

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
AND
THE MAKING OF NIGERIA
1841 - 1891

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

It is the contribution of various missionary societies in shifting the frontier of European influences from the coast where it had remained after three centuries of European trade connections into the interior of Nigeria in the half century before the establishment of British rule in the country that is the subject of this thesis. For, in their anxiety to deepen and widen christian European influences in the country, the missionaries were laying the ~~fundamental~~ social and economic foundations of Nigeria, particularly Southern Nigeria.

Struck by the high rate of European mortality in west Africa, and haunted by the memory that Christianity had once been introduced into West Africa and had been wiped out, the missionaries were anxious to leave a permanent mark on the country that the eventual withdrawal of European missionaries, whether sudden or gradual, could not efface. They wished to raise a large indigenous clergy. They wished to introduce not only the Bible but also the art to read and the art to make the Bible, in short, something of the technological civilisation of contemporary Europe.

Central to this programme was the creation of an a Middle Class of mission-educated Africans. The emigrants returning from Sierra Leone, Cuba and Brazil provided the nucleus of such a class. With them, the missionaries embarked on a programme of practical education in trades and industry. They tried to gather the emigrants together in at particular centres round the Mission House, in little mission villages to which individual

An Abstract of the thesis (contd).

converts from the old town, physically or spiritually, attached themselves. This new society it was hoped would grow and replace the antiquated ways of the old town.

Things did not always work out as the missionaries planned. Their resources were inadequate. They were dependent on traders whose objectives were different from theirs. The society of the old town did not crumble as readily as was expected. The missionaries saw the power of the African rulers on the coast passing to the consul and the traders, not to the educated Africans whom the traders and some of the missionaries on the spot as well regarded as rivals. Nevertheless, a class of Africans was rising, as clergymen in the church, as agents of European firms or independent merchants of their own. The most notable of them was Crowther who was made a Bishop and who used an all-African staff to establish churches on the Niger. But just as such Africans were beginning to be given responsibility and, among other things, were proceeding to make the Church less of an alien community in society, the new wave of European interest in the country made Europeans change their attitude to Africans, and the old policy of advancing educated Africans was overturned. Even Bishop Crowther was ousted from his post and with his resignation in 1891, this period of missionary work came to an end.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| C.M.S. | Church Missionary Society |
| Meth. | Weslyan Methodist Missionary Society |
| UP. | United Presbyterian Church of Scotland |
| S.B.C. | Southern Baptist Convention, U.S.A. |
| S.M.A. | Society of African Missionaries, (Societe 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 |

PREFACE

This study attempts a general survey of the work of Christian missionaries in Nigeria in the half-century before the establishment of British administration in the country, when they were at the vanguard of the forces seeking to make European ideas and European ways of life penetrate the country and cause social and economic changes. It is conceived primarily as a contribution to Nigerian history.

There were five main missionary bodies concerned: the Church Missionary Society representing the Evangelicals in the Anglican Church, many of whose missionaries at this period were Germans; the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which was directed by a Committee of the Methodist Conference in England; the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland; the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in the U.S.A.; and the Roman Catholic Society of African Missions of Lyons, France. The activities of the British missions were the most important in this period, and those of the C.M.S. above all. They worked mostly in Southern Nigeria, but it was the Niger (Benue) waterway that attracted them to the country. Northern Nigeria remained their lodestar. They studied Hausa and Kanuri before they learnt Ibo and they had two important stations at Lokoja and Egga.

There were essential differences between the different missionary bodies, both of doctrine and of approach. Many aspects of their work cannot be fully understood unless these are brought out and this I have tried to do. But I have kept it down to the minimum partly because the personality of the missionary was often more important than his denomination, partly also because from the point of view of Nigerian history the denominational differences were not important in this period ~~except~~ perhaps during the Anglo-French rivalry of the 1880's. Generally I have considered the missionaries whether English, German, American, French, Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian or Anglican, together as one single factor in the history of the country at this period.

For the history of missions in Nigeria, the period 1841-91 was only the 'seedling' time of preparation for the great expansion between 1891 and 1914. For the history of Nigeria, however, their activities in the earlier period have greater significance. While in the later period their expansion was incidental to the establishment of British rule, their work in the earlier period is ~~also~~ more interesting because it had its own decisive influence on the country. The earlier period has another additional interest for me, namely that our affairs with Europeans did not then entirely depend on force. There was still

room for argument on both sides, room for ideas and personalities. I see it as an age not of the anthropological Man in the abstract, or of the giant saints and pygmy sinners of the later colonial period, but of men.

In studying for three years the activities of five different missionary societies over a period of fifty years, two of them based in England, one in Scotland, one in Virginia U.S.A, one in France with headquarters now in Rome, I have put myself in debt to many people. If I try to mention them all, I will have to write a very long list. A look at the footnotes and the note on Sources 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, officials, other scholars in the field, who have all by their kindness and co-operation helped me in the compilation of this thesis. There are however, a few names I must mention. First, the Rev. Cecil Roberson to whose labours I owe most of the material I have used on the Baptists since I was unable to visit their archives in America or get papers microfilmed for me. Also, Mr. Akin Mabogunje who helped me with the maps.

In addition my thanks are due to Prof. 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 Prof. G.S. Graham who supervised this work in its early stages, to Dr. E. Martin who took over the supervision when Prof. Graham went abroad, and to Dr. J.E. Flint who read through the draft of this thesis and made very valuable suggestions for improving it.

I also wish to thank the University of London for awarding me a Postgraduate studentship for two years to work on this thesis, the Institute of Historical Research for awarding me a research Fellowship for a third year, and the Federal Government of Nigeria for enabling me to visit Nigeria for three months in 1957 to gather additional material. Finally, I must thank my wife who has shared with me all the excitement and drudgery of a research student's life.

CHAPTER IINTRODUCTION"THE BIBLE AND THE PLOUGH"

Nigeria, like the rest of West Africa, has been subject to two major external influences: the first, from the muslim north of Africa; the second, from christian Europe. Islam was introduced into Borgu in the 11th Century and into the Hausa states in the 13th or 14th century.¹ The Portuguese arrived in Benin in 1486 and introduced Christianity early in the 16th century.² The resulting juxtaposition of the rival forces of the Crescent and the Cross is becoming one of the most significant factors in the history of the country. But in spite of the early introduction of both religions, the rivalry is of recent development. In 1841, barely a century ago, while Islam had become a powerful force in the country, Christianity had practically died out and European

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1. See the Kano Chronicle in Palmer R.J: Sudanese Memoirs Also E.W. Bovill: Caravans of the Old Sahara (Lond 1933); Joseph Greenberg: The influence of Islam on a Sudanese Kingdom (New York 1946, Monographs of the American Ethnographical Society) and K.O. Dike in the article on "Sokoto" in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1956 edition.
 2. J.W. Blake: Europeans in West Africa vol 1 pp 6-12,78. (Hakluyt Society Publications, second series LXXXVI Lond 1941).

influences had not yet begun to penetrate the country to any appreciable extent. Christian leaders in Europe and America who began just before 1841 to think again of spreading Christianity in the country they referred to variously as 'the Bights of Benin and Biafra' or 'on the Banks of the Niger and Tshadda' realised that Christianity had to be introduced afresh.

For centuries, Arab traders had come down the trans-Saharan caravan routes. Kanem subjected the Kanuri in the 13th century, and at the end of the 15th century, the muslim rulers of Songhai conquered the Hausa states. Fulani mallams as well as Fulani traders and shepherds infiltrated into the country. By trade and conquest, the states of Bornu, Kano, Daura, Gobir, Katsina, Zaria, all had become muslim. Although traditional pagan beliefs and practices died hard, especially outside the large towns, the system of government, of taxation, and of justice in these states had come to approximate to the prescriptions of the Koran and the teachings of muslim religious leaders, notably those of Malik ibn Anas. Between 1804 and 1810, Islam was revived and made more powerful still by the jihad proclaimed by the Fulani mallam, Othman dan Fodio, against the continued tolerance of pagan ideas in the muslim states. Even before the jihad, muslim influences had been penetrating down the Niger into Nupe, possibly into Igalla, and across the river

into Yoruba. Besides the itinerant preacher, many a muslim trader, Hausa slave or Fulani herdsman was a missionary. Muslim ways of dress, muslim court music, were spreading. The reputedly wide-travelled and learned mallam was becoming fashionable in the family compounds of many Yoruba and Nupe rulers and wealthy traders as advisers on subjects ranging from medicine and trade to religion and government. It was two such mallams who took advantage of a disputed succession in Nupe and a quarrel between the military governor of Ilorin and his sovereign at Oyo to convert Nupe and Ilorin into Fulani emirates. Some of the consequences of this southern extension of the ihad will be noticed later in this chapter. The point here is that through the ihad, Islam had given some religious and political unity to Northern Nigeria. The Fulani became rulers of a muslim empire loosely held together stretching from Sokoto to Funga on the Benue, and from Ilorin to Adamawa.

By contrast, up to 1841, the influences of christian Europe were much less widespread both in area and intensity. Indeed, besides the penetration of a few ceremonial and household goods to those in the interior who could afford the luxury, and of crops from the New World which seems to have spread far and wide, European influences were almost wholly restricted to the coast. Benin was the first and only inland state that directly felt European influence before the 19th

century. For the rest, many people migrated southwards to the coast there to take advantage of the European trade. In that way, three centuries of European trade had converted old fishing villages into the trading city-states of the Delta: ¹ Calabar, or Old Calabar as the European traders called it, Kalabari which the traders called New Calabar, Bonny, Brass, Warri on the Lower Benin River, as well as Lagos and Badagri further 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 adaptations in the life of the states. The rulers were themselves the leading traders. The traditional family or clan based on blood relationship had been replaced by the 'Houses' in which economic organisation counted for almost as much as kinship. But it was the traditional religious and social beliefs - not the beliefs and practices of the christian European traders that directed these adaptations. Within the coastal society, the Houses functioned as the traditional family unit, and remained resistant to the penetration of foreign ideas.

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1. J. M. Dike: Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, chapter 1 & 2. Darryl-Forde (ed): Efik Traders of Old Calabar (1957).

There had been Portuguese, Spanish and Italian missionaries of the Roman Catholic faith, notably at Benin and Warri, but apart from memories preserved in oral tradition and a few relics and motifs of the Cross adopted in art and ritual, the work of these early missionaries had disappeared.¹ Some African traders had entrusted their sons to European traders and missionaries for training either in Europe or on board mercantile vessels. Many had long spoken the Portuguese language in Warri and Lagos, and English in Calabar and Bonny. There was a growing taste on the coast for European education and European goods. It was becoming fashionable early in the 19th century, particularly in Calabar, to import pre-fabricated European houses, filled sometimes to excess with all types of European furniture.² But there the cultural influence of Europe stopped. Not one even of the coastal states had adopted the religion or the system of government of their European customers who were themselves as a rule not allowed to build houses on land and were confined to live in their trading hulks. Nothing illustrates better the limit of the European contact and

1. Father M.J. Bane: Catholic Pioneers in West Africa (Dublin 1956) *passim*; Blake op.cit pp 58-9, 78-9. Father Cuthbert OSFC: The Capuchins (Lond 1928) vol II pp 306-12, Father Ralph M. Wiltgen: Gold Coast Mission History 1471-1880 (Illinois, U.S.A. 1956) p.8-13.

2. cf. This description by Hope Waddell in 1846 of the
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influence than the fact that those who had for so long known Warri and Brass and Bonny and had named the different waterways of the region as River Forcados, Escrivos, Nun and so on did not know that they formed part of the Delta of the long sought Niger until the Lander brothers discovered this in 1830.

It was this discovery of the Landers' that began

reference 2 continued:-

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 arm 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).

the process of shifting the frontier of European influences inland in an attempt to divert the trans-Saharan trade southwards and to exploit the economic resources of the country. By the end of the century, European forces had overwhelmed the whole country. The interests of Britain had become predominant over those of the other European ~~countries~~ ^{nations} interested in the country, and it was Britain that began to set up a unified administration to cover the whole country for the first time in history. It is the contribution of various christian missionary societies in shifting the European frontier inland that is the subject of this study. For, in their anxiety to widen and deepen christian European influences in the country, they were laying the social and economic foundations of Nigeria, particularly of southern Nigeria. This compares well in importance with the drawing of boundaries and the setting up of the unified administration with which we are not here immediately concerned.

The acceptance by Britain at the end of the century of responsibility for the administration of the country averted or postponed the conflict between the Cross and the Crescent, apart from a few relatively minor engagements between British troops and the Fulani emirates. This was partly because the French had by then conquered North Africa and the inevitable conflict between the traditional northern

traffic and the new attempt to divert it southwards took the form of an Anglo-French struggle. It was also because after the missionaries had spent over forty years moving northwards, itching to come to battle with the muslims, British political officers virtually kept them out of the emirates.¹ By the 1890's the officials were arguing that it was in the interests of all concerned, and that it was possible, to rule the people without interfering unduly with their social and religious beliefs - just as it had been possible to trade with them on the coast for three centuries without such interference. This was in marked contrast to the attitude of Europeans in general in the middle of the 19th century, and of the missionaries in particular. And in the period 1841-91 the missionaries were mostly at the vanguard of the European penetration and were exercising the most persistent, most ubiquitous and therefore often decisive influence on the movement.

1. cf. Lugard: "For reasons which concern the administration our responsibility, it was found necessary both by Lord Kitchener in the Sudan and by myself in Nigeria to prohibit for the time being the establishment of Christian Missions in Moslem districts" (The Dual Mandate, p.593). Dr Baikie at Lokoja 1859-64 showed a similar distrust of missionary work in muslim areas. The first official prohibition was however the proclamation of the Royal Niger Company dated October 31st 1889. (CMS G3 A3/04).

The missionaries were haunted all the time by the thought that Christianity had once been introduced into the country and had been wiped out, and they did not forget that it had been introduced much earlier into North Africa where it had flourished but had succumbed under the moving tide of Islam. They were therefore the more anxious to interfere in, to change, to revolutionise every aspect of the society they wished to convert, so as to leave a permanent mark that the eventual withdrawal of European missionaries, whether sudden or gradual, could not efface. This anxiety to interfere was fortified the more because the missionary movement itself as of the whole movement for European penetration of Africa, had at this time its most powerful advocates and supporters within the anti-slavery movement which was beginning to advocate a social and economic revolution in Africa as the only complete cure of the evils of the Atlantic slave trade. It is important to trace the inter-relationship of these various movements.

One of the major causes for the failure of the earlier missionary enterprise was undoubtedly the fact that the peaceful trade in pepper and soap which the

Portuguese began to cultivate with Benin between 1486 and 1520 soon gave way to the traffic in slaves.¹ The slave trade was embittered by the religious and national rivalries of the different European traders, and brutalised by the inhumanities that arose from the large scale plantation slavery of the Americas. Though it took christian Europe a long time to discover it, evangelisation was incompatible with the slave trade. The African's soul was hardly to be saved by the enslavement of his body.

It might be argued that the North African trade by which the north of Nigeria became muslim depended, like the European trade, on the traffic in slaves, but this only shows the great difficulty in comparing both systems.² While the Arab trader took an interest in the country,

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1. "Description of a voyage from Lisbon to the Island of Sao Thome written by an anonymous Portuguese pilot c 1540" (trans and cit Blake op.cit p.151-2.) "That the Benin pepper" is forbidden, there are heavy penalties for gathering it on the coast... The soap made of ashes and palm oil, also forbidden by the said King (of Portugal) is very effective in whitening the hands."
 2. This difficulty is further discussed in an article by M.G. Smith: "Slavery and emancipation in two societies" (i.e. Zaria and Jamaica) in Social and Economic Studies, Univ. College of the West Indies vol 3 1954.

brought of his best materially, intellectually and spiritually to enrich it, travelled widely in it, settled and often intermarried, the European did not. It was not always the European's fault: he did not find the climate congenial and he was not allowed to travel about as he wished. But a good deal of the suspicion that caused this was aroused by the curious attitude of the European slave trader. The Arab who enslaved European and African alike needed no further justification for slavery than the Koranic implication that the Faithful could sell the unbeliever as a way of compelling him and other unbelievers to accept Allah and the Prophet Mohammed. There were slaves he respected and advanced to positions of great responsibility. The European slave trader on the other hand sometimes went out of his way to argue that the African deserved to be enslaved because he was a being inferior to himself mentally, spiritually, even physically, a state of permanent inferiority arising out of nature, which baptism or any other metamorphosis could not alter. This attitude

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1. cf for example, the debate in the American colonies in the 17th century as to what in fact Baptism did to the negro slaves, and the consequent series of legislations to affirm that Baptism did not alter his condition as to freedom or bondage. e.g. "Act to Encourage the Importation of Negroes, 1671, (Maryland): "whereas several of the good people of this Province have been discouraged to import into or purchase within this Province any Negroes ... to the great displeasure of Almighty God and

which made the work of missionaries appear irrelevant explains to a large extent why as the demand for slaves grew in Europe and America, missionary enthusiasm declined. It was of course often said by many advocates of the slave trade that it at least gave the African a chance of being baptised in the New World. And at some of the trading depots of the Catholic countries, priests, including African priests, were maintained to baptise batches of slaves before they were shipped. But when any missionary sought to make evangelisation more than just a branch of the slave trade, he met with the undisguised opposition of the slave trader. Father Angelo, a frustrated Italian missionary at Warri in the middle of the 17th century was driven to write of the reference 1 continued:-

and the prejudice of the soules of those poore people Neglected to Instruct them in the Christian Faith, or to Endure or permitt them to Receive the holy Sacrament of Baptisme for the Remission of their Sinns upon a mistake and ungrounded apprehension that by becomming Christians they and the issues of their bodies are actually manumitted and made free and discharged from their Servitude and bondage, be itt declared and Enacted ... that ... any Negro (baptised) ... is not, nor shall or ought the same be denied adjudged construed or taken to be to amount unto a manumicion ..." (E. Donan: Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade p.9-10, also p.68).

Portuguese traders on the coast that "their outrageous offence makes it clear that they have no esteem whatever for the Pope, for cardinals, for decrees, for bulls, for censures, and one would say not even for God Himself".¹ The missionary depended for communications, for supplies, for the very sustenance of life on the trader. If they could not both work together, evangelisation was well-nigh impossible.

In the course of the 18th century, the handful of Europeans and Americans who had misgivings about the slave trade gathered in strength. In England, by the beginning of the 19th century, the anti-slavery movement had become a mass organisation whose pressure on the government secured the prohibition of slave trading by British subjects in 1807 and the abolition of the status of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Primary to the success of the Abolitionist cause was a revision of the slave trader's picture of the African.

1. Wiltgen, op.cit. p.103-4; Bane, op.cit. p. 88-9.

Slavery, it should be noted, was opposed basically on two different grounds: one, that it was inhuman; the other, that it was a sin. The humanitarian view was first in the field. It derived strength partly from those whose hearts were touched when brought physically in contact with the sufferings of the slaves; partly from radical thinkers who opposed servitude in general terms because, they said, freedom and equality were good things in themselves or, were part of man's natural rights or, that the principle of liberty was productive of good not only in politics and law but also in the organisation of trade and labour.¹

The Abolitionists at that stage aimed first and foremost at ameliorating the condition of slaves in America, stopping the slave trade so as to put an end to the horrors of the middle passage and the slave wars in Africa and resettling those declared free either as a result of Lord Mansfield's judgment or for supporting Britain in the two American wars.

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1. of the ideas of Thomas Clarkson, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith. The Journal of Negro History published by the "Association of Negro Life and History" in America contains many useful studies of the 18th century European attitude to the Negro. See, for example, the articles "The Negro in the anthropology of John Wesley" by Margaret T. Hogden in vol xix no 3 July 1934 p 308ff and "Jean Jaques Rousseau and the Negro" by Mercer Cook in vol xxi no 3 July 1936.

So far little attention was given to the interior of Africa itself, but a new view of the African was already being canvassed. Far from an inferior being who deserved slavery and whose condition was improved in the slave plantations, he was an idealised 'natural' man living either in an imaginary state of nature or at least in well-organised communities and surrounded by fields well-cultivated till devastated by the slave raider. John Wesley agreed with this view in Thoughts on Slavery, 1774. "The natives of the kingdom of Benin", he said, "are a reasonable and good-natured people. They are sincere and inoffensive, and do no injustice either to one another or to strangers.... Where shall we find at this day among the fair-faced natives of Europe, a nation generally practising the justice, mercy and truth which are found among these poor Africans.... We may leave England and France and seek genuine honesty in Benin, Congo, or Angola."¹

Even before Wesley's death in 1791, and indeed in his own writings not directly concerned with slavery, this view was being considerably modified. The evangelical

1. "Thoughts on Slavery" in The Works of the Rev. John Wesley M.A. vol xi pp 64-5. (Lond. 1872).

doctrine preached by Wesley taught the utter sinfulness of man till regenerated by the Grace that comes with a knowledge of and a total and unequivocal acceptance of a Christian Personal God. To evangelicals, therefore, the African being unregenerated, was not the idealised ever-just, ever-honest man, but a "poor, benighted, immoral, degenerate idolater". In this he was, however, no different from unregenerated man elsewhere, Indian or Laplander, Chinese or even European for that matter; and, like these, he could be brought to know God. This Evangelical Revival created a new and growing Methodist Church, and an increasingly powerful Evangelical Party within the Established Church. It infected Non-Conformists and indeed all Protestantism with a new fervour and zeal in religious matters, which resulted in the foundation of various missionary societies in the last decade of the 18th century.

As early as 1787, Dr. Coke's Methodism impelled him to draw up a plan for the 'Establishment of missions to the Heathen'. In 1792, William Carey founded the Baptist Missionary Society. In 1795, attempts were made to found interdenominational Missionary societies in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, but the London one soon became Congregational and the Scottish ones Presbyterian. In 1799, the evangelicals in the Established Church founded the "Society of Missions

to Africa and the East", later known simply as the Church Missionary Society. A necessary aide to them all was the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804.¹ But although there was a definite bias that these were missions to the "heathen", not to Christians settled abroad, as long as the old humanitarian view of the idealised African lingered little attention was given to the interior of Africa. When two Africans emancipated by Lord Mansfield's judgment went back to their home in Calabar and a Miss Johnson who had trained them in Bristol offered £500 for a missionary to go after them, Wesley wrote to the young minister in Dundee who was inclined to accept the offer: "You have nothing to do in Africa at present. Convert the heathen in Scotland".²

Soon, however, evangelicals were beginning to say that slavery was not only inhuman; it was a sin abominable in the sight of God. By this argument, gradually the restricted group of sensitive people who thought about

1. There is a good summary of "The Missionary Awakening" in C.P. Groves: The Planting of Christianity in Africa vol 1 cap x. (Lond 1948).

2. Groves, op.cit vol ii p.36-37.

the inhumanities of the slave trade was transformed into a mass organisation of men and women who believed that the outright abolition of slavery was a religious duty implied in the injunctions on Christians to preach the Gospel to all the world. As the debate for the abolition of slavery grew, more and more attention was given to the interior of Africa, "Central Africa" or "Sudan" as it was called.

This growing desire of missionary societies to penetrate into Africa was reinforced by European thinkers who rejected the hankering after an imaginary state of nature for a more practical, utilitarian view of society in which civilisation consisted in applying a set of carefully worked out principles which were applicable to men everywhere. It was reinforced also by the fact that Britain's economy, formerly a commercial, ^{one} ~~xxx~~ based on agriculture at home and in a few colonies of settlement, was now becoming industrial and was seeking markets and raw material abroad. It saw in Africa not an idyllic beauty spot, but an undeveloped estate. "To us it appears", said the Edinburgh Review in 1841, "that within the last few years, a new hope has been opened for Africa - a new opportunity, distinct in some essential features from any that has hitherto presented itself, of bringing into cultivation some portions at least of this vast, neglected

Estate, to the great benefit of the world; that it lies with England to improve this opportunity".¹ It was a junction of the three factors of evangelical Christianity, utilitarian civilisation and commerce based on agricultural development, within the Abolitionist movement that made Exeter Hall so influential in late Georgian and early Victorian England, and was so productive of African missions. Nobody symbolised this junction of forces so thoroughly as Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton himself, leader of the anti-slavery movement.

He was born of the landed gentry by an Anglican father and a Quaker mother but became an industrialist and Evangelical. He was an idle and pleasure-loving youth, until he came under the religious influence of the Gurney family, of Ipswich, one of whom he later married. He then became a serious and prize-winning student at Trinity College, Dublin, and a successful businessman, as a partner of his maternal uncle Sampson Hanbury, in the Truman brewery at Spitalfields in East London.² He grew

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1. "The Niger Expedition" in the issue of Jan 1841 vol 72 p.456.
 2. F.C. Smart: A critical Edition of the Correspondence of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., with an account of his career to 1823, Part I. (unpublished M.A. Lond 1957 thesis)
R.H. Mattrem: Buxton the Liberator. The Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., edited by his son Charles Buxton (Lond 1848).

up into what Halevy has called the "class of austere men" produced by the Evangelical Revival, "hard workers and greedy of gain, who considered it their two-fold duty to make a fortune in business and preach Christ Crucified".¹ Like them, he proclaimed evangelical faith and the blessedness of Free Trade, and zealously supported Christian missions while disavowing all intentions to extend Britain's overseas Empire.²

He had successfully led a campaign for the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Five years later, he discovered to his horror that the slaves leaving Africa had not diminished in number. They had only been diverted from the British colonies to Brazil, Cuba and the United States of America. He decided therefore that the thing to do was to convince the African that it was in his own interests to give up the slave trade, to keep his manpower at home to produce goods for the European market. To stop

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1. E. Halevy: A History of the English People in the 19th century vol 1 "England in 1815" p 284 to which as well as vol iv "Victorian Years (1841-95)", G.M. Young: Victorian England, Portrait of an Age and the symposium Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians (Sylvan Press, Lond 1950), I am indebted for the account of the Evangelical Revival and early Victorian opinion.
 2. Buxton: The African Slave Trade and its Remedy (Lond 1840) p.453.

the Atlantic slave trade effectively, and to root out slavery completely and for ever from Africa, said Buxton,

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

His plan for achieving this had the attractive merit of simplicity. It was that the government should supplement the preventive squadron, which since 1807 had been trying to maintain a blockade of the coast, by intervention on the mainland. He urged that the government should undertake pioneer expeditions through the large waterways into the heart of the continent 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;

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1. T.F. Buxton: The African Slave Trade and its Remedy 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. (cf Capt Trotter to Lord Russell 22nd January 1840: "If the proposed enterprise could be kept entirely secret, some advantage might be derived by preventing the possibility of any other European nation anticipating our operations by occupying the ground before us." CO 2/21).
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but that they should do this with an eye for the civilisation of the country. For this reason, and also because of the climate, they were to rely on using Africans from the Americas and Sierra Leone as their agents. These Africans, protected by Britain, guided by the missionaries, and with capital from European merchants, would not, like European traders, 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 civilisation from where the light would radiate to the regions around. As catechists and schoolmasters, they would preach Christianity; as carpenters, tailors, sawyers, masons, artisans, they would improve the standard of housing

reference 1 continued:-

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.

and household furniture and build the necessary roads and bridges to make a highway for trade. They would be the 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.

7 Buxton at once set about persuading Lord Melbourne's government to try out his proposals by sending a specific expedition up the Niger. The whole propaganda machinery of the Abolitionist^{movement} was put into force. Resolutions came from all over the country, and many messages, too, from abroad, supporting the proposed expedition.¹ It was Prince Albert who, at his first public appearance in England as the Queen's consort, took the Chair at the public launching of the African Civilisation Society in June, 1840. He was supported by no less than twenty-five peers and bishops. Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Robert Inglis, Dr. Lushington, Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of

1. The Friend of Africa (1841-2) journal of the African Civilisation Society, reported these from time to time from Germany, Austria and Switzerland. There was a German edition of Buxton's book in 1841.

London, were all there. "quite an epitome of the State", wrote Buxton, "Whig, Tory, and Radical, Dissenter, Low Church, High Church, tip-top Oxfordism, all united".¹ The Whig government, without a stable majority in the House of Commons, could not withstand such a pressure group.² Against the advice of many hard-headed business men,³ it embarked on the Niger Expedition of 1841 at a cost of some £166,000.

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1. E. Stocks: History of the Church Missionary Society vol 1 p.453.
 2. "A government miserably weak, dragging on a sickly existence, now endeavouring to curry a little favour with one party, now with another". (Greville 15th Aug.1839, in Memoirs 1830 vol iv p.240) cited in J. Gallagher: "Powell Buxton and the New African Policy" in Cambridge Historical Journal vol xi 1950.
 3. Buxton's main critics may be divided into (a) Pacifist Abolitionists led by Sturge, Cropper and the Society of Friends, who emphasised that the slave trade would be destroyed by constitutional means in the New World not by the force of the squadron or by imperialist designs in Africa; (b) West Indian interests who decried attempts to lure Negroes from the West Indies, and rather proposed that rescued slaves be sent not to Sierra Leone but to the West Indies; (c) Private traders especially Liverpool merchants long established on the coast, led by Robert Jamieson, who opposed the intervention of government and benevolent organisations into the region of trade. Macgregor Laird in Westminster Review vol 66 June 1840 was himself apprehensive that a government expedition able to give large presents to African rulers might raise prices and injure private traders. (d) The Edinburgh Review supported the Niger Expedition as a commercial venture, but argued that the civilisation of Africa would be a long if not impossible process, and that it could not be an anti-slavery measure because the process of civilising could not begin before the slave trade had first been given up.

The Expedition was to symbolise the whole civilised force of Britain, there were three steam boats; four Commissioners of the government authorised 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, their social and political institutions; commercial agents to report about the trade, the currency, the traffic on the river; besides 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, the commercial wing of the African Civilisation Society, to acquire land at a suitable point near the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, and there establish a model farm that was to be the first cell of civilisation. This was to be settled at first by twenty-four Africans from Sierra Leone, managed by two British agriculturists, with Alfred Carr, a West Indian "man of colour" as superintendent, and an African catechist from Sierra Leone to look after their spiritual welfare before the full resident missionary party arrived.

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1. Allen and Thomson: Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger River in 1841 (Lond 1848), J.F. Schon and S. Crowther: Journals of the Expedition of 1841 (CMS 1842). Mr. C.C. Ifemesia is making a detailed study of the Niger Expeditions and I am obliged to him for one or two informations of detail.

Little came of the Expedition. Treaties were signed with the Obi of Aboh and the Attah of Igalla; land was acquired at Lokoja and the model farm established. One of the ships went up the river as far as Egga. But when forty-five of the 150 European members of the Expedition died within three months, the new Tory government recalled the Expedition, the model farm was wound up, the treaties were not ratified, '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 Civilisation Society and the Agricultural Society were disbanded. Buxton died broken-hearted two years later, but his influence did not die with him.² Between 1839 and 1842,

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1. Ten years later Charles Dickens still had England laughing at the Niger Expedition caricatured by Mrs Jellyby's philanthropic schemes for civilising Borriboola Gha in Black House. Lest the importance of this should be overrated, it should be noticed that the novel first appeared serially in 1852-53, just when the government was taking energetic measures in Lagos.
 2. I am grateful to Dr A.F. Madden for permission to consult his unpublished Oxford D. Phil thesis on The attitude of the Evangelicals to the Empire and Imperial problems (1820-50) in which he has discussed the decline of the influence of the Evangelicals both in Society and on the government which became marked from the reaction against them following the failure of the 1841 Expedition. He probably overstates the extent of this decline as I hope, in particular, references to the work of Henry Venn in this thesis will show.

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 Livingstone was to receive in the 19th century, and the publicity had set in motion a train of events which the failure of that expedition could not hold back.¹ Some of these relevant to this study will be elaborated upon later, but may be mentioned here. The first was the series of slave trade treaties which the British government hitherto generally averse to getting involved in West African local politics, now began to encourage. Their aim was to strengthen the hands of naval officers by securing for them on land the alliance of favourable African rulers. The second was the movement for the return of Liberated Africans from Sierra Leone back to Nigeria. The movement was to a large extent spontaneous but it received impetus from the Niger Expedition. In turn, it directly led to the extension of the work of the C.M.S. and Wesleyan Methodists from Freetown to Badagri. Scottish missionaries in Jamaica anxious to foster a similar movement from the West Indies

1. Gallagher: "Fowell Buxton and the New African Policy", op.cit.

received inspiration directly from the reading of Buxton's works. They established a mission sponsored by the United Presbyterian Church at Calabar in 1846. It was an account of the work of the Methodist missionary at Badagri that led Bowen of the Southern Baptist Convention there in 1851. It was these Protestant missionary societies, particularly the British ones, that dominated missionary work in Nigeria in the period to be studied here, though the work of the Catholic Society of African Missions of Lyons will also be noticed.

Thus the failure of the Niger Expedition did not stop the European advance in Nigeria. It only meant that, for a while, 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 this purpose, as we shall see, they felt constantly the need to seek the co-operation of traders and governments in Europe and America, but they relied in the last resort on their own meagre resources. Their slogan was the same as Buxton's: 'the Bible and the Plough'.²

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1. i.e. The United Secession Church which on its union with the Relief Church in 1847 became the United Presbyterian Church.
 2. Buxton adopted the slogan from Read a missionary in South

That meant, in other words, that they should seek to convert Africa not by preaching the Gospel alone; ^{but} that they must be prepared to accompany the Gospel by material development symbolised by the plough; that Christianity must be accompanied by commerce and civilisation. There were of course differences of emphasis from denomination to denomination, and even more from individual missionary to missionary. Some of these will be brought out. But the argument here is that these differences were less important than the underlying unities of purpose even between Protestants and Roman Catholics. This was particularly so from the point of view of the African onlooker, which is the point

reference 2 continued:-

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).

of view aimed at in this work.

It is further suggested here that the idea of carrying civilisation, commerce and Christianity to Africa was, in the middle of the 19th century, not just a missionary dream. It was in the main the intention of the most notable Europeans who at that period turned their attention to Africa. 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 a civilised polity 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 Civilisation and government".¹

It was the policy towards which Livingstone worked in Central Africa, and Sir George Grey in South Africa. It had a counter-part in India and New Zealand. Ministers like Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Clarendon constantly talked of promoting civilisation in Africa along side the missionaries. An attempt ought to be made at this stage to find out more clearly what they had in mind. For if we are to understand what exactly the missionaries were trying to achieve in Nigeria in the

1. Earl Grey: The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration vol ii p.286 (Lond.1853).

middle of the 19th century it is necessary to define in particular the term civilisation a little more closely.

It was nothing new for missionaries to claim to be spreading civilisation. Roman Catholics had always maintained that the membership of the Church in any part of the world was a civilising process both in the sense that the Church was the fountain head of European civilisation in art, music and literature, and in the old Greek sense that it was only by such membership that a man could fully satisfy the whole of his being. Most Protestants would agree with this view, but emphasise that it was not so much membership of the Church that civilised as the power of the Gospels working in the individual hearts. Yet precisely in the middle of the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church was being attacked for its opposition to 'civilisation' and 'progress', and many Protestants implied that there was a distinction between civilisation 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 civilisation more than was implicit in the membership of the Church. When they expressed the wish to civilise the African, they meant that he should adopt all that they considered best in their own way of life, not only

on the religious plane, but also the economic and political. The problem is to discover what they considered most essential in their own way of life.

The missionary who on his first wedding anniversary at Badagri gave a tea-party and called it a token of civilisation was no doubt giving expression to some aspect of the way of life in his country. 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 (in England) but behold the very interesting sight which presents itself and witness the evident token of civilisation which on all sides appeared ... they would be delighted."¹

Similarly, the new arrival in Africa who did not mind sweating in his clerical black but wondered that an older missionary should allow himself to be served at table by a young man and a girl in a state of "semi-nudity ... who had on only the waist cloth, being from the waist upwards and from the knee downwards naked"². He too was expressing another aspect of the way of life in his country. There was a proper and improper way of doing most things in Victorian England. And many of the customs and habits

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1. Rev. S. Annear, Journal entry for October 20th 1844 (Meth).
 2. Hope Waddell, Journals vol 1 p.21, giving an account of a visit to Freeman at Cape Coast, on Waddell's first voyage to Calabar, under date 26th Mar. 1846.

were regarded not just as unimportant matters of social convenience. Victorian Christian virtue for example, demanded that 'nature's secret' be kept. It was permissible perhaps that an African lady convert should wear her buba and iro and gele, but it was more civilised 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" -

"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

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1. This was less true in the case of men. Henry Townsend at least thought that the Yoruba costumes "is very becoming as regards the male sex". (Journal for quarter ending Dec. 1847, p.6. CMS CA2/085).
 2. "Journal of H. Townsend while on a mission of Research, entry for Dec 29th 1842 (CMS CA1/0215).
 3. Rev. W.T. Lusbly: Foreign Mission Journal (Bap) May 1897 vol XLVII no 13 p.405.

In his mind were 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 about 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 preacher of a Christianity interpreted in the light of European social and economic history, and unconsciously, as a man produced by that particular environment, and a man who taught not only by word but also by example, the missionary brought to Africa 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 in Nigeria go much further than the limited number of converted people was that the missionaries who saw Civilisation as allied to Christianity attempted more than just a Reform of the Manners of the converted. Early Victorian England saw 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 civilisation, 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 - Civilisation",¹ as a missionary put it.

Among these temporal blessings, political changes along the lines advocated by Earl Grey were sometimes included, but generally, politics was 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 Civilisation of Mankind ... This Civilisation rests on Christianity, can only be maintained by Christianity".² Buxton's "Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilisation 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

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1. S. Annear: Journal of a visit to the Encampment August 1844 (Meth).
 2. Stocks, op.cit vol ii p.12. loc.cit.

into Africa", defined their programme of civilisation 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 contribute rapidly to promote the improvement and prosperity of that country."¹

In spite of the slogan the "Bible and the Plough", it was not so much agriculture that the missionaries considered the civilising occupation, as the commerce that resulted from it. Agriculture was recommended to the African as a way of producing the "legitimate" of the trade that would link him with christian Europe. Agriculture in mid-nineteenth century England was a respectable occupation of the aristocracy, but civilisation was a middle class affair.

1. "Prospectus of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilisation of Africa, instituted June 1839" at the beginning of Buxton: the African Slave Trade and its Remedy op.cit. pp. 8-16.

When a missionary, an Irish man, 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 intestine 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 plebians for their own use".¹

By no means every missionary shared the radicalism of this Irish man. 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 symbolised the highest achievement of civilisation. Also that they considered it the achievement of the middle classes, the type of which they wished to see created in Africa.

This desire of mid-19th century missionaries to create an African middle class must be emphasised. It was reinforced by arguments that for reasons of climate and of expense, a large part of the missionary staff had to be Africans. But, it was often pursued deliberately and for its own sake. "In the history of man", said the American

1. Waddell, Journals, vol x p.15.

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

"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 aspect of the social revolution the missionaries envisaged.

There was another reason more intimately related with the work of missionaries why they wished to see an African middle class emerge. Most Catholics accepted as normal that their ordained missionaries should themselves foster the arts of civilisation such as was implied in the programme we have been discussing. On the other hand,

1. T.J. Bowen: Adventures and Missionary Labours in several Countries in the Interior of Africa pp 339-340. (New York 1857).

there was always 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 and trade and agriculture and even education except in so far as they directly aided the work of conversion. Indeed in spite of the collaboration of Evangelicals and humanitarians within the abolitionist movement, the two remained distinct. There were humanitarians like Palmerston who remained 18th 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 civilise 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 emphasising the role of pious layment 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 civilisation movement.

The missionaries placed so much 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 respectability and thus remove one of the strongest props of polygamy"¹. 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."² 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 the African society unchanged. The commerce the missionaries wanted must penetrate the country, must be based on the produce of peasant producers, to be collected

1. Ibid.

2. Stocks op.cit. vol ii p. 114 loc cit.

and processed by the agents of civilisation. In short, they meant more of economic development than just an expansion of trade.

Buxton quite naturally looked to the Niger as the obvious highway through 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 through which for the first time European influences successfully penetrated the country. When in 1842 missionaries established the first station at Badagri and began to penetrate to Abeokuta, rulers all along the coast, including those at Calabar, continued to bar the way to European intervention in the country. It was the southern extension of the Fulani empire, referred to earlier that was beginning, as it were, to weaken the line of defence.

At the time when the Niger Expedition was offering trade to the peoples of the Niger in 1841, the Fulani conquerors of Nupe were still divided among themselves, and still to subdue supporters of the old Nupe ruling families. But the emirate was soon to become a powerful state expanding to the right bank of the Niger and southwards towards Igala, controlling navigation on the middle Niger.

It looked towards the south for a supply of ammunition. Since in fact the European trade on the Niger developed only slowly, the effect of this was not evident for another 20 or 30 years. But the Fulani conquest of Ilorin made a more immediate impact on the Europeans on the Coast for it was the last and decisive blow that led to the dissolution of the Old Oyo Empire and the consequent Yoruba Wars, which in turn gave room for European intervention in the interior of the country.

The Old Oyo Empire looked northwards. "Light and civilisation with the Yorubas", said Johnson, "came from the north; the centres of life and activity, of large populations and industry were in the interior".² Dalzel, who knew only the Coast, said in 1793 that "the people of Oyo are numerous and warlike, and, what is here singular, their armies totally consist of cavalry".³ It was from the north that horses came and cavalry was the basis of the might of Old Oyo. The Fulani conquest of Ilorin was so

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1. J.E. Flint. British Policy and Chartered Company Administration in Nigeria (Ph.D. thesis Lond 1957).
 2. Samuel Johnson (Pastor of Oyo): History of the Yorubas p.40 (C.M.S. 1937)
 3. A. Dalzel: History of Dahomey, an inland kingdom of Africa p.12 (1793)

dangerous to the continued existence of the Empire not only because it divided the Yorubas - Afonja appealed to all dissident groups, chiefs and noblemen, high officials of the royal household, as well as muslims, slaves and discontented servants, many of whom were Hausas - but also because it controlled the northern trade routes and the supply of horses. From about 1825 until they were defeated at the battle of Osogbo in 1840, Ilorin armies destroyed many large towns in Northern Yoruba. Large masses of the population fled southwards, increasing the population of the southern Oyo provinces and in alliance with Ife and Ijebu adventurers destroyed the Egba towns, settled on their land and pushed the Egba people further south still. In other words, the Yoruba replied to the Fulani menace by moving southwards and seeking among other things for European arms and other means of reconstruction.

One effect of this was a temporary intensification of the slave trade at the time when on the one hand the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were asserting their independence, developing sugar and coffee plantations, often with English money, and on the other the British preventive squadron on the Coast was becoming increasingly effective in capturing slave-vessels. Prisoners captured in the Yoruba 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 Adjai, the future Bishop Crowther aged about 15, made prisoner in the dry season of early 1821 when his village of Osogun, some 20 miles north of Iseyin, was sacked by a band of Oyo muslim supporters of Afonja. He changed hands several times, but after about three months as a domestic slave, he was taken to the Old Ijaye market where he was bought by an Oyo muslim woman trader who took him to Old Itoko (near Abeokuta). She traded to Badagry and often talked of taking him and her little son who was his playmate to that place, but in the end he was transferred to Ikerekuiwere and there sold to an Ijebu trader who took him to Lagos and sold him to Portuguese traders. He was put on board the Esperanza Felix on 7th April, 1822; but, that same evening, while still in the Lagos roads, two ships of the British Navy came round and captured the Portuguese ship. ¹

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1. The main source of Crowther's early life was the account he gave to the C.M.S. in a letter dated 22nd Feb 1837 to Major Straith (a C.M.S. Sect.) (C.M.S. CAL/089). In many paraphrases of this document, 'Eyo muslims' has often been read as Fulani muslims thus neglecting an important indication that Islam had been of some importance in Oyo before the Afonja revolt. See also Herbert Macaulay, (Crowther's grandson) who has supplemented in places this story with others handed down in the family in an article "Bishop Crowther" in the magazine Nigeria 1947 just before he died.

When he arrived in Sierra Leone in June, 1822 to embark on his extraordinary career, he was one of the earliest Yoruba there. By 1827 largely on account of the wars mentioned above the Yoruba had become a recognisable group in the colony, called Akus (Akoos, Acoos, Ockooos) because of the way they greeted, which also shows that up till then, the majority of the liberated Yoruba were Oyos, since it is Oyos 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.² In 1848, Governor Pine estimated that they formed two-thirds of the population.³ By the 1830's the Egba had become more numerous than the Oyo, for it was the Egba who paid the greatest price for the revolution in the Yoruba country.

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1. "It appears from their information that the name of their country is E - i - o, and the term Aku only their word of salutation in meeting" - Anna Hilkham, the Quaker missionary: Report on a recent visit to the Colony of Sierra Leone (p.9) (1828).
 2. PP 1830 x p.69.
 3. PP 1850 xl p.293.

But the supply of arms from slave traders in the south did not solve the political problem in Yoruba. Various families settled in the new towns; several leaders were thrown up who undertook energetically the task of town building and reconstruction. Each town sought for arms for its own defence, and no one single leader, town, or group gained dominance.

Atiba, at the new capital, also named Oyo, who had succeeded to the title of Alafin, worked patiently to regain the powers of his ancestors. He had been a wild, dissolute young prince. At one stage in his career, he had befriended the Fulani at Ilorin and claimed himself a convert, or "tapped the Koran", as the phrase was. But as Alafin, he turned to tradition as the only possible restorer of order.¹ He replanned and rebuilt the new capital, forcibly, it was said, bringing people from the surrounding villages to populate it. At the centre of it, he built himself a fine palace, a copy of that at Old Oyo, with the traditional kobis² and as many of the ornaments as he could recover from the old palace. He set up a well-ordered

1. Johnson op.cit. pp. 274-6.

2. Kobis were a type of Gables, a special architectural feature of royal courtyards, and restricted to royal courtyards only.

court full of splendour and colour and proceeded to impress it on everybody that it was rebellion that broke the kingdom, and if further disaster was to be avoided, there was to be only one master in the kingdom.¹ But he was to be master not by physical force - which he did not possess - but by virtue of tradition, the old sacred dignity of the throne, the spiritual forces that were the ultimate safeguards of the monarchy. All the old offices were to be filled, the old ceremonies and court ritual meticulously and elaborately observed. The king was no longer to go to war. He was to remain aloof, mysterious, but alert and patient, and in the end, by astute diplomacy, he would win. Those in the kingdom who possessed physical force would realise that they would only destroy one another with it if they did not come to lay it at the feet of the traditional head and only use it at his bidding. He was a tall, charming, soft-spoken man, an imaginative conservative figure, a little pathetic in his undying belief in the force of tradition in a world of revolutionary changes.

1. Various letters and journals of Rev David Hinderer, in particular journals reporting visits to Oyo Jan 17th - 23rd, May 30th 1856, Aug 9th 1858 in entries for those dates. (CMS CA2/049).

After all, the old Oyo kingdom was not just a traditional tribal state. Ife, not Oyo, was the mythical home of the Yoruba of whom the Oyo were just a branch and not the senior branch. But Old Oyo had established by the 17th ^{century} a kingdom that transcended the boundary of the Oyo division, and went even beyond the Yoruba to include the Awori, Popo and Dahomey in the south, and some Nupe and Ibariba in the north. The power Atiba's predecessors wielded derived not only from the ancestors, but also from Oyo's geographical position, from its cavalry force and the system of intendants,¹ and it was unlikely that an appeal to tradition alone could restore it.

The warriors who had taken refuge at Ijaye and Ibadan were a little more realistic. The kingdom, they felt, had to be conquered and ruled by effort and determination, not by wishful thinking. They proceeded to put this into practice and, though nominally acknowledging the Alafin's suzerainty, they continued to struggle with one another to see which of them would exercise the reality of power "on his behalf". At Ijaye, Kurumi, "the greatest Yoruba general and tactician of

1. S.O. Biobaku: The Egba State and its neighbours p 2 (OUP 1957).

the day",¹ established a personal ascendancy; all refugees in the town had to submit to his will or leave. He was a shrewd, cheerful, cynical authoritarian, casual and generous to his friends, but implacable and unscrupulous where his enemies were concerned.² He built up an army from among his followers and proceeded to conquer the Ekun Otun, the province of the Old Oyo kingdom to the west of the Ogun, and to tax the people for the upkeep of his army. He accepted from Atiba the title of Are-Ona-Kakanfo, (Field Marshall, generally shortened to Are) with special commission to protect the western boundary of the kingdom from the Dahomey who had taken the opportunity of the Fulani wars to throw off the rule of the Yoruba in 1827, and were beginning to make further inroads. But Kurumi appeared to have been carving out a kingdom for himself in the west while keeping a watchful eye on the activities of Ibadan to the east.

At Ibadan, no one chief was supreme.³ Under Oluyole,

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1. Johnson op.cit p.282.
 2. Various missionary sketches of the Are, the most instructive being from Aldous A Mann's journals 1853-60 (CMS CA2/066), R.H. Stone: In Africa's Forest and Jungle pp 49-53 (New York 1899).
 3. A Akinyele: Iwe Itan Ibadan (Ibadan 1948). Also the journals of Hinderer resident at Ibadan 1853-64. (CMS CA2/049).

the Oyo refugees gained control of the town from their Ibe and Ijebu allies, but what emerged after a period of experimenting was a military oligarchy where political offices bore military titles and depended on promotion and military valour, a state combining the ideals of the Eso, the pretorian guard of the Alafin at Old Oyo, with the practices of the Fulani war lords. ^{Ibadan} They trained their young men in war and set their slaves and prisoners of war to cultivate their farms. Agriculture therefore became a lowly, and war a noble profession, manliness and courage being the two virtues most highly recognised and respected and honoured even in an enemy. ^{The town} ~~XXXXXX~~ was centrally placed, and by its alliance with Ijebu and by agreements with places as far apart as Porto Novo and Benin, they made sure of a regular supply of guns and gunpowder. Oluyole accepted from Atiba the highest title he could get, that of Basorun, in theory, the king's prime minister. ¹ Following the battle of Osogbo, the Ibadan began gradually to reconquer from Ilorin the Old Oyo provinces east of the Oguh, as far north as Offa; they turned east and began to expand towards the Ijesa, Ekiti and Akoko. At each place they conquered, they appointed

1. Johnson op.cit. pp 281, 305.

an Ajele, a resident official much like the muslim district head, responsible to some war chief or other at Ibadan, to supervise local authorities and collect tax. To bring back the old glory of the kingdom, they offered a centralised administration and a standing army based on Ibadan. But force had its limitations. Ibadan had no monopoly of the sources of ammunition. As Atiba feared, Ibadan and Ijaye became jealous rivals. In 1844, a quarrel led to a pitched battle at Batedo. Atiba intervened, sending the emblems of Sango to the two camps, implying that if the contestants did not respect him, they would probably respect his deified predecessor.¹ The warriors decamped, but that was not the end of the story.

The Egba had no ambition to reconquer the kingdom from which they had seceded some 50 years earlier.² Pushed out of their old home, they sought new opportunities to the south. Sodeke, himself once a refugee at Ibadan, began about 1830 to gather at Abeokuta the remnants of some of the 153 Egba towns and villages in the four sectional groups

1. Johnson op.cit. 297-301.

2. Biobaku op.cit.

of Ake, Oke Ona, Agura and Owu. He was an able leader of men, "of a large, powerful frame, and rather corpulent", genial and warm-hearted, a patriotic soldier rather than an ambitious politician. He brought the Egba through the revolution without leaving an imprint on their political organisation. Within the walls of Abeokuta, the towns continued to maintain their different rulers, as if they 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".

Sodeke's leadership was personal. He addressed himself primarily to the external problems of defence. He saw clearly that the greatest threat to Abeokuta came from The Ijebu. In 1832, aided by Ibadan the Ijebu had, in fact nearly defeated the Egba when Adele, Oba of Lagos who had previously been exiled to Badagry, came to their aid with arms and troops. Sodeke saw 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. Badagry, weak and divided, was

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1. T.B. Freeman: unpublished MSS of a book on West Africa dated 1882, but written in the 1860's, pp 366-8 (Meth).
 2. Townsend to Commander Wilmot Aug 5th 1851 (PP 1852, LIV, Papers Relative to the Reduction of Lagos p.157).

the obvious port to choose. Sodeke therefore sought to control the Egbado and the Awori people who lived between Badagry and Abeokuta. He conquered Otta and Ilaro and laid siege to Ado. He did not develop any machinery for the effective government of those places, only insisting that the rulers should be people favourable to the Egba, and who would welcome them and give them land to farm and protect their traders on their way to and from the Coast.

It happened that Dahomey, freed from the rule of Oyo, was expanding also into the Egbado area and inevitably viewed Abeokuta as a dangerous rival. Indeed, Abeokuta was, like Dahomey, an inland power seeking to get direct control of the coastal trade. But 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 in the country, Abeokuta was not in a position to establish a similar monopoly in Badagry.

The dissolution of the Old Oyo Empire and the consequent Yoruba Wars, the unsettled political situation, and the pressing demand for European arms and ammunition made Badagry an open door to Europeans seeking to penetrate the country. In this indirect way, the last advance that Islam made to the south prepared the way for the advance inland of the influences of christian Europe. For, it was to Badagri that liberated Egba from Sierra Leone

seeking to join their kinsmen at Abeokuta began to arrive about 1839. And hence it was at Badagri that the first station of the new missionary enterprise in Nigeria was established.

about the rapid development of Africa was the influx of free negroes in the New World, many of whom were educated Christians and skilled artisans. The missionaries hoped there would be a well regulated movement of such emigrants back to Nigeria, there to form the nucleus of a new middle class and work for the mission and other agents of civilization. On the whole they were disappointed. There was indeed an important movement of emigrants returning from Sierra Leone, Cuba and Brazil, especially to the Yoruba country. This movement received impetus from the Niger Expedition and the plans of the missionaries, but it was spontaneous in origin, and different in character from what the missionaries had hoped for.

In discussing in his book the question of 'native agency', Bowen quoted enthusiastic letters received by the Rev. J. K.

2. 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 resorted to the term emigrants. In Sierra Leone the Sierra Leone emigrants were free, the Cuban and Brazilian free.

CHAPTER II

THE RETURN OF THE EMIGRANTS, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE MISSIONS (1841 - 50).

One of the principal grounds for Buxton's optimism about the rapid development of Africa was the nostalgia of free negroes in the New World, many of whom were educated Christians and skilled artisans. The missionaries hoped there would be a well regulated movement of such 'emigrants' back to Nigeria, there to form the nucleus of a new middle class and work for the missions and other agents of civilisation. On the whole they were disappointed. There was indeed an important movement of emigrants returning from Sierra Leone, Cuba and Brazil, especially to the Yoruba country. This movement received impetus from the Niger Expedition and the plans of the missionaries, but it was spontaneous in origin, and different in character from what the missionaries had hoped for.

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Trew, Secretary of the African Civilisation Society, in reply to his circular, about the many Africans in the West Indies who were longing to return to Africa. 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".² A Presbyterian minister reported that :

"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".³

Individual Africans, like Thomas Keith and James Keats were reported to have embarked on pilgrimages to convert their people in Africa to Christianity.⁴

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- 1a. Buxton, op.cit., pp.491-7.
 2. ibid, p.493.
 3. Rev. G. Blyth: Reminiscences of a Missionary Life, p178
 - 3a. Groves, op.cit., vol.ii, p.28, note 2.

The missionaries in the West Indies fostered 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 send them forth as missionaries. In May, 1842, the Rev A.N. Riis, of the Moravian Mission, selected twenty-four settlers from Jamaica and Antigua to revive his mission on the Gold Coast. 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 mission. 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", while Prince and Clarke went instead to 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

1. Groves, op.cit., vol.11, pp.23-30.

2. Schon and Crowther: Journal of the 1841 Expedition, op.cit., p.134-5.

two West Indian missionaries and thirty-nine settlers.

The Scottish missionaries, who were great rivals of the Baptists in Jamaica, similarly turned their attention to West Africa. In July, 1841, the Presbytery meeting at Coschen spent two days in prayer and deliberation on the subject. They heard the Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell read extracts from Buxton's African Slave Trade and its Remedy and they emerged 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" ¹ operating in agricultural and industrial colonies. In reply, they were informed by the Board of the Scottish Missionary Society that their proposal was :

"premature, displaying more zeal than judgment, 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" (a reference in particular to the Niger Expedition). ²

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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), pp.
 2. Donald M. McFarlan: Calabar 1846-1946, p.7.

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 Capt. 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", wrote Capt. Turner from Calabar, "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." 1

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

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 Right 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 together funds for the mission, prepared if need be, to form a separate missionary society to organise it. The United Secession Church which on its union with the Relief Church in 1847 became the United Presbyterian Church, however, 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.

This is not surprising, though the exact reason for dropping the scheme is not clear. Opposition might have

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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 Civilisation Society, III 15-16 (1846).

been expected from West Indian planters to a scheme for the exportation of labour from the West Indies at a time when they were seeking extra hands from the East Indies and Sierra Leone. The Presbyterians were also to discover that their dependence on the Liverpool traders inevitably influenced their policy, and the Liverpool traders could not have been expected to favour a scheme for importing into Calabar people who might become their trade rivals. The scheme was also bound to be so cumbersome as to be beyond the resources of the mission. Besides, as we observed earlier, though 'the Plough' was the slogan, it was generally to commerce not to agriculture that the missionaries turned. Dr. Fergusson and others would also probably have pointed out that it was technical skill not agricultural knowledge that the Calabar rulers particularly wanted. ¹ On reaching Calabar in April 1846, Hope Waddell saw that particularly in the Delta, trade, not agriculture, was the civilising 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,

1. See below Chapter III.

he saw that they would not have placed much value on a body of West Indian negro farmers as agents of civilisation. 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 Olabar "must be really competent men", for neither the school master he brought along, nor the carpenter, was "equal to this young man in writing and arithmetic".¹ Artisans from the West Indies would however have been welcome if they had been forthcoming. Waddell himself later took to recruiting the teachers, carpenters and sawyers whom he needed for the mission and for the chiefs, from Sierra Leone, 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.

1. Waddell: Journals vol.1, pp.94-5.

This was the experience of the Southern Baptist Convention in the U.S.A. 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 the various factors that were dividing the U.S.A. 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, and 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. Rather, it strengthened it. For it was in the southern states that the American Colonization Society, the founding Fathers of Liberia was strongest. It was there that the free negro was most heartily disliked and the idea of such negroes going back

1. George W. Sadler: A Century in Nigeria, pp.29-30, (Nashville Tennessee, 1950).

to regenerate Africa most heartily championed. For that reason also, colonisation 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. 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. It 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.

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1. cf. this passage from an article by Henry Clay, one of the most prominent members of the Colonization Society in the Society's official organ, the African Repository: "Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites ... Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him the credentials in the holy cause of civilisation, religion, and free institutions". The two passages occur in adjacent paragraphs. (Jacob E. Cooke: Frederic Bancroft, Historian, And Three Hitherto Unpublished Essays on the Colonization of American Negroes from 1801-1865, loc cit (University of Oklahoma, 1957), p.162. These essays are very useful. They deal with the projects of emigration to Liberia, Haiti and Texas. They analyse carefully the reasons for the early success in Liberia, the decline of the influence of the Colonisation Society and the general failure of its projects. Bancroft also points out that one reason for the double-faced picture of the negro such as Henry Clay gave was due to the need to secure the widest support for the Colonisation Society by which was exhibited to the North as "most humane and disinterested" and to the South as "utterly opposed to any measure which might infringe upon the right of property or disturb the

Bowen was the first outstanding missionary of the S.B.C. Though he was himself a supporter of the Colonisation Society the co-operation of whose members he wished to secure for his mission, his aim was to establish a mission that would be free from all the controversies of the Liberia experiment. He volunteered for missionary work on condition he 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 the African staff they needed in the mission field itself. But on his retirement in 1856, after six arduous years in Nigeria, he went whole-heartedly into a colonisation project that proved once again a mirage. He wished to get the U.S. government to sponsor a Niger Expedition like the British ones, and to get the Colonisation Society 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

Reference 1 continued :

peace of Society".) See also Henry Wilson: History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, pp.208-222.

2. 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, no12 July, 1893.

the settlers acquire after a time, give all privileges of citizenship to civilized blacks except directorships and higher offices of the colony".¹ Bowen and the Colonization Society went as far as to get the Senate in February 1857 to pass a bill authorising the expenditure of \$ 250,000 on the proposed Niger Expedition, but the House of Representatives² turned it down. In February 1858, the bill was represented and Bowen thought there was "some little hope of success". How far this hope was justified or was only the result of wishful thinking is not clear, but it seems unlikely that the bill would have been passed. It was even more unlikely that he would have got the negroes to co-operate. In any case, Bowen, the principal figure in the affair, himself broke down in health. He began to show signs of the madness which but for brief interludes made his life, until he died in 1875, a long sad epilogue to his remarkable career in Nigeria. The project was dropped. It passed to English cotton manufacturers who formed an African Aid Society seeking to rescue negroes from the

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1. Bowen to Taylor, Feb. 18th, 1858, from New York, Feb. 23rd, 1857 from Annapolis, Maryland (Bowen Letters). See also Bowen's "Report on Central Africa and the Niger", presented to Congress, Feb. 4th, 1857. (Senate Documents No 29, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, vol. iv).
 2. Bowen to Lippicott & Co., Nov. 21st, 1868. (Bowen Letters).

"unfavourable climate" of Canada and northern U.S.A. and the "growing prejudices of the white population" 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, but when Delany returned to Canada, he failed to persuade the negroes to emigrate. The negro newspapers argued as they had always argued that :

"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".

And that as the Great North American Convention of Colored People said in September 1859, "a colonization and a bitter pro-slavery war are almost convertible terms".

1. African Times, (monthly) Official organ of the African Aid Society, April 23rd 1863, advertisement for funds to aid the project of settlement which had by then been diverted to Amba Bay, near Victoria.
2. Chapter VI.
3. J.K.A. Farrell; The History of the Negro Community in Chatham Ontario, 1787-1865, (Ph.D. thesis Ottawa, 1955), pp.154-5, 157-8. I owe this reference to one of those chance meetings that enliven the life of research workers. Dr. Farrell was a fellow member of the Seminar on Imperial History at the Institute of Historical Research. He had pieced the story of the negro community in Ontario together from very meagre sources. He wished to know what happened to Delany at Abeokuta. I could tell him. I wanted to know what the negroes thought of Delany's scheme. The answer was in Dr. Farrell's thesis.

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 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 in 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 has always met with less than the expected result. 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.

There was, however, in a few places a different kind of nostalgia. In Brazil and Cuba, slaves had come

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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 & 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).

continuously for centuries from the same regions of West Africa. A tradition had grown up there that slaves worked better when kept together in linguistic groups, sometimes under appointed chiefs, with chances to amuse themselves and their masters with their traditional ceremonies, dances and songs. They were not kept apart as they were elsewhere to prevent conspiracy and revolt. There the vision of home tended to remain more real and nostalgia often did 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 one of 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 organised

1. Pierson, op.cit., p.39.

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.

✓ The vision of home had an even greater force of attraction for the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone who, unlike the Maroons or Nova Scotians, ¹ were recaptured by the British preventive~~s~~ 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 Yorubas, who, as a result of the wars of the early nineteenth century quickly became the most numerous group, were not even just 'Akus', ² but Oyo, Egba, Ijebu, Ijesa, Ife. Home meant to them some remembered family homestead, father or mother, aunts, cousins, children.

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 and, later located in Nova Scotia, moved to Sierra Leone in 1791; (c) Maroons who were ex-slaves of the Spaniards from whom the British seized Jamaica in 1655, lived as free Negroes on the mountains, revolted against the British in 1795, removed to Sierra Leone via Halifax in 1800; (d) Mandingoes, Kroomees and Timmannees 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 personal records, e.g. tombstones, were often specific on this point. Also, the Rev. Koelle whose Polyglotta Africana (CMS 1856) was evidently based on personal interview

✓ 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.¹ Many became Christians, the others continued Muslims or Pagans, as they were before they arrived. 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 over twenty years in the colony, some were already successful traders on their own.² There was Thomas Will, for example, the head of the Yorubas 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,³ an Ibo, educated at the C.M.S. Regent School, who, dismissed as a village teacher, took to trading and in 1837

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1. For information about Sierra Leone, besides CMS and Methodist records, I am obliged to R.R. Kuczynski: Demographic Survey of British Colonial Empire vol.i, West Africa (OUP 1948), and to Mr. C.H. Fyfe, former archivist of the Sierra Leone Government, for personal information generously given and for his articles in the Sierra Leone Studies, some of which are cited below.
 2. C.H. Fyfe: "View of the New Burial Ground" in Sierra Leone Studies, new series no 2, June 1954, p.89.
 3. ibid.

was appointed Superintendent of Charlotte village, the first liberated African to be appointed to such a post. Others, like John Ezidid, 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.

Others were rising in mission employment, the most notable of whom was Ajayi, who arrived in the colony in June, 1822 and was baptised by Rev. J.T. 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 M.r. Weeks, the Industrial Agent of the mission, who later became Bishop; he went to England with 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. He taught in various mission

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1. C.H. Fyfe: "The Life and Times of John Ezidid" in Sierra Leone Studies, new series no 4, June 1955.
 2. Stocks, op.cit., vol.1, pp.450-1.

and government schools, probably helping Raban in collecting vocabularies of the Yoruba language, studying Greek and a local language, Timne. 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:

"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(s) 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." 1

He was at the same time advocating the establishment of a model farm and the formation of an Agricultural Society. He added, incidentally, that he had invested his own and his wife's savings in a plot of land. It was probably by these activities that he first showed his gift of leadership, his persistent advocacy of progressive measures and his unmistakable intellectual ability, as well as a firm, practical

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1. Crowther and Attara, Petition to Special Meeting of Local Committee, (CMS CAL/M9). 17 Aug, 1840.

Evangelical faith, expressed in a blameless life, both at home and in public office. When asked to join the Niger Expedition, 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 demurred, pointing out that he had a family, and recommending 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 by no means came so easily. Women were scarce; markets, farming land, opportunities in general were restricted. There was rivalry at the top, with the Maroons and the Nova Scotians, and rivalry below, with the Kroomen and the Timne. Many of them therefore began to look for opportunities beyond the colony. John Langley began 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 Badagry and Lagos. It was here that

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1. Warburton, Sec. of Local Committee to CMS Secretaries, July 20th, 1841. (C.M.S. CAL/03).
 2. C.H. Pyfe: "View of the new Burial Ground", op.cit.

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 has brought to Sierra Leone two of his grandchildren from Badagry 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." 1

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 as curiously like Buxton's. The humble petitioners

"feel with much thankfulness 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 brought to know we have a soul to save, and when your humble petitioners look back upon their poor 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 sympathise with her humble petitioners to establish a colony to Badagry 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 slave dealers can be feared to go up to the said place so that the Gospel of Christ can be preached throughout our land"

1. Extracts from Samuel Crowther's Journal for the term ending June 1841 in C.M.S. CAL/M9, p.438.

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

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

It must be said, however, that these respectable 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 emigrated. By March, 1840, Governor Doherty seems to have realised this, when he wrote another dispatch 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.

"At this moment not fewer than two hundred persons, belonging chiefly to the Houssa country and the kingdom of Yarriba lying east and west of the Niger, having subscribed the amount of 4 dollars each towards the formation of a fund, have purchased with it a condemned prize-vessel, in which it was their intention to proceed to Badagry and from thence to seek their native homes at a distance of some hundred miles inland."

They were men who had not found opportunities in Sierra Leone:

"They allege that in this colony they are retarded in the career of improvement, that no opportunity is afforded them of increasing their means and further ameliorating their condition; and

certainly they receive little encouragement from the Maroons and settlers or from the Europeans themselves, who on all occasions prefer for employment the tribes of Kroomen and Timanees. The villagers complain that they are without a market for their produce. And to these causes is, no doubt, to be added a restless spirit of change which appears to be natural to Africans".

The Governor was certainly not as enthusiastic about this mass movement as he had been about the proposal for a British colony in Badagry. Of the two hundred people, he said that he issued passports to only forty-four men and seventeen women, as the others were intending to take about one hundred children with them and he could not allow the risk of kidnapping. "I have in vain cautioned them", he continued :

"against the dangers to which they expose themselves in returning without protection to those parts of the continent, of being again made captives, and again sold into slavery. They reply that in their own countries they are free persons and therefore not liable to be sold there unless taken in war; and that in travelling through other territories in large bodies, they encounter no risk". 1

Lord Russell commended his attitude :

"I think you have done right to discourage the designs of those liberated Africans who projected to leave the colony with children: but you may very well allow emigration to Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana". 2

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1. Doherty to Russell 20th March, 1840, cit Kuczynski, op.cit., pp.136-7.
 2. ibid.

Earlier, when he was probably still undecided whether to adopt Buxton's plan for the Niger Expedition, he had rejected the petition of the Yoruba merchants, on the grounds of expense. "We cannot send them", he minuted, "without giving them security and protection, which implies expense. But they can go if they wish."¹ But even in March, 1841, when the Niger Expedition was about to leave England, he was more concerned with putting all sorts of pressure, short of actual coercion, on the liberated Africans to emigrate to the West Indies than in assisting them to go to Nigeria.² 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 civilised life"³ and the ordered movement of civilising missionaries proposed by Buxton.

✓ The missionaries in Sierra Leone at first frowned on a movement leading their parishioners to forsake the means of Grace 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 the favours and privileges God had

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1. Minute on Doherty's dispatch of 30th November, 1839, op.cit.
 2. Russell to Gov. J. Jeremie, 20th March, 1841, cit Kuczynski, op.cit., p.138.
 3. Minute by Vernon Smith on Doherty's dispatch of 30th

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bestowed upon them". However, as Buxton's ideas were unfolded, the missionaries soon adopted a more conciliatory attitude. "It is well that this desire (to emigrate) be cherished", said the C.M.S. Secretaries in December, 1840,

"but it is requisite also that it should be carefully regulated and controlled. If any considerable number should move before arrangements for their advantageous location in the countries on the Niger, disappointment or, if not, something worse would ensue." 2

✓ Nevertheless, the emigration continued, not to the Niger but to Badagry 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, Rev. Thomas Dove, the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Sierra Leone, announced that he had received two letters from the emigrants in Badagry, one anonymous, the other signed by James Fergusson, inviting missionaries to visit them urgently. 3 In recommending the letters for action by the Home Committee, Dove asserted that the desire of the emigrants for their country was

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1. "Journal of H. Townsend while on a Mission of Research", op.cit., entry for Jan.5th, 1843.
 2. C.M.S. Secretaries to Schon, Dec. 3rd, 1840 (CMS CAL/L3).
 3. Published in Meth Missionary Notices new series no.1, p.601-2, December 1841.

"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 civilised nations of the earth".¹

✓ 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 merchants who wished "to carry back among their countrymen the arts and improvements of Europe which they had acquire² here, with the fortunes which had been amassed by them". 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. As Schon and Crowther were preparing to join the Expedition, and were recruiting interpreters and settlers, and the Expedition was becoming a reality, hopes were raised. Crowther described the excitement and forecast that if the Expedition succeeded, many, not only just Egba and Yoruba, but Kenuri, Hausa, Nupe and Ibo would emigrate.³ And as the various churches called prayer meetings and instituted

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1. Letter of Rev. Dove dated June 1st, 1841, ibid.
 2. Doherty to Russell, October 3rd, 1840 (CO 267/160).
 3. Extracts from Samuel Crowther's Journal for the term ending June 1841, op.cit.

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 an imminent crusade. Perhaps the most remarkable story was that of John Langley. He had again been dismissed from Charlotte, and had become a bitter critic of the Government and missionaries. Suddenly, however, during an illness in 1841, he was converted into a pious Evangelical and a fervent advocate of the taking of 'the Bible and the Plough' to the banks of the Niger.

✓ But all this enthusiasm, much of which faded with the failure of the 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. ✓ The distinction was by no means complete, but it is essential to keep the difference in mind. ✓ It was largely in spite of the indifference of the Government and the hesitation of the missionaries that the emigration from Sierra Leone had begun. ✓ At the time when both the missionaries and the Government saw the Niger as the natural gateway

1. C.H. Fyfe: "View of the Burial Ground", op.cit.

into the country, the emigration led to Badagry and to Abeokuta and Lagos. The missionaries who, with the failure of the Niger Expedition, were the inheritors of Buxton's rather nebulous ideas, adopted the emigration, foisted on it Buxton's ^{programmes} ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~, and set out to put them into practice as the God-given way to evangelise the country. The opportunities which they created for missionary work and trade in Nigeria later attracted some of the more successful class of Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone, particularly to Lagos. But many missionaries realized that the mass of emigrants who in the early 1840's gave the movement its significant character of the 'return of the exiles from Babylon', who brought missionaries after them, did not exactly fit Buxton's description of the agents of civilisation. Schon 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." 1

He added, however, that Liberated Africans were preferable, since the West Indians did not fit easily into African Society

1. Schon and Crowther: Journals of the 1841 Expedition, op.cit., pp.62-3.

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. 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.

+ ✓ The Methodists acted first. 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 Badagry as an out-station of Cape Coast. His arrival on 24th September, 1842 marked the effective beginning of the 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

1. ibid., p.439.

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 coco-nut pillars, averaging about three-quarters of a ton each in weight. (It) appeared a thing so novel and extra-ordinary, 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 Badagry, but were moving out to Abeokuta, and he decided to pay them a visit. On Sunday, 11th 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 :

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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).

"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 Sokaka'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 custom of Europeans." 1

Freeman returned to Badagry on Christmas Eve to find Henry Townsend, a C.M.S. missionary, just arrived on a similar mission.

The Local Committee of the C.M.S. in Sierra Leone, not wishing to be outdone by their Methodist friends, 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, still serving his probation at Hastings, frail-looking, but intelligent, determined and very ambitious. He had wished to join the Niger Expedition but had been turned down in favour of the African catechist, Samuel Crowther.² He was sent to Badagry only on "a mission of research", to collect information about the country, the emigrants and the chances of a missionary establishment.³

Abeokuta was his real objective from the start. He was

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1. ibid.
 2. Townsend to C.M.S. Secretaries, 8th March, 1841. (CMS. CAL/079). Townsend was a little sore at the disappointment.
 3. "Instructions of Local Committee" in J. Warburton to H. Townsend, Nov. 9th, 1842. (CMS CAL/0218).

given free passage by Capt. Harry Johnson, a Sierra Leonean trader, in his vessel "The Wilberforce", with fifty-nine emigrants on board, paying 12 dollars each, self-fed.¹

He arrived at Abeokuta on 4th January, 1843, where he received as warm a welcome as Freeman had. 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 utilised. 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, it was commented in 1851,² that the emigrants took the suggestion lightly. They had

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1. Townsend; Journal while on a Mission of Research, op.cit., entry for Nov. 14th, 1842.
 2. Townsend to Major Hector Straith (a C.M.S. Sec.), Jan. 28th, 1851, giving an account of the visit of Consul Beecroft to Abeokuta (C.M.S. CA2/085).

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 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 at Badagry. 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 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", and 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. The woman was his wife, named Anna. Two of the men 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 for Tuesday, 4th July, 1843. 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 their 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 vernacular language....." 1

The de Grafts were replaced in April, 1844 by Rev. Samuel Annear and his wife, who had been colleagues of Townsend at Hastings, Sierra Leone. Annear was anxious to move on to Abeokuta but found the way blocked because of the siege of Ado, but he made useful contacts with the Egba chiefs at the encampment. In January, 1845, the C.M.S. party arrived. It consisted of Rev. C.A. Gollmer, a Wurtemberger from the Basel Seminary who had been in Sierra Leone since 1841, 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 was to make straight for Abeokuta, but at Badagry they learnt that Sodeke had died some eight days

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1. De Graft to Meth. Secretary July 10th 1843, published as an appendix to Part III of Freeman's Journal of various visits, op.cit., p.284 ff.
 2. Dated October 25th, 1844, in C.M.S. CA2/L1, p.3.

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 realise the need for a coastal base, for they proceeded at once to establish a mission station at Badagry. By March they had built a church and were working on a mission house. They built a school, with Townsend in charge, while Gollmer and Crowther went into the streets to preach.

Few towns have had a more turbulent history than Badagry. It lived, suffered and flourished in turns on its basic weakness of the permanent absence of any central power. It was founded about 1727 by a group of Egun who fled from Whydah and Porto Novo 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 from distilling 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, Badagry became an important slave market, stretching for over a mile along the coast round

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1. Minutes of Local Committee, Jan. 23rd, 1845. (CMS CA2/01)
 2. Freeman's unpublished MSS book, op.cit., p.409. Townsend Journal of a Mission of Research, op.cit., De Graft, letter to Meth. House dated 21st March, 1843, in appendix to Part III of Freeman's Journal of various visits, op.cit. of Rev. Father Chantard on early history of Topo in the magazine Les Missions Catholiques, (Lyons), 16th Sept. 1881.

the several baracoons of Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and English merchants, who lived tolerantly side by side, each with his own African chief with whom to trade, and whom to humour or bully as occasion demanded. There was a Portuguese town, a Spanish town, a French town, a Dutch town, and an English town. The population increased rapidly with traders and slaves coming, in particular, from the Porto Novo and Egbado areas. The central market became the terminus of important trade routes going west of the Ogun through Ijanna, Meko and Igboko, or east of it through old Itoko and Old Ijaye to Old Oyo and from there across the Niger to Kano. "The trade of Badagry", said Capt.

Adams at the end of the eighteenth century,

"was at one period very extensive, for the Customs exacted there were trifling, both as it respected the inland traders and Europeans, which caused many of them to give it a preference to Lagos as a trading station where duties were exorbitant. It was also more conveniently situated for communicating with the shippers than Ardrah (i.e. Porto Novo) and began to absorb a large proportion of the trade of both places. But unfortunately, it had not power to protect itself from the jealousy of those rival trading towns, who conspired its ruin and soon effected it." 1

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1. Capt. John Adams: Remarks on the country from Cape Palmas to the River Congo.

It remained politically weak because it did not develop any strong central organisation; no hereditary monarch as at Bonny, no powerful council like the Egbo at Calabar. It was an anomalous, cosmopolitan ¹ little republic, ruled over by a group of disunited chiefs. They had an ineffective council, presided over by Akran, the 'Portuguese' chief, and in the event of war, Possu, the 'Dutch' chief was expected to take command of all the troops. Annually, at the Idagbe Festival, and in crises, all the chiefs took a sacred oath ² to be loyal to Badagry and to one another. But they rarely

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1. John Lander whose journal it was that survived on Badagry in Journal of an Expedition to explore the course and termination of the Niger by the Lander brothers gives a vivid picture of life in the town. On its cosmopolitan nature, besides Egun and Yoruba whom they could not distinguish, he mentioned two mulattoes, several Fanti, and a colony of Hauses whom they watched in a Greater Beiram Festival "in their loose tobes with caps and turbans, striped and plain, red and black, contrasted with the original native costume of figured cotton thrown loosely over the shoulders, and immense rush hats v.. The Turkish scimitar, the French sabre, the Portuguese dagger confined in a silver case, all gleamed brightly."
 2. S. Annear: Journal October 1844, (Meth); Gollmer: Journal for quarter ending June 1846 (CMS. CA/043b).

agreed on a policy, rarely acted together or stood by one another. And as the prosperity of Badagry was increasing, it attracted the rival ambitions not only of Lagos and Porto Novo but also of Dahomey, Old Oyo, and, later, as we have seen, of Abeokuta. Each in turn sought to conquer, control and rule Badagry. Each had its own partisans among the chiefs. As a result, civil commotion and the fear of foreign conquest were constant features of life in Badagry, as in many border towns.

Divided political authority, however, did not prevent prosperity when the slave trade was at its height, but as soon as the effects of the British preventive¹ squadron began to be felt, Badagry 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 away 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. Moreover, to trade in defiance of the warships required the

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1. D.H. Duckworth: "Badagry" in the magazine Nigeria, 1952. Gollmer: Journal, June 1847, "The soil here is anything but rich, it being nothing more than a compound perhaps 8/10ths of sand and 2/10ths of decayed vegetable matter."

persistent and unflinching co-operation of a strong political authority on land. The slave traders, therefore, although they still looked for slaves at Badagry and for access in case they wished to slip down the lagoon, began to concentrate their bases at Porto Novo, Whydah and Lagos, where they found more reliable African backing and traditional hostility to the English trader.

Unfortunately, the English trader did not come to revive Badagry's declining trade because Badagry had little to offer the English "legitimate" trader. The soil around Badagry was sandy and infertile, and there was little palm oil in the immediate hinterland, and no ivory, no gold. Richard Lander, the explorer, said, in 1829, that he found five slave baracoons but no English trader. When he returned to Badagry in 1830, he reported neither slave trader nor Englishmen.

"Everything bore an air of gloom and sadness totally different

1. John Lander was a good observer of facts. "The soil of Badagry", he said, "consists of a layer of fine whitish sand over loam, clay and earth. The sand is so soft and deep that no one can walk on it without considerable labour and difficulty"; but his comments were often guided by factors other than the facts, for he added in the same breath with characteristic arrogance, "The land is excessively fertile and if the natives could only be induced to lay aside their habitual indolence, and the sluggishness of their characters and devote a little more attention to the improvement of the soil, the country might soon be brought to an extraordinary pitch of beauty and perfection". (R. & J. Lander: Journal of an Expedition to explore the course and termination of. op.cit., pp.34-5).
2. R. Lander in Supplement to Clapperton's Journal of a Second Expedition, op.cit., pp.385-6.

from what we had been led to expect", said his brother.
 In 1840, a Capt. Marson tried to establish a factory there
 and failed; ² in 1842 the missionaries found only Capt.
 Parsons, agent of Thomas Hutton & Co., who, in 1844, ³ Annear
 said barely received oil enough to pay his expenses.

Abolition had brought ruin and decline to Badagry.
 Every missionary remarked on the poverty of the people, their
 pre-occupation with "What shall I eat", their persistent
 grumbling about the absence of trade. The missionaries
 advised them to take up agriculture; Gollmer attempted an
 agricultural show and offered prizes. But it did not work.
 From his own experience, Gollmer said the soil was 80% sand
 and 20% decayed vegetable matter. "Trade we shall," said
 Gollmer, was a common saying at Badagry, "trade our fathers
 taught us", even though the people had nothing to sell or
 buy. 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. Nor could the missionary establishment and the
 emigrants flourish :

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1. R. & J. Lander: Journal of an Expedition etc., op.cit.
 entry for March 23rd, 1830.
 2. Evidence of Captain Henry Seaward before the Select
 Committee of the House of Commons on the West Coast of
 Africa 1842, (PP 1842, XII, Q.2284).
 3. Annear: Journal, Dec. 1844 (Meth.).

"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

The missionaries felt obliged to do something about it.

✓ When Freeman visited Abeokuta and Dahomey, he put the Badagry mission in the care of each of those two rival powers, and would no doubt have welcomed either of them establishing a firm rule at Badagry;² but it was to Britain that he looked for protection. As soon as he returned to Cape Coast in 1843, he appealed on his own to Commander Jones, proposing a treaty along the lines of those in the Delta.³ Such a treaty "respecting the nations of Badagry, Dahomey, Aku and Lagos" was, in fact, drafted and discussed in the Foreign Office, but the trade of Britain in those regions being at that time negligible no treaty was signed.⁴ Freeman did the next best

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1. Annear: Journal October, 1844 (Meth).
 2. of. Annear: ibid, "If Sodeka were to send his forces here and add this place to his territories, he would confer a greater benefit upon the town and all the surrounding country, and would contribute more to aid the mission cause and the diffusion of civilisation than (any) other movement which he is capable of making".
 3. Freeman gives a full account of these activities in Chap. XXX of his MSS book, op.cit.
 4. F.O. Draft dated Sept. 11th, 1843 to the Admiralty. (F.O. 84/493).

thing. ✓ He consulted Governor Maclean, of Cape Coast, who decided to accept Badagry as an extension of his informal protectorate. He sent Sgt. Bart, a Fanti, of the Gold Coast Corps, with instructions, dated 16th August 1843, to proceed at once to Badagry

"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.

"(He) must not, however, interfere in the native palavers, but behave in all cases with moderation and forbearance." 1

Sgt. Bart seems to have acted energetically, for, according to Annear, the mission house was then "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, Sgt. 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 !

1. ibid.

2. Annear: Journal October 1844, op.cit.

3. ibid.

"....And we who came here with the fond hope of being shaded by Victoria's throne now find ourselves unshielded in the country of a foe where not even in the slightest manner her power is represented." 1

But that was not so, as the real basis of Sgt. Bart's influence at Badagry 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." 2

Thrice within the first eighteen months, this privilege was invoked. In Iso mercenaries, hired, it was said, by the King of Dahomey and de Souza, the leading Brazilian trader at Whydah, came and settled on the land opposite Badagry, in fact blockading the town. They captured one Faulkner, a Serra Leone supercargo, the Captain of the Little Grace and nine others who were taken to Abomey but later released when they mentioned Freeman's name. 3 The arrival of a cruiser drove the mercenaries away.

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1. Annear: Journal, entry for Nov. 5th, 1844.
 2. Freeman's MSS book, op.cit. Memorandum of Capt. John Foote, HMS Madagascar, senior officer commanding the Bights division, dated 15th May, 1843.
 3. ibid. The Isos were a section of the Egun mostly fishermen, "dwelling in huts built on the lagoon and Creeks to the west of Porto Novo (Gollmer: Journal, entry for 28th /continued

In March, 1845, Ibo armed canoes not only blockaded Badagry, but attacked it. They expected to be supported on land by troops from Porto Novo and Abomey, but the expedition broke down because of disagreement between the allies before Capt. Leyton of H.M.S. Cygnets came on the scene. In May there was a crisis of even greater significance. The chiefs of Badagry - 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 Badagry - indeed, in the whole Bight of Benin - had become involved in the chieftaincy dispute at Lagos. This must now be looked at.

The struggle in Lagos was a dispute between two branches of the ruling family. It was not a struggle between a slave-trading and an anti-slave-trading party. It began long before Britain started trying to divide West African rulers into those for and those against the continuance of the Atlantic slave trade. Just as African chiefs had for long

Reference 3 continued.

3. Jan. 1851 (CMS GA2/L43). They were feared as fighters and canoe-men and often hired their services out to the rulers of Porto Novo and Dahomey.

1. A detailed account in Annsar's Journal, entry for 18th - 21st March, 1845 (Meth).

exploited the rival jealousies of European traders on the coast, European traders of various nations had similarly exploited chieftaincy disputes. Ologun Kutere, Oba of Lagos, died about 1811. For some reason or other, he was succeeded by his second son, Adele. The first son, Esilogun and his partisans were evidently not satisfied with this. In 1821 they drove out Adele, who took refuge in Badagry. ✓ Since most of the traders in Lagos were Portuguese and ✓ Brazilians, and they supported Esilogun, Adele, at Badagry, began to court the English traders at Cape Coast. In 1825 "an English man of war's boat accompanied by three Cape Coast canoes", went to Lagos and fired on the Portuguese baracoons. But it could not effect Adele's return. Esilogun died in 1829, succeeded by his eldest son, Idewu. Idewu was a most unpopular king. That gave Adele his chance; he returned to Lagos about 1836, it was said with the help of the Oba of Benin, who still maintained some rights over Lagos. Adele lasted only one year and was succeeded by his only son Oluwole. The early death of Oluwole in a gunpowder explosion in 1841, without an issue of his own, precipitated the rival claims of Akitoye, his uncle and Kosoko, his cousin. Akitoye, it was said, was

made king by popular support, and crowned king by the
 1
 Oba of Benin.

Akitoye was a soft, charming character. He sought genuinely to establish peace in Lagos after all the years of chieftaincy disputes and civil wars. He decided to recall all the exiled chiefs and blissfully hoped they would be grateful and live in peace. One of the most influential of the white cap chiefs who had made Akitoye king, Letidu, the Eletu, opposed this policy. He left Lagos and arrived at Badagry in October, 1844. It was he who introduced Lagos politics to the missionaries at Badagry. He foresaw that if Kosoko returned to Lagos, the Portuguese and Brazilian traders who opposed Akitoye's open door policies would help him to regain the throne. In October and November, 1844, he was urging Annear to get the English cruisers to prevent it. Kosoko returned to Lagos in May, 1845, and at once began to make trouble for Akitoye. Letidu went back to Lagos to try and save the situation. Kosoko used the occasion to raise a general revolt, which resulted in the expulsion of Akitoye, who fled to Abeokuta, and appealed to the English, both at Cape Coast and at Badagry, for help.

1. For the early history of Lagos, we are indebted to the researches of missionaries; C.A. Gollmer: Kings of Lagos (Sept. 1853), published in State Papers, vol.44, p.1220; J.B. Wood: History of Lagos (1880). See also P.A. Talbot: Southern Nigeria, vol.1, pp.86-89 (1926).
2. Annear: Journal, entries for October 12th, October 29th, 1844 (Meth.).

The English residents at Badagry 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 (i.e., the Sierra Leonean emigrants) and expedient for ourselves to make you acquainted with our state and to solicit most earnestly your assistance." 1

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

The Tory Government had abandoned Lord John Russell's policy of the slave trade treaties with African rulers. The legal rights of the Navy to engage in in-shore activities in non-British territories were called in question by merchants

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1. dated Aug. 20th, 1845. Annear sent a copy to Meth. House with his Journal, for the term ending October, 1845.
 2. ibid.

whose property had been destroyed when Capt. Denman¹ bombarded slave barracoons in the Gallinas in 1842. Britain had no citizens or property to protect at Lagos and was not directly involved in the succession dispute. Above all, British commercial interests in the area were still negligible. The few merchants at Badagry and at Cape Coast were aware that growing cotton in West Africa could save Britain from entire dependence on the supply from the slave-worked plantations in the U.S.A. But until these ideas penetrated Whitehall, Akitoye had to fend for himself. In December, 1845, he left Abeokuta for Badagry,² where he could the more easily plan the invasion of Lagos. From Badagry, his canoe men 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,

1. C. Lloyd: The Navy and the Slave Trade, (1949), pp.93-99, 109-110.
2. "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 my residence at Badagry". (Petition of Akitoye to Beecroft, encl. in Beecroft to Palmerston, Feb. 24th, 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 machinations of Kosoko.

but it is important for two reasons. Firstly, it was financed by Domingo Jose Martinez, a Madeira trader and great rival of the Portuguese and Brazilian traders who supported Kosoko at Lagos. 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. Secondly, 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 Badagry. The intention was probably to secure the support of the British which was necessary for a second attempt to capture Lagos.

The missionaries interpreted variously this alliance with Domingo. The story that finally gained currency was that Domingo, the slave-trader, gave a large bribe to

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1. John Martin the Methodist Asst. Missionary, who had replaced Annear said that Domingo was ready to spend 5,000 dollars on the expedition, and commented that Domingo must have felt that the trade of Lagos was well worth it. "Why don't the British come in", Martin asks. "No one supposes that the place is of importance at present to the English government in a commercial point of view", but they spend so much on cruisers, and if they wish to suppress the slave trade, Lagos is one of the chief places to deal with first. (Martin: Journal, March 1846, Meth.).

Abeokuta chiefs to open the road to Badagry and send slaves down; that Abeokuta accepted the bribe and did, or did not, send slaves, and the missionaries took advantage of the open road to Abeokuta.¹ This, however, was unlikely. The missionaries were told to wait at Badagry till a king was elected at Abeokuta and the political situation had settled down. No king had been chosen in August 1846, when the missionaries entered Abeokuta, and if the chiefs had not consciously changed their mind, the missionaries would not have been allowed to enter the town, nor would they have been met outside the town by a welcoming party, was in fact the case. Gollmer was the missionary most intimate with Domingo and he reported Domingo and Akitoye's preparations to attack Lagos. Until 1851, Domingo acted consistently on the side of the English and Akitoye, telling Gollmer in that year that no question of international law was involved in a British attack on Lagos because all those in the town were outlaws.

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1. An early version of this in Gollmer: Journal, entry for 22nd. June, 1852, on the eve of his departure from Badagry.
 2. See Gollmer: postscript to his journal for the quarter ending March 1851, "a slave trader's advice to put slavers down", also Journal entries for March 4th, 1851, August 31st and November 27th, 1851. Also Gollmer to Venn, Sept. 19th, 1851, when Gollmer called Domingo "Akitoye's old friend".

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 civilisation 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

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1. Commander F.E. Forbes who went to recruit emigrants for the defence of Abeokuta and had every opportunity of knowing about how many they were, said in December 1850 that there were 3,000 of them. (Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos, *op.cit.*, p.180). Beecroft in his report on his visit to Abeokuta in January, 1851, mentioned no figure, but when he called at Calabar on his way to Fernando Po he told Hope Waddell there were about 3,000 emigrants there.
 2. Title of a highly publicised book by Miss Tucker, (CMS. 1852).

well supported, and convince Africa what good things lay in store for them if they followed Abeokuta's example.

The work of evangelisation went on apace. Townsend settled at Ake, Crowther at Igbiein. Each built a mission house, a church and a school. Mrs. Crowther, who was a teacher at Sierra Leone, made special efforts to establish a girls' school.¹ In addition, there were open air sermons in the market place, discussion in the compounds of the chiefs, and the instruction of enquirers in the mission house. The first baptismal service was held within eighteen months, on February 5th, 1848, when three women were baptised, 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.² ✓ The Methodists, who were 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 Badagry under Annear, to occupy the station at Ogbe, till he was relieved in 1849, by Edward Bickersteth,

1. "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). For permission to use this document I am obliged to Archdeacon Ashley-Dejo.

2. ibid., Stocks, op.cit., vol.ii, pp.103-4.

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.¹ The importance of Abeokuta in the thinking of missionary circles in England lay, however, now to 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 civilisation of Africa. Soon Abeokuta became a household word among the readers of missionary magazines, long before Lagos was known. Before long, it even qualified for the honour of jokes in Punch.² It became the policy of

1. Crowther; Journal entry for October 13th-29th (CMS CA/031b), E. Bickersteth journal entries of the same date, (Meth).
2. In April 1860 the Egba defeated an invading army from Dahomey. The news of this was just being publicised 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 :

ABBEOKUTA 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,
 /continued

the missionaries to establish themselves firmly at Abeokuta, and foster the 'civilising' influence of Abeokuta down to the coast, to Badagry 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.

✓ 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 out passports to each emigrant, 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".¹ In 1844, Governor Fergusson estimated that some 600 to 800 "are now established in the Yarriba or Aka country".² Since the government was anxious that they

Footnote 2 continued.

2. 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: June 11th, 1864, vol. XLVI, p.240)

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1. Kuczynski, op.cit., p.137, loc.cit.
2. ibid.

should not give the Colonial Office any impression of large-scale dissatisfaction with the conditions in the colony, and many people did emigrate without passports, these figures must have been underestimates. ¹ In 1851, a naval officer who reviewed the emigrants at Abeokuta said there were 3,000 of them. ² It was the same figure that Consul Beecroft, who visited Abeokuta earlier that year, ³ mentioned to Hope Waddell. At that date, too, another ⁴ naval officer referred to "hundreds" of emigrants at Badagry. There were others at Lagos, Ibadan, Ijaye, in towns and little villages as far away as 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 Leone and Nigeria. McGregor Laird who secured the contract in competition against Liverpool traders long established on the coast, argued that it

1. Kuczynski, op.cit., pp.132-6.
2. F.E. Forbes to Bruce, Dec. 9th, 1951. (Papers relating to the Reduction of Lagos, p.180. PP.1852, LIV).
3. Waddell; Journal entry for 10th Feb. 1851, in UP. Missionary Record, 1851, p.120.
4. Bruce to Secretary of the Admiralty, Nov.1st, 1851. (Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos, op.cit., p.158)

would encourage private traders in the development of trade in the interior of Nigeria, and he looked upon 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 on been reluctant to emigrate. With the mail boats, the Christian missions themselves began to encourage emigration. As the missionaries expanded inland into the 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 Ara 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 Akarigbo³ of Ijebu Remo to write a similar letter. It was however to the Niger where there was no spontaneous movement of emigrants that the C.M.S. was most anxious to use its influence to get them to proceed and introduce the Gospel.

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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, 19th-21st August, 1852. (CMS. CA2/085).
 3. Hinderer, Journal entry for December 19th, 1852. (CMS. CA2/049).

Influential Ibos in Sierra Leone were equally anxious. They petitioned the Local Committee of the C.M.S. to take advantage of the mail boats for extending 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 took 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 Abok 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. At Calabar King Eyo of Creek Town declared himself in favour of welcoming emigrants. From then, 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,

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1. E. Jones, Journal of a Mission to the Niger, 1853. (C.M.S. CAL/O 129). Also U.P. Missionary Record, 1854, pp.39-41.

Anderson reported a dozen families in Duke Town, ¹ in 1859, 16 Sierra Leone men were listed as having joined the Presbyterian Church, ² most of the others remaining either Methodists or Anglicans that they they were, though they usually did attend the Presbyterian Church.

The failure of the Jones mission was an added reason for the C.M.S. to join Macgregor 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. Beecroft was to command it but he died just before the steamer reached Fernando Po and the leadership passed to Dr. William Baikie. The Rev. Samuel Crowther was the C.M.S. representative on it. The expedition reported success both in the prospects of trade, the ready welcome promised to emigrants, and the absence of any disastrous mortality among the members of the expedition. ³ Macgregor Laird, supported by the missionaries

1. William Anderson to Consul Hutchinson, May 30th, 1856, encl. in Hutchinson's despatch no. 71, June 24th, 1856, (FO 84/1001).
2. U.P. Missionary Record 1859, p.118.
3. W.B. Baikie: Narrative of an Exploring Voyage, Lond. (1856); S. Crowther: Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and Tsheda . . . in 1854. (Lond. 1856).

and philanthropists in England, therefore redoubled the pressure on the government to grant an annual subsidy for five consecutive years to send up 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". 1

^{He added}

~~xxx~~ 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

1. Laird to Lord Clarendon, 5th March, 1855. (FO 2/23).

another at Igbebe at the confluence, and the period of emigration to the Niger had begun. More will be heard about this later.¹ 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,

"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

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.³ Emigration continued, sometimes direct on Brazilian merchant vessels,

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1. S. Crowther & J.C. Taylor: The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger, p.39. (C.M.S. 1859).
 2. Taylor to Henry Venn, December 15th, 1866. (CMS. CA3/037)
 3. Collmer: Journal entry for April 10th, 1853. (CMS. CA2/043). Vice Consul Fraser reported in December, 1852, 130 families in Lagos, all Yoruba, mostly Egba. (FO. 2/28).

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 to France that the Catholic Church owed much of its missionary expansion in the 19th century, so that Protestants did not monopolise missionary work in regions where Catholic Fathers had long ago pioneered. It was a French Bishop, Mgr. de Bressillon who resigned from his mission in India and in 1856 founded the Society of African Missions (S.M.A.) intending to make Dahomey the centre of his work. The Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith, the central body which directed all Catholic mission however assigned Sierra Leone to him. He died there in 1859, and with him all the little band of missionaries who accompanied his successor, then re-applied for Dahomey which was granted. The first missionary, Father Broghero, arrived in Dahomey in 1861, soon began to visit Lagos but did not assign a missionary there till 1867.

1. Rene F. Gaillardet: Augustin Plaque (Lyons 1928). S.M.A. 100 Years of Missionary Achievement; Roland Cluny France, Pays missionnaire ? (Paris 1954); C.S. Phillips in The Church in France (Lond. 1936), p.325-8, says that in 1900 2/3rds of the Catholic missionary priests and 4/5th of the teaching brothers were French.

However, one emancipado in Brazil had volunteered to answer the call on behalf of the Portuguese Fathers. He was Antonio, originally from St. Thomas Island, 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 recreate the religious ceremonies he had known at Bahia; the catechisms, the chants, the blessing of the bread, in short, he went near saying mass. Every Saturday, he gathered his flock together to recite the rosary. He baptised new born babies, blessed marriages like the patriarchs of old, and was called to the side of the dying for the last ministrations. ¹ When Father Broghero visited Lagos in 1863, there was already a Catholic Church in being. ² At the mass he celebrated, there were 400 present. When Father Bouche arrived in 1867 to take charge of the church, he reported "about 500 Catholics". ³ There must have been

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1. Biographical Note by Father Holley in Les Missions Catholiques, 20th May, 1881. Based on questions to Antonio himself.
 2. Father Broghero in Les Missions Catholiques, Dec. 21st, 1863. Also Journal entry for Sunday, Sept. 25th, 1863. (S.M.A. archives, Rome).
 3. "Premiere Temps de la Mission de Lagos d'apres Merl Veronique" in Missions de la Nigeria (Typescript document in The Lagos Census for 1872, listed 572 Catholics Rev. J. Rhoads to Secretaries Aug. 15th, 1871 said there were about 2,000 Anaros in Lagos. (Meth.).

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 were to be found scattered about in the Yoruba country. There was no mention of them in the Delta or on the Niger. Harry Johnston estimated in 1875¹ that there were about 4,000 Brazilians at Lagos and Whydah. It was after 1888 when Brazil at last abolished slavery and Governor Moloney helped to establish a regular communication between Lagos and Bahia for the returning 'exiles' that this other movement of the emigrants reached its climax.²

For an overall estimate, one could only make a guess that there must have been some 40-50,000 people involved in both emigration movements. Perhaps that is not a very large number in a country the size of Nigeria. Left to themselves and scattered all over the whole country, they might have had no more significance than a band of ex-service men, 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

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1. Sir Harry Johnston: The Negro in the New World (New York, 1916), p.98n. cit in Pierson, op.cit., p.39n.
 2. Pierson, op.cit., p.39.

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. Their influence on that movement, the influence of missionaries on them and of both on the country will be discussed later. But first we must return to the missionary policy at Badagry and Abeokuta to be examined in the light of the advancing interest of Britain in Nigeria.

CHAPTER III

THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF PHILANTHROPY, TRADE AND
THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH INFLUENCE IN NIGERIA
(1846-60)

In the 1840's when the missions were being established, the economy of the coastal states was undergoing a revolution. In the past, the economy had been based on the slave trade. From 1807 onwards, English traders began to switch over from slaves to palm oil. The British government began to exert pressure both by diplomacy and the preventive squadron to get other nations to abandon the slave trade. By 1840, in the Delta where the oil trade was most developed, the trade in oil and slaves flourished side by side and the states continued to prosper. In the Bight of Benin where the oil trade was still little developed, the slave trade continued to flourish, but, as we have seen, was being concentrated at a few centres like Lagos and Whydah. Such places continued to prosper while others like Badagry faced economic ruin. At that date, British traders concentrated their interests on the Delta where they were in keen competition with traders of other countries, and where they were anxious to displace other European and American traders who continued to deal in slaves. There were very few British traders in the Bight of Benin, but British

traders at Cape Coast wished to establish there with a view to developing the oil trade and possibly cotton. This ambition to capture the whole market in the Delta, and to establish in the Bight of Benin was fused with the humanitarian campaign against the slave trade. The slave trade treaties sought to secure both aims.

It is the impact that Christian missions made on that situation that needs to be examined here. Before their arrival, British trade was already flourishing in Calabar. However, the mission stations were the first European establishments on Calabar soil, and these greatly facilitated British intervention, whether philanthropic, commercial or naval, in Calabar affairs. In the Bight of Benin, the rise of British interest began with the establishment of the missions at Badagry and Abeokuta. Trade followed the missionaries. The missionaries led traders in calling for British intervention in Lagos. Soon, British interests and influence became preponderant at that vital port as in the Yoruba country, its hinterland. Philanthropy and trade combined, but all the time they had different objectives.

In contrast to the situation in Badagry, when Hope Waddell arrived in Calabar in 1846, he found "five large ships and one or two brigs at anchor", each full of

activity, with the crew straining or boiling oil, or making or sealing puncheons.¹ There were, in fact,² at that time seven British trading hulks and one Dutch regularly in Calabar, each with a supercargo and two or three other European officials in the trading section, a captain, surgeon and two or three European seamen, and a complement of some thirty Kroomen as sailors, canoe-men, labourers and sometimes soldiers if the establishment decided on some warlike action. All these people were busily engaged on the river. The transition from the slave to the oil trade had brought to Calabar not ruin but increasing prosperity.

Calabar was in some ways similar to Badagry. The Efik, like the Egun, had been attracted to the coast by the slave trade. As in Badagry, settlement in Calabar brought new political divisions. From Creek Town, a few families had broken away and founded Old Town on the other side of the river. In reply, other families went to settle lower down the river at Duke Town, thus depriving Old Town of much of the European trade. But a struggle for supremacy on the river soon developed between Creek and

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1. Waddell: *Journals*, op.cit., vol 1 pp 38-39,44.
 2. See petition of the masters and supercargoes to Beecroft dated January 31st 1851. (State Papers vol 41 p.268-9.)

Duke Town. At the end of the eighteenth century, under Eyo I, Creek Town appeared to European observers to have been dominant. At his death, Duke Town, under Duke Ephraim, gained the ascendancy. By 1834, when Duke Ephraim in turn died, Creek Town, under Eyo II, had revived to challenge Duke Ephraim's successor, Eyamba V. In addition, there were internal rivalries between the various Houses in each town. But, in spite of these divisions, the Efik developed in the Egbo an organisation 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.¹

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. This attachment was expressed in oral tradition by the story that when Efik traders arrived at the mouth

1. *Efik Traders of Old Calabar* ed Daryl Forde (1957); Waddell: 29 Years in the West Indies and Central Africa, op.cit.
Talbot: Southern Nigeria vol 1.

of the Cross River towards the end of the seventeenth century, they found English traders there. 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"¹. It was this predominant influence of English traders that hastened the transition in Calabar from the slave to the oil trade, which began as early as the depression in the slave trade in the 1790's.

"The people of Old Calabar," said Capt. John Adams at the end of the eighteenth century, "have exported annually seven or eight hundred tons of palm oil, besides bar wood - their attention was directed to this owing to their losing their trade ² in slaves(because of) exorbitant custom dues".

With Abolition, in 1807, palm oil gradually became for English traders the new staple of trade. The Niger Delta was the principal source of palm oil, the trade not being developed in the Bight of Benin until the late 1840's.

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1. Waddell to Sommerville 21st Sept 1848 in UP Missionary Record 1849 p.58. This was probably Antera Duke's diary which was later brought to Scotland and only some transcripts from it have survived and is now published in Traders of Old Calabar op.cit.
 2. Capt. John Adams: Remarks on the Country from Cape Palmas to the Congo.

Although the output of oil in Bonny came to surpass that of Calabar,¹ it was at Calabar that English traders felt most at home, found African rulers most friendly and accommodating, and slave-trading competitors least influential. 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 African rulers, it was at Calabar that the readiest response was found.

The slave trade treaties,² a curious blend of philanthropy and self-interest, meant different things to different people. To Buxton and the Abolitionists, the treaties were to secure access into African communities for missionaries and commercial agents of civilisation. To the captains of the squadron who had to negotiate the treaties, they were a way of inducing at least some African chiefs to co-operate with them in their arduous and noble task of putting an end to the iniquitous slave trade. To the English merchants on the coast, the treaties were an indication that the British Government was at last willing to take action to protect them against their slave-trading rivals. The African rulers were asked to make a clear choice between the renunciation of the slave trade in return for some compensation as well

1. Dike *op.cit.*, pp.49-51.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 81-96.

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 Africans, they began to refuse to deal in slaves and were calling more and more for palm oil, for elephant's tooth, camwood and gumcopal. Their intention to capture the market remained, however, the same; they brought warships to fight their Portuguese and Spanish, Brazilian and French rivals. The Africans continued to regard slaves as a marketable commodity, and they treated the 'legitimate' trade which was just developing as an addition to, not a substitute for the older, more established trade in slaves, and for many years after 1807, the two went on side by side in most places. The new proposals that England was beginning 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 African 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. There were no banks. Land was not a money making concern. 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, Capt. Owens, 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. It would appear that the West India interest has always operated too successfully against these legitimate desires".¹

In 1830, Adele, at Badagry, asked Lander to order for him not only articles of war with which to regain his throne, but also "a carpenter's chest of tools, with oils, paints, and brushes".² The African traders wanted not just worthless finery but tools and machinery and that their children should be taught European languages and how to keep accounts, and so on. When officers of the Navy came to negotiate the slave trade treaties, it was these very

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1. Owen to the Colonial Office, 28th April 1929, CO 82/1cited in Dike op.cit. p.67.
 2. Richard and John Lander: Journal of an expedition to explore the course and termination of the Niger op.cit.p.3

things they offered. They 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.

What worried the Africans was the threat to their sovereignty that the treaties implied. To give up their right to trade with whomsoever they liked and in whatever commodities they chose, raised in their minds issues not unlike those raised by the right of search in Europe and America; there was the same threat that if the treaty were violated, "the severe displeasure" of the queen who owned the warships would follow and England would herself enforce the treaty unilaterally. The chiefs of Bonny were so reluctant on this account that the officers of the Navy were sure that the treaty they signed in 1839 would not be kept. At least that was the reason given for not ratifying it. It was alleged that the compensation would be used only to finance more slave trade. Negotiations were re-opened in 1841 and a new treaty signed, though similarly it was not ratified. Yet another in 1844 was declared ratified on the spot by the negotiating officer, this being the only condition on which King Pepple would treat. This treaty in turn was criticised in the Foreign Office for being too generous to him.

Even at Calabar Lieut. Blount reported that King Eyamba of Duke Town agreed in May, 1841 to sign 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"¹. Blount returned to Calabar six months later and this time succeeded in getting both King Eyo of Creek Town and King Eyamba to accept a treaty signed on 6th December, 1841. By its terms, they agreed not only to give up the slave trade but they also promised to report any intending slaver to the nearest of Her Majesty's vessels. In return they were each to receive 2,000 Spanish dollars a year for five years. In November, 1842, Commander Raymond came to ratify the treaty. He was instructed to persuade the kings to agree to take their compensation in goods, not cash; to obtain a declaration, signed by the kings and counter-signed by a supercargo on the river, to the effect that they had observed the treaty faithfully; and to write a new clause into the treaty saying that if they violated it in future Britain reserved the right to herself enforce it.²

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1. Blount reported to Capt. Tucker whose dispatch and enclosures the Admiralty forwarded to Lord Leveson in the F.O., 30th July 1841 (FO 84/384).
 2. Admiralty to FO 22nd April 1843 including Raymond to Capt. Foote 11th December 1842 enclosing treaties and kings' requests, and Foote to Herbert 12th Dec. 1842 (FO 84/384).

The right to intervene to confer a boon on the country by putting an end to the overseas slave trade was thus the earliest political right Britain acquired in Nigeria. But it must be said that the aim was first to secure the centres of British trade. As we have seen, a treaty was repeatedly urged on Bonny, but in spite of the missionary establishment at Badagry and the repeated appeals of Freeman, up to 1850 no treaty was attempted in the Bight of Benin though the slave trade was known to be prevalent there.

The rights under the treaties were limited, but they had great potentialities. The right to enforce prohibition of the slave trade could mean in practice the right to foster British trade interests by force. In the event of a disputed succession, the British agent could claim to decide which of two contestants should receive the stipulated compensation.¹ It was however, in the hands of missionaries

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1. This was in fact the case in Duke Town when King Eyamba V died in 1847 and for two years none of the rival candidates was able to establish his claim. King Eyo wished to become recognised as king of all Calabar and the missionaries hoped he would succeed. Failing that, they supported king Eyamba's brother, Mr. Young as they called him, an enlightened pro-missionary gentleman who was helping in the work of translating the Bible into Efik. The Archibong House however, presented a member of their House whom the missionaries judged was less sagacious and less influential than Young. It was Archibong that the traders favoured. In May 1849 Commander Selwin arrived with the compensation. The Europeans met in the schoolroom, the traders outvoted the missionaries and Selwin decided to recognise Archibong. An office of Prime Minister was said to have been created "to soothe Mr Young's disappointment". (Goldie, *op.cit.* p.136-7.)

seeking to reform African society that the limited clauses of the Slave Trade treaties became the instrument for the most active and far-reaching interventions. For, by the nature of their calling, they had to be allowed to settle among the people. They claimed independence of traders but were too dependent on them not to advance their interests.

The rulers of the coastal states were hesitant about accepting commitments to Britain. Yet they wished to take advantage of the change of attitude they observed in the British negotiators. When King Eyo and King Eyamba were asked in 1842 what they wanted for their compensation of 2,000 dollars each, they replied, almost in identical terms:

"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 me 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...."¹

To have agricultural development and a sugar industry and schools in Calabar, the chiefs decided to welcome missionaries. But, unlike traders who could be kept at

1. Enclosure in Raymond to Capt. Foote 11th Dec. 1842 (FO 84/384).

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 told Hope Waddell soon after his arrival in Calabar that some of the chiefs were already asking why he gave land to missionaries, and that they feared that "by and by, more will come and they will take the country away from them."¹ King Eyo and the chiefs took all the precaution they could. They told Capt. 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:

"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

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1. Waddell: Journals, vol 1 p.68 (21st April 1846).
 2. See above chapter II.
 3. Waddell: Journals vol 1 p.61. 17th April 1846.

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 neither have joiners nor the requisites for building a proper house for them; but we are anxious to afford them every thing 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...."¹

At Ikowetu, a village up the Cross River, the haggling was so meticulous that Hope Waddell lost his Irish temper. They wanted to know which of their customs the missionaries were opposed to "for they could not live with the twins".

"Not wishing to provoke controversy on these points at the outset we answered generally that no compulsion will be used, that the word of God would be taught to all, all must judge for themselves.... Some of them were disposed to go into more detail as to the terms on which a missionary should live among them and began to point out particularly what he should do and should not do. Fearing whereunto this exacting disposition would grow, I cut it short by saying that I wondered to hear them talk so as if we were bad men and they feared us to let them come and live among them or ignorant men and did not know ourselves what was to be done."²

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1. King Pepple and chiefs to Messrs C. Horsfall & Sons 30th May 1848, passed on to the United Presbyterian Church and published in the U.P. Missionary Record 1848 p.201.
 2. Waddell: Journals, vol xi Thurs. 1st Nov. 1855.

'Not only could missionaries not be kept at arms 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 must remain a philanthropist, expecting not money but gratitude - which can sometimes be more exacting. At the outset, he was reassuring. He came to help; if he was not wanted in one place, he would go to another. He was not a trader seeking profit, or a government agent seeking an empire. Yet as the missionary's philanthropy influenced trade and expansion, so did trade and expansion influence the missionary's philanthropy. For the missionary was by definition an incurable optimist with severely limited funds and resources, but unlimited fields to cover, and unlimited hopes and aspirations, and he was forever appealing to goodwill in all men, forever seeking allies in the most unlikely places.

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 Badagry, and sought further openings at

Abeokuta and in Dahomey.¹ 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 £5,000.² 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. Circular of Feb 29th 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).
 2. See annual estimates in the Missionary Record and Proceedings of the C.M.S. respectively. 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 1855-56 stood at 3,750 dollars which with the rate of exchange on 1st 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. As in the days of Father Angelo,¹ until the establishment of the mail boat in 1853, every missionary depended for passage and 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 and gift boxes and 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 Badagry, and it was, for example, more convenient for the missionary to hire a trader's canoe than maintain one himself with its complement of canoeemen.

1. vide supra Chapter I pp. 9-10.

Indeed, the trader objected to the missionary seeking to be independent by trying to bring from Europe all he was likely to need. In 1848, the supercargo of the Princess Royal refused to take the brass and copper rods which missionaries in Calabar had ordered as the local currency

"as these are the very goods in which they trade. The Liverpool merchants, who have shown us great kindness", wrote the Secretary of the Mission Committee in Edinburgh, "are very sensitive on this subject Perhaps an arrangement may be made by which the ships will supply you with these things."¹

Such an arrangement had to be made, although Hope Waddell calculated that he spent an annual £1,200 in the mission, but that if he had brought out the goods he needed instead of buying them from the traders in Calabar he would have saved £500 or £600 a year.² The usual arrangement, then, was for the missionary to receive from the trader's hulk or factory provisions and other goods on bills of credit which the merchant house in England presented for payment at the missionary society's headquarters. They thus acted as bankers for the missions. A similar arrangement had to be made for American Baptist missionaries with an English merchant house.³

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1. Sommerville to Goldie, 6th Sept 1848 (Letter Book vol 1 p.158 National Library of Scotland).
 2. Waddell: Journals vol viii p.175 26th May 1851.
 3. Bowen refers to J. Symm and T.A. Burr as agents in England (Bowen Letters p.75).

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 Badagry 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. (whose Managing Director was his uncle, the well-known London merchant and Member of Parliament of the same name), visited their factory in Badagry, 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. There, he gave the schoolchildren a New Year Feast, contributed to mission

1. Gollmer to C.M. Secretaries, 14th Jan 1851 (CMS CA2/043).

funds and, in particular, looked round the town and investigated prospects for trade. He however, made no establishments at that time because, like Freeman at Cape Coast, he believed that there were greater opportunities in Dahomey. In February, 1848, two traders came to Badagry from Accra, representing a Bristol firm.¹ Batten, the new agent of Thomas Hutton & Co., tried to prevent their shipping oil on the grounds that his firm had paid the King of Dahomey for a monopoly of Badagry trade. Thomas Hutton & Co. were, however, unable to maintain any such monopoly. Besides Sierra Leonean emigrants trading between Freetown, Cape Coast and Badagry, Brazilian traders from Porto Novo came selling rum and tobacco for cowries or oil. About 1850 Domingo Martinez even established a factory at Ajido, some 10 miles east of Badagry.² In 1850 also, Gollmer referred to a "Bristol factory in Badagry".³ Other English traders came from time to time looking for oil. It was, however, not until 1851 that Badagry began to feel her old self as a trading centre. In January of

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1. Gollmer, Journal entry for 23rd Feb. 1848, the Randolph Brothers. (CMS CA2/043).
 2. Gollmer: Journal entries for 31st Aug and 27th Nov 1851. (CMS CA2/043)
 3. Gollmer: Journal entry for October 1850 referring to a riot near the factory (CMS CA2/043).

that year, Thomas Hutton visited Badagry again, bringing, as assistant to Batten, William McCoskry, soon to become well-known; he passed on to Lagos doing some trade in gunpowder, according to Gollmer, and apparently leaving an agent, James Duggan, behind.¹ In May, Sandeman arrived with two assistants (of whom one was possibly Tickell), and established a factory for the firm of "Forster & Smith", which pleased Gollmer, the C.M.S. missionary, 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 bear a high character (i.e., reputation) on the coast and are no longer obliged to put up with the wretched Jersey crafts"²

- presumably the Jersey crafts of Thomas Hutton & Co.

Towards the end of that month, Gollmer found that

"There were no less than eight vessels at anchor (off Badagry); two English, two from Sierra Leone,

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1. Gollmer to Trotter Jan 13th 1851 Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos op.cit p.88. Gollmer to Venn Sept 19th 1851 (CMS CA2/043).
 2. Gollmer: Journal entry for May 8th 1851 (CMS CA2/043). See also list of British residents who petitioned Capt. L.G. Foote for protection on June 16th 1851 in Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos p.126.

two from Hamburg, one Dutch and one from Havannah, with an American flag flying, and it was a fine sight to see so many white men, English, German, Dutch and Spanish, busy landing goods and shipping oil. Some nine canoes were busy going to and fro, the many canoe men and labourers from town enlivened the scene and augmented the noise. All the vessels, even the one from Havannah, which undoubtedly came for a cargo of human beings, took in oil for their goods, of which (i.e., oil) there seems to be a great abundance this year."¹

Missionaries and traders began to see 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.

The demand for such an official had been coming from traders even before missionaries arrived in the 1840's. When, between 1827 and 1834 the British occupied Fernando Po and contemplated annexing it, their agent there had been able to fill such a post. When Fernando Po was given up, the loss

1. Gollmer: Journal entry for May 23rd 1851 (CM S CA2/043).

of such an official was the more sorely missed, and with increasing frequency, the British Government had recourse to the services of the Governor of the Spanish island, who happened to be an Englishman, John Beecroft.¹ As we have seen, the Presbyterian missionaries used his influence in securing a foothold in Calabar. In emergencies, they turned to him as to a British Consul.

In August, 1847, two French vessels came to Calabar, the Foque, with Capt. Baudin, and the Australie, with Capt. Bigeault. The British residents in Calabar did not welcome the visit, as three years earlier, the French had suddenly annexed Gaboon and the French were known to be protectionist, not free traders. Baudin said they had come to persuade the chiefs to give up certain practices which made it impossible for Frenchmen to come to trade in Calabar; in particular, the custom of sacrificing people during funeral obsequies, and he offered to pay for bullocks as substitutes. King Eyo, however, declined the offer, saying that since missionaries had complained about the funeral obsequies of King Nyamba, who died earlier in the year, he had been doing his best to get the custom changed, and that if the French really wanted to trade, they could come on the same

1. K.O. Dike: "Beecroft 1835-49" in Journal of the Nigerian Historical Society vol 1 December 1956.

terms as the English. But although it did not "appear that Capt Baudin made any overtures to the king or chiefs to place their country under the dominion of France",¹ the missionaries and traders sent a letter to Beecroft asking him to call in a British warship to come and plant the English flag in Calabar.

The missionaries went further. Hope Waddell wrote a memorandum to his headquarters in Edinburgh, arguing

"that the Treaty (of 1842), though held by the gentry here to be sufficient for every purpose, would not, I fear, entitle the English Government to protest effectively against foreign aggression if the objects of that treaty were not invalidated. Something more extensive and general is absolutely necessary."

He went on to say that if the French got a footing in Calabar

"and oppress the natives, it will not only destroy the English trade and our mission, but the character (i.e., reputation) of Englishmen all over the coast and continent, which now is paramount, but then would be held a mockery,"²

and he declared, without defining, "This country is almost equivalent to an English colony". The Foreign Mission

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1. Commander Murray to Commodore Sir Charles Hotham 24th March 1848 published 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 24ff.
 2. U.P. Missionary Record 1848 p.28.

Committee in Edinburgh then drew up a Memorial, taking arguments from Hope Waddell, and submitted it through Edinburgh Members of Parliament to the Government. This called on the government to

"take such steps as you may conceive proper for securing for the chiefs of Old Calabar the protection of the British Government, and thus providing against any molestation or annoyance on the part of the French".¹

The Government rejected the appeal to declare Calabar a protectorate, but an officer of the Navy, Commander Murray, of H.M.S. Favourite, was sent there, accompanied by

Beecroft, in May, 1843, to make a counter-demonstration. The chiefs maintained the view that the treaty of 1842 was adequate and pointed out that only two instalments of compensation had been paid, although the five were overdue. Eyo in addition gave a written pledge that he would from that day henceforward "use his utmost influence and power to induce his subjects" to give up human sacrifice.²

The significance of the missionary contribution to this event should be noted. The traders were individuals. In Liverpool, the long association with the Delta had produced something like an organisation of the "African"

1. Ibid. p.56.

2. Murray to Hotham 24th March 1848, op.cit.

merchants of the city; but they were rivals of traders in Bristol, in Glasgow and London sometimes rivals even of Manchester industrialists whose goods they sold in Africa, in that they were rivals of all who sought either to enter the coastal trade with them, or to penetrate the country - and London merchants and Manchester industrialists were again beginning to toy with the idea of going to plant cotton in Dahomey, on the Niger and other places. 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 they had country-wide organisations, and all the

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1. Apart from private individuals like a Dr.T.I. Graham of Epsom Surrey, who was corresponding with Freeman about the possibility of sending 20 or 30 instructed Africans 'to preach the Gospel and at the same time to cultivate cotton on the Niger or in Dahomey as Freeman suggested, M. Forster MP, head of the firm of Forster & Smith, and I.A.Turner, President of the Manchester Commercial Association, supported by W.M. Hutton, F. Swanzy and others long established on the Gold Coast issued a prospectus for a company to embark on cotton plantations, to recruit labour locally. "Labour is obtainable locally at 4 to 6d a day. Females and children will also gladly seek employment". Respectable young men of native birth were to be overseers and superintendants under someone with experience from the U.S.A. (in Freeman's Correspondence Meth).

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.¹ 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. Joined with trade philanthropy constituted a force able to move even a mid-nineteenth century government still concerned with economy, still dependent on the vote of the large cities where free trade, non-interventionist, anti-imperialist doctrines ruled the roost. The importance of all this began to be evident during the great debate provoked by the efforts of William Hutt, M.P. for Gateshead who tried to secure the withdrawal of the naval squadron in West Africa which missionaries and

1. Margaret Dalziel: Popular Fiction 100 Years ago (1957)

traders alike now regarded as their lifeboat.

The squadron had always had its critics. It was a regular butt of those seeking to reduce government expenditure. Others argued that it was costly in life and money but made no appreciable difference to the number of slaves imported into Cuba and Brazil, and only worsened the horrors of the middle passage. A section of the Abolitionists, led by Quakers, argued that no permanent good could come out of coercion. Some Members of Parliament doubted whether a limited slave trade on which the prosperity of Brazil - and, therefore, considerable English trade and property - depended, was such a bad thing, but had no doubts that arguments in favour of free trade as an absolute principle were unanswerable. Hutt's supporters in Parliament, like the people who had opposed Buxton's ideas and the Niger Expedition, were a heterogeneous but sizeable group. In February, 1848, he carried a motion for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to consider the best means for suppressing the slave trade, and was appointed its chairman. However, the committee failed to come to a decision and moved that it be reappointed. The second committee equally reached stalemate, but Hutt used the Chairman's casting vote to recommend, in 1849, 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" should be continued. ¹

✓ Hutt was dealing not with Aberdeen but with Palmerston, at the Foreign Office. His first reaction to Hutt was to appoint, in May of 1849, John Beecroft, at Fernando Po, as Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. Palmerston undoubtedly had a clear idea of the economic possibilities that awaited Britain in West Africa. And, the effective abolition of the slave trade, which he saw as the obstacle to the realisation of those possibilities, was his life's mission in Africa. In him, philanthropy and English economic objectives blended reassuringly. Even then, it should be noted that up to June, 1849, he had been used to making his philanthropic plans mainly in answer to the complaints of English traders on the coast. Beecroft's Commission informed him that

"Representations having been made to Her Majesty's Government from time to time by persons engaged in legal trade in the Bights of Benin and Biafra",

1. C. Lloyd: op.cit.

1. Palmerston to Beecroft June 10th 1849. (Foreign Relations of the British Empire, 1849-50, pp. 189-190).

2. Ibid.

3. Even like the missionary movement was a product of the Abolition and the Commercial Revolution. His work was

he was appointed Consul

"for the purpose of regulating legal trade between British merchants and the ports of Benin, Brass, New and Old Calabar, Bonny and Bimbia, the Cameroons and the ports in the territories of Dahomey".¹

That, of course, was the normal function of a Consul. To emphasize the parts of West Africa engaging Palmerston's attention, Beecroft was given an assistant at Whydah - Duncan, an unpaid trader - "Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in the kingdom of Dahomey".² No mention was made of missionaries; no mention at all of Badagry, Abeokuta or Lagos. At that stage the missionary influence working through a pressure group in London stepped in.

The organiser of the group was Henry Venn³ who became a member of the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. in 1835 and was soon recognised as its leading figure. He became Honorary Secretary in 1841 and remained so for 31 years (1841-72). 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 organised, was still capable of exercising considerable influence on the government. He was a thorough,

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1. Palmerston to Beecroft June 30th 1849 (Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos (PP 1852 Liv).
 2. Ibid.
 3. Venn like the missionary movement was a product of the Evangelical and the Humanitarian movements. His grandfather
/contd.

painstaking man who took his work seriously and to whom the marshalling of evidence before Select Committees, the organisation of deputations and petitions to Ministers, the correct attitude and approach to secure the maximum effect were necessary weapons in the good cause: arts actively cultivated by serious cogitations reported in a private journal and passed on in letters and instructions to associates.

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

reference 3 continued:

a junior contemporary of John Wesley, was one of the leading figures of the Evangelical movement within the Anglican Church. His father, one of the founders of the C.M.S. was, during Venn's first 17 years in life, rector of Clapham, high-priest of the 'Clapham Sect'. Besides his influence on Colonial affairs, Venn became recognised as the spokesman of the Evangelical Party in England. In that capacity he served on two Royal Commissions; on Clerical Subscriptions (1864), on Ritual (1867). See John Venn: "Henry Venn of the C.M.S." in Dictionary of National Biography, and Venn Family Annals (1903). Also Rev. William Knight: Memoirs of Henry Venn (1881). Besides these works and Henry Venn's extensive correspondence with missionaries in the CMS archives, and extracts from his private diary in Stock's History of the C.M.S., I am obliged to Dr. J. Venn, President of Queen's College, Cambridge, his grandson, for permission to use Venn's private papers in his possession.

other from the interior, to testify to the work of the squadron at Badagry, 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 withdrawal of the squadron. There were other missionaries from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone and Hope Waddell spoke for Calabar. Venn had rallied naval officers like Trotter and Allen who commanded the Niger Expedition, Capt. Denham (of Gallinas fame), and other disciples of Buxton, not only to testify, but to publish pamphlets, reviews, memoranda and articles in favour of the squadron. ¹ When, in spite of all that, in spite of the exertions of Sir Robert Inglis, an active missionary supporter on the Hutt Committee itself, hostile resolutions began to be passed, 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 House of Commons. The question was then how to get the House of Commons to reject the report of a Committee of their own House and accept that of the Lords.

1. C. Lloyd: op.cit. pp.112-3.

Under date of 30th 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, Capt. Denman, Capt. Trotter, Capt. Beecroft. Two hours' discussion upon parliamentary tactics for the session. Agreed that the squadron must be maintained." ¹

In other words, Venn brought together missionaries, naval officers, politicians and the new Consul. They intensified the pamphlet war and organised petitions, including a touching one from liberated Africans and their sons in Sierra Leone who had benefitted from the services of the squadron. ² But there was only one parliamentary strategy that could save the squadron, namely, that the Government should make the issue one of confidence - in spite of the fact that many supporters of the Whig Government were inclined towards Hutt, and in spite of the Don Pacifico affair that was pending. This was the object of a deputation to Palmerston on the morning of Tuesday, 12th March. In Venn's words:

1. Memoirs of Henry Venn op.cit. p.200.

2. Referred to in Sir Robert Inglis' speech during the debate. (Parliamentary Debates vol six third series March 19th 1850).

"To breakfast at Sir T.D. Acland's; a West African party - Lord Harrowby, Sir R.H. Inglis, Sir Edward Buxton, Capts. Denman, Pelham, Trotter and 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." 1

The debate on Hutt's motion began by 5.0 p.m. the following Tuesday. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade, opened for the Government, after Hutt and the seconder had spoken. Lord Russell, the Prime Minister, began to wind up for the Government when it was already past midnight. In a debate on a West African affair, at

1. Stocks, *op.cit.*, vol ii p. 107ff.

2.15 a.m. there were still 386 people left in the House to divide. Hutt's motion was defeated by a majority of seventy-eight.¹ But so confident had been his supporters that when, before the debate, Russell and Palmerston had called their supporters together and told them they would not remain in office if Hutt carried his motion, Greville, the famous political commentator, thought Russell

"demented at taking this violent course in reference to so unpopular a question and one so entirely fallen into disrepute".

The morning after the debate, The Times editorial lamented the slavery involved in the Government's use of 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 "this costly failure, this deadly farce" had been forced on Parliament and country and 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".²

1. Hansard for March 19th 1850, op.cit.

2. W.L. Mathieson: Great Britain and the Slave Trade (1839-65) (Lond.1929).

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. The Government, being a parliamentary government, reflected a part of public opinion, took the rest into consideration, acted sometimes one way, sometimes the other. In 1846, Palmerston supported the abolition of the sugar duties because it favoured industry at home and aided the development of trade with Cuba and Brazil - the slave-importing countries. In 1850, he risked office to keep the preventive squadron in West Africa because, without irony, abhorrence of the slave trade was with him, as "with the people of England", a religion, and he proceeded on a policy of expanding British interests in Nigeria. For the real result of the great controversy over the squadron had been to prompt the Government to propose measures to improve the efficiency of the naval squadron 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.

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 the economic development and 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 evangelisation and civilisation 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 civilisation and Christianity against slave traders and barbarism.

"Were it the barbarism of the African that endangered our safety or sought our destruction, we would stand alone and by God's blessing do as has been done before, teach the lion or the bear to become a lamb; but when slave-trading gold is superadded....by what means shall we resist it successfully?"¹

That was the missionary argument that they were asking for aid because they were not in West Africa as missionaries alone, but also as Englishmen, enemies of all slave traders, and that the wars that menaced them,

"result from the acts of Her Majesty's cruisers and from the efforts of Englishmen towards establishing lawful trade.... (the menace is) directed against the English nationally, and not individually".²

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."³

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1. Townsend to the Secretaries of the C.M.S. Exeter October 1 1849. (Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos P.30.)
 2. Townsend to Commander Wilmot Aug 5th 1851 (ibid) p.155.
 3. Addendum to Townsend's letter to the Sects. of the C.M.S. op.cit.

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, the fact that the 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 were presented to Palmerston on December 4th 1849. Besides the regulars like Acland, Buxton and Inglis, the deputation included the merchant, Thomas Hutton M.P. as well as Gollmer and Townsend. Venn said he pointed out on the map the situation of Abeokuta and stressed "the importance of securing the present opening for legitimate commerce by a British resident at Abeokuta, an armed boat on the lagoon, or a fort at Badagry."² The conversation lasted an hour

1. Ibid.

2. Memoirs of Henry Venn: p 191. Hutton went further. He obligingly passed to Palmerston a letter he received from his nephew in Cape Coast dated Aug 7th 1850 reporting interviews with the king of Dahomey, giving an account of the career of da Souza, and urging that Lagos ought to be attacked first. "The good that would ensue to those countries is incalculable as they abound in cotton, indigo palm oil and many other resources for industry and wealth" The letter concluded by saying that the best time of the

and Lord Palmerston "seemed inclined to send an envoy to Abeokuta and wait his reply before further steps are taken". Venn did not leave it at that. Eleven days later the deputation called on Lord Grey at the Colonial Office

"who entered warmly into the business, spoke of the effectiveness of establishing British forts and his hope that if the British forts we propose could be established, the slave trade would be suppressed north of the line".¹

The next thing was to ensure that the right man was sent as envoy to Abeokuta. Thinking it would be a naval officer, Venn four days later received at his house Capt. Trotter, to discuss "different naval officers suitable for the purpose of the diplomatic mission to Abeokuta".²

In fact Palmerston decided on Beecroft, who was home on

reference 2 continued:-

year to attack Lagos was between November and February and that the palace was on the north side of the island at the entrance to the Ikorodu lake. It is not difficult to guess that the letter was ordered from London specially for Foreign Office consumption. (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos p.38). For the interest of the Huttons in cotton planting see note 35.

1. Memoirs of Henry Venn p. 193.

2. Ibid.

1. Instructions to Beecroft Feb 25th 1850 (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos pp.29-30.

2. Ibid.

leave. His instructions quoted the C.M.S. memorandum on Abeokuta, 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".¹

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 be noted in Beecroft's instructions of February, 1850. Compared with his Commission of June, 1849, his functions had been extended, in fact transformed. 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, women and children may be put an end to".²

1. Instructions to Beecroft Feb 25th 1850 (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos pp.29-30.

2. Ibid.

In 1849, he was protector of British trade. In 1850, he was asked to be first and foremost a philanthropist. The second point to note was 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. Like the traders at Cape Coast, he still believed that Dahomey probably offered brighter prospects of trade. It was to Dahomey that Beecroft was to proceed immediately.

Beecroft, however, found the King of Dahomey as evasive as ever. He wanted friendship with the British. He would accept a treaty, but let Britain first deal with the states on the coast between Porto Novo and Lagos. For, if he gave up the trade before those smaller powers did so, his prestige would suffer. Meanwhile he would allow British missionaries and traders to come to Whydah where he would give them protection. The most important outcome of Beecroft's visit was his discovery that the king was planning an attack on Abeokuta, which confirmed the fears of the missionaries. He warned the missionaries

1. Beecroft to Palmerston, July 22nd 1850 (Ibid., p. 41-42).

2. Callot to the King, 1851 (Ibid., p. 43-44).

of the impending attack. 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 appeal from the liberated Africans in the colony, sent to Badagry 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. But he had not yet made up his mind on the particular steps to take. He drew up a memorandum to the Admiralty on 11th October, 1850, in which he stated:

"It seems to Lord Palmerston that measures should forthwith be resorted to for the purpose of putting an end to the slave trade at Lagos".

He therefore suggested that Kosoko "should be invited to sign a treaty" and if he refused, "measures similar to those which were enforced against Gallinas", namely, a

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1. Commodore Farnshawe to the Admiralty, October 28th 1850, reporting the mission of Lt. Boys to Badagry, October 21st, 1850 (*ibid* p.81).
 2. Gollmer to Venn March 20th 1851 (CMS CA2/043).

close and prolonged blockade, should be brought to bear on him. Alternatively, he suggested

"steps should be taken to replace in authority at Lagos the former chief, who is understood to be now at Badagry".¹

The Admiralty took no steps on it, but Palmerston sent a copy to Beecroft, not for action, but for information. His instructions should be noted, remained those of February, 1850, namely, to inquire and report.

At this stage the most important person in the story becomes Beecroft, the Consul on the spot. He was a man with a will of his own, chosen because he was known to be energetic in the pursuit of the interests of Britain even when he was an employee of another government. He was responsible to a Minister known also for his energy, but who was too remote to direct in detail the actions of his agent.

Beecroft arrived at Badagry on 2nd January, 1851. He was met on the beach by the missionaries and their school-children, and the traders including Hutton from Cape [Town].

1. F.O. Memorandum to the Admiralty, October 11th 1850, (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos p.45).

He stayed five days as the guest of Gollmer¹ 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 Badagry. Trade was growing, but was as yet by no means enough to feed the people. In the circumstances, the Badagry people resented the competition of the emigrants.² The Dahomey expedition in the Egbado area and Egba retaliations destroyed farms and raised food prices in Badagry.³ Above all, for four years the Badagry people had harboured Akitoye and a large number of his supporters from Lagos. At first they cooperated with him in the blockade of Lagos, which further limited their trade and brought the antagonism of Porto Novo and the fierce canoe-men of Iso. By January, 1851, angry murmurs against Akitoye were growing and important chiefs like Possu, Wawu, Motan, Nobi and others were beginning to show open hostility. Beecroft met Akitoye. Then he called on the chiefs individually and afterwards met the ten most important together. He does not appear to have hidden his support

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1. Gollmer to Venn, Jan 3rd 1851, Gollmer to Capt Trotter (ibid, p.87-88).
 2. There was a clash on October 3rd 1850 between the Emigrants and the Egun near the 'Bristol' factory. (Gollmer Journal entries for October 3rd and 7th (CMS CA2/043)).
 3. Gollmer to C.M.S. Sects. October 25th 1850: that Dahomey sacked Okeodan in 1848; the people came back and rebuilt their town, chose an Egba as ruler, and called on Abeokuta
- /contd.

for Akitoye right from the start. At least he asked him to prepare for him a petition of all his grievances against Kosoko and a declaration of his readiness to accept a slave trade treaty.¹

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 consequence and one calculated to be the means of doing great good to their country".²

Townsend also wanted to impress on him the great possibilities at Abeokuta for Britain and for civilisation. Among the party that went to meet him was a contingent of school-children and converts and the missionaries of C.M.S. and Methodist missions. He was down round all the mission

reference 3 continued:-

to avenge them on Igbeji the Dahomian outpost. This, Gollmer said, raised prices in Badagry by 200%; the civil war in Badagry raised it in 1851 by a further 50%. Gollmer: Journal June 1851 (CMS CA2/043).

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1. Beecroft's report of his visit to Abeokuta and Badagry to F.O. Feb.21st 1851 (Papers relative to the reduction of LAGOS p.91ff;) Gollmer: Journal for January 1851 (CMS CA2/04)
 2. Townsend to Major Straith, Jan 28th 1851 (CMS CA2/085).

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 eighteenth, 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 was their conception of a consul, by calling upon Beecroft to interfere in local politics and judicial procedures. Van Cooten suggested that it was time the Egba raised the siege of Ado, as the people of Ado desired peace. But the Baloguns declined to discuss the issue, saying it was a matter for the Ogboni, the civil chiefs, to discuss. Then 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 (i.e. no British principle) of justice could tolerate".¹

He cited the example of his interpreter, whose brother had been convicted of adultery and being the richest in his family had been held responsible for the fine imposed

"contrary to common justice and contrary to the agreement that Sodeke made with me that we should not be amenable to country laws, but that if they were guilty themselves of a breach of common law, the Consul, if appealed to, would see the matter righted."¹

Beecroft was impressed by what he saw at Abeokuta. By the time he returned to Badagry, 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", it concluded

"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".²

1. Ibid.

2. Petition of Akitoye to Consul Beecroft enclosed in Beecroft's dispatch to the F.O. Feb 24th 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 Badagry, on December 9th 1850, Gollmer noted in his journal: "Akitoye sent for me this morning to tell him what to do. I accordingly went and told 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 not 'under it' but '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, what (i.e. which) he said he would do". (Journal Dec 9th 1850. CMS 620/42)

Commenting on this in his report, Beecroft declared
 "My lord, you will pardon my presuming to offer an
 opinion on the matter, but they all want coercion - the
 Porto Novians as much as others; but Lagos ought not
 to be allowed to escape; place the right person there,
 all is well".¹

Beecroft did more than express an opinion. To ensure that
 Lagos did not "escape" to see that the Lagos dispute was not
 settled before Britain was ready to act, and to commit
 Britain eventually to action, he decided, with great subtlety,
 to take Akitoye with him to Fernando Po, virtually a prisoner,
 in the guise of protecting him from the mounting fury of
 Badagry people. Not only did Akitoye not ask for such
 protection, simple and naive as he was, when he heard the
 proposal, both from Beecroft's and Gollmer's accounts, he
 was perplexed and embarrassed. He did not consider it
 would help his affairs to run away from his people in the
 face of the mounting tension in Badagry, to leave his friends
 and relatives and supporters to his enemies. But Beecroft
 and Gollmer persuaded him that there was no alternative.
 He was to tell no-one of his intending departure, and he
 was given one day to put his affairs in order.

1. Beecroft's dispatch of Feb 24th 1851, op.cit.

1. Ibid. See also Gollmer to G.M.S. Sect. 27th Jan 1851.
 (MS A/2/43).

"Poor man!" noted Beecroft, "He has to fight a battle with his own feelings, relative to his people, which is very natural, which I like in him; it is not so common - self is too predominant. He sent a messenger to ask permission for two wives, two men and a boy to accompany him, which I granted. Another messenger from Akitoye; he is in jeopardy; he had not fully and finally decided. I desired the messenger to state he must not let his mind be embarrassed about his people and property; leave all in charge of his friend (Mewu) and all will be right."¹

Needless to say, Akitoye's departure only heightened the tension in Badagry, as the people thought it time to throw his supporters out. Within a few days of his departure, Iso canoe men arrived asking for free passage to Lagos, that is, asking the blockade to be raised or else they would force their way through. It almost led to a civil war between the two groups now forming: Mewu, the British residents, emigrants and Akitoye's supporters on the one hand, Pessu, most of the Badagry chiefs and Kosoko's supporters, on the other. A warship arrived opportunely, landed a few marines and a field piece. Order was restored, all seemed quiet.

Then, on 11th June, a group of women traders from Lagos sang songs in the Badagry market, deriding the cowardice of Akitoye and the poverty of his supporters,

1. Ibid. See also Gollmer to C.M.S. Sect. 27th Jan 1851. (CMS CA2/043).

and extolling the manliness of Kosoko. It led to a brawl and the brawl spread into a civil war.¹ The British residents signalled for a warship. Commander L.G. Heath in H.M.S. Niger arrived in Badagry on 16th June. He was urged to station a few marines to keep watch over them; he refused, saying his men would be ill and die, but suggested that the Englishmen should come on board. Gollmer, however, pointed out that the emigrants were entitled to protection too. The naval officer 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".² Domingo Martinez gave Mewu "twenty guns, twenty kegs of powder, twenty iron bars for shot and a quantity of rum".³ Fossu and the Badagry chiefs were defeated and expelled from the town. Their

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1. Quite a detailed account of these events in the Journal of Gollmer for June to December 1851. (CMS CA2/043).
 2. Commander L.G. Heath to British Residents in Badagry, June 17th 1851. (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos p.127).
 3. Gollmer to Venn Sept 19th 1851 (CMS CA2/043).

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1. Gollmer: Journal entry for July 1851 (1818).
 2. "Obba Shoro" to Capt. L.G. Jones, Badagry July 3rd 1851, (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos- pp.126-7).

attempts to force their way back, with support from Porto Novo and Lagos, subjected Badagry to a state of siege for the rest of the year. Kosoko's navy frequently invaded the town - sometimes fifty, sometimes a hundred armed canoes. Once, it was "a noble fleet of more than a hundred large canoes, well-armed, and profusely decorated with flags".¹ However, Mewu and the missionary party received reinforcements both from the British and, it should be noted from the Egba. The Basorun came down with troops to aid in the defence of Badagry and addressed a petition to Capt. Jones, the senior naval officer in the Bights Division, asking him "to interfere in our behalf", and humbly requesting "that the Queen should take possession of this town, and that she should place some person of authority here". At any rate both Capt. Jones and Commodore Bruce saw to it that warships came frequently to aid the "English" party in Badagry.²

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

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1. Gollmer: Journal entry for July 22nd 1851 (*ibid*).
 2. "Obba Shoron" to Capt. L.T. Jones, Badagry July 3rd 1851, (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos. pp.130-31).

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 Badagry "their adopted country", they would inevitably be doomed to slavery for the remainder of their lives.¹

These momentous events in Badagry have rarely been commented upon ever since largely because they were overshadowed by the even more momentous development in March 1851 when the king of Dahomey invaded Abeokuta. Gezo marched his troops in person, with the Amazon 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.²

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1. Bruce to Secretary of the Admiralty Nov 1st 1851 (ibid. pp.158-9).
 2. Biobaku: op.cit. pp.43-45. H. Townsend to Major Straith 4th March 1851 (CMS CA2/085). T.J. Bowen: Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa, op.cit. p.118ff. E. Dunglas: "La premiere attaque des Dahomeennes contre Abeokuta" in Etudes Dahomeennes (1948) (Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire).

to the nations of Africa was slave trade, and that therefore the British Government, 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 is to well to avoid.

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1. Memorandum to Secretary of State 21st 1851 enclosing copy of letter to be prepared to General...

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 school-children. 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 authorise naval action of doubtful legality in Lagos - for Capt. Denman of the Gallinas at least had the excuse of going to rescue two British subjects who were detained there, a Sierra Leonean washerwoman and her daughter, and 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 Government, 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. Palmerston to Beecroft Feb 21st 1851 enclosing copy of treat to be proposed to Kosoko (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos p.85.)

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 much kindness to all our remarks". 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 civilisation 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.

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1. How crowded Crowther's programme was may be judged from a letter he wrote to Rev. Knight 31st December 1851 on his voyage back: that Captain Trotter accompanied him to Reading and heard him preach in the morning. In the evening he preached at Bath. Both services were well attended. "The same interest was created in Exeter, Torquay and Plymouth. With the meetings and preaching before me
- /contd.

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", for British aid and support. Two specific requests were made. In the first place, that as

"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, abounding with cotton, of which he has brought specimens, would be at once thrown open to commerce,

reference continued:-

in all about eleven in one week to make to several friends of the mission, you will be able to guess how much time I had to look about me. (CA2/031).

1. Memoirs to Palmerston, 20th August 1841 (Palmerston MSS. vol. 11, p. 111-12.)
2. Dated Windsor November 1841, and quoted in full in Stanley, Memoirs, vol. 11, p. 111-12.

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 Wriothlesley 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 Wriothlesley 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

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1. Straith to Palmerston, 20th August 1851 (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos op.cit. pp.133-4.)
 2. Dated Windsor November 18th 1851, and quoted in full in Stocks, op.cit., vol ii pp 111-3.

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, and of the community settled at Abeokuta, which town seems destined to be a centre from which the lights of Christianity and civilisation 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 cannot 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: for,

"It would not be consistent with the honour and dignity of the British Government that a warning deliberately given by a British commodore in entire conformity with the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and as deliberately set at nought, should be thus disregarded with impunity."²

1. Ibid. p.114.

2. Palmerston to Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Sept 27th 1851. (Papers relative to the reduction of Lagos, op. cit p.135).

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 Capt. Denman, 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.¹ 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.² 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

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1. Ibid.
 2. Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Commodore Bruce 14th October 1851. The letter was signed by F.T. Baring and R.D. Dundas. (*ibid.* p.138).

"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".¹

Though liberated Africans had already sent thirty-two large kegs and fourteen small kegs of powder to Abeokuta for the same purpose,² those trained in artillery felt they could not volunteer, as no provision had been made for their remuneration. The ammunition was landed in Badagry in November, Gollmer helping to arrange its transport to Abeokuta, the field-pieces presenting great difficulties. Commander 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.³

With respect to Lagos, however, Bruce was more

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1. Bruce to the Admiralty, Dec 6th 1851 (Ibid.p.161).
 2. Gollmer to Secretaries of the C.M.S. Oct 13th 1851 (CMS CA2/043).
 3. F.E. Forbes to Bruce Nov 13th 1851, Dec 9th 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 a vis Consul Beecroft, and seemed to live only for promotion.

cautious. He was a devout Evangelical, enthusiastic about the philanthropic endeavours of Britain in West Africa; but he knew better than Palmerston and his advisers the strength of Lagos, and he shared the hesitation of naval officers about risking the health of their men in what was likely to be a prolonged operation on land. Apparently he went to Fernando Po to hold consultations with the Consul. He met Akitoye, and on 1st November, when off St. Thomas' Island, 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 effectually, "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 1845,¹ by which England and France promised not to resort to force on the African coast without the consent of both powers. However, Beecroft would go up the

1. Convention between Great Britain and France for the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves signed in London May 29th 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
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Benin River "with the view of ascertaining its capacity for facilitating the destruction of Lagos", and he would proceed to Badagry early in December to examine the situation on the spot.¹

Beecroft, however, did not hesitate to rush 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 responsible to the Admiralty, and a coastal trader holding a commission from the Foreign Office. Whether there was an open quarrel we probably shall never know. But Beecroft proceeded to manoeuvre the law out of the commodore's

reference 1 continued:

the consent of the Commanders both of the British and of the French Squadrons. (SP vol 33 p 8-9.)

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1. Bruce to the Admiralty Nov 1st 1851 (ibid p.160-1). The fear that Akitoye would be unable to rule was expressed by other naval officers who met him, e.g. Capt. R. Coote wrote to Venn Feb 3rd 1852, shortly after the reinstatement: "He is not as far as my observation leads me to judge much fitted to govern a people accustomed to the energy and tyranny of 'Cosiooco' and the cunning intelligence of his Prime Minister 'Tappa'" (CMS CAL/023).

1. Beecroft to Palmerston Nov 26th 1851. (Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos, Serial, 7-147.)

discretion into his own hands. He went straight to Badagry, arriving on 17th 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,

"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

Then they sent twenty-one armed boats and a canoe filled with seamen and marines, covered by H.M.S. Bloodhound, to proceed up the lagoon to the town of Lagos in the north-western end of the island. They were flying a flag of truce "and but three guns were fired by the Bloodhound on entering the river at what was considered outposts firing without authority".

1. Beecroft to Palmerston Nov 26th 1851. (Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos, op.cit. p.147.)

1. Grenville to Beecroft Jan 24th 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 Feb 23rd 1852 that this was...

Kosoko's troops of course fired back. The marines and seamen were landed (at Isale Eko), but the Lagos people, "swarming in vast numbers, proved themselves such good marksmen" that the expedition had to be withdrawn with the loss of two officers killed and sixteen men wounded. Beecroft was later severely censured,¹ but there could be no going back as the prestige of England had now become involved in the dispute. Five days later, Commander Wilmot returned with a warship to destroy the houses and barracoons of Brazilians in the eastern end of the island. Seventeen days later Commodore Bruce appeared off Badagry and he planned a larger force - including six hundred supporters of Akitoye from Badagry, and a contingent from Abeokuta - to re-attack Lagos. He arrived in the Lagos roads 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, doing great havoc, and, with his leading supporters, Kosoko fled down the lagoon towards Epe. Lagos was captured for the loss of sixteen men killed and seventy-five wounded.

"Had an engineer from Woolwich been on the spot", said Beecroft when he landed, "the defence of Lagos could not have been better planned".²

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1. Granville to Beecroft Jan 24th 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 Feb 23rd 1852 that this, too,
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New Year's Day, he signed a Slave Trade Treaty which, besides Sandeman, one of the traders at Badagry, 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". 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 certainly played a prominent part.

Akitoye might have been slow in realising it, but the naval action in Lagos did much more than just settle the disputed succession. He remounted the throne but hardly regained the sovereign rights of his fathers. On

references 1 & 2 continued:-

- was the opinion of Commodore Bruce. (ibid. p.167).
2. Beecroft to the Foreign Office Jan 3rd 1852 (ibid. pp.188-9)
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1. Sandeman to Campbell Aug 28th 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 July 15th 1856 p.24).

New Year's Day, he 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 Civilisation...."

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 hindered 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 January 5th, 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. In February, 1852, the European traders in Lagos, 1 Austrian, 1 Portuguese, 1 German and 2 Englishmen,

1. Enclosure in Beecroft to F.O. Jan 3rd 1852. Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos, op.cit, p. 188-9.

drew up a detailed agreement for the organisation of trade and the collection of customs revenue, which was signed with the king and witnessed by the commodore. And since most of the palm-oil shipped in Lagos came at that time from Ijebu, some Ijebu chiefs were induced to come to Lagos and put their mark on a copy of the Treaty. In March, the same treaty was presented to Mewu for signature on behalf of Badagry,¹ while Possu, Wawu, Mobi, Motan and other chiefs remained in exile. That same month, 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 Badagry 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 premier station. For, the Badagry people had replied to the Gospel, not with hostility or persecution, but with the cynical indifference of a cosmopolitan town that welcomed all comers and tried to outwit them in turn. Hardly any Egun

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1. A good collection of the new slave trade treaties of 1851-52 including those with Ijebu, Badagry and Porto Novo, will be found in State Papers vol 42.
 2. "Memorandum of Agreement" dated March 1st 1852 (CM S CA204)

had received Baptism. But the Emigrants, some refugees and traders had benefitted from the missions. The C.M.S. had baptised 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. (Another, a son of Possu, was brought back from the ship because of the prejudices of the ladies of the house against foreign travel on salt-water). 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 to our work of faith and love among the people here".¹ Other Europeans at Badagry 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. On July 18th, he preached his valedictory sermon, choosing as his text: "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also, for therefore am I sent". Two days later, he set out for Lagos with his wife, schoolmasters, interpreters, and Scripture readers,

1. Gollmer: Journal entry for 22nd June 1852. (CMS CA2/043).

leaving only a catechist behind. He was followed a year later by John Martin the Methodist assistant missionary who had succeeded Annear. There was an exodus also of the Emigrants from Badagry 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 as acting consul until he was relieved in August 1853 by Benjamin Campbell, the first Consul of Lagos.

Campbell soon began to act more like the government of Lagos than the Consul. He ^{found the traders} engaged in a bitter controversy with Gollmer. Gollmer attacked the morals and the methods of the traders. They in turn accused him of meddling in trade, and of having occupied the best part

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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 Jan 17th 1852 in Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos PP 1852 LIV).
 2. Besides references cited below, these disputes are well documented in F.O. Confidential Print 4141, op.cit and the Letters of Gollmer in CMS CA2/043 as well as CMS CA2/04). The Methodists sided with the traders on this occasion, one of the few instances of disagreement between the C.M.S. and Methodist missionaries. This was largely because the headquarters of the missionaries like that of many of the traders in Lagos was Cape Coast. They therefore tended to see things in the same light, For both, Dahomey seemed more important than Abeokuta. Besides Gollmer was difficult to get along with any way, even for members of his own society. In addition, a doctrinal issue cropped

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of the Lagos waterfront which they wanted but which he had either made over to the mission or had distributed among the emigrants. Above all, they said he was trying to direct the foreign policy of Akitoye in a way that was injurious to their trade. The truth was that missionaries and traders like many allies in war had different ideas of what to do with the peace. Disagreement during the post war settlement was almost inevitable. Campbell was Gollmer's guest for three months after his arrival. The C.M.S. House was said to have been the most defensible site on the island and was used as the base for resisting attacks from Kosoko

reference 2 continued:-

in Abeokuta where C.M.S. missionaries were said to have made fun in their sermons of one of the fundamental tenets of Methodism that the Methodist Missionary was trying to get across to his congregation, namely, the doctrine of the Assurance of Salvation. (Freeman to Secretaries Jan 9th 1855, Meth.)

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1. Campbell to Gollmer Sept 1854 offering assistance for the defence of the C.M.S. and its members was the only place in Lagos capable of taking a defensive stand against Kosoko from whom an invasion was expected.

and attempted revolts by his partisans in Lagos. It began to look as if Consul and missionary would work harmoniously together. ¹ But the more Campbell studied the situation the more he realised that the interests of the European trade in Lagos which must be his first concern were not compatible with the policy Gollmer and Bruce had laid down for Akitoye to pursue. He therefore soon began to take out of Akitoye's hand the conduct of the foreign affairs of Lagos, that is its relationship with the surrounding states.

The traders pointed out to Campbell that the enterprising Kosoko when driven away from Lagos had established himself at Epe from where in alliance with the Awujale he was able to control the oil markets in Ijebu and from where he could also plan attacks on Lagos. The missionaries, Akitoye and the Egba allies, were for continuing the war against him there. The traders were for negotiating with him provided he diverted the Ijebu trade to Lagos. Campbell accepted this. Having failed to dislodge Kosoko by force from Epe, he began to negotiate with him on terms which made him the middle man for the Ijebu trade and which therefore closed

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1. Campbell to Gollmer Sept 2nd 1854 offering ammunition for the defence of the C.M.S. and its enclosure "as the only place in Lagos capable of making a defensive stand" against Kosoko from whom an invasion was expected.

the Ijebu country to missionaries.¹ The traders similarly pointed out that the oil trade to the west of Lagos was controlled by the king of Porto Novo, the ally of Kosoko and the king of Dahomey, and that he refused to allow oil to go to Badagry and Lagos as long as Mewu, an old rebel chief of his, was allowed to rule in Badagry. And that in addition, the chiefs who had been expelled from Badagry made traffic on the lagoon unsafe. In August 1852, Acting Consul Fraser had called in a warship to expel Mewu and to reinstate the other chiefs. Gollmer denounced Fraser, and Commodore Bruce countermanded the order.² Now Campbell decided that if trade was to prosper in Lagos and Badagry,

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1. Irving represented the C.M.S. at the Peace conference with Kosoko on a small island near Epe in January 1854. He thought Campbell in offering terms was charmed by the personality of Kosoko, "a general superiority of Kosoko and his caboccers over the young king Dosumu and his small remnant of Lagos chiefs I endeavoured more than once to point out that this was not a point of dispute between two individuals merely, but a great question of principles.. as to the final triumph in this quarter of the world of Slavery or, Anti-Slavery." (Irving to Venn, Lagos Jan 20th 1854 CMS CA2/052) Kosoko rejected the terms offered. However when another attempt he made on Lagos failed, he came to terms in September. He promised to renounce his claims to the Lagos throne and "to assist Her Britannic Majesty's Consul to open the markets on the Jaboo shore.... and in maintaining order and security those markets." In return he was guaranteed the use of Palma as his port where he could levy export and import duties. (Agreement dated 28 September 1854 in Payne's Lagos Almanack and Diary for 1878 (Lond 1877) p.113).
 2. Bruce to Townsend Feb.16th 1853 (CMS CA2@04).

he had to come to terms with the king of Porto Novo since it was unlikely that the Admiralty would sanction an expedition to conquer him, and therefore, "if the king of Porto Novo makes it a sine qua non for opening the trade of Badagry, I must proceed..."

"I have no personal ill-will towards Mayu (i.e. Mewu)... but the once large and flourishing commercial town of Badagry has now become in consequence of Mayu being its chief a mere casada farm, the king of Porto Novo positively refusing to allow any palm oil to pass down to Badagry so long as Mayu remains its chief."¹

he offered Mewu a small pension if he would retire peaceably, but Mewu refused. He then asked Townsend and the Egba to persuade Mewu to give up the British treaty he held, and ^{offered} that if this were done, he would then negotiate with the king of Porto Novo, to allow Mewu to remain in Badagry as a private individual provided he would allow the other chiefs to return.² The Egba refused to do this, and the missionaries denounced the policy of Campbell.³ 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 the favoured king of Porto Novo. The important point was that, as Campbell

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1. Campbell to Townsend May 12th 1854, April 19th 1854. (CMS CA2/04).
 2. Campbell to Townsend May 12th 1854 (CMS CA2/04).
 3. Townsend to Campbell May 15th 1854 (CMS CA2/04).

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 monopolised by Domingo Martins".¹

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. sent memoranda and deputations to Lord Clarendon saying that Campbell was befriending slave traders and antagonising 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".²

To the C.M.S. Abeokuta counted for more than Lagos and they were trying to get a separate Consul appointed there. But in spite of the considerable influence of the General Secretary of the C.M.S. in these years neither the Consul in Lagos nor the Foreign Office could adopt this view.

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1. Campbell to Townsend April 30th 1854. (CMS CA2/04).
 2. CMS Secretaries to Lord Clarendon encl. in Venn to Irving June 22nd 1855 (CMS CA2/L2).

Lord Clarendon approved of the negotiation with Kosoko. He disapproved of the treatment of Mewu,¹ but there could be no going back. He could not appoint a separate Consul for Abeokuta but as we shall see he gave some form of recognition to Dr. Irving the Lay Agent which the C.M.S. appointed to conduct their political affairs. When this Lay Agent 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, the Lay Agent had died.²

These 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, antagonising Kosoko, unnecessarily, and expelling Madam Tinubu who owed them much trust.³ From the

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1. Wodehouse to Lord Chichester President of C.M.S., F.O. June 12th 1855 encl in Venn to Irving June 22nd 1855 (CMS CA2/L2).
 2. For "The Skene Commission", see F.O. Confidential Print 4141, op.cit. Also Crowther Dec. 3rd 1855 (CMS CA2/031).
 3. Ibid. Also Campbell to Crowther Oct 15th 1856 enclosing copy of the petition of the traders and asking Crowther to give him a testimonial refuting the charges. Campbell to /contd.

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 them for the Consul in addition to powers for championing Europeans began to acquire powers for being 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. Moreover, though, as we shall soon see, the issues between traders and missionaries were fundamental, the quarrels over them had to be severely limited. The news that an invasion was coming from Epe united them all. It was at the height of the mission's quarrel in 1854 when an

reference 3 continued:-

Irving Jan 5th 1855, Jan 10th 1855 on his efforts to break the Trust System in Lagos. (CMS CA2/04). Crowther to Venn Sept 30th 1856, Nov 3rd 1856 reporting generally on the situation and the virtual revolt of the traders. A naval officer sent to inquire censured the traders. (CMS CA2/031).

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1. Campbell to Golliver September 2nd 1854, Golliver to Campbell Sept 15th 1854. (CMS CA2/04)
 2. Crowther to Venn May 7th 1855 (CMS CA2/030). Irving 1855 APRIL 1855.

invasion from Kosoko was expected that the Consul offered "to store a sufficient supply of gunpowder in one of the safe stores in....the Church Missionary enclosure, as the only place in Lagos capable of making a defensive stand". And Gollmer accepted on the grounds that

"We are entirely defenceless having neither guns nor powder, nor people to use them and therefore cannot object to any arrangements you deem necessary".¹

Even more minor affairs had a similar effect. When Dr. Irving a few months' later before the quarrel subsided, was on his death bed, he asked for some port wine. None of the merchants had ^{it} in stock. Campbell, on hearing of this, sent him a bottle along with some arrowroot. At first, Irving was for refusing it, but Crowther pressed him saying that the dispute with the Consul "was not a personal grudge but of a public nature in the cause of justice". Irving, a sailor to the last, took the port murmuring: "That was very kind; we cannot enjoy a hearty quarrel in this country being so dependent upon one another"². The missionaries were most conscious of this interdependence. That was why in spite of

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1. Campbell to Gollmer September 2nd 1854, Gollmer to Campbell Sept 2nd 1854. (CMS CA2/04).
 2. Crowther to Venn May 8th 1855 (CMS CA2/031). Irving died April 29th.

recognised differences of objectives, they continued to seek the co-operation of traders and Consuls for the task of social reform in the States. This reached its limit in Calabar.

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".

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.

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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 (PF1849 XI).

Hope Maddell 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,"¹ 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"². 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

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1. Anderson: Journal extracts in Missionary Record 1850 pp 105-110, entry for Wednesday February 6th, 1850.
 2. Ibid Thursday Feb 7th.

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 Egbo Law was passed within a month. On Friday, 15th 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 Civilisation in Calabar³ (herein after referred to as SAISC). Waddell was carrying to its logical conclusion his argument before the Hutt Committee, namely that once Britain's right to enforce prohibition of the external slave trade was accepted and extended to the

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1. Ibid. Friday Feb 8th.
 2. Waddell: Journals, op.cit vol VII p.157. Entry for 15th Feb. 1850. There was thanksgiving in many Scottish Churches on the second Sunday in July. (Somerville to Waddell, Letter Book vol 1 p.572 in Nat Lib of Scotland).
 3. Waddell: Journals vol VII entry for 19th Feb.1850.

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 at Fernando Po came to Calabar 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.¹ 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 and of twin murder and trial by ordeal, but also of such things as the right of the mission house as 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 African society

1. Waddell: Journals vol VIII p.94-5 entry for 19th November 1850. Mr. George Horsfall, 'junior member of the Liverpool trading family', joined SAISC on 28th March 1851

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

Hope Waddell relates that soon after he got to Calabar, he approached a much respected supercargo who alone on the river had a reputation for treating his crew and workmen like human beings and suggested the idea of holding services on his hulk every Sunday. "With unusual candour," the gentleman 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"¹. The reputation of the palm oil ruffians was not unknown to the missionaries. "Most of the coast traders were among the abandoned desperadoes of their race", says Professor Dike; "they were rude, uneducated men who prided themselves upon coming in at the hawse-hole, and going out at the cabin windows"². A good deal has been 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. But it was possible to assume that the

1. Waddell: Journals vol I entry for Sunday 21st June 1846.

2. K.O. Dike: Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta (p.60). where the Trust system has been fully studied. What is here attempted is an examination of the attitude of the missionaries to the system and of the effects of their policies on it.

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 did not understand. It was possible even to pretend that, Europe being the 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 'mode' in which he had to pursue it.

The philanthropists had attacked the Trust system from the start. They realised that the expansion of European commerce in Africa did not necessarily mean widespread economic development and social reform for the African. The promotion of 'legitimate commerce' would be a civilising 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 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 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 realise 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 1850's, Venn embarked on an important venture to see that the production of cotton in Abeokuta was increased without the trust system but 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", to cooperate with him. Clegg agreed to provide a few saw gins and cotton presses, train some African youths how to use them and prepare cotton for the

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

European market. However, he was to pay for cotton only when he had received them, 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."¹ 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, also 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.² 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

1. Ibid, Nov.15th.

2. List of Exporters of cotton at Abeokuta in 1856 in Samuel Crowther (junior's) papers. (CMS CA20/32).

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 (jnr) who was also medical officer to the mission, were appointed managers and therefore assured of some income. Venn however insisted that the Industrial Institution,

"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".¹

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,

1. Venn to Samuel Crowther (jnr) and Henry Robbin. October 21st 1856 (CMS CA2/L2).

"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 consideration 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

1. Venn to Robbin 22nd January 1857 (CMS CA2/L2).

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.¹ 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 canoe men 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

1. Venn to Crowther Mar 31st 1857, to Townsend 31st Mar. 1857. In a letter to Hinderer 21st Dec. 1859, Venn talked of "Mr. Clegg's imprudent ventures". (CMS CA2/L2).

incursion of the European into African society. The large capital in the trade made it a highly organised 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 ~~xx~~pay off past debts with the usual expenditure but no income for that period.

The Trust system partook of all the villany 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

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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. (enclosure 3 and 4 in Beecroft's dispatch to Lord Palmerston Feb 24th 1851. State Papers vol 41 p.268f).

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 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 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. The missionaries at Calabar fought a notable battle ~~with~~ ^{against} their allies in SAISC to see that the emigrants enjoyed freedom of trade. ¹ These efforts mitigated but could not half the trend of development. Many of the emigrants who went hopefully to Calabar were obliged to return to the freer atmosphere of Sierra Leone. ² In 1856, after taking legal advice, the Foreign Office told the Consul that the emigrants were not in fact British subjects:

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1. The struggle for freedom of trade in Calabar is fully described in Dike, op.cit. pp.119-126.
 2. One of ^{them} the Presbyterian mission missed most was Peter Nicholl the seizure of whose oil by supercargoes was a major cause in the dispute. He was Efik, liberated in Sierra Leone 1830, enlisted in West India 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 (UP Missionary Record 1858 p.181, 1881 p.208).

"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 shall 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..."¹

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. But even when the Consul wished to exert himself on their behalf, he discovered that though the treaties provided a legal justification for bombarding the African states who ill-treated a European, the Consul had no legal powers to punish Europeans who offended against the Africans.² The situation was such that many Africans even welcomed the conversion of the Consul in Lagos to a Governor by the cession of 1861, and of the one at Fernando Po virtually into a governor by the Order in Council of February 1872 which gave him judicial powers.³

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1. F.O. draft to Hutchinson 19th October, 1856 (FO 84/1001).
 2. cf F.O. draft to Hutchinson March 12th 1856 ("Neither H.M.G. nor H.M. Consul have any legal power to oblige the British supercargoes stationed in the Rivers to obey any particular code of Trading Regulations". (FO 84/1001).
 3. Dike op.cit. p.201-2.

Meanwhile, the missionaries consoled themselves 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 less of traders and Consuls to deal with, it must be concluded 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 traders 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 themselves to take the Gospel to the people in every town and village.

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3. On the of 19th century it of the

CHAPTER IVEUROPEAN MISSIONARIES AND AFRICAN STATES.

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 Livingstone to South Africa must have soon begun to wonder about the wisdom of his tramping north to the Zambesi.² In the highly emotional missionary meetings³

1. vide supra Chapter III pp.14-15.

2. Groves op.cit. vol ii pp. 172-3.

3. On the emotionalism of 19th century missionary meetings c.f. the remarks of the hard-headed lawyer James Stephen, Permanent Secretary of the Colonial Office 1836-47, himself an Evangelical, made in a letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review 5th January 1843: that they were "not a healthful region for the mind and perhaps not for the body... I shall not go again...I am not good enough".(cited in Dr.A. F. Madden's Influence of the Evangelicals op.cit. p.).

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 overwhelming 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

1. R. Oliver: The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London 1952) p.10. loc.cit.

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 to-day. 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 civilisation 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 anxiety to expand the Methodist Gold Coast Mission to Dahomey and Yoruba has already been noticed. He placed a European missionary for a year or two at Kumasi, African catechists more permanently at Whydah, Badagry 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.¹ To supervise them closely, Freeman had to keep constantly, energetically and tirelessly on tour. The question arises whether, with the material at his disposal, Freeman would not have done better to have concentrated 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 better roads, houses and furniture, and he prophesied "at no distant datethe general adoption of those useful European domestic habits and usages which are capable of judicious adaptation to a tropical climate".² 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

1. 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 some other mission field. The Gold Coast District Meeting led by Freeman in 1850 had to petition against this. (Meth).

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.¹ 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 paralysed, 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.² 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.³ He was replaced by more orthodox and less energetic men. His policy was not reversed, but the removal of his driving force left the initiative to the individual missionaries on the spot, and there was only one Methodist missionary of note in this period in Nigeria. He was Thomas Champness,

reference 2 continued:-

Freeman's "Report to His Excellency Major Hill on the Social Progress of the Natives of this part" December 31st 1853. (Meth). Secretaries Letter Book

1. Secretaries to Freeman 18th July 1844 (Meth). See also note 9 below.
2. Secretaries to Freeman 16th August 1857, conveying the decision of the Wesleyan Conference meeting at Liverpool. (Secretaries Letter Book. Meth).
3. Freeman was an extraordinary man, a pious visionary, yet immensely practical in his way. He was a trusted

/contd.

at Abeokuta from 1859-1863, who made an unsuccessful but not-worthy attempt to open up the Ijebu country to the Gospel.¹

The story in Calabar was the opposite of Freeman's. There the missionaries concentrated their energies mainly on Duke Town and Creek Town. In 1846, Hope Waddell had

reference 3 continued:-

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 naive. 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 his meeting that the Management Committee (in England) have 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 24th 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.

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 / contd.

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.¹ 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:² Umon, he said, was 70 to 80 miles away; the people spoke a different language from the Efik of Calabar; and, further, that 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

reference 1 continued:-

his wife in 1862 he retired from the mission. In the 1890's he formed the Joyful News band of missionaries who, directly under his supervision but working in cooperation 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.

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1. vide supra Chapter III pp.12-13.
 2. dated Edinburgh 17th March 1849. (Waddell: Journals, vol VII p.34).

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".¹

Hope Waddell was, therefore, asked to expand his activities to Old Town, but before moving further into the interior, he had to answer the invitation from Bonny. He went there in December, 1849 with a letter to King Pepple declaring that "the possession of knowledge will make the black man equal to the white man.... We shall be most happy to send you missionaries and teachers as soon as it is in our power to do so, as we want the people of Bonny to know the word of God which will make them wise, powerful and happy".² The missionaries did not want payment, not even in the school. All they asked for was a site and that the people should give up human sacrifice and destroy "Jezu House". The gentlemen who were anxious to have the school responded agreeably, but King Pepple warned Waddell that "no man in Bonny could agree to (destroying Jezu House. That) if anyone told me so they were deceiving me and were liars.... But he said that the young boys

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1. Somerville to Anderson 26th October 1848. (U.P. Letter Book vol 1 p.416).
 2. Mission Board to King Pepple 4th June 1849 (-do - vol 1 p.306).

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,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 standard 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

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1. Waddell: Journal entries for Saturday 22nd December - Thursday 27th December 1849. Journals: vol VII p.104ff.
 2. ibid Monday 28th January to Wednesday 13th February 1850. Journals vol VII p 139ff. Miss Miller is better known under her later name of Mrs Sutherland.
 3. Waddell: Journals vol X pp 37-43; XI p.11.

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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. Before then, Waddell had been exploring up the Cross River without informing King Eyo and without hindrance. Then in February 1851 when King Eyo was not in town, Waddell took Young Eyo and a European supercargo, Capt Lewis, far into the oil markets. King Eyo then ruled that in future missionaries wishing to travel must get permission, must never take traders with them, and if going beyond a day's journey, must be accompanied by an official guide.¹ These conditions did not stop missionaries opening stations in the interior.

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1. Waddell objected to these conditions, arguing that in Europe people travelled wherever they pleased, being obliged to inform no one except their father. "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 Egbo 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.128-130). 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
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In 1855 they took up Ikonetu and in 1858 Adiabo and Ikorofiong. There, however, the expansion stopped.

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 Calabar to be given up, advised Anderson that

reference 1 continued:-

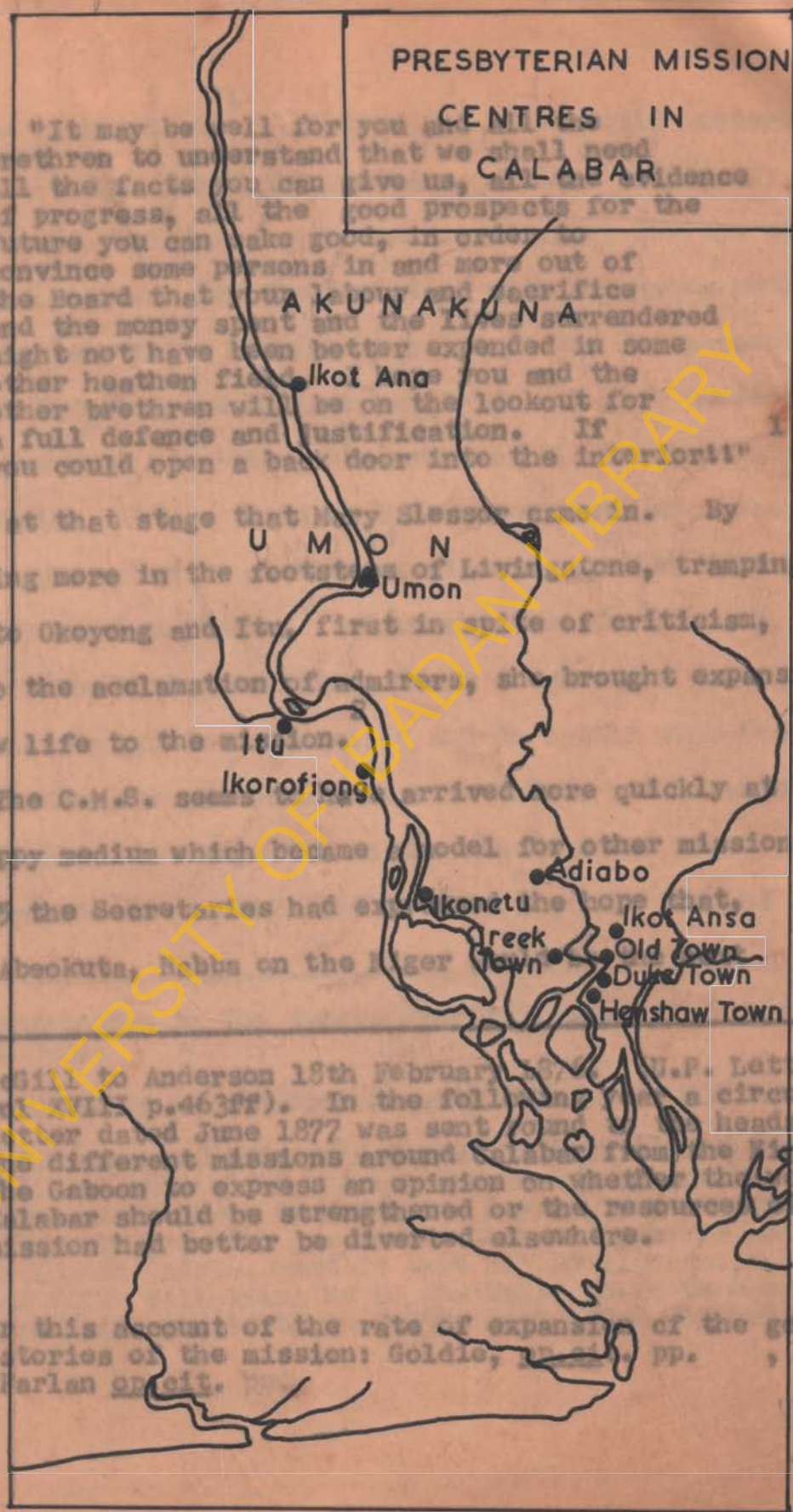
all the missionaries, both his colleagues on the spot and the Foreign Mission Board censured him severely. (Somerville to Thompson 21st June 1861; and the Resolutions adopted by the Standing Sub-Committee 20th June 1861. both in U.P. Letter Book vol VI p.463ff).

PRESBYTERIAN MISSION CENTRES IN CALABAR

"It may be well for you and all our brethren to understand that we shall need all the facts you can give us, and all the evidence of progress, and 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. 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!"

It was at that stage that Mary Slessor arrived. By following more in the footsteps of Livingstone, tramping north to Okoyong and Itu first in spite of criticism, then to the acclamation of admirers, she brought expansion and new life to the mission.

The C.M.S. seeds arrived more quickly at the happy medium which became a model for other missions. In 1845 the Secretaries had expanded the mission after Abeokuta, Ibadan on the Niger



1. McGill to Anderson 18th February 1877 (U.P. Letter Book vol. VII p.463ff). In the following is a circular letter dated June 1877 was sent 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 the resources of the mission had better be diverted elsewhere.

2. For this account of the rate of expansion of the general histories of the mission: Goldie, pp. , McFarlan etc.

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"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

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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

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1. McGill to Anderson 18th February 1876. (U.P. Letter Book vol. XVIII p.463ff). 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 the resources of the mission had better be diverted elsewhere.
 2. For this account of the rate of expansion of the general histories of the mission: Goldie, op.cit. pp. ,
McFarlan op.cit. pp. 700.

place to be aimed at.¹ In January, 1849, David Hinderer, a new recruit from the Basel Seminary, arrived in Badagry, 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".² But when Townsend and Gollmer had to go and 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.³ 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

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1. Secretaries to the Yoruba Mission October 25th 1845 (CMS CA2/L1).
 2. Secretaries to Hinderer January 11th 1849 (CMS CA2/L1).
 3. Conclusion to Hinderer's Journal Extracts for 13th Sept - 16th Oct 1850: "And now for our chains again: Two good links are already towards it - Badagry 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".(CMS CA2/049).

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.¹ 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, Townsend² toured incessantly, 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 African 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 to open a station was

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1. Townsend to Venn, May 1st 1850; also conclusion to his Journal Extracts for the term ending June 1851 (CMS CA2/085). Also see below pp 24-26.
 2. 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
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given.

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 school-

reference 2 continued:-

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, Badagry, Ilaro, Ade and Ota; 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. (CMS CA2/085).

1. There is no general history of the Yoruba Mission, but the accounts in Stocks, op.cit vol ii pp. and Groves op.cit. pp.50-64, are good. See also Church Missionary Atlas (CMS.1873).

master 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 as a mission centre, but a missionary rest-house where passing agents of civilisation 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 Niger mission depended almost entirely on the development of trade on the Niger against the opposition of the Delta States and the Liverpool traders on the coast. In November 1859, Laird's ship, the Rainbow was attacked in the Delta. Just over a year later, Laird himself died and his mercantile establishments were wound up, leaving to the C.M.S. the initiative to see the trade of the Niger developed.

This placed the Niger Mission in a peculiar situation that will be discussed later. Meanwhile, Crowther's rate of expansion did not diminish. In 1861, he occupied Akasa 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 Idda. 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 skillful 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,..."¹

others more experienced would later supply.

Thomas J. Bowen, the American Baptist Missionary, arrived in Badagry in August, 1850, having read 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), Houssa, etc."² However, his penetration into the interior

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1. Crowther: "A charge delivered at Lokoja at the Confluence on the 13th September 1869". (CMS CA3/01).
 2. Bowen to Taylor (Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention) dated Quincy, Florida, December 28th 1848. (Bowen Letters); also Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa op.cit. p.26. Bowen /contd.

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 at home 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"¹. He saw visions of a chain of Christian cities to the Niger, to Lake Chad and Abyssinia, but

"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."²

reference 2 continued:-

mentions (p99) that he knew in America about Old Simeon's conversion; at Badagry, he asked Simeon to accompany him to Igbho.

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1. Bowen to Taylor, March 26th 1851. (Bowen Letters).
 2. Bowen to Taylor, September 7th 1851. (Bowen Letters).

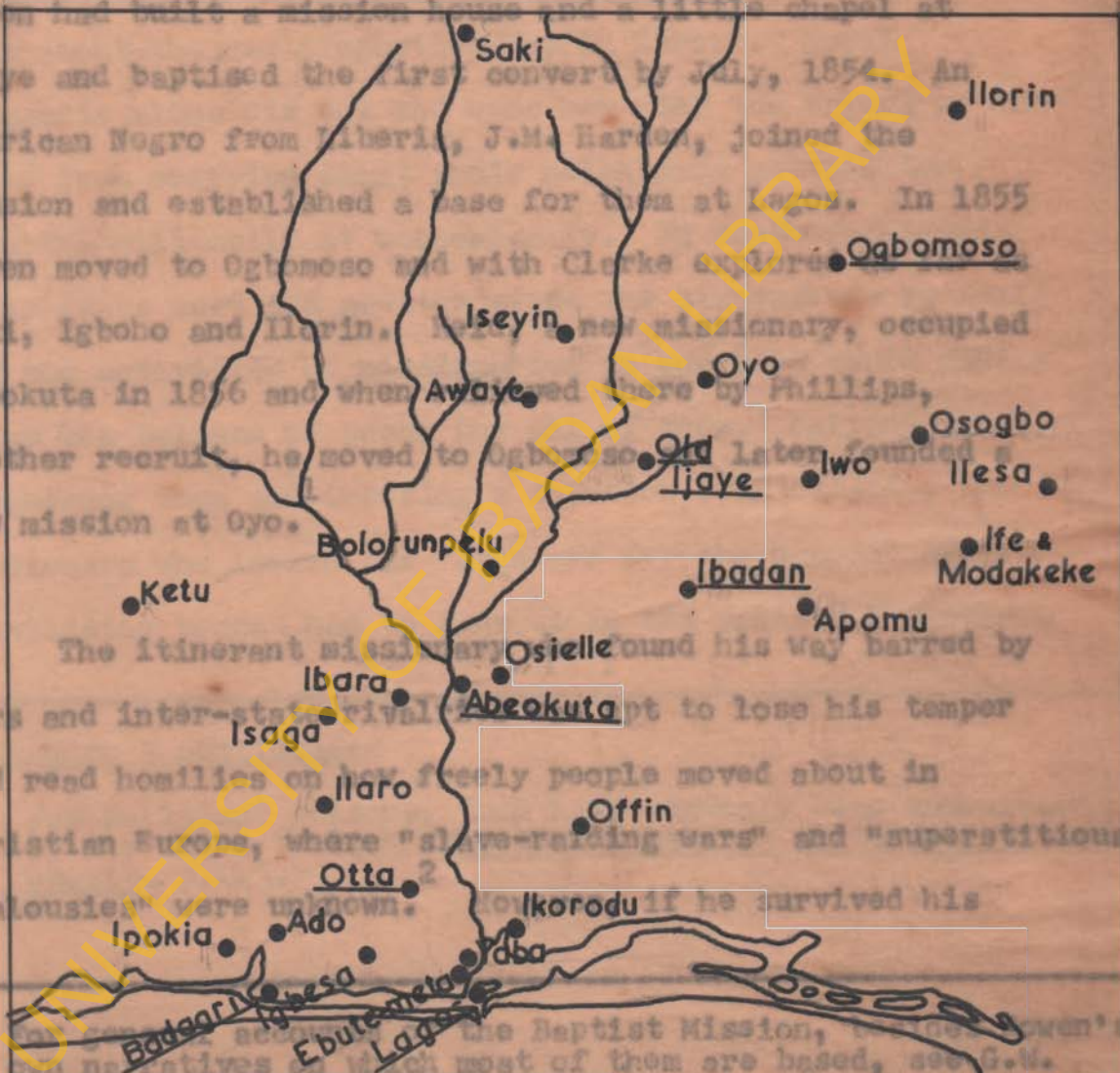
In other words, he was for balancing time with concentration. Failing to get to Igboho, he decided to establish a station at Ketu. When he finally reached there in 1851, it was obvious that there was a large party opposed to the king's decision to accept a European missionary and Bowen had to return to Abeokuta. From there he tried to get to Iseyin. Atiba, the Alafin of Oyo, had heard of his movements in Yoruba, and sent to ask Bowen if he did not realise he ought to come to pay respects to him. Bowen had been avoiding getting involved in the dispute still outstanding between the Alafin, and the rulers of Ibadan and Ijaye. But the Are at Ijaye knew better how to enforce his will. He not only invited Bowen to come to see him, he barred his way and then sent his heir to bring him to Ijaye.¹ 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, with 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,

1. Bowen: Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa, p.162ff.

arrived to join Bowen and his wife at Ijaye. Together they established the Baptist mission at Ijaye and Ogbomoso.

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The itinerant missionary found his way barred by wars and inter-state rivalry. He was apt to lose his temper and read homilies on how freely people moved about in Christian Europe, where "slave-raiding wars" and "superstitious jealousies" were unknown.



**MISSIONARY EXPANSION
IN YORUBA 1853-60**

showing out-stations
and the main centres (underlined).

1. Bowen's account of the Baptist Mission, Bowen's... natives of which most of them are based, see G.W. ... (and 1880).
2. If note 17 on the map of Weddell at Calabar in 1851, p 27 ... rulers of Abeokuta that the spread of the Gospel "would overturn all their systems of life" Bowen was particularly nettled by the failure of his attempts to penetrate the country in 1851-3, but if he lost his temper, he did not record it. "These wars", he said in his book in 1852, "except those of abominable Dahomey, were not generally

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The itinerant missionary who found his way barred by wars and inter-state rivalries was apt to lose his temper and read homilies on how freely people moved about in Christian Europe, where "slave-raiding wars" and "superstitious jealousies" were unknown.² However, if he survived his

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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. of note 17 on the anger of Waddell at Calabar in 1851, p 27 for Townsend on the fear of the rulers of Abeokuta that the spread of the Gospel "would overturn all their system of lies" Bowen was particularly nettled by the failure of his attempts to penetrate the country in 1851-3, but if he lost his temper, he did not record it. "These wars", he said in his book in 1857, "except those of abominable Dahomey, were not generally commenced for the sake of capturing slaves, but once begun /contd.

preliminary chagrin and got to know the people better, he might discover that among them, in the incidence of war and inter-state rivalries, politics and morals were mixed in just about the same proportions as in Europe. Moral arguments alone did not end wars nor stop the rulers of one state from worrying about their neighbours getting too powerful militarily or economically. In Southern Nigeria their fears were the greater since the states were so small and the activities of missionaries in one part could easily alter the balance of power for all of them. Falling short of conquering them and imposing a solution from outside, the missionary who looked for "highways for the Gospel" and for "civilising trade" had to face up to the political problems

reference 2 continued:-

for political reasons, they have commonly been nourished by the slave trade." (Missionary Labours in Central Africa, pp. cit. p. 113.

of the country. He had either to adjust his plans to suit the situation established by the people themselves or himself lend a hand at diplomacy and inter-state rivalry to make the situation suit his plans if he could. The missionaries were unwilling to do the first, and there were great difficulties and even dangers in attempting to do the second.

Of all the missionaries of this period, none had the political sense of Henry Townsend. If he had not been a missionary, he should, with some opportunity, have made a successful politician. As a missionary, he thought instinctively of the political pre-requisites for his plans as well as the likely political effects of his actions. 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 subject to mistakes and miscalculations. He first visited Abeokuta within twelve years of its foundation. He arrived to settle there ^{two} and a half years ^{and} later, [^] was to be a regular resident there 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, fostering its influence and using that to get Christianity established in the land.¹ If the influence of Abeokuta could be 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 Badagry and Akitoye at Lagos, the "Abeokutan" port, completed the first part of this programme.

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 60 miles away, until British trade there had grown sufficiently to justify the extra

1. vide supra Chapter III pp. 31-34.

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 civilisation. He was to be a secular missionary relieving the clerical ones of the secular duties which Gollmer at Badagry 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 Badagry. He consoled himself that it was in a crisis and "inter arma leges silent", but he would not repeat it in 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 Capt. Foote to Abeokuta in 1852 to continue the work of Capt. Forbes on the defences of the town against Dahomey.² The Government itself could not

1. Venn to Gollmer March 23rd 1853. (CMS CA2/L1).

2. Samuel Crowther, jnr, to Venn Dec. 28th 1852. (CMS CA2/032).

have picked on a more 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....(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

1. Venn to Irving March 29th 1853 (CMS CA2/L1). Irving was to secure the assistance "of a young-educated Native... to be himself thereby trained for some post of agency in connexion with the objects before us." In February 1855, Samuel Crowther jnr who had a medical training in London was appointed Irving's "Secretary and Assistant". (Venn to Local Committee of the Yoruba Mission, Feb 23rd 1855.(CMS CA2/L1).

success Her Majesty's Government take a lively interest".¹
 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 dyewood and raisins,
 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".²

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

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1. Clarendon to Lord Chichester, President of the C.M.S.,
 F.O. June 11th 1853. (CMS CA2/L1).
 2. Final instructions to Dr Irving, Dec 23rd 1853. (CMS CA2/L1)
 of 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 June 30th
 1850, vol VIII p.36).

the traders and the British Consul whom the missionaries attracted to Lagos did not regard Lagos as a port of 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 Abeokutans 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 Egbah element, until Lagos becomes the Abeokutan 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 Badagry, and they were being received back to favour.

Another miscalculation of Townsend concerned the power of Abeokuta in relation to the other states in Yoruba. Would Abeokuta be strong enough to carry missionary influence to the rest of the country? Of course, the missionaries could only begin to answer that question when they knew more about the interior. What gave Townsend his first

1. Irving to Venn January 20th 1854. (CMS CA2/052).

doubts was the absence of a strong government at Abeokuta. When he presented his policy paper in England in 1849, he hoped that the Egba would soon resolve the internal political crisis and choose a powerful Alake - Ogunbonna, the best friend of the mission perhaps, or Sonoye, the brother of the late-lamented Sodeke - in place of the "timid, dilatory" Sagbua, who was acting as regent¹ - a powerful Alake to rule an expanding, progressing Egba state. Townsend returned in 1850 to find no such move being made. In a letter already quoted, he complained bitterly to Captain Trotter that "the government of this place is very weak"². The pro-missionary policy of the Government did not prevent the persecution which occurred in some parts of the town in

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1. Townsend: Journal for the quarter ending June 1851 (CMS CA2/085). Townsend had several entries criticising Sagbua, particularly for his inability to protect Sierra Leone Emigrants adequately; that he was weak, ignorant, inefficient, and timid, slept while listening to suits, or interrupted important discussions by having his wives coming to consult him on how much to pay for a mat; that since the death of the pro-missionary Lijigere, who was Townsend's host on his arrival, and though a polygamist, the husband of the first convert. Sagbua had been short of good advice and had become worse than ever before. He was crowned Alake on July 30th 1854, died 1862.
 2. vide supra Chapter I p.23.

1849 and 1850. He began to urge the opening of new mission stations at Ife, Ijaye, Ibadan, Oyo, Ketu and other places, as soon as the wars in the interior allowed it, because, as he said, among other things:

"I am greatly afraid of a combination between the various strong chiefs around against Abeokuta. When the reality of the destruction of the slave trade is felt in the minds of many, retribution will fall upon this place for the destruction of Lagos and too many would glory in bringing such an event about".¹

When Dahomey invaded the town, and the Egba did not react by choosing an effective Alake, and Somoye, who had distinguished himself in the fight was only made Basorun (commander-in-chief), Townsend added the moral that since a second attempt might succeed it was not safe to put all the missionary eggs in one basket.²

These were only hints that Townsend considered the formulation of a new policy necessary, not plain statements that he had provided an alternative policy or that an alternative policy was easy to come by. In any case, the hints went by unnoticed in C.M.S. House, and the "Abeokutan" policy remained till the days of Glover the only declared

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1. Townsend to Venn May 1st 1850 (CMS CA2/085).
 2. Conclusion to Townsend's Journal for the quarter ending June 1851, (CMS CA2/085).

objective of the C.M.S., the yardstick by which the action of traders and Consuls and Governors could be judged. It became something of a dogma because in fact till much later on in the century, it was the only carefully worked out policy the missionaries had. They had taken care to establish themselves on the coast, by force when necessary. They knew also that if navigation on the Niger was to be opened to Europeans, the opposition of the Delta rulers would have to be overcome by force. But they had no adequate policy of dealing with areas where naval force could not reach, or even for the day to day running of affairs on the coast which naval force by itself could not regulate. It is therefore not surprising that they hung on to the Abeokuta policy which Townsend himself had shown as inadequate. The C.M.S. made it the basis of their work in Yoruba. In 1851, Bowen adopted the same policy,¹ though in fact it was Ijaye he later made his headquarters. Similarly, when the Roman Catholics

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1. of Bowen to Taylor Sept 7th 1851: "My present hope is in Abeokuta which is evidently arousing and looking up from its deep contemptible heathen ignorance and slavery... Here then there ought to be an accumulation of the good influences... An accumulation of Gospel influence must open their eyes to see what they need and then they will begin to invent and to act and others will begin to follow that town which takes the lead." (Bowen Letters).

reached Dahomey in 1861 and were thinking of extending their work into Yoruba, it was Abeokuta they saw as the gateway to the Niger and the North.¹

One result of this was that the missionaries tended to exaggerate their influence at Abeokuta and to take too little account of what happened elsewhere. When in 1853 Townsend and Crowther helped to negotiate the terms of peace to bring to an end the 12 year old siege which the Egba had maintained against Ado, it was widely publicised in missionary circles in England as an example of the great influence that their agents wielded at Abeokuta. But in fact some of the missionaries themselves noted that the Egba were already thoroughly sick of the war against Ado, which with the opening of the land and water route to Lagos, had become less important to them than before. It was therefore the Egba who took the initiative in inviting the missionaries to intervene so as to make the raising of the siege seem less of a retreat than it actually was.² The missionaries

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1. "La veritable poste du Sahara du cote du Sud" and the place "qui puisse devenir le centre de nos etablissements". (Journal of Father Broghero May 1864, p.389. S.M.A. archives, Rome.).
 2. See Townsend's account of the Peace Mission in the letter to Venn dated 23/8/1853 on which the publication in the Missionary Intelligencer was based. But Townsend himself showed that the Bashorun had decided previously to give up the siege but had asked Townsend to see if the missionaries could suggest to the king of Porto Novo, Ado's ally also involved in the negotiations, to pay a sum of money to

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continued to emphasise their influence at Abeokuta as if their successes elsewhere in the Yoruba country depended on this when in fact it depended on the outcome of the peace negotiations then going on in the country. Both Ibadan and Ijaye received missionaries in 1853, but there was no rush either for baptism or for education in the schools. The missionaries were not allowed to expand further, not even to Oyo. However, when at a meeting at Ibadan in November 1855, representatives of the Alafin of Oyo, the Are of Ijaye, and the Bale of Ibadan, as well as envoys from Saki, Kisi, Ogbomoso, Ede, Iwo, and other Yoruba towns resolved after

reference 2 continued:-

induce the Egba to leave. Further, that the Bashorun was in so much hurry to leave the camp that he left the Peacemakers behind though he insisted that they should catch up with him and enter Abeokuta "ahead of the Bashorun and the Egba army, to point out that they did not return beaten or disgraced, but brought by the missionaries whom they did not wish to resist". (CMS CA2/085). Townsend's eulogy on his Interpreter, Andrew Wilhem, in Townsend's Annual Letter for 1851 dated 1st March 1862, as well as T.B. Macaulay's account of the peace mission in CMS CA2/065 further minimised the initiative of the missionaries in the affair.

three days of negotiation to keep the peace,¹ the way was open for missionary expansion. Missionaries were welcomed at Oyo, mission stations were established up the right bank of the Ogun to Aways, Iseyin, and Saki, east of it to Ogbomoso. Ilorin was visited several times. There was expansion also from Ibadan to Apomu, Ife, Ilesha, Oshogbo and Iwo. The missionaries therefore hailed the result of the Ibadan Peace conference as peace when in fact it was a truce. The outbreak of war between Ibadan and Ijaye in 1860 found them unprepared. The war showed the inadequacy of the Abeokutan policy. The missionary at Ibadan began to put forward the case for an Ibadan policy. Townsend fell back on a theme he had been developing that the missionaries achieved such successes not only because of the wisdom of the Abeokuta policy but also because they were Europeans.² These will be further discussed later.

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1. On peace negotiations in Yoruba, see especially Townsend to Venn July 29th 1852 reporting the death of the Oni of Ife; on the views of the Are of Ijaye, Townsend: Journal entry for August 30th 1852 (both in CMS CA2/085). On the views at Ibadan after the Ikoro War of 1855, see Hinderer to Venn October 26th 1855, and on the Peace conference, Mr. Barber, catechist at Ibadan, to Hinderer who was away in Lagos, November 25th 1855 encl in Hinderer to Venn December 4th 1855 (CMS CA2/049.)
 2. Chapter VI.

The failure of the European missionaries to face up adequately to the political problems of the country was partly the result of the inherent distrust that many Evangelicals had for government as if it were no more than an evil to be tolerated, a distrust shared by the Liberal Party in England. The failure arose also partly from the assumption that as soon as missionaries established themselves in the country, the pagan way of life was doomed, the rulers would embrace Christianity and behave just the way missionaries hoped they would. This too 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,

"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 (i.e., their social and political organizations), 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

1. Townsend to Venn November 14th 1850 marked 'Private'.
(CMS CA2/085).

before - that the conversion of the rulers was not going to be easy. They sent some of their children to school, and they put no 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".¹ 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, for in this lies the answer to the other question of why they were apparently so indifferent to the political aspects of their work.

Nowhere did the prospects of converting the local rulers appear brighter than in Calabar and no missionary

1. William Jamieson, missionary in Calabar 1847-8, cit in Goldie, Calabar and its Mission op.cit. p.111.

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. 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 story¹⁵ 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 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 kings. That was

1. Commander Raymond to Foote 11th Dec. 1842 encl. in Foote to Herbert, 12th Dec. 1842 FO 84/495.

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, Egbo 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

1. Waddell: Journal entry for 14th January 1856, recalling the incident. (Journals vol VII pp 133-4.).

did admirably. "He spoke loud and free and with increased energy", interpreting and sometimes answering Waddell's rhetorical questions.¹ 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".²

"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".³

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1. Waddell: Journal entry for 31st March 1850 (Journals vol VII p.7-8.
 2. 2nd Sept. 1859 (Journals vol VII p.46).
 3. 5th Jan 1850 (Journals vol VII p.128-9.

1. Waddell: Journal entry for 3rd October 1850 (Journals vol VIII p.72).

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 new.¹

Differences of outlook began to emerge between king and missionary. Waddell expounded the virtues of monogamy, the evils of trial by ordeal, 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

1. Waddell: Journal entry for 3rd October 1850 (Journals vol VIII p.72).

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 Egbo Council passed laws against human sacrifice and twin murder, restricted the use of trial by ordeal to only public trials, 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."¹

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 Eyo. He felt that though the king was intellectually convinced of the truth of much that the

1. Waddell: Journal entry for 1st Jan 1851 (Journals vol VIII p.105).

mission taught and did not hesitate to sweep away his Ekpeyong (images), his heart was unchanged; and, without that, 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 symbolised 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, fleshly life", suffering from "a miserable corruption of heart",² and by 1855 he had become "the lecherous old hypocrite".³

The teachings 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

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1. Waddell: Journal entry for June 30th 1850 (Journals vol VII p.36)
 2. November 1854 (.. vol X p.89)
 3. 18th July 1855 (.. vol X p.18)
 4. A useful historical account of the attitude of the Christian Church to polygamy will be found in 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).

emphasis the missionaries placed on it in the middle of the 19th 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-holders. 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.¹ 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

1. See Resolution of the Old Calabar Committee Dec 6th 1853, and Anderson to Somerville, March 6th 1854, (both in UP 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 - each of 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 recognise manumission. That even the slaves redeemed and kept in the Mission 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

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1. Waddell to Somerville 22nd January 1855, copy in Waddell: Journals vol X pp.113-115.
 2. "The nature of Calabar Slavery, the laws relating to it and the conduct of the missionaries" in UP Missionary Record 1855 pp.17-26.
 3. Waddell to Somerville. 22nd January, op.cit.

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

"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 baptised if they signed the pledge. They argued that this decision was consistent with breaking off communion with slave-holders 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, but that in Calabar it was necessary to tolerate slavery temporarily so that the Christian Church could be established

1. Waddell to James Simpson, draft dated April 1855 in Waddell: Journals vol X pp 158-161.

and when Christians became the majority and could influence laws, slavery could then be abolished.¹

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.² 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 to domestic slavery. Townsend sent anxiously to Crowther. Crowther despatched to C.M.S. House arguments like those of the Calabar missionaries:

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1. Resolution of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in 1849.
 2. Freeman to Secretaries, 25th June/ 1843 (Meth).

"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".¹

Bishop Weeks also thought that in baptising 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.

"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 will 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".²

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1. Crowther to Venn March 4th 1857. See also Crowther's earlier letter of 2nd January 1857 (CMS CA2/031).
 2. Crowther to Venn January 3rd 1857 (CMS CA2/031).

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. ¹

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1. 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 S.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" op.cit. Crowther's reply to Venn 6/4/'57 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. (CMS CA2/031).

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'" ; therefore 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.

"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 slaveholder 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 baptise 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".

1. Secretaries to missionaries in Yoruba, 17th February 1857 (CMS CA2/L2).

One must go beyond these theological arguments to realise 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. For both 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, but 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 the 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 the 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, but his total rejection of life in the family compound symbolised by his adoption of monogamy.

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1. Nationalism has preserved some folk culture in Scotland and Wales, and interest in anthropology has produced a 20th 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 at home, there was also the fact of denominational competition - from which, by the way, Islam was free. In many ways it was the source of strength and impetus to missionary work; but where as in Badagry, 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

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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, from where most of the earliest missionaries in Nigeria came.)

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

"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 (i.e. traditional naming ceremony) 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 Egbo, bolstered up by the strong arm of the Consul, began to advise his converts not to join Egbo. 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 Egbo parade called Egbo Bunko:

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1. Hinderer to Crowther Nov 1868, cit in Minutes of Local Committee 25th Feb. 1868 (CMS CA2/011) Komo jade (now called Ikomo) the Yoruba naming ceremony when 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 October 30th 1862 (CMS CA2/045).

"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 recognise a brother in the Lord in such a fellow But I did not know enough even of Bunke 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 owned¹ that he still had an inclination that way".

Young Eyo did not go that day, but a week later he informed Waddell that "he had promised his father he would join (Egbo Bunke) 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"². The occasions on which Young Eyo acquiesced to the voice of missionary authority but went

1. Waddell, Journal entry for Monday 23rd October 1854. (Journals X p.85).

2. Waddell, Journal entry for Friday 3rd November 1854. (Journals X p.87). He added "Bunke is a town show and when I first came to the country the novelty of the scene amused myself". (1st November 1854, ibid).

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 the old society. This became obvious when he succeeded his father in 1858.¹

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 Egbo.² Several of them prepared papers on the Ogboni, its place in the constitution and life of Abeokuta, and its initiation ceremonies, including some African agents who were members. 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 recognised 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...."

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1. 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, op.cit. p.208.)
 2. For the place of the Ogboni in the Egba constitution, see Dr S.C. Biobaku's "Ogboni, the Egbo Senate" (in Proceedings of the C.I.A.O. Ibadan 1949 (International West African Conference) pp.257-264 Lagos 1956). "An Historical Sketch of Egba traditional authorities (Africa vol 22 pp.35-49,1952."

"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 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 Waddell'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.

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1. Minute of the Parent Committee on the Ogboni System, dated Nov. 23rd 1861 (CMS CA2/L3).
 2. Bowen to Taylor September 7th 1851 (Bowen Letters).

The symbolic structure of the Mission House, like the cells of civilisation 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 outstations, 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 civilisation 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 Badagry or the Presbyterians at Calabar on local architecture was negligible as the material was imported.¹ Gollmer at

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1. For Freeman's house, see Chapter II p22. African merchants in Calabar had of course been importing pre-fabricated houses from Liverpool before the missionaries arrived.

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.¹ But as the missionaries moved inland, their houses literally came down to earth and they built out of local material large, commodious houses which the people could imitate. 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.² Considering that by 1855 the C.M.S. had five mission stations in Abeokuta and the Methodists and Baptists

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1. For Gollmer's house, see Charles A. Gollmer: *His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa* by his eldest son. (Lond. 1886) pp. 70, 144.
 2. Townsend, Journal entry for September 25th 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". (CMS CA2/085).

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 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 1850's and the 1860's when brick-making was introduced that the masons from Brazil and 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. Both at 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. Churchill, followed the Baptist Mission to Ijaye in 1855, and established prosperous establishments as carpenters.

The greatest problem in building was the

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1. Fragment of Bowen's Journal for 1855 in Bowen Letters, op. cit; R.H. Stone: In Africa's Forest and Jungle (New York 1899) p.129.

roof.¹ 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 outbursts 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

1. References to problems of roofing are scattered, but cf Crowther to Venn March 6th 1855: "I have more than four times narrowly escaped being burnt 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 of an iron roof for a house was £100 in England, £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 July 27th 1806 CMS CA2/085).

hot for living houses, besides being heavy for transporting by head far into the interior and being more expensive than most missions could afford to spend. The missionaries tried as fantastic expedients 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.

The Mission House in the towns by no means stood alone. There were outhouses 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 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 Badagry and Gollmer, at Lagos, doing some town planning. The emigrants in Calabar settled on the Mission Hill at Duke Town. At Abeokuta (and the same was true of Ijaye, less so of Ibadan), 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 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 of Ibadan.²

The question then arises as to what was the relationship of these mission villages symbolised 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.

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1. Townsend, Annual Letter for 1865 dated February 1st 1866. (CMS CA2/085).
 2. See J.A. Maser: Map of Abeokuta October 1867 (CMS 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 Nov 25th 1861 vol XVI p.210). Mann, Journal entry June 13th 1856 "I had some men engaged in /contd.

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".¹

Owing largely to the disturbing effect on the Society of African Missions of the Franco-Prussian War, nothing was done about it for over a decade. Then in 1875 application was made through the chief Justice, James Marshall, a convert from Protestantism, to the Governor of the Gold Coast (who was also responsible for the administration of

references continued:-

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." (CM 3 CA2/066). Hinderer to Venn Jan 4th 1861 that in the Missionary Party there were about 70 people including 8 African families, boarders etc. (CMS CA2/049).

1. Father Broghero dated Whydah December 21st 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. Ariel in 1921 of Reports and historical notes on the principal stations of the S.M.A. in Nigeria, called Missions de la Nigeria 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'apres le P. Poirier". B. A collection called le Mission de Topo, of documents relating to the land dispute, fuller on in-coming letters than on out-going ones, /contd.

Lagos) for permission to acquire a piece of land nine miles long on the land between the lagoon and the ocean just east of Badagry. 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 charge of the Fathers,

reference 1 continued:-

Both these are in the S.M.A. archives in Rome. C. Articles in the Les Missions Catholiques cited elsewhere. I am also indebted to Father M.J. Walsh's "Catholic contribution to Education in Western Nigeria (1861-1926)" (Lond. M.A. thesis, 1953), whose chapter V "An early Agricultural Experiment" deals with Topo.

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1. Father Cloud to the Governor of Gold Coast 4th October 1875 cited in Notes by Father Pages on the history of Topo, op. cit.: "C'est la fondation d'un etablissement agricole pour favoriser le developpement de la culture si utile dans une colonie et si meconnue dans cette partie de l'Afrique".
 2. Chapter V.

"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 baptised 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."¹

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 three villages for refugees from the surrounding country, at varying distances from Topo itself, 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 also a sanatorium and a plantation, Topo 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 - such as the zeal and enterprise of the Fathers in promoting agriculture

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1. Father Bel to Father Planque in Les Missions Catholiques 21st 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.
 2. The Fathers tried a few things including diary farming, but soon realised that the fortune of Topo lay in coco-nut.

was admired. There were disputes over boundary, over the right to pick palm fruit which the Egun said was inalienable. Father Landais, a hard, zealous brutal man, 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."²

The controversy did not end with the government's dubious claim to be landlord, and it dragged on for over a decade.

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1. Father Freyburgher in "Rapport de Topo-Badagry", op.cit said Father Landais worked "au milieu de beaucoup de difficultes dues pour une bonne part a la raideur de son caractere. On peut cependant se demander si le Pere eut reussi dans son travail s'il avait eu un caractere plus conciliant".
 2. Governor Moloney's private secretary to Father Pellet 29th October 1888 cited in Notes sur les Missions de Topo op.cit.

Long before then, 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 realised 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 1880's and earlier on in the 1870's Egba Christians led by Okenla colonised the villages of Sunre, Ofada and Okenla, between Abeokuta and Ota.¹ But no attempt was made to claim political independence.

Protestant opinion was traditionally against the idea of a Christian village,² physically separate from and politically independent of the old community. With the

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1. Shuren, Ofada and Afojupa were farm villages where following the expulsion of missionaries from Abeokuta, many followers of John Okenla, Townsend's protege, 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 (CMS 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 6th January 1892 in Annals 1892 p.252f.
 2. The C.M.S. and Methodist missionaries were accused by the /contd.

Protéstant 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

reference 2 continued:-

Systematic Colonization Society and others of trying a similar thing in New Zealand. But both in South America and New Zealand it was the threat of European settlers that drove Indians and Maoris to make a total unconditional surrender into the far more sympathetic hands of the missionaries.

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1. Bowen to Taylor Apr. 11th 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."

1. Howells to Hugh Goldie, November 26th 1842 (P. Secretariat Letter Book vol. I p. 311.)

2. Maclellan, Journal entry for Tuesday December 4th 1842 (Kumbungu vol. VII p. 77).

3. Anderson's Journal entry for 24th Feb 1849 in P. Secretariat Letter Book vol. II p. 105.

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".¹

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 (i.e. the missionaries') rulers".² A few months later, Anderson, from the same mission, was writing to the same Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee: "Is it nothing to 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".³ In short, how far each

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1. Somerville to Hugh Goldie, November 20th 1848 (UP Secretaries Letter Book vol 1 p.211.)
 2. Waddell, Journal entry for Tuesday December 4th 1849 (Journals vol VII p.95).
 3. Anderson's Journal entry for 31st May 1849 in UP Missionary Record 1850 p.25.

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 constantly thought of themselves as courageous martyrs tramping around and breaking down the defences of the Devil and they 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. There was one exciting night in Badagry in 1844 when Annear rescued a slave and took him to the Mission House. The owner, a local ruler, wished to remove him by force. "As war was now proclaimed against us", wrote Annear 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 our 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."¹

1. Annear, Journal entry for November 1st 1844 (Meth).

Next morning, the expected attack did not come. Annear could no longer keep up the tension and by midday he decided that prudence compelled him to yield up the slave.

Few missionaries had the reckless ardour of Annear. There were a number of others, however, 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 muslim and pagan priests. He quarrelled with them all. The local ruler called him and told him to keep the peace. He then asked Mann to repair a harmonica for him. Mann said he would have to take it back to Ijaye, but the ruler, who did not want to trust his harmonica so far, took it back. Mann, by his own account, burst out in anger saying that: "In Europe we would be offended at this suspicion and begged not to take us for Alufas (i.e. muslim priests) or your equals who are able to do so".¹ Having caused offence to people in similar ways, he was apt to play his harmonica and ask his boys to sing at the tops of their voices when the Sango

1. Mann, Journal entry for September 22nd 1856 at Awaye. He received blows from Sango worshippers at Ijaye October 17th 1856 (Journal entry for that day and Mann to Major Straith Jan 23rd 1857). (CMS CA2/066). Also at Oke-Odan in October 1863. Since he was introduced to Ekeodan 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 16th November 1863 and enclosures in C.M.S. CA2/L3).

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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.

Edgerley, at Old Town, Calabar, was like Mann, but because of the presence of the Naval squadron, it was not Edgerley who suffered violence, but the people of Old Town who suffered bombardment. One morning in 1849, his boy, who was ringing the school bell, met an official of Egbo also ringing a bell. The official ordered the boy to give way to the higher authority of Egbo. Edgerley went in anger to the local Town Hall and broke the Egbo drum. The matter was reported to King Eyo who, together with Waddell, spoke to Edgerley at one of the king's dinner parties and he agreed to apologize. In 1854, the ruler of Old Town died. Edgerley reported that there was human sacrifice at his funeral. The S.A.I.S.C. prevailed upon Eyo to blow Egbo on the town - that is, to keep the people in mourning till the seven named culprits who had escaped to the farms were given up and the funeral obsequies of the ruler could then be carried out. It was during that time of tension

1. Waddell, Journal entry for Dec 4th 1849. (Journal, vol VII p.95).

in August, 1854, that Edgerley chose, "out of curiosity", profanely to enter into a sacred grove (of Anansa) and removed a "rude little image" among the personal effects of the deceased ruler that should lie in state there till the funeral. A boy saw him and went to report. An angry crowd confronted him and broke up his school. He went back and broke some eggs placed in the grove. Then a crowd "of about sixty infuriated fellows, brandishing sticks and cutlasses", invaded the Mission House and Edgerley had to seek the protection of Egbo. King Eyo called a meeting, which Waddell said was a trial, the first trial in Calabar of a missionary before a native authority. Edgerley was given the chance to speak first, but, according to Waddell, "he did so in a rambling, loose manner". When the Old Town people were stating their case, he several times interrupted them, calling them "obukbo owe or worthless people, and speaking in a high strain of himself in comparison with them, and of his benevolent, self-denying efforts for their good, with their ungrateful returns". Eyo rebuked the people for taking the law into their own hands and advised that they ought to treat better the missionary who had come from so far. The people agreed but insisted that they could never be at peace with Edgerley and they asked him to be changed. Waddell refused, saying it would be a bad precedent if the people

could dictate who should be their missionary; but he confided to his diary:

"The wrath of man worketh not the wrath of God. We must not confound our irritated feelings with zeal for God's glory and the salvation of souls. And even zeal for God may be without knowledge.... I fear his usefulness at Old Town is at an end".¹

But that was not the end of the story. In December, Edgerley reported that one of the seven accused of the human sacrifice was back in town. Eyo sent to apprehend him.² A month later, Acting Consul Lynslager came to Calabar on board H.M.S. Antelope (Capt. Young). He sent a circular round, asking if the Europeans had any complaints to make to him. Among the memoranda he received was one from Edgerley about the events of August last. Two days later, on Thursday, 16th January, Lynslager held a conference with the supercargoes and the kings and gentlemen of Creek Town and Duke Town. There, to the amazement of the missionaries, the supercargoes proposed that since the law forbidding human sacrifice had been broken at Old Town, the place should be destroyed unless the people produced the remaining six culprits within seven days. King Eyo protested, saying Egbo already had one of the accused and

1. Waddell, Journal entries for Saturday August 26th - Monday 28th 1854. (Journals vol X pp.62-67.)
2. Waddell, Journal entry for 6th January 1855 (Journals vol)

would by and by capture the rest. Waddell moved a motion, seconded by Edgerley, against the proposal, 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".¹ But the intention of the supercargoes was far from moral reformation. They were hardly on speaking terms with the missionaries, whom they accused of helping the African traders to ship oil directly to England. They saw in the complaints Edgerley had made an opportunity to terrorize the rulers of Creek Town and Duke Town - whose towns they could not destroy without injuring their own trade - by destroying Old Town, where they had no capital investment to lose. On 19th January, H.M.S. Antelope approached Old Town, and after firing about thirty rounds of ammunition into the town, landed marines who "burned every house in the town except the mission premises". Lynslager further ordered that the town must not be rebuilt. Then he sat down to write a despatch on how he had burnt the town on the invitation of the missionaries, and how he had received the support

1. Waddell, Journal entry for 16th - 19th January 1855 in UP Missionary Record 1855 pp 206-211.

of the British traders on the river who had assured him 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".¹

While the Foreign Mission Committee faced angry jibes in Parliament and in the Scottish Press, and was 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, Anderson took the cause of the independence of the Mission House in Calabar a step further. In November, 1855, two men and a woman were accused of having caused the death of a little boy by ifot (i.e. supernatural powers), and were therefore called upon to undergo trial by ordeal. Anderson got hold of the accused and gave them asylum in the Duke Town Mission House. 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, came to Calabar. He supported Anderson and agreed to regard the refugees as being under his protection.

1. Consul Lynslager to Journal of Proceedings at Old Calabar (Oct. 1855 FO 84/975).

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In April the father of the boy also died suddenly on his farm. The same people were accused of having caused his death and Anderson was again asked to produce them to take the ordeal in the market place in accordance with an Egbo law of 1852 passed on Consul Bescroft's representation that the ordeal should no longer be used in private. Anderson refused. He was summoned to an angry meeting which convinced him that Duke Ephraim and the gentlemen of Duke Town were in earnest. Anderson therefore called a meeting of the Society for the Abolition of Inhuman and Superstitious Customs in Calabar, and they sent to Hutchinson to bring a warship while Anderson waited anxiously, expecting an attack on the Mission House. But no violent hands were laid on him. Rather, Egbo was blown 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

1. Anderson, Journal entry for Sunday 1st June 1856 in UP Missionary Record 1856 pp 151-8.)

door, he was told nobody was in, or that he should please go away and not put them in trouble. For fourteen days all was quiet, on the Mission Hill. Then about noon on 13th April, H.M.S. Scourge came in with Commodore Adams and Consul Hutchinson. There was a conference the following day, when the missionaries insisted that the right of sanctuary was implied in the agreement under which the mission came to Calabar, and that the Egbo interdict was a violation of the agreement that their work would not be hindered. Duke Ephraim and Hogan Bassey spoke on behalf of Duke Town, saying that in Calabar if a man was accused of killing another man by preter-natural means, he had to be tried by the ordeal and the missionary had no right to interfere. The Consul and the commodore condemned Duke Town and ordered the chiefs to lift the ban. Duke Ephraim felt humiliated; he caused the interdict to be lifted, but he refused to take part in the trade negotiations that followed. On 17th April, he was expected at a final meeting on board the Scourge, where

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1. As recorded by Anderson in pidgin English: "When man kill man with Freemason, he must chop nut". (Journal entry for Saturday 14th June 1856 in UP Missionary Record 1856 p.155).

King Eyo, the supercargoes and missionaries were waiting, but he refused to come. The Commodore regarded it as an insult to Her Majesty. He

"got furious and ordered the marines aft, and ball cartridges distributed, guns also to be loaded and pointed at the quarter of the town where the Duke (Ephraim) lived".¹

King Eyo expressed consternation at the thought of the ship on which he was blowing up Duke Town. He sent his brother quickly to bring Duke Ephraim. A 32-pounder and a 68-pounder gun was fired to show Duke Ephraim what the Commodore could do. They succeeded in bringing Duke Ephraim with his head bowed, but not in endearing him to the principles of Christianity.

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

1. Waddell, Journal entry for Tuesday 17th June 1856 (Journals XI p. 136-143).

the missionaries had little interference to fear from Dosumu and had only consular authority and traders to contend with. At Abeokuta, Townsend laid 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 warchiefs 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, ¹ 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 shewn by the missionaries to the authority of the Native Chiefs and they enjoined a like conduct

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1. e.g. Crowther to Venn February 7th 1856 announced the arrival in Lagos of two young Ibadan female converts escaping from the anger of their husbands. (CMS CA2/031).

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 idolatory. 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 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. Some converts were strangers in the community.² Others were outcasts, various victims alike of chance and the prejudices of men. Some, on the other

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1. "Instructions of the Parent Committee to those about to join the Yoruba Mission, October 21st 1856".(CMS 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
/contd.

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, 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. Kunderer was the most humane of men,

reference 2 continued:-

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 was presented to the Gascon Conference. Printed Report. op.cit. p.12 loc.cit.)

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2. On the beginnings of agriculture among the collection of the histories of Baptist churches edited by ...
 Small reference for the history of the Baptist Church in 1851, to which was given a ...
 these records.

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 ~~enabling~~ enabling 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.¹ William Clarke, the Baptist missionary at Ogbomoso, was a man like Hinderer. His great success was the conversion of the Aghoola family at Oke Afo, who similarly have given the Baptist Church a sure foundation² in society and many pastors and leaders of the Church.

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1. Seventeen Years in 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 household and incorporating some of the oral tradition in the Ibadan Church, (Nigerian Record Office ECC 20/1).
 2. "Notes on the Beginnings at Ogbomoso" among the collection of local histories of Baptist churches edited by Reverend Cecil Roberson for the centenary of the Baptist Church in 1953, to whom once again I am obliged for permission to use these documents.

Such conversion limited friction between the missionary and the community.

The other important source of friction between the Mission House and the state were 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 ^{than} 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 with the rulers, he could rely not only on securing justice for his proteges, but also the regard for deference to his convenience that hospitality demanded.

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1. e.g. the case of Isaac Smith, a church member and a servant of the missionary 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 his enemy (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 June 31st and August 25th 1856 CA2/050). See also Gollmers Journal for March 1851 (CA2/043), though Gollmer insisted that muslim Emigrants could not enjoy the benefits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

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 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

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 June 17th 1856 encl in Hutchinson's despatch of June 24th 1856 F084/10001).

considered essential to the progress of civilisation 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 punishments 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 declared that emigrants not in a British colony were not British subjects,¹ or that until 1872 the consuls had no judicial powers. 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 recognised headmen who acted as magistrates imposing fines and at least in Badagry and Abeokuta had regular prisons. Serious cases or cases involving mission agents or prominent people went to the conference of missionaries of that particular denomination, or were tried by special tribunals. Where

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1. Foreign Office draft to Hutchinson 19th October 1856. After taking legal advice, it was decided that "in the absence of any special legislation to that effect," they could not be regarded as British subjects though HMG was interested in their welfare. (FO84/1001).

situations cropped up that existing church regulations or known 'European Law' did not seem to have envisaged, in particular suits concerning marriage and divorce in the no man's land where local law and church marriage 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 that the African himself was the first to acknowledge the European as his superior. ¹

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

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, show 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". 1

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 civilisation among the community of the Mission House.

1. Townsend, Journal entry for June 10th 1855 (CMS CA2/085).

CHAPTER V

CIVILISATION AROUND THE MISSION HOUSE

The missionaries reiterated the arguments in favour of the indirect methods of evangelisation from time to time as if to reassure themselves and to combat the undercurrent of Evangelical distrust of their agents engaging in activities other than preaching, baptising and ministering. Struck by the high rate of European mortality and invalidation 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

1. Bowen: Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa op.cit. p.321f.

Three aspects of this programme should now be noticed: the 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, ¹ several of the languages were represented among the Liberated Africans. As early as 1830/32, the Rev. J.C. Raban, of the C.M.S., observing that the "Akus" were fast becoming a majority in the colony, began a study of Yoruba with a view to facilitating evangelisation within the colony. He published three little pamphlets listing ² Yoruba words and suggesting an orthography for them.

He received little attention from his mission authorities as English continued to dominate the life of the colony to the exclusion of the vernaculars. When, however,

1. Chapter II.

2. J.C. Raban: Vocabulary of the ^{Eyo} ~~Yoruba~~ Language (CMS publications, the first undated, the second 1831, the third 1832).

arrangements were being made for the Niger Expedition and a mission was projected for the model farm at Lokoja, the Rev. J.F. Schon¹ 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: Schon's Vocabulary of the Hausa Language and Grammar of the Ibo Language and Crowther's Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language. Schon's visit to the Niger convinced him that Hausa was the most widely spoken language on the river and he soon concentrated his attention on it. But, owing to the failure of the Niger Expedition, the C.M.S. for a while shifted their interest from Hausa to Yoruba. When about 1848 Schon sent his manuscripts of a revised and enlarged Vocabulary and translations of some books of the Bible into Hausa for publication, he was informed by the Secretaries

"that as the translations were not required for Sierra Leone, and as there was no prospect of commencing a mission in the interior, the Committee could not recommend them for publication".²

Attention was focussed on Yoruba.

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1. J.F. Schon: (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).
 2. J.F. Schon: Grammar of the Hausa Language (1862), Introduction, loc.cit.

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 Eutt Committee, the debates were carried to London. Venn secured expert advice from linguists like Professor Lee of Cambridge, Edward Norris, 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. Venn tried to bring all the various missionary societies, Orientalists and linguists together to agree on a uniform system of orthography which, if it did not in time replace all the various scripts of the languages of the world would at least prevent a multiplication of different systems in Africa.² He was

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1. S.A. Crowther: St Luke, Acts of the Apostle, St James, & St Peter in Yoruba (CMS 1951, Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language (1852).
 2. For this conference and the rival papers of the professors, see C.C.J. Bunsen: Christianity and Mankind vol IV (Lond. 1854) Appendix D containing I "The London Conferences", II Prof. Carl Lepsius: "A Succint Exposition of his Universal and Standard Orthography", III Prof. Max Muhler: "Proposals for a Missionary Alphabet".

supported by the Prussian Ambassador in England, Chevalier Bunsen, himself an antiquarian and Orientalist of repute. A conference met in February, 1854, at Bunsen's House, but though everybody thought that a universal orthography was a good thing, they could not agree on one particular system. Venn supported the proposals put forward by Professor Carl Lepsius, on which Crowther and other C.M.S. missionaries were basing their work on Yoruba, and it was Lepsius' orthography that continued to guide C.M.S. linguistic studies, be it in Hausa, Kanuri, Ibo or Ijaw.

∴ The care and attention of the missionaries on the spot matched that of Venn in London, and together they laid a worthy foundation for a written Yoruba literature. The orthography was a product of co-operative effort, the German missionaries taking the lead. The American missionary Bowen also had some interesting suggestions on the subject. He acquired a high degree of proficiency in the language and among other things, he 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. ¹ Crowther and

1. T.J. Bowen: "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language" in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge vol ix part: (New York 1862)

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. Later, Committees were formed to revise some of these.

∩ The orthography of Yoruba is today substantially that laid down by the missionaries. Their rules of grammar have been frequently criticised, but their translations are still recommended as works of high literary value. A few of Crowther's letters might be quoted to show some of the problems that had to be overcome, and to illustrate the care and devotion which made the achievement so great, and, by contrast, because such care was not always available, to show why the degree of success with other languages was less.

In reducing a language to writing for the first time, he said, particularly with a view to translating religious works, the most essential and most difficult thing was to get behind the spoken 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. The degree of absorption required sometimes made it difficult to concentrate on worship.

"At first sight one may think a translator of the Bible who deliberately wades through the holy volume will be amply repaid for his toil and labour by the abundant riches of that book which he carefully compares, the meaning of which he diligently seeks out before he translates it and thus apparently have a double advantage of reading the precious truths of the Bible in two languages; the truth of this is to be admitted, but there is danger connected with it.... I have found it so by experience. Open a passage of scriptures for devotion, instead of feeding one's soul with manna from Heaven, one's thought runs to 'How should this passage be translated, which is the most suitable word, the most correct rendering, etc.' These various thoughts about the translations soon take the place of meditation."²

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

1. Crowther: Journal Extracts for September 1844 (CMS CAI/079). He added: "In tracing out words and their various uses, I am now and then led to search at length into some tradition 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

first thing, for security, and then 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 these 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 Nabba 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." 1

references 1 & 2 continued:-

will be found in CMS CA1/079).

2. Crowther to Venn, Feb 21st 1854 (CMS CA2/031).

1. Crowther to Venn, Dec 12th 1862. (CMS CA3/04).

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

Interest in Hausa and Ibo had 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 being paid to Kanuri. A brilliant German missionary of the C.M.S., the Rev. S.W. Koelle, who had studied Arabic at Tübingen and was lecturing in Hebrew at the Fourah Bay Institution, began a monumental comparative study of some three hundred words and phrases in about one hundred different languages (some, in fact, only dialect variations) which he discovered in Sierra Leone.

Side by side with this Polyglotta Africana he made a specialised study of Kanuri and in 1854 published two works: Grammar of the Bornu or Kanuri Language and African Native Literature in Kanuri.¹ 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 (It was also Koelle who first studied the only indigenous African script known, that of the Vai in Liberia.)

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1. S.W. Koelle: Polyglotta Africana, or a Comparative Vocabulary of nearly 300 words and phrases in more than 100 distinct African Languages (Lond. 1854). When a naval officer discovered the only known indigenous African Script

In 1855, Barth took to England two boys from Northern Nigeria, Abega, a Margi, and Dorgu, a Hausa, aged about 16 or 17, each of whom spoke Hausa and Kanuri.¹ 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 dictionary² which, published in 1876, remained the standard work till the end

references 1 & 2 continued:

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). The works on Kanuri were published in the same year 1854.

2. P.A. Denton: 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.
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1. For the story of Abbege 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: "Abbege and Dorgu" in West African Review September 1956 p. 865 ff.
 2. Schön, in the introduction to A Dictionary of the Hausa Language (1876)

of the century. Owing to economic development and growing political interest, Schon 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 were becoming 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 One comment on Schon's work - illustrative, perhaps, of missionary attitude in general - was that although at one stage he suggested that to compete effectively with Islam in Northern Nigeria it would be necessary to take Arabic more seriously at Fourah Bay and that it might be advisable to devise an Arabic script for Hausa, he remained to the end unaware that the Hausa people had long adopted the Arabic script, in which there was a considerable written Hausa literature.² After Schön, the patronage of the

1. Rev. G.P. Bargéry: A Hausa - English Dictionary and English - Hausa Dictionary (OUP 1934 for the Government of Nigeria 1226 pages). p xv.
2. C.H. Robinson, in the introduction to A Hausa Grammar and Vocabulary (1897). He published his Dictionary Hausa-English in 1899 and English-Hausa in 1900.

study of Hausa passed out of missionary hands, but not the personnel of the students themselves. The first advance on Schön's work was made when, in 1892, as a memorial to the Rev. J.A. Robinson a committee in London endowed a fund by which his brother, Canon C.H. Robinson, of Cambridge, was to visit Hausaland and produce "a thorough, scientific study of the Hausa language". More recently, the Rev. G.P. Bargery, formerly of the C.M.S., has devoted a life-time to the production of the massive Hausa-English, English-Hausa Dictionary, that is likely to remain the standard work for a long time to come. Bargery paid tribute to Schön's work, calling him "the pioneer of Hausa students"¹.

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

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1. Bargery, op.cit p xv.
 2. Crowther to Venn, Dec 9th 1855 (CMS CA2/031).

Onitsha Mission. Taylor was born in Sierra Leone, by 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,¹ but he quickly learnt enough Ibo for his normal duties as a missionary, but 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 the leisure of Schon in retirement. In addition, dialectical variations were a more serious problem in Ibo - by no means resolved even today - than Crowther had to face in Yoruba. There was Bonny Ibo ('Mbamiri') of the 'salt-water' people of the coast, Owerri Ibo ('Isuama') of the interior, as well as Onitsha Ibo on the Niger. Jones was teaching Crowther and Schon Owerri Ibo, and it was this that Crowther considered dominant and recommended the mission to adopt, but at Onitsha and Bonny, the principal stations of the mission, Owerri Ibo was at many points quite unfamiliar.

Taylor was for many years the only clergyman resident on the Niger. As if that was not enough, he went on leave to Sierra Leone in 1859, and returned in 1860 to find that there was no transport for him to ascend

1. Rev. J.C. Taylor, Journal entry for August 2nd 1857 in S. Crowther and J.C. Taylor: Gospel on the Banks of the Niger (CMS 1859). p.249.

the Niger and he had to go back to Sierra Leone. He returned in 1861 to find that because the mail boat on which he travelled was delayed, the only available transport up the Niger had left. He therefore remained at the Nun entrance founding a new mission at Akassa. This meant adding the Ijaw language to his studies. In 1866 he completed a translation of the New Testament into Ibo which he sent to England for publication. The C.M.S. Secretaries submitted it for an opinion to Schon who was critical and it was returned to Taylor for revision. This made him feel "entirely disheartened and discouraged", if not very angry. 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.

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1. Taylor to Colonel M. Dawes, Nov 21st 1866. (CMS CA3/037). The other mission agents presented him with an address on the occasion.
 2. Taylor to Venn, April 16th 1867 (CMS CA3/037).
 3. Crowther, S.A: Grammar and Vocabulary Nupe Language (1864)
Vocabulary of the Ibo Language(SPCK) (1882)
Johnson, Archdeacon H, A. Christaller, Rev. J.E. Vocabularies of the Niger Gold Coast. (SPCK 1886)

4. H. Vulliamy: Journal of the Niger (1864) (London: W. & A. G. & Co. 1864). At Calabar, the Presbyterian missionaries received help in their work of translating from chiefs like Ikingi, the brother of King Sanyal, who was in 1864 because of the fact that he was as well as his brother Ikingi. (London: W. & A. G. & Co. 1864)

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.

"I desire", he said,

"to give the vowels only one sound each; not to use double consonants, not to employ c hard or g soft; but to use k for the former; j for the latter. Not to use e soft in place of s but to use it for ch sound. Not to use ph where f will suffice. In short, I purpose to adopt as simple and accurate a mode of spelling as possible, for since the language of Old Calabar has heretofore never been written, I will not be fettered by any existing custom in this respect".¹

The results of these early studies were published in 1849, as the Vocabulary of the Efik Language, in the names of Waddell and the 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 was an observant, taciturn, scholarly man, but his

1. H. Waddell: Journal entry for Saturday 23rd March 1846 (Journals vol I p.17). At Calabar, the Presbyterian missionaries received help in their works of translation from chiefs like Young, the brother of King EyambaV, Aye who in 1864 became Eyo V of Duke Town as well as Emigrants like Peter Nicolls. (Goldie, op.cit p 222).

mission was slow to recognise his abilities because he had only the conventional training of a missionary. 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, a D. D. of Aberdeen, famous for his Hebrew. At once, rivalry ensued. Where Goldie had written Okoyong, Dr. Robb insisted that he heard people say Aukanyong.¹ In 1866, Dr. Robb published his translations from the Old Testament.² 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. The influence of these works dominated the work of other missionaries who produced translations, primers, readers, hymns and

1. Goldie, op.cit p. 22. McGill to Anderson 9th March 1869 (Secretaries Letter Book vol xii) McGill to Goldie and Edgerley, 26th Sept 1876 giving the decision of the Foreign Mission Committee on the Minutes of the Presbytery of Biafra May 31st 1876. The Committee considered the rival orthographies of Goldie and Dr. Robb and approved those of Goldie with a few amendments. (ibid vol xviii p.907).

2. UP Missionary Record, 1866, p 198-200.

sermons and indeed to this day they remain the standard works on the language.

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 dependants be brought under instruction likewise." 1

Indeed, the strong Evangelical influence in the missionary movement placed great premium on the Sabbath school for teaching adult converts and catechumen 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

1. Townsend, Journal for June 1857 (CMS CA2/085).
2. J.C. Taylor's Journal entry for Sunday December 2nd 1861 (CMS CA2/087).

languages, the emphasis was on simplicity of orthography rather than academic perfection. The choice was in favour of Goldie, rather than Dr. Robb. As a C.M.S. Secretary said:

"All marks (of orthography) not indispensable cannot fail considerably 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 nonetheless. 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, c, d, e,...." ²

The people stood mute, watching him, because they did not know what to do; but as soon as Crowther

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1. W. Knight to Crowther December 23rd 1852 (CMS CA2/085).
 2. J.C. Taylor: Journal entry for Sunday December 22nd 1861 (CMS CA3/037).

² See also Crowther's Journal, (Crowther's Journal Extracts for April to September 1850, CMS CA2/035).

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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 these 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 divi ebimat", i.e., "Good! Better! Best! Yes, Englishman's book is the best".¹ Soon after that, Taylor made friends with Koko, a local trader who spoke the best English at Akasa, 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.² Some others had reading lessons during their catechumen 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

1. Ibid.

2. e.g. at Abeokuta in 1858. (Townsend: Journal Extracts for April to September 1858, CMS CA2/085).

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.

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 or 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 boats. As the Bonny chiefs said, when they did get a school and had to pay for it,

1. of Crowther on the educational value of fables and proverbs in a Charge delivered to his clergy in 1869 quoted in Chapter VII (CMS CA3/04).

1. Crowther, Special Statements exhibiting the characters, habits and ideas of the Natives of the Bights 1874. (CMS CA3/04).

2. Report of the Conference of West African Missions held at Abidjan January 1888 (Printed by the Mission Press) p. 11. (copy in CMS CA3/013).

"They did not want religious teaching, for that the children have enough at home; they teach them that themselves; what they want them to be taught, how to gauge palm-oil and the other mercantile business as soon as possible".¹

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.

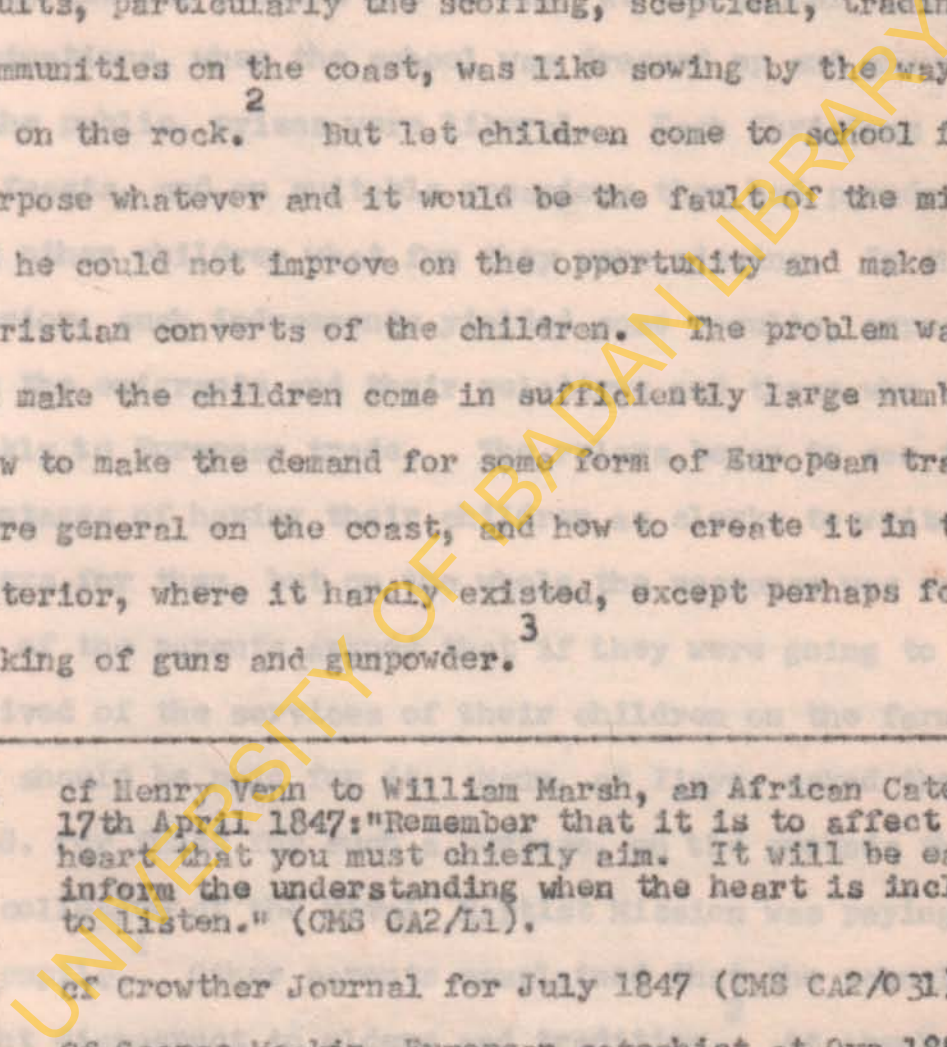
At Calabar, said Goldie in 1876, "so great is the desire to learn English that though it also is taught in our schools and taught gratuitously in Duke Town, some of the chiefs engage at a high fee the services of any young man who may come in their way to teach their children only".²

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.

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1. Crowther: "Brief Statements exhibiting the characters, habits and ideas of the Natives of the Bight" 1874. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Report of the Conference of West African Missionaries held at Gaboon February 1876 (Printed by the Mission Press, Calabar) pl. (Copy in CMS CA3/013).

"Preaching hath ever been the great ordinance", said orthodox Evangelical doctrine. "You must seek to convert the heart before you can instruct the mind."¹ 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.² But let children come to school for any purpose whatever and it would be the fault of the missionary if he could not improve on the opportunity and make Christian converts of the children. 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.³

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1. cf Henry Venn to William Marsh, an African Catechist, 17th 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." (CMS CA2/L1).
 2. cf Crowther Journal for July 1847 (CMS CA2/031).
 3. Cf George Meakin, European catechist at Oyo 1858-59, Journal entries for 15th -20th June 1858. The first boy the Alafin offered for the mission school was on condition that he be taught to make "snuffs, guns, powder etc". (CMS CA2/069).



4. One of the best informed and most informative comments on attitudes to education in the interior will be found in James Johnson's "Report on Shokuta Shokuta" 30th January 1878, parts 4 and 5 (CMS CA2/069).

The response in places like Calabar, Badagry 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,

1. Mann, Journal entries for April 21st 1856, August 14th 1859. (CMS CA2/056).

2. One of the best informed and most informative documents on attitude to education in the interior will be found in James Johnson's "Report on Abeokuta Churches" 30th January 1878, sheets 8 and 9 (CMS CA2/066).

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.¹ 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 10 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 mimic 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 thought, a few of them would return to the house and try to learn a letter or two."²

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1. J. Johnson: Report on Abeokuta Churches, 30th Jan 1878, op.cit. (CMS CA2/056.)
 2. Crowther to Venn, December 2nd 1858 (CMS CA3/04).

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.¹ 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.²

The only effective inducement 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. It was hoped that, from among the boarders, in close personal relationship with the missionary,

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1. Waddell, "Report on Creek Town Mission for 1854", (Journals vol x p130-131).
 2. Dr A. Harrison to Venn November 28th 1861 (CMS CA2/045).

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.¹ 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 induced 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.² The Baptists evacuated to Abeokuta about seventy children.

1. cf Bowen to Taylor, (Bowen Letters).

2. R.H. Stone: In Africa's Forest and Jungle (1899). p.185ff. He had about 70 children, Mann of the C.M.S. began by criticising the Baptist policy of taking pawns (October 19th 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 October 2nd 1861. CMS CA2/066).

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The C.M.S. at Abeokuta organised an Ijaye Relief Fund, which enabled Mann to evacuate 33 children.

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. 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. In 1864, Taylor had six Coral Fund boys at Onitsha.

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1. Townsend, conclusion to Journal Extracts for June 1851, Annual Letter for 1859 dated January 30th 1860. (CMS CA2/085).
 2. Harrison to Venn Sept 28th 1863, Mrs Jane Harrison to Venn December 30th 1863 (CMS CA2/045).

In the 1880's 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".¹

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 Hinderers² to the hard school of Topo, with the reputation of an approved school - but they were similar. 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 even from their mothers who were thought to be

1. Broghero to Planque December 21st 1863 in Annals op.cit. 1865 p 81-2.
2. For the household of the Hinderer's see the Memoirs of Anna Hinderer, Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country (1872) and the book based on it, Ellen Inorpe: Swelling of Jordan (1950).

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 less, 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

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1. Mrs Harrison to Venn December 30th 1863, Harrison to Venn December 19th 1863 (CMS 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 Sept 1846)

missionary or teacher. But the schools had the common aim of propagating the ideals of Christianity and some of the basic doctrine 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. 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 summarised as follows:

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9.0 a.m. | Singing, Rehearsals of Scripture Passages, Reading one chapter of Scripture, Prayers. |
| 9.15 a.m.- 12 noon | Grammar, Reading, Spelling, Writing, Geography, Tables (except Wednesday, when there was Catechism in place of Grammar). |
| 2.0 p.m.- 4.0 p.m. | Ciphering (i.e., Arithmetic), Reading, Spelling, Meaning of Words. |
| 4.0 p.m. | Closing Prayers. |

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1. "Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Sewing and Religious Instruction constitute the branches of education which so far we have taken up". (Hope Waddell in UP Missionary Record 1848 p.146, A Circular Letter to Friends of the Mission).
 2. Freeman, "Rules for Schools", 1848, (Meth).

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. Moreover, when the first mission schools were established at most of the large centres, the majority of the missionaries were 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 civilisation", 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 1848,¹

1. Waddell in UP Missionary Record p 146. cf Dr Harrison to Venn May 29th 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 civilisation". ('of itself' was added in as an omission, not italicised, in the original. CMS CA2/045).

"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 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 the 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 civilisation; 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 1850's 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 text books in the vernacular for subjects like Arithmetic or Geography, the vernacular Bible and Catechism as soon as available tended to supplant the English original. By 1854, a typical day in Waddell's school was something like this:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9.0 a.m. | Prayers. |
| 9.15.a.m.-10.0 a.m. | Arithmetic for the seven different classes. |
| 10.0 a.m.-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. |
| 3.0.p.m. | Prayers. |
| 3.15.p.m. -4.0 p.m. | Writing (except Wednesday and Friday, when the two highest classes had Geography). |
| 4.0.p.m. - 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. |

1. Waddell, "Report of Creek Town Mission "for 1854", op.cit.

The most obvious omission from this curriculum, besides physical exercises 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 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. But it was only at Topo that an attempt was made to combine agricultural work with primary education. As we have seen, 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

1. Chapter IV.

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 1890's, 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

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1. "Notes sur les Mission de Topo" op.cit p 29f. Father M.J. Walsh: Catholic Contribution to Education in Western Nigeria", op.cit p 120-122 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", op.cit.

mission schools, or even more literary academic education; how were they complacent about or indifferent to the social

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.

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,

1. Townsend, conclusion to the Journal Extracts for June 1851 (CMS CA2/085).
 2. Bowen to Taylor, October 2nd 1856. (Bowen Letters).

"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". 1

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. 2 If anything, the doctrine of the

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1. Minutes of the 1848 District Meeting, Cape Coast.(Meth).
 2. cf Mabel Tylecote: The Mechanic's Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851 (Manchester 1957), R.K. Webb: The British Working Class Reader (Lond.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 p64) - rather than mechanic. But the emphasis of the founders like Henry Brougham, and Dr Birbeck, and of the industrialists who financed organisations like the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" was undoubtedly practical and utilitarian.

1. Down to Taylor October 2nd 1871 (Lancaster 1871)
 2. Exposition of the Poor (Lancaster 1844)
 3. Exposition of the Poor, Jan 1844

virtue of industriousness was re-emphasized in Africa, as the new civilisation 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", said Bowen. "The separation of scholastic life and manual labour", said Henry Venn, in language more typically Victorian,

"is a refinement of advanced civilisation. 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 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.

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 1870's there was in Nigeria only a single Training Institution in

1. Bowen to Taylor October 2nd 1856 (Bowen Letters)
 2. Instructions of the Parent Committee to Mr W. Kirkham, school master, Jan 29th 1856. (Cms CA2/L2).

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. It was 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.¹ 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".² It was the cheaper, less fatiguing versions of this that appeared in Nigeria, having little in common but the absence of a training institution.

1. Groves, op.cit. vol 11 p 228-229.
 2. Mann to Venn October 1852 (CMS CA2/066).

Until the establishment of the Theological Department in Lagos in 1879, the Methodists had no training institution, not 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

1. cf synopsis of W.B. Boyce's letter to the Rev. William West 23rd May 1865: "Objects to young Africans coming for education to England". (Secretaries Letter Book, Meth). From West's reply to Boyce 12th 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). (contd.)

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 then, 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 ~~xxx~~^{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

reference continued:-

2. of the list of books in the Library of the African Minister, the Rev Thomas J. Marshall, at Abeokuta, sent to Methodist House in 1874, quoted in full in Appendix A of this thesis.

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,

"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 1860, 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

1. Rev. S.H. Edgerley: UP Missionary Record 1880 p35-6.

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.

till the end of the century. Their earliest teachers were emigrants who received further training in English,¹ or had an education similar to Ladejo's. The Roman Catholics 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 1918.²

The only institution 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."³

However, Henry Venn was not convinced by this argument. He sent a boy, T.B. Macauloy, from the Fourah Bay Institution to the C.M.S. Training College at Islington,

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1. Bowen to Taylor, Ijaye January 18th 1855, said Thomas Coker his emigrant schoolmaster and James Cole, the Rev. W. Carke's interpreter were studying Grammar. (Bowen Letters).
 2. "S.M.A.: 100 Years of Missionary Achievement"(1957) p.12.
 3. Townsend, Journal Extracts for June 1851. (CMS CA2/085).

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 a 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)".¹ 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,² 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

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1. Venn to Townsend Dec 2nd 1852. (CMS CA2/L1).
 2. Hinderer to Venn Feb. 8th 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". (CMS CA2/049). Also Gollmer to Venn Nov. 2nd 1857 (CMS CA2/024).

[Faint text at the bottom of the page, likely bleed-through from the reverse side, mentioning a school in A.C. and a discussion about Macaulay's school in Lagos in 1857.]

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, 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:-

"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 or 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 then, he had to threaten to resign because of Townsend's persistent opposition. As Buhler said in March 1862,

1. Rev. Gottlieb Frederick Buhler's Annual Reports July 1861. (GMS 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 and training and placing of teachers in the primary and secondary school levels in Nigeria 1842-1927, (M.A. London, 1955) pp.135-142.

"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 fearedthat a superior education makes young men often useless or worse than useless...."¹

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 reorganised in Lagos in 1872.

The character of the institution in Lagos may best be judged from a resolution of the Finance Committee in April 1873 in reply to letters from the Parent Committee in London urging them to send suitable candidates to Fourah Bay. That the Finance Committee

"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."²

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1. Buhler to Chapman, CMS Secretary, Jan. 30th, 1863.
 2. Buhler to Venn May 3rd 1862 (CMS CA2/024).
 2. Minutes of the Finance Committee of the CMS, Lagos, April 26th 1873 (CMS 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 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 and obtain degrees. 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 Buhler. Indeed the result 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 Badagry; the other was Daniel Olubi, who had a few terms at the Abeokuta Training Institution but was trained mostly in the household of the Hinderer's. And only these last-mentioned two were not emigrants or sons of emigrants.¹

The fact that the missionaries did not avoid literary education by 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. In 1859, in circumstances to be related later, Townsend had Macaulay transferred from Abeokuta and suggested that he could fit in no where 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

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.

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rooms in the old cotton warehouse in Lagos. It was an Emigrant businessman, Capt. 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, with only one 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 employed, and in July 1860 the Parent Committee resolved "that the salary of the tutor of the Grammar School be reduced by $\frac{1}{3}$ and that he receives $\frac{1}{3}$ 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. T.B. Macaulay to Venn April 5th 1859 (CMS CA2/065).
 2. Macaulay, Annual Report of the Grammar School, July 7th, 1859. (CMS CA2/065).
 3. List of books encl. in Macaulay to Venn April 5th 1859, (CMS CA2/065).
 4. H. Straith to Townsend as Secretary of the Yoruba Mission, July 10th 1860. (CMS CA2/L3).

The Lagos C.M.S. Grammar School was such a success financially as well as for 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."¹ 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 were soon being followed by the other missions. Leading Methodists in Lagos soon began to point out that Methodism was losing ground in Society because their children 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 £500 and asked the mission to add a similar sum towards the cost of building and provide a suitable principal.² It was to this institution that a few theological students were attached when it was finally opened in 1879.

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1. Printed Prospectus, 1872. (CMS CA2/066).
 2. Petition signed by 20 members to the Rev. T.R. Picot, Acting General Superintendent, Lagos January 27th, 1874. (Meth)

The grammar school section, or the Methodist Boys' High School as it was called, was stated explicitly as 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 costs, 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 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.¹

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

1. Printed Prospectus, 1878 (Meth).

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".¹

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 criticising 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 Reverent Father,

"walk arrogantly about the streets of Lagos ... a packet of books in their hands, believing themselves to be doctors before they are scholars, so that later when they are employed they become

1. John Milum, Memorandum, Feb. 26, 1907 (Meth).

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 missionaries were happier 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 Civilisation 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."²

1. "...passer avec fierte dans les rues ... un paquet de livres sous les bras, se croyant docteurs avant d'etre ecoliers, tels ils sont dans les situations qui ils remplissent plus tard: insupportables a ceux qui ont a leur commander ou a leur obeir." (Les Missions Catholiques 27th August 1880).

2. Venn to Robbin 22nd Dec. 1855, Also W. Knight: Memoirs of Henry Venn (1880) p.510.

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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.W. 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 Capt. Forbes to construct the stands on which to mount the cannons at Abeokuta,¹ 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 who came to England in this way, only one went 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, junior, after having been apprenticed to a doctor in Freetown, read Chemistry and

1. Townsend, Journal Extracts for November 1851. (CMS CA2/085).

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. 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 Badagry 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

"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

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1. Information about this training scheme is scattered. The most useful single source is CMS CA1/023. See also personal files of Capt. J.P.L. Davies, CA2/033; T.B. Macaulay CA2/065;

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, 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 took it up again 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 the Commodore reported that

references 1 & 2 continued:-

- H. Robbin CA2/080, S. Crowther CA2/032; and Venn to Dr.Irving 23rd August 1854, Instructions of the Parent Committee to Henry Robbin 22nd Dec. 1855, both in CA2/L2.
 - 2. Commander R. Coote, H.M.S. Volcano to Venn October 23rd, 1852. (CMS CA1/023).
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- 1. J.P.L. Davies to Venn Sept 3rd 1856 (CMS 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 Society of African Missions was similar to Venn's. He insisted on the importance of training an African staff. Before

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1. Commander A.P. Bardley Wilmot to Venn 16th May 1865, Rev. Charles Chapman, chaplain and naval instructor, to Venn March 21st 1864, (CMS CAL/023). Also African Times March 23rd 1865.
 2. J.A.B. Horton to Venn December 1863 (CMS CAL/023). Horton: West African Countries and Peoples (1868), Letters on the Political Condition of the Gold Coast (1871). See also references to him in two articles in Sierra Leone Studies (1) J. de Hart: "Memorial Tablets in St Georges 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".

1. Albert Houtart Le Sénégal (Paris 1947) p. 45-47.
 2. Brand and Sir C. Petrie: The History of Sierra Leone (London, 1934) p. 47-7.

his tragic death in 1859 at Freetown, he had initiated a scheme by which one of his principal and most influential associates in Europe, L'Abbe Papetard, was to open in a warm part of Spain a seminary for the training of African youths. It is not clear what sort of training he envisaged, but when in very difficult circumstances Father Planque, his successor, took up the plan, it was to the mechanical arts and trades that the boys were directed. The scheme was virtually wrecked by the political upheaval in Spain, but the story is worth telling if only to show the determination of the missionaries and the ideas that directed their work in this period.

In 1862, Father Planque obtained from the Spanish Government permission to set up houses in Spain and to form an Association of Helpers to gather funds from Spanish Catholics. The Government went further and gave the S.M.A. an old Augustinian convent, Notre Dame de Regla, just outside Cadiz, and Father Planque was able to send for thirty African boys. By then the mission at whydah had gathered no large school, and few parents would have been willing to allow their children aged 9 to 12 to go

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1. Albert Mousset L'Histoire d'Espagne, (Paris 1947) p.464-471.
 - L. Brand and Sir C. Petrie: The History of Spain (Lond.1934) p.475-7.

to school in Spain. Father Broghero therefore brought twelve of the Yoruba boys whom Dahomey captured when they destroyed Isaga in 1862, and sent them to Spain. But just as they were arriving, a revolution was beginning in Spain and one of the grave issues in the disturbed politics of Spain was the right of the Church to hold property. After the fall of O'Donnell in February, 1863, the S.M.A. could no longer count on government assistance. However, the twelve boys were established at Puerto Real. There they were joined in 1865 by another twelve from Whydah. But when the artillery of the Spanish Army mutinied in 1866 - a mutiny that ultimately led to the fall of Queen Isabella II in 1868 - the boys were evacuated to a Jesuit orphanage at Bouffarick, near Algiers, in North Africa. 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, iron work, cookery, and gardening. In March, 1868, Father Courdioux, who had succeeded Broghero as Superior at Whydah, wrote to Bouffarick to say that he wanted no more gardeners, and would have no use for a wine-dresser, but that two of the boys should be trained as tinsmiths; if it could not be done at Bouffarick, then they should be sent to Lyons.

1. 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 p.90 ff). op.cit.

2. Father Courdioux to Planque 12th Feb. 1869, (Walsh, op.cit. p.98-9 loc.cit.).

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 missionaries. Augustine could build a wall better than any mason around, Benoit was a good gardener, Melchoir 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 quit 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-Freres were referred to as having been engaged as teachers. There is therefore little record of the careers of these products of Bouffarick.

1. Father Courdioux to Planque, May 1869. (Walsh op.cit p.99 loc.cit).

The training schemes in England 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 Badagry 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. Besides 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. The

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1. Harrison to Venn May 30th 1863. Talking about education in C.M.S. schools at Abeokuta, he said: "Arithmetic is very hard for them to learn". The poor children apparently knew what $\frac{6}{7}$ of £1 was, and could multiply $4\frac{1}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$, 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 f.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.

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 trail a wide diffusion of the knowledge of European mechanical and industrial skill. This they did by organizing a system of apprenticeship¹ 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 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,

1. Townsend to Venn May 17th 1853, August 15th 1854 and Annual Letter for 1859 dated January 30th 1860 (CMS CA2/085). Harrison to Venn May 29th and June 30th 1862, Harrison to Ford Fenn June 30th 1864 (CMS CA2/045). Crowther to Venn April 6th 1861 (CMS CA3/04). Mann: Journal entries for July 3rd and July 20th 1855 (CMS CA2/066).

2. Taylor to Venn 23rd September 1862 (CMS CA3/037).

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 whereby the mission could go on maintaining the apprentices as boarders while going daily to their masters.¹ Besides, the missionaries maintained a panel of artisans most worthy to receive apprentices. It was Bowen who discovered the ability of Vaughan and Churchill,² the emigrant carpenters from Liberia resident at Ijaye. Ribiero, a Brazilian emigrant,³ was the master tailor at Abeokuta. 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.⁴ 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

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1. Taylor to Venn May 17th 1853. (CMS CA3/037).
 2. Bowen: Fragment of a Journal for 1855 (Bowen Letters).
 3. Harrison to Ford Fenn June 30th 1863. (CMS CA2/045.)
 4. Harrison to Venn September 28th 1863. (CMS CA2/045).

were, however, three spheres where 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 Presbyterian missionaries imported sawyers and carpenters from Sierra Leone; Baptists, from Liberia, and one or two Fantis came from Cape Coast to work for 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

1. Chapter IV.

2. Townsend, Annual Letter for 1859 dated January 30th 1860.

3. Crowther to Venn April 6th 1861. (CMS CA3/04).

This description might have been made of the majority of the village carpenters of to-day who, as distinct from the "cabinet makers" of the towns, are direct descendents of the apprentices of the 1850's. They use the same tools and in fact have reproduced the simple carpenter's shed of the Mission House.

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 brick-making. He established a brick works at Iddo, and Ashcroft set up another one at Ebute-Metta. Their combined influence¹ 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

1. For a detailed account of the organisation of the brickworks see the letters of Ashcroft to the C.M.S. Secretaries in CMS CA2/020. For J.M. Harden, see Tupper, op.cit. p.338.

Cathedral, opened in 1881.¹ 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 a period when relations of the Europeans in general with 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.² 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.³ 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

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1. "Le plus beau monument de la cote occidentale d'Afrique", said Father Carambauld in an article on the opening of the cathedral in September 1881 (in Les Missions Catholiques 14th 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 de Silve. ("Premiere Temps de la Mission de Lagos d'apres Mere Veronique" in Missions de la Nigeria ed. L. Arial op.cit.).
 2. Townsend to Thomas Champness January 5th 1864 (Meth), This letter is important as one of the very few strictly unofficial letters by missionaries that have been available for this study.
 3. Taylor to Venn Feb 15th 1867. (CMS CA3/037.)

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.¹ 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.²

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

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1. Crowther to Venn November 27th 1868 (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Father Antoine Durieux 7th June 1880 (Les Missions Catholiques 27th August 1880).

"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.¹ 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 have sent him for further training in England, "for he is the best-behaved boy I have",² 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.³ The press began to publish pamphlets of hymns,

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1. UP Missionary Record 1849 p 120-122.
 2. Townsend to Venn February 28th 1860. (CMS CA2/085).
 3. Townsend to Venn November 5th 1859 (CMS CA2/085).

catechisms and prayers, and 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.¹ In the following year an English supplement was begun, and a missionary observed that one new feature of the civilised 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.² His printers came from the C.M.S. press at Abeokuta. 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, Annual Letter for 1860 dated Feb 6th 1861, letter to Venn May 4th 1860. (CMS CA2/085).
 2. Harrison to Venn September 1st 1863. (CMS CA2/045).

1. Crother to Venn March 25th 1854, (CMS CA2/31).
 Journal entries for 1st and 17th September 1842 (Journal vol 1).
 2. Maddell told of the 5 ship captain he found in 1849: "One was bred regularly to sea. The other was

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 evangelisation, this interest was not much. Crowther and Hope Waddell took an early interest in vaccination against smallpox¹ as one way of establishing good relationships between the missionary and the community and as one of the marvels of civilised 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.² This part-time attitude

1. Crowther to Venn March 25th 1856, (CMS CA2/031). Waddell: Journal entries for 1st and 17th September 1849. (Journals vol 1).
 2. Waddell said of the 8 ship captains he found in Bonny in 1849: "One was bred regularly to sea. The others had
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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.

One was Archibald Hewan, a Jamaican who arrived at Calabar in 1855.¹ 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

professors recommended by the Earl of Errol, who

reference 2 continued:-

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.)

1. Somerville to Dr Fergusson, Liverpool Agent of the Foreign Mission Committee, 6th February 1861; Somerville to Anderson 3rd July 1863 (UP Secretaries Letter Book vol viii) and Minute of the Foreign Mission Committee 25th February 1865 quoted in the Letter Book vol ix p.62).

1. Journal (Journal) to Vol September 1855 p. 120
2. Journal to Vol May 1855 p. 120

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 on 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 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 110.¹ Missionaries who visited his dispensary or whom he went to treat said he was a good doctor.² But in 1855 he was appointed Assistant and

1. Samuel Crowther (junior) to Venn September 26th 1852 (CMS CA2/032).
 2. e.g. Hinderer to Venn May 31st 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." (CMS CA2/032)

Secretary to Irving. When Irving died, though still practicing 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.¹

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 for looking 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."²

He was therefore to look for some such people with some

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1. 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. (CMS CA3/04). See also "his Sketches of Steamers on use on the Niger 1863 and 1875" (CMS CA3/014).
 2. Instructions of the Parent Committee to Dr Harrison Jan 22nd 1861 (CMS CA2/L3). At Cambridge, he was 24th Wrangler and he obtained 1st Class Natural Science Tripos in 1853. After qualifying as a doctor, he did some post-graduate work in the London school of Science, and practised for a while in South Africa before volunteering for work in Nigeria (Stocks, op.cit., vol ii p. 117).

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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 Ive 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 for being the cleverest boys, not for 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.

"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 chemistrybut 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. Buhler (in charge of the institution) 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,

1. Harrison to Venn Feb.26th 1862. (CMS CA2/045).
2. Venn to Nicholson Dec 23rd 1865. (CMS 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 1st May 1871). By 1878, Dr Nathaniel King had returned to Lagos. (Hutchinson to Maser June 28th 1878) (CMS CA2/L4).

¹
Obadiah Johnson, who lived in Dr. Harrison's household, later went to England to qualify as a doctor. He was the brother who edited Samuel Johnson's History of the Yorubas.

In these and various other ways the missionaries were building up around the Mission House something of the 'civilised' 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 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 openings of new churches and schools, the weddings, the missionary meetings,

1. Harrison mentions Obadiah in a letter to Venn July 30th 1861. (CMS CA2/045).

English Thomson, who lived in Dr. Thomson's household
1897 went to England to qualify as a doctor. He was
the first to collect the bones of the
Museum.



"A Chip of the Old Block" — The Rev. J. Boyle
and Family, Bonny 1897.

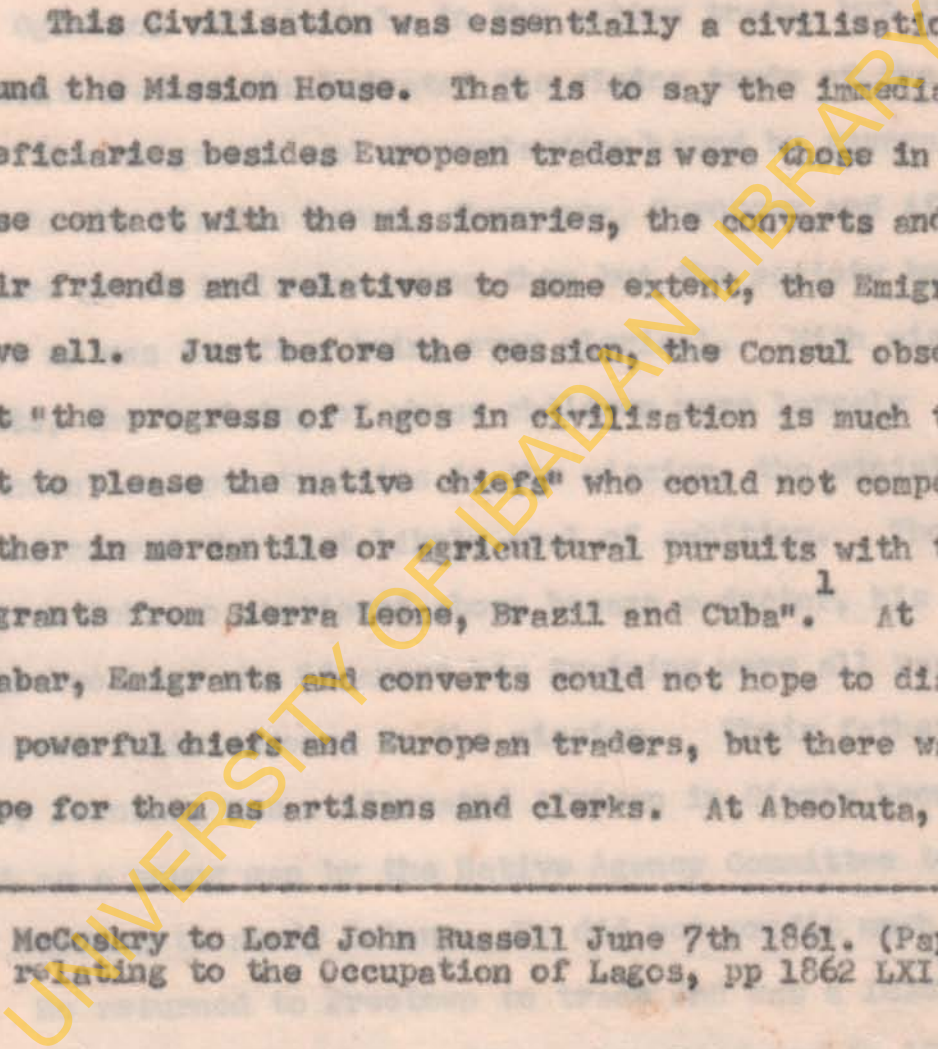
It is not known whether the Rev. J. Boyle
was a member of the Church of England.

the concerts that followed the public examinations of the schools. Nowhere else was the development so rapid or 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. For, in those places, the introduction of literacy and the knowledge of the industrial and mechanical arts that were the essence of European civilisation depended more exclusively 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 associations, were also encouraged. Besides those with a missionary purpose, there was a Road-Building Association encouraging 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 organised. 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.

This Civilisation was essentially a civilisation 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 cession, the Consul observed that "the progress of Lagos in civilisation 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

1. McCoskry to Lord John Russell June 7th 1861. (Papers relating to the Occupation of Lagos, pp 1862 LXI).



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Tinubu who was an experienced coastal trader expelled from Lagos in 1856, was the only important trader at Abeokuta independent of mission influences. The missionaries in the early days interested other chiefs like Ogunbona and Atambala in the cotton trade, but it was Emigrant traders who dominated the rising trade of the town.

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 were 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 trade and was a leading member of the Church at Hastings when Hinderer in 1859 persuaded him to emigrate to Ibadan as a catechist. 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".¹ 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 immediate brother Nathaniel was sent to the Abeokuta Training Institution under Buhler 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, with fathers 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 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.² The balance of opinion on this matter in

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1. Hinderer to Venn March 30th 1865. See also Hinderer to Straith April 23rd 1861 (CMS CA2/049). Later Archdeacon Henry Johnson said their father came originally from Ilorin. (A Journey up the Niger in the Autumn of 1877(?) 1878)p.40-41
 2. Taylor to Venn Dec. 21st 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".(CMS CA3/037).

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 businessman.

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 condition of those days an idle enterprise. They were loud in the profession of their faith, and generally were

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supporters of missionary work. They owned domestic slaves and pawns 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 it 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 were the frequent cases of adultery calling for church discipline and of polygamy symbolising 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".¹ 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.

1. Townsend to Wright February 9th 1875 (CMS CA2/085).

When the slave was removed in the interior, it became imperative to find an alternative policy.

By 1890, the cotton supply of the interior, though small

CHAPTER VI

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 to reconcile the rulers of each state to the expanding civilization around the Mission House, the other was to secure 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 an "Abeokuta 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 then, 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.³ A group of English merchants and

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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 Jan 7th 1862 in Papers relating to the Occupation of Lagos pp.1862 LXI).
 2. Venn to Clegg April 23rd 1858 referring to Clegg's offer to Samuel Crowther junior to join a venture to establish a cotton trading depot "near the Niger", a scheme which Crowther (senior) 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 Nov.29th 1850 CMS CA2/L1).
 3. Memorandum dated 14th Dec.1859, Venn to Hinderer 21st December 1859. (CMS CA2/L2).

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,¹ who toured Yoruba 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.

The Niger Expedition of 1857 further drew attention to the overland route. The steamer carrying the expedition was wrecked near Jobba. 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.² 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

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1. 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. p. 154-5.
 2. Crowther to Consul Campbell 1st October 1857: "This is to be a regular traffic and the mail bearers are to be paid". (CMS CA3/04). Also Crowther to Venn Jan 4. 1858 (ibid).

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 to appoint a Consul to succeed him at Lokoja.¹ The Government seemed 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 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 meantime 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.

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 portage. Dr. Baikie and Captain Glover solved this problem in a rough and ready

1. Dr. Baikie to Lord John Russell Sept. 10th 1861. (Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular) pp 1862 LXI).

manner in 1858. They declared that all slaves who volunteered for their service were ipso facto emancipated. Several domestic slaves, notably Hausas from Lagos, Badagry 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. This became a frequent sequence of events. In short, the need to exploit the overland route was beginning to raise the issue of domestic slavery. Hitherto, it was 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 Christianly duty. But from about 1858 onwards domestic slavery was becoming recognized as an offence both against 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.

1. cf Townsend, Journal entry for Sept. 12th 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". (CMS CA2/085).

It was at that stage that war was resumed in the interior.

To those who knew anything about the interior, the declaration of war by Ibadan on Ijaye in March, 1860 was the end of a truce, not the outbreak of a war, but to most of the missionaries and other agents of civilization, it seemed so sudden and unexpected. Little need be said here of the events that led to it. The major one was probably the death of Atiba in 1858. His patient diplomacy and calculating advocacy of the powers of tradition did not succeed in re-establishing his authority in the land, but it won the nominal acknowledgement of the Alafin's suzerainty from both Ibadan and Ijaye; and although, towards the end of his life, he leaned more towards Ibadan while the Are of Ijaye hardly disguised his enmity, Atiba managed to keep a balance between the two powers. On his death, it was said that he wished Adelu, the Arempo (Crown Prince), to succeed him instead of dying with him as was traditional. Ibadan supported this and Adelu became the new Alafin. The Are of Ijaye refused to recognize him.¹ Adelu was to become as renowned a diplomat as his father, but in 1860 his grasp of affairs was less than sure. He was described in 1863 as "young and headstrong....when he was vexed,

1. S. Johnson: History of the Yorubas op.cit. p.331-336. Mann to Venn June 18th 1860. (CMS CA2/066).

there was no doing anything with him".¹ He precipitated the crisis his father had been staving off for years. Towards the end of 1859, the Are of Ijaye, still asserting his control over the provinces west of the Ogun, sent to Saki to collect tax from a wealthy widow there who was defying his authority. Troops of the Alafin went to Saki to defend her. There was a clash and Ijaye troops captured sixty to seventy prisoners. The Alafin asked Ibadan to persuade or force the Are to release the prisoners. The Are refused. When Ibadan pressed, he insulted the envoys and abused those who sent them.² In spite of a large peace party at Ibadan, Ibadan declared war on Ijaye, moved out troops early in March, 1860, the first action being to cross the Ogun to the west and cut off Ijaye's supply of arms from the south.³

A good deal depended on the reaction of the Egba to the situation. During that dry season, they had expected an invasion from Dahomey. The invading army was reported

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1. Hinderer to Venn August 18th 1863 reporting a conversation with the Kudefu, a high official of the royal household at Oyo. Hinderer himself said Adelu "had nothing of the kind and condescending manner of his late father and predecessor". (Sept 29th 1863 to Venn. CMS CA2/049.)
 2. George Meakin, European catechist at Oyo, Journal entry for 17th January 1860. (CMS CA2/069).
 3. Hinderer to Venn March 19th 1860, April 25th 1860. (CMS CA2/049). Meakin, Journal entry for 26th March 1860. (CMS CA2/069).

in Egbado. As part of the war preparations, the British residents at Abeokuta, led by Townsend, appealed to the Consul at Lagos. The Consul recruited some three hundred Egba in Lagos, mostly emigrants, for the defence of Abeokuta, and encouraged merchants to sell ammunition to the Egba. He himself sent 20 barrels of gunpowder, 2 cwts. of lead and eighteen iron shots from the Consular arsenal, besides thirty rounds of shot and cartridge obtained from the Naval squadron.¹ By the end of March, the fears of an invasion passed away and the Egba turned to the Ijaye war. The Balogun (Commander-in Chief) of Ibadan, who was opposed to the war before it started, had earlier on appealed to Abeokuta to act as mediator. Now Ijaye appealed to Abeokuta for support, on the grounds that if Ibadan succeeded in destroying Ijaye, she would ally with Dahomey to bring the same fate on Abeokuta. The Egba had no interest in a struggle between Ibadan and Ijaye for supremacy among the Oyo section of the Yoruba people; they were, however, worried by the activities of the King of Dahomey who was courting both Ijaye and Ibadan. A quick Ibadan victory at Ijaye would probably have endangered the existence of Abeokuta.²

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1. British Residents to Consul Brand Feb. 19th 1860 (Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular) pp 1860 LXIV).
 2. Townsend, for the Alake, to Consul Brand April 30th 1860. (*ibid*); Iwe Irohin March 24th 1860; Townsend to Venn October 4th 1860: "The Ibadans no doubt wish to bring other tribes under their yoke, the king of Oyo wishes to bring

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Besides, hatred of Ibadan lingered on at Abeokuta. It was Ibadan that took the lead in destroying Egba towns in the 1820's, and had later tried to destroy Abeokuta itself. The Egba had by no means forgotten their old homesteads, where the ashes of their fathers lay in farms now belonging to Ibadan. Indeed, some Egba had been going back to farm in little hamlets on the section of the land not yet effectively occupied by Ibadan. Two such settlements, Ido and Ilugun, were destroyed by the Ibadan army as they moved to cross the Ogun. The Egba used their destruction as casus belli and declared war on Ibadan in April.

The news of the war created anxiety in Lagos for it was a threat to the trade and the overland route just when so much was expected from them. The Consul at once

reference 2 continued:-

back the power and glory of the Oyo kingdom which would be most harmful to us and to our work as far as we can see. (CMS CA2/085).

1. Hinderer to Venn March 25th 1860 accepted these facts but argued that Ibadan had and could have had no designs on Abeokuta. (CMS CA2/049).

1. Hinderer to Venn 2-6-60

2. Crawford to Venn May 6th 1860 (CMS CA2/104). Crawford suggested a force to Abeokuta and the present at the interview with the Egba.

despatched a deputation consisting of Lt. Lodder, R.N., and two Egba traders in Lagos to mediate between the combatants and, in any case, to ask the Egba to limit the war and not join it; but the Egba had already declared war.¹ Moreover, since unlike the Dahomey wars, this struggle did not arouse Egba national emotions, the authorities decided on closing the trade routes to Lagos as a way of combating apathy and driving the young men from trade into the army. The effects of this were soon felt at Lagos. It should be noted that in the crisis, the only consistent line adopted by the Consuls and Acting Consuls who succeeded one another in quick succession during 1860 and early 1861 was a reaffirmation of the old "Abeokuta policy": friendship for the Egba and more aid to them on the assumption that they would act as British officials wanted them to. Consul Foote visited Abeokuta early in April, 1861 and in an attempt to detach the Egba from the Ijaye War suggested a combined Anglo-Egba expedition against the real enemy, Dahomey, the Egba to supply forty thousand troops, the English 1,500 men and ammunition for all.² How serious he was, it is difficult to say. But in his despatch of 8th May,

1. Biobaku op cit p.65-6.

2. Crowther to Venn May 6th 1861 (CMS CA3/04). Crowther accompanied Foote to Abeokuta and was present at the interview with the Alake.

1861, he declared, *John Russell that he did this business*

"If the Egbas could make themselves masters of the country, the whole of the petty chiefs on the Coast would rejoice at their occupation; and certainly the great object we have in view, viz., the abolition of slavery, would be finally secured if our friends the Egbas did extend their possessions to the Coast, including Whydah and the other Dahomian slave ports".¹

More than that, it would appear that Consul Foote was ready to assist the Egba to win the Ijaye War if it could be done quickly, so that peace could be re-established. On 10th May, Captain Jones, of the 2nd West Indian Regiment, arrived at Abeokuta to prepare the way for 250 of his men who were coming to the aid of the Egba. He went up to visit the scene of the war and returned to Abeokuta full of criticism of the way the Egba were conducting it. He left for Lagos on 18th May, promising to return with his men, the Alake sending three canoes after him to bring the expected troops.² But the day before Jones left Abeokuta, Consul Foote died in Lagos. William McCoskry, the trader who since the controversy over Mewu had been regarded as an antagonist of the Egba, had become Acting Consul. He ordered the troops to go back to Sierra Leone and asked Jones instead to go up to Ibadan and try to mediate.

1. Consul Foote to Lord John Russell May 8th 1861. (Papers relating to the Occupation of Lagos pp 1862 LXI).

2. J.B. Wood to Venn July 5th 1861, Nov 7th 1861.(CMS CA2/096).

He explained to Lord John Russell that he did this because,

"From the report of Captain Jones, who has been at the seat of the war between Abeokuta and Ibadan, I see no probability of the war being terminated by military operations this year".¹

Thus perished the Abeokutan policy. In June, 1861, Lord John Russell gave orders for the annexation of Lagos and two months later was writing to McCoskry,

"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 closed the overland route. It blocked further missionary expansion. In August, 1861 the Are of Ijaye died and hopes of peace were raised, but they proved false. 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. By then Ijebu Ode had been involved, on the side of Abeokuta, and Ijebu Remo, on the side of Ibadan. The

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1. McCoskry to Lord John Russell July 4th 1861 (Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular) pp 1862 LXI).
 2. Russell to McCoskry August 20th 1861 (*ibid*).
 3. For the last days of Ijaye see Mann to Venn May 15th 1862 (CMS CA2/066). R.H. Stone: In Africa's Forest and Jungle *op.cit.* p. 141ff.

centre of war therefore shifted to Ijebu Remo, where the people were seeking to be independent of Ijebu Ode, and had been a major source of ammunition to Ibadan. 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 1865.¹

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 Abeokuta identified themselves with the Egba cause.² The missionaries at Ijaye had never been made to feel at home in Ijaye and were hardly aware of what the Ijaye cause could be, but they argued in much the same way as Ibadan that the Egba were to be blamed for joining the war and turning a small domestic squabble into a large and ferocious civil war. They held the Egba responsible for the destruction of their work in Ijaye.³ At Ijaye, the Ibadan forces captured Edward Roper,

1. Hinderer to Venn Nov.15th 1864. (CMS CA2/049).

2. 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". (Sept 24th 1860 to Venn, also August 2nd 1861. (CMS CA2/049).
 Townsend: "The Egbas are the power that represents progress and advancing civilisation, 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." (October 4th 1860 to Venn. CMS CA2/085).

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a young European catechist, and treated him as a prisoner of war. Hinderer was cut off from communication and supplies and he and his wife suffered personal privation. He and Townsend conducted a newspaper campaign in hardly less ferocious and abusive language than the Basom of the Egba and the Ottun of Ibadan would have used if journalism had been their mode of conducting a quarrel.¹ However, it was Townsend's reaction that has been taken as representative of missionary opinion. Placed at Abeokuta, he was no doubt occupying 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

reference 3 continued:-

3. Mann to Venn Sept 19th 1860. Also to Col. Daves Oct. 2nd 1861: "The Egbas are wasting their time, life and money on a scheme they never can carry out". (CMS CA2/066).

1. Townsend in the Iwe Irohin, Abeokuta, Hinderer in the Anglo-African, Lagos.

1. Governor Freeman's Memorandum on Lagos 20th March 1861 (MS 147/4).

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."¹

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

1. Governor Freeman's Memorandum on Lagos 10th March 1863 (CO 147/4).

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.¹ 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 orangoutang in the fable. The orangoutang saw a hunter and his wife who went out plucking asidi leaves. They left their babe on a cloth spread under a tree. The orangoutang 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 orangoutang 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".²

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1. 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 confession 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 Nov. 6th 1866 CMS CA3/04).

// 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 orangoutang. 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".-

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

references continued:-

2. Reported by Samuel Pearse, the catechist who was sent to Ado in letter to the Secretary of the Yoruba mission October 7th 1863, encl. in Harrison to Venn Oct. 21st 1863. (CMS CA2/045).

1. Hansard, February 21st 1865.

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".¹ 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 wordmongering 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".² 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

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1. Report from the Select Committee on Africa (Western Coast) together with the proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence and Appendix p xiv-xvi (pp 1865V.)
 2. Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard: A Tropical Dependency (1905) p.348. Dike, op.cit. p.167, 168.

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 to be best served by training the Fanti in self-government have already been quoted.¹ 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".² Education in schools and universities of the Western model was in fact intensified, and the solemn proclamation of Queen Victoria

1. Chapter 1.

2. Macaulay in the House of Commons 10th July 1833, quoted in From Empire to Commonwealth ed Jack Simmons (1949) p.83.

as *Empress of India* 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."

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 sideand seems to have set at rest the senseless outcry against the (financial) support of the colonies and against the capacity of the negro".²

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 Government established, Africans, whether

1. The Queen's Proclamation in India 1858, (*ibid* loc.cit 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 p.385-94).
2. Venn to Townsend August 23rd 1865, Sept 22nd 1865 (CMS CA2/T.2)

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".¹

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, like the government, they were subject to the fears of the climate but even 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-

1. Venn to Governor Freeman October 23rd 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".

extension".¹ That was the lesson he learnt from his study of the history of earlier Roman Catholic missions,² 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:

"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".³

Venn's greatest claims 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.⁴

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

1. W. Knight: Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn (1882) p.416.
2. Venn published in 1862 The Missionary Life and Labours of St Francis Xavier in which he traced the failure of his mission in the Far East to over dependence on European political power and failure to raise a local clergy.
3. Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn (1882) op.cit. p.417.
4. There are four important papers drawn up by Venn and issued by the Parent Committee as Instructions to missionaries on the subject of the Organisation of Native Churches: (i) in 1851 (ii) July 1861 (iii) Jan 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) p.282-7. As these papers show, Venn's ideas on

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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"¹. The converts a missionary made should be organized as soon as possible in little bands 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

reference 4 continued:-

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, 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.

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1. July 1861 (Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn 1882, p.416.)

1; June 1845 (Reports of Henry Venn 1800 p.221).

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 eutanasia of missions, ~~and~~ ^{and} a "self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating Church" would never be achieved.

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)

1. June 1868 (Memoirs of Henry Venn 1880 p.285).

he must always be a little ahead of the civilisation of the people around him and by his example and influence lead that civilization forward".¹ 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"²

"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."³

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1. Instructions to Townsend, Gollmer and Crowther, October 28th 1844. (CMS CA2/L1).
 2. Jan 1866 (Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn 1882 p.425)
 3. June 1868 (Memoirs of Henry Venn 1880 p.285-6).

1. July 1861 (Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn 1882 p.419.)

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

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 organisation 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

1. July 1861 (Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn 1882 p.419.

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".¹

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, emphasising 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",²

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, that the most humble, most pious and most zealous Indian priests he knew were those who have had the best education.

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1. Secretaries to H. Wharton, Acting General Superintendent, Dec 22nd 1862. (Secretaries Letter Book, Meth).
 2. Le Missionnaire d'apres Mgr de Bressilac (S.M.A. Lyons 1956) p.43, loc.cit. (This is an anthology from the writings of de Bressilac on the subject of the role and functions of a missionary. I was fortunate to meet and talk to the anthologist in Rome who put me in his debt for, among other things, a complimentary copy of this useful little book). See also S.M.A: 100 Years of Missionary Achievement

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 19th century hardly orthodox Anglican doctrine. Nor was it a view that Roman Catholics could share, though it must be said that Mgr. de Bressillac 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. ¹

3. La Missionnaire op.cit. p.46-7.

1. ibid. p.32-3.

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 organisation with the parent Churches, and local self-government could develop only within the framework of such organisation. The Baptists, taking a more "congregational" view of Church organisation, accorded greater independence to each congregation.

/// Doctrine and Church organisation apart, the timetable 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 till 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 1850's, it did not arise till almost a generation later in the Presbyterian mission, in the late 1870's. In the Baptist mission, until the late 1880's the problem arose only in the form of getting "colored" missionaries who could stand the climate.¹

Taking such basic variations into consideration, it may still be said that in the way that the training of agents did not

1. Bowen to Taylor Nov 23rd 1857. (Bowen Letters).

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.

The earliest missions to adopt some measure of self-government were 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 not available were emigrant lay agents chosen. Only gradually did indigenous church elders come forward. The

~~1. Bowen to Taylor Nov. 23rd 1857 (Bowen Letters).~~

2. 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, school-master, were Elders representing the congregations in Duke Town and Creek Town respectively.

reason for this extreme caution was given as the paltry ability of the Africans themselves. In 1880, the Rev. Samuel Edgerley, in charge of training African agents, ~~after~~ 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 talks^d 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 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

1. S.H. Edgerley in UP Missionary Record 1880 p.35-6.

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 authorise 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.

1. Stocks op.cit vol ii p.100-101.

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 to put it into practice, Townsend was building up and publicising 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.¹ 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 was trained and the other Theophilus King, who had distinguished himself as catechist to the ill-fated settlement at Lokoja in 1841 and had gone to Fourah Bay and was Crowther's able assistant as translator of the Bible into Yoruba. Townsend wrote to oppose their ordination.

"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."²

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1. Chapter II.
 2. Townsend to Venn October 21st 1851 (CMS CA2/085).

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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.¹ And since Townsend could be nothing but thorough, he drafted a petition against the proposal and obtained to it the signatures both of Binderer 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

1. Townsend to Venn October 15th 1851. (CMS CA2/085), (55) Isaac Smith, Henry Townsend, David Binderer and C.A. Gollmer to Major Straith October 29th 1851 (CMS CA2/016).

this belief no white man can deny".¹

He went on to argue that as long as the country remained heathen, no native who had no 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 tribal affiliation of an indigenous bishop would make his authority unacceptable even to converts of other sections. Finally, he plunged into deeper waters still:

"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?"²

It is not known what Venn's immediate reaction to this letter was. But though he always gave credit to Townsend's missionary zeal and ability and clarity of thought,³ 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.

1. Issac Smith, Henry Townsend, David Hinderer and C.A. Gollmer to Major Straith October 29th 1851 (CMS CA2/016).

2. ibid.

3. cf. Venn October 25th 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". (CMS CA2/13.)

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 rotate 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, were each 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 achievement entitled him and in which his abilities would have had 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.

ABEOKUTA 1867

BASED ON J.A. MASER'S MAP

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. Following the Ibadan Peace Conference of November, 1855, Venn judged that 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 grounds 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.

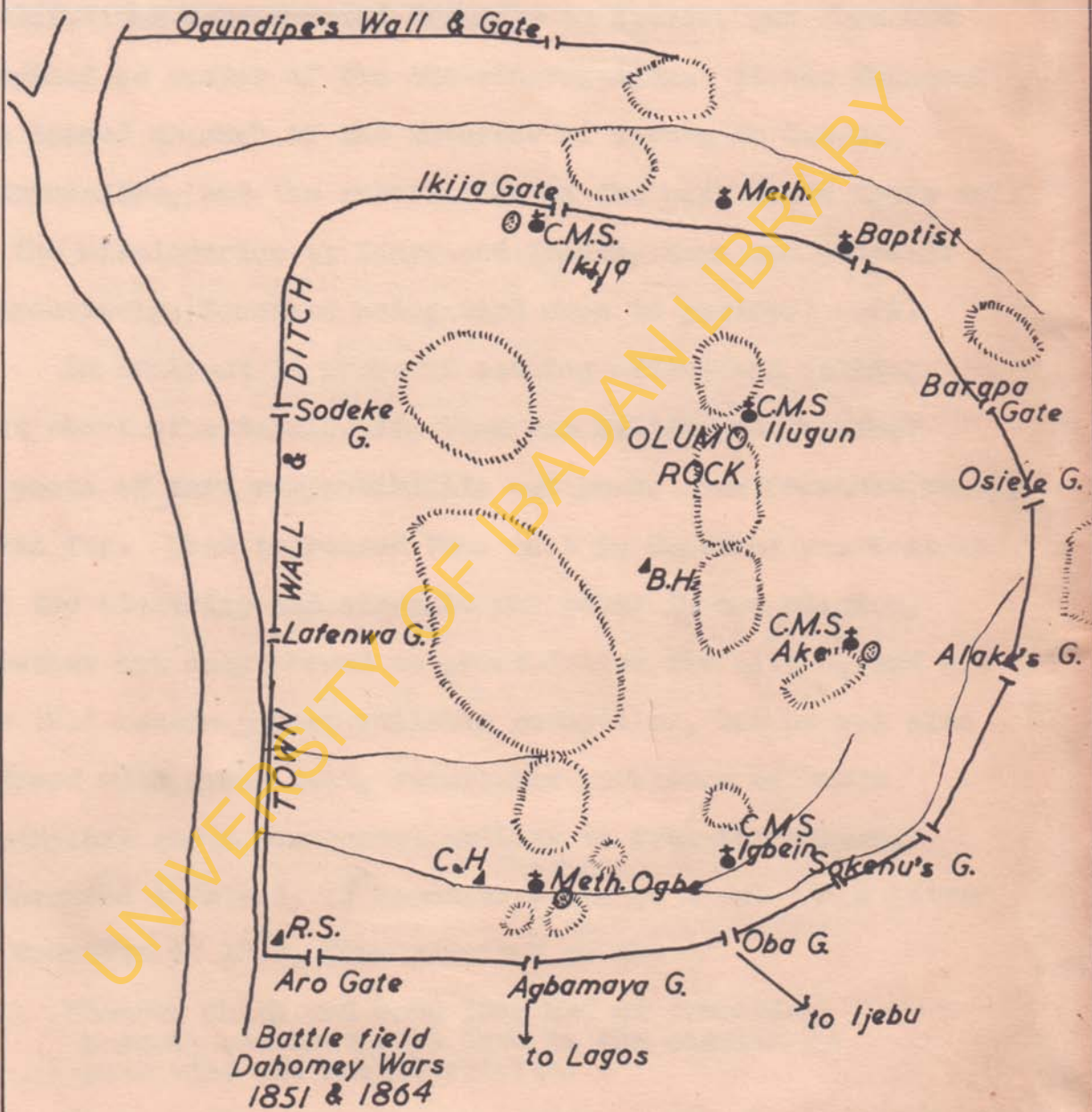
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1. Gollmer to Venn November 2nd 1857 (CMS CA2/043).

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ABEOKUTA 1867

BASED ON J.A. MASER'S MAP
in C.M.S. CA21068

- ♣ Principal Mission Stations
- ⊙ Mission Villages
- ⊙ Rocks



C.H. = G.W. Johnson's &
Custom House
R.S. = H. Robin's Store
B.H. = Basorun's House

Townsend pointed out the political interests of the mission which would be jeopardized if he left Ake, and Venn had to yield. Collmer 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.

In contrast to Townsend seeking office and falling just short of attaining it, Venn was calling on 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".¹

Crowther was then on the Niger. He went on the expedition of 1857, established new stations at Onitsha and Igbebe,

1. Venn to Crowther 22nd July 1858 (CMS CA3/L2).

was shipwrecked near Jebba 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:

"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 to 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

1. Secretaries to Crowther 23rd April 1858 (CMS CA3/L1).

2. Crowther to -do- 22nd June 1858 -do-

3. -do- 22nd July 1858 -do-

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 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 Idida 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."¹

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".²

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1. Crowther to W. Knight Jan 5th 1860, also to Venn April 4th 1860. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Venn to Crowther 23rd February 1860 (CMS CA3/L2).

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.¹ 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 1840, no Church had been formed on the Niger:

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1. See the 'Bishops in Foreign Countries Act' sometimes called the Jerusalem Bishopric Act 5 Vict c 6 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 authorising 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. March 21st 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, that all Anglican missionaries automatically come under the jurisdiction of
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it was the Churches in 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.

reference 1 continued:-

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, loc.cit.) (Crowther on the eve of his consecration was awarded an honorary D.D. by the University of Oxford).

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1. Venn to the Rev. J.A. Lamb, Secretary of the Yoruba Mission Jan 23rd 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 4th apparently proved

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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 reference 1 continued:-

unsatisfactory) I cannot predict the result though I should rather that his services were confined to Lagos and the Niger." (CMS CA2/L3).

1. Crowther to Venn April 4th 1860. He asked if it was possible that the use that has been made of my name in the English newspapers since the Bishopric of Sierra Leone was vacant, has not done so 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. (CMS CA2/L3/4).

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"¹

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 Organisation:

"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".²

Townsend knew, of course, that many of the Africans sharing in the leadership of that revolution were less chary than

1. Crowther to Venn April 4th 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". (CM 3 CA3/04).
2. Townsend to Venn October 18th 1858 (CMS CA2/085).

himself in 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 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!"¹ More often he missed the mark by a wide margin. Although European clergymen were paid £200/250 a year while 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.² (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

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1. Townsend, Annual Letter for 1859, dated Jan 31st 1860. (ibid).
 2. Harrison to Venn Nov 21st 1863 and encl. (CMS CA2/045).

mission.) Stranger still, when two German catechists who had been staying at Abeokuta merely to await the coming of the rainy season 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 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 East 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

1. Townsend to Venn Nov 5th 1859 (CMS CA2/085).

2. -do- Feb 18th 1860 -do-

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* to native clergymen. The Committee have consequently felt compelled as Christian men to write to these native ministers in a different tone".¹

It would seem that the other European missionaries were anxious not to allow the controversy to spread. Many of them, Hinderer and Buhler in particular, attacked Townsend's doctrines on the education of Africans. To many of them Crowther was a revered friend. Some of the younger missionaries like Mann frequently consulted him and echoed his ideas, for example, on the correct approach to the Muslim emirate of Ilorin. Besides, the personal relationship between the European missionaries was so bad in the years 1858-60 that the Local Conference of missionaries became a complete farce of which Townsend himself remarked: "I am thankful that another conference has terminated. I attend them with no pleasure and feel relieved when (they are) over".² The other European missionaries therefore kept

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1. Venn to Townsend Jan 21st 1859 (CMS CA2/L2).
 2. Townsend, Journal entry for May 3rd 1859 (CMS CA2/085).

*...which ought to have characterized the letters of Senior missionaries...

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 Crowther¹ besides Townsend and Dr. Harrison at Abeokuta, both violently opposed 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 priestcraft, 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".²

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. Townsend's doctrine of "European superiority"

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1. of Venn to Hinderer Sept 22nd 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". (CMS CA2/L3).
 2. Hinderer to Venn Nov 15th 1864 (CMS CA2/085).

and the policy of annexation became merged and were on trial together.

“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 challenge the authority of Europeans in general.

They were, however, a heterogenous 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 chiefs¹ at Abeokuta; 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 his 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,² 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

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1. Townsend to Venn Nov 1st 1866 (CMS CA2/085).
 2. Champness to Methodist Secretaries 7th 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).

(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.

Townsend¹ did not 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 Wilhem, 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 and whom Townsend was pushing to become the Alake's regular clerk and copyist.² The strength of the group, however, was to be the European influence and connections to outshine other emigrants and their would-be black bishop. Within a year of Townsend's first publication of the Iwe Irohin,

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1. 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". (May 27th 1863 CMS CA2/085).
 2. 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 Oct 2nd-3rd 1865, also Nov. 28th 1865. The rest of the group will be found among those who signed the Alake's declaration denouncing the Campbell /contd.

designed to give a varied literature to the growing number of people literate in the vernacular, Townsend announced that he was beginning an English supplement with a distinctly stated political mission (May, 1860):

"I intend publishing in the English appendix some account of the past history and government of this country. My object will be to interest the white people in native politics.... Europeans generally stand aloof from native matters as if they had no interest or concern in them until there is a stoppage in trade.... I am also strongly of opinion that we don't pursue the best policy in being so isolated from the European community".¹

Above all, he had to outbid all other claimants to being the champion of Egba interests. This was his principal weapon against the Crowther group at Abeokuta. We have mentioned how he secured arms from the Consul during the war scare of February and March, 1860. He threw himself wholeheartedly into the Ijaye war from the start. Within

reference 2 continued:-

and Delany treaty in February 1861 (encl in Foote to Russell 9th March 1861, Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular) pp 1862 LXI).

1. Townsend to Venn May 4th 1860. In an earlier letter of February 28th 1860 he said he was already planning the English Supplement. (CMS CA2/085).

a month of the Egba declaration of war, Consul Brand, at Lagos, remarked that Townsend took "rather a prominent part" in the proposal to tax the trading community towards the cost of the war and that "several companies of native Christians commanded by leaders chosen by themselves" had gone to the front.¹ Besides, the Iye Irohin both in the Yoruba and the English editions continued to put forward the Egba case with some fervour. Townsend declared in February, 1861 that "the present war will, I trust, advance God's work and not retard it; it is an affliction from His hands in Love".²

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

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1. Consul Brand to Russell June 9th 1860. (Slave Trade Correspondence Africa, (Consular) pp.1860 LXIV).
 2. Townsend, Annual Letter for 1861 dated Feb 6th 1861. He elaborated this further in a letter of Feb 27th 1863 when he said: "I suppose more people of Ijaye have joined the Christian Church in Abeokuta in one year than did all the years Ijaye was occupied. I am also told that ten persons of the Ijebu town called Makun destroyed in the war have

a new station at Ibadan. Hinderer acquiesced in this at the conference, but wrote privately at once to Venn that if Macaulay was not fit for Owu he could not be fit for Ibadan:

"When, at the conference, I found that they were turning Macaulay to me in Ibadan, and as Macaulay is of the conference it would be a delicate matter to refuse him there (i.e., Ibadan.... He has taken a service to-day. The prayers were gabbled through in a quarter of an hour and in such a whisper as not to be heard on the second bench...."1

Crowther intervened to make a strong plea that Macaulay be allowed to found a grammar school in Lagos. ² 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. The treaty signed by Delany and Campbell

reference 2 continued:-

joined the Church in Abeokuta. The total number of people who have joined the Ake Church in the past 12 months is 9." (CMS CA2/085).

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1. Hinderer to Venn October 31st 1858 (CMS CA2/085).
 2. Crowther to Venn June 30th 1858 (CMS CA3/04).

2. Crowther to Venn April 4th 1860, postscript dated April 21st 1860 (CMS CA3/04). See also Venn to Crowther 1860 (CMS CA2/085).

in December of that year for the settlement of American negroes helped to complete the political eclipse of the Crowther family at Abeokuta.

The European missionaries remarked that though the delegates 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.¹ 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 27th 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 Buhler, 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".²

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1. Buhler writing to Venn from Germany where he was on leave Feb. 24th 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." (CM 3 CA2/024).
 2. Crowther to Venn April 4th 1860, postscript dated April 9th (CMS CA3/04). Buhler to Venn Feb 24th. 1860 (CMS CA2/024).

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, 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, emphasised after the treaty had been signed and was being criticised. 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

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1. Two letters by Samuel Crowther junior to Lord Alfred Churchill dated 50 Baker St. Portman Square London April 18th 1861. (encl. in F.O. despatch Wodehouse to Consul Foote April 23rd 1861. Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa (Consular) pp.1862 LXI.
 2. (ibid).

The Crowthers lacked political judgment 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. Venn did not favour the scheme.² 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".³ 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.

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1. Crowther to Venn April 6th 1861. Also the earlier letter of April 4th 1860. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Venn to Crowther May 23rd 1860 (CMS CA3/L2).
 3. Townsend nowhere in his letters attacked the Settlement scheme by name, but this passage in the Annual Letter for 1860 written Feb. 6th 1861 at the height of the crisis clearly referred to the scheme.

1. Alake's declaration of Feb 2nd 1861 signed by J. B. Farrant and others and to Russell March 2nd 1861.

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".¹ The Foreign Office told the African Aid Society to look elsewhere and they turned to Ambas Bay, near Victoria, in the Cameroons.

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. Some unknown people had lodged charges of slave holding against him and Gollmer with the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone. Now, the Rev. James White of Otta and his brother-in-law, J.C. Dewring, a merchant at Abeokuta (educated, like Robbin, in England) laid other grievous charges against Townsend. Townsend replied by counter-charges against Dewring and Josiah Crowther.

1. Alake's declaration of Feb 8th 1861 signed by J.M. Turner and others encl to Russell March 9th 1861 op.cit.

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 asked Crowther to mediate between the Governor and Dosunmu and negotiate the pension. He received petitions got up by

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1. Gollmer to Venn Jan 21st 1861 reporting the 'trial' of Samuel over which he presided, the procedure of which C.M.S. lawyers later condemned. (CMS CA2/043). James White to Venn Jan 15th 1861 laying charges of cruelty and slave-holding in what came to be known as the 'Lucy Talabi case' (CMS CA2/087). Venn to Maser Dec 24th 1860 that Wood, Harrison, and Buhler have been asked to investigate the disputes. Also Venn to Wood May 14th 1861 (CMS CA3/L3).
 2. Venn to Maser Sept 23rd 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 overrule all to his glory". (CMS CA2/L3).

Captain J.P.L. Davies from the chiefs and emigrants and passed them on to the Colonial Office, but dissuaded Davies from pressing Sir T. F. Baring to make an issue of the annexation in Parliament. ¹ Above all, 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. The Egba were still at war. Two of their leading generals, Sokenu and Ogunbonna, both friends of Townsend, with children in missionary households, died one after the other in July and August, 1861. In September 1862 the Alake himself died. The old compromise of a government collapsed. The Basorun was installed as Regent and he was to remain so till he died in 1868, as no new government emerged. A missionary described the Basorun in 1864 as "weak and vacillating", trying or at least seeming "to try to please

1. Venn to the Rev. J.A. Lamb (CMS CA2/L3).

1. Venn to Major-General Baring, 5th 1864 (CMS CA2/178).

everybody and pleasing nobody." ¹ But he had immense prestige as one of the few Elders left associated with the foundation of Abeokuta, as the brother of Sodeke and the terror of the Dahomey invaders. As became evident on his death, it was this prestige that stood between the town and anarchy. He could not keep the younger generals in check, and some of the townships, in particular Igbein, controlling access to and navigation on the Ogun, were apt to follow policies of their own. But he symbolised the one rallying point of Egba unity, the Egba will to resist the aggression from Dahomey and now the encroachments from the Lagos Government. And it was on this one essential point that the policy with which Townsend was associated had failed. 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 the right candidate for the bishopric. But it was a hopeless task. There were genuine matters in dispute between the British Government in Lagos and the Egba, about the manumission of domestic slaves, about the undefined boundaries of the Lagos Colony, about the status of emigrants and so on. Agreement was possible, but

1. Wood to Major Straith August 5th 1864 (CMS CA2/096).

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negotiations were frustrated by suspicion on both sides. The Lagos Government tended to regard Abeokuta as an ungrateful protege and as a prospective protectorate of the Lagos Colony as soon as they could convince the Lagos 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. The Lagos Government did not give him a chance to rebuild whatever was left of it. Within two months of his arrival in

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1. For an outline account of these conflicts between the Egba and the Lagos Government, see Biobaku The Egba State and its Neighbours op.cit p.69-83. All the time Venn was exerting influence on the Colonial Office on the Egba side. When at meetings in the C.M.S. House Glover assured him he would revive the Abeokutan policy, Venn tried to get him appointed Governor in place of Freeman. In April 1863 when he thought he had succeeded, he told the Secretary of the Yoruba mission: "It is evident that the C.M.S. has great weight with the Colonial Office at present ... but all will be lost if anything is done at which the Colonial Secretary can justly take offence, as tending to lower constituted authorities. They are most sensitive upon newspaper articles." (Venn to Lamb April 23rd 1863. CMS CA2/L3). Glover was in fact still only acting governor. When Freeman finally left in July 1864 and Glover became governor, he pursued a policy of his own. Venn had some of his ordinances disallowed, but Glover could always make out a convincing case for the policy he pursued in general. Venn also referred to "Lord Palmerston's policy of upholding the man on the spot", and that though he had "every confidence" in Cardwell the new Colonial Secretary, he saw during the proceedings of the 1865 Select Committee "so much of the influence and interference of subordinate parties as to check my hopes of an effectual control over a strong-willed

Abeokuta without prior consultation with the Egba, the Lagos Government sent to him, to use his influence to get the chiefs to accept Thomas C. Taylor as Vice-Consul, whose residence at Abeokuta would ease the tension between the two governments. Up to June, 1861, the Egba and Townsend himself would have rejoiced to see a British Consul at Abeokuta.¹ But in the new circumstances, they regarded a Consul as the official whom the British placed at Lagos when they conquered the place in 1851 and who was the first step towards annexation. They were bound to reject Taylor. Even if Townsend had hazarded whatever was left

reference 1 continued:-

governor as long as he appears to be successful in his policy." (Venn to Nicholson 24th July 1865, to Townsend August 23rd 1865. CMS CA2/L3).

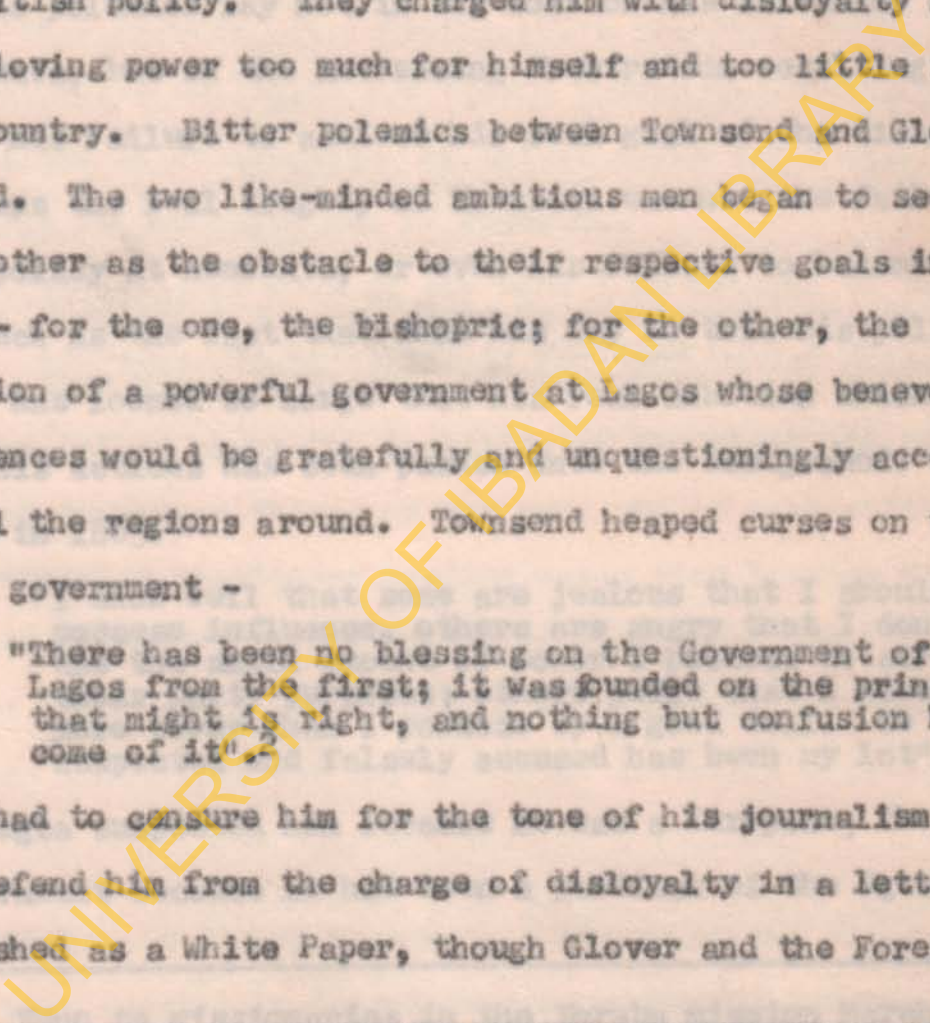
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1. The C.M.S. officially welcomed the appointment of the Vice-Consul to Abeokuta. Venn met Taylor in December 1861 before he left for Nigeria and said "he seems to take a religious interest in the prospects of his office. But we know no man till he is tried". (to Wood Dec. 23rd 1861).

of his influence, he could not have prevented it. In the circumstances he judged it prudent not to try. 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 two like-minded ambitious men began to see each other as the obstacle to their respective goals in life - for the one, the bishopric; for the other, the creation of a powerful government at Lagos whose benevolent influences would be gratefully and unquestioningly accepted in all the regions around. Townsend heaped curses on the Lagos government -

"There has been no blessing on the Government of Lagos from the first; it was founded on the principle that might is right, and nothing but confusion has come of it".

Venn had to censure him for the tone of his journalism and defend him from the charge of disloyalty in a letter published as a White Paper, though Glover and the Foreign

1. For the rejection of Taylor At Abeokuta see Wood to Venn June 5th 1862 (CMS CA2/096), Taylor to Townsend 27th June 1862 (copy in CMS CA2/085). Champness to Osborn 3rd - 6th June 1862 (Meth).
2. Townsend to Venn Nov 2nd 1864. Also Feb 4th 1863, March 5th 1863 (CMS CA2/085).



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Office remained unconvinced.

The truth was that Townsend did not love political power for its own sake but to advance the interests of his Church and of his country. The reason for the bitterness of his polemics lay not in the loss of his influence at Abeokuta, but in the increasing frustration resulting from his failure to achieve his real goal of the bishopric. Perhaps the real tragedy of Townsend was not the failure of his policy at Abeokuta, or even his failure to become bishop so much as the fact that from his day to this his political role has loomed so large that his real ambition which guided all his actions has been pushed into the background. He said in 1863:

"I know well that some are jealous that I should possess influence, others are angry that I don't use the small amount of power I possess to serve their Party purposes; others judge that I have more power than I possess by a good deal. To be suspected and falsely accused has been my lot".²

The Egba suspected him because he was a European; the Lagos Government because he had been a partisan of the Egba.

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1. Venn to missionaries in the Yoruba mission March 23rd 1863 (CMS CA2/L3). The Letters of the Rev. H. Venn on the Conduct of Missionaries at Abeokuta (PP 1863 XXXVIII). The head of the Africa and the Slave Trade Department of the Foreign Office, obviously with Townsend in mind, told the 1865 Select Committee: "It is with regret I say that the missionaries like to be independent and to be the advisers of the native powers; they do not like any interference with their policy". (Report from the Select Committee on Africa (Western Coast) PP 1865 V p 119).
 2. Townsend to Venn May 27th 1863 (CMS CA2/085).

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 talked about the inability of the black man in general to manage things on his own, and in particular how the Methodist missionary meeting was a flop because Champness was not there and it was conducted by a black man, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, who had been in charge of the Methodist Mission since 1849 but for the brief interlude 1861-63, when Champness took charge. 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 Legos 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

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1. Townsend to Champness Jan 5th 1864 (Meth). (This letter is important as being one of the very few letters of the missionaries used for this study that were not strictly official letters.) Hinderer reported on a similar decline of his prestige at Ibadan since Edward Roper mentioned above was made prisoner of war at the capture of Ijaye in March 1862: "Our position seems to be materially altered in this town", he said, "for ever since the last month or so, the baser sort of the people especially the young mock at and insult us whenever they see us".

In June, 1864, Crowther was consecrated in England. Venn then appealed to each of the European missionaries voluntarily to place themselves under his 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 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 humble, 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 workbut unfortunately the person of the bishop (Crowther) is not acceptable; by acts of partizanship 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

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1. Venn to Mann April 24th 1865 (CMS CA3/L3).
 2. Townsend to Venn November 29th 1864. (CMS CA2/085).

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."¹

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."²

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

1. Townsend to Venn June 1865 (CMS CA2/085).

2. -do- July 28th 1865. -do-

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 1860's. The rulers of Abeokuta were sufficiently intimate with the European residents to be able to distinguish between the persons of missionaries and traders and government officials. But to them the quarrel between Townsend and Glover was a quarrel among allies. When the debacle came in 1867, the Egba made no distinctions; if anything, missionaries seemed to have suffered more than traders.

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 ambitions 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 was a tailor in Sierra Leone, and had adventured on board a mercantile vessel, as a footplate¹man and a member of the band. 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

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1. Obituary Notice in the Lagos Weekly Record, Sept 16th 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

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

reference 3 continued:-

a settlement of the Lagos Egba dispute so that trade could again be resumed, Johnson replied to say 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 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 christinize 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 of 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).

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as enemies.

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 custom 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

Before the end of the year, he began to report rumours that it was being proposed 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;

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1. One of the first public acts of the EUBM was to convene a public meeting October 30th 1865 which resolved that Townsend should be asked to return to England to cooperate.
 2. Townsend to Venn October 23rd 1865 (CMS CA2/085).
 3. -do) April 3rd 1866 -do-

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's House, give permits. In doing this, the greatest opposition has been met but nevertheless it stands. This stir about the whitemen 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 institution, 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 worldly politicians" would "crush idolatry and make a highway for the Gospel". In May, 1867, the Rev. J.B. Wood another missionary with keen interest in local politics, said:

"It is a grief to many that the persons of whom the Board consists should have so much power....the Board is spoken against and much more murmured against; but it holds on its way. I should think neither in a moral point of view are the persons who compose it much superior to the ordinary run of the people here: but one thing the(y) seem to

1. Townsend to Venn Nov 1st 1866 (CMS CA2/085).

possess in an unusually large degree; that is doggedness so that what they take in hand they try to carry out".¹

The Egba United Board of Management was conceived of as a Chancellory, with Johnson as Secretary and another emigrant as President, formulating policy and seeking to gain control of the backing of the traditional rulers for executing the policies.² They won over Basorun the Regent, Akodu the Seviki (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, most efficient and therefore the one supreme government in Abeokuta. The

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1. Wood to Venn May 2nd 1867 (CMS CA2/096).
 2. cf Biobaku, *the Egba State and its neighbours* op.cit. 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.

internal difficulties were formidable especially 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 recognised 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, and 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 But it is the

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1. Townsend to Venn July 27th 1866 (CMS CA2/85). 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 May 2nd 1867, 1st June 1867, 1st August 1867. (CMS CA2/096).

relationship with Lagos that is important here. This may best 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.¹ Meanwhile, Glover had appointed a Postmaster-General and the mails had started to run, and the negotiations as well as the mails were interrupted by a more ominous quarrel.² The E.U.B.M. had established a customs house at the Aro gate of Abeokuta. They soon discovered that it was easy not only to smuggle cotton and palm-oil through some other gate, but also that many merchants, rather than bring their goods into Abeokuta before exporting them, sent them

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1. G.W. Johnson to Glover 10th April 1867 (G.W. Johnson Papers)
 2. C. Foresythe, the Lagos P.M.G., to Johnson 26th April 1867, Johnson to Glover 30th April 1867, Johnson to Foresythe 8th August 1867 (ibid).

1. Lt. Gervais, private secretary to Glover, 25th July 1867
(ibid. 22/67).

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 8th July that His Excellency the Administrator of Lagos

"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 importancebut 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 were grave. The Egba claimed the land down to the coast and recognized that it was only the island of Lagos that the British annexed. How, then, could Egba customs officers violate British territory? The Egba,

1. Lt Gerard, private secretary to Glover, 8th July 1867 (CMS CA2/07).

2. Ibid.

replied Johnson, would set up "customs houses and officersin 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".¹

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.² The Egba were enraged. On 24th 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".³ 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 13th October. This was the Ifole or House-breaking, as the Egba called it.

1. Johnson to Glover 18th July 1867 (G.W. Johnson Papers).

When it came, it seemed a spontaneous heathen uprising against Christian missionaries.¹ 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,² "they exhibited the most wanton destruction". 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

references 2 & 3.

2. Biobaku: the Egba State and its neighbours op.cit. p.82-3. Johnson to Glover 7th September 1867 (G.W. Johnson Papers).
3. Johnson to Glover 24th September 1867 (ibid.).

1. For accounts of the Ifole see the Rev. J.A. Maser "The Second Persecution of the Abeokuta missionaries, October, 1867" (CMS CA2/068 printed in the G.M. Intelligence Jan, 1868. The first persecution was in 1849. Also Grimmer to Methodist Secretaries Nov.4th 1867 (Meth). Crowther to Venn Dec 3rd 1867 (CMS CA3/04).

to Methodist Secretaries Nov 4th 1867 (Meth).

of a carefully laid plot hatched with the Ijebu to stop the penetration of European influences entirely.¹ The Egba themselves insisted that it was not the deliberate act of the Government so much as the angry gesture by an infuriated people.² 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, the Egba humiliated Europeans. In 1864, three elderly Quakers visiting Abeokuta were made to prostrate on the banks of the Ogun before they were allowed to pass.³ In 1866, a German catechist was beaten up at Igbein for no

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1. Crowther to Venn Dec. 3rd 1867 (CMS CA3/04).
 2. O.G.W. Johnson to Glover Oct 17th 1867 (CMS CA2/07).
 3. Crowther to Kimberley (on behalf of the Egba rulers) 6th Feb 1872 (CO 147/23).
 3. West to Methodist Secretaries 13th Jan 1864 (Meth); Crowther to Venn Dec. 3rd 1867 (CMS CA3/04).

reason whatever.¹ 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 October 13th 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 exclusion 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. issued the proclamation in September 1868 prohibiting "for the time being" the entry ~~of Europeans~~ of all Europeans to Abeokuta except by special permit, and banning the residence of all Europeans, missionary or commercial, in Abeokuta and its territories.²

In that way the Egba decided to drive away the orangoutang 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

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1. Venn to Lamb August 23rd 1866, November 23rd 1866 (CMS CA2/L3).
 2. Proclamation of the E.U.B.M. headed by Johnson's slogan "African shall Rise", 11th Sept. 1868 (CMS CA2/07).

missionaries and formed settlements in Lagos, Ebute-Metta and some Egba farms. But every reliable witness agreed that the converts were not the object of the persecution. The churches were allowed to be re-opened or rebuilt. African pastors and catechists were allowed in freely, but not Europeans. In October 1868, the pastors and catechists received a circular to wait upon the President of the Egba United Board of Management in order that they may 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.¹

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".

"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."²

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1. dated 13th October 1868 encl in Grimmer to Meth Secretaries 3rd Nov. 1868 (Meth).
 2. Bishop Crowther's Charge delivered to his clergy, 1869, (CMS CA3/04).

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".¹

The effects 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 rule 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 the 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 came round to acclaim the wisdom of the policy of Henry Venn. It was a remarkable period of training in self-government.

1. Crowther to Hutchinson Jan 19th 1871 (CMS CA3/04).

Crowther's position was the more clearly emphasised 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.

It seemed that the 'barbarous' act of the Egba was being imitated even in more civilised countries. For, in 1867, when the Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in Lagos, they were anxious to expand into the interior, especially to Abeokuta. But when in 1870 the French lost the war against Prussia, there was a revolution in France. The revolutionary government of the Commune in Lyons commandeered the House of the Society of African Missions, conscripted some of the seminarists and dispersed the rest. The S.M.A. went back in 1871 and the House was reorganized, but the funds of the society were low, and not until appeals to Catholics in countries outside France began to supplement them could the S.M.A. expand from Lagos.¹ Topo was occupied in 1876, and Abeokuta in 1880. Similarly the American Civil War cut off the funds of the Baptists entirely and the missionaries had to return home. Not till 1875 did new European missionaries arrive in Lagos and not till after 1880 were they ready to expand into the interior again.² Further,

1. Rene F. Guicher: Augustine Plaque (Lyons 1928).p.

2. Sadler op.cit.pp. 71-75.

the American Civil War brought depression to Lancashire, which was an important source of missionary funds, particularly of the Methodists. ¹ = Not till 1879, when the Lagos District was reorganized and separated from the Gold Coast District, were European Methodist missionaries ready to expand into the interior. The C.M.S. even before the Ifole had in 1865 similarly announced that "our funds are sadly behind our expenditure and that 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 Agbaba up to Ondo, through Ifo to Ibadan. But the work was under 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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1. West to Boyce 1st 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 this mission". Indeed, ten weeks later, Champness sent a draft for £10 7s from the Methodist Church at Abeokuta to the 'Lancashire Relief Fund' (17th June 1867. Meth).

CHAPTER VIIBISHOP 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 license 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

1. "Minute on the Constitution of the Anglican Native Bishopric on the West African Coast" 1864. (Copy enclosed in Crowther /contd.

Venn added in a letter to the Yoruba Mission that the present arrangement "can only be regarded as temporary".¹ 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.² He even once visited his son-in-law, a Government chaplain at Bathurst and drew up plans for the evangelization of that area.³ 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

reference 1 continued:-

to Hutchinson August 4th 1873, CMS CA3/04 quoted in full in the appendix to this thesis). Also the Parent Committee's charge to Crowther July 23rd 1864 (CMS CA3/L2).

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1. Venn to missionaries in the Yoruba mission July 23rd 1864.
 2. Crowther to Rev. J. Kimber, Secretary and General Agent of the American Episcopalian Church of Liberia, 23 Bible House New York, Feb.12th 1878, giving an account of his visitation Jan-Feb.1878. Also address dated Jan 30th 1878 by the Standing Committee of the Church asking him to become their bishop. (CMS CA3/04).
 3. Crowther to Wright June 18th 1874 giving an account of his visit to Bathurst in March.(CMS CA3/04).

Yoruba country over which European missionaries presided.

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. Without this, the duality of Crowther's position cannot be fully understood. Venn called his consecration the "full development of the native African Church".¹ 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".²

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1. Venn to Lamb Jan 23rd 1864 (CMS CA2/L3).
 2. "Minute on the Constitution of the Anglican Native Bishopric on the West African Coast" op.cit.

These instructions clearly applied to the Churches in Yoruba. As we shall see later, the expulsion of European missionaries from Abeokuta did hasten up talks 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, however, not the problem of organising 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 Mission is completely ignored. Apart from the need to bear in mind the extra burdens 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 1880's 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. Einderer was expected to spend 1857-58 on the Niger, but he was too ill to leave England and he returned direct to Ibadan.¹ In November, 1859, five

1. Venn to Crowther March 30th 1857. (CMS CA3/L1).

other Europeans were appointed to the Niger: two German catechists for Rabba and three English catechists for Onitsha.¹ And 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".²

The English catechists were sent to meet the Rev. J.C. Taylor at Freetown to travel to the Niger with him, but when it was announced that the Emir of Bida would not take kindly to a mission station at Rabba, the German catechists who had been sent on to Abeokuta were asked to go instead to Onitsha. Two of the catechists at Freetown were therefore diverted to work in Sierra Leone and only Ashcroft accompanied Taylor. As we saw earlier, Townsend did his best to persuade the German catechists not to go to the Niger. However, Crowther insisted on having them; one of them was too ill to travel, but Lieb accompanied Crowther. But when Crowther

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1. Instructions of the Parent Committee to Messrs Lieb, Blad and Ashcroft Nov 4th 1859 referring also to Brinley and Oldham as having been selected as associates of the Rev. J.C. Taylor. (CMS CA3/L2).
 2. Venn to Crowther May 23rd 1860 (CMS CA3/L2).

1. Venn to Crowther Jan 23rd 1860 (CMS CA3/L3).

2. of which Crowther's first charge was printed and translated. Venn wrote to him "I found the substance of many a missionary meeting and will bring such gold into our treasury". (Venn to Crowther Feb 13rd 1860, CMS CA3/L2).

and Taylor met at the Nun entrance, there was no transport for them to ascend the river. Ashcroft returned to Sierra Leone, Lieb to Abeokuta. By then the Niger Mission had become 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"¹ 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 England² 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 in theory.

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1. Venn to Lamb Jan 23rd 1864 (CMS CA2/L3).
 2. of 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 Feb 23rd 1867, CMS CA3/L2).

Thus Crowther was only nominally a native bishop, in practice essentially a missionary and in fact the symbol of a race on trial. He was a small, shy, humble man, avoiding the limelight, seeking repose for his studies and contemplations. He was too sensible of the debts he owed personally to Europeans to see himself as engaged in a conflict with Europeans. Even though he could fight, he was not the kind of man that would volunteer in a trial by combat to prove the abilities of one side against those of the other. But other people saw him in that role, and it must be said that having accepted his onerous burdens as a matter of duty, he faced them in a way that justified the boldness and the faith of the author of the experiment.

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

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1. of the leading citizens of Lagos in a petition to the C.M.S. in 1890 saying that with them, Crowther and his clergy "are not only servants of your society and that section of the Christian Church which they more immediately represent, but also representatives of the Race to which we and they belong". ("A Memorial from Lagos to the C.M.S. on the Niger Mission Question", Lagos 24th October 1890 Printed Pamphlet).

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 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. Trade and philanthropy had to work in co-operation, seeking the protection and influence of the British consular agents in penetrating into the African states. There was, however, the difference that the missionaries and the smaller traders and commercial agents were emigrants while the capital and the trading companies had to be British. The Niger Mission could only work 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, and navigated the Niger to Lokoja and the Benue for another 300 miles, made a substantial profit on trade, and

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1. S. Crowther: Journal of the Niger Expedition (CMS 1855).
W.B. Baikie: Narrative of an Exploring Voyage (Lond 1856)

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 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 conveyed up and down the river by a warship.¹ The Foreign Office agreed to provide the convoy "to protect all the vessels navigating the Niger for lawful commerce".² But the Admiralty was at first dilatory in offering cooperation. 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, provisions and other missionary equipment. Included in the party were Rev. J.C. Taylor, returning from leave, the two Europeans already referred to, Ashcroft and Lieb, emigrant catechists, Evangelists and private settlers, with their wives and children, besides Laird's own agents and crew. But the warship failed

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1. Crowther to Venn Dec 3rd 1859 (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Venn to Taylor April 23rd 1860 (CMS CA3/L2).

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".¹ 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.

Then in January, 1861 Laird, the only merchant established on the Niger, died, and his executors decided to wind up his business. 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.² If the Niger Mission had not acquired a symbolic significance, it

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1. Crowther to Venn October 6th 1860. Also previous letters from Akassa July 4th, Aug 9th, Sept 6th 1860. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Dr Baikie to Lord John Russell, Lokoja Sept 10th 1861, Russell to Baikie F.O. Dec 23rd 1861. (Slave Trade Correspondence, Africa, (Consular) PP 1862 LXI).

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. On one of his despatches, Lord Palmerston minuted in 1862:

"It would be desirable that the British Government should send out some person with a consular character as recommended by Dr. Baikie and that notice should be given to the British Chambers of Commerce that this has been done...."

"I have long been of the opinion that Western Africa will prove a better and readier source of supply for cotton than India, provided only that the slave trade could be abolished. Western Africa is much nearer than India. Labour there is cheaper than in India and cotton grows there in far greater abundance than in India and English goods are much more wanted there than in India".¹

When Crowther in 1863 reported the appearance of a French ship at the Nun, the Government went further. They got the rulers of Akasa, 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

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1. Palmerston's Minute 7th Sept 1862 on Baikie's despatch of Feb 20th 1862. (FO84/1190).
 2. Treaties, Aboh 8th Sept 1863, Onitsha 12th Oct 1863 (SP vol 59 p 1187-88).

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. Instead, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and others continued to put pressure on the Lagos Government to pursue a pacific policy, to bring the Yoruba war to an end and to open the overland route. Venn himself at first turned to the overland route. In July, 1861 Crowther suggested that if no new company was formed to take Laird's place, the Niger 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.

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1. It was for this reason that the quarrel between Lagos and Abeokuta loomed so large in Parliament. of the no. of Parliamentary Papers on the subject: PP 1863 XXXVIII "Venn on the Conduct of Missionaries at Abeokuta", "Papers relating to the Destruction of Epe"; PP 1865 XXXVII "Papers relating to the War against Native Tribes in the Neighbourhood of Lagos" besides the regular Slave Trade Correspondence papers referring to it, also the two papers trying to justify the annexation of Lagos, Colonel Ord's Report, and finally the 1865 Select Committee of the House of Commons.

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Venn replied that the mission could not afford it: "Our chief hope is upon a road from the Yoruba country".¹ 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 obvious man to turn to was Thomas Clegg, whom the C.M.S. had already used in developing the cultivation of cotton at Abeokuta. He got other "leading lights of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and cotton manufacturers" to form in 1863 the West Africa Company, which Venn did his best to get humanitarians to invest in. On the firm understanding that ships of the company would always provide the mission with passage and freight, and their factories on the Niger provide the mission agents with provisions and other supplies at an agreed rate, the C.M.S. or probably a friend of the Society's, bought 302 shares at £5 each, in Crowther's name, and asked the dividends to be used to finance industrial education in the Niger mission.²

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1. Crowther: "Notices of the Delta" July 29th 1861 (CMS CA3/04). Venn to Buhler August 23rd 1861 (CMS CA2/L3).
 2. J.E. Flint: British Policy and Chartered Company Administration in Nigeria (1879-1900 (Lond Ph.D. thesis 1957), p.24-25. Crowther to Hutchinson 16th October 1879 (CMS CA3/04) Wood to Hutchinson 14th April 1880 (CMS CA3/043).

Josiah Crowther also bought 60 shares. The West Africa Company then applied to the Government for a subsidy on the lines of the one granted to Laird. It would appear, however, that Clegg failed to rally round enough support. One of Laird's executors, A. Hamilton, in July of the same year formed a rival company of African Merchants which he claimed was the right body to inherit Laird's subsidy.¹ He was supported by two Liverpool houses and a considerable number of London merchants who probably did not trust the ability of Clegg, an industrialist, to manage a West African trading company, as well as by the African Aid Society which was alienated from the C.M.S. because of the Society's opposition to their scheme to settle American Negroes at Abeokuta.² The new Company had thrice the capital of the West Africa Company when they applied to the Government for a subsidy. In August 1863, Russell rejected the application of both companies. The West Africa Company then declared that it would not oppose the grant of a subsidy to the Company of African Merchants. Leading

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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 Chadde Coy of Lyons McLeod, advertised in the same paper in March 1863.
 2. See Chapter VI.

philanthropists like Gurney Hoare and Sir Fowell Buxton went to buy shares in the Company of African Merchants which then re-applied for a subsidy, on the grounds that it intended

"to carry passengers and supplies to the various missionary stations; to convey and victual all Government officers and scientific persons on the same terms as the late Mr. Laird; to afford the means for liberated Africans to return to their country, to carry native traders to and fro, which we deem of great importance; and we should likewise be prepared to carry on fair terms the goods and passengers of such other merchants as may in course of time wish to trade up the Niger".¹

The granting of a subsidy was opposed by the great majority of the members of Liverpool's Association of African Merchants, as well as by others in Bristol and London, who said they contemplated forming companies of their own and would not like the Government to favour any one company. The Liverpool Association was particularly opposed to giving the subsidy to the Company of African Merchants some of the Company's members being their direct rivals in

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1. Papers relating to the grant of subsidy to the Company of African Merchants (PP 1864 XLI also PP 1865 XXXVII). The date of the first application of the Company for the subsidy must read 22nd July 1863, not 1864 as in the printed document, for Lord John Russell rejected this application on the 13th of August 1863. The Company replied to Russell 24th August 1863, interviewed him, and on 31st August 1863 at his request put in writing the specific amounts of subsidy they were asking for. This was passed on to the Treasury, and it was rejected 4th March 1864. A Deputation of the Company saw Russell 14th April 1864 and next day put their arguments in writing.

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the Delta. After some hesitation, Lord John Russell supported the new application of the Company of African Merchants on the grounds that it had more capital than the West African Company and was better organised. The Treasury, however declined to grant the subsidy. Russell continued to support the Company in other ways. When the health of Dr Baikie broke down in 1864 and the government carried out their intention to appoint a Consul in his place, it was a prominent member of the Company of African Merchants, Lyons McLeod that was appointed, an unfortunate choice as we shall see.

The point to be noted here is that at the time when Crowther became bishop, the Niger Mission was far from being assured of regular communication. The refusal of the

reference 1 continued:-

Russell wrote a Memorandum supporting this 29th April 1864 to the Treasury, but the Treasury refused to alter their decision.

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% - 200% profit), or that some of their European agents were "members of the Anthropological Society and disciples of Burton" who considered missionary work useless if not positively

harmful to Africans,¹ 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.²

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

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1. Crowther to Venn June 6th 1865, October 6th 1865. (CMS CA3/04). The reference was to T. 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 VIII.
 2. Crowther to Clegg, Jan 3rd 1867. (CMS CA3/04).
 3. Crowther to Venn October 28th 1866 (CMS CA3/04).
 4. From 1867 to 1876. Crowther to Estlin Jan 12th 1871. (CMS CA3/04).

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 Legos, 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. Romsine, 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 and relatives from Sierra Leone engaged on the same mission, either through self-interest or religious duty, of opening up the Niger for European influences. Crowther regarded the growing success of the West Africa Company as an

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1. Venn to Crowther Dec 23rd 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. (CMS CA3/L2).
 2. Crowther to Venn October 28th 1868 (CMS CA3/04).
 3. From 1867 to 1870. Crowther to Hutchinson Jan 12th 1875. CMS CA3/04).

achievement in which he could take a pride. "If it be acknowledged", he wrote to Clegg in January, 1867,

"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".¹

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. One or two incidents quite early brought these dangers painfully home to Crowther. In 1867, Abokko, an influential chief of Idda, where Crowther had just opened a new mission, who was in charge of markets and the European trade and navigation on the Niger, having quarrelled with the Atta and seceded from the town, wished to divert trade and customs dues from Idda to his new settlement at Oko Okoin, some 20 miles to the north. The traders refused to be diverted

1. Crowther to Clegg Jan 3rd 1867. (CMS CA3/04).

and Abokko felt slighted. When Crowther, travelling by canoe from Onitsha, called at Oko-Okein, Abokko decided that he now had in his power the one man who since 1841 had been present at every trade negotiation at Idda and the one man who should be able to say where European traders must go. He decided to hold him to ransom. Crowther sent to Lokoja. The Vice-Consul arrived three days later in the West Africa Company's steamer, and persuaded Crowther to escape with him. They reached the steamer but the arrow that hit the Vice-Consul proved fatal.¹

At Oko-Okein Crowther must have had in his pocket a letter from the Consul, Lyons McLeod, written in February and sent to him in Lagos by the overland route. McLeod, who was not only a rival of the West Africa Company, but also apparently one of Burton's disciples, a vain, extravagant man and a drunkard,² had written to Crowther:

"My dear Bishop,

If you have any wish to preserve the mission in the Niger (which it appears to me you all work disgracefully), come and take away Mr. John, the catechist at Lokoja, and put your son Dan(deson) in there. I have been compelled to write for a white bishop, Presbyterian minister and Basel missionaries.

"Very sincerely yours,
Lyons McLeod".

1. Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger, entries for 19th -29th September 1867, Crowther to Venn October 18th 1867. (CMS CA3/04).

When Crowther reached Lokoja he saw that McLeod had in fact written to the Bishop of Oxford:

"Will you kindly have a white Bishop of Lokoja consecrated for Lokoja?"

"I beg strongly to recommend to your Lordship the Rev. H. McConnell Hussey, of Christ Church, Brixton, who I think would work with me here con amore.

"There will be no funds required; the young colony is already rich; we can afford a salary of £1,000 to begin with and I will leave £2,000 per annum to continue. In addition, handsome allowances".

Nobody took McLeod seriously. His other hair-brained adventures convinced the Foreign Office that he was a most unfortunate choice. Crowther thought he was out of his mind and advised him to take a change of air. It was not till later when the West Africa Company had succeeded

references continued:-

2. W.H. Simpson, Foreign Office Commissioner, Niger Expedition of 1871, Report to Earl Granville Nov 21st, 1871 (FO 84/1351, Confidential Print Jan 1872). Crowther to Venn July 3rd 1869 on the causes of the closure of the Lokoja Consulate (CMS CA3/04).

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1. Crowther to Venn April 28th 1868 enclosing copies of McLeod to Crowther Feb 25th 1867, McLeod to the Bishop of Oxford Feb. 24th 1867. (CMS CA3/04).

sufficiently to attract other competitors did its connection with the Niger mission become a matter of grave embarrassment to the mission. It was then that criticisms of the missionaries both more and even less responsible than McLeod's begin to be taken seriously.

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; so great that

"Mr. Gurney Hoare thinks that not even a Government subsidy will enable them to hold on. That in any case a subsidy was unlikely. Mr. Gladstone was always opposed to a subsidy and Lord Stanley was not likely to be any more favourable. Lord Palmerston's death has removed Africa's most powerful friend".¹

Even as late as July, 1869 Crowther still feared that the company might pull out of the Niger. The company, he said,

"have instructed their General Agent to remove their trading establishments both at Lokoja and Onitsha down to Akassa at the Nun. Thus our stations at Lokoja and Onitsha will be once more left to themselves".

However, less than four months later, Crowther reported that the Agent-General found the trade so profitable that

1. Venn to Crowther Feb 23rd 1867 (CMS CA3/L2).

season that he changed his mind.¹ 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.² 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 civilising forces, not in the making of palm oil or the gathering of elephants' tooth. 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 & 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.³

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1. Crowther to Venn July 3rd 1869, October 30th 1869. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther to Hutchinson Jan 12th 1875 (CMS CA3/04).
 3. Crowther to Venn October 2nd 1871, October 30th 1871. (CMS CA3/04). Also W.H. Simpson's Report to Earl Granville, November 21st 1871 (F084/1351, op.cit.).

Thus by 1870, the hope of more regular and assured communication with Lagos, Sierra Leone and England and between the various mission stations greatly brightened up 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. The embarrassment it brought the mission has been mentioned and a good deal more will be heard of it later. It did not destroy the trust system; 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 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

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1. of Crowther to Hutchinson Dec 4th 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. (CMS CA3/04).

had come true. The 1870's were the golden decade for the missions' incipient middle class. The West Africa Company set the standard when between 1872 and 73 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 stable 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, to prevent the extravagant excesses of officials like McLeod, who could be communicated with only once a year, 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 African rulers was a policy he himself

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1. Flint op.cit p.25, citing Consul Hopkins to F.O. 18th Nov. 1878 discussing the organisation of the Company and praising the African staff.
 2. W.H. Simpson's Report, Nov.1871, op.cit. with Journal as encl 3.

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 advocated, 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 who could give him guidance and
 advice. 2 The Government refused to appoint a consul,
 and Crowther was 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.

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1. of conclusion to Crowther's Journal of a visit to Bida
 Sept 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. (CMS CA3/04).
2. Crowther to Venn October 30th 1871 (CMS CA3/04).

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.

Crowther must be given the credit along with MacGregor Laird and Dr. Baikie, for having 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.

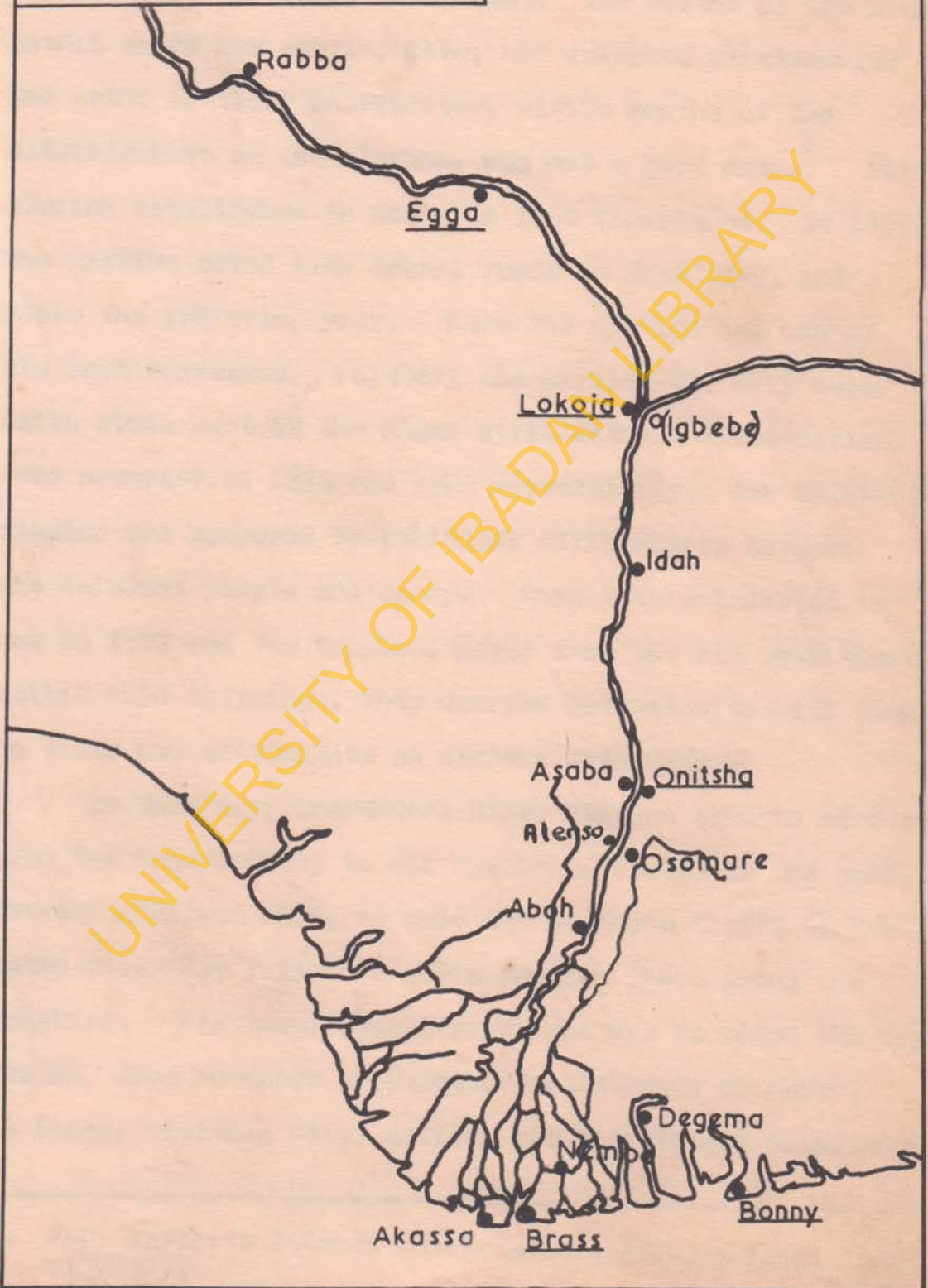
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1. Crowther to H. Fowler, acting Administrator of Lagos Dec. 4th 1872. Crowther to Hutchinson May 12th 1874 enclosing copies of Crowther to George Beckley, Governor of Sierra Leone. October 30th 1873, Beckley to Crowther 25th Feb. 1874, Crowther to Beckley March 19th 1874. Crowther to Capt Strachan, Administrator-in-chief of the Gold Coast October 2nd 1874. Crowther's Journals of visits to Bida entries for 6th and 7th September 1875, 13th Sept. 1876. (CMS CA3/04).

2. Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger July - Sept 1866. (CMS CA3/04).

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".¹ In 1864, he had a flourishing mission station at Onitsha and one at Gbebe, 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.² The attempt to establish a station at Rabba failed in 1859 but one was established at Egga in 1873. An attempt at Idda 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 Badagry was occupied earlier when a coastal port was found

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1. Chapter IV. 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. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger July -Sept 1866. (CMS CA3/04).

THE NIGER MISSION
main stations underlined.



necessary. But, like the people of Badagry, those of Akassa did not rush to become Christians. The deaths 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.¹ But the mission established in Bonny in 1864 flourished. In 1868, the mission moved into Brass, Tuwon in that year, and Nembe the following year. Here the mission had one of its best successes. Kalabari and Okrika the only other Delta state 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

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 Tshékiri. 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.

1. J.C. Taylor's Journal Extracts Dec.1861-Jan 1862. (CMS CA3/037).

2. Epelle op.cit. p.28-29.

Sometimes 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.

He 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. He was a teacher all his life. When a man came ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{him} at Onitsha to discuss trade, to show him the distinction between traders and missionaries Crowther called for a basin of water and a spoonful of palm-oil and told the man to try to mix them.¹ He preached a sermon once at Bonny in which he referred to horses and chariots, but he noticed that Bonny people, who were not used to horses, did not fully appreciate the sermon; therefore, on his next visit, he brought a pony from Lagos. He rode it to King Fepple's house, and while engaged on business with the king told his son to ride it round the town.² When Onitsha people showed suspicion at some of his doings in the Mission House, he said it was because they had not travelled far

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1. Crowther, Journal of visit to the Niger Mission 1868, entry for August 10th (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther Reports of the Bonny Mission, April 14th 1868. (CMS CA3/04).

and he offered to pay for the journey of two or three of them to visit Sierra Leone.¹ 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".²

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.³ 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 ground⁴ he had selected outweighed such considerations.

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1. Crowther to Venn Nov 27th 1868. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Instructions to the Rev. J.C. Taylor, encl. in Crowther to Venn August 26th 1857. (CMS CA3/04).
 3. Spelle op.cit. p.10.
 4. Crowther to Hutchinson February 11th 1874 enclosing Dandeson Crowther to Crowther Jan 27th 1874. (CMS CA3/04).

When a mission was established at Egga in 1874, it was placed on a lonely eminence; in Crowther's words,

"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".¹

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 inter-marriage 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."²

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1. Crowther to Hutchinson October 8th and October 24th 1874. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther, Journal of a visit to the Niger Mission 1868 entry for August 12th (CMS CA3/04).

Crowther, of course, rejected out of hand the suggestion that converts should continue to join the customary rites; and while he insisted that the mission did not place any restrictions on dress, he also maintained 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 in its lonely eminence, high and dry and healthy, not so much as a baby that would grow, rival and in due course overcome the old town, but as a show piece of the new way of life, like the example that the practical teacher held up in 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.

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 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 1870's, gives the impression that the chief feature of Sunday congregations was the predominance 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

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1. of Instructions to Agents given at Bonny May 27th 1872 (CMS CA3/04).
 2. John Whitford: Trading Life in West and Central Africa (Liverpool 1877) p.117.
 3. G.W. Brooke to Robert Lang July 16th 1889 (CMS G3/A3/04).

the doctrinal refinements would follow.¹ Education, he said in 1874, cannot but

"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 Scriptures inculcating all virtues and condemning all vices, and vividly pointing out the folly and superstition of idolatrous worship".²

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 evoking 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

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1. It was related that during a small-pox 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. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther: Paper entitled "Brief Statements exhibiting the characters, habits and ideas of the Natives of the Bight" 1874. (CMS CA3/04).

mission hardly increased at all.¹ This had to do with 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 to contribute to see the native bishopric experiment succeed. Besides sums from England, there were contributions from congregations in Madras, Quebec and Bucharest and from European and African traders at Lagos, in the Delta and in Sierra Leone.² 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".³

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1. The grant in 1861 was about £1000 (excluding supplies in kind). In 1864 on Crowther 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.P. July 10th 1872.
 2. Crowther to Venn March 20th 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 Sept 8th. CMS CA3/04).
 3. Crowther: A Charge delivered to the Clergy, 1874. CMS CA3/04

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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

He began at Bonny in 1864, where the situation was particularly favourable. King William Dappa Pepple, who had failed to get the Presbyterians to establish themselves at Bonny in 1849, was deposed by Consul Beecroft in 1854. He arrived in England in 1856 to contest the legality of his deposition. Aided by English humanitarians, prominent among them being the Gurney family, he was finally allowed to return to Bonny in 1861 with a compensation of £7,500.² Determined to take Christianity and civilization back with him, he chartered a schooner and engaged a chaplain, a schoolmaster and a doctor, but within weeks of his arrival, the employees

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1. When persecution broke out in Brass in 1872, and children at school were reduced from 31 to 16, Crowther wrote to Venn that it "has robbed us of the means of supporting that mission". July 10th 1872. CMS CA3/04).
 2. Epelle op.cit. p.8.

deserted him and returned home to England. He then wrote to the Bishop of London, asking for a missionary, and the request was passed on to Crowther, who was in England for his consecration. Crowther went to Bonny in October, 1864 and negotiated an agreement with the king and chiefs by which they promised to pay 21 puncheons of oil (valued at £300 - £400) as roughly 50% of the capital costs of a Mission school and House, the rest being met from the Bishopric Fund.¹ 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 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,

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1. Agreement with Bonny Chiefs, 1865, referred to in Crowther to Venn May 1st 1867. Also printed account of payment of school fees at Bonny and Brass missions, dated Dec. 31st 1869. Crowther to Venn July 10th 1872, that in spite of the Civil War in Bonny the terms of the agreement were eventually carried out. (CMS CAJ/04).

who was educated in England and was an ardent Christian, and who 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.¹ 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 destroyed and no longer held sacred.² Bonny was entering upon a period of acute political crisis. The long years of the king's exile and the destruction of his trade and wealth had transferred power to the Regents. The monarchy lost more prestige when the old King William gave way to the young King George, full of Christian reforming zeal. The rivalry of two of the

1. Crowther to Venn 27th Feb. 1867; Journal of Crowther's visit to Bonny 1867, entries for Jan 12th-14th. (CMS CA3/04).

2. King George Pepple to Crowther April 22nd 1867 encl in Crowther to Venn May 1st 1867 (CMS CA3/04. Also printed in full in Appendix 3 of Epelle op.cit.).

Regents, Oko Jumbo and Jaja (Anine Pepple) led to civil war in 1869 and Jaja's secession to Opobo. The school and the mission suffered both on account of the disturbance and decline of Bonny trade and because the mission became identified with King George Pepple and Oko Jumbo. Jaja consistently refused to have the C.M.S. or African missionaries, and though he had himself sent pupils to the Bonny mission school and was reported to have been taking private reading lessons, and some of his chiefs took emigrant schoolmasters with them to Opobo in 1873, not till after Jaja's deposition and death were the C.M.S. missionaries from Bonny allowed into Opobo.¹ But in spite of political difficulties, 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 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

1. Epelle *op.cit.* p.27-8. Among the European missionaries Jaja contacted was the Methodist Superintendent in Lagos who went on a visit to the Niger in 1879. See John Milum to Jaja, King of Opobo, 6th Sept 1879 encl in Milum to Methodist Secretaries 11th October 1879. (Meth).

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 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 destroyed by a naval bombardment of the town, Crowther went to Onitsha not only to convince the rulers that the mission 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 in educating 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

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1. Crowther to Wright June 18th 1874, Crowther to Hutchinson April 13th 1875. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther, Report on the Niger Mission, 1880. (CMS CA3/04).

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.

He 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 drainages. 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 was all for education in England. "Reading", he told his clergy in 1869,

"explores the vast regions of literature wherein are stored up varieties of thoughts of men of deep research and whereby the ripened experience of ages is secured for the benefits of after generations. As the busy bees fly from flower to flower to collect the sweet essence from their dusty nectaries and thus accumulate a rich store of sweet provisions for their own nourishment, which is envied by man, who robs them of their precious stores, so should all students pore into volumes both old and new,

to make the thoughts treasured up therein their own; for this cannot but greatly contribute to enlarge and enrich their own minds".¹

When in 1874 he asked the Finance Committee of the Yoruba Mission to recommend three boys from the Lagos Grammar School for training at Fourah Bay, and the Committee refused, saying that the boys should be sent instead to the local training institution, where academic education was discouraged, Crowther said he only paid them the courtesy of asking them. He took the boys to Sierra Leone on his own responsibility and recruited for work on the Niger seven students from the college.²

Yet, for all his belief in the value of literary and academic training, he did not reckon it the most essential outfit 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

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1. Crowther, A Charge delivered at Lokoja...13th Sept.1869. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther to Hutchinson 16th Jan 1874, to Wright Feb 5th 1874. (CMS CA3/04).

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 completed 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 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.

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1. (i) Crowther to Venn Nov 27th 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. (CMS CA3/04).

For the C.M.S. insisted that all volunteers for the 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.¹

Within the context of that situation, Crowther evolved a system - discussed in a paper he presented to the Conference of West African Protestant Missionaries at Caboon 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

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1. 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 Dec 11th 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 Feb 11th 1874 recommended an increase of salaries on condition that educated wives spent at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day helping at school, but nothing was done about this presumably because there were no funds. The mission authorities emphasised that a spiritual call, not the salary should attract people to become mission agents, but those who like Venn took a personal interest in 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

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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

reference 1 continued:-

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 (CMS CA3/013).

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.¹ Dandeson became 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, and 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 he had to ponder over the Yoruba equivalents of God, Devil, priest and so on and he consistently tried to find a term in use. (Sometimes this led to the misrepresentation of the indigenous meaning of the term adopted - as in the case

1. Crowther to Hutchinson Feb 11th 1874. (CMS CA3/04).

of Esu, which was nothing like the Christian Devil.)¹ He was even willing where he could - against the opposition of some European colleagues, as in the case of alufa, then in use as the Muslim malleam, by which he translated priest - to adopt terms from the rival religion, in preference to importing foreign ones. As head of a mission and insofar as he exercised authority as a bishop, this was his chief contribution to the development of the Church as a national institution. "Christianity", he told his clergy in his charge of 1869, in which he attacked the E.U.B.M. and made quite clear his stand on the national issue,

"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 superstitious 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.

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1. cf E.U. Beier: African Religion, the story of sacred wood carvings from one small Yoruba town (pub by Nigeria Magazine 1957): "To identify Esu with evil is to misunderstand the basic principles of Yoruba philosophy. Unlike the Europeans, the Yoruba does not conceive the world as a conflict between good and evil, light and darkness, God and devil. He is realistic and recognises that all forces - even divine forces - have destructive as well as constructive possibilities. The secret of life, then, and the power of Orisa worship is to establish a constructive relationship with these powers".

"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".¹

Coming from a bishop virtually on trial, the purity of whose religion was being watched as he was accused in some quarters of baptising too readily and lowering standards - coming from such a bishop, nothing could be clearer as a statement of policy.

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 sometimes obvious. The Rev. J.C. Taylor, at Onitsha, in the 1860's said that he did not see anything sinful in converts taking or retaining ogo titles - which was comparable to being a member of Ebo in Calabar or the Ogboni at Abeokuta and

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1. Crowther, A Charge delivered at Lokoja in 1869 op.cit.
 2. Taylor to Venn 9th October 1862. (CMS CA3/037).

has for a long time since been consistently condemned by European missionaries. On the other hand, the Rev. J. Boyle, at Bonny, in the 1880's in a similar situation forbade members of his church to join an attempt of King George Pepple's to revive an old Bonny secret society, Owu Ogbo, as the "Bonny Play Club". The king 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 even against such authority and argument, Boyle refused to yield. In practice, hostility to polygamy might have varied in intensity: Crowther remained a confirmed opponent and would not baptise a polygamist, but his son went further and declared polygamy to be "slavery for the wives"². Crowther remarked in 1866 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"³ - but it is doubtful if anything like it was encouraged anywhere else. Such

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1. King George Pepple to the Rev. James Boyle 11th October 1884; (Spelle op.cit. Appendix 3, also p.41.)
 2. Printed Report of the Gaboon Conference op.cit p.8, during a debate on polygamy.
 3. Crowther to Venn Nov 6th 1866 (CMS CA3/04). It was Townsend /contd.

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 as 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

reference 3 continued:-

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 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ encouraged them to view it in a better light." (Journal entry for Aug 29th 1857. CMS 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. (CMS CA2/087).

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 with the chiefs alone. 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, soon began to argue about what is sinful and what is not, and the problem of Church discipline became more complicated. The problem was larger in the Delta, as the Church was more successful there in converting leading rulers of the states. King George Pepple of Bonny was a Christian before the mission was established. Most of the chiefs rallied round the school and rivalled one another in donating money for it or for building and furnishing churches. When the time came, they rivalled themselves in putting away their idols, declaring themselves monogamists and accepting baptism.

1. Taylor to Venn October 9th 1862, also Jan 10th 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 and Elders was defending Christianity "boldly and faithfully". (Crowther, ~~the~~ Journal of a visit to the Niger Mission, 1868, entry for August 12th. CMS CA3/04).

This was particularly so in Brass, where the old King Ockiyale led the way in 1879 by being baptised "Constantine" a fortnight before his death, followed by other gentlemen like Spiff and Sambo. The depth of their conversion may be questioned. Dandeson Crowther in 1884 referred to the prevailing sin of polygamy, particularly at Nembe (Brass), "where the majority of the chiefs baptised have fallen into the sin of polygamy".¹ But there can be no questioning the fact that without evoking the force of the gunboat, the missionaries got the chiefs to pass laws not only 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 to the gods, like the Iguana in Bonny and the boa constrictor in Brass. 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. The assertion may be permitted

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1. King George continued: "If the converts (your flock) were deviating from the Christian teachings and the statutes of the Church in their play, then, under any ~~consequences~~ consequences, I would ~~not~~ counsel you (not to) wink at such perversions of religion, no, not if it were to cost you an empty Church tomorrow; but such not being the case at present, it is

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that Christianity penetrated the life of the people as communities more ~~exten~~ thoroughly in the Delta than anywhere else in Nigeria. No doubt many factors contributed to this - the long trade connections with Europe, and prevailing economic factors of the nineteenth century - but the effectiveness of Crowther's missionary methods must be reckoned above all others. 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. It is doubtful if missionaries

reference 1 continued:-

best to let the matter rest. (To the Rev James Boyle, 11th October 1884. See also the second letter of 12th October 1884, both quoted in full in appendix to Epelle, op cit p.117-8).

elsewhere in Nigeria without using force have yet succeeded in destroying an object of communal as distinct from personal veneration comparable to the Bonny "Juju House". The statue of King William Pepple himself now marks the spot.¹

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 the surrounding area, and continuing his works 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

1. Epelle op cit p.19.

mission to carry out the plans for the organisation 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 Delts. But the churches in Abeokuta and Ibadan could not be left without episcopal supervision indefinitely. Candidates for ordination could be sent to the Bishop of Sierra Leone in Freetown or even in Lagos, 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.

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1. Venn to Townsend Dec.21st 1869 (CMS CA2/L3).
 2. Crowther to Hutchinson Jan 19th 1871; to Venn Jan4th 1868. (CMS CA3/04).

He went to Abeokuta in January, 1871. He found the town split into two camps over the rival candidates of Ademola and Oyekan for the throne of Alake. Ademola was installed with wide support in Ake, among the Ogboni, the Christians and Ogundipe, the Alatise ("Mediator-General"). Outside Ake, it was Oyekan, supported by leading war chiefs, the E.U.B.M., the Asalu and Madam Tinubu, who held effective power. The Igbein people seemed to have constituted a third force. All 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

1. Crowther to Venn June 19th 1871 suggests that this was due in part to Robbin's and Townsend's mismanagement of the situation. (CMS CA3/04).

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. Clubi and two catechists had been looking after the three C.M.S. congregations and occasionally visiting others in the outstations. Crowther noted, concerning the agents, that "the Are respected and consulted them on any matter of doubt between (Ibadan) and the white man; he is anxious for the return of Mr. Hinderer to Ibadan". Crowther 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 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.¹

The journey 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. But that did not make the Bishop of Sierra Leone anxious to relinquish his nominal control over the mission. Moreover, he did not fully sympathize with Venn's Native Bishopric Scheme, and had been trying to whittle down the amount of self-government enjoyed under the pastorate scheme of 1853, by proposing European archdeacons to supervise African pastors.

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1. Crowther: Journal of an overland route journey, Dec 1871-Feb 1872. Ogbomoso Jan 16th, Ibadan Jan 20th-29th, Abeokuta Jan 30th - Feb 5th. See also printed memorandum "Acts of Liberality of King Masaba of Nupe to British subjects", Lagos Feb 1872 recounting and estimating the cost of the hospitality they received not only from the Emir of Bida but also all along the way, (CMS CA3/04). Also Crowther to Kimberley, 6th Feb. 1872 (CO 147/23).

In return a movement had arisen, encouraged by the writings of men like Edward Blyden and Pope Hennesy,¹ towards the formation of an Independent African Church, governed wholly by Africans and adapted to suit African conditions. The Parent Committee of the C.M.S. viewed the movement, which seemed to be spreading to Lagos, with so much alarm that in 1873 they summoned Crowther to London for consultations,² together with the 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, 1873 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

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1. The ideas of Edward Blyden will be discussed in Chapter VIII. Pope-Hennesy was an Irish man, formerly also a Roman Catholic. He entered Parliament and was a supporter of Disraeli by whose government he was appointed Governor of the (British) West African Settlements (Combined in 1866 as recommended by the 1865 Committee). He went to Lagos and among other things tried to bring Dosumu back into the machinery of government. The experiment was however short-lived and has received less sympathetic notice than it deserved.
 2. Venn's letter of 11th October 1872 urging Crowther to visit England was his last letter to him. The depth of friendship between the two men may be judged from the words. Venn for many months before had been unable to attend meetings of the Parent Committee and he wrote from his house in East Sheen, Surrey: "My dear Friend, I feel so sure that if the Committee writing, they would invite you to visit England this winter, that I have no hesitation in saying to you 'come'... I pray God your visit here may as on former occasions be a season of such spiritual refreshment to your own soul and to the Christian friends of this land. To myself it will be an unexpected delight.

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practice. They therefore decided to ask Crowther to visit Sierra Leone and pacify the African pastors there; 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. They asked Crowther to open negotiations with the Bishop, and they took up the matter with him also. In October, 1873, soon after Crowther's return to the Niger (he was unable to stop for more than a few hours at Freetown on the way out), the committee wrote to him that following their correspondence with the Bishop of Sierra Leone "We think we should continue to act in accordance with the existing arrangements "until a transfer is

reference 2 continued:-

My health has been so failing of late that I could not look beyond a few months ... I shall rejoice to see you at my old residence in East Sheen for a stay, and I trust as you can be my guest. And I hope you will come to me in the first instance." He died before Crowther was able to reach England. (CMS CA3/L2).

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1. Crowther to Bishop October 1873 (CMS CA3/L2).
 2. Crowther to Knight Feb 1874 (CMS CA3/L2).

thought desirable by the Bishop of Sierra Leone and arrangements made accordingly.

"We should have been quite willing to look both to you and to him for any episcopal ministrations that were required as happened to be most convenient, but there would be manifest difficulties likely to arise with such an arrangement, so that it is better that one should be recognized by us as having authority there. At the same time we feel sure that you would be willing to act for the Bishop of Sierra Leone whenever you could conveniently comply with his request, so that every practical advantage would thereby be gained from your closer proximity to the mission".¹

When Crowther went to Sierra Leone in February, 1874, the Bishop said he could not discuss transfer since it was not mentioned before he left England and he had to see the Archbishop and the C.M.S. about it.²

Negotiations went on in England, the Bishop of Sierra Leone probably raising the point that Bishop Crowther had enough to keep him busy on the Niger. 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.

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1. Hutchinson to Crowther October 16th 1873 (CMS CA3/L2).
 2. Crowther to Wright Feb 5th 1874 (CMS CA3/04).

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. Clubi who enjoyed genuine respect from Christians, heathens and Muslims alike, and that, particularly since the

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1. Townsend to Wright Feb 9th 1875: The Civilised Party "are men engaged in trade who have been baptised 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 March 2nd 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 polygamists. 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. (CMS GA2/085).

Ashanti War, Europeans were suspect.¹ Whether Townsend or 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

"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 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".²

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1. Hinderer to Wright May 14th 1875 enclosing Journal of Missionary Journey Feb - April 1875 from Lagos - Ondo - Ife - Ibadan. Hinderer was at Ibadan April 10th - August 5th. (CMS CA2/049).
 2. Ibid. He repeated this also in his letter of Sept 10th 1875.

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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 Townsendafter 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". 1

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. 2 That moment was the

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1. Hutchinson to Crowther 28th Jan 1876. (CMS CA3/L2).
 2. Report of a Sub-committee appointed to confer with Bishop Crowther and Messrs Townsend and Hinderer on matters connected with the Niger mission, March 20th 1877. (Committee of Correspondence May 1877 cited in Crowther to Hitchinson Dec 4th 1880. CMS CA3/04).

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. Questions 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 prove nor disprove. The younger European missionaries Hinderer had referred to petitioned against Johnson's appointment. The Bishop of Sierra Leone advised caution. The committee decided to appoint him for a trial period Superintendent of the Interior Missions and to consecrate him bishop 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.

CHAPTER VIIITRANSITION FROM GUIDES TO RULERS (1877-91).

In 1877, just as James Johnson was setting out for Abeokuta as Superintendent of the C.M.S. missions in the interior, and 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. Ilesha and Ekiti were attacked by Ibadan. Gradually, they built up the grand alliance called Ekiti Parapo which at various times included Ilorin, Ife, Abeokuta, 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 recognised by the Berlin Conference in 1884, the French Company sold out to the British Niger Company 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 '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

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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.

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 Benin in 1897, and was only interrupted by the First World War in 1914.

This movement of expansion belonged to the future. More relevant here was 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

1. Groves, op.cit., vol.iii, p.185-9 and passim.

them, missionaries were beginning to follow after the political officer.¹ 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. Just as there was conflict between the British and French companies on the Niger, there was rivalry between the S.M.A. and the C.M.S. at Abeokuta which was more than just a denominational controversy. It came to a head in 1888 when Edward Viard, a French agent, supported by Catholic Fathers on the spot playing on the feelings of the Egba against the Lagos Government, persuaded a group in the divided town to sign a treaty asking for French protection.² Little need be said about this. It was

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1. 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 Agbaba 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. C., later Bishop, Phillips at Ondo. (Glover to Rev. L. Nicholson, 12th June, 1871, in CMS CA2/04).
 2. Pather J.M. Coquard: "La Mission de Abeokuta" in Missions de Nigeria ed. L. Arial, op.cit., Father M.J. Walsh, op.cit., appendix.

unlikely that the Egba, so anxious to remain independent of the British, would be anxious to seek French protection. Besides, Protestant ~~forces~~ at Abeokuta were a generation ahead of the Catholics and that much stronger. Compared with Uganda, where the Anglo-French forces were more evenly balanced, the conflict at Abeokuta was only a ripple, a mere squabble among friends. The Catholic Fathers soon adjusted themselves to the idea of working in a British colony. They brought in Irish Fathers, 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 brothers, though not without rivalry, they were becoming part of a ruling caste. Johnson was recalled from Abeokuta. The mission-educated Africans, in particular

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1. The earliest Irish Fathers began to arrive in Lagos, where the teaching of English was most essential, by the late 1870's. In 1881 an S.M.A. Seminary was opened in Ireland. (SMA; 100 Years of Missionary Achievement, op.cit., p.31.

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 1880's was 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.

At the centre of much of the controversy was James Johnson - "Holy Johnson", as he was nicknamed in Lagos. 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 believed in referring to a spade as a spade and not by any tactful euphemism that might make it seem more attractive. 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

1. Archdeacon J. Lucas; History of St. Paul's Breadfruit Church (Lagos, 1952).

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 (institution) but a plant become indigenous to the soil".¹ He came to advocate a reform of the liturgy to suit local conditions.² When he listened to an Ifa priest converted to Christianity talk 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.³ When he heard the native airs at Otta, to which we have referred, he wished to see

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1. Report from the Rev. James Johnson, August 1877, report on Otta. (CMS CA2/056).
 2. 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."
 3. J. Johnson to Wright, August 2nd, 1876, re Jose Meffre's address to Desuma 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'." (CMS CA2/056).

2. J. Johnson to Hutchinson, March 5th, 1876. (CMS CA2/056).

3. J. Johnson, Report on Abeokuta Churches, dated 13th Jan. 1878. (CMS CA2/056).

them cultivated and extended to other stations. Two things he particularly wished to reform in the Church; the separateness of the Mission House and the old town; and the lack of fervour among the members. "Christians", he observed in Lagos in 1876,

"are regarded as a people separate from (the heathen), 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". 2

Later on he said in Abeokuta :

"Christians have really no importance amongst heathens, their countrymen with whom they are members of the same commonwealth There is no question (but) that the Church is sound and orthodox in the foundation tenets of our religion; but the ardour of love and fervour of zeal and jealous care for things of God which had been at once its strength and beauty have subsided". 3

But he was a reformer, not a revolutionary. He sought his reforms within the existing Anglican Church in

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1. Report from the Rev. James Johnson, August, 1877; report on Otta. (CMS CA2/056).
 2. J. Johnson to Hutchinson, March 6th, 1876. (CMS CA2/056).
 3. J. Johnson, Report on Abeokuta Churches, dated 13th Jan. 1878. (CMS CA2/056).

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 to mean 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. And in 1901, when others made an alleged insult he received from the mission the occasion of secession, ¹ far from leaving the Church, he accepted an assistant bishopric he had rejected in 1892, and he set out to work in Benin and the Delta for the Anglican Church. 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} the leading congregation, that of St. Paul's Breadfruit.

pp. 26-29.

1. J. Lucas, *op.cit.*, Preamble to the Revised Constitution of the African Church (Incorporated). (Ratified at Idi Ape, Abeokuta, 1941).

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 keeping of an upright life. Even in little matters he imposed his will. It was said, for instance, that when he began to preach against the unnecessary adoption of foreign names, 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 baptised him by that last name alone. 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 returned to them in 1880 and his transfer in 1901 was the occasion of a split in the Church: so beloved had he become by then.

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1. Lucas, op.cit. The Parish Committee to James Johnson, Dec. 5th, 1876 (CMS OA2/056).
 2. Report from the Rev. James Johnson, August 1877, report on Ibadan. (CMS OA2/055).

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 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) 2 it out through the Church and educate our people to it." Then he settled at Abeokuta, organizing church committees of each congregation, and 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

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1. Instructions of the Parent Committee to James Johnson, Dec. 8th, 1876 (CMS CA2/056).
 2. Report from the Rev. James Johnson, August 1877, report on Ibadan. (CMS CA2/056).

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to enforce this levy. Early in 1879, the Bishop of Sierra Leone visited Abeokuta and gave Johnson a favourable report. "We were very glad", wrote the Parent Committee to Johnson in August, 1879,

"to hear of the Bishop's visit to Abeokuta. There was much both in the letter he sent us giving an account of his visit and in what we have heard from him since his return home to make us both thankful and hopeful".

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 cannot do more than appeal in loving remembrance ... but no one in the employment of the Society shall hold men, women or child, or have personally any connection with the practice". 2

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.

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1. J. Johnson, Report on Abeokuta Churches, 30th Jan. 1878.
 2. Hutchinson to James Johnson, August 6th, 1879, enclosing "Minutes of the Parent Committee on Domestic Slavery in the Yoruba Mission". (CMS GA2/L4).

two months later, in spite of Johnson's protest that the
 He went as far as to collect a list of names of defaulters
 and to exclude from communion those whom he judged able
 to afford the fees. ¹ When he began to attack the
 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. The European missionaries in Lagos said that
 they had prophesied that Johnson could not make good.
 The question was whether or not, if Johnson had been
 given time, he would have been able to master the situation.
 In October the committee wrote to the Bishop of Sierra
 Leone:

"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". ²

To the European missionaries in Lagos the committee wrote
 that same month that "there ought to have been more
 'leading' and less 'driving' in the course he took....

But the best experience is gained by mistakes". ³ Yet

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1. Secretaries to J. Johnson, Oct. 24th, 1879, (CMS CA2/L4).
 2. Secretaries to Bishop Chetham, Oct. 24th, 1879, (CMS CA2/L4).
 3. Secretaries to Maser, October 16th, 1879, (CMS CA2/L4).

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 mind. 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". 1

And of all the abuses Johnson listed in the Church crying for reform, the attention of his successor was drawn "especially" to those "connected with 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. Perhaps the Bishop of Sierra Leone pressed for Johnson's withdrawal and the Committee came to accept the argument of the missionaries in Lagos, confirmed by the Bishop's visit, that there was room once more for the intervention of Europeans at Abeokuta. What seems clear

1. ibid.

2. Wright to V. Faulkner, Dec. 19th, 1879: "It is very clear that serious abuses, especially connected with domestic slavery have been allowed to exist and to grow in the Native Church". (CMS CA3/L4).

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 the four British companies, but also between them and emigrant traders and Brassmen from the coast. This competition drove up the prices of African produce, which meant for the European traders not only less gross profits, 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, fellow 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.

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."

1. Edgar to Josiah Crowther, 30th April, 1875, copy in CMS CA3/04).

"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".¹

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 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

1. ibid.

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 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."

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 & 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. The missionary wrote to protest and Cliff replied

1. Crowther to Edgar, Sept. 3rd, 1875 (CMS CA3/04).

2. Cliff to Crowther, 27th Oct. 1875 (CMS CA3/04).

"I should like to know who made you competent to judge as to whether I consider it necessary to work my men on Sunday or not.... If, instead of committing the workings of an unhealthy brain to paper and annoying other people with the same, you would mine your own shop, your class would be more respected in this river.

"You might, I should say, with advantage work out these propositions; whether God loves a lying angel better than a true man...." 1

The missionary sent copies of his and this letter to Bishop Crowther, who referred the matter to the Agent-General of the company who, in turn, sent the letters back to Cliff himself to send a reply to the Bishop.

Cliff wrote:

"No doubt you thought it would obtain my removal. I wish you had been here last Sunday to have seen the number of Onitsha people working at The Masaba (the company's vessel).... If I open trade on Sunday, which I shall do next month, don't suppose for a moment that the firm will interfere with my movements.

"I never interfere with the missionaries and I refuse to recognize such a drunken and disgraceful class of people." 2

Such correspondence and even the tone of such letters between traders and missionaries, were not, of course,

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1. Richard Cliff to the Rev. S. Perry, 31st Jan. 1875, in reply to Perry's letter of same date; encl. in Crowther to Edgar Sept. 3rd, 1875. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. Cliff to Crowther, 27th Oct. 1875 (CMS CA3/04).

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 irritated feelings of the Europeans. The persistent reports of the Europeans were gradually undermining the confidence the C.M.S. previously had in the 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.H. Ashcroft, who was sent to the Niger in 1860 but 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, 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 at 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

This 'Pope and Emperor' Constitution was the work of the Lay Secretary, Edward Hutchinson, a lawyer and general man of affairs who since the death of Venn had taken masterful control of the C.M.S. on the grounds that the Society was a lay organization and that he, the layman, not the cleric who succeeded Venn, should rule. If Hutchinson had not waited till Venn died before asserting himself, a struggle for power would have been inevitable between them.

1. "Memorandum on the financial arrangements for the Niger", encl. in Hutchinson to Ashcroft, May 3rd, 1878. (CMS CA3/L1).

2. Ashcroft to Hutchinson, August 2nd, 1878. (CMS CA3/L1)
 Transcribing as in the original.

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 told Crowther, "Your African climate tries the temper sadly".¹ Within two months of Ashcroft's arrival at his new post, he was writing back to Hutchinson, with evident signs of temper:

"I want in (sic) thoroughly understood that I am not going to be a figure 9 with the tail off. By God's help I will do what I can for the mission, but I must be allowed to do and not have my hands tied. Let the old man keep to the spirituals and the spirituals only. Let that be at once ² understood, for I don't want to clash".

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

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1. Hutchinson to Crowther, 5th Sept. 1878 (CMS CA3/L2).
 2. Ashcroft to Hutchinson, August 8th, 1878, (CMS CA3/05), underscoring as in the original.

trusted the African missionaries. Ashcroft was not only given sole charge of The Henry Venn, which one of the Secretaries later said

"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"; 1

Ashcroft

He was also told that he "represents the C.M.S. as the owners of the ship". The ship could not sail "except under special circumstances unless he and the clerk and proper officers and crew "were on board, though "as to stoppages or intermediate voyages" he was to consult the Bishop. 2 Ashcroft 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 6th December, 1878, Hutchinson told Kirk what it was unlikely he had told the Bishop, that

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1. Lang to Phillips, Jan. 26th, 1883. (CMS G3 A3/L2).
 2. "Regulations for the Use of the Mission Steamer", printed hand-bill 1878. Copy in Ibadan Record Office, BCC 20/9).

"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".¹

It was clear that Hutchinson had lost - or probably never had - confidence in Crowther; his letters show that he put his trust in Ashcroft and Kirk though he was 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 or 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

1. Hutchinson to James Kirk, 6th Dec. 1878 (CMS GA3/L1).

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 supervision of Europeans could the loyalty of the African missionaries be ensured.

This was hardly a fair assessment of the work of Crowther and others who preceded Goldie in developing the Niger trade. Clearly, the days of Burton, Laird and Josiah Crowther and other Africans like him holding positions of responsibility in the companies were dismissed when they ^{companies} were amalgamated in 1879. As independent traders, systematic pressure was exerted to drive them out of the river unless they wished to remain as clerks and mistrusted officials. These African traders, says Dr. Flint, "almost always caused Goldie to lose his head in a frenzy of abuse".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

1. Flint, op.cit., p.143.

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".¹

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 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 African Company in the new company.² The important point

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1. Goldie to Iddesleigh, 13th Dec. 1886 (FO84/1798), Flint, op.cit., loc. cit., p.143.
 2. Crowther to Hurchinaston, 16th October 1879, (CMS CA3/04). Also Hutchinson to Crowther, Sept. 5th, 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". (CMS CA3/L1).

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 he 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. Several incidents between 1879 and 1880 made this clear. Two of these may be cited.

At the time when the amalgamation of the British Companies was being discussed, there was a land dispute at Egga between European traders and the Rev. C. Paul, the local missionary. Ashcroft intervened on the side of the

European agents, but Paul refused to yield. Hutchinson supported Ashcroft on the grounds of avoiding hostility to the company:

"It appears that Mr. Ashcroft had advised some firms of European merchants to remove from Egga to Mount Elphinstone. This they resolved to do. One of the firm's members mentions this to Mr. Paul - so, at least, Mr. McEachen says. Shortly afterwards Mr. Paul goes to Bida and obtains from the king a grant of a mile of water frontage at Mount Elphinstone, thus stopping the proposed move of the merchant factories and causing great annoyance to them and irritation against the Society". 1

He therefore asked for the land, if not required by the C.M.S., to be given to the European traders.

Again, in November, 1879, Onitsha people having failed to get redress for several complaints against traders, plundered the depots of the European firms and menaced the C.M.S. mission as well. David McIntosh, the Agent-General of the Niger Company, then asked the Consul of the Bight of Biafra, who was nearby, to bombard Onitsha. Traders and missionaries were evacuated to Asaba and Onitsha was razed to the ground. Crowther came up the river and, as we said earlier, consented to return if the people helped to rebuild the mission. But McIntosh opposed this, on the grounds that the lessons of the

1. Hutchinson to Crowther, July 12th, 1879 (CMS CA3/L1).

bombardment would be quickly lost if the missionaries returned there. The mission was, however, duly re-opened. Soon a French company came to establish itself at Onitsha. McIntosh then tried to negotiate an agreement for a monopoly of the Onitsha trade, but the Onitsha people refused. McIntosh wrote to the local missionary, the Rev. S. Perry,

"I find that you have led the natives to believe that the traders were entirely influenced by you, thus doing away with the good effect the removal (from Onitsha) produced. The natives having frequently informed me lately in derision that the traders were the only losers by the removal and the belief instilled by you being spread amongst the natives of the whole river, such a bad effect has been produced as renders the lives of traders unsafe". 1

Since the water had gone down and he could not communicate with the Consul, as "head of the trading community", he ordered Perry to leave the town and he instituted a blockade. Perry, of course, refused to go, saying that McIntosh was not the Consul. When Hutchinson came to judge the matter, he censured Perry for meddling in trade matters, and told Crowther that he thought Asaba was a

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1. McIntosh to Perry, 29th November, 1880. Also Perry to McIntosh, Nov. 29th, McIntosh to Perry 30th Nov., encl. in Perry to Archdeacon Crowther, Dec. 3rd, 1880. (CMS G3 A3/01).

more promising mission from which the Niger could be connected with the Yoruba Mission, and that a single agent at Onitsha was enough. Crowther, he said, should look towards new fields on the Benue.

Hutchinson shared all the patriotic ambitions of Goldie. He 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. It was then he 'discovered' Fernando Po, which he asked the C.M.S. to buy:

"I have been thinking what a splendid thing it would be if this fine island was bought as a speculation by Christian men or better still by some Society or Societies, for I hear that the Spanish Government would sell for £20,000 or £30,000 and I am sure it would pay, say, for instance, if our Society could buy it. There could be the Bishop's residence. Then the headquarters of all the industrial and school establishments If under English management

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1. Hutchinson to Crowther, 5th April 1880: "Is Onitsha a centre favourable to the spread of the Gospel? If the native Christians reassemble there, will they require more than an ordained agent? Judging from the past, I should say that more scattered effort is necessary ... The attention of many is now being turned to the Benue ..." Also 7th May, 1880, to Ashcroft, asking him to ask Bishop Crowther to accompany him on a journey of exploration. (CMS CA3/L2).

plenty of people and capital would flow to the island and taxes or dues would pay after a time a considerable sum, then it would be a place of refuge for the distressed from all 1 places and with Christian laws and rules...."

In the meantime, before such dreams had come true, Ashcroft was using the vessel on these speculative errands and depriving the Bishop of its use. Moreover, the cost of maintaining it was far beyond the means of the mission. Indeed, as we have seen, the mission could not afford the money for necessary reforms. Before Ashcroft and Kirk arrived, it had to exist on an annual budget of £1,200, apart from supplies from England. In April 1879, Hutchinson had to write to Ashcroft calling on him to economise, and stating that the expenditure of the mission in the year "up to 31st March is over £6,200" and that the C.M.S. as a whole faced in that year a deficit of £25,000.³ Again, in May he wrote to say "the Niger Mission has cost £7,000 - about three times the amount of estimate".⁴ He had no choice but to sanction Ashcroft and Kirk trading with the vessel. Hitherto they had been allowed to take cargo, but only from the recognized agents of the European firms.⁵ This was to prevent their subordinate African

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1. Ashcroft to Hutchinson, August 2nd, 1860. (CMS CA3/05).
 2. Annual estimates in Proceedings of the C.M.S.
 3. Hutchinson to Ashcroft, April 25th, 1879. (CMS CA3/L1).
 4. Hutchinson to Ashcroft, 23rd May, 1879. (CMS CA3/L1).
 5. Hutchinson to Ashcroft, Dec. 19th, 1879. (CMS CA3/L1).

agents 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, he obtained potash and other produce from Nupe and carried it down to Lagos to sell to Banner Brothers & Co. and Melver ' Co., Ltd.

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 - to 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

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1. Wood to Whitting, Aug. 12th, 1881. Both Whitting and Wood were puzzled as to where the original capital for starting the business came from. Wood concluded that the capital must have been small compared with the credit of £6,000 to £7,000 which the business had with the Lagos firms. (CMS G3 A3/01).

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 Aliukara Sharpe, a Kanuri clergyman with an extraordinary career behind him. 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 Florin and thence to Lagos, he entered the household of the Rev. George Sharp, 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. He

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1. McIntosh to Ashcroft, 5th Jan, 1880, encl. in Ashcroft to Hutchinson, 5th Jan, 1880. (CMS GA3/05). 1879,

giving a short autobiography on the eve of being received as a minister. Also Sharpe to Milum, 4th, 5th, 1879, giving an account of his ambition to take the Gospel to his own people. Also his letters from Egga. (Meth.).

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. 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. Elliot 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, but in fact he remained in Lagos.

In a letter bearing the same date as McIntosh's informing Ashcroft of the foundation of the Methodist station at Egga, Ashcroft himself sent a copy of the letter to Hutchinson and went on to comment that the C.M.S. must follow the lead of the Methodists in sending European missionaries to the Niger:

"I feel more and more convinced", he wrote, "that (the Niger Mission) will have to be a mixed mission, and that Europeans must lead if there is to be any genuine, substantial Christianity in the Niger."

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1. W.A. Sharpe to the Rev. J. Milum, March 25th, 1878, giving a short autobiography on the eve of being received as a minister. Also Sharpe to Milum, Sept. 6th, 1879, giving an account of his ambition to take the Gospel to his own people. Also his letters from Egga. (Meth.).

"From what information I received from Capt. McIntosh, he is so much in favour of white missionaries that he would give free passage to them or their things up and down the river and in every way help in work that he possibly could.

"Now supposing the Weslyans send a white man up to Egga and he gets up and down and all his belongings free, soon the C.M.S. will take a back seat".

But lest it be thought that he was motivated solely by zeal for the C.M.S., he quickly added,

"If our Society don't see their way to sending white men, my prayer is that God will open the way for the Wesleyan or some other Christian Society to take it up".

By then, Hutchinson had gone as far as he could to introduce European supervision to the Niger without displacing Crowther. In October, 1879, he said he judged that the Pope-Emperor Constitution 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 Ikoja. The Secretary was the Rev. J. B. Wood, of the Yoruba Mission.¹ 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 ~~hold~~ hold an inquisition on the Niger Mission. He was to report on

"the personal efficiency of the agents, the proper position of the mission stations, efficient working of the missionary machinery, including the plans for the Henry Venn steamer and the mission expenditure; the success of the industrial branch of the mission; the system and standard of education at the various stations; the practice of redeeming slaves, as also the holding of slaves by agents and converts" 2

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 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

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1. Committee of Correspondence, Minute on the Niger Mission Oct. 21st, 1879. (CMS CA3/L1).
 2. Committee of Correspondence, Minute on the Niger Mission Nov. 4th, 1879. (CMS CA3/L1).

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, to immoral union with wives before marriage, dishonesty, drunkenness, building a fence without permission or just "general unfitness" or "downward tendency of character".¹

Wood said he conceived of his report as a confidential document for the Parent Committee. He did not inform the agents of the charges against them, nor did he 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 showed it to Crowther. It was not until then that a copy was sent to him.² Though the Report

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1. J. B. Wood, Report after a Visit to the Niger Mission in 1880. (CMS CA3/04).
 2. See Wigram to Wood, March 17th, 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 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", showed it to European traders and chiefs on the Niger.

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 being 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".

There was also the case of the "female communicants at Lokoja stated to be immoral characters" in Wood's report.

The deputation said that:

"Viewed as put by the Bishop, it does seem open to remark that Mr. Kirk, on seeing a list of names, should identify some of them as immoral women, and the suggestion occurs naturally enough from whence did Mr. Kirk obtain his information.

"Under all these circumstances it was not unnatural that the Bishop should ask to have fuller opportunity for investigation of some of the cases before taking action episcopally".¹

Crowther was therefore asked to go and investigate the charges and take necessary action.

The Madeira Conference further underlined the need for reform in 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 that the mission vessel had been diverted to trade and Hutchinson

1. Printed Report of the Deputation appointed by the Parent Committee to confer with missionaries at Madeira (1881). (CMS G3 A3/01).

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had to resign in May, 1881 and was 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 order by Crowther himself. ³

The Parent Committee had tried to redress matters, but not every effect of Hutchinson's work could be wiped out.

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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 protem 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 Haron, then as an ordained missionary of the Scottish Episcopal Church. He died there in 1897. (Stocks, op.cit vol.iii, p.254, 261.
 2. Wigram to Crowther, Dec.16th, 1881: "Messrs Ashcroft and Kirk are both now disconnected with the Society and the Henry Venn steamer is lying idle in Lagos". (CMS G3 A3/12)
 3. Instructions to the Rev. T. Phillips, May 16th, 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". (CMS G3 A3/12). Also, Stocks, op.cit, p.386. Phillips was a graduate of Dublin, engaged in business when he accepted to go to the Niger.

The Committee remained divided as to what conclusions to draw from the Wood Report, which Crowther after holding his investigations continued to reject.¹ 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";² while 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."³ 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. Crowther's fullest answer to the Wood Report after he had made his own investigations of the charges, was given in a Memorandum of August 12th, 1881 (CMS G3 A3/01).
 2. Whitting to Kirk, June 30th 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 has 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. (CMS G3 A3/12).
 3. Wigram to Wood March 17th, 1882. (CMS G3 A3/12).

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. After Wood's report of 1880 came that of the Rev. T. Phillips. After a few months on the Niger, he was¹ invalided and he came home to write a report in 1883. The next was the following year when the Rev. J.H. Hamilton, the new Secretary, also invalided after a few months, returned to England also to write his report. Hamilton later went back to Nigeria and was made an archdeacon and joint Secretary of the Yoruba and Niger Missions. He settled down and he worked harmoniously with Crowther till his retirement in 1887.² He was then replaced by the Rev. J.A. Robinson, who wrote a memorandum in 1889.³ Then, in 1890, came the report in the letters of Wilmot Brooke, a freelance lay missionary. Each Report was followed by charges against agents. Each charge was followed by heart-

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1. T. Phillips: Report on the Agents in the Niger Mission, 1883. (CMS G3 A3/02).
 2. of. Hamilton to Lang, Sept. 8th, 1886. On returning from a trip to Bida with Bishop Crowther: "We have had a very happy time together and many conversations over the country and the work. He looks forward to a great future for this country and I admire his patriotism and also his faith, though I cannot share his anticipations. And why? Because there are so few like him willing to spend and be spent in their country's cause". (CMS G3 A3/03). This pessimism, in marked contrast to the optimism of the earlier period, was another usual feature of this period.
 3. Robinson: Memorandum on the Niger Mission, encl. in Robinson to Lang, 9th July, 1889. (CMS G3 A3/04).

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 the agent guilty of the manslaughter of his housemaid became a public scandal, summarily to dismiss a number of the agents accused in the report.

1. The trial was a cause celebre. W.F. John an interpreter at Onitsha, 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 his 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. 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

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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

Reference continued.

1. 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, and later attempts to bring English men who committed outrages on the Niger to justice on the precedence of this case were not always successful.

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1. Wigram to Crowther, July 18th, 1883. (CMS G3 A3/12).

of a kindly, sensitive nature, feeling for the offender even when pronouncing judgment on him. In 1869 the catechist at Bonny, W.F. John, was accused of sinful connection with a daughter of one of the chiefs. The case was plain, but John persisted in denying it. Crowther reasoned with him and told him to go and sleep over it. The following morning, John confessed "with overwhelming tears of grief". Crowther in his judgment declared him dismissed:

"But considering your pitiful case together with your much distressed young wife and with an infant in hand, in hope you may truly repent and reform your character, I will not cast you off altogether".

He therefore employed him as copyist and storekeeper in his household, which he hoped "may help towards a real change" in him. (It did not. It was John who, when re-engaged as interpreter at Onitsha, had his housemaid flogged to death at Onitsha in 1878). 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

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1. Crowther, The Case of W.F. John, catechist at Bonny, 1869. Encl. in Crowther to Venn, Dec. 31st, 1869. (CMS CA3/04).

2. Crowther, Onitsha dated Dec. 31st 1869 and encl. in the Venn to Crowther dated 1st Jan 1870. (CMS CA3/04).

3. Venn to Crowther, June 20th 1878. (CMS CA3/15).

disciplinarian. But that is a very different thing from ¹
to the offender in a way to reclaim him. He told the
Parent Committee on his last visit 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, reprov'd and corrected, when not beyond
amendment." ²

While we may admire the dogged way in which the Bishop stuck
by this principle, ³ "going as though he never heard anything
to the contrary", as Ashcroft once remarked, it must be said
that for a pioneer, he was too reasonable, too soft a

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1. of 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 baptised,
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 both of 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, Sept. 2nd, 1876.
(CMS CA3/04).
 2. Crowther, Memorandum dated Dec. 9th, 1889, and encl. on
the Yoruba saying Gbogbo igi l'o l'efi. (CMS G3 A3/04).
 3. Ashcroft to Hutchinson, June 20th 1878. (CMS CA3/05).

disciplinarian. But that is a very different thing from Robinson's assertion that "the negro race shows almost no signs of 'ruling' powers".¹ 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. Nor do the papers that have been preserved tell the whole story. Besides, the inquisitorial nature of the periodic reviews created in the mission an atmosphere of pretence and tale-telling. The same man who was today a lone, just man among villains, whose word was used to damn the rest, was tomorrow "exposed" as a complete "fraud". One or two examples will suffice.

There was a young catechist at Gbebe, P.J. Williams, highly valued by Crowther as the mission's expert on the Igbira language, and valued also as an active itinerating Evangelist. Wood's Report, echoing Kirk, threw grave doubts on his reputed ability and zeal. When Kirk was

1. 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. (CMS G3 A3/04).

discredited, Williams was reinstated as one of the few bright lights in the mission, and he was recommended for ordination in 1883. But just before the rite was performed, Phillip's Report accused Williams, "concerning whom and whose work the Society has received, I believe, very favourable reports", of deliberate fraud and falsehood, and added:

"How can the Society give any credence at all to the statements of those who, like Williams, can be guilty of such deliberate falsehoods and attempts to defraud them? This man was principally concerned in the numerous charges brought against the Society's lay agents Mr. Ashcroft and Mr. Kirk".¹

Hamilton went out intending to dismiss Williams summarily, but on reading a statement by him, he wrote to the Parent Committee contradicting Phillips and judging Williams' case worthy of further investigation. The committee agreed, saying that Williams seemed to have given a "reasonable explanation" of the charges and adding, "We can quite understand that Mr. P(hillips) at once jumped to the conclusion of intentional fraud and declined any explanation".² By 1886, Williams was completely cleared, ordained deacon and paid three years arrears of salary. But his troubles were

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1. Phillips' Report, 1883, op.cit., pp.117-8. (CMS. G3 A3/12).
 2. Lang to Hamilton, Nov.16th, 1883, also December 19th, 1883. (CMS G3 A3/12).

not over. Just before he was due to be raised to the priesthood in the following year, a grievous charge of immorality was laid against him. This was investigated and reduced to mere "indiscretion" in giving accommodation to his wife's friend in his wife's absence. ¹

There was another pastor, the Rev. T.C. John, at Lokoja, a Hausa-speaking clergyman. Wood's Report accused him of immorality and dishonesty. Crowther investigated the charges and declared John innocent of the charges. Phillip's Report of 1883, with evidence from Archdeacon Henry Johnson, confirmed Wood, and John was summarily dismissed. Six years later Wilmet Brooke accused the Archdeacon himself of extravagant show and pretence and immorality. He got evidence from John, who was still at Lokoja and he recommended the removal of the Archdeacon and the reinstatement of John. Of the latter, he said,

"I do not believe him to be deeply taught in spiritual things or to be a man of spiritual power; not a single man on the Niger has either these qualities, alas. But I really believe him to be a sincere, true-hearted man.... He is a grey-haired man, now humble and gentle and subdued in manner but still vigorous and enterprising". ²

In such an atmosphere, where the merits of an African missionary were so dependent on the whims of the passing European

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1. Minutes of the meeting of the Finance Committee, Onitsha, Aug. 1886. (CMS G3 A3/03).
 2. Brooke to Iang, July 26th, 1889. Archdeacon Henry Johnson later alleged that Brooke openly from the pulpit canvassed for evidence against him. (CMS G3 A3/04).

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.

/// And it must be said that it was not the merits or demerits of the African missionaries that caused the conflicts on the Niger. The conflicts in the other mission, in 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.

1. Crowther to Venn, November 27th, 1868, referring to the upheavals in Bonny following the early successes of the mission there. (CMS CA3/04).

The Rev. John Kilner, who in 1876 became General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, was most unlike the C.M.S. Lay Secretary. He was 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.¹ His predecessor, as we have seen, had taken note of Venn's ideas, but it was left to Kilner to pursue them with as much detail and consistency as Venn had done in the earlier period. But the missionaries Kilner had to use were all young men with the new ideas about the place of the negro. 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".²

Or so it seemed. A struggle for power had a way of reviving such old notions.

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1. 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, Feb. 15th, 1881, Kilner to Coppin Sept. 26th, 1884. (Meth.)
 2. Ellis Williams to Kilner, 3rd 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 rôles 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 them 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", he said, "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

1. Milum, Notes on the Separation of the Yoruba and Popo District from the Gold Coast, (Recd. in Meth. House, July 5th, 1878). (Meth.).

suggested, for example, that grants for Europeans should be increased and those for Africans reduced - so as to encourage the African pastors to economise and raise more funds locally. ¹ The African pastors counter-petitioned, asking that the number of European missionaries be reduced so that

1. ibid. Also 17th 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, + 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 allowance £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, Dec. 4th, 1890, Dec. 9th, 1885 respectively. Meth).

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 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 an African. 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:

"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, however, was unlikely to sanction such an act. However, when Freeman died in 1890 the matter was again raised as to whether or not his third wife, a Fanti lady, - the earlier two were English - was a 'Native' for the purposes of pension allowances.

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1. The Revs. Thos. E. Williams, W.B. George, and A.E. Franklin to Kilner, March 17th, 1882. (Meth).
 2. Milum to Kilner, (? 1880), a short note written on the eve of the Conference. (Meth).

Milum worked with great energy and efficiency. Above all, he had tact and he always knew when to stop. He was not the man to provoke a revolt. On the death of a second wife in Lagos, he 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 was - so great was the shortage of staff - transferred in 1883 to Cape Coast as Chairman of both the Gold Coast and the Yoruba Districts; W.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. Coppin complained that on account of their youth and of their being so frequently changed, they were not respected by the older African pastors as they should be: "Please write me", he implored Kilner, "what I am to do if they disobey instructions. It is a most difficult and delicate matter."¹ When he left for Cape Coast, the Rev. J.B. Thomas, the African Superintendent of the Lagos Circuit, claimed that according to Methodist

1. Coppin to Kilner, 13th Feb. 1883. Also October 8th, 1883, asking Kilner to issue a sort of encyclical on the position of European missionaries: "I am painfully conscious, though our people generally greatly respect us, because of our youthfulness and constant change of men, they do not regard us as they might as the mouth piece of the Committee". (Meth)

organization, he should act for the Chairman. But both Elliot and Tomlin claimed precedence over him. However, it was not the pastors who led the revolt so much as the leading members of the various congregations. 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, as we noticed, 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. They study Williams' Polity and employ inapplicable rules against the Chairman's authority". 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

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1. Elliot to Kilner, 7th April 1884 (Meth). Dr. Williams' Polity was at that time the recognized authority on the constitutional law of the Methodist organisation. 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 Methodist Secretaries 28th Nov. 1892, Gold Coast, Meth). The Lagos Methodist leaders were well versed in the Polity and the rights it bestowed on them in the running of the affairs of a group of congregations declared to be a full circuit. The European missionaries, however, contended that the

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"the Lagos Circuit shall remain part and parcel of the great Wesleyan body or become an independent and irresponsible Church. To yield to the ungrateful and unmeasurable demands of these people, misled by two or three professional mischief mongers, will mean the latter. We are trying kindly, but firmly, under a deep sense of our obligations and their debts to you to maintain the former". 1

Then 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. He also wanted to know how far The Polity was applicable in Lagos. And he added :

"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". 2

It must be said that Kilner left the young men too long without advice. Coppin's letter was not replied to till he had gone to Lagos and embarked on his disciplinary measures in the belief that Kilner would support him. 3

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1. Elliot to Kilner, 7th April. (Meth).
 2. Coppin to Kilner, May 9th 1884. (Meth).
 3. "Minutes of a Minor District Meeting begun in the Wesleyan Mission House, Lagos, July 11th, 1884", which all 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, 6th April, 1885).

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. He had, they said, assumed "disciplinary powers which no Methodist preacher, not even the President of the Conference, can claim

"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. They regretted the language in which the European missionaries addressed the officials, and they regretted too that Coppin held his meeting of expulsions on the Sabbath. 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". 1

The committee went further to pacify the Lagos Circuit. They asked 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".² 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 was guilty not of personal arrogance but of sharing the ideas that were becoming current in his time. Kilner and Halligey alone, or Whitting and his supporters in the C.M.S. Parent Committee, who continued to pursue the

1. Kilner to Coppin, November 6th, 1884. (Meth).
2. Milum to Kilner, 1st Jan. 1885. (Meth).

policy of Henry Venn, could not alter the fact that times were changing. ≪ The European missionaries entering different parts of Nigeria from the late 1870's onwards were beginning to speak a language that the African missionaries were not accustomed to hearing 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, but because a builder was required urgently at Ilokoja, instead of sending him 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 school-

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1. of. John Burness to Iang, May 12th, 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 March 31st, 1886. (CMS G3 A3/03).

This attitude, though it appeared so suddenly in the master 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 Gbebe on the other side of the river, and that, in that case, they must have left Gbebe 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)".¹ 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 untutored, perverse European could claim of centuries of Christian culture and civilization. The African was on the way to becoming "half devil, half child".

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1. Burness to Lang, March 31st, 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 the 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". (CMS G3 A3/03).

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 influenced 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 interests 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 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 by no means called for an objective picture of the African. The example may be given of the Secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee prodding his missionaries :

"You must not abate one iota of your graphic delineations; otherwise The Record and with it the interest 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 week-day 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, Ekok, 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:

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1. Somerville to Waddell, 28th Dec. 1850. (UP Letter Book vol.i, p.682).
 2. Waddell, Journals I, pp.116-7.
 3. Somerville to Waddell, 18th April, 1851 (UP Letter Book vol.i, p.746).

"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". 1

The same anxiety pervaded every mission and sometimes made missionary publications read like the outpourings of welfare workers writing for a popular Sunday newspaper. Even with the best of intentions, a picture of the African evolved in Europe that was as false as the slave trader's or the eighteenth century philosopher's.

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. There there grew up in the 1860's those whom Crowther called the "Anthropological sort", James Hunt's "Anthropological Society", of which R.F.

1. Somerville to Anderson 23rd November, 1866. (UP Letter Book, vol. ix, p. 32).

Burton was a prominent member. Their emphasis was on physical anthropology; their theme, "the place of the negro in nature",¹ 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,² 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 philanthropists" and that

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1. 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. (D.N.B., article book Mission to Gelele 2 vols, (1864) which Burton dedicated to Hunt. Also Memoirs published by the Anthropological Society of their proceedings between 1863 and 1869.
 2. of 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).

"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". 1

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.

Anthropology was already influencing the missionaries entering Nigeria in the late 1870's not only towards a more contemptuous attitude to their African colleagues, but also towards a new view of the technique of evangelisation. They still had faith in Victorian civilisation as the highest achievement of mankind, but they no longer believed that the African had the capacity for assimilating it quickly.

1. R.F. Burton: Mission to Gelele, op.cit., vol.ii, pp.200-1.

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 gunboat 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 at discovering witches and exorcising 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 just as 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 Crowther's jurisdiction to be extended in 1875, 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

1. Onitsha Congregation to the C.M.S. Aug. 30th 1890.
(CMS G3 A3/04).

Goldie continued into the 1880's, that best shows 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 newer ones like Mary Slessor and Alexander Ross, who were anxious 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. He was originally meant for work among the Gaelic-speaking people of the Scottish Highlands and it was his "seemingly resolute desire" that forced the committee to send him to Calabar. ² He quarrelled with everybody and everything from the first. In particular he was at loggerheads with the Presbytery, as he wished to stump the countryside far and wide proclaiming the Gospel while they wished him to settle down for a while and learn the Efik language as they had done.

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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. Minute of F.M.C. 28th Sept. 1875.

and not go on establishing lonely outposts where they could not be supervised or where the mission would become involved in controversy with the neighbouring Baptist mission in the Cameroons.¹ The presbytery also did not approve of his side-tracking them and appealing direct to the Foreign Mission Committee, where he had some influential friends. The real trouble began when he was asked to take charge of the Duke Town congregation during Anderson's leave. When Anderson returned, Ross remained in Duke Town, and both could not work together. For after thirty years in the mission, Anderson had mellowed into Efik society. He had come to realise that Calabar could not by the intervention of the gunboat 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 leave³ Anderson petitioned against his return.

1. Minute of the Presbytery of Biafra considered in Minute 153 of F.M.C. 24th Feb. 1877; Memorandum by Ross considered in Minute 169 of F.M.C. of 19th June 1877.
2. Ross to Sect. F.M.C. 24th October 1879, 29th October, 1879, considered in Minute 1497 of F.M.C. 25th Nov. 1879.
3. Anderson to Secretary F.M.C. 28th August, 1879, considered in Minute 1497 of F.M.C. 25th November, 1879.

At that stage, local politics entered into the dispute. The Archibong and the Eyamba Houses in Calabar disputed the succession to the headship of the town. Anderson supported the Archibongs.¹ The Eyambas therefore began to support Ross in his dispute with Anderson. The Archibong party sent a petition in August, 1879 against the return of Ross "as he has been so harsh in his mode of addressing them, and high-handed in his attempts to put down" many of their customs.² Ross replied that none of the twelve signatories was a Christian. They were "murderous tyrants and oppressors whom he used to denounce for their wickedness and who trembled before him whilst he reasoned of righteousness, temperance and judgment to come".³ The Eyamba party, not to be outdone, sent a petition criticising Anderson and "expressing their sorrow at hearing that some of their brethren had written against their faithful and indefatigable minister", Alexander Ross.⁴

1. A correspondent of the African Times, March 1st, 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.
2. Petitions from the Regent and 11 other chiefs of Old Calabar, 28th August, 1879; also Petition from King Archibong and other chiefs of Old Calabar, encl. in Anderson to Sec. F.M.C., 1st May, 1880, in Minute 1814 of F.M.C. 29th June, 1880.
3. Ross to F.M.C., 24th October, 1879, in Minute 1497 of 25th November, 1879.
4. Petition from Prince Eyamba and other chiefs of Henshaw Town in Minute 1653 of F.M.C., 24th Feb. 1880, also in Minute 1772 of 8th June, 1880.

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. By then Ross was threatening that if the Board did not send him back, he would go back to Calabar on his own and make revelations that would damage the mission.¹ The committee finally resolved to allow him to go back and co-operate with the local presbytery, who were to arrange his permanent location. But when Ross arrived in Duke Town, he claimed to be co-pastor with Anderson. The disputes were resumed with petitions and counter-petitions and grievous charges. Ross began holding rival class meetings and Saturday evening prayer meetings and seemed to be preparing to hold rival Sunday services. The Foreign Mission Committee was once again requested to remove him. However, the committee decided to send a deputation to examine the matter on the spot. The deputation censured 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.² Ross died in 1884. The Presbyterians thought

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1. Minute 2125 of F.M.C., 21st Feb. 1881, that Moffat intervened to get Ross to withdraw his threat.
 2. "A mi Ndi Africanus", writing from Duke Town 24th March, 1882 in African Times, 1st 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. Guinness's seminary came to her rescue.

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.

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 Hyden 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 has 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

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1. Hyden to Pope-Hennessy, Dec. 11th, 1872, in Letters with Pope-Hennessy on the West African University, (Freetown 1873)

It was ideas like these that lay behind the Independent Church Movement we noticed in Sierra Leone in 1873.

Blyden was criticizing the Church from without. He was born in the Dutch West Indies and brought up in the Presbyterian Church. To educate him for the ministry, he was sent first to America and, when state laws prevented his admission to a suitable college, to the 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, including a visit to Palestine. He felt at home everywhere.¹ 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

1. Biographical Notes in Blyden: The Peoples of Africa, p. Introduction by Hon. S. Lewis in Blyden: Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race, (Lond. 1889); Obituary Notice in Journal of the African Society, vol xliii no.11, April 1912.

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, Timbuotoo and Fulah".¹

Hyden'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. Hyden".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

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1. Hyden to Hennesy Dec. 6th, 1872 in The West African University, op.cit.
 2. G.W. Johnson to W.R. Richards, 20th Jan, 1873: "I can behold another channel of good which - to use the able words of our Mr. Hyden - thou canst not see". (G.W. Johnson's Papers).

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". 1

James Johnson did not become a disciple of Edward Blyden and the old gulf between Crowther and G.W. Johnson remained unbridged. 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 whom 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 was 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 organisation out adrift from the rest of Christendom, and

1. 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, Iahr, Baden), p.48.

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".

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 organisation. When the members of the First Baptist Church found one Sunday morning in February 1888 that their African pastor, the Rev. Moses Iadejo 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

1. cf. Blyden pleading for such a Church in 1891, having to emphasise 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 not wish to localise 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 chapter V. There are various versions of the story that led to the crisis of Feb. 1888. The story in the First Baptist Church is that Stone used to trade to supplement his salary, the missionary, Rev. W. 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.

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refer the matter to America. 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, M.L. Stone had reconciled with the missionaries by 1894.

It is indeed remarkable how the body of African pastor remained, on the whole, in this period of stress and transition, clamantly loyal to the churches in which they had been brought up. They saw in the African Church movement

Reference continued from previous page.

2. ("History of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Lagos" by E.A.Ojo. Both in the collection made by the Rev. C. Robertson for the centenary celebrations of the Baptist Church in Nigeria in 1958).
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1. America was of course more remote from Lagos than London or Edinburgh. America 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 amidst 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 ^{American} missionaries with him back to Nigeria as well as material worth 3,800 dollars with which he built the First Baptist Church in
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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 Tejuade 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. The importance people in Lagos

Reference continued from previous page.

1. 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, op.cit., p.386, 439 and passim.

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1. Minute of the Parent Committee against the adoption of Foreign Names in C.M.S. Intelligencer, Feb. 1883, encl. in lang. to Hamilton, 10th August, 1883, (CMS G3 A3/12)
 2. "Notice" dated Customs House Road, 1st May, 1885. (G.W. Johnson's Papers).

attached to the events on the Niger culminating in the supersession of Bishop Crowther by European missionaries will be readily appreciated when it is realised that in spite of such reluctance to break away from the European traditions and ties, it directly led to the first attempt by Anglicans and Methodists to found a separatist African Church.

to let him go up through the Niger. For his missionary work was a daring military adventure. It was a military training he had and General Gordon was his hero. When these missionaries arrived at Lokoja in 1887 and saw the building of the Free Press Institution, a two-storey

The group of young missionaries who came to darken Crowther's last years were men like Ross. They were able, young, zealous, impetuous 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 taught in a school for four years. The Rev. F.W. 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. The moving

1. Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy, 1804-190
(C.M.S.)

spirit of the group was a younger man, Graham Wilmot Brocke, 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: it was a military training he had and General Gordon was his hero. When these missionaries arrived at Lokoja in 1889 and saw the building of the Preparandi Institution, a two-storey building 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:

"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".

They said that Henry Johnson must have deceived the Patent Committee about its real size, charged him, among other

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1. Stocks, op.cit., vol.iii, p.395.
 2. Robinson to Lang, May 21st, 1890, Sept. 8th, 1890. C.M.S. G3 A3/04).

things, with 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. Perhaps nothing shows the temper of these European missionaries better than Robinson's reply to the Parent Committee when they queried the precipitous sale of the institution :

"If the choice arose again, I should act in a similar way. I say this of course with all due deference to the wishes of the committee which I now understand place strict hesitation on my freedom of action. I trust however that the committee will be led not only to confirm the action I have taken but to see with me that it was clearly the right thing to have done under the circumstances.... The revelation of the terrible sins which have been done under your name will I know act on you as they have on us and lay on you a burden of crushing sorrow and indignation that will be heart-breaking". 1

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. Robinson said that he had no open scandals to report about the Niger Mission but that he discovered no real missionary spirit because

1. Robinson to Lang, Sept. 8th, 1890. (CMS G3 A3/04).

"The agents are in all respects Europeanised Africans or black Englishmen, as the natives call them.... They distinctly repudiate, from the Bishop downwards, the idea that they should come as natives to natives, as Africans to Africans, and be all things to all men in order that they may win some".

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 off their old ways into a pure, simple, primitive Christianity. It did not occur to them for one single moment that the 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 left, and Archdeacon Henry Johnson too, he 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. Robinson: Memorandum on the Niger Mission, op.cit.

"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

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1. Robinson to Lang, July 9th, 1889. (CMS 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, loc.cit.)

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 Iokoja 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 of the Bishop, Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther, one other African pastor, and the European Secretary and two Europeans from the Sudan Party.¹ 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 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

1. Resolutions of the Parent Committee, July 30th, 1889, December 9th, 1889. (CMS G3 A3/12).

of the Niger Finance Committee. Eden merely joined them. Together, they achieved the displacement of Crowther from the Niger.

Robinson left for Ilokoja in January, 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 various 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, in spite of the Bishop as Chairman, announced the pastors suspended. He also announced that charges against the Rev. C. Paul, who was transferred from Egga to the Delta had been sent to England and need not be disclosed to the committee that had been so uncooperative, but that nevertheless he was declaring Paul suspended forthwith. As if

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1. Minutes of the Finance Committee of the Niger Mission meeting at Onitsha August 19th-28th, 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 was compiled from the notes of the three of them. Crowther testified that they were full and accurate. (CMS G3 A3/04).

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 if Crowther had been a European they would have done the same. 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.

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 arrived at the inevitable compromise resolution: That the Secretary

"was acting bona fide under a misapprehension of his powers, was irregular and cannot be supported. Nor was he justified in suspending (Archdeacon) Crowther on the merits of his case".

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1. 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....."

But "recognizing the very valuable services which these European brethren have rendered to the cause of Christian missions by their efforts to purify the Niger Mission, and the peculiar difficulties with which they had to contend in doing so, (the Committee) abstain from discussing certain matters of detail which might otherwise be regarded as fairly open to criticism".

But they "hope that on a calm and careful review of the minutes of the Finance Committee they will feel that the strong language used was not justified by the circumstances of the case and that the tone adopted towards the Bishop and Archdeacon¹ was not such as was due to their age and office".

But the Committee proceeded nevertheless to place 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 Committee will be, so far as the Society is concerned, responsible for the general superintendence² of the work in these sections respectively".

Bishop Crowther had in fact been displaced.

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1. Resolutions of the Parent Committee dated Jan. 20th, 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. ibid.

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Eden apologized to Archdeacon Crowther, but felt that the resolution had gone too far in censuring him 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.² 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.³ 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

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1. Eden to Archdeacon Crowther, 11th February 1891. (cited in A Memorial from Lagos to the C.M.S. on the Niger Question.)
 2. D.C. Crowther: The Establishment of the Niger Delta Pastorate Church 1864-1892, op.cit.
 3. E.W. Blyden: The Return of the Exiles and the West African Church (published text of lecture delivered in Lagos, 2nd January, 1891).

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meeting of the founding fathers. Crowther himself had a stroke in July, 1891, and was removed to Lagos, where he died on 31st December. There was no question of his being succeeded by an African. The European who succeeded him got the diocese Venn originally planned for him, 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. 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 14th August, 1891; second meeting, 17th August, 1891. The U.N.A. Church was also called Eleja.

EPILOGUE

The passing away of a man so intimately connected, as Crowther was, with the development of the Church in different parts of the country for fifty years, was in itself, an event of considerable importance in the history both of the Church and of the country as a whole. More than that, the way he was ousted showed a definite change of policy. It showed that the transition 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 Brooke and Robinson had hoped. The career of the Sudan Party itself which had created such furore on the Niger was but a brief and tragic one. The first effective opposition to their policy came from the Niger Company they regarded as allies. Goldie judged that Brooke's zeal and his plan of going to live in the villages like the 'natives', was likely to embarrass the Company and embroil it in disputes with the muslim emirates. He therefore declared the Niger north of Lokoja closed to proselytizing missionaries, a policy which, as we mentioned earlier, was later adopted by Lugard. While the C.M.S. was trying without success to

get this policy reversed, the leaders of the Sudan Party 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. 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.¹ 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

1. cf Father, J.P. Jordan: Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria (Dublin 1949) pp.29-31 for the new Roman Catholic attitude.

extent Ibadan and Ogbomoso began to supply agents to the new centres of missionary work both on the coast like Benin and Ijebu or in the interior like 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.

It is also arguable that much of the later harvest was made possible precisely because the earlier missionaries had placed so much emphasis on education and civilisation, 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 insistence 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. Except for a 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 such a revolution that people rushed to missionaries with less hesitation and less reserve than was the case in the earlier period. The result was that although missionary funds were rising, their establishments were expanding in a far greater proportion.

Thus 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 begin 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, 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 were 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,

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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 manuscripts. The author's brother, Dr. O. Johnson on a visit to England in 1900 was told they were misplaced. Within a year after that the author died and it had to be re-written from his notes and earlier drafts by Dr. Johnson. The new version was sent to England in 1916, but owing to enemy action during the war did not reach England till 1918 but owing to shortage of paper was returned to await the end of the war. It was finally published by Routledge Son¹ in 1921. By 1937, the C.M.S. was anxious to publish a second edition of the book. (See Samuel Johnson, op.cit, Editor's Preface).

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. After Crowther, there were Assistant Bishops, but no Diocesan Bishop till 1953 when the constitutional changes in the country induced constitutional changes in the Church. It was in 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 their agents in the capital. One effect of this may be seen from the fact that it was the centres where missionary work had been most successful in the earlier period and the educated Africans 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 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 Board of 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 thirty or fifty years after 1891. This was not so much

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1. Flint, *op.cit.*, Chapter VI on Major MacDonald's Report of 1889-90, in particular p 222 (Bonny), p 224 (Calabar); p.230 (Onitsha) p.231-33 (Nupe).
 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).

because

~~that~~ the new European missionaries did not want to adapt but that they could not. They learnt the lessons of anthropology. Indeed, as we saw earlier, they condemned their predecessors, and in particular the Africans for continuing to imitate European ways instead of adapting their Christianity to their environment. The reasons for their failing to adapt may be inferred from the Minutes of a Conference of European missionaries and African agents convened by the Niger Mission in May 1914 to consider a paper read in the Synod in Lagos calling for the adaptation of the political, religious and social institutions of the people to Christianity. The Conference considered the question of Christians taking ozo titles, that is becoming chiefs, a practice which the Rev. J.C. Taylor formerly encouraged but which the Europeans later condemned. It had now become topical again as the government was recognising ozo-titled men as warrant chiefs under the Indirect Rule System. The opinion of the Conference was that "ozo is wrong and opposed to Christianity; that no Christian man should have anything to do with it;... that if ozo is to be reformed or improved, it is for the heathen people to do it not us." They next considered various customs connected with marriage and burial and consistently found each custom idolatrous, the condemnation by the

African members of the Conference being often more vehement than that by the Europeans. For example, the Conference considered the custom of firing guns during funeral ceremonies as idolatrous because it was said that people believed that by firing guns they were driving away evil spirits. The question was then raised as to how a Christian son could hope to share in the legacy of his deceased father, which according to custom he could not do, if he refused to join in the funeral ceremonies. The answer given was simple. The Conference resolved: "That the Government be asked to make it law that a Christian heir inherit property, pay the debts of the deceased, and leave out the burial". The question of songs was also considered. One of the European missionaries suggested that churches on the Niger Mission should begin to make use of Ibo native songs. But, says the Minutes,

"the opinion of the Conference is that the time is not yet come for the Native Church to make such a movement. Until we get trained native musicians who can do the work competently of improving our native songs and converting them into Christian songs we shall never think we are ready."¹

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1. The Church and Native Customs, report of a Conference held at the C.M.S. Mission Onitsha, May 12th 1914 (printed pamphlet) p.24.

The point is that it takes more than a mere wish to adapt the social and religious ideas and practices from one culture to another, if it was to be done conscientiously and in no spirit of adaptation for its own sake. Venn had suggested that such adaptation should be done 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 that process 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 Native African Church formed in 1891 a little more seriously. In 1901, a "major" session 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 organisations. 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 Bishops".¹ Some of those dissatisfied with this 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. In spite of adaptations and practices that many of the missionaries would have regarded as crude, the movement 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 to this thesis. It

1. Report and Proceedings of the African Church Organisation 1901 - 1908. p.29. "Origin and History (Printed Pamphlet Lagos, 1908). Also S.A. Oke: "The Ethiopian" National Church (Lagos 1922).

provided a link between the educated Africans of Crowther's age and the nationalists of today who are re-emphasising the mid-19th century doctrines about the importance of an African middle class for the development of the country, and making a distinction between the expansion of trade controlled by European firms and economic development as a factor of social and economic change in the country. The connection is more than accidental. The nationalist movement early received inspiration from the ideas behind the formation of the African Church. Herbert Macaulay is called the Father of Nigerian Nationalism. He was son of the Reverent T.B. Macaulay, first principal of the Lagos C.M.S. Grammar School, and grandson of Bishop Crowther. In 1942, while the Methodists were celebrating the centenary of Freeman's arrival in Badagry, Herbert Macaulay at the U.N.A. Church delivered a nationalist address entitled, "The History of the Development of Missionary work with special reference to the United African Church"¹. In that indirect way, the missionaries of the 19th century were making another important contribution to the history of Nigeria in preparing the way for the nationalists of the 20th century.

1. Printed as a pamphlet, Lagos, 1942.

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 Testament.
 Clarke's Bible.
 Help in the Reading of the Bible.
 Farrar's Bible and Theological Dictionary.
 Hervey'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 Resurrection.
 Conversion Illustrated from the Bible.
 Mill's Local Ministry.
 Gems of Piety.
 Jackson's Duties of Christianity.
 Keysell: The Earnest Life.
 Rephran: 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.

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APPENDIX BMinute 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 comprize the countries on the West Coast lying North of the Equator as high as the River Senegal".¹ 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.

1. It is not clear why Gambia was left out.

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 in 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 practise 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 experience and may furnish useful precedents in such particulars as are applicable to the new Diocese.

14. In respect 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. Cantaur.

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The material I have used is classified under
 5 different divisions: SOURCES

I PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Missionary Records

This thesis has been based principally on the records of the five missionary societies themselves, manuscript material as much as possible, supplemented by printed sources.

(i) Manuscript Material:-

(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 very 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 3 different missions CA1 "The West African Mission" i.e. Sierra Leone, for the earlier records of the emigrants; CA2 "The Yoruba Mission"; and CA3 for "The ^{Niger} ~~Yoruba~~ Mission". (After 1880, these become G3 A1, G3 A2, and G3 A3 respectively. Each is subdivided into either L for out-going letters, and Q 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 Q 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 precis-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 much material in the Nigerian Record Office at Ibadan. These largely duplicate material in London, but they contain valuable records of events on the spot of which only abstracts or bare references will be found in the metropolitan records. 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) Weslyan Methodists 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 synopsis), 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 Record Office at Ibadan which contain interesting local material.

- (c) United Presbyterian Church (George Street, Edinburgh 2; Manus-material in the National Library of Scotland, Edin

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 No2 31st August 1886-29th Jan 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 diary (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 pagan. 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, Monument Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A.)

I did not have the privilege of visiting the archives of the Convention in the U.S.A. All the Baptist manuscript material I have seen I owe entirely to the labours of the Rev. Cecil Roberson and his wife, until recently missionaries of the Convention at Kabba in Nigeria. These consist of the letters of the pioneer missionary, the Rev. T.J. Bowen, "compiled, copied and arranged...by consent of relatives of the Bowens, friends and the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention", bound into a volume which I have cited in the footnotes as Bowen Letters. A separate

but companion volume to this includes miscellaneous family papers, diaries, and fragments of journals of the Bowens.

(e) Society of African Missions, (Via dei Gracchi, Rome).

Besides a few odd papers, the most important manuscript material of the S.M.A. I used is the journal of Father Broghero, the pioneer missionary giving full accounts of his earliest visits to Lagos and Abeokuta 1863-64.

(ii) 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 are annals containing the General Secretary's Report of the state of the missions, Annual Estimates of Expenditure etc.

(b) The Church Missionary Record, The Wesleyan 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 Gleaser, The W.M.M.S. Reports.

These are the most popular of the publications, made suitable for Sunday school use. The material in (b) is digested with more editorial comments, the front page is 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 is 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 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).

Of the periodical publications of the Southern Baptist Convention, I have seen only a few copies of the Southern Baptist Journal type (b), of the late 1880's and early 1890's in the possession of the Rev. Cecil Roberson.

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 UP Missionary Record and the WMS 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, Jan: 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

(1) 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 College Library, Ibadan. They contain very valuable material on the political activities of Johnson at Abeokuta between 1865 and 1872, 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's Papers, in the possession of his son, Bishop S.C. Phillips at Oshogbo, Nigeria. The most relevant for this study is the diary of the elder Bishop Phillips about his diplomatic missions during the negotiations of the 1880's to bring the Yoruba war to an end.

(iv) Herbert Macaulay Papers, in the University College Library Ibadan. 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 1930's and 40's.

II SECONDARY SOURCES

I. Local Histories of Churches

Between January and April 1957, I 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.

These 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 celebration. 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. However, it was as another source to fill in gaps in manuscript material that I was most interested in the local histories. In this I was not entirely disappointed. The Rev. Cecil Roberson had made a collection of such histories on the Baptist Churches. Though I found little about the Roman Catholic Churches in Nigeria, at Rome I found a collection of such histories written by the Fathers themselves made in 1921. 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 Arch-deacon 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 Oghomoso" (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 edited by L. Arial (S.M.A. archives, Rome)
containing items like:

"Premier Temps de la Misson de Lagos, d'apres Mere Veronique"

"Fondation de Topo d'apres le P. Poirier".

"Stations de Topo-Badagry"

"Rapport de Topo-Badagry" - Father L. Freyburger.

Also, a separate "Notes sur le 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 others 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 Marwick.

BOWEN, T.J.: Missionary Labours and Adventures in Central Africa (1857)

BRESSILAC, Mgr. de: La Vie de Mgr de Bressilac by Gallen.
: Le Missionnaire, d'apres Mgr de Marion Bressilac (1956)

CROWTHER, D.C.: The Establishment of the Niger Delta Pastorate 1864-92 (1907).

CROWTHER, S.A.: Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and the Tshada in 1854 (1855).

CROWTHER, S.A.: and TAYLOR, J.C.: The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger, Journals of the Niger Expedition of 1857 and Missionary Notices (1859).

FREEMAN, T.B.: Journal of Various Visits to the Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomey (1844)

: Missionary Life No Fiction (published anon. Lond. 1871).

- : Unpublished book on West Africa in typescript, in the Methodist archives.
- GOLDIE, Hugh: Calabar and Its Mission (1890)
- GOLLMER, C.A: His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa by his eldest son (1886).
- HINDERER, Anna: Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country, Memoirs of the wife of David Hinderer compiled by her friends. (1872).
- JOHNSON, Archdeacon Henry: A Journey up the Niger in the Autumn of 1877 (?1878).
- SCHON, J.F. and CROWTHER, S.A: Journal of an Expedition up the Niger in 1841 (1843)
- SUTHERLAND, Mrs: Memorials of Mrs Sutherland by Agnes Waddell.
- STONE, R.H: In Africa's Forest and Jungle (1899).
- TOWNSEND, Henry: Memoirs of Henry Townsend by his brother.
- TUCKER, Miss: Abbeokuta, or Sunrise within the Tropics (1853)
- VENN, Henry: Memoirs of Henry Venn by William Knight (1880)
- : The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn by William Knight (2nd edition of the Memoirs, 1882).
- : Our West African Colonies (1865).
- WADDELL, Hope M: Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa (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 (1823).
- BAIKIE, W.B: Narrative of an Exploring Voyage (1856).

- ALLEN, Capt W. and THOMSON, T.R.H: Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841 (2 vols 1848).
- ANDERSON, Rufus: Theory of Missions to the Heathen Foreign Missions, their Relations and Claims (Boston 1841) (" 1861)
- AFRICAN TIMES, Journal of the African Aid Society (London periodical 1863 -)
- 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 Kezi Williams for the murder of Amelia John at Onitsha (1883).
- BLYDEN, Edward: The Negro in Ancient History (1874).
- : The West African University (1873)
- : 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 Mahkind vol iv Appendix D.
- BURTON, R. : A Mission to Gelele (2 vols 1864).
- : Abeokuta and the Cameroons (2 vols 1863).
- : Wit and Wisdom from West Africa (1863).
- BUXTON, T.F. F The African Slavery^{trade} and its Remedy (1840).
- BUXTON, T.F : Memoirs of by Charles Buxton
- CAMPBELL, R. : Pilgrimage to my Motherland (1860)
- CHURCH MISSIONARY Atlas, (1873,1896.)
- C.M.S. List of Missionaries and Native Ministers 1804-1904.
- CLAPPERTON, Capt Hugh: Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa (1829).

* CONFERENCE of West African Missionaries held at Gaboon in
Feb. 1876, (Printed Report of, Calabar 1876).

- CROWTHER, S.A.: Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language (1870)
 : Vocabulary of the Ibo Language (1882)
 : Grammar and Vocabulary of the Nupe Language (1886)
- CROWTHER, S.A. and KING, T: Bibeli Mimo (1867) Testamenti Titon (1871).
- DALZEL, A : A History of Dahomey compiled from Authentic Memoirs (1873)
- DELANY, M.R. : Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party (Leeds 1861)
- FRIEND of Africa, Journal of the African Civilisation Society (1840-46).
- GOLDIE, Hugh : Efik Grammar and Dictionary (1874)
- * HILKHAM, Mrs Hannah: The claims of West Africa to Christian Institutions (1830).
- HORTON, J.A.B: West African Countries and Peoples (1868)
- HUTCHINSON, T.J: Ten Years Wandering Among Ethiopians (1861)
- IWE Irohin, C.M.S. Newspaper Abeokuta (1859-63)
- JOHNSON, Archdeacon Henry and CHRISTALLER, 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 (1854).
 : Grammar of the Bornu or Kanuri Language (1854)
 : African Native Literature in Kanuri (1854).
- LAGOS Weekly Record (1891-1921).
- LAIRD, McGregor and OLDFIELD, R.A.K: Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa... (2 vols 1837).
- LANDER, Richard and John: Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger (3 vols 1832).

- McKerrow, J: History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Churches (1867)
- PAYNE, O : A Lagos Almanack and Diary for 1878 (1877)
Table of Historical Events in Yorubaland
- SCHON, J.F : Grammar of the Hausa Language (1862)
- WESLEY, John : "Thoughts on Slavery" in The Complete Works of John Wesley vol xi (1872)
- WHITFORD, John: Trading Life in West and Central Africa (1877)
- TUPPER, H : Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention (1880)
: A Decade of Missions 1880-90.

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4. Later Works

- * AGBEBI, Mojola: Inaugural Sermon delivered at the celebration of the first anniversary of the African Church (1902-).
- BANE, Father M.J: Catholic Pioneers in West Africa (Dublin, 1956).
- MARGERY, G.P: A Hausa-English and English-Hausa Dictionary (OUP 1934).
- BEIER, H.U: African Religion, the Story of Sacred Wood-Carvings from one small Yoruba Town. (1957).
- BENTON, P.A: A Bornu Almanack for the Year A.D.1916.
- BIOBAKU, S.O: The Egba and their Neighbours 1842-72 (1957).
 : "Oboni, the Egba Senate" in Proceedings of C.I.A.O. (International West African Conference) Ibadan, 1949. (pub. 1956).
 : "An Historical Sketch of Egba Traditional Authorities" in Africa, Journal of the International African Institute, vol.22, 1952.
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