested in the idea of having a school of their own, and usually it was to the school that he asked the senior missionary at each station to give his chief attention.[1] John Whitford, a European who traded on the Niger in the early 1870s, gives the impression that the chief feature of Sunday congregations was the preponderance of drowsy schoolchildren.[2] In later years a missionary, very critical of Crowther's methods, said he accompanied the bishop to seven meetings with chiefs in different places:

> At only one did he allude to the existence of God, when he said in one sentence at Onitsha, 'I shall conquer, God is behind me.' The existence of a future life was never once even remotely alluded to; the advantages of the mission being represented as an inexpensive way to enable their children to get good pay as clerks or engineers with the traders, to know everything but Christ and Him crucified and to set their affections on things below, not on things above.[3]

The missionary added in a footnote, however, that when Crowther went among his congregation at Lokoja, 'to our astonishment, the bishop, in his sermon, took an absolutely opposite course and preached the blood of Christ'. Crowther believed not only that civilization was an inseparable companion of Christianity, but also that the first duty of the missionary was to attract people to the mission and the doctrinal refinements would follow.[4] Education, he said in 1874, cannot but

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[1] Cf. Instructions to Agents given at Bonny, 27 May 1872; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] John Whitford: *Trading Life in West and Central Africa*, Liverpoool 1877, p. 117.

[3] G. W. Brooke to Robert Lang, 16 July 1889; C.M.S. G3/A3/04.

[4] It was related that during a smallpox epidemic at Onitsha in 1873, a half-demented heathen priest said he saw visions that all the trouble was due to the people not accepting the missionary invitation to go to church. Crowther commented: 'We do not depend on temporary impressions of visions which after a little while waste away like fog in the air; but as man's extremity is God's opportunity, who can tell what amount of good may still be done by the people being thus frightened to the place of worship where they will receive the solid word of truth.' Annual Letter, Onitsha, 1873; C.M.S. CA3/04.

> enlarge and enlighten the idea of those who are brought under its influence, especially where all the elementary school books are extracts from the Holy Scripture inculcating all virtues and condemning all vices, and vividly pointing out the folly and superstition of idolatrous worship.[1]

But besides Crowther's own predilections, there was a very practical reason why he was obliged to place emphasis on schools, namely, the old one of finance. No other missionary was as dependent as he was on securing local support and the school was the most effective organ for this.

Between 1861 and 1878 missionary establishments on the Niger more than doubled, but the C.M.S. grant to the mission hardly increased at all.[2] This state of affairs arose from the conception of Crowther as a native bishop at the head of a self-supporting, self-propagating Church, as distinct from a missionary wholly dependent on a missionary society. In 1864 Venn instituted a special endowment fund, called the 'West African Native Bishopric Fund', for which he appealed to Christians everywhere, urging them to contribute to see the native bishopric experiment succeed. Besides sums from England, there were contributions from congregations in places as remote as Madras, Quebec and Bucharest, and from European and African traders at Lagos, in the Delta and in Sierra Leone.[3] The fund was described as being at the disposal of the Bishop for the

> commencement and encouragement of local missionary effort. For example, he will be able to encourage heathen kings and chiefs to receive and support native teachers and schoolmasters by grants-in-aid. . . . He can engage interpreters and copyists in reducing new languages.[4]

In fact it was recognized that apart from the mission stations at Onitsha and the confluence, for which the C.M.S. were already responsible, expansion elsewhere, particularly in the Delta, depended on Crowther's ability to use the Bishopric Fund to encourage local self-support. It was the keen desire for education in the Delta that Crowther had to exploit to introduce Christianity there.[1]

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[1] Crowther: Paper entitled 'Brief Statements exhibiting the characters, habits and ideas of the Natives of the Bight', 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] The grant in 1861 was about £1,000 (excluding supplies in kind). In 1864, on Crowther's becoming bishop, his salary was raised from £100 to £300, and the grant therefore went up to £1,200. In 1878 two Europeans joined the mission and the grant went up again. See Estimates in the Annual Reports in *Proceedings of the C.M.S.*, 10 July 1872.

[3] Crowther to Venn, 20 March 1872, mentions some subscribers to the fund. Some of the subscriptions like the £5 from Bucharest in 1868 were for stated purposes, in this case for the redemption of a slave girl to be named Sarah Bucharest and brought up in the mission. Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger, 1869, entry for 8 Sept.; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] Crowther: A Charge delivered to the Clergy, 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04.

He began at Bonny, where the situation was particularly favourable. Crowther went to Bonny in October 1864 and negotiated with King William Dappa Pepple and the chiefs, who had asked for a missionary from the Bishop of London, an agreement by which they promised to pay 21 puncheons of oil (valued at £300–£400) as roughly 50 per cent of the capital costs of a mission school and house, the rest being met from the Bishopric Fund.[2] It was further agreed that every gentleman sending children to school would pay £2 a year for each child in the lower and £3 in the upper classes. There was a clause providing that children of poorer people would be accepted at a lower rate, but no such case was actually recorded. The fees paid the salaries of two schoolmasters, and the C.M.S. was called upon to maintain only the catechist and later the ordained missionary.

King William Pepple was succeeded by his son George, who was educated in England and was an ardent Christian, and helped to make the school a local institution in which the whole community took an interest. The teachers announced that leading heads of houses like Oko Jumbo and Ada Allison took private lessons at home. The annual public examination of the school and the Christmas feast, followed by evenings of magic-lantern shows of pictures of the Holy Land and scriptural scenes, became something of a local festival.[3] Meanwhile evangelization and social reform went on side by side, the first substantial missionary victory being the decree of the king and chiefs in 1867 that the iguana (a type of lizard), formerly held sacred to them, be allowed to be destroyed and no longer held sacred.[4]

The Bonny Mission School soon became a model which neighbouring states were anxious to emulate. And it was by agreements similar to Bonny's that Crowther extended the work of the mission to Brass in

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[1] When persecution broke out in Brass in 1872, and the number of children at school was reduced from 31 to 16, Crowther wrote to Venn that it 'has robbed us of the means of supporting that mission', 10 July 1872; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Agreement with Bonny Chiefs, 1865, referred to in Crowther to Venn, 1 May 1867. Also printed account of payment of school fees at Bonny and Brass missions, dated 31 Dec. 1869. Crowther to Venn, 10 July 1872, that in spite of the civil war in Bonny the terms of the agreement were eventually carried out; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] Crowther to Venn, 27 Feb. 1867; Journal of Crowther's visit to Bonny 1867, entries for 12–14 Jan; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[4] King George Pepple to Crowther; 22 April 1867, encl. in Crowther to Venn, 1 May 1867; C.M.S. CA3/04. Also printed in full in Appendix 3 of Epelle, op. cit.

1868 and Kalabari in 1874. In this way Crowther was pioneering the method of the village school and local self-support on which was based the very rapid expansion of missionary work in Southern Nigeria in the period 1891–1914. It worked best in the Eastern Delta and as long as trade flourished. When Crowther tried it in Warri between 1871 and 1875, wishing to take advantage of declining trade and the readiness of European traders to sell their buildings cheap, he found Chief Nana Olomu, the local ruler, too conservative and distrustful of the social effects of book-learning.[1] But as trade developed on the Niger he introduced the method of local self-support into the mission there. In 1879, for example, when the mission at Onitsha was evacuated and the buildings were destroyed by a naval bombardment of the town, Crowther went to Onitsha to convince the rulers not only that the mission had had no hand in the action, but that they had suffered a loss of up to £600–£800 and would come back only if the people helped to rebuild the mission buildings[2].

Arising out of this new approach to missionary work was the second trend referred to above, that the old dichotomy between the state and the Mission House could not be maintained. If the mission was to be supported largely by the school fees contributed by the leading citizens and rulers of the old town for the education of their children and wards, the missionary had to keep in close touch with them. Crowther himself cultivated a close personal relationship with and mutual respect for practically every ruler from Lagos to Kalabari, up the Niger to Bida and overland through Ilorin and Ibadan back to Lagos. Not only that, he came to regard the ability to work with local rulers for the reform of the old town as the most essential training for a missionary.

Crowther was emphatic on the value of literary and academic and institutional education. He could see that if it was deep and thorough enough and based on Christian principles it should not prevent a man from using his hands. He was himself a linguistic scholar of distinction who not only encouraged industrial education but was also at home in constructing buildings and planning artificial drainage. At the same time he supported Macaulay in founding the Lagos Grammar School. He took great interest in the development of the Freetown Grammar School and Fourah Bay College and, when all local resources had been exhausted, he strongly favoured education in England.

Yet, for all his belief in the value of literary and academic training,

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[1] Crowther to Wright, 18 June 1874; Crowther to Hutchinson, 13 April 1875; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Crowther, Report on the Niger Mission, 1880; C.M.S. CA3/04.

Crowther did not reckon it the most essential part of the equipment of a missionary. He made periodic analyses in 1868, in 1870 and again in 1877 of the qualifications and merits of his missionary staff, and on each occasion he came to the conclusion that he depended most on middle-aged men barely literate in English and the vernacular, farmers, carpenters, mechanics, masons, court messengers, stewards on ships and the like by profession, recommended by the Niger Mission Committee in Sierra Leone as men of proven Christian character. One of their chief merits was that they 'command more respect with chiefs than young, inexperienced, college-trained men'.[1]

Dependence on a staff of this description arose, of course, more out of necessity than choice. The frequent analyses of their qualifications was itself an indication of how Crowther was haunted by the intractable problem of recruiting an adequate staff. He had no money to found a training college until bad reports created anxiety in London and funds were made available for a Preparandi Institution in 1883, and the building was completed only in 1887. In any case, the mission was expanding faster than a new training college could have catered for. He had to rely on the existing training institutions and the men who volunteered and were recommended to him from Sierra Leone. The salaries were £36 a year for an evangelist, usually married and sometimes with as many as five children, £50–£62 for an ordained missionary. Highly qualified men, if anxious to be missionaries, chose Sierra Leone or the Yoruba Mission. For the C.M.S. insisted that all volunteers for the Niger mission must consider themselves emigrants and could not expect passages to be paid back to Sierra Leone for leave. In cases of special necessity Crowther had to make grants from the Bishopric Fund.[2]

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[1] (i) Crowther to Venn, 27 Nov. 1868; (ii) Paper drawn up in the summer of 1870 entitled 'Suggestions to the Parent Committee for the training of Native teachers', in which, among other things, he recommended the establishment of a 6 months' Evangelist course at Fourah Bay; (iii) Appendix to the Report of the Niger Mission, 1877; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] In 1870 the Rev. F. Langley, on £50 a year, had a wife and 6 children. Mr. Edward Phillips, a catechist on £36 a year, had a wife and 4 children, 2 of whom were in boarding schools in Lagos, passage alone costing £5 or £6. Mrs. Phillips undoubtedly supplemented her husband's income by trading; Appendix to the Report of the Niger Mission, 1877, op. cit. Crowther to Hutchinson, 11 Dec. 1870, said that he had to pay the passage of Phillips to Sierra Leone to enable him after 12 years' service on the Niger to visit 'his *blind aged* father, his mother having died during his absence, as well as to settle in marriage one of his grown-up daughters'. Crowther to Hutchinson, 11 Feb. 1874, recommended an increase of salaries on condition that educated wives spent at least 3½ hours a day helping at school, but nothing was done about this, presumably because there were no funds. The mission authorities emphasized that a spiritual call, not the salary, should attract people to become mission agents, but those who like Venn took a personal interest in

Within the context of that situation, Crowther evolved a system—discussed in a paper he presented to the Conference of West African Protestant Missionaries in Gaboon in 1876—by which the preliminary work in each mission station would be done by evangelists 'whose age commands respect before chiefs and elders who look to them as equals in years but as superiors in knowledge'. Younger men who had acquired at college a 'liberal education in some special branches of literature' were then placed under them to acquire '*experience* of the evil of the human heart, and how to deal with it; *experience* how to conduct themselves before old, shrewd men like their fathers, so that their youth be not despised'.[1] Then they could be ordained and placed in charge of stations. His last-born son, Dandeson, whom he dedicated to missionary work, he sent to the Lagos Grammar School. Then he kept him as his private secretary and copyist and companion on his travels for four or five years, sent him to the C.M.S. Training College at Islington, ordained him in London in 1870, and posted him to Bonny in 1872. Two years later, Crowther at Lagos received from him an account of a journey to Kalabari to argue the chiefs out of their opposition to the proposed mission on the further side of the creek. Commenting on this report, Crowther remarked on Dandeson's tact, which he said was just the type of ability the mission required.[2] Dandeson was to become Superintendent and later Archdeacon of the Delta and Lower Niger Stations.

It was, of course, impossible to try to understand the rulers of the old town and know how to deal with them without learning to respect some aspects of their way of life. Thus, as Crowther came to depend more and more on education and on bridging the gap between the Mission House and the old world, though he continued to emphasize the value of civilization and foreign ideas, he was increasingly emphasizing the value of seeking what is good in the old society and cultivating it. As a translator

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many of the agents were not unaware that the salaries were inadequate to rear large families (and the agents did take keen interest in the education of their children, as a form of investment and insurance for the future, said Crowther). It was for this reason that Venn sought for people like Crowther who had proved themselves valuable to the mission alternative sources of income. In his case, his wife was exempted from the ban on trading, and when his position as bishop no longer warranted this, his salary was tripled.

[1] Printed Report of the *Conference of West African Protestant Missionaries held at Gaboon, February 1876*, Mission Press, Old Calabar, p. 13. The Conference was called by missionaries of the American Presbyterian Foreign Missions Board. Crowther was unable to attend. His Paper was read by Dandeson Crowther, who represented the Niger Mission. For this Report and other documents about the Conference see C.M.S. CA3/013. Italics in original.

[2] Crowther to Hutchinson, 11 Feb. 1874; C.M.S. CA3/04.

he had to ponder over the Yoruba equivalents of God, Devil, priest, and so on, and he consistently tried to find a term already in use. As head of a mission and in so far as he exercised authority as a bishop, this was his chief contribution to the development of the Church as a national institution.[1] 'Christianity,' he told the clergy in his charge of 1869, in which he attacked the E.U.B.M. and made quite clear his stand on the issue of nationalism—Christianity

> has come into the world to abolish and supersede all false religions, to direct mankind to the only way of obtaining peace and reconciliation with their offended God. . . . But it should be borne in mind that Christianity does not undertake to destroy national assimilation; where there are any degrading and superstititious defects, it corrects them; where they are connected with politics, such corrections should be introduced with due caution and with all meekness of wisdom, that there may be good and perfect understanding between us and the powers that be that while we render unto all their dues, we may regard it our bounden duty to stand firm in rendering to God the things that are God's.
>
> Their native Mutual Aid Clubs should not be despised, but where there is any with superstitious connections, it should be corrected and improved after a Christian model. Amusements are acknowledged on all hands to tend to relieve the mind and sharpen the intellect. If any such is not immoral or indecent, tending to corrupt the mind, but merely an innocent play for amusement, it should not be checked because of its being native and of a heathen origin. Of these kinds of amusements are fables, story-telling, proverbs and songs which may be regarded as stores of their national education in which they exercise their power of thinking: such will be improved upon and enriched from foreign stocks as civilization advances. Their religious terms and ceremonies should be carefully observed; the wrong use made of such terms does not depreciate their real value, but renders them more valid when we adopt them in expressing Scriptural terms in their right senses and places from which they have been misapplied for want of better knowledge.[2]

Coming from a bishop virtually on trial, the purity of whose religion was being watched, as he was accused in some quarters of baptizing too readily and lowering standards—coming from such a bishop, nothing could be clearer as a statement of policy.

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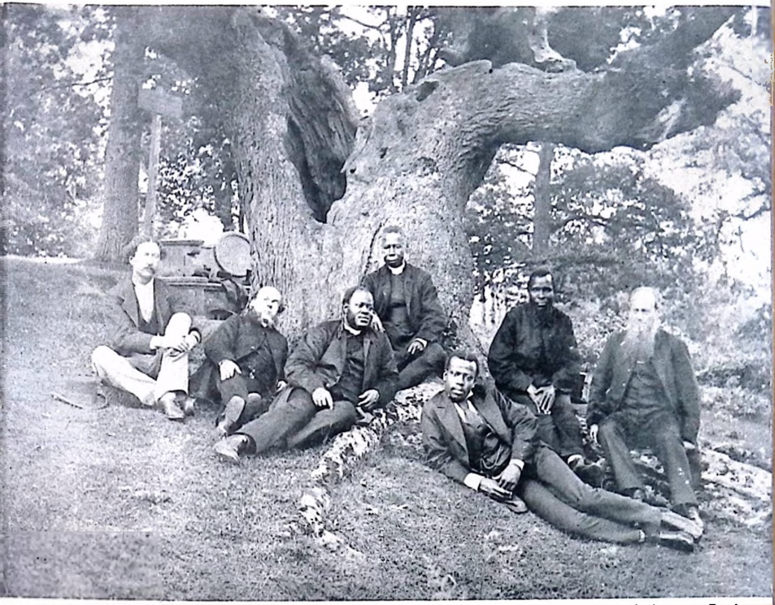
[1] Cf. Venn's doctrine of the Native Bishop and the Organization of the Native Church into a National Institution, pp. 176–7 above.

[2] Crowther, A Charge delivered at Lokoja in 1869, op. cit.



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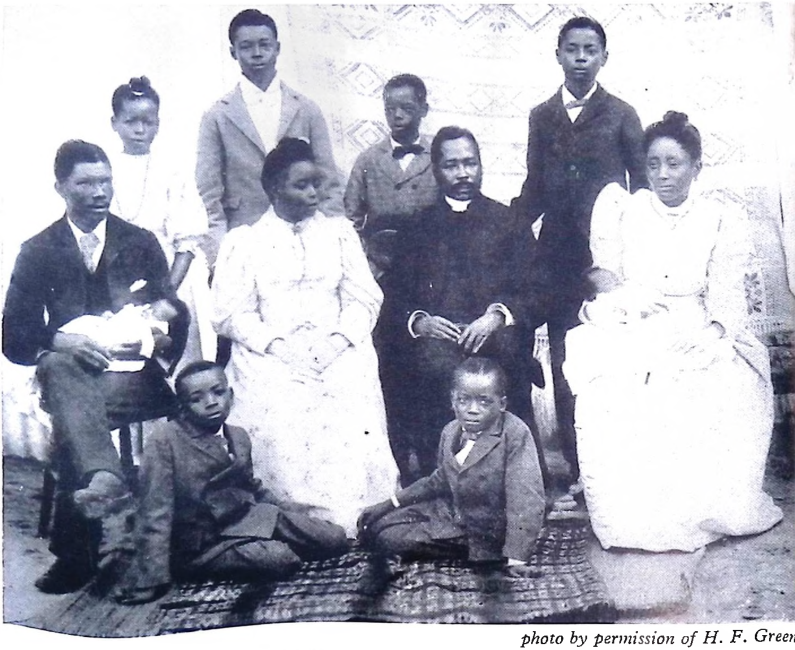
A Missionary Group under the Wilberforce Oak, 1874. Left to right: Mr. E. Hutchinson, C.M.S. Lay Secretary, 1872-1882; The Rev. D. Hinderer, of Ibadan; Archdeacon Henry Johnson of the Niger Mission; Bishop S. Crowther; Mr. King, a medical student; The Rev., later Bishop, James Johnson; The Rev. H. Townsend, of Abeokuta. The tree and stone, just visible behind them, mark the spot where William Wilberforce resolved to introduce into Parliament his Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade in 1789.



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A Chip off the Old Block. The Reverend J. Boyle and family in Bonny, 1897.

But it is not easy to find out how this policy was interpreted in practice or how far Crowther carried his clergy with him. Marked variations were somctimes obvious. The Rev. J. C. Taylor at Onitsha in the 1860s said that he did not see anything sinful in converts taking or retaining *ozo* titles[1]—which was comparable to being a member of the Ekpe Society in Calabar or the Ogboni at Abeokuta and has for a long time since been consistently condemned by European missionaries. On the other hand, the Rev. J. Boyle at Bonny in the 1880s in a similar situation forbade members of his church to join an attempt by King George Pepple to revive an Old Bonny Secret Society, *Owu Ogbo*, as the Bonny Play Club.[2] In practice, hostility to polygamy might have varied in intensity; Crowther remained a confirmed opponent and would not baptize a polygamist, but his son went further and declared polygamy to be 'slavery for the wives'.[3] Crowther remarked in 1886 on the 'native airs' for which the church at Otta, in the Yoruba Mission, was becoming well known—songs 'of suitable Scriptural compositions of their own adapted to their native airs'[4]—but it is doubtful if anything like it was encouraged anywhere else. Such development and adaptation as was necessary to make Christianity not just a foreign religion perched on the outside of the life of the community but a way of life for the whole community, to replace the old by absorbing all that was best in it, required time and the application of several well-cultivated minds working in an atmosphere free from distrust and suspicion. It could not be the work of a generation, or of one man on trial, working with no more than the staff that Crowther had.

Yet it must be said that in the Niger Mission, more than anywhere else in this period, the effort was made consistently to convert the men with influence in the old town so as to win the whole community for the new religion. The effort of Taylor has been referred to. In all the persecution the Church faced at Onitsha, the Bishop and the pastor did not have to argue alone with the chiefs. By 1868 there were already at least two titled men who were themselves being persecuted and who could in the councils of the land take up the defence of the new religion.[1] Such men, of course, were apt to argue with missionaries about how to do their work and what social customs to condemn and what to tolerate. They complicated the problem of Church discipline especially in the Delta, where the Church was most successful in converting leading members of the community. King George Pepple of Bonny was a Christian before the mission was established. Most of the chiefs in Bonny and Brass, however, rallied round the school and rivalled one another in donating money for it or for building and furnishing churches. When the time came their rivalry extended to putting away their idols, declaring themselves monogamists and accepting baptism.

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[1] Taylor to Venn, 9 Oct. 1862; C.M.S. CA3/037.

[2] Epelle, op. cit., p. 41 and Appendix 3, pp. 117–8. King George Pepple to Boyle, 11 Oct. 1884, argued that 'in the olden times, the play was connected with sundry sacrifices of fowls, goats, fish and the pouring of tumbo [i.e. palm wine] at the beginning as also at the end of the play. But at the present time, since the revival of the Club, by the desire of the chiefs, no sacrifice of any kind whatever has been offered, or made, or suggested, to the best of my inquiries and knowledge.' But Boyle remained unimpressed by the argument.

[3] Printed Report of the Gaboon Conference, op. cit., p. 8, during a debate on polygamy.

[4] Crowther to Venn, 6 Nov. 1866; C.M.S. CA3/04. It was Townsend who first remarked on the Otta Native airs in 1857. He said that the Otta converts who had gone out to meet him 'sang at my request some of their Christian hymns, words and tunes being of native composition, the first I have heard. Some of my carriers (Egba converts) were rather scandalized at this attempt, but I encouraged them to view it in a better light.' Journal entry for 29 Aug. 1857; C.M.S. CA2/085. Credit for this early attempt at evolving Christian hymns in the indigenous musical tradition goes to James White, emigrant catechist at Otta from 1854, ordained 1857, died 1890; C.M.S. CA2/087.

The depth of some conversions may be questioned. Dandeson Crowther in 1884 referred to the prevailing sin of polygamy, particularly at Nembe (Brass), 'where the majority of the chiefs baptized have fallen into the sin of polygamy'.[2] But there can be no questioning the fact that without evoking the force of the gunboat the missionaries got the chiefs not only to pass laws against human sacrifice and twin murder, the cruelty of which, though not necessarily the sinfulness, could be easily made obvious, but also to alter national customs to the point of abolishing, destroying and desecrating objects formerly held sacred. If it is any indication, the persecutions in the Niger Mission, at Onitsha, 1863, 1868–71; in Brass, 1871–77; at Bonny, 1871–75 and 1881–86, were apt to be fiercer than elsewhere, and Bonny claimed the only martyr of the period, Joshua Hart, in November 1875.[3] The assertion may be permitted that Christianity penetrated the life of the people as communities more thoroughly in the Delta than anywhere else in Nigeria. No doubt many factors contributed to this—the long trade connections with

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[1] Taylor to Venn, 9 Oct. 1862, also 10 Jan. 1863, referring to Okosi and Mba. Okosi was steadfast for a long time; Mba soon 'backslided', but his son Isaac Mba became a mission agent. In 1868 Crowther mentioned Adam Anyabu, 'a man of good connection' who at the conference with the Obi Elders, was defending Christianity 'boldly and faithfully'; Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger Mission, 1868, entry for 12 Aug.; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Not all the chiefs were able to choose the moment of their conversion as conveniently as King Ockiya, who gave up his idols in 1876, waited another 3 years to declare himself a monogamist ready to be baptized 'Constantine' in December 1870, and died two weeks later; Garrick to Crowther, 27 Dec. 1879; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] Stocks, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 461–3.

Europe, and prevailing economic factors of the nineteenth century—but the effectiveness of Crowther's missionary methods must be reckoned above all factors. In 1849 King William Pepple had informed Hope Waddell that anyone who told him that Bonny people could consent to destroy 'Juju House' was a liar. In 1889, after a short devotional service, 'Juju House' was pulled down and burnt.

What contribution Crowther would have made to the development of the Church as a national institution in Nigeria if he had become what Venn hoped he would be, a bishop with the co-operation of African pastors and European and African missionaries, both on the Niger and in Yoruba, is a matter for mere conjecture. It remains to indicate briefly how near to it he came, how his achievements on the Niger convinced some of his earlier critics, and how his ideas were beginning to influence others, before the reaction against him began.

To begin with, besides holding visitations at Otta and in the surrounding area, and continuing his work of translation, there was little Crowther could do in the Yoruba country except by special licence from the Bishop of Sierra Leone. When European missionaries were expelled from Abeokuta, Venn wrote to Townsend that though residing at Lagos he was to be regarded 'in the light of the Superintendent of the Abeokuta mission to carry out the plans for the organization of the Native Church', that it was essential to ordain some more pastors to manage the Church, and that Townsend should arrange to present such people to be ordained. Venn added that their ordination 'will properly fall to the province of Bishop Crowther',[1] that is, not to the Colonial Bishop of Sierra Leone. Crowther deliberately stayed aloof lest he should appear to countenance the anti-European views of G. W. Johnson and the Egba United Board of Management, though he suggested that the churches should only be rebuilt on the basis of a scheme of local self-support,[2] like the one he was working out in the Delta. But when by 1871 the Egba had not changed their policy, the Parent Committee asked Crowther to make a visitation to Abeokuta, for which the Bishop of Sierra Leone issued a licence. Townsend himself agreed to approach the Egba to give himself permission for a short visit so that he could prepare the candidates for ordination and confirmation ready for Crowther.

He went to Abeokuta in January 1871. He found the town split into two camps over the rival candidates, Ademola and Oyekan, for the throne of the Alake. Both sides spoke fair to Townsend, and told him he could return to Lagos and come back in June to stay a few weeks as he wished. But when he returned to Abeokuta in June he found the gates barred against him.[1] Crowther therefore postponed his visit. He went on to the Niger but when the vessel in which he was returning to the coast was grounded near Lokoja, he decided to return to Lagos overland, and to use the opportunity to visit the churches in the interior. He was accompanied by some of the crew and passengers, eight Europeans and about a dozen Africans. At Ogbomoso his attention was drawn to the Baptist converts, twenty-two of them, without a teacher since 1862, who had been meeting together on Sundays by themselves. A few young men who had gone to school read the Scriptures in turn; the elders engaged in prayers. Crowther had a service with them and told Baptists in Lagos of the continued existence of the little congregation. He spent a week at Ibadan, where the Rev. D. Olubi and two catechists had been looking after the three C.M.S. congregations and occasionally visiting others in the out-stations. Crowther noted, concerning the agents, that 'the Are respected and consulted them on any matter of doubt between [Ibadan] and the white man'. He visited all the congregations and at a joint service confirmed ninety-four candidates and celebrated Holy Communion for 107 people. Then he moved on to Abeokuta. He was met at the gate by envoys of the two parties in the town. From the Ademola party there were Henry Robbin and another emigrant, J. George, who had become a chief, the Lisa Oba ('an important title among the Elders'), accompanied by a messenger bearing the staff of the Alake. They wanted Crowther and his men to lodge at the C.M.S. Mission House at Ake. From the Oyekan party there was a messenger of the E.U.B.M. bearing a large envelope enclosing a permit, valid for ten days, allowing the party to enter the town but directing that they should stay at the Methodist Mission House at Ogbe near G. W. Johnson's house on the other side of the town. The Ademola party gave way. Crowther spent a week, visited all the mission stations and held a communion service for 116 people. He also held a conference with the chiefs, who were united in welcoming him and in asking him to present to the Foreign Office their grievances against the Lagos government. He returned to Lagos through Otta, where he opened a new church building.[2]

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[1] Venn to Townsend, 21 Dec. 1869; C.M.S. CA2/L3.

[2] Crowther to Hutchinson, 19 Jan. 1871; to Venn, 4 Jan. 1868; C.M.S. CA3/04.

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[1] Crowther to Venn, 19 June 1871, suggests that this was due in part to Robbin's and Townsend's mismanagement of the situation; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Crowther: Journal of an overland route journey, December 1871–February 1872. Ogbomosho 16 Jan., Ibadan 20–29 Jan., Abeokuta 30 Jan.–5 Feb. See also printed memorandum, 'Acts of Liberality of King Masaba of Nupe to British subjects', Lagos February 1872, recounting and estimating the cost of the hospitality they received not only from the Emir of Bida but also all along the way; C.M.S. CA3/04. Also Crowther to Kimberley, 6 Feb. 1872; CO147/23.

The journey showed that the removal of European supervision had not shaken the Church in the interior; rather, it had encouraged it to develop self-confidence and self-support. The members had moved closer to the traditional rulers; they started praying for them in their services, took more interest in local politics and were anxious to exert their influence in the Councils of the land. More than that, they were contributing money to support their pastors and to send teachers and evangelists to outlying stations. This growing spirit of independence in the interior soon began to affect Lagos, where the wealthiest parishioners were to be found. These were now asking for some say in the affairs of the Church since they were prepared to contribute money for its support. To this end they founded in September 1872 an 'Association to further the interests of Christianity and Education in Lagos'.[1] Crowther's journey had proved that his episcopal authority was acceptable everywhere; that the Church in Yoruba which had been without episcopal visitation since 1859 needed a bishop, and that the Bishop of Sierra Leone could not conveniently fulfil the office as long as the Egba and the Ijebu continued to refuse to open the roads to Europeans. The Parent Committee and the C.M.S. therefore began to discuss the necessity for the Bishop of Sierra Leone to transfer his control of the European missionaries and Yorubaland to Crowther.

There was at the same time a movement in Sierra Leone for the formation of an independent African Church which alarmed the Parent Committee. They summoned Crowther to London together with Rev. James Johnson, a lecturer at Fourah Bay College, who was judged to have been the brain behind the movement. Venn had died in January of that year, but the Committee saw only too well from the threats of schism what was likely to happen if his principles were not fully put into practice. They therefore decided to ask Crowther to visit Sierra Leone and pacify the African pastors there;[2] to transfer James Johnson to the Yoruba Mission and find a post of responsibility for him; to press on with the introduction of the pastorate scheme to Lagos; and finally, to settle the headship of the Yoruba Mission. Meanwhile Townsend and Hinderer continued as Superintendents of their old stations, living on the coast and attempting periodic visits inland to advise and supervise the African agents.

Townsend went to Abeokuta in February. The politics were confused, but there was no marked hostility towards him. The two parties were approaching the time when their internal struggle would lead them each to make overtures to the Lagos government and the missionaries. Townsend made friends with G. W. Johnson, visited him in his house and recommended that he and men like him, of the 'Civilized Party', though not church communicants, ought to be brought back into mission work, particularly on education boards and school committees.[1] Hinderer was even more welcome at Ibadan, where he spent four months. However, he remarked that it was not himself that was the centre of attraction but the Rev. D. Olubi, who enjoyed genuine respect from Christians, heathens and Muslims alike, and that, particularly since the Ashanti War, Europeans were suspect.[2] Whether Townsend and Hinderer concerted plans is not clear, but they both returned from their visits to recommend the appointment of an African bishop for the Yoruba area. 'Has not the time come,' wrote Hinderer in May 1875

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[1] The leaders of the Association were C. Foresythe, J. Otonba Payne, and J. P. L. Davies. Payne to Maser, 1 Sept. 1873; C.M.S. CA2/011; Davies to Wright, 17 Oct. 1873, 3 Aug. 1874; C.M.S. CA2/033.

[2] Crowther to Hutchinson, 24 June 1873, giving an account of his visit to Sierra Leone; C.M.S. CA3/04.

> when the native bishop's jurisdiction should be further extended than the Niger, especially to his own native soil? . . . The past six or seven years surely have sufficed to show that the native teachers of Christianity are as acceptable to people and chiefs of this country (I speak here of heathen people—as for converts, that is a matter of course) as white man was some twenty years ago, without whom the native could have had no standing then and that kind of feeling was manifest to a great extent still at the Bishop's consecration, which was the chief reason as far as I know, for his not being made to preside over us. That feeling has changed entirely.

And lest it be said that he wrote that because he was an old man and that 'at my time of life I have not to care being under a native bishop,' he added,

> I could assure any young man from the knowledge I have of Bishop

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[1] Townsend to Wright, 9 Feb. 1875: The Civilized Party 'are men engaged in trade who have been baptized and taught and fallen into sinful habits but who attend Church regularly and are often seen at prayer meetings. They are no better and no worse than the great majority of Church goers in England. . . . It is this class I wish to get as money helpers and as having some part in managing a school system.' He repeats this in his letter of 2 March 1875 adding that 'Christianity divorced from the Western way of Life, from trade and schools etc. would wither.' He then goes on to take a more understanding view of the emigrants and converts who turned polygamist. The wife, he said, 'is educated by country maxims and rules, and these were framed ages gone by to help the husband of many wives. For instance, the wife separates from the husband until her child is weaned and that may be three or more years.' C.M.S. CA2/085.

[2] Hinderer to Wright, 14 May 1875, enclosing Journal of Missionary Journey, February–April 1875, Lagos—Ondo—Ife—Ibadan. Hinderer was at Ibadan, 10 April–5 Aug.; C.M.S. CA2/049.

> Crowther that he is the last person in the world to lord it over anyone. Nor would his native teachers take advantage because episcopal authority has changed colour.[1]

Townsend, consistent to the last, proposed not the extension of Crowther's jurisdiction, but the appointment of another African, James Johnson. In January 1876, the Parent Committee wrote privately and confidentially to Crowther that:

> Our good friend Townsend . . . after thinking over all the plans that might be suggested . . . has come to the opinion that the best thing to be done in his judgement in order to promote the well-being of the native Church and the progress of the work at Abeokuta and the Yoruba country would be the removal to that place of our native brother Mr. James Johnson. . . . He further suggests that with this view he should be made Bishop of Abeokuta and the Yoruba country, as you are Bishop of the Niger. . . . The Committee are disposed to regard the suggestion favourably—so that we have written to lay the matter before the Bishop of Sierra Leone.[2]

Crowther was all in favour. James Johnson, he said, would make an admirable bishop. That would leave him free to devote all his attention to improving the efficiency of the Niger Mission. Towards this end the Parent Committee launched an appeal to buy a little vessel so that the Bishop could visit the scattered stations more regularly and in greater comfort. They invited him to England to join the appeal and consult with them and Townsend in working out the details of the new arrangements.[3] That moment was the climax of his career. In the face of much suspicion and calumny, he had maintained a steady course, and now even Townsend paid him the compliment of suggesting that Venn's principles were right and that another African bishop should be created.

But Crowther's victory was short-lived. Opinions about the ability of other races are usually a matter not of fact but of crude prejudice that the careers of one or two or several men can neither justify nor disprove. The younger European missionaries Hinderer referred to were opposed to the full implementation of the Pastorate Scheme and had petitioned against Johnson's appointment. The Bishop of Sierra Leone advised caution. The committee decided to appoint Johnson for a trial period as Superintendent of the Interior Missions and to consecrate him bishop only if he succeeded. A new age was approaching in which it was impossible for Johnson to succeed, just as Crowther's extraordinary career would have been impossible if Venn had been less persistent or if Britain had been ready in 1864 to impose political rule over the peoples of the Niger.

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[1] Ibid. He repeated this also in his letter of 10 Sept. 1875.

[2] Hutchinson to Crowther, 28 Jan. 1876; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[3] Report of a Sub-committee appointed to confer with Bishop Crowther and Messrs. Townsend and Hinderer on matters connected with the Niger Mission, 20 March 1877; Committee of Correspondence, May 1877, cited in Crowther to Hutchinson, 4 Dec. 1880; C.M.S. CA3/04.

8 The Turning of the Tide

In 1877, just as James Johnson was setting out for Abeokuta as Superintendent of the C.M.S. missions in the interior, and while Bishop Crowther was waiting at Lagos for the mission steamer, events were gathering force which soon altered the whole basis of missionary work in Nigeria. In that year broke out the last of the Yoruba wars. Abeokuta, Ilesha and Ekiti were menaced by Ibadan. Gradually they built up the grand alliance called Ekiti Parapo which at various times included Ilorin, Ife and Ijebu. Since Oyo aided Ibadan, the war came to affect practically every part of Yoruba. It went on intermittently, neither side gaining the advantage, and later provided an excuse for British intervention.

More momentous than the Yoruba war was the growing competition between the European nations to stake out claims and secure territorial possessions in Africa. The Niger and the Benue were much-coveted waterways. In 1879 the four British companies on the Niger amalgamated into the United African Company under George Taubman Goldie. Thus the British were prepared for the competition which soon came from the French on the Niger and in Dahomey, and the Germans in the Cameroons. The English position was recognized by the Berlin Conference in 1885, the French Company sold out to the British Niger Company[1] which soon after, in 1886, obtained a charter to rule northern Nigeria. Britain also declared protectorates over the rest of the country. In this way, between 1877 and 1891, Nigeria, from being 'regions beyond the Queen's dominions', became three separate British protectorates: the Lagos Protectorate, the Oil Rivers Protectorate, and the Territories of the Royal Niger Company.

This change affected the development of the Church in Nigeria in many ways, the most notable being the impetus given to the missionary societies by the new urge of Europeans not only to trade with Africans but also to rule over them. The European missionaries confined to the coast since 1867 began once more to move inland. The Rev. W. David came with a Negro pastor in 1875 to revive the American Baptist missions. French ambitions in Nigeria manifested themselves in the forward drive of Catholic missions. The S.M.A. moved to Abeokuta in 1880 and to Ibadan and Oyo in 1884. In 1885 they planned a new mission to the Muslim emirates and established a station at Lokoja but were soon obliged to remove to Asaba. The Methodists, under an energetic superintendent, the Rev. J. Milum, reorganized the Yoruba Mission to become in 1879 a District separate from the Gold Coast and ready to share in the general movement of expansion. Entirely new missionary societies were coming in too, the first being the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers, who established their first station at Onitsha in 1885. They were followed by the Qua Ibo Mission in 1887 and the Primitive Methodists in 1892. Secure behind the British imperial lion, the Christian missions were ready for the great expansion that gathered pace with the British war on Ijebu in 1892, and on Benin in 1897, and was only interrupted by the First World War in 1914.[1]

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[1] The United African Company (1879) became the National African Company in 1882. On obtaining a Charter in 1886 it became the Royal Niger Company. For the sake of simplicity, I refer to the two earlier companies as the Niger Company.

This movement of expansion belonged to the future. More relevant here is the way in which the increased interests of European nations in Africa altered the basis of the missionary work we have been discussing. After being in the vanguard, dragging traders and consuls after them, missionaries were beginning to follow after the political officer.[2] They were even more than before closely allied with the national interests of their country. For a while this intensified the rivalry between French Catholics and British Protestants. But the Catholic Fathers soon adjusted themselves to the idea of working in a British colony. They brought in Irish Fathers,[3] equally Catholic and more at home in British territory, and they never lacked sympathetic Catholic officials in the Lagos administration.

It was less easy for the existing congregations and African missionaries to adjust themselves to the new situation. For, from suppliants seeking protection in the country, the European missionaries became protectors, and their attitude towards Africans changed accordingly. From fellow-men and brothers, though not without rivalry, they were becoming part of a ruling caste. Johnson was recalled from Abeokuta. The mission-educated Africans, in particular the missionaries on the Niger, were gradually discredited; European missionaries were introduced into the Niger, and in the end, Crowther was forced to resign. The 1880s were a transitional period, a decade of conflict and bitter racial feeling, of schismatic movements in all the existing missions, except, of course, the Catholic, which had been less committed to the old tradition.

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[1] Groves, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 185–9 and *passim*.

[2] Governor Glover in Lagos began the process. In 1863 he invited the C.M.S. to establish a mission at Oke-Odan, over which he was trying to establish a protectorate. The mission was short-lived. Again in 1871, in trying to open up the new route to the north through Agbabu and Ondo, he similarly invited the C.M.S. to consider taking up stations along the route. In that way began the work of the Rev., later Bishop, C. Phillips at Ondo. Glover to Rev. L. Nicholson, 12 June 1871, in C.M.S. CA2/04.

[3] The earliest Irish Fathers began to arrive in Lagos, where the teaching of English was most essential, by the late 1870s. In 1881 an S.M.A. Seminary was opened in Ireland. S.M.A. *100 Years of Missionary Achievement*, p. 31.

At the centre of much of the controversy was James Johnson—'Holy Johnson', as he was nicknamed in Lagos.[1] He was a spare, fervent, puritanical figure, a zealous reformer with ideas very similar to those of Crowther, but with little of Crowther's deferential, diplomatic approach. A very able, conscientious man, he could not stand the pretensions of many European missionaries and he said so. Even less could he stand the supine African who continued uncritically to imitate European ways. He was a rebel from Sierra Leone and he fought all his life to see that the African of ability got his due respect and that the Church which held out so much promise to the African was made 'not an exotic but a plant become indigenous to the soil'.[2] He came to advocate a reform of the liturgy to suit local conditions.[3] When he listened to an Ifa priest converted to Christianity talking of the attributes of God as taught by his old religion, Johnson felt he had to learn from him about how to present the Christian God to the heathen.[4] When he heard the native airs at Otta, to which we have referred, he wished to see them cultivated and extended to other stations.[5] Two things he particularly wished to reform in the Church: the separateness of the Mission House from the old town, and the lack of fervour among the members. 'Christians,' he observed in Lagos in 1876,

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[1] Archdeacon J. Lucas: *History of St. Paul's Breadfruit Church*, Lagos 1952.

[2] Report from the Rev. James Johnson, August 1877: report on Otta; C.M.S. CA2/056.

[3] Cf. ibid, report on Ibadan: 'Every time I worshipped in the Church and the translation and adaptation of the prayer in the liturgy for the Queen's Majesty was read, that portion asking for victory over the enemies of the rulers of the country always grated on my ears. I felt I couldn't conscientiously say "Amen" to it.'

[4] J. Johnson to Wright, 2 Aug. 1876, re Jose Meffre's address to Dosumu and his chiefs, 'an address founded upon some of the descriptive and significant names of Ifa such as the "great Almighty one", the "Child of God", the "One who came whom we have put to death with cudgels causelessly", the "One who is mightiest among the gods and prevailed to do on a certain occasion what they could not" '; C.M.S. CA2/056.

[5] Report from the Rev. James Johnson, August, 1877: report on Otta; C.M.S. CA2/056.

> are regarded as a people separate from [the community], as identifying themselves with a foreign people: the dress they usually assume has become a badge of distinction: the distance between them and the heathens is far greater than that between heathens and Mohammedans. Often many heathens and Mohammedans are found living together in the same house. Christians are rarely found living thus with either. All these contribute to the growth of Islamism.[1]

But he was a reformer, not a revolutionary. He sought his reforms within the existing Anglican Church in which he had been brought up. He was accustomed to believe that the African would be given a chance to make his contribution within that Church. When he felt thwarted, he spoke out passionately in a way many friends and opponents interpreted as meaning a readiness to secede from that Church. But in 1873, far from setting up an independent Church in Sierra Leone, he accepted transfer to Lagos. Again, in 1891, he disappointed seceders who hoped he would be their leader. He was an introvert, seeking the guidance of an inner light, often behaving in a way that puzzled those who thought they could predict what he would do next. He could not contemplate existence outside the Church, but others received inspiration from his words in seeking such an existence.

He arrived in Lagos in 1874 and was made pastor of the leading congregation, that of St Paul's, Breadfruit Church. His work there was devoted to the setting up of the Lagos Native Pastorate, begun in 1875, and the development of the Lagos School Board. He was far from being indulgent to his congregation. Discipline was strict over church attendance, the payment of dues, and the leading of an upright life. Even in little matters he imposed his will. It was said, for instance, when he began to preach against the unnecessary adoption of foreign names, that if any baby was presented to him for baptism, he listened as the European names were being read out and then asked if there was not one other name, a local name, that the parents wished to call their child. As soon as one was mentioned, he signed the baby with the cross and baptized him by that last name alone.[2] At first his congregation were on the verge of revolt against his high-handed manner. But such was his own manner of life that, as they grew to know him, they loved him. It was with difficulty they allowed him to go to Abeokuta in 1877.

He was sent to Abeokuta with instructions

> to take the superintendence of the work in Abeokuta and Ibadan with a view on the one hand of working out the organization of the native

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[1] J. Johnson to Hutchinson, 6 March 1876; C.M.S. CA2/056.

[2] J. Lucas, op. cit.

> Churches and, on the other, of extending the work beyond its present limits.[1]

He travelled through all the old mission stations, to Ilaro, to Ibadan and Oyo, noting the state of the churches, what parts of the liturgy needed adaptation and what reforms were most urgently called for. He referred in particular to the continued problems of polygamy, drunkenness, and domestic slavery, all of which he wished to see rooted out. Domestic slavery, he said at Ibadan, was prevalent. 'There is no Christian government to stamp out this accursed institution with the stroke of a pen. We must [work] it out through the Church and educate our people to it.'[2] Then he settled at Abeokuta, organizing church committees of each congregation, a Church council of the delegates of all the congregations, and a monthly conference of all the pastors and catechists. The council raised weekly contributions (class fees) from 1 string (about a penny) to 7½ strings of cowries, and Johnson at once began to take steps to enforce this levy.[3] Early in 1879 the Bishop of Sierra Leone visited Abeokuta and made a favourable report on Johnson's work. The only thing that worried the Bishop was the continued holding of domestic slaves and pawns by both mission agents and converts. The committee therefore wished Johnson to take steps at once to eradicate the evil. They drew up a minute on domestic slavery, a copy of which they sent to him:

> With members generally of the Christian Church in Africa, the committee do no more than appeal in loving remembrance . . . but no one in the employment of the Society shall hold man, woman or child, or have personally any connection with the practice.[4]

Johnson's high-handed methods had been causing resentment at Abeokuta. At a time of war and depression in trade he was imposing larger class fees than ever before. He went so far as to collect a list of names of defaulters and to exclude from communion those whom he judged able to afford the fees.[5] When he began to attack domestic slavery, it was not only Church members but others in the town who took alarm. There was an uproar at Abeokuta; the other mission agents, themselves under sentence of the anti-slavery edict, did not support Johnson. In October the Committee wrote to the Bishop of Sierra Leone:

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[1] Instructions of the Parent Committee to James Johnson, 8 Dec. 1876; C.M.S. CA2/056.

[2] Report from the Rev. James Johnson, August 1877: report on Ibadan; C.M.S. CA2/056.

[3] J. Johnson, Report on Abeokuta churches, 30 Jan. 1878.

[4] Hutchinson to James Johnson, 6 Aug. 1879, enclosing 'Minutes of the Parent Committee on Domestic Slavery in the Yoruba Mission'; C.M.S. CA2/L4.

[5] Secretaries to J. Johnson, 24 Oct. 1879; C.M.S. CA2/L4.

> We are of opinion—and in this we are strongly supported by Mr. Townsend and Mr. Wood—that it would be injurious to the work at Abeokuta if at the present moment Mr. Johnson is removed—in case such a step can be avoided.[1]

Yet, two months later, in spite of Johnson's protest that the opposition was dying down, the Committee decided to withdraw him and replace him by a European, the Rev. V. Faulkner.

It is not clear why the Committee changed their minds. The main reason expressed was that

> There seemed no hope that in the present state of things he would regain the influence for carrying out the Society's minute on domestic slavery.[2]

Domestic slavery had come to be regarded as the perennial excuse for every action, just as the external slave trade had been earlier when Britain sought footholds on the coast. But if Johnson could not enforce the minute on domestic slavery, it was unlikely that Faulkner would be able to do so. What seems clear, however, is that Johnson was not withdrawn on the merits of his case alone. Events on the Niger were beginning to loom large and to discourage any further proceeding with the idea of making Johnson a native bishop. By examining them we can trace in some detail the process whereby increased European interests in the country led to a gradual undermining of confidence in the Africans on whom the Europeans had previously depended.

By 1875 it was becoming obvious that the partnership between the Niger Mission and the West Africa Company could not be maintained much longer. The main difficulty was the 'insane' competition, largely between four British companies but also between them and emigrant traders and Brassmen from the coast. This competition forced up the prices of African produce, which meant for the European traders not only less gross profit, but also having to carry up more goods for the same amount of ivory. In the circumstances the West Africa Company was finding it irritating and burdensome to have to allocate space to missionaries who could not pay a competitive price for it. There was also the feeling among European traders that for every African missionary given passage, one or two African traders, competitors, were being surreptitiously and indirectly helped. The result was increasing hostility to African traders and missionaries alike, and much calumny was spread about them.

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[1] Secretaries to Bishop Chetham, 24 Oct. 1879; C.M.S. CA2/L4.

[2] Secretaries to Maser, 16 Oct. 1879; C.M.S. CA2/L4.

Clegg had died. J. Edgar, the new Managing Director of the West Africa Company, wrote in April 1875 to Josiah Crowther, the Agent-General, that he had information that on one of their ships,

> there was drunken excess and extravagant waste of stores and strong liquor, hungry missionary rabble devouring everything, lazy loafers, illicit traders, dissolute black women and all implied in so naming them, smuggled on board or brought in impudently and found squatting or lying above and below among the men and much else besides.[1]

He said he wished to have full information on what the connection with the mission was costing the company. 'I am not sure we do not lose by the thing,' he said. '. . . I am afraid anything we get [for freight] for either Onitsha and especially Lokoja and Egga will never half pay us, our expenses are so heavy.'

> I shall always be ready to give the Bishop every facility for his Niger Mission that does not interfere with the requirements or the success of the trading arrangements of the company. . . .
>
> Were it not for my personal regard for the good Bishop and the deep sympathy I have with him in his Christian work, I should be unwilling to take either passenger or luggage.[2]

When Crowther saw the letter, he took the hint and began to suggest to the C.M.S. that the way to lessen the irritation of the company was to provide the mission with a little vessel of its own. But he could not let the general abuse of the missionaries go unanswered, especially since he was himself on board the *Victoria*, the vessel in question, and he saw nothing to warrant such 'sweeping, disparaging and indiscriminating charges'. In September, while travelling from Lokoja to Egga en route for Bida 'being free from pressure of business and less disturbed by constant visitors', he took the trouble to reply to Edgar like an old friend, 'as if I were at the office at Dickinson Street, Manchester, conversing with you on the subject of those communications.' He reviewed at some length the past connection between the company and the mission, the growing hostility of Europeans towards Africans on the river, and the need for friends of the Africans not to accept literally what the European traders said about them.

> My dear Sir, I am a missionary and a passenger on board your steamer; I do not lend myself to tale-telling or accusing servants to

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[1] Edgar to Josiah Crowther, 30 April 1875, copy in C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Ibid.

> their masters. . . . I will simply ask whether the statement [about missionary rabble] came from any crew or passenger on board the *Victoria* or from a distant observer? . . .
>
> The fact of the case is simply this, the presence of missionaries on board the steamer or in the river is an eye-sore to some ungodly Europeans in the Niger.[1]

To illustrate this, he referred to the troubles the missionaries had over the question of Sunday observance. With the competition what it was, and the annual season of trade so short, most European traders found it highly irritating for missionaries to tell them not to work or to make others work on Sunday. Crowther quoted from the correspondence between the missionary at Onitsha and the local agent of Holland, Jacques & Co., one Cliff, who had been saying that the institution of Sunday was an invention of rascally, mischievous black missionaries unknown to the white man.[2] Such correspondence, and even the abusive tone of certain letters from traders to missionaries, were not, of course, peculiar to the Niger. In similar situations parallels can be found in the West Indies, South Africa and New Zealand. What was peculiar to the Niger was the fact that the missionaries were all Africans 'not yet proven', but, as it were, on trial, and that the C.M.S. authorities could not completely ignore the calumnies as just the result of the irritated feelings of the Europeans. The persistent reports of the Europeans were gradually undermining the confidence the C.M.S. previously had in African missionaries. This first became perceptible when Crowther did get the steamer he had asked for.

When it was known that the Bishop was about to be provided with a small steamer, the traders assured the C.M.S. that the missionaries and their trading relatives would use the steamer not only to compete against the European companies, but also to ruin the spiritual work of the mission. As a necessary precaution, therefore, Crowther agreed with the committee when he visited England in 1877 that the vessel be put in charge of a European lay agent, J. A. Ashcroft, who had been sent to the Niger in 1860 but had had to return to Sierra Leone. It was also agreed that Ashcroft was not only to take charge of the vessel, but was also to relieve Crowther of the secular affairs of the mission. He was to deal with building and repairs, payment of salaries, and management of stores, as well as with estimates and accounts, all of which Crowther had previously had to supervise alone. If Ashcroft had been sent as an official of the mission to go and take orders from the Bishop as the head of the mission, as Crowther expected, he would have been of immense help and a much needed reinforcement to the mission. But when in 1878 Ashcroft took out the *Henry Venn*, as the mission steamer was named, he was designated the 'Accountant of the Mission', associated with the Bishop, 'who is to be considered as the Secretary of the Mission'. He was to be in charge of the 'temporalities', as Crowther was in charge of the spiritual affairs of the mission.[1]

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[1] Crowther to Edgar, 3 Sept. 1875; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Richard Cliff to the Rev. S. Perry, 31 Jan. 1875, in reply to Perry's letter of same date; encl. in Crowther to Edgar, 3 Sept. 1875; C.M.S. CA3/04. Also ibid., Cliff to Crowther, 27 Oct. 1875.

A struggle for power was inevitable between Crowther, hitherto sole Director, and the new 'Accountant', especially since Ashcroft, because of his bad temper, found it difficult to get along peaceably with anyone and, as Hutchinson, Venn's successor, told Crowther, 'Your African climate tries the temper sadly.'[2] The struggle for power was, however, only a minor aspect of the struggle for the confidence of the C.M.S., for it would appear that Hutchinson intended Ashcroft not only to share power with Crowther, but also to supersede him as the leading representative of the C.M.S. on the Niger. This was not just because the C.M.S. was a lay organization and Ashcroft was a layman, but because, owing to stories spread by European traders, Hutchinson no longer trusted the African missionaries. Ashcroft was not only given sole charge of the *Henry Venn*; he was there to keep an eye on the missionaries. It is not known what verbal instructions he had. He soon wrote to say that since the vessel could not move unless he was on board and he had to make accounts on land and keep an eye on buildings and repairs, he required a deputy, and he nominated a friend of his, James Kirk, lately returned from America. In his letter of instructions dated 6 December 1878, Hutchinson told Kirk what it was unlikely he had told the Bishop, that

> it appeared evident that the Mission was not in a satisfactory condition and that the agents, both ordained and unordained, with a few notable exceptions, were not maintaining a high tone of Christian life and conversation.[3]

It was clear that Hutchinson had lost—or probably never had—

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[1] 'Memorandum on the financial arrangements for the Niger', encl. in Hutchinson to Ashcroft, 3 May 1878; C.M.S. CA3/L1. See also printed 'Regulations for the use of the Mission Steamer', 1878; National Archives, Ibadan; ECC 20/9. In 1883 Lang to Phillips, 26 January, said the *Henry Venn* was 'in a special sense given to the Bishop for his Mission. It was to a great extent a personal gift from those who were interested in him and in his mission'; C.M.S. C3 A3/L2.

[2] Hutchinson to Crowther, 5 Sept. 1878; C.M.S. CA3/L2.

[3] Hutchinson to James Kirk, 6 Dec. 1878; C.M.S. CA3/L1.

confidence in Crowther; his letters show that he put his trust in Ashcroft and Kirk, though he had yet to convince many people in the C.M.S. that Crowther was no longer worthy of their trust.

It must be said that two laymen hostile from the first to the mission were not likely to help to raise the tone of Christian life in the mission. As we shall see, they appreciated none of Crowther's problems and would not see the need for reform. In disputes between missionaries and European traders they sided with the traders. They diverted the mission vessel from facilitating episcopal visitation to trade and exploration. And all the time they harped on the theme that Africans could be trusted to work well only under European supervision.

The revival of this theme just when Townsend and Hinderer had dropped it coincided with Goldie's entry into the Niger. Out of the competing British interests he sought to create one solid bloc behind which he expected all loyal British people to range. This created a problem for the Niger Mission, as they too represented British interests but were also loyal to the African petty traders with whose interests those of Goldie's new company were hardly compatible. It was natural that he and his agents should feel that only under the supervision of Europeans could the loyalty of the African missionaries be ensured.

Josiah Crowther and other Africans like him holding positions of responsibility in the companies were dismissed when the companies were amalgamated in 1879. Systematic pressure was exerted to drive them out of the river as independent traders, unless they wished to remain as clerks and mistrusted officials. These African traders, says Dr. Flint, 'almost always caused Goldie to lose his sense of proportion'.[1] By 1886, when Goldie had acquired a charter and political power, he designated the emigrants and Brassmen as 'foreigners' in the territories of the new Royal Niger Company, who had to obtain licences if they wished to trade on the river. The effect of the licence, said Goldie himself

> will be to enforce some contribution to the revenue from—or else to exclude from the Territories—a class of men, happily now extinct, who were formerly the worst enemies of civilization in Central Africa. These were disreputable coloured men (in the past they were generally inferior clerks dismissed for peculation) who . . . lived, by surreptitious dealing in slaves . . . stirring up the natives to discontent and bloodshed . . . under a mask of ardent piety.[2]

This was hardly a fair comment on the work of Crowther and others who preceded Goldie in developing the Niger trade. Clearly the days of

[1] Flint, op. cit., p. 98.

[2] Goldie to Iddesleigh, 13 Dec. 1886; FO 84/1798; Flint, op. cit., p. 98.

Buxton, Laird and Clegg, of British capital investment through African agency, were over. Crowther saw this in 1879 when he refused to continue to hold the C.M.S. shares of the West Africa Company in the new company.[1] The important point here is that while in the struggle between the Niger Company and the African traders the missionaries necessarily sided with the African traders—out of sympathy, not just for helpless traders who pioneered the trade and were being hounded out, but for relatives, friends and parishioners—the authorities of the C.M.S. were not so committed to a conflict with Goldie. Some of them were suspicious of Goldie's methods and continued to sympathize with the old policy of encouraging 'African advancement', but by and large the majority of them as Englishmen felt that Goldie was in his way doing a patriotic job that needed doing and which nobody else was in a position to do. A few, in particular Hutchinson, the Lay Secretary himself, shared many of Goldie's ambitions and wished to co-operate with him and his agents. This meant that Hutchinson the more readily accepted the traders' estimate of the African missionaries, and that in cases of dispute between traders and missionaries he was inclined to believe that the missionaries were wrong.

Hutchinson, emulating the patriotic ambitions of Goldie, encouraged Ashcroft to explore up the Benue beyond Yola, and asked Crowther to consider leading an exploration from the Benue down towards the Shari River. In February 1880 Ashcroft was asked to join the search for a sanatorium for Europeans on the Cameroon mountains. In using the vessel on these speculative errands, Ashcroft was depriving the Bishop of its use. Moreover, the cost of maintaining it was far beyond the means of the mission. Hutchinson then had no choice but to give permission for Ashcroft and Kirk to trade with the vessel. Hitherto they had been allowed to take cargo, but only from the recognized agents of the European firms.[2] This was to prevent their subordinate African agents from trading surreptitiously, but it meant in effect discriminating between European and African traders in favour of Europeans. And then Ashcroft really went into trade. By collaborating with Captain McIntosh, the Agent-General of the Niger Company, he obtained potash and other produce from Nupe and carried it down to Lagos to sell to Banner Brothers & Co. and McIver & Co. Ltd.[3]

[1] Crowther to Hutchinson, 16 Oct. 1879; C.M.S. CA3/04. Also Hutchinson to Crowther, 5 Sept. 1879, trying to defend the Company: 'I do hope your information as to the character of the agents is a little biased. . . . But still if you think you ought not to be a shareholder, I must ask Mr. Edgar to make other arrangements about the shares'; C.M.S. CA3/L1.

[2] Hutchinson to Ashcroft, 19 Dec. 1879; C.M.S. CA3/L1.

[3] Wood to Whitting, 12 Aug. 1881. Both Whitting and Wood were puzzled as to where the original capital for starting the business came from. Wood

The collaboration between McIntosh and Ashcroft inevitably went a step further. In the past most European traders, in criticizing the African missionaries, had always implied that many of their faults were attributable to Crowther's inability to supervise them adequately. Captain McIntosh, in pursuit of Goldie's policy, now condemned all African missionaries *en masse* and argued that nothing but the leadership of European missionaries would do on the Niger. But since it would not be easy to convince the C.M.S.—apart from the Lay Secretary—that they should replace Crowther by a European until he was shown to be unworthy of his post, McIntosh turned to the Methodist Superintendent at Lagos. The only Methodist station in the interior was at Abeokuta, but in November 1879 McIntosh persuaded John Milum to come with him up the Niger and establish a lonely outpost at Egga. McIntosh wrote to inform Ashcroft in January 1880:

> I have lately given passage up the river to the Rev. John Milum, Wesleyan missionary, who . . . informs me he intends to establish a station at Egga with a European at its head.[1]

In fact the Methodists had no European to take charge of the mission. At its head was William Allukura Sharpe, a Kanuri clergyman with an extraordinary career behind him.[2] He was ordained in 1878. He was longing to take the Gospel to his own people when Milum offered him the chance of going to Egga in 1879.[3] When he died in 1884, the Egga station was closed down. But for the five years he was there Methodist published records continued to give the name of the Rev. M. J. Elliott as head of the mission. The appointment of a European to compete with Crowther was the condition on which McIntosh had placed the resources of his company at the disposal of Milum, and Elliot was the man earmarked for the post, though in fact he remained in Lagos.

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concluded that the capital must have been small compared with the credits of £6,000 to £7,000 which the business had with the Lagos firms; C.M.S. G3 A3/01.

[1] McIntosh to Ashcroft, 5 Jan., 1880, encl. in Ashcroft to Hutchinson, 5 Jan. 1880; C.M.S. CA3/05.

[2] He was born near Lake Chad and at an early age went to a Koranic school. In his early teens he was kidnapped and after various adventures which took him from Kano slave-market to Ilorin and thence to Lagos, he entered the household of the Rev. George Sharpe, the Methodist minister, in 1861, as a house boy. He learnt to read and write, graduated successively into cook, interpreter, schoolmaster and catechist. He loved books, read widely, wrote passionate, poetic prose, and must have been an eloquent preacher. W. A. Sharpe to the Rev. J. Milum, 25 March 1878, giving a short autobiography on the eve of being received as a minister.

[3] Sharpe to Milum, 8 Sept. 1879, giving an account of his ambition to take the Gospel to his own people. Also his letters from Egga; Meth.

Hutchinson had gone as far as he could in introducing European supervision to the Niger without displacing Crowther. In October 1879 he said he judged that the joint control arrangement had broken down. He therefore vested management of the Niger Mission in a finance committee based in Lagos. It was to consist of five Europeans and three Africans. The Europeans were Ashcroft and four missionaries from the Yoruba mission resident in Lagos. The Africans were Crowther as Chairman, Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther, who lived at Bonny, and Archdeacon Henry Johnson, who remained in Lagos only till he was well enough to live at Lokoja. The Secretary was the Rev. J. B. Wood of the Yoruba Mission. It was in effect handing management of the Niger Mission to the European missionaries in Lagos. When that had been done, Wood was asked to go to hold an inquisition on the Niger Mission.[1]

Wood spent almost three months on the Niger with Kirk as his companion, visiting the different stations, questioning the agents and the traders as well, trying, he said, to report faithfully on the ill repute of the mission. He found the level of the Christianity of the agents and their congregations very low. The qualifications of the agents were meagre; many of their wives were illiterate and had little interest in missionary work but a good deal of interest in trade. Above all, he preferred specific charges against five ordained missionaries and ten lay agents. Four of the ordained missionaries he charged with immorality, two with trading, one with dishonesty. Charges preferred against the unordained agents ranged from the brutal flogging of a housemaid that led to her death, to immorality, immoral union with wives before marriage, dishonesty, drunkenness, building a fence without permission or just 'general unfitness' or 'downward tendency of character'.[2]

Wood said he conceived his report as a confidential document for the Parent Committee. He did not inform the agents of the charges against them; he did not call for defence; nor did he show the document to Crowther before he sent it to Hutchinson. Hutchinson, however, put it into print and circulated it to the hundred members or more of the committee. At that point someone must have asked if Crowther had seen it, for Hutchinson then wrote to ask Wood if he had shown it to Crowther. It was not until then that a copy was sent to him.[3]

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[1] Committee of Correspondence, Minute on the Niger Mission, 21 Oct. 1879; C.M.S. CA3/L1.

[2] J. B. Wood, Report after a Visit to the Niger Mission in 1880; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[3] See Wigram to Wood, 17 March 1882. Wood was angry that the Report was published, and Bishop Crowther was moved to say that Wood had gone to the Niger intending to 'break' the mission. Wigram told Wood that he considered the publication of the Report a mistake, but that 'this having been

Though the report caused disquiet in everybody's mind, it was evident that the committee was by no means united in accepting that it proved that the Niger Mission was a failure, or that it proved the incapacity of Africans to manage things on their own. Some members were in fact becoming critical of the way Crowther and the missionaries were treated, being condemned without a hearing. The committee decided to send a deputation to meet Crowther, Ashcroft, and the archdeacons, and to ask Wood to substantiate the charges he preferred. The deputation consisted of Hutchinson and the Rev. J. B. Whitting, who seemed to have represented the two sides in the committee. The conference met at Madeira in March 1881. Unfortunately Wood was unable to attend. But even on the basis of what Wood had written, Crowther was able to show that while some of the charges such as those relating to the incidence of trading or the brutal treatment of the housemaid had a factual background, much of the account was hearsay and extremely tendentious. The deputation in their report drafted by Whitting accepted this. They pointed to the case

> of the two schoolmasters, Thomas and Joseph, at Lokoja and Kippo Hill who, according to the report, were compelled by Bishop Crowther to marry their wives because they were with child by them. Bishop Crowther proved conclusively that Thomas applied for and obtained leave to visit Sierra Leone to marry a girl he had not seen for years and returned to his post a married man, while Joseph he found married on his visit to Kippo in 1878, having known nothing of the matter in any way.[1]

Crowther was therefore asked to go and investigate the charges and take necessary action.

The Madeira Conference further underlined the need for reform on the Niger. A Training Institution for Lokoja was recommended (though it was not ready till 1887), as well as boarding schools for boys and girls at Bonny and Onitsha giving slightly more advanced education and training children of agents free. An increase of salaries was granted to the agents on condition that they must regard their wives as mission employees and must sign a pledge to give up trading. The Madeira Conference did more than that. It drew the attention of Whitting and others to the way Hutchinson had been running the C.M.S. It came out

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done, it was imperative that a copy should be sent to Bishop Crowther, especially since Kirk had got hold of a copy and, through 'indiscretion', shown it to European traders and chiefs on the Niger.

[1] Printed, Report of the Deputation appointed by the Parent Committee to confer with missionaries at Madeira 1881; C.M.S. G3 A3/01.

that the mission vessel had been diverted to trade, and Hutchinson had to resign in May 1881,[1] to be replaced by a cleric, Whitting having to act as Secretary for a few months. Ashcroft was dismissed for rudeness to Bishop Crowther and to the committee, and Kirk resigned in protest when asked to wind up the trading business of the *Henry Venn*.[2] The Niger Finance Committee at Lagos was dissolved. It was replaced by a new one based at Bonny intended to show more respect to the Bishop's position. It was to consist of the Bishop as Chairman, a European as Secretary and two laymen, one African, the other European, nominated by the Bishop and approved by the committee. The new Secretary, T. Phillips, ordained deacon by an English Bishop, was admitted to priest's orders by Crowther himself.[3]

The Parent Committee had tried to redress matters, but not every effect of Hutchinson's work could be wiped out. The committee remained divided as to what conclusions to draw from the Wood Report, which Crowther after holding his investigations continued to reject.[4] Whitting remained of the opinion that much of the report 'had fallen to the ground', and he wrote to Kirk in June 1881 that 'temptations are not peculiar to the African, we find them in every parish in England';[5] whereas the Rev. F. E. Wigram, who succeeded him, wrote to Wood nine months later: 'We recognize the absolute need of European supervision, and that the lack of it has been the occasion of the grave offences on the Niger.'[1] There was no bridge between the two opinions in the Parent Committee, or between Africans brought up under Venn and Europeans going out in the new age when Britain was acquiring political power in Africa. It is not surprising that they could not work together.

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[1] The circumstances surrounding Hutchinson's resignation are not clear but they were undoubtedly connected with his handling of the Niger Mission. The Parent Committee considered the Report of the Deputation in April; Hutchinson resigned in May, and by June Whitting, acting as pro tem. Secretary, began to reverse Hutchinson's policy. By December both Ashcroft and Kirk were removed. Hutchinson later went to Canada, first as a lay missionary in Huron, then as an ordained missionary of the Scottish Episcopal Church. He died there in 1897. Stocks, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 254, 261.

[2] Wigram to Crowther, 16 Dec. 1881: 'Messrs. Ashcroft and Kirk are both now disconnected with the Society and the *Henry Venn* Steamer is lying idle in Lagos'; C.M.S. G3 A3/L2.

[3] Instructions to the Rev. T. Phillips, 16 May 1882. He was told, 'You go out to the Niger in the double character of one of Bishop Crowther's clergy and the representative of the Parent Committee'; C.M.S. G3 A3/L2. Also, Stocks, op. cit., p. 386. Phillips was a graduate of Dublin, engaged in business when he agreed to go to the Niger.

[4] Crowther's fullest answer to the Wood Report, after he had made his own investigations of the charges, was given in a Memorandum of 12 Aug. 1881; C.M.S. G3 A3/01.

[5] Whitting to Kirk, 30 June 1881. Wood took strong objection to the phrase 'fell to the ground', which he heard that Whitting had used, perhaps at Madeira. Wigram later tried to explain it away by saying it referred not to Wood's Report, as to the various rumours and reports which had been reaching the Society from other sources and had provoked the commission of Wood himself. The distinction was, however, not important as Wood himself said that when he got to the Niger he found that the mission and the agents were of ill-repute and he was doing his best to give a good account of the reports current about them; C.M.S. G3 A3/L2.

The European Secretaries of the Niger Mission continued to follow the pattern set by Wood of one man visiting the mission, not without pre-suppositions, and making wholesale inquiries followed by confidential reports.[2] Each report was followed by charges against agents. Each charge was followed by heart-rending denials, testimonials from witnesses, investigations, trials, and heart-searching conferences of the Parent Committee trying to arrive at the right conclusions. But all the committee did was to act sometimes one way, sometimes the other; at one time to ask Crowther and his archdeacons to investigate the charges preferred, at another time, as in 1883 when the case of W. F. John,[3] the former agent guilty of the manslaughter of his housemaid became a public scandal,[4] summarily to dismiss a number of the agents accused in the report.

[1] Wigram to Wood, 17 March 1882; C.M.S. G3 A3/L2.

[2] T. Phillips: Report on the Agents in the Niger Mission, 1883; C.M.S. G3 A3/02. J. A. Robinson: Memorandum on the Niger, 9 July 1889; C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

[3] W. F. John was a catechist in Bonny in 1869, accused of adultery with a chief's daughter. The case was plain, but instead of dismissing him, Crowther pitied his wife and infant baby and decided to give him another chance. He dismissed him from mission employment but made him a personal clerk. Subsequently John was re-engaged as an Interpreter at Onitsha. Crowther to Venn, 31 Dec. 1869; C.M.S. CA 3/04.

[4] The trial was a *cause célèbre*. W. F. John and J. Williams, another C.M.S. agent, caught their housemaids, girls whom they had ransomed, trying to run away. They had them tied in the sun, flogged for a prolonged period, and their wounds peppered. One of the girls, John's, died soon after. He was acquitted on a charge of murder by the Court of Equity at Onitsha. Following Wood's Report, the C.M.S. dismissed both John and Williams. John returned to Sierra Leone; Williams joined the service of the Niger Company. The Governor of Sierra Leone had John arrested in 1881, and asked the British Government to make an example of him to other Sierra Leoneans. The trouble was that John had committed this crime outside British jurisdiction. The Law Officers, however, judged that he could, by a broad interpretation, be tried under the clause of an old law designed to make sailors on the high seas or deserters amenable to Law. The clause referred to those who being British subjects, 'either sailed in or belonged to and have quitted a British ship to live at the aforesaid place'. The trial had to be by a special Commission of at least four judges set up by the Lord Chancellor under the Great Seal, with a Grand Jury to ascertain the facts and a Petty Jury to determine the guilt. (Act 57 Geo. III c 53, also 46 Geo. III c 54). Williams and his wife, and Mrs.

Crowther insisted on investigating each charge and would himself take disciplinary action only when the charges were proved. The committee, on the other hand, insisted that charges did not have to be proved as in a law court before an agent could be declared unfit for the high and holy calling of a missionary, and that such declaration did not necessarily make him unfit for other employment.[1] Gradually Crowther acquired the reputation of an over-indulgent father shielding the wrong of his children. And although no charge, no suspicion even, attached to Crowther himself, he regarded himself as being on trial with his agents, and during his investigations he probably saw much less than there was to see. He was not unaware of faults in many of his agents. We have noted his constant anxiety about their qualifications and lack of training and adequate supervision; but he refused to accept the wholesale condemnation by Europeans. He was of a kindly, sensitive nature, feeling for the offender even when pronouncing judgement on him. Where cases were doubtful, Crowther left people to their consciences. When charges were proved, unless he felt the offender was irretrievable or utterly unsuitable for missionary employment, in which case he dismissed him, he preferred to try suspension, transfer to a new situation, and other ways of bringing the offence home to the offender in a way likely to reclaim him.[2] He told the Parent Committee on his last visit

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John were also arrested. Wood and Consul Hewett helped to procure evidence from Onitsha and Lagos. Witnesses were sent to Sierra Leone. The trial lasted 22 days and Mr. and Mrs. John and Mr. Williams were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment each, Mrs. Williams, being less involved, got away with a much lighter sentence. F.O. 84/1656. T. M. Bell: *Outrage by Missionaries . . .*, Liverpool 1883, giving a full account of the trial. Sir Samuel Lewis, a Sierra Leonean, led the prosecution for the Crown—*Life of* by J. D. Hargreaves, 1958, p. 16. The trial cost about £2,000. When the vote for it came up in Parliament, critics of missions had a fine opportunity which they did not hesitate to use. The importance of the case, however, concerned the jurisdiction of the Crown; later attempts to bring Englishmen who committed outrages on the Niger to justice on the precedence of this case were not always successful.

[1] Wigram to Crowther, 18 July 1883; C.M.S. G3 A3/L2.

[2] Cf. the case of W. F. John above. Also the case of the Rev. W. Romaine, senior Pastor at Onitsha in 1876. Crowther said it was not surprising that in a whole year there was only one person baptized, that this was because the agents had not been living up to their profession; that Romaine was suspected of adultery and also accused of drunkenness, that adultery was always difficult to prove and therefore tended to go unpunished even in glaring cases. But that the charge of drunkenness was proved against Romaine by the testimony of both friends and opponents and Romaine's own violent acts when under the influence of drink, much to the scandal of the mission. Crowther therefore suspended him for three months, at the end of which period he judged that Romaine had shown contrition, allowed him to resume work but had him transferred to another station. Crowther, Report of a Visitation to the Niger Mission, 1876, and appendix dated Onitsha, 2 Sept. 1876; C.M.S. CA3/04.

to England in December 1889 that a newly-made fire was bound to be smoky and that his food would never be ready if the cook, instead of looking for a fan to blow the fire, began to search and pull out every stick that smoked.

> We are all weak and imperfect agents, faulty in one way or another, which need be strengthened, supported, reproved and corrected, when not beyond amendment.[1]

While we may admire the dogged way in which the Bishop stuck by this principle, 'going as though he never heard anything to the contrary',[2] as Ashcroft once remarked, it must be said that for a pioneer he was too reasonable, too soft a disciplinarian. But that is a very different thing from the Rev. J. A. Robinson's assertion, as joint Secretary of the Yoruba and Niger Missions, that 'the negro race shows almost no signs of "ruling" powers'.[3] For, where Crowther hesitated, Archdeacon Henry Johnson or Dandeson Crowther, not to talk of James Johnson, would have acted.

But if the Niger Mission agents cannot be taken at Crowther's estimation, neither can they at the estimation of the various Reports. It would take a Daniel to read through them all, and all the other documents they provoked, and sift truth from lies, hearsay and prejudice from fact. In such an atmosphere, where the merits of an African missionary were so dependent on the whim of the passing European missionary, or on whether he was willing to be 'humble and subdued' or even willing to volunteer information about other people, the truth about the mission agents was hard to discover and will not now be discovered.

The group of missionaries who came to darken Crowther's last years were able, young, zealous, impetuous, uncharitable and opinionated. The Rev. J. A. Robinson, who was appointed Secretary of the Niger Mission in 1887, was the oldest of them. He was then 29. He was a scholar at Cambridge and graduated first class in the Theological Tripos. He was ordained in 1882, but before joining the C.M.S. had been to Heidelberg, in Germany, where he had taught in a school for four years. The Rev. F. N. Eden, who succeeded him as Secretary, was of the same age, also a Cambridge man, with eleven years' pastoral experience in County Durham before joining the Niger Mission in 1890.[4] The moving spirit of the group was a younger man, Graham Wilmot Brooke, aged 25 when he joined the C.M.S. in 1889 as a free-lance lay missionary, working for them but maintaining himself. He had attempted to go as a lone missionary to the Sudan, which he sought to enter first through the Nile, then through the Congo, before he asked the C.M.S. to let him go up through the Niger. For him, missionary work was a daring military adventure: he had had a military training and General Gordon was his hero.[1] When these missionaries arrived at Lokoja in 1889 and saw the building of the Preparandi Institution, a two-storey house which was completed in 1887, built by the European catechist John Burness to Archdeacon Henry Johnson's specifications, they declared it to be the grandest building in West Africa and an obstacle to the progress of Christianity:

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[1] Crowther, Memorandum dated 9 Dec. 1889, and encl. on the Yoruba saying *Gbogbo igi l'o l'efi*; C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

[2] Ashcroft to Hutchinson, 20 June 1878; C.M.S. CA3/05.

[3] Robinson, Memorandum on the Niger Mission, July 1889, op. cit. He added that this was true of the Negro whether in Sierra Leone, Liberia, the West Indies or the Niger; C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

[4] *Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy, 1804–1904*. C.M.S.

> Its very existence is a blot on the C.M.S. . . . It tends to divert the attention of the natives; they speculate on its cost and the wealth of the white man.[2]

They said that Henry Johnson must have deceived the Parent Committee about its real size, charged him with, among other things, being extravagant and asked for him to be removed to Sierra Leone. They sold the building at once to the Royal Niger Company at the company's price, without waiting for the decision of the Parent Committee on the wisdom of the step.

They felt that material scientific progress tended to destroy faith. They re-emphasized the Evangelical distrust of the mixing of Christianity with civilization; indeed, like the anthropologists they utterly rejected the idea of 'civilization' for the African. They themselves itched to go into the villages and live like the 'natives' they despised, in the belief that by 'reasoning of the Gospel and righteousness' they would sweep them out of their old ways into a pure, simple, primitive Christianity. It did not occur to them for one single moment that to attempt to spread Christianity in any other way did not necessarily imply lack of 'spiritual powers'.

Robinson had preceded the others to the Niger as Secretary of the Mission in 1887. He returned in June 1889 to write his memorandum in which he stated these ideas and showed that the Bishop could not be made to comply with them; but that if the Bishop resigned, and Archdeacon Henry Johnson too, the group of young Europeans could work the mission better and cheaper. He would sell the expensive mission vessel; dispose of extravagant buildings; standardize salaries of African agents so that the attraction of money no longer drew them towards the ministry, and so on. He concluded:

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[1] Stocks, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 395.

[2] Robinson to Lang, 21 May 1890, 8 Sept., 1890; C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

> I am strongly inclined to think that if your Committee were to write a private and confidential letter to the Bishop stating that *your mind was quite made up to carry through certain reforms*, describing them in detail, and that you wished to spare him the pains of having to act in opposition to his own convictions and the policy he had so long embraced and the loss of dignity that would arise from your representative being placed in any degree in opposition to his authority, and offered him therefore this opportunity of retiring on a good pension—I am inclined to think he would be glad to accept the proposal.[1]

Once again the Parent Committee was split over Robinson's memorandum. One important factor was Brooke, who had been meeting the committee, and whom, as the Editorial Secretary said, 'to meet was to love'.[2] He was full of plans and zeal. He offered his services free, but on condition of full European control. On the other hand, nothing had been proved against the Bishop. At over 80 he was still full of life and when he heard he was being declared incompetent, he said he was willing to leave the established missions to others and break new ground elsewhere.[3] The committee called him to London, and it was his last visit. Whether they offered him the chance of retirement is not clear. If they did, he refused them that easy way out. They therefore adopted the policy of 'if in doubt, compromise'. Brooke was made leader of a European 'Sudan Party' to have their headquarters at Lokoja and to take the upper half of the Niger Mission. Archdeacon Henry Johnson was to be transferred to Sierra Leone and the Rev. C. Paul, at Egga, to be removed to the Delta. The lower Niger, with headquarters at Onitsha, was still to be under Crowther, ruled by a finance committee consisting of the Bishop, Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther, one other African pastor, and the European Secretary and two Europeans from the Sudan Party.[4] Robinson was furious at the compromise. He decided to resign and join the Sudan Party. The C.M.S. then looked round for a new

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[1] Robinson to Lang, 9 July 1889; C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

[2] Stocks, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 395.

[3] 'If others are delicate to tell me of my incompetence in the superintendence of the Niger Mission, it is my duty to relieve their minds of that delicacy. I am ready to yield place to others to act as leading managers of the Niger Mission. I am willing, as long as my health lasts, to labour as a pioneer in opening fresh grounds, while the already established stations can be worked by superior intellects and better managers.' Epelle, op. cit., p. 36.

[4] Resolutions of the Parent Committee, 30 July 1889, 9 Dec. 1889; C.M.S. G3 A3/L2.

Secretary, choosing for the post the Rev. F. N. Eden. But that made little difference. Robinson and Brooke were determined young men and knew how to force the hands of the committee. In any case, they were still members of the Niger Finance Committee. Eden merely joined them. Together, they achieved the displacement of Crowther from the Niger.

Robinson left for Lokoja in January 1890, followed by Eden a month later and Brooke in May. They each indulged in the old game of visiting the missions and preferring charges so that by August, when the Finance Committee was convened at Onitsha, between them they had enough to keep the committee busy. After examining different charges against various African pastors—alleged buying of two cases of port wine for Christmas, or receiving stolen powder from sailors, and so on—in which the voting was consistently the three Europeans versus the three Africans, Eden as Secretary, overruling the Bishop as Chairman, announced the pastors suspended. He also announced that charges against the Rev. C. Paul, transferred from Egga to the Delta, had been sent to England and need not be disclosed to the committee that had been so unco-operative, but that nevertheless he was declaring Paul suspended forthwith.[1] As if it was not enough for two clergymen and one layman of the Church of England to suspend pastors of that Church in the presence of and in defiance of the Bishop who ordained them, they turned on Archdeacon Crowther himself and declared that, in his trying to defend some of the accused pastors, he had made inconsistent statements and was unworthy of his holy office and was forthwith suspended. It was unlikely that they would have gone so far if Crowther had been a European. Few scenes could have been more painful to watch than the grey-haired old Bishop of over 80 active years, tormented and insulted by the young Europeans, trembling with rage as he never trembled before, as he got up to announce his resignation from the committee.[2]

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[1] Minutes of the Finance Committee of the Niger Mission, meeting at Onitsha, 19–28 Aug., 1890, dated October 1890. The European missionaries, probably knowing beforehand what the issue of the meeting was likely to be, were each taking full notes of the discussions and resolutions, and the final Minutes were compiled from the notes of the three of them. Crowther testified that they were full and accurate. C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

[2] Ibid. 'The Bishop: The long and short of it is that I disconnect myself from the Finance Committee if the Secretary alone is empowered to dismiss and suspend and do everything else in the Mission. . . . Will you write down, say, please, Bishop Crowther expresses surprise at the statement of the Secretary that he has power as the representative of the C.M.S. to suspend any clergyman from his duty. . . .'

Crowther's resignation caused a little stir among the members of the Parent Committee of the C.M.S., but eventually the committee's Niger Sub-committee placed the administration of what was left of the Niger Mission in the hands of a European Secretary to reside with the Bishop at Onitsha, and an Assistant Secretary to reside with the Archdeacon at Bonny:

> While the committee have no desire to interfere with the special ecclesiastical functions which the Bishop may think well to entrust to Archdeacon Crowther as Archdeacon, the Secretary personally in his section and the Assistant Secretary under his direction in the other section, as the local executives of the Finance Commitee will be, so far as the Society is concerned, responsible for the general superintendence of the work in these sections respectively.[1]

Bishop Crowther had in fact been displaced.

Eden apologized to Archdeacon Crowther,[2] but felt that the Niger Sub-committee's resolution had gone too far in censuring himself and resigned. Archdeacon Crowther said that, in the changed circumstances, he could no longer co-operate with the C.M.S. and that he could not hand over to the European Secretary the churches in the Delta, reared as they were on local support. He proceeded to declare them a self-governing Niger Delta pastorate within the Anglican communion, and left the details of organization to be worked out later.[3] Edward Blyden came to Lagos in January 1891 and delivered a public lecture urging the formation of an independent African Church. James Johnson moved the vote of thanks, but decided to remain in the Anglican Church.[4] In August a few C.M.S. and Methodist members in Lagos decided to form the United Native African Church. G. W. Johnson was present, not at the first, but at the second meeting of the founding fathers.[5] Crowther himself had a stroke in July 1891 and was removed to Lagos, where he died on 31 December. There was no question of his being succeeded by an African. The European who succeeded him got the diocese Venn originally planned for Crowther, the diocese of Western Equatorial Africa, with a seat in Lagos, covering both Yoruba and the Niger and Delta. The way was then open for a fresh start under undisputed European rule.

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[1] Resolutions of the Parent Committee dated 20 Jan. 1891. *A Memorial from Lagos to the C.M.S. on the Niger Question,* printed in Lagos, a pamphlet which assembled most of the relevant documents both in England and in Nigeria on the crisis.

[2] Eden to Archdeacon Crowther, 11 Feb. 1891, cited in *A Memorial from Lagos to the C.M.S. on the Niger Question.*

[3] D. C. Crowther: *The Establishment of the Niger Delta Pastorate Church, 1864–1892.*

[4] E. W. Blyden: *The Return of the Exiles and the West African Church,* published text of lecture delivered in Lagos, 2 Jan. 1891.

[5] Herbert Macaulay: *The History of the Development of Missionary Work in Nigeria with special reference to the United Native African Church,* printed pamphlet, Lagos 1941. First meeting 14 Aug. 1891; second meeting, 17 Aug. 1891. The U.N.A. Church was also called *Eleja.*

Fundamentally it was not the merits or demerits of the African missionaries that caused the conflicts on the Niger. The disturbances in the Presbyterian Mission at Calabar, where there was a schism in 1882, in the Methodists' Church at Lagos, where one was barely averted in 1884, and in the Lagos Baptist Church, where there was a secession in 1888, all show that there was a basic conflict between the old and the new in the transitional period. It was, as Crowther once said,

> like the meeting of two tides till one entirely submerges into the other when there would be an easy and regular flow in one direction.[1]

The Methodist crisis is of particular interest because, as was usually the case in Lagos, it was the congregation not the pastors who led the protest against the new European missionaries. It was also clearly a constitutional struggle into which moral issues were not dragged, and, owing to a different handling, it had a happy ending.

The Rev. John Kilner, who in 1876 became General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, had been a distinguished missionary in Ceylon and India from 1847 to 1872, and he took up his appointment having evolved and put into practice a policy similar to Henry Venn's about the formation of a native ministry and a self-supporting native church.[2] But the missionaries Kilner had to use were all young men with new ideas about the ability of Africans. One of them, the Rev. Ellis Williams, on his arrival in Lagos in 1878 wrote to Kilner:

> There are some fine intellects here. I have been literally astonished at the capacity of the African mind for receiving culture. We have some fine men here as preachers, leaders, members. My old notion of African incurable stupidity is, I believe, for ever gone.[3]

Or so it seemed. A struggle for power had a way of reviving such old notions.

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[1] Crowther to Venn, 27 Nov. 1868, referring to the upheavals in Bonny following the early successes of the mission there; C.M.S. CA3/04.

[2] Obituary Notice of the Rev. John Kilner in Meth. *Minutes of Conference*, 1890, pp. 16–19. For Kilner's missionary ideas, see his article in *Methodist Magazine*, 1883–4, entitled 'An Enlightened Policy by which Missions to the Heathen may be conducted . . . Principles underlying such a policy'. Also Kilner to Milum, 15 Feb. 1881; Kilner to Coppin, 26 Sept. 1884; Meth.

[3] Ellis Williams to Kilner, 3 July 1878; Meth.

The work of reorganization fell to John Milum as joint Chairman of the Gold Coast and Yoruba Missions. He was to reorganize the Yoruba Mission as a separate District, and establish the leading congregations in Lagos into self-supporting circuits under African superintendents according to the Methodist organization. He was also to distinguish between the roles of missionary and pastor so that the missionaries could be freed from pastoral work to devote attention to the expansion of the mission. Moreover, while funds for the missionaries should continue to come from abroad, Methodist funds for native pastors were to be regarded as gradually diminishing grants in aid of local funds. The real point was what the distinction would imply. Milum made it quite clear that he regarded native pastors as inferior to European missionaries:

> They should always take a subordinate position to European agents and whilst always allowed to vote on all matters pertaining to their local funds and to their own brethren, they should not be allowed (as hitherto) to vote on matters pertaining to Europeans either as to their examination or as to the distribution of funds strictly European.[1]

Thus while Europeans would meet with African pastors in a mixed district meeting, the real power was to be in the hands of a superior finance committee of the Europeans only. With that attitude distinguishing meant discriminating. Milum suggested, for example, that grants for Europeans should be increased and those for Africans reduced—so as to encourage the African pastors to economize and raise more funds locally.[2] The African pastors counter-petitioned, asking that the number of European missionaries be reduced so that the grants for Africans who really did the work could be increased.[1] Nothing could show more plainly the absurdity of the new attitude than the dilemma which arose over the position of Thomas Birch Freeman, who following his resignation in 1857 had rejoined the mission in 1873. It was he who had founded the mission and established the Methodist Church both on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria. He was born and brought up in England. He referred to English as 'our language'. But he was a mulatto, his father being of African origin. Now in his old age, it had to be decided not just whether he was a missionary or a pastor, but whether he was a 'European' or a 'Native'. Milum referred the matter to Kilner in these words:

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[1] Milum, Notes on the Separation of the Yoruba and Popo District from the Gold Coast; recd. in Meth. House, 5 July 1878; Meth.

[2] Ibid. Also 17 March 1880; Meth. An examination of salary structures will provide some indication of the changed attitude to African missionaries. Freeman, working on the principle that 'salary should not be so high that young agents will be drawn into worldliness, but it should be enough for them to maintain their respectability and influence, recommended for first-class agents, i.e. catechists, £100 p.a. for three years, then if ordained, £30 or £40 more. That, he said, was about two-thirds of what they would have got from government or mercantile establishments. Europeans got from the mission £150–£250. (Freeman: Report on the Religious State of all the Societies on the Gold Coast . . . 1845; Meth.) In 1879 Milum recommended for native ministers £42 when admitted, £49 after 2 years, £55 when in full connection, after 4 years, a maximum of £65. But if fully maintained from local funds, could after 10 years reach the maximum of £100. 'In addition to this a suitable house is allowed.' It was the status of the ministers, not the cost of living, that had gone down. For European salaries had been going up by way of allowances that did not exist in Freeman's time. Milum recommended for Europeans single £150, married £230, plus children's allowance of 16 guineas, children's education allowance 12 guineas, postage 4 guineas, medicine £10, allowance for learning the local language £12, messenger and servant allow-

> If you wish Rev. T. B. Freeman's allowance to come henceforth from *Native Grant* instead of from the *English Grant*, you had better specially refer it. I believe with our plan of working the funds we shall have sufficient native money to support him. He is an old man and the matter is delicate.[2]

Kilner was unlikely to sanction such an act. However, when Freeman died in 1890 the matter was again raised as to whether or not his wife, a Fanti lady—his two previous wives were English—was a 'Native' for the purposes of pension allowances. Milum retired in 1879. He was succeeded by men still younger than himself, with less ability, less tact, less self-assurance, but no less assertive in their claims as to the position of Europeans as Europeans. There were three of them: the Rev. W. T. Coppin, who succeeded Milum as the Chairman of the District but—so great was the shortage of staff—was transferred in 1883 to Cape Coast as Chairman of both the Gold Coast and the Yoruba Districts; M. J. Elliot, his assistant in Lagos, and Edward Tomlin, who arrived at the height of the crisis in 1884 to take charge of the High School and Theological Institution.

It was not the African pastors who led the revolt in the Methodist Church so much as the leading members of the various congregations.

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ance £5, travelling allowance £30, also a suitable house with cost of repairs. (J. Milum, Minutes and Reports for 1879; Meth.) Kilner reduced what Milum recommended for Europeans, and improved on what he suggested for Africans. The scales approved in 1890 and 1885 respectively were *For Africans*: Lay agent max. £36; minister on probation, £50; in full connection, £80; after 10 years, £100. *For Europeans*: Minister on probation, £180; in full connection, £205 single, £230 married. Children's allowance, 8 guineas, for their education £12, allowance for family in England up to a max. of £100. (Kilner to Halligey, 4 Dec. 1890, 9 Dec. 1885 respectively. Meth.)

[1] The Revs. Thos. E. Williams, W. B. George, and A. E. Franklin to Kilner, 17 March, 1882; Meth.

[2] Milum to Kilner, ? 1880, a short note written on the eve of the Conference; Meth.

They were the men who in 1875 contributed £500 and asked the Methodist Missionary Society to match it and build a High School. They were angry that the principals the Society sent them were not highly qualified. Tomlin now disputed the authority of the School Board to control him. It was not surprising therefore that in April 1884 Elliot announced that the

> Lagos Circuit is in total revolt. . . . Because they are self-supporting, they question the authority of the European missionaries from intermeddling in any way with their circuit affairs.[1]

The immediate cause of the revolt concerned the authority of Coppin as Chairman to change officers of the Church, in this case circuit stewards, whose appointment was normally vested in the Quarterly Meeting of Class Leaders. In December 1883, Coppin said that the two stewards who were elected in 1879 and had continued in office for four years 'began to get officious and sometimes have been insolent to us'.[2] He decided to get them changed, though, according to Methodist practice as described in *The Polity*, he had no powers to do this.[3] He called on the stewards to resign. They not only refused; they saw to it that nobody else would accept nomination, and they refused to hand over money in their possession. Coppin called a meeting of Class Leaders to elect new stewards. According to him, 'it was a shameful failure'. The Leaders only heaped abuses on the European missionaries, saying,

> They did not want Europeans, they could do without us, there was another church they could go to. . . . When pressed to vote, they refused, shuffled their feet in contemptuous applause, made a hubbub, took up hats and sticks and walked out of the chapel.[4]

Coppin then left for Cape Coast, asking Elliot and Tomlin to act as circuit stewards, and ordering the ministers and other officials to go to them for their salaries and not to the 'ex-stewards'. In May, Coppin announced that he intended to go to Lagos to take firm disciplinary measures, expel the trouble-mongers and discipline the ministers who continued to deal with the 'ex-stewards' knowing they should not. He wanted Kilner's advice as to whether to take legal action to recover money from the stewards. And he added:

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[1] Elliot to Kilner, 7 April 1884; Meth.

[2] Coppin to Kilner, 9 May 1884; Meth.

[3] Dr. Williams's *Polity* was at that time the recognized authority on the Constitutional law of the Methodist organization. Its oracular power even in doctrinal matters may be judged from the remark of a European missionary at Cape Coast in 1892 that 'Some people say it is very wrong to write on Sunday. I have not so found it in *Polity*, and over here, to a great extent, the *Polity* is the book by which all actions are judged'. Price to Secretaries, 28 Nov. 1892, Gold Coast Meth. The argument of Elliot, Coppin, and others was that the *Polity* referred only to Methodist circuits in England and that the Chairman of a mission district had more power than the Chairman in England; Elliot to Kilner, 7 April 1884; Meth.

[4] Ibid. Coppin to Kilner, 9 May 1884; Meth.

> When I first set foot in Lagos, I found feuds. *Race feeling* is the primary cause of it. . . . Our authority and status as Europeans must be clearly laid down.[1]

It must be said that Kilner left the young men too long without advice. Coppin's letter was not replied to till Coppin had gone to Lagos and embarked on his disciplinary measures in the belief that Kilner would support him.[2] Perhaps the African ministers too thought that Kilner was behind the European missionaries, for they sent their petition not to him but direct to the President of the Methodist Conference. The conference meeting in November 1884 set up a Disciplinary Committee under Kilner to study all the papers about the Lagos dispute and take action.

The committee roundly condemned the European missionaries and upheld the contention of the circuit stewards and African ministers. They condemned Coppin's action in personally excommunicating and expelling officers of the Church when there was an established machinery for dealing with such matters.

> A Quarterly Meeting cannot be deemed factious or to have merited extinction simply because it respectfully and repeatedly declines to endorse the decision of the superintendent. . . . They cannot but think that, upon the showing, the Lagos officials and members were endeavouring to work out the organization of a Methodist circuit.

They were 'glad and thankful' to find Africans who accepted and were willing to work such an organization. And they concluded in a letter to Coppin:

> It is a far nobler thing to guide others in their efforts to govern than to act simply as an autocrat. A fair and real self-government is one of the chief objects which your predecessors have aimed at realizing, and any success of theirs is a result which we cherish with gratitude.[3]

The committee went further to pacify the Lagos Circuit. They asked

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[1] Coppin to Kilner, 9 May 1884; Meth.

[2] 'Minutes of a Minor District Meeting begun in the Wesleyan Mission House, Lagos, 11 July 1884', which also referred to copy of a Memorial by the Rev. J. B. Thomas to the President of the Methodist Conference. Coppin later complained about having been left too long without instructions; to Kilner, 6 April 1885.

[3] Kilner to Coppin, 6 Nov. 1884; Meth.

John Milum to go out to Cape Coast and ask the old man of the mission, Freeman, the one man the Lagos church could not but respect, to accompany him to Lagos and talk to them. Milum was able to report that 'the decision of the Discipline Committee has given the greatest satisfaction'.[1] Kilner then looked round for an older missionary to work the circuit system in the right spirit and he picked on the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey, Chairman of the Sierra Leone District, who had to attempt to supervise the three Districts of Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Lagos.

Coppin's guilt arose not merely from personal arrogance but even more from the ideas that were becoming current in his time. The same sort of troubles that plagued the Methodists had frustrated the working of the Lagos Pastorate, in which a European-dominated Finance Committee controlled the appointment, transfer and discipline of the pastors in charge of the 'self-governing' parishes, and the properties of the Church remained vested not in the Pastorate but in the C.M.S. Both the Church and the Lagos School Board were torn by racial feeling.[2] Kilner and Halligey alone could not alter the fact that times were changing. Nor could Whitting and his supporters in the C.M.S. Parent Committee, who continued to pursue the policy of Henry Venn.

The European missionaries entering different parts of Nigeria from the late 1870s onwards were beginning to speak a language that the African missionaries had not been accustomed to hear in times past even from their most severe critics like Anderson at Calabar or Townsend at Abeokuta. Among the petitions against James Johnson at Abeokuta in 1877 was a memorandum from the Methodist District Meeting accusing him among other things of antagonism against 'members of the ruling race'. The European missionaries were beginning to see themselves as rulers, and the word 'native' was acquiring a new and sinister meaning. In 1886 John Burness, a young Englishman in the building trade, volunteered for missionary work; because a builder was required urgently at Lokoja, instead of being sent to the Training Institution at Islington, he was sent as a probationary catechist to the Niger. He was still shy, timid and naive. About his African archdeacon and bishop he had no more than a few dark hints to report, but he was bolder on the character of the other agents.[1] He reported that he saw a schoolmaster standing by a married woman at the Lokoja waterfront at 6 a.m. He said he did not question them but guessed that they had just arrived from Igbebe on the other side of the river, and that, in that case, they must have left Igbebe at 3.30 a.m., since it took at least two hours to cross at that time of the day. And he concluded in a phrase that was becoming nauseatingly common: 'To one who knows the African character, this evidence is quite sufficient to condemn him [i.e. the schoolmaster].'[2] The 'African character' was becoming for many Europeans synonymous with lying, hypocrisy, drunkenness and immorality. Bishop Crowther and his men were soon being caricatured as spoilt Africans, masquerading in borrowed weeds, learned perhaps, but without the heritage that even the most profane, untutored, perverse European could claim of centuries of Christian culture and civilization.[3] The African was on the way to becoming 'half devil, half child'.

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[1] Milum to Kilner, 1 Jan. 1885; Meth.

[2] The Lagos Pastorate was established in 1875 with only one parish. Another was added in 1879. St. Paul's Breadfruit came in only in 1881 and the Pastorate became well established. By 1889 all the parishes in Lagos except Christ's Church Cathedral had come into the scheme. Apart from St. Paul's Breadfruit, there were St. John's Aroloya; St. Peter's Faji; Holy Trinity, Ebuth Ero and St. Jude's, Ebute-Metta. Lucas: *History of St. Paul's Breadfruit Church*, op. cit.

This attitude, though it appeared so suddenly in the missions in Nigeria, had a more gradual growth in England and was in part the making of the publications of the earlier missionaries, both Europeans and Africans. Reference has already been made to the popular and highly emotional appeal that the missionaries made in Europe and how this coloured their work in the mission field. It also coloured the picture of the African presented to their countrymen at home. In order to excite pity and charity for Africans and maintain the flagging interest of European Christians in the missions abroad, they tended to present the unconverted African in the worst possible light—showing the necessity of continued missionary work—while making the African around the Mission House a most docile, most teachable person—showing that the missionaries were succeeding. This dual purpose is discernible in practically every missionary publication, as distinct, that is, from the letters and some of the private journals. This is not to imply that the publications were therefore deliberate distortions, but that they were most of the time arguing a case that called for a by no means objective picture of the African. The example may be given of the Secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee prodding his missionaries:

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[1] Cf. John Burness to Lang, 12 May 1886: 'To describe the Sierra Leone men so far as I have had to do with them, I would say they are made up of *Conceit*, *Hypocrisy* and *Sensuality*. . . . I have found this spirit of hypocrisy in some of the highest dignitaries of the mission.' Also 31 March 1886; C.M.S. G3 A3/03.

[2] Burness to Lang, 31 March 1886. Burness went on to say that he reported a case of misconduct by a girl, Rose Baikie, who ought to have been disciplined, but that Bishop Crowther did not take action because a schoolmaster had written to him that Burness had interfered in the matter: 'It was because of this letter under which the Bishop was smarting, and he had not the candour to tell me about it when I laid Rose Baikie's case properly before him'; C.M.S. G3 A3/03.

[3] The Parent Committee of the C.M.S. itself in a circular letter to the West African Churches in 1892 spoke of the 'ripened Christianity' which twelve centuries had given Englishmen and which in West Africa 'can scarcely be looked for except in European teachers'; *C.M.S. Intelligencer*, 14 Nov. 1892, p. 61.

> You must not abate one iota of your graphic delineations; otherwise *The Record* and with it the interests felt in the mission will go down.[1]

He worried Hope Waddell to send him Calabar idols. Hope Waddell insisted that he did not think Calabar people venerated the images he saw any more than British people did their statues,[2] but the Secretary implored him:

> I am going on Sabbath and on Monday to Dundee. It is the Calabar idols, cloths, and other things from Africa that have provoked such excitements. I know that you and my excellent friend, Mrs. Waddell, do not favour such kind of things; but you must remember that I said to you that with all your wisdom I think you are mistaken. The notice that such things are to be seen packs a large house on a weekday evening and gives one the opportunity of stating to them solemn and important truths. If we cannot get the people, we cannot address them—and if we get them, it is the fault of the speaker if he does not turn the occasion to good. Oh, I do rejoice to plead the cause of the destitute millions of Central Africa before a crowded meeting. I have got Ekpeyoung, Ebok, an Abidong's rattle, cloths, and calabashes. If you can give me any other things that would help me, I shall feel very greatly obliged.[3]

That was in 1851. Fifteen years later, the same Secretary wrote to Anderson:

> I have been thinking that one reason why the old Calabar Mission is losing the hold which it once had on the Church is because of late I have got from Calabar so few details for *The Record*. . . . Unhappily, the statements are of a cruel and bloody character, but surely incidents and circumstances occur at times which it is worth while to repeat. We will not get men for the mission unless we keep up the interest.[4]

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[1] Somerville to Waddell, 28 Dec. 1850; U.P. *Letter Book*, vol. 1, p. 682.
[2] Waddell: *Journals*, vol. I, pp. 116–17.
[3] Somerville to Waddell, 18 April 1851; U.P. *Letter Book*, vol. i, p. 746.
[4] Somerville to Anderson, 23 Nov. 1866; U.P. *Letter Book*, vol. ix, p. 32.

The same anxiety pervaded every mission[1] and, with the best of intentions, a false picture of the African evolved in Europe.

But while the earlier missionaries had at least in theory maintained that baptism and education made the African a brother and a colleague, many who read their accounts accepted the darker side of the picture but rejected the rest. The Indian Mutiny, it is said, made people question first the wisdom of the policy of the missionaries, and then the validity of the claim that baptism and a few years in a mission school made all the difference. Then there grew up in the 1860s those whom Crowther called the 'Anthropological sort', James Hunt's 'Anthropological Society', of which R. F. Burton was a prominent member. Their emphasis was on physical anthropology; their theme, 'the place of the negro in nature',[2] and their approach, a study of the differentiation of the races, and the arrangement of the races in a hierarchical order, and the search for the missing link in the great chain between ape and European. The prevalence of these doctrines may be judged from the fact that in popular concept, Darwin's *Origin of the Species by Natural Selection* was for a long time taken to have confirmed—which it did not—the theory of the evolution of one race to another,[3] a process that could not be hurried up by evangelization and civilization. Indeed, the physical anthropologists tended to go back to the old slave trader's view of the African. Burton wrote in 1864 that the Negro had not all the 'latent capacities ascribed to him by the philanthrops' and that

> the removal of the negro from Africa is like sending a boy to school; it is his only chance of learning that there is something more in life than drumming and dancing.[4]

The picture of the African that came to prevail at the end of the century was a cross-breed between the missionary's and the physical anthropologist's, built up by those anxious to justify the new turn in the ambitions of European powers in Africa. Because of the religious scepticism of many of the 'Anthropological sort', the missionaries, African and European, for a long time refused to have anything to do with them; but their ideas could not be so easily discriminated against and before long missionaries were being affected by them. And it should be mentioned that this happened before Mary Kingsley goaded the Colonial Office into making anthropology a handmaid of Colonial administration.

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[1] Cf. Harden to Taylor, 3 March 1858: 'I will endeavour to get some curiosities ready against the time when the American vessels come here, and will try to do as you have requested.' S.B.C.

[2] This was the title of the paper which James Hunt read to a meeting of the British Association at Newcastle in 1863 and marked the public launching of the Anthropological Society. See footnote 2, page 211.

[3] Cf. Article on 'Anthropology' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1957, vol. ii, p. 49: 'Two important misleading research practices came into being in this period and remained in effect long after the formal recognition of a theory of evolution as expressed by Charles Darwin. First is the habit of ranking existing races in a hierarchical order, and second the practice of comparing human races with the contemporary apes for purposes of ranking them for functional or behavioural equivalents.' What Darwin said was that the different races had so much in common that it could safely be deduced that they all descended from a progenitor (*Descent of Man*, part I, Chapter 7).

[4] R. F. Burton: *A Mission to Gelele*, vol. ii, pp. 200–1.

Anthropology was already influencing the missionaries entering Nigeria in the late 1870s, not only towards a more contemptuous attitude to their African colleagues, but also towards a new view of the technique of evangelization. They still had faith in Victorian civilization as the highest achievement of mankind, but they no longer believed that the African had the capacity for assimilating it quickly. Consequently they were much more hesitant than before to consider civilization as an inseparable companion of Christianity. This revival of the old Evangelical attitude brought new ideas in its train. For example, while Presbyterian missionaries had been known in the past to call in the gun-boat to make it clear to the Calabar people that witchcraft and other such preternatural methods of harming people did not exist, a new C.M.S. missionary at Onitsha in 1890 not only cast doubts on this scientific disbelief, but apparently also suggested that the Church could take a hand in discovering witches and exorcizing their 'evil spirits'—much to the confusion of the converts and the scandal of the older missionaries.[1]

The point should be made that if some of the older African pastors found the newer European missionaries incomprehensible, the few European missionaries who were able, like the Africans, to remain long in the mission found them almost equally difficult to understand. The older European missionaries in the C.M.S. Yoruba Mission were beginning to retire when the newer ones were coming in. There was no conflict between them, though Hinderer, in asking in 1875 that Crowther's jurisdiction be extended, found it necessary to make a special remark about the 'younger men'. It was the Presbyterian Mission in Calabar, where older men like Anderson and Goldie continued into the 1880s, that best showed the clash between the old and new occurring between Europeans. The schism that took place there in 1882, though it came to involve local politics and the clash between two personalities, one ageing, one young, began as a conflict between older missionaries in the presbytery keeping to their accustomed method of working and resisting pressure from newer ones like Mary Slessor and Alexander

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[1] Onitsha Congregation to the C.M.S., 30 Aug. 1890; C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

Ross, who were keen to change the method and anxious to expand more rapidly.[1] Anderson and Ross became symbolic characters.

The Rev. Alexander Ross was a tempestuous character, much as Anderson had been twenty or thirty years earlier. But after thirty years in the mission, Anderson had mellowed into Efik society. He had come to realize that Calabar could not by the intervention of the gun-boat be turned into a copy of Scotland overnight. He was usually now at peace with the local rulers and as an old respected missionary, influential with the elders, he counted for something in local politics, as, for example, during disputed successions. Ross, on the other hand, denounced Anderson's alliance with 'cruel', 'tyrannical', unconverted chiefs, and his 'toleration' of 'barbarous' customs.[2] Anderson was convinced that Ross would break the mission. Therefore when in 1879 Ross went home on leave Anderson plotted against his return.[3]

At that stage local politics entered into the dispute. The Archibong and the Eyamba Houses in Calabar were disputing the succession to the headship of the town. Anderson supported the Archibongs.[4] The Eyambas began to support Ross in his dispute with Anderson.

The Foreign Mission Committee were so evenly divided between Anderson and Ross that more than a year elapsed before they could come to a decision. Ross did return from leave, but the disputes were resumed with petitions and counter-petitions and grievous charges. The Committee decided to send a deputation to examine the matter on the spot. The deputation censored some acts of Anderson but found against Ross and asked him to return home. He refused and started a new church on land given him by the Eyambas, carrying with him five teachers and a substantial part of the congregation.[5] Ross died in 1884. The Presbyterians thought the congregation would come back. They did not. His wife sought for a new missionary to carry on the work. As the church continued under European rule, it was just as if a new missionary society had entered Calabar.

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[1] This account is based principally on various *Minutes of the Foreign Missions Committee* between 1875 and 1882 which contain usually brief accounts of the various papers laid before the committee, discussions on them, and voting on the resolutions.

[2] Ross to Secretary F.M.C., 24 Oct. 1879, 29 Oct. 1879, considered in Minute 1497 of F.M.C., 25 Nov. 1879.

[3] Anderson to Secretary F.M.C., 28 Aug. 1879, considered in Minute 1497 of F.M.C., 25 Nov. 1879.

[4] A correspondent of the *African Times*, 1 March 1880, alleged that the trouble started because Prince Duke of the Archibong House, whom Anderson had crowned under the confusing name of Eyamba IX, was very unpopular and many people therefore rallied round Ross in his opposition to Anderson.

[5] 'Ami Ndi Africanus', writing from Duke Town, 24 March 1882, in *African Times*, 1 June 1882, gives details of Ross's supporters. Also Goldie, op. cit., p. 248, that Mrs. Ross found none of the existing mission to take up her husband's church, but one of the men trained in Dr. Guiness's seminary came to her rescue.

The growing interest in anthropology was affecting not only the new European missionaries; many of the mission-educated Africans, both within and on the fringes of the Church, had also been borrowing arguments from Burton and others. The borrowing began with those outside the Church in the name of nationalism. But as happened in 1867, if those like Crowther who remained in the Church did not want leadership to pass to those like G. W. Johnson on the fringes, they had to prepare an effective answer.

It was Edward Blyden who first began to popularize the idea of the anthropologists in West Africa, though with a difference. 'The despotic and overruling method,' he said in 1872,

> which had been pursued in [the African's] education by good-meaning but unphilosophical philanthropists, had so entirely mastered and warped his mind . . . All educated negroes suffer from a kind of slavery in many ways far more subversive of the real welfare of the race than the ancient physical fetters. The slavery of the mind is far worse than that of the body.[1]

Blyden was criticising the Church from without. He had been born in the Dutch West Indies and brought up in the Presbyterian Church. To be educated for the ministry, he was sent first to America and, when state laws prevented his admission to a suitable college, to Liberia College, where he distinguished himself in both classical and modern European languages. He was ordained in 1858 but his work lay outside the Church. He taught in his old college and took to politics. He became a Secretary of State in Liberia and later Ambassador in London. When he lost office he went to Freetown, where he became Government Agent for the Interior. He travelled widely, his travels including a visit to Palestine.[2] He was not a religious man. For many years he turned towards Islam, not because he was converted to it but, as he later explained, because it was more 'African', and he considered it would be better for the African to pass gradually through Islam to Christianity. His real mission was to free the African from physical and mental subservience to others. For this reason he criticized European missions and Christianity on the anthropological ground of the differentiation of races. But unlike the physical anthropologists he rejected the arrangement of the races in a hierarchical order. And he was far from rejecting either Christianity or civilization for Africans. He only urged them to develop their own. In 1872 he was advocating an Independent African Church and a West African university to recruit professors from 'Egypt, Timbuctoo and Fulah'.[1]

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[1] Blyden to Pope-Hennesy, 11 Dec. 1872, in *Letters with Pope-Hennesy on the West African University*, Freetown 1873.

[2] Biographical Notes in Blyden: *The Peoples of Africa*, p. 1. Introduction by Hon. S. Lewis in Blyden: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, London 1889; Obituary Notice in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. XLIII, no. 11, April 1912.

Blyden's pamphlets and books of essays, lectures and correspondence were widely read all over West Africa. As early as 1872, G. W. Johnson at Abeokuta was referring to one of his pamphlets and using 'the able words of our Mr. Blyden'.[2] Because of his well-known religious scepticism, however, African leaders of the Church were reluctant to follow him, though, like James Johnson in 1873, some used his arguments and were often mistaken for his disciples. James Johnson, in pressing, like Crowther, for the promotion of the indigenous culture, was always using anthropological arguments. He was emphatic about the differentiation of the races, not so much physically as culturally, arising out of the differences of geography and climate. 'It has been forgotten,' he wrote in 1883, that:

> European ideas, tastes, languages and social habits, like those of other nations, have been influenced more or less by geographical positions and climatic peculiarities, and what is esteemed by one country polite may be esteemed by another barbarous and that God does not intend to have the races confounded, but that the negro or African should be raised on its own idiosyncracies.[3]

Until the end of the century the followers of Blyden were still few, and hardly numbered any of the leading pastors. It was the congregations, particularly in Lagos, many of whose members had suffered economically from the new irruption of Europeans, who began to talk freely of secession. But even among them the idea of an African Church was for a long time far from being generally acceptable. Their ties, their loyalty even, to the European way of life were basically strong. Even when they began to take more interest in their own culture, they wished to strengthen, not weaken those ties. They tended to regard the proposed separatist African Church as a local church, a sort of tribal organization cut adrift from the rest of Christendom, and they did not find that attractive.[1] The Methodist leaders in the crisis of 1884 did not threaten to found a church of their own, they threatened that 'there was another church they could go to'.

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[1] Blyden to Hennesy, 6 Dec. 1872, in *The West African University*, op. cit.

[2] G. W. Johnson to W. R. Richards, 20 Jan. 1873: 'I can behold another channel of good which—to use the able words of our Mr. Blyden—thou canst not see.' G. W. Johnson's Papers.

[3] James Johnson in Report on the Lagos Native Pastorate, 1883, cited in J. O. George: *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country*, Lecture delivered in Lagos, 1895, printed by E. Kaufmann, Lahr, Baden; p. 48.

It is not surprising that the first schism in Lagos, and the first in Nigeria led by Africans, occurred within the Baptist Church with a congregational organization. When the members of the First Baptist Church found one Sunday morning in February 1888 that their African pastor, the Rev. Moses Ladejo Stone, had been dismissed by the European missionary without reference to them,[2] and the missionary did not return any satisfactory answer to them, they had no need to secede from the Church. They only needed to separate themselves from the congregation, and this they did without much ado, without even waiting to refer the matter to America.[3] In fact, by the following Sunday they had formed the new congregation called the Ebenezer Baptist Church, with the pastor at their head. It should be noticed, however, that though it was not until 1915 that the Ebenezer Baptist Church and its branches at Abeokuta and other places were brought within the same Convention as the missionary-supervised Baptist churches, the Rev. M. L. Stone had reconciled himself with the missionaries by 1894.

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[1] Cf. Blyden pleading for such a Church in 1891, having to emphasize that 'while the Church should be native, we do not mean it should be local. We want to drop the conventional trammels of Europe, but we do not wish to localize religion . . . to give it any tribal colouring'; Lecture in Lagos, published as 'The Return of the Exiles and the West African Church'.

[2] For the Rev. M. L. Stone see p. 149. There are various versions of the story that led to the crisis of February 1888. The story in the First Baptist Church is that Stone used to trade to supplement his salary; the missionary, Rev. W. B. David, told him to stop it. Stone then asked for an increase of salary, was refused and then resigned. So that the congregation were complaining against David's acceptance of the resignation without consulting them.—'History of the First Baptist Church' by E. A. Alawode. The version in the Ebenezer Baptist Church is that Stone asked for an increase of salary, was refused, took to trading and was dismissed.—'History of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Lagos' by Robertson for the centenary celebrations of the Baptist Church in Nigeria in 1958.

[3] America was of course more remote from Lagos than London or Edinburgh. American Baptist missionaries had always acted more independently, and were less likely to be repudiated than their English colleagues. This was certainly true of the Rev. W. B. David, who had been 13 years in Lagos and was a hero to the Foreign Mission Board. For, despite domestic tragedy of the death of two children and two wives in succession, he had revived the missions at Lagos, Abeokuta and Ogbomoso. He had also revived interest in the work in America, having personally to collect money to support himself. Once, in 1884, he had the unusual idea of taking with him to America a Yoruba boy, Manly Ogunlana Oshodi, to parade in the masquerade dresses of *Egungun* and *Oro*. In that way, it was said, in six months of incessant touring, David excited 'more interest perhaps than was ever felt for Africa'. As a result he was able to take new European missionaries with him back to Nigeria as well as material worth 3,800 dollars with which he built the First Baptist Church in Lagos, which was completed just before the crisis. As was to be expected, when the Foreign Mission Board learnt of the crisis, they gave him a vote of confidence. Tupper: *Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention*, pp. 386, 439 and *passim*.

It is indeed remarkable how the body of African pastors remained, on the whole, in this period of stress and transition, loudly loyal to the churches in which they had been brought up. They saw in the African Church movement primarily a way of strengthening and enriching the life of the Church, and they hoped to keep it within the existing churches. When James Johnson succeeded in drawing from the C.M.S. in 1883[1] a Minute condemning the general adoption of European names at Baptism, it looked as if they would be successful. That was still two years before G. W. Johnson changed his name and became Oshokale Tejumade Johnson.[2] The movement for ceremoniously casting off European clothes hardly attracted the African pastors, but the debate and the research on the laws and customs of the people, their dancing, their elaborate court etiquette, their sayings and philosophy went on as much within as outside the churches. The most notable book of the minor renaissance that occurred, Samuel Johnson's *History of the Yorubas*, completed in 1897, was written by an African pastor.[3] The importance people in Lagos attached to the events on the Niger which culminated in the supersession of Bishop Crowther by European missionaries will be readily appreciated when it is realized that they led directly to the first attempt by Anglicans and Methodists to found a separatist African Church.

The way Bishop Crowther had been ousted showed that the transmutation of Europeans from guides to rulers was complete in the Church as it was becoming complete in the administration of the country, and that the earlier policy of encouraging the growth of an African middle class was completely overturned.

This change of policy was fundamental, though it did not lead to so complete a break with the past as men like Brooke and Robinson hoped. For they themselves died, Robinson in July 1891, Brooke in March 1892. With them died, too, much of the sensationalism of making a complete break with the work of the African missionaries. As soon as the missionaries who succeeded them got down to the not very romantic aspects of making Christianity appeal to other people, and doing so on a limited budget, they began to find many things they approved of in the policy of Crowther and his men.[1] Indeed, as roads and railways and British political power penetrated the country and created in parts of the interior as much demand for education as Crowther found in the Delta in his time, the European missionaries, not only of the C.M.S. but of other missions as well, began generally to adopt Crowther's policy of evangelization through the village school.[2] Like Crowther, they had to talk about the material advantages of having schools in the community. And just as in Crowther's time Sierra Leone had supplied teachers and evangelists, so after him, Lagos, Brass, Bonny, Calabar, Abeokuta, and to some extent Ibadan and Ogbomoso began to supply agents to the new centres of missionary work both on the coast in Benin and Ijebu and in the interior in Ekiti, Arochuku and other parts of Iboland. In this way the labours of the missionaries, African and European in the fifty years before 1891 provided abundant fruit for the Church in the fifty years after.

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[1] Minute of the Parent Committee against the adoption of Foreign Names, in C.M.S. Intelligencer, February 1883, encl. in Lang to Hamilton, 10 Aug. 1883; C.M.S. G3 A3/L2.

[2] 'Notice' dated Customs House Road, 1 May 1885; G. W. Johnson's Papers.

[3] J. F. Ade Ajayi: 'Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigeria Nationalism' *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol. ii, no. 2, 1961.

It is also possible to argue that much of the later harvest was made possible precisely because the earlier missionaries had placed so much emphasis on education and civilization, and because this continued to affect the work of the later missionaries who would have liked to see much less emphasis placed on these things. But for the effects of the earlier policy in the older mission centres, people in the areas of Southern Nigeria being penetrated by missionaries in the later period might have taken less readily to mission schools, and might have been less ready to pay for them. As it happened, their demand for schools was so persistent that the choice of missionaries in the matter of whether to build schools or not was severely limited. Government officials who wished to maintain the delicate balance of the Indirect Rule system and wanted only children of chiefs to go to school, did not hide their distrust of mission schools, which continued indiscriminately to accept children of chiefs and commoners. Many missionaries were inclined to agree with the government officials about the bad effects of mission schools. Some of them, as it were, smote their breasts and pleaded guilty to the sins of their predecessors in fostering an allegedly idle middle class with no roots in and no love for their own country, good for nothing except imitating European vices. Yet it was precisely at this period that missionaries built more purely literary schools and embarked on far fewer schemes of industrial and technical education. In spite of the new emphasis on hospitals, it was through the village school that the Church was spreading rapidly in the later period. It may also be mentioned that the political officers contributed to this. Though they declared that the installation of a Government Agent from whom henceforth the local rulers had to take orders was an unimportant change that left the people's life unaffected, it had in fact created so great a psychological revolution in the people's attitude that they tended to rush to missionaries with less hesitation and less reserve than was the case in the earlier period. It was only with the coming of the District Officer that things began to fall apart.

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[1] Archdeacon Dobinson, the only survivor of the Sudan Party, later apologized openly in Freetown and Lagos for his part in the 'Great Purge'. He said he had been 'hurried along in unknown depths of fierce-flowing river . . .' He showed more appreciation of the local customs he previously despised and pleaded for more educated Africans to work on the Niger, as they did most of the work even if Europeans supervised. Dobinson to Baylis, 26 Feb., 29 March 1894; C.M.S. G3 A3/04.

[2] Cf. Father J. P. Jordan: *Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria*, Dublin 1949, pp. 29–31 for the new Roman Catholic attitude.

The ousting of Crowther from the Niger did not stop the growth of the class of educated Africans, but it meant that until they became strong enough to demand more rights and privileges, their fortunes were severely limited. They were discredited in the eyes of the new European ruling class. Little that they did received favourable comment. Even when Samuel Johnson completed his *History of the Yorubas* in 1897 the C.M.S. showed no enthusiasm to publish it.[1] Their advancement in commercial houses and the civil service was curtailed, since all the important jobs came to be regarded as specifically 'European' jobs to which only rarely favoured Africans could be admitted. Their economic opportunities declined. They took little part in the commercial expansion that resulted from the railways and the introduction of cash crops. It was the peasants who, as the philanthropists had always wished, cultivated the crops, but it was the European firms, not the educated Africans, who had the resources and the facilities to export them. Above all, their opportunities in the Church also became limited. The missions continued to rely on their African staffs, but highly-educated pastors were not encouraged, and the highest posts were reserved for Europeans.

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[1] The book was completed in 1897. The C.M.S. said it was too long and were interested in a short history suitable for use in schools. Apparently Johnson refused to cut it down and sent it through the C.M.S. to an English publisher. Nothing more was heard of the manuscript. The author's brother, Dr. O. Johnson, on a visit to England in 1900, was told that it had been mislaid. Within a year after that the author died and it had to be rewritten by Dr. Johnson from Samuel's notes and earlier drafts. The new version was sent to England in 1916, but owing to enemy action during the war did not reach England till 1918 and owing to shortage of paper was returned to await the end of the war. It was finally published by Routledge & Son in 1921. By 1937 the C.M.S. were anxious to publish a second edition of the book. See Samuel Johnson, op. cit. Editor's Preface.

After Crowther there were assistant bishops, but no diocesan bishop till 1953, when the constitutional changes in the country occasioned constitutional changes in the Church. It was not till 1946 that the Methodists appointed the first African Chairman of the District.

Some of the educated Africans for a while sought political careers as advisers to the local rulers in the interior, or as their agents in the capital. One effect of this may be seen in the fact that it was the centres where missionary work had been most successful in the earlier period and where the educated Africans were most influential that saw some of the most determined efforts to negotiate agreements to limit the rights of the British rulers. The Royal Niger Company had the greatest difficulty at Onitsha in its effort to obtain treaties on which to base its political privileges, and far more difficulty at Egga and Bida than at Sokoto. It was at Calabar and Bonny that the British Commissioner received the most specific conditions under which British rule would be accepted.[1] Above all, Abeokuta, where the educated Africans came nearest to political power, managed to resist British annexation till 1914, having in the meantime evolved the Egba United Government in which educated Africans continued to hold important executive posts.[2] But even that was temporary. Law and medicine, which afforded a chance of private practice and success independently of the new ruling class, became the goals of the educated Africans.

This eclipse of the educated Africans in one way delayed the full development of the Church, and in another hastened it. It delayed it because, as Venn always argued, as long as Europeans retained full control of the Church it could be no more than an exotic institution. Only the Africans themselves could make it a national institution. It is interesting to observe, for example, that little adaptation in the usages of the Church took place for many years after 1891. Venn had suggested that such adaptation should be made not by European missionaries but by the most highly accomplished and gifted of the African pastors themselves. From 1891 until quite recently, such pastors received little encouragement even in the missions sufficiently well established to produce them.

Yet this fact itself helped the development of the Church in another way by diverting the energies of many Africans towards the formation of an African Church where African usages and practices would be welcome. After some initial hesitation people began to take the United

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[1] Flint, op. cit., Chapter VII on Major MacDonald's Reports of 1889–90. Macdonald to Salisbury, 12 June 1889; F.O. 84/1290, and Report on the Administration of the Niger Territories; F.O. 84/2109.

[2] For the Egba United Government see S. O. Biobaku: 'An Historical Sketch of Egba traditional authorities' in *Africa*, vol. 22, pp. 35–49, 1952.

Native African Church formed in 1891 a little more seriously. In 1901 a 'major' secession in the Anglican Church in Lagos led to the foundation of the African Bethel Church. Elsewhere suppressed political feelings went into Prophet movements and revivalist organizations. The African Church movement, consisting of people brought up in different denominations, was bedevilled by differences over doctrine and conflicts over leadership. In particular there was conflict between those maintaining the congregational view of the minister responsible to the congregation, and those who believed in the sacerdotal view of a priesthood with apostolic succession and a hierarchy. There were compromises and schisms. In 1907 it was agreed that the head of the new African Church would be 'Superintendent, or in other words, Ecclesiastical or Presbyterian Bishop in contradistinction to Prelatical or Historical Bishop'.[1] Some of those dissatisfied with this very obvious compromise broke away in 1908 and formed the African Salem Church.

But in spite of such schisms and of much bitterness of feeling the movement as a whole gathered strength. It showed that there were Africans who felt sufficiently deeply about the new religion that they were willing to try to express its spirit in their own way and to compete with the mission-supervised churches in spreading the Gospel to other parts of the country. It was a major outward sign that the Church had become established in Nigeria and was unlikely to die out again.

The African Church movement has another significance that should be noted in conclusion. It provides a link between the educated Africans of Crowther's age and the nationalists of our day who have re-emphasized the mid-nineteenth-century doctrines about the importance of an African middle class for the development of the country, and the distinction between the expansion of trade controlled by foreign European firms and economic development as a factor of social and economic change in the country.[2]

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[1] *Report and Proceedings of the African Church Organization*, 1901–1908, p. 29. 'Origin and History' Printed Pamphlet, Lagos, 1908. Also S. A. Oke: *The 'Ethiopian' National Church*, Lagos 1922; Preamble to the *Revised Constitution of the African Church* (Incorporated) ratified at Idi Ape, Abeokuta, 1941.

[2] J. F. Ade Ajayi: 'Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism', op. cit.; cf. Herbert Macaulay, a grandson of Bishop Crowther, regarded as Father of Nigerian Nationalism. In 1942, when the Methodists were celebrating the Centenary of Freeman's arrival in Badagri, Herbert Macaulay was using the platform of the African Church to deliver a nationalist address, welcoming the missionary movement, but condemning European imperialism. *The History of the Development of Missionary Work with special reference to the United African Church*, Printed Pamphlet, Lagos, 1942.

Appendix

Minute on the Constitution of the Anglican Native Bishopric on the West African Coast (1864)

1 The Constitution of the West African Bishopric is declared in the Acts of Parliament under the authority of which the constitution took place.

2 The Acts of Parliament are the 26 Geo. III and 5 Vict. These Acts give authority to the Bishop in these words: 'And be it further enacted that such Bishop or Bishops so consecrated may exercise within such limits as may from time to time be assigned for that purpose in such foreign countries by Her Majesty, spiritual jurisdiction over the ministers of British Congregations of the United Church of England and Ireland and over such other Protestant Congregations as may be desirous of placing themselves under his or their authority.'

3 The Queen's license for the consecration defines the locality in which the Bishop is to exercise his functions as 'Western Africa which is generally understood to comprise the countries on the West Coast lying North of the Equator as high as the River Senegal'. But as this coast contains several British colonies viz Lagos, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, which constitute the Diocese of Sierra Leone, the license defines the new Diocese as comprising 'the countries of Western Africa beyond the limits of our dominions'. There are however existing missions of the Church Missionary Society comprised in these limits which the Bishops of Sierra Leone have been accustomed to superintend, such as the Timneh Mission near Sierra Leone, and Abeokuta near Lagos, respecting which an arrangement must be made by the two Bishops as to the time and circumstances of transfer.

4 It follows also that within these British colonies Bishop Crowther can exercise the episcopal functions of confirmation or consecration of churches only by commission under the hand of the Bishop of Sierra Leone which commission may be either general or for specific acts, and may be at any time altered or cancelled by the Bishop of Sierra Leone.

5 Persons who are ordained by Bishop Crowther when they come to England will be in the same position as the persons ordained by

American Bishops or by the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem – they can only officiate by the special permission of the Bishop of an English Diocese, which permission can only be given for two days at a time and they cannot hold a curacy or preferment in England or Ireland.

6 The Bishop must have an episcopal seal for the verification of his letters of Orders, his licenses, and other public documents.

7 Dr. Crowther has been consecrated Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland, and the Church in Western Africa over which he presides will be a branch of the United Church of England and Ireland and will be identical with the Mother Church in doctrine and worship and assimilated in discipline and government as far as the same may be consistent with the peculiar circumstances of the countries in which the congregations are formed. In any important questions which may arise, the Bishop will have the privilege of applying for advice to the Archbishop of Canterbury as his Metropolitan, to whom he has taken the Oath of Canonical Obedience.

8 It may be well to advert to a few peculiarities in the new Bishopric which may call for some modification in the details of Episcopal Administration and in the ritual of public worship.

9 In all settled congregations of Native Christians within the new Diocese such as those which are of some years standing at Abeokuta, Ibadan, Otta, the Liturgy of the Church of England is regularly used on the Lord's day, and baptisms, marriages, and burials are performed according to the forms therein prescribed. In such cases, it has been found requisite only to make a few alterations, as in State prayers and to use the Litany as a separate service in order to reduce the length of the service. This practice must be followed in all settled congregations in the new Diocese, so that the spirit and general impress of the Church of England may be fully preserved. Translations of the Liturgy must be authorised by the Bishop.

10 But until settled Christian Congregations can be formed, arrangements will be required for purely missionary operations and for the transition of a people from heathenism to Christianity, for which the Mother Church can supply no precedents; such are the preparatory course of Instruction and the qualifications of adult candidates for Christian baptism, the times and circumstances under which that

sacrament is to be administered, and the duties of catechists and subordinate missionary agents. These matters have been for the most part well considered in all Church missions, and a uniformity of practice has been adopted which the Bishop will do well to establish in the missions under his direction as far as they approve themselves to his judgement, and to reduce to written Regulations issued under his authority.

11 In laying the foundations of the Native Church in the new Diocese, regard must be had to the fact that in heathen lands scattered congregations can only be held together so as to form one Church by voluntary association, and the central authority of the Bishop; all must rest upon contract or agreement. There can be no aid as in the Mother Church or the Church in the colonies from Civil power to enforce ecclesiastical authority. The main external security for the permanence and coherence of the Church and for the maintenance of episcopal authority will be the existence of a central Diocesan Fund out of which the pastors may be paid and aid contributed to the building of churches, schools, etc. The buildings, houses, lands given to the Church, should be made over to the Central Trust. For the present, the Church Missionary Society affords such a central Trust, but it will be desirable to make provision for the ultimate and normal condition of a separate Diocesan Trust when the Native Church shall have been advanced, under God's blessing, to a competent authority.

12 With a view to the establishment of a self-supporting, self-governing Native Church, it will be desirable to introduce an organisation into the Native Congregations such as the forming of the converts into classes or companies under headmen, so as to habituate the Native Church to combined action and subordination to authority. A Church Fund should be established in every congregation for receiving the weekly contributions of the people, which should be in connection with the Central Mission Trust Fund.

13 It will be desirable also in a Church which has no external aid for the enforcement of authority to hold frequent conferences or Synods in its different districts, a general Synod which delegates may attend from the District Synods. The Bishop should also be assisted by a council in the management of Funds. Every Bishop can appoint Commissaries to represent himself and communicate confidentially with him in his absence. This will be especially important in isolated

districts. Such plans will bind together the different parts of the Church. Two documents are appended which may be some guide viz a scheme for the government of the Sierra Leone Church which received the sanction of the late Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop Bloomfield, and a Minute of the C.M.S. on the Organisation of a Native Church. These have been drawn up with much care and by the aid of lengthened missionary experiences and may furnish useful precedents in such particulars as are applicable to the new Diocese.

14 In repect of Ordination, the Apostolic injunction 'lay hands suddenly upon no man' will be especially important. It appears desirable that for some years, none should be ordained without a knowledge of the English language and English Bible. As a native literature is formed, this restriction may be relaxed.

15 It will be advisable that the Bishop keep a register of all his Episcopal and Church Acts, a copy of which should be transmitted home for preservation and information, and an annual Letter should be written to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury upon the progress of the Native Church under his superintendence.

(Sgd.) Approved
C. T. Cantuar.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

1 Missionary Records

This work has been based principally on the records of the five missionary societies themselves, manuscript material as much as possible, supplemented by printed sources.

A Manuscript Materials

a CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (Archives at Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.)

The material here is full and adequate. The correspondence from headquarters to the missionaries as individuals or as missions, and from them to the headquarters, are almost complete. In addition, up to 1880, each missionary, European or African, was obliged to keep a private journal, extracts from which were read at Local Conferences and sent to C.M.S. House every 3 or 6 months. These give useful material about social, economic and political affairs in general as well as the religious histories of converts. From 1858 onwards, the missionaries were also asked to send in Annual Letters to help the General Secretary at home to prepare his Annual Reports.

The material I have used is classified under three different missions *CA*1 'The West African Mission' i.e. Sierra Leone, for the earlier records of the emigrants; *CA*2 "The Yoruba Mission'; and *CA*3 for 'The Niger Mission'. (After 1880, these become G3 A1, G3 A2, and G3 A3 respectively. Each is subdivided into either *L* for outgoing letters, and *O* for in-coming letters, journals, petitions, reports and minutes of Local Conferences, copies of correspondence with local authorities, Consuls, Governors, etc. The *L* series are serialised chronologically. Up to 1880, the *O* series are serialised according to the source, a file being for each individual missionary. After 1880, all the letters are put together and serialised chronologically, with a set of précis-books *P* giving summaries of the contents of the letters and often indicating the lines on which action over it proceeded.

The C.M.S. in Nigeria has deposited their local material in the Nigerian National Archives at Ibadan. Some of these duplicate material in London, but they also contain valuable records of events on the spot of which only abstracts or bare references will be found in the metropolitan archives. There are also important personal papers of individual missionaries. Among these may be mentioned the private diary of Archdeacon Henry Johnson 1877–92, containing drafts of letters, newspaper articles and a few notes. (ECC 20/9)

b METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY (Marylebone Road, London, W.1)

The records here are not as full as in the C.M.S. archives. A good deal of the letters from the missionaries on the spot, especially the General Superintendents and the 'Minutes and Reports' presented at the Local District Conferences, as well as many out-going letters (*in extenso* or in synopis), have been preserved. We miss the regular journals of the C.M.S. missionaries, but we have some useful accounts of missionary journeys. The outgoing letters are in the Secretaries' *Letter Book.* Up to 1879, the Methodist Mission in Nigeria was part of the Gold Coast District, and the incoming papers are therefore in the Gold Coast District files. After 1879, they are in the 'Yoruba and Popo District' files. At the moment, the papers are just arranged chronologically, one file for each year. In footnotes, I have indicated simply the dates. As in the case of the C.M.S., the Methodists have records in the Nigerian National Archives at Ibadan which contains interesting local material.

c UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh)

Surviving records consist principally of the Mission Board's *Letter Books* covering the period December 1847–August 1882, containing copies of letters to the principal missionaries. (b) Missionaries Letter Book No. 2, 31st August 1856 to 29th January 1875, being the treasurer's account book of the personal expenditure of each individual missionary (c) Five of the eleven volumes of Hope Waddell's private diaries (nos. i, vii, viii, x, xi). These are by far the most important for this study. Hope Waddell was the pioneer missionary at Calabar, an able thorough, painstaking man. He was an honest reporter, a very rare type of missionary who could record faithfully the arguments of his opponents whether fellow missionary or would-be convert. Fortunately the first volume has been preserved in which he recorded his first impressions of Calabar. The value of manuscript material for this type of study can perhaps best be illustrated by the way in which these journals, incomplete as they are, illuminate the printed material, even of other missionaries.

d SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

i Monument Avenue: Richmond Virginia, U.S.A.

The archives suffered much during the American Civil War and also during removals since. They are now well located and classification was still going on when I visited them in 1959. I have therefore cited material only by the name of the writer and the date.

The outgoing letters from the Secretaries seemed to have suffered most. Fortunately, the in-coming letters from the different missionaries, which are more important for this study, are pretty full and well-preserved. There are also fragments of diaries and accounts of travels.

ii *The Roberson Collection, Nigeria*

My first contact with Baptist Archives was through the collection of the Rev. Cecil R. Roberson, a missionary and the local authority on Baptist History in Nigeria. With the help of his wife, he has acquired or copied as much material on Baptist missionaries and their work in Nigeria as he can lay hands on. The collection is rich in early books and pamphlets. There is also a set of local histories of different Churches Commissioned in the 1950's as part of the Centenary Celebrations. The bulk of the Manuscript material is copied from the Archives in Richmond, but there is also a significant amount of personal material not available in Richmond, but acquired from relations of the missionaries and their family churches, as well as publications of these churches which give a good deal of useful background information.

e SOCIETY OF AFRICAN MISSIONS:

i *S.M.A. archives, Via della Nocetta, Rome.*

For the period before 1891, the archives are rather fragmentary. The most important surviving manuscript material are—

The Journal of Father Broghero; Father Planque's outgoing Letter Book vol. 1; Diaries and papers of Father Holley; Papers of Bishop J. B. Chausse.

ii *S.M.A. Archives, Ibadan*

Again, rather fragmentary; the most important items before 1891 are: the Journal of Father Courdioux (Chronique de la Mission du Golfe du Benin 1861–67); Faculties granted to Father Broghero 11th March 1862; 5th February 1865. Father Pourets' collection of *Usages suivis à Lagos*; Courdioux's *Questions se rattachant à la conduite à tenir une mission,* and the papers of Sir James Marshall, including his correspondence with Father Chausse in 1889.

B Printed Periodical Publications

Common to all the missions are the periodicals intended to interest the supporters of the missionary society or church in the mission fields both in Nigeria and elsewhere. C.M.S. and Methodist publications show four main types:

a *Proceedings of the C.M.S., Minutes of the Methodist Conference*

These were annals containing the General Secretary's Report of the state of the missions, Annual Estimates of Expenditure, etc.

b *The Church Missionary Record, The Weslyan Methodist Missionary Notices.*

These were monthly publications intended to keep the average reader in touch with the latest news from the mission fields. They contain extracts from letters and journals of missionaries and short editorial comments.

c *The Church Missionary Intelligencer, The Methodist Magazine.*

These were more advanced publications 'for the use of educated men and women in which articles on Geography, ethnology, religions of the various mission fields could appear and what may be called the science of missions discussed, and in which important missionary letters could be published at once instead of awaiting their turn in the systematic reports and serialisation of various missions' given in type (b). (Stocks, History of the C.M.S. vol. ii, p. 51). on the *Intelligencer.*

d The (C.M.S.) *Missionary Gleaner, The W.M.M.S. Reports.*

These were the most popular of the publications, made suitable for Sunday school use. The material in (b) was digested with more editorial comments, the front page being illustrated with a woodcut.

The principal Presbyterian publication, the U.P. *Missionary Record* is like type (b), but it also contains the Annual Estimates of Expenditure. In addition, there are the *Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee* which gives a summary of the business conducted by the Committee, and contain resolutions passed, brief accounts of papers laid before the Committee, and, on controversial matters, some indication of the debate and the voting.

The Southern Baptist Missionary Journal of the S.B.C. was, like the Presbyterian's Missionary Record, type b, with Annual Estimates. In 1851, it was replaced by the *Home and Foreign Journal,* to combine information on both the overseas missions and the home Churches. It was interrupted by the Civil War. In 1874, the idea of a separate publication for the Overseas work was revived in the *Foreign Mission Journal.* At the most exciting periods of the missionary expansion 1849–51, 1856–61, and after 1916, there was published *The Commission,* type (d). For the work and especially the views of individual missionaries on leave, the publications of State Baptist Organisations, usually type d, are also important.

The S.M.A. relied in this period on the weekly publication *Les*

Missions Catholiques, type (b), of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, which like the S.M.A. then had its headquarters at Lyons. There are also valuable articles on the work of the S.M.A. in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* and its English version (not always identical) *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*. These are type (c).

The greatest merit of these publications is that they have survived more uniformly in the various missions than manuscript material and they provide more continuous commentary on the work of the missionaries. However, where available, I have preferred the original manuscript material from which the information in these publications were extracted for they often give supplementary information necessary to interpret the published statements correctly. My method therefore has been to use the manuscript material exhaustively, and supplement them where lacking from the periodicals. Thus, I have used C.M.S. periodicals rarely, while the *Les Missions Catholiques* has been invaluable throughout, and the U.P. *Missionary Record* and the Methodist *Missionary Notices* have filled important gaps in the manuscript material.

2 Government Records

On a few specific issues, I have consulted documents in the Public Record Office, F.O.2 (Africa, Consular) and F.O.84 (Slave Trade) series. More usually, for reports of Consuls and Commissioners, treaties, missionary petitions, etc., I have relied on the more accessible printed sources.

i *State Papers*, published annually by the Foreign Office containing a wide selection of treaties, and important Consular despatches. There are two index volumes, no. 64 for the period before 1873, and no. 93 for the period 1873–1900.

ii *Confidential Prints of the Foreign Office*, in particular:
1856, July (4141): Correspondence relative to the Dispute between Consul Campbell and the Agents of the C.M.S. at Lagos.
1872, January: Report of W. H. Simpson, Foreign Office Commissioner, Niger Expedition 1871.

iii *Parliamentary Papers*
1840 XXXIII (57) Correspondence relating to the Niger Expedition.
1842 XI, XII (551) Report of Select Committee on British Possessions on the West Coast of Africa.
1847–8 XXII (272, 366, 536, 623) Four Reports from Select Committee on the Slave Trade.

1849 XIX (309,410) Two Reports following session.

1850 IX (53, 590) Reports of Select Committee of House of Lords.

1852 XLIX (284) Correspondence relative to the Conveyance of H.M.'s Mails to the West Coast of Africa.

1852 LIV (221) Papers relating to the reduction of Lagos by H.M.'s Forces.

1857 XXXVIII (255) Papers relating to the cultivation of cotton in Africa.

1861 LXIV (1) Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular).

1862 LXI (1) Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular).

1862 LXI (339, 365) Papers relating to the Occupation of Lagos.

1863 XXXVIII (117) Papers relating to the destruction of Epe.

1863 XXXVIII (512) Letters from the Rev. H. Venn on the conduct of missionaries at Abeokuta.

1864 XLI (571), 1865 XXXVII (907) Papers relating to the application of the Company of African Merchants for a subsidy.

1865 V (1) Report of Select Committee on State of British Settlements.

1865 XXXVII (533) Papers on War between Native Tribes in the neighbourhood of Lagos.

1887 LX (1,167) Correspondence between Native Tribes in the interior and negotiations for peace conducted by Government of Lagos.

3 Private Papers

i *Henry Venn's Family Papers* in the possession of the late Dr. J. A. Venn, President of Queen's College, Cambridge, his grandson, to whom I am obliged for permission to use them. These contain among other things a valuable diary, hitherto unpublished, relating to the period 1841–45 when Venn was learning the job of directing missions and insisting for himself, as he later did for the missionaries, on the value of keeping journals. Dr. Venn has bequeathed the papers to the C.M.S.

ii *G. W. Johnson's Papers* in the University of Ibadan Library. They contain very valuable material on the political activities of Johnson at Abeokuta between 1865 and 1875, one or two letters to his friends, drafts of articles for the *African Times*, etc. After 1872, there are only a few odd papers.

iii *Bishop Charles Phillips' Papers*, now deposited by his son, Bishop S. C. Phillips in the National Archives at Ibadan. The most relevant for this study is the diary of the elder Bishop Phillips about his diplomatic missions during the negotiations of the 1880s to bring the Yoruba war to an end.

iv *Herbert Macaulay Papers*, in the University of Ibadan Library. They contain files mostly of newspaper cuttings, judgements of cases of historical interest, pamphlets of lectures, etc. all of very recent date but showing influence of the ideas of the mission educated Africans of the late 19th century on the nationalist movement in the 1930s and 40s.

SECONDARY SOURCES

1 Local Histories of Churches

I have visited most of the centres of 19th century missionary work in Nigeria. I had valuable interviews with several Church leaders, including some elderly men who knew some late 19th century missionaries. Those talks at least helped to make the work of missionaries come alive to me as of great force in moulding the lives of the particular communities. In addition, I was often shown, apart from baptismal registers and mission log-books that had survived, histories of the individual churches usually commissioned on the eve of Jubilee celebrations. Such works are always of some interest. Characters who hardly receive a mention in the official documents may turn out to have become influential and revered Church Elders in the local history.

The Rev. Cecil Roberson made a collection of such histories on the Baptist Churches. At Rome I found a collection made in 1921 of such histories written by the Fathers themselves. A select list is given below:—

(Authorship is not always clear).

A Short History of the Introduction and Spread of Christianity into Egbaland under the C.M.S. (1946) by permission of Archdeacon Ashley-Dejo, St. Peter's Church, Ake, Abeokuta.

The Beginning of Missionary Work in the Yoruba country (i.e. Ibadan) in the Nigerian Record Office (ECC 20/1).

E. A. Ojo: *History of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Lagos.* (Ibid.).

Notes on the Beginnings at Ogobmoso (Roberson's Collection of the Histories of Baptist Churches in Nigeria).

?E. A. Alawode: *History of the First Baptist Church, Lagos* (ibid.).

Missions de la Nigeria (bound typewritten volume edited by L. Arial (S.M.A. archives, Rome) containing items like:

'Premier Temps de la Mission de Lagos, d'après Mère Véronique.'
'Foundation de Topo d'après le P. Poirier.'
'Stations de Topo-Badagry.'
'Rapport de Topo-Badagry'– Father L. Freyburger.
Also, a separate 'Notes sur la Mission de Topo.'

2 Missionaries' Memoirs, printed Journals, etc.

These vary in value. Some were written by the missionaries themselves, often with great care. Some, written by their friends contain valuable documents quoted in full not available elsewhere. Others are popular sentimental accounts of little historical worth. Only a select list is given here:

Anderson, William and Louisa	*A Record of their Life and Work in Jamaica and Old Calabar* by William Warwick.
Bowen, T. J.	*Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa* (Charleston, U.S.A. 1857).
Crowther, D. C.	*The Establishment of the Niger Delta Pastorate 1864–92* (Liverpool 1907).
Crowther, S. A.	*Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and the Tshada in 1854* (London 1855).
Crowther, S. A. and Taylor, J. C.	*The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger, Journals of the Niger Expeditions of 1857 and Missionary Notices* (London 1859).
Freeman, T. B.	*Journal of Various Visits to the Kingdom of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomey* (London 1844). *Missionary Life No Fiction* (published anon. London 1871).
Freeman, T. B.	Unpublished book on West Africa in typescript, in the Methodist archives.
Goldie, Hugh	*Calabar and Its Mission* (Edinburgh 1890).
Gollmer, C. A.	*His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa* by his eldest son (London 1886).
Hinderer, Anna	*Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country,* Memoirs of the wife of David Hinderer compiled by her friends (London 1872).
Johnson, Archdeacon Henry	*A Journey up the Niger in the Autumn of 1877* (n.d.? 1878 London).

Schön, J. F. and Crowther, S. A.	*Journal of an Expedition up the Niger in 1841* (London 1843).
Stone, R. H.	*In Afric's Forest and Jungle* (1899).
Sutherland, Mrs.	*Memorials of Mrs. Sutherland* by Agnes Waddell.
Townsend, Henry	*Memoirs of Henry Townsend* by his brother, George Townsend of Exeter (London 1887).
Tucker, Miss	*Abeokuta, or Sunrise within the Tropics* (London 1853).
Venn, Henry	*Memoirs of Henry Venn* by William Knight (London 1880). *The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn* by William Knight (2nd edition of the Memoirs, London, 1882). *Our West African Colonies* (London 1865).
Waddell, Hope M.	*Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa* (London 1863).

3 Other Contemporary Material

Adams, Capt. John	*Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo including observations on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants* (London 1823).
African Times	Journal of the African Aid Society (London periodical 1863–).
Allen, Capt. W. and Thomson, T. R. H.	*Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841* (2 vols. London 1848).
Anderson, Rufus	*Theory of Missions to the Heathen: Foreign Missions, their Relations and Claims* (Boston 1845 and 2nd edition 1869).
Baikie, W. B.	*Narrative of an Exploring Voyage* (London 1856).
Bell, T. M.	*Outrage by Missionaries, a Report of the whole proceedings on the Trial in Sierra Leone of W. F. John, Phoebe John, John Williams and Kezir Williams for the Murder of Amelia John at Onitsha* (Liverpool 1883).

BLYDEN, Edward	*The Western African University* (1873). *The Negro in Ancient History* (1874). *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1889). *The Return of the Exiles and the West African Church* (1891). *West Africa Before Europe* (1905).
BOWEN, T. J.	'Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language' in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. ix part iv.
BUNSEN, C. C. J.	*Christianity and Mankind*, vol iv Appendix D. (London 1854).
BURTON, R.	*A Mission to Gelele* (2 vols, London *Abeokuta and the Cameroons* (2 vols, 1864) London 1863). *Wit and Wisdom from West Africa* (London 1863).
BUXTON, T. F.	*The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* (London 1840).
BUXTON, T. F.	*Memoirs of* by Charles Buxton (3rd ed. London 1851).
CAMPBELL, R.	*Pilgrimage to my Motherland:* An account of a journey among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa (Philadelphia 1861).
CLAPPERTON, Capt. Hugh	*Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (London 1829).
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Atlas (London 1873, 1896).
C.M.S.	List of Missionaries and Native Clergy 1804–1904 (London n.d.).
Conference of West African Missionaries held at Gaboon in	*February, 1876*, (Printed Report of, Calabar 1876).
CROWTHER, S.A.	*Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language* (London 1870). *Vocabulary of the Ibo Language* (London 1882). *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Nupe Language* (London 1864).
CROWTHER, S. A. and KING, T.	*Bibeli Mimo* (London 1867) *Testamenti Titon* (London 1871).

Dalzel, A.	*A History of Dahomey compiled from Authentic Memoirs* (London 1793).
Delany, M. R.	*Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* (Leeds 1861).
Describes, E.	*L'Evangile au Dahomey et à la Côte des Esclaves, ou l'histoire des Missions Africaines de Lyons* (Claremont-Ferrand 1877).
Friend of Africa	Journal of the African Civilization Society (1840–46).
Goldie, Hugh	*Efik Grammar and Dictionary* (Edinburgh 1874).
Hilkham, Mrs. Hannah	*The Claims of West Africa to Christian Institutions* (London 1830).
Horton, J. A. B.	*West African Countries and Peoples* (London 1868).
Hutchinson, T. J.	*Ten Years Wandering Among Ethiopians from Senegal to Gaboon* (London 1861).
Iwe Irohin	C.M.S. Newspaper Abeokuta (1859–67).
Johnson, Archdeacon Henry and Christalier, J.	*Vocabularies of the Niger and Gold Coast* (SPCK 1886).
Koelle, S. W.	*Polyglotta Africana or a Comparative Vocabulary of nearly 300 words and phrases in more than 100 distinct African Languages* (London 1854). *Grammar of the Bornu or Kanuri Language* (London 1854). *African Native Literature in Kanuri* (London 1854).
Lafitte, P.	*Le Dahomey, ou Souvenirs de Voyages et de Mission* (Tours 1873).
Lagos Weekly Record	(1891–1921).
Laird, McGregor and Oldfield, R. A. K.	*Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (2 vols. London 1837).
Lander, Richard and John	*Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger* (3 vols. London 1832).
McKerrow, J.	*History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Churches* (Edinburgh 1867).

Payne, O.	*A Lagos Almanack and Diary for 1878* (London 1877), *Table of Historical Events in Yorubaland* (London 1893).
Schön, J. F.	*Grammar of the Hausa Language* (London 1862).
Tupper, H.	*Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Richmond, Va., U.S.A. 1880). *A Decade of Missions, 1880–90* (Richmond, Va., U.S.A. 1892)?
Wesley, John	"Thoughts on Slavery" in *The Complete Works of John Wesley*, vol. xi (London 1872).
Whitford, John	*Trading Life in West and Central Africa* (Liverpool 1877).

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Agbebi, Mojola	*Inaugural Sermon delivered at the celebrations of the first anniversary of the African Church* (Lagos 1902).
Bane, Father M. J.	*Catholic Pioneers in West Africa* (Dublin 1956).
Bargery, G. P.	*A Hausa-English and English-Hausa Dictionary* (Oxford 1934).
Beier, H. U.	*African Religion, the Story of Sacred Wood-Carvings from one small Yoruba Town* (Nigeria Magazine 1957).
Benton, P. A.	*A Bornu Almanack for the Year A.D. 1916* (London 1916).
Biobaku, S. O.	*The Egba and their Neighbours 1842–72* (Oxford 1957). "*Ogboni, the Egba Senate" in Proceedings of C.I.A.O.* (International West African Conference) Ibadan, 1949. (Oxford 1956). "An Historical Sketch of Egba Traditional Authorities" in *Africa*, Journal of the International African Institute, vol. 22, 1952.
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