THE SCOTTISH MISSION IN KENYA, 1891 - 1923

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SUMMARY

From the time of its foundation at Kibwezi in 1891 as a private, undenominational venture, the Scottish mission was intimately involved with the expansion of European interests and influences in Kenya. It was designed to complement the work of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and to testify to the Christian earnestness and patriotism of William Mackinnon, one of Scotland's foremost merchant-imperialists of the 19th century. But the early venture was a failure, both in terms of missionary results and of its original objectives. The staff of the mission were inexperienced, and the home committee were indifferent after Mackinnon's death in 1893; the Company retired in 1895, and the mission was stranded in the interior until the first large wave of European settlers arrived soon after 1900.

The Scottish mission was transferred to Kikuyu in 1898 and to the Church of Scotland in 1901. In the frontier conditions which prevailed in the early years of the century, David Clement Scott attempted through an ambitious agricultural experiment to bring European and African development firmly under Christian influence. For a few years, the mission was closely involved with the beginnings of European commerce and politics. Clement Scott's successor, Henry Edwin Scott, preferred to work more closely with Government than settlers, and concentrated on the more practical and immediate task of establishing education as the foundation of the mission's work.

During Henry Scott's years at Kikuyu, a policy was established which aimed at educating Africans to take their place as loyal, industrious and Christian labourers in a white man's country. Clement Scott had been criticised for being impractical and visionary; but his views on the capabilities and future of Africans were liberal and progressive by comparison - and far in advance of his time.
The Church of Scotland mission quickly became a leader amongst missions in Kenya. Both Henry Scott and his successor, John W. Arthur, were able and ambitious men. Cooperative schemes in education, language study and towards a United African Church owed much to their initiative. But in the final analysis, the opportunity to influence Africans in a deep and meaningful way was sacrificed through commitment to the ideal of a white colony.

By 1923, when Arthur was in London defending European interests against the Indians, Africans had already begun to draw away from their missionary tutors. The failure to recognise that Africans desired a more dignified and independent place in their own country than had been set aside for them by Scottish missionaries had disastrous consequences in 1929.
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INTRODUCTION

The objective in writing this Thesis has been to present a detailed study of an important, but largely neglected mission, and to use the study as a medium for imparting fresh insight to problems encountered in Kenya during the early colonial period. An attempt has been made to strike a balance between the history of a mission and the history of a country and its peoples.

While the general missionary background in East Africa during the 19th Century provides the setting for chapter one, attention is paid to the characters and motives of William Mackinnon, Alexander Low Bruce and James Stewart - the mission's principal founders. Of the three, Mackinnon's was the dominant personality, and his word was law in planning and policy.

The second chapter examines in depth the experiment which was made at Kibwezi of combining missionary work with imperial commerce. The East African Scottish Mission is seen to have been too ambitious for the conditions of life in British East Africa which prevailed during the 1890s. Subsequently, an account is given of David Clement Scott's efforts to make agriculture the means of salvation for Africans and to capture commerce for Christ. The conclusion is drawn that however eccentric Scott might have seemed to his contemporaries, his scheme was based upon the sensible principle that the successful mission was the one which made money from its land and opportunities in agriculture.

From 1903, the Scottish mission was redirected in its objective by Henry Scott. Chapter four is devoted to new bearings in general policy and method, the history of the mission in relation to its land, early labour problems, and the foundations of an educational system in cooperation with Government. On the eve of war in 1914, the struggle between missionaries and officials to
control African education had entered its first round.

The theme of the fifth chapter is the attempt to form a United African Church in Kenya. A survey is made of cooperative ventures in language study and education, and it is noted that the need for unity was inversely proportional to the success of missions within their own spheres.

Political troubles in the post-war years are the major focus of the final chapter. A study is made of the reaction by Scottish missionaries to the emergence of the independent and politically conscious African, to the demands of Indians for equal status in Kenya with Europeans, and to the vacillating policies of Government in education. As a postscript, the chronology of events is given down to the crucial year of 1929 when a former Scottish mission pupil, Johnstone Kenyatta, was speaking for the Kikuyu in London.

In the period since research began on the history of the Scottish mission in Kenya, the author has incurred numerous debts; most of these are acknowledged at the end. There are, however, several persons to whom the author owes a special debt of gratitude: Professor George Shepperson of Edinburgh University, for his inspiring scholarship, guidance and supervision; Christopher Fyfe of the Centre of African Studies at Edinburgh, for his understanding and kind supervision; Derek L.D. Morgan, a generous friend, whose assistance in the mechanics of assembling this Thesis on the eve of submission is greatly appreciated; Susan K. Matthews, the author's Secretary, who put his interests before her own; and above all, Valerie Ann McIntosh, for her faith, encouragement and herself.
In October 1891 something out of the ordinary occurred in the lives of the Kamba of Nzée Kilundu's district. A party of seven white men arrived which, instead of hurrying onwards to the north-west like its predecessors, declared its wish to stay and to build huts near the Kibwezi river. Its leader had a strange message about a new seer whose power was greater than that of any the people had ever known. More importantly, he had popular trade goods; and he had guns which would discourage further Maasai raids from the west.2

The white men were the founding party of the private East African Scottish Mission, planned and financed by Sir William Mackinnon, Alexander Low Bruce and their families and friends. The party was led by the Rev. Dr. James Stewart of the Lovedale Mission in South Africa. The other members included Dr. Robert Unwin Moffat, superintendent-elect and medical missionary; Thomas Watson, evangelist and teacher; John Greig and John Linton, artisan missionaries; Cornelius Abdul Rahman, storekeeper and assistant teacher; and George Wilson, late of the Imperial British East Africa Company's service, as guide. With them were two hundred and seventy-three Swahili porters whose services Stewart

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1 In Ukamba at this time each district had a council of Wazee (elders). One Nzée was regarded as head of the district and acted as its principal spokesman. (Foreign Office (FO) 2/57, John Ainsworth to Imperial British East Africa Company (I.B.E.A. Co.) Administrator, 30th December 1892.) See also B.G. McIntosh, 'The Eastern Bantu Peoples' in B.A. Ogut, and J.A. Kieran (Eds), Zonani. A Survey of East African History (Nairobi, 1968) 211-12.

2 The subject of Maasai raids in the Kibwezi district is examined below, Pp. 95-8.
had obtained in Zanzibar and Mombasa only by a free distribution of bribes. 3

Sir William Mackinnon and A.L. Bruce had not intended the mission to
settle at Kibwezi. They had envisaged a mission to the Kikuyu and Maasai
situated at Dagoretti, or at least at Machakos. 4 Ironically, it was the
activities of the I.B.E.A. Co., in which they were President and Director
respectively, that made it impossible for Stewart to establish a mission at
either of these two places.

Shortly before leaving Lovedale, Stewart heard from Moffat at Mombasa the
news of the evacuation of Fort Dagoretti following George Wilson’s armed
clash with the Kikuyu. 5 Wilson had been dismissed from the Company’s service, 6

3 Stewart Papers (SP), Stewart to A.L. Bruce, 21st September 1892. Stewart
had had to resort to bribes because of the critical shortage of porters
at the coast in August and September 1891. The Company alone had 1,300
at different points in the interior. The Germans were employing 1,000 on
railway work in their sphere. The Church Missionary Society had 300 in
the interior. Captain Stairs had just engaged 265 for his Katanga expedi-
tion. Moreover, the Congo Free State was using Zanzibar as its principal
recruiting ground, and there were even labour recruiters from Natal active
on the island. (FO 84/2148, C.S. Smith to Salisbury, 11th May to 31st
July 1891, and FO 84/2149, Portal to Salisbury, 12th September 1891.)

Mission in the Territories of the I.B.E.A. Coy.’ (Glasgow, 1892) 7-8.
(There are five reports on the mission. Hereafter they are referred to as
E.A.S.M. Report I, II, III, etc.)

5 Mackinnon Papers, School of Oriental and African Studies, London (MP/SOAS),
‘Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 10th and 17th July 1891, 3/272, Dagoretti’,
and copy of letter, E.L. Bentley to Foreign Office, 23rd July 1891. Wilson’s
own version of what happened is recorded in M. Perham and M. Bull (Eds.),
Diaries of Lord Lugard, 4 Vols. (1959-63) II, 469-73, III, 386, 393.

6 Wilson was engaged by Stewart for service with the mission in August 1891
because Stewart believed he had had no option but to fight his way out of
Dagoretti, and because of his usefulness to the mission party as a man who
knew the interior well. (Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Papers
in the National Library of Scotland (FCSP/NLS) 7877, Stewart to Mrs. Stewart,
12th November 1891.)
and, on meeting Moffat and learning of the intention to establish a mission at Dagoretti, had warned him that Dagoretti could only be reached by a large, well-armed caravan which was prepared to fight. In these conditions, to Stewart's mind, an attempt to settle the mission at Dagoretti would have been to revive the "old Middle-Age European Mission" situated beyond the military or administrative lines where its function was to act as a buffer in the occupation of the country. And he was not prepared to do this.

At Machakos too there had been fighting between the Company and the surrounding people. One Company askari (soldier) had been struck on the head with a simi (sword) by a Makamba in a dispute over the cutting of trees. In retaliation, the officer in charge of Machakos, G.C. Leith, had mounted a punitive raid in which two hundred huts had been destroyed, six men had been killed, several villages had been fined a hundred goats each, and over two thousand pounds of ammunition had been expended. When he heard about the raid just as the mission party was preparing to leave Mombasa, Stewart decided that it was pointless to establish the mission in proximity to a Company post where the people would be unwilling to learn the difference between Company men and missionaries. After reaching Kibwezi, Stewart and Wilson travelled on alone to Machakos. At the fort they found Leith calling the roll in his pyjamas. Stewart rebuked him for his actions, telling him bluntly that he was responsible for the delay in starting missionary work in the Machakos district.

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7 SP, Moffat to Stewart, 13th July, 1891.
8 SP, James Stewart, 'E.A.S.M. Statement on the Past of this Mission', 7th January 1893.
9 MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 6th November 1891, 3/363, Mr. Leith's Collision with the Wakamba.'
10 SP, Stewart's Diary: entry for 12th November 1891. See also below pp. 92-93, and n. 99.
In this way, the East African Scottish Mission began its life at Kibwezi. On December 7th 1891 an agreement was signed by Mzee Kilundu and Stewart in which 300 acres of land on the Kibwezi river were exchanged for one hundred and sixty yards of calico cloth and several coils of brass wire.\textsuperscript{11} Stewart's decision to remain at Kibwezi seemed to be justified at the time. The area had plentiful wood and water. It did not appear then to be unhealthy. And the people were friendly and seemed to be settled in large numbers in the vicinity. The founders of the mission were not displeased and took pains to reassure Stewart of their confidence in his judgement.\textsuperscript{12}

With the exception of the missions in Buganda, the East African Scottish Mission in 1891 lay at the forefront of missionary penetration of the British sphere. It was the creation of wealthy merchants and philanthropists who believed in the doctrine of legitimate commerce, Christianity and western civilisation as the remedy for African suffering and as the means of extending British commerce and imperial influence. And, as a private mission with no formal affiliation to any Church or Missionary Society, it was unique amongst African missions in 1891.

\section*{1. The Missionary Background}

Missionary developments in the northern part of East Africa during the 19th Century may be said to have had three phases. There was an initial phase of exploration and experimentation in which J. Lewis Krapf and his fellow

\textsuperscript{11} See Appendix I for full text of the Agreement. 
\textsuperscript{12} SP, Mackinnon to Stewart, 2nd December 1891.
missionaries of the Church Missionary Society publicised northern East Africa as a sphere for European activity. Although unsuccessful in their broader aims, they pioneered missionary work in East Africa and set certain goals which were still being pursued after 1900. There followed a second phase, one of fixed preoccupations, during which missionary attentions were concentrated on Buganda in the far interior and on the freed slave problem at the coast. The third phase coincided with the extension of commerce and administration in British East Africa and witnessed the effective occupation of the interior between the coast and the highlands of modern Kenya.

The first phase of missionary developments in northern East Africa began with the arrival of Krapf at Mombasa in 1844. Krapf desired above all else to evangelise the Galla of southern Ethiopia. He regarded them as a fine people, untainted by "degenerate Abyssinian Christianity", whose geographical situation as a bulwark against the expansion of Islam made them a top priority for the attentions of Christian missionaries. Having involved the C.M.S. in the attempt to reach the Galla from the south, Krapf was responsible for bringing the United Methodist Free Churches Mission to East Africa in 1862 for the same purpose. Other missions inspired by Krapf in the 1850s and 1860s to reach the Galla included the Hermannsburg Mission of Hanover and the Swedish Evangelical Missionary Society.

Another of Krapf's main objectives was to plant a chain of stations westwards from Mombasa across Africa. In 1850 the C.M.S. approved this

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objective and asked him to begin by establishing a station in Usambara and another on the Yata plateau in Ukamba. In this, as in the Galla quest, Krapf failed. In 1868, the year of his retirement from East Africa, there were only two mission stations in existence – the C.M.S. station at Rabai and the Methodist station at Ribe.

The record of the first phase of missionary developments would not seem to give Krapf a claim to the title of father of Kenya missions. But while it is true that later advances in the missionary field were inspired by David Livingstone's ideas, there are a number of ways in which Krapf's influence on subsequent developments can be emphasised. He had discovered the north-eastern interior as a missionary sphere of great scope and potential. He had established two important missionary societies in East Africa. And just as Livingstone's death called forth new missionary ventures, so Krapf's death in 1881 resulted in the formation of the Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society of Hersbruck, Bavaria (later merged with the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Society), and the setting up of stations at Mombasa and in Ukamba. Language study and the translation of the Gospels was begun by Krapf. He was the first to favour the industrial aspect of missionary work, as shown by his arrangements to have a carpenter, an agriculturalist, and a smith accompanying him on his travels to settle mission stations in the interior "so that with the Gospel the Africans might be offered the blessings of Christian civilisation".

His 'ecumenical' associations, as a southern German Lutheran pietist,

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16 Idem.
with Anglicans and Methodists in East Africa were the starting point for
the missionary desire for cooperation and united action which has distinguished
the history of missions in Kenya.\textsuperscript{17}

It was, however, his two major objectives – the proselytizing of the
Galla and a chain of stations across Africa – which had the strongest influence
on subsequent missionary efforts. The influence of the first objective is
demonstrated most clearly in the numerous attempts made in the 1830s to
establish missions to the Galla on the Tana River. Such attempts included the
Methodist mission established at G$\ddot{a}$lbanti in 1884 and abandoned in 1886 after
the murder by Maasai of the Rev. and Mrs. Houghton;\textsuperscript{18} the private Swedish
Mission of Emil Eric Hedenström and Frank Palquemist established in 1883 at
Kulesa;\textsuperscript{19} the stations at Hola and Ngao established in 1883 by the German
Lutheran Mission society of Neukirchen; and the Holy Ghost Fathers' station
at Kosi Ndera established in 1889 by Fathers Le Roy and Charles Gommenginger
and abandoned a year later following the flooding of the Tana.\textsuperscript{20}

Still later, in the 1890s and in the first decade of the present century

\textsuperscript{17} Gerhard Jasper, 'The East African Church Union Discussion', \textit{Africa}
Theological Journal, I, 1968, 49. See also Chapter V.

\textsuperscript{18} The Methodists later returned to the Tana with a station at Kibusu in
1894. They and the German Lutherans shared the work amongst the Pokomo
of the Tana River until the Germans were interned in 1939. (See, T.W.
Bonaya, 'The Young Bumu Association, 1944-56', B.G. McIntosh (Ed.) \textit{Ngogo,

\textsuperscript{19} The Swedish mission was later taken over by the German Lutherans. (See
Research Project Archive, University College Nairobi (RPA/UCN) D/1/2(2),
Agreement for sale of Mission station at Kulesa signed by Emil Hedenström
for the Swedish Mission and Freidrich Fink for the Neukirchen Mission,
26th March, 1902.)

\textsuperscript{20} A.T. Matson, 'The Holy Ghost Mission at Kosi on the Tana River', \textit{The
Krapf's objective of reaching Gallaland was still being pursued. The East African Scottish Mission at Kibwezi was to have received sixty Galla freed slaves for training as evangelists for a Scottish mission to Gallaland. The Galla slaves had been rescued in the Red Sea by Captin Gissing of 'H.M.S. Osprey' and after a brief stay at Aden had been transferred to Dr. Stewart at Lovedale.\(^{21}\) Stewart's promise to send them to Kibwezi was never fulfilled. But after the East African Scottish Mission had moved to Kikuyu and had been transferred to the Church of Scotland, Dr. David Clement Scott kept alive the Scottish desire to reach the Galla until his death in 1907.\(^{22}\)

Missionaries of the C.M.S. working in the Fort Hall district in 1904 expressed a similar wish for an extension to Gallaland and Abyssinia.\(^{23}\) One mission which was created specifically for the task of reaching the Galla from the south was that of the Consolata Fathers. Its founder, Canon Joseph Allaman, had planned in 1891 an assault upon the Galla from British East Africa, leaving the Capuchins to make the attempt from within Abyssinia.\(^{24}\) The Consolata Fathers began work in the Fort Hall District in 1902. Like other missions they became preoccupied with the work at hand; but a glance at the map of missions in Kenya indicates the seriousness of their purpose in

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\(^{22}\) "His great desire was to see ten stations established between Kikuyu and Abyssinia before he died." J.W. Arthur Papers(AP), Arthur from Kikuyu, 14th October 1907; and Presbyterian Church of East Africa Papers (PCEA) A/1, Arthur to Dr. McKimtrie, 23rd October 1907.


\(^{24}\) Commemorative Book for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Missionary Institute of Consolata, Conquest for Christ in Kenya (1952) 7-23.
establishing a chain of stations stretching northwards towards Gallaland. 25

In the last two decades of the 19th Century the influence of Krapf’s scheme for a chain of missions across Africa was still visible. Alexander Mackay, writing in the 1880s from the C.M.S. mission in Buganda, and drawing parallels from his engineering knowledge, called for a chain of inter-connecting and adequately supported educational missions between Freetown and Freretown. 26 His ideas, it should be noted, influenced Stewart when he established the East African Scottish Mission at Kibwezi. 27 Another missionary, similarly influenced, was Peter Cameron Scott, pioneer of the Africa Inland Mission, who came to East Africa in 1895 with plans for "a chain of stations planted from Mombasa along the highlands of East Africa, stretching westwards to Lake Chad in French Equatorial Africa." 28 But Scott’s plans in the same manner as those of others who attempted to achieve the goals set by Krapf, foundered on

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26 Mackay of Uganda, By his Sister (London, 1891) 462. Mackay, in a paper entitled 'The Solution to the African Problem', compared the current structure to a giant suspension bridge where the span between the pillars at Freetown and Freretown was too great a burden for the few, weak inland links. He envisaged a chain of regularly spaced teacher-training missions in which the growth of staff in the field was balanced by a growth of financial support for them amongst friends at home. African trainees, going out to teach amongst their own people, would thus become the girders connecting the arms of the mission cantilevers.

27 After acknowledging his debt to Mackay, Stewart wrote: "Beginning there (Kibwezi) and extending an outstation shortly to Machacas ... fits into a considerable plan, which occurs to me, and which might be gradually wrought out, and on a larger scale than of one station only." (FCSP/NLS 7877, Stewart to Mrs. Stewart, 12th November 1891. See also E.A.S.M. Report I, 21.)

the harsh realities of immediate missionary work in the north-eastern interior. To this extent, therefore — and this a major difference between Krapf’s influence and that of David Livingstone — Krapf’s schemes were visionary and impractical.

As was indicated earlier, missions in the north-eastern interior at the end of the 1860s were confined to the vicinity of Mombasa. They were also stagnating for want of an attainable purpose. This lack of purpose was remedied in the 1870s and 1860s during the second phase of missionary developments by the growth of the freed slave problem. In East Africa as a whole, this problem, growing from the 1880s in proportion to the effectiveness of the British anti-slavery campaign, attracted the Holy Ghost Fathers to the coast, revitalised the C.M.S., and provided the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa with an alternative opening following its abortive mission to Lake Nyasa. In the southern interior it led to the penetration by missionaries to areas where Islam had taken root and where the slave trade was believed to be in operation. In northern East Africa, besides giving a new purpose to the missions around Mombasa and leading to the establishment of Freretown in 1874, it did not lead to the occupation of the interior.

Buganda was the exception. Its existence had been discovered in the glare of publicity given to the controversial search for the Nile source. In European eyes its level of civilisation as a centralised kingdom was virtually unequalled anywhere else in eastern Africa. Its ruler was willing to allow

Christianity to be taught to his people; but he had already embraced Islam. Hence, H.M. Stanley's appeal of 1875 for Christian missionaries to Mutesa's court, published in the Daily Herald and New York Times and coming at a time of public emotion in the aftermath of Livingstone's sensational death, received a ready response in Britain.

The second phase of missionary developments in northern East Africa was thus distinguished by fixed preoccupations: with freed slaves at the coast and with Buganda in the far interior. These preoccupations alone do not, however, account for the neglect of the intervening area during this phase. Fear of the Maasai by Arab trader and missionary alike is frequently given in explanation of this neglect. But the threat posed by the Maasai has been overstated and largely misinterpreted. The true Maasai, the purely pastoral Maasai of the Rift Valley, were probably more peaceful and enjoyed better relations with their neighbours than is commonly believed. The true predators appear to have been peripheral groups, frequently Bantu in origin, who imitated the Maasai way of life and adopted their war ornaments and styles. Such a group were the Wa-Arush of the Mt. Meru region in northern Tanzania.

31 See D.A. Low, 'Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875 – 1900', East African Studies, No. 8, (Kampala, 1956).
33 For example: "It became clear from the writings of Krapf and Burton that the north-eastern interior of the hinterland, comprising most of modern Kenya and the northern province of Tanganyika, was the least suited to peaceful penetration, since it was the theatre of the Maasai and related Nilotic tribes, nomadic, pastoral and predatory, whose country even the armed caravans of the Arabs feared to enter." Oliver, The Missionary Factor, 28.
34 The author is grateful to his colleague, Dr. A.H. Jacobs, Research Director of the Cultural Division, Institute for Development Studies, University College, Nairobi, for guidance on this subject.
35 See also below, Pp. 95-98.
season they raided across Ukamba into Galla territory; and it was their
activities, and the fear of them expressed by Kamba to early European travellers,
that to a large extent coloured western views about the north-eastern interior
for most of the 19th Century. It seems unlikely that the results of current
and future research on the Maasai will uphold the view expressed by one
historian that the Maasai were the "hinge of Kenya".  

More significant than the Maasai danger, real or imagined, was the low
intensity of coastal trading activity by comparison with that of the southern
interior. Part of the reason for this may have been obstruction by the
Maasai; but of greater significance was the fact that the northern half of
the East African coast had not shared in the economic expansion which took
place as a result of Seyyid Said's settlement at Zanzibar in 1840. The
effective Arab occupation and development of African inland trade routes, which
began from about 1825, received a major stimulus from the growth of Zanzibar
as the principle entrepot for trade. Hence it was Bagamoyo and Kilwa and

36 To Krapf, for example, on his first journey through Ukamba: Travels, 287.
37 D.A. Low, 'British East Africa: The Establishment of British Rule, 1895 -
1912'; V. Harlow, E.M. Chilver and A. Smith (Eds.), History of East Africa,
38 Ivory and slave routes did exist in the north-eastern interior and were
still in use in the 1890s. See T. Wakefield, 'Routes of Native Caravans
from the Coast to the Interior of East Africa', Journal of the Royal
Geographical Society, XL, 1870; Joseph Thompson, Through Masailand (London,
1887), 126, 314, 338; L. Von Hähnel, Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie,
2 Vols (London, 1894 ed.) II, 248; C.W. Hobley, Kenya from Chartered Company
39 Ahmed I. Salim, 'The Swahili-Speaking Communities of the Kenya Coast, 1895 -
the inland areas west of them which enjoyed a concentration of development. And it was to the southern interior, where several decades of Arab and Swahili activity had made for more peaceful penetration and more detailed knowledge of promising fields, that missionaries directed their initial efforts.

In addition, Krapf's Travels had less of an impact than the works of such charismatic figures as Burton and Livingstone, with the result that missionary interests were directed south of Krapf's sphere of work. Zanzibar, moreover, as the centre for European diplomacy and commerce, and as the starting point for journeys to the interior, also served to detract attention from the north-eastern interior. When the era of international African activity began, following the Brussels Geographical Conference of 1876, it was the southern coastline and hinterland which engaged the attentions of Leopold of the Belgians and William Mackinnon.

The third phase of missionary developments, in which the interior between Mombasa and Kikuyu was effectively occupied, followed from the Anglo-German Agreement of 1886 and the creation of a British sphere of influence in the northern half of East Africa. Tentative steps towards the occupation of the interior had taken place in the 1880s, with the establishment of a C.M.S. station at Sagalla in Taita in 1883 and with the numerous attempts made by missions on the Lower Tana to reach the Galla. The Tana, however, did not offer an effective route to the interior, either for the Galla-inspired missions or for the German missions and traders based on Lamu and Witu. It was along the route to the interior via Machakos and Fort Smith, opened by the Imperial

40 Bridges, op. cit., 64.
41 See below, Pp. 27-8, 31-32.
British East Africa Company and followed by the Uganda Railway that during the 1890s missionaries began to occupy the north-eastern interior.\textsuperscript{42} During this phase, the East African Scottish Mission,\textsuperscript{43} first at Kibwezi in 1891 and again at Kikuyu in 1898, played a pioneering role. Although designed as something quite separate from the Company,\textsuperscript{44} the Scottish Mission was managed and financed by Company men who believed in Livingstone's formula for Africa,\textsuperscript{45} and who looked to the mission to further their personal and imperial ambitions.

2. Mission Architects

The three men most closely associated with the formation of the E.A.S.M., as prime mover, administrator and consultant respectively, were Sir William Mackinnon, Mr. Alexander Low Bruce and the Rev. Dr. James Stewart. The idea for a mission originated with Mackinnon.\textsuperscript{46} Bruce was

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
1891 & Kibwezi \hline
1891 & Ikutha \hline
1891 & Bora \hline
1892 & Tavota \hline
1893 & Ngelani \hline
1895 & Nzaui \hline
1896 & Kilungu \hline
1896 & Kangundo \hline
1898 & Kikuyu \hline
1899 & Nairobi \hline
1900 & Kabete \hline
\end{tabular}

The chronological occupation of the north-eastern interior, 1891 to 1900 was as follows:

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
1891 & East African Scottish Mission \hline
1891 & Leipzig Evangelical Luthern Society \hline
1891 & Holy Ghost Fathers \hline
1892 & Church Missionary Society \hline
1893 & Stuart Watt (Independent) \hline
1895 & Africa Inland Mission \hline
1896 & Africa Inland Mission \hline
1896 & Africa Inland Mission \hline
1898 & East African Scottish Mission \hline
1899 & Holy Ghost Fathers \hline
1900 & Church Missionary Society \hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{42} The chronological occupation of the north-eastern interior, 1891 to 1900 was as follows:

\textsuperscript{43} Hereinafter referred to as the E.A.S.M.

\textsuperscript{44} For the relationship between mission and Company, see below, Pp. 113–28.

\textsuperscript{45} See below, 25-6, 36 and n. 103.

appointed first secretary to the mission committee and was given the task of translating Mackinnon's idea into action. A missionary with African experience was required to establish the mission and act as advisor on method and organisation; James Stewart was Mackinnon's choice for this purpose. But while leaving the mundane tasks of planning and organisation to the others, it was Mackinnon who made the final decisions concerning the character and direction of the mission. Even after his death in 1893, Mackinnon's views continued to influence the mission's development.

William Mackinnon's life is a classic example of the manner in which a Scotsman of humble origins, but with a flair for commerce, could achieve great personal wealth and public esteem in the service of imperial trade. Mackinnon was born in 1823 the eleventh child of poor peasant parents from Arran who had settled at Campbeltown in Argyll. After a brief period of service in the trading house of a Portuguese merchant in Glasgow, he went to India in 1847 to become manager of a sugar mill at Cossipore, near Calcutta. Before long Mackinnon had entered into a trading partnership with a fellow Campbeltonian and general merchant at Ghazipur, Robert Mackenzie.

Some few facts about Mackinnon's early life and career in India may be gleaned from the following: J. MacMaster Campbell, Sir William Mackinnon, Bart., an address to Kiel School Dumbarton, reprinted from the Campbeltown Courier, n.d., but c. 1926; George Blake, B.I. Centenary, 1856 - 1956 (London, 1956); W.H. Coates, The Old Country Trade of the East Indies (London, 1895); J. Martineau, The Life of Sir Bartle Frere (London, 1895); Margaret MacDougall, 'The Empire Builder from Argyll', Glasgow Herald, 6th March 1965; Obituary notices in The Times and the Scotsman, 23rd June, 1893; and E. Irving Carlyle in the Dictionary of National Biography, 1901, Supplement Volume, III, 127. The present writer acknowledges, in addition, information about Sir William Mackinnon supplied by the latter's descendants, among them, Mr. Duncan Mackinnon, Mr. Angus Mackinnon, Mrs. G. Pollock, and Mrs. E. Shann.
Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co., known as 'free traders' in contradistinction to merchants of the East India Company, traded in any commodity which could be bought and sold at a profit. During the Gold Rush of 1853, cheap brandy for the Australian market was one of their most rewarding items of trade. Having witnessed some of the first successful ventures in steam-propelled shipping in the Clyde estuary during their youth, the partners were quick to exploit the potential of steamship trading in eastern waters. At first they chartered steamships and ran them between Glasgow, Liverpool, Calcutta, Chinese and Australian ports, and the U.S.A. In 1857 Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. won the contract to ship British troops to India during the Mutiny. And as the East India Company declined, Mackinnon's volume of trade in India substantially increased.

Mackenzie had died at sea in 1853. Mackinnon, as head of the trading organisation, brought out his own nephews and many men from his native county in Scotland to join him in India. In 1856, with the establishment of the Calcutta and Burma Steam Navigation Company, Mackinnon became a ship owner in his own right. In 1862 this Company was renamed the British India Steam Navigation Company. By the end of the 1860s, with his enormous trading empire firmly established, Mackinnon retired permanently to Britain to manage his affairs from Glasgow and London.

"Any quantity of Brandy will find the market. It's a fact, 'though an amusing one that ... if Brandy be drinkable, all you have to look to is a flashy label and a tall bottle." Robert Mackenzie, letter from Melbourne, 15th April 1853. (Blake, op.cit., 20.)

It is important to stress the family and parochial Highland Scottish nature of the staff of Mackinnon's commercial ventures. Hundreds of shares in his companies were purchased by fellow Highlanders from Kintyre. In return, malt whiskey from Campbeltown was served exclusively on Mackinnon's passenger ships. Birth in, or association with Kintyre was the passport for hundreds of men to service in Mackinnon's offices in Calcutta, Glasgow and London.
India had given Mackinnon a personal fortune and an enthusiasm for and broad perspective of Imperial interests. His services to India earned him public recognition and the gratitude of his Government.\textsuperscript{50} India, moreover, had groomed him for a position in British society, far removed from that of his earlier life. Now the gracious host to royalty, members of the aristocracy, and to men in leading positions in national and international affairs; the generous patron of the church and its missionary enterprises; the munificent laird of his respectful tenants at Loup and Balinikall in Kintyre, and Strathaird in Skye; and the businessman whose interests circled the world—Mackinnon was to find the status in society and in national affairs which, as a man of humble beginnings, he deeply craved.

Mackinnon was described by one of his contemporaries as "a leetle, dapper upright man, with an aquiline nose, side whiskers, a pouting mouth, and a strutting manner of walking and holding himself."\textsuperscript{51} From the same source there has endured the notion that Mackinnon’s deep religious piety made him narrow and unattractive in his personality and manner of living.\textsuperscript{52} An examination of his connections with the Free Church of Scotland tends to bear this out.

At the impressionable age of twenty, Mackinnon had witnessed the greatest of

\textsuperscript{50} Upon his return from India, in addition to receiving valuable gifts of silver plate, Mackinnon was offered a knighthood by the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston. For reasons unspecified Mackinnon declined the knighthood. In 1882, however, he was made a Companion of the Indian Empire, and in 1889 the Queen conferred a baronetcy upon him for his services to the Empire. (J. MacMaster Campbell, \textit{op.cit.}, 3, 8.)

\textsuperscript{51} H.H. Johnston, \textit{The Story of My Life} (Indianapolis, 1923) 137.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, 137-8.
all the secessions in the Church of Scotland — the 'disruption' of 1843. He joined the emergent Free Church and remained, to the end of his life, a most ardent supporter of the principles on which it had been formed. For himself, his family, and the tenants of his estate at Balinikall, Mackinnon chose a form of worship and Sunday observance which he felt most closely interpreted the spirit of the 'disruption'. In the church at Clachan, which he built and endowed, no instrumental music or singing was permitted. The incumbent minister's tenure, moreover, was only secure so long as he remained loyal, in Mackinnon's terms, to the 'disruption' principles. In business too Mackinnon was guided by his religious principles. On Sundays, no telegrams or letters were opened; and wherever possible no cargoes were loaded or unloaded.

53 The immediate issues which led to the breach were those of patronage and the relationship between Church and State. The ministers and congregations who ranked themselves on these issues in opposition to the 'Moderates' in the Church were those who in 1843 seceded to form the Free Church of Scotland. Some of the ablest of Scottish theologians and ninety-nine per cent of foreign missionaries joined the Free Church. (For further information, see, inter alia, J. Buchanan and Adam Smith, The Kirk in Scotland, 1560-1929 (Edinburgh, 1930), and A.J. Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church in Scotland, 1707-1929 (London, 1930), and W.L. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland 1797-1843 (Glasgow, 1916).)

54 Johnston, in his irreverent portrait of Mackinnon and his Sabbath household, described Mackinnon as belonging to a "divergent sect of Presbyterians who had invented a form of Penal Servitude to take the place of religion", and felt that the service in Clachan Church was more akin to "Devil Worship". (Johnston, op.cit., 138.)

55 Private Mackinnon Papers (PMP), Trust Disposition and Settlement of Sir William Mackinnon, Bart. (With Codicils), 21st April 1884, Articles 19 and 29 (See Appendix III.).

56 MacDougall, op.cit..
Mackinnon's loyalty to what he considered to be the essentials of the 'disruption' led him to oppose the movement towards the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. If such a union were to take place on anything other than the 'disruption' principles of 1843, Mackinnon would fight against it. Hence, in the closing years of his life, he devoted a considerable part of his time to a public defence of the 'disruption' Church and to public denunciations of union champions such as Professor Rainy. Two months before his death, as a mark of protest against a movement which he considered would have "a baneful effect upon the Church's future usefulness", he cancelled every bequest he had made in his will to the Free Church.

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57 SP, A.L. Bruce to Stewart, 4th December 1892. Rainy was one of those who, in Mackinnon's view, were "willing to eat Free Kirk chops altho' (sic) they do not preach Free Church doctrines." (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 16th January 1893.) Rainy was born in Glasgow in 1826. Ordained as a minister of the Free Church, he was appointed Professor of Church History at New College, Edinburgh, in 1862, and Principal in 1874. He was Moderator of the Free Church in 1887, and first Moderator of the United Free Church after the Union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches in 1900. Rainy was one of the most powerful Free Church leaders of the 19th Century. He was also an important figure in the Scottish liberal party. (The author is indebted for this information to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Ross of New College, Edinburgh.)

58 See Appendix III, 'Codicil to my Trust Disposition and Settlement', by William Mackinnon, 29th April 1893. See also Pp.129-36 for the effects which this action had on the E.A.S.M., and Appendix II for its effect upon the fortunes of the Calla ex-slaves at Lovedale, South Africa. Mackinnon, before his death in 1893, was among those who gave active support to union opponents in the Highlands who in 1904 went on to win an appeal to the House of Lords to remain outside the union and to be called the 'historic' Free Church. It is interesting to note that in the Cape Province of South Africa, the African congregations of the Free Church of Scotland's Lovedale Mission, like Mackinnon, were opposed to the impending union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches "as if it threatened ecclesiastical purity". (Sixty Seventh Report on Foreign Missions to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (Edinburgh) May 1895, 5.)
A conservative member of the Free Church, a total abstainer from alcohol, and a sworn enemy of the "advance of Papacy" in Scotland, Mackinnon was nevertheless no religious bigot. To many of his contemporaries he was an old-fashioned Presbyterian; yet they recognised that his religion was a purely personal affair and that it had no narrowing effects on his character or career. Unlike Harry Johnston, the young African explorer, who found the Mackinnon household on the Sabbath cold and depressing, another visitor to Balinikall noted that "hilarity and sobriety, humanity and piety prevail—a thoroughly healthy atmosphere". And the writer of Mackinnon's Obituary in the Scotsman of 23rd June 1893 observed:

"In some quarters he was supposed to be ecclesiastically narrow, but he looked upon subscriptions to creeds in the same way as he looked upon subscribing to a charter party or making a business contract—something to be honourably adhered to, and to be interpreted in the sense originally intended. He was far more catholic minded than he was given credit for being."

59 At the time of the West African Conference of Berlin, Mackinnon urged the American Minister in Brussels, General H.S. Sanford, to assist in securing to King Leopold's International African Association the right to prohibit the importation into Africa of spiritous liquors—"a scourge to all people and particularly to the poor Africans!" (HSP 127/V, Mackinnon to Sanford, 12th December 1884.) Mackinnon's sentiments on alcohol did not, however, prevent him from entering into partnership in commercial and humanitarian undertakings with A.L. Bruce who was a successful Edinburgh brewer. See below Pp. 35-36.

60 FCSP/NLS 7856, Mackinnon to George Smith, 13th March 1893. Mackinnon offered £500 for the best history of the Scottish Church from the Reformation to 1843 to be used as a standard text in all Scottish schools.

61 Johnston, op.cit., 137-38.

62 The visitor in this instance was Professor Blackie of Edinburgh University. He was on a fund-raising tour in 1875 for a Chair of Celtic at Edinburgh. Mackinnon gave him £200. (J. MacMaster Campbell, op.cit., 8.)
In establishing the E.A.S.M., Mackinnon acted in concert with like-minded friends, regardless of their church loyalties. His first missionary staff, moreover, comprised four Free Churchmen, one United Presbyterian, one Baptist and one Congregationalist.

Autocratic in manner, Mackinnon often inspired affection, always respect. He was famous for his generosity, often misdirected, to his friends and acquaintances, and towards the welfare and advancement of his fellow Highlanders. Mackinnon had no children by his marriage to Janet Jameson of Glasgow, but was an affectionate and indulgent godfather to his namesake, Willhelmina, the daughter of his friend Henry Shelton Sanford, the American Minister in Brussels.

63 The explorer, Henry Morton Stanley, remarked of Mackinnon that he was "too generous at times and parsimonious where I would have been almost lavish..." (Lady Dorothy Stanley (Ed.), The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley (London, 1909) 449). Dr. Roger Anstey, in his Britain and the Congo in the Nineteenth Century (O.U.P., 1962) 68-9, cites many examples of Mackinnon's generosity from the Mackinnon Papers in London and the Straunoh Papers in Brussels.

64 Amongst the many bequests in his will for Highlanders, Mackinnon provided £5,000 "to assist the children of poor but respectable Highland parents belonging to or brought up or resident in or near Campbeltown to obtain..... the advantages of a higher class school education." (Appendix III, Article 23.) Posthumously, Mackinnon was the principal benefactor of Keil School, Dumbarton - the present site of his statue which until 1963 stood in the Treasury Gardens at Mombasa.

65 When Sanford died in 1891 having lost most of his money, Mackinnon undertook to provide liberally for the upkeep of Mrs. Sanford and her children.
In 1885 Mackinnon tried to further his public career by standing for Parliament as the Liberal candidate for Argyllshire. Concerning his prospects, he wrote to his friend Sanford on October 23rd 1885:

"As far as I can judge from present appearances I shall have a very cordial support from at all events the respectable people in the County, including nearly everyone of the landowners, but nobody can tell yet what the result of the immense addition to the electorate will be." 66

Mackinnon lost the election, but being vigorously anti-Gladstone, went on to give his full support to the Liberal Unionist cause in the Home Rule controversy of 1886.

Above all else Mackinnon was, until the last years of his life, a shrewd and successful businessman who derided the "watchful spirit" of many of his contemporaries and who was fond of saying that he would invest in any scheme, however slow to pay dividends, which contained the seeds of commercial success. 67 Railway and Steamship companies were his special interest. He held shares in the Netherlands Steam Navigation Company, the Amazon Steam Navigation Company, the Assam Railway and Trading Company, the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company, the Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Congo, and in 1879 was involved in negotiations for linking Goa to India by a railway line from Bellanny to New Hublie. 68 Mackinnon held Founders, Privileged and other shares in the Suez Canal Company and sat on its Board of Directors.

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66 HSP 127/vi. The addition to the electorate were the agricultural labourers who with the miners were enfranchised with the extension to county constituencies of Household Suffrage under the Third Reform Bill of 1884, passed during Gladstone's second Ministry, 1880-1885.

67 HSP 127/1, Mackinnon to Sanford, n.d. but c. 1880, and 127/11, Mackinnon to Sanford, 29th July 1879.

68 PMP, 'Sir William Mackinnon's Trust', Vol. I, and HSP 127/11, Mackinnon to Sanford, 28th October 1879. See below, p. 28, note 81, for a full list of Congo Companies in which Mackinnon held shares.
1883 he and others were fighting the monopoly claimed on behalf of France by de Lessaps and were pressurizing the British Government to build a new canal under British control—a 'Palestine Canal' from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Aqaba. 69

American political and commercial affairs also attracted Mackinnon's interest and involvement. This is revealed in the correspondence between Mackinnon and General Sanford. 70 But before meeting Sanford, Mackinnon had been involved indirectly in a financial arrangement with the Western Union Railway between Racine and Mississippi. The Glasgow City Bank, of which Mackinnon was a Director between 1858 and 1870, had advanced considerable sums of money to the American railway company at a time when the state of the company's account did not warrant the loans. The losses incurred thereby were amongst the causes of the Bank’s collapse in 1879. 71 An action against Mackinnon for the recovery of these losses was brought in May, 1880.

69 HSP 127/iv, Mackinnon to Sanford, 24th July 1884; and National Library of Scotland (NLS), Manuscript Collection, Acc.4031, Correspondence between Mackinnon and General Gordon, 1880-1884; Gordon to Mackinnon, 15th July and 12th August 1883. Gordon was touring Palestine in 1883 and wrote enthusiastically to Mackinnon about the proposed new canal as a means of freeing Britain from her troublesome involvement in Egypt and the Sudan.

70 Of its commercial prospects, Mackinnon wrote, "America seems to grow everything the world wants!" (HSP 127/iv, Mackinnon to Sanford, 5th July 1881.) In the political field, Mackinnon considered President Garfield, assassinated in 1881, "one of the best if not the very best man who has been elevated by his country to the high dignity of President." (Ibid.) Several of Mackinnon's letters to Sanford reveal details of his attempts to use Sanford to exert pressure on the United States Government to recognize King Leopold's Congo claims. (For example, 127/v, Mackinnon to Sanford, 24th July 1883.)

71 J. MacMaster Campbell, op.cit., 7-8.
the High Court in Edinburgh. The liquidators hoped that Mackinnon would settle out of court to avoid publicity; but in demonstration of his integrity in business matters, Mackinnon answered the case in Court and was completely exonerated by four senior judges.\(^72\) With Sanford, however, Mackinnon’s American business dealings were less controversial. He acted as financial adviser to Sanford and advanced him more than £8,000 — in addition to purchasing many shares — to take up a one million acre concession for speculation in land and real estate in Florida. It is doubtful whether Mackinnon received any dividends from his investments in Sanford’s Florida Land and Colonisation Syndicate since Sanford proved to be a poor businessman and incapable of maintaining cordial relationships with his Belgian and British shareholders. But it was a case of Mackinnon’s generosity to a friend and his interest in a scheme which seemed capable of commercial success.\(^73\)

\(^72\) HSP 127/iii, Mackinnon to Sanford, 27th May, 1st June and 10th September 1880.

\(^73\) Letters concerning the Florida company, too numerous to mention individually, are to be found in HSP 11/1-xx and 127/1-x. It should be noted that relationships between Mackinnon and Sanford had become a little strained towards the end of the 1880s. There were a variety of reasons for this. One was that much to Mackinnon’s embarrassment, Sanford alienated most of his partners in the Florida Company. From 1887 Mackinnon was deeply involved in the British sphere in East Africa with the launching of the I.B.E.A. Company and had less time to spare to help and advise Sanford. This and his declining health made him wish to withdraw from the Florida Company’s affairs. Finally Sanford had quarrelled with Leopold over the latter’s decision to impose duties on imports in the Congo Free State. Sanford objected to this principally because it affected his profit from another of his ventures — the Congo Ivory Company, financed by American and Dutch investors. Mackinnon sided with Leopold and expressed the view to Sanford that all new states required to impose import taxes. He urged Sanford to mend the breach with the King. Mackinnon declined to invest in Sanford’s Ivory Company — it sold 14,000 lbs. of ivory in London for £7,000 which it purchased in the Congo for £710 — and declined in addition Sanford’s suggestion that the Ivory Company be affiliated to the I.B.E.A. Company. Another of Sanford’s suggestions which Mackinnon opposed was that of 1890 to settle large colonies of free American Negroes in the Congo. Mackinnon believed that this would be “most detrimental to the prospects of the Free State.” (HSP, Mackinnon to Sanford, 127/vii, 14th May and 5th July 1887; 127/viii, 18th and 26th October 1888; and 127/ix, 24th March and 27th May 1890.)
If, after his retirement from India, Mackinnon achieved social and commercial eminence in Britain, his ambition was for still greater things. He wished above all to connect his name with spectacular and enduring enterprises on behalf of the Empire. In the Empire east of Aden, particularly through the expansion of the British India Steam Navigation Company, he had partially succeeded in realising his ambition. But there he was only one amongst many who had contributed to Britain's ascendancy. His ambition drew reason and strength from what he considered to be Britain's decline in commercial pre-eminence in the world at large. Other nations were overtaking Britain; and this, to Mackinnon, was in no small way the consequence of the "shrinking policy" of British Governments. An opportunity to fulfill his ambition and to rescue Britain from her economic decline appeared to Mackinnon from the 1870s onwards to exist in equatorial Africa.

Mackinnon's view of Africa was fashioned after that of a fellow countryman, David Livingstone. Africa was suffering and its people were downtrodden. The remedy, for the slave trade and Africa's other ills, as offered by Livingstone, held a special appeal for men of Mackinnon's interests: commerce, Christianity and the capitalist civilisation of the west. Livingstone, in the tradition of the 18th and early 19th century West African Evangelicals,


75 NLS 2633, Mackinnon to Professor Blackie, 13th August 1879; and HSP 127/vii, Mackinnon to Sanford, 29th September 1887.

stressed the mutual benefits for Africa and Britain of the extension into Africa of British commercial and missionary activity. The Bishop of Oxford, at the time of the formation of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and taking the single case of cotton, stated the case succinctly:

"Everyone who knows much of the manufacturing interests of this country must be aware that one of the greatest problems which has to be solved is, how those interests are to extend themselves, nay, even maintain their present eminence, whilst they are so absolutely dependent for their cotton supply on the growth of the slave-cultivated plantations of America. It seems to me that God is as distinctly calling us by our necessities as a nation and by our want of this commodity for our home manufactures to open new grounds for its cultivation by the civilisation of Africa, as if a voice from Heaven speaking in our material ears told us that the prosperity of England was bound up with our doing His Will in that great continent of Africa."

In Africa Mackinnon ranged himself alongside philanthropists and fellow merchants from Manchester, Glasgow and London, blessed by churchmen and missionary leaders, in the extension of Britain's economic, imperial influence. And over Africa he would write his own name large and boldly.

Mackinnon's first contact with East Africa occurred in 1872 when through the intercession of his friend, Sir Bartle Frere, the British India Steam Navigation Company was offered an annual Government subsidy of £8,000 to

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77 See C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (4 Vols., London, 1948-58) I, 180-95, II, 1-13; and Thomas Fowell Buxton, The Slave Trade and its Remedy (London, 1840) 309: "The advantages which would accrue to Africa, in the development of her resources, the civilisation of her peoples, and the destruction of one of the greatest evils which has ever affected or disgraced mankind – not less than the benefits which would be secured to Europe in the opening of new markets for her produce and new fields for her commercial enterprise – would be incalculable."

78 Report of the Senate House Meeting, 1st November 1859, David Livingstone and Cambridge, op. cit., 44.
carry the mails between Aden and Zanzibar. But his close involvement in Africa arose from his first meeting with Leopold, King of the Belgians, at the Brussels Geographical Conference of 1876. A partnership developed between the two men in African economic imperialism which was to last some seventeen

79 Mackinnon had met Frere, a civil servant in Calcutta, in 1862. In the following year, when Frere had become the Governor of Bombay, he arranged with Lord Canning, the Viceroy, a Government subsidy for Mackinnon's steamers to carry the mails twice monthly between Bombay and Karachi and eight times a year between ports up and down the Persian Gulf, together with a contract to transport troops between Britain and India. The B.I. Steam Navigation Company owed its early expansion to these contracts. When Frere arranged the subsidy for Mackinnon's ships in 1872 he was at Zanzibar on a mission connected with the suppression of the slave trade and the choice of a site for a C.M.S. mission for freed slaves. In 1874 Mackinnon added to his public standing by transporting David Livingstone's body free of charge from Zanzibar to Aden in one of his mail ships. (Blake, op.cit., 31-2, 33, 144-5, 154-5) In his will, Mackinnon left a legacy of £10,000 to Frere "in remembrance of many kindnesses received by me at his hands." (FMP, Trust, Disposition and Settlement of Sir William Mackinnon, Bart., op.cit., Article 15.) The agency at Zanzibar which served the B.I. steamers was staffed initially by Mackinnon's men from Calcutta and Glasgow and became in 1877 Smith, Mackenzie and Company. (See N.J. Robinson, The History of Smith Mackenzie & Co. Ltd. (London, 1938) 9-11; and The Inchcape Group, including Inchcape & Co. Limited and Subsidiaries and Associated Companies (London, Private Circulation only, 1963) 25-9.) In 1874 Mackinnon was urged by the Legislative Council of Natal to run his steamers from Zanzibar to Beira and Durban so that he might transport Tonga labourers to the South African mines. Mackinnon was agreeable to the proposition but was prevented from extending the Aden-Zanzibar run by the monopoly, north and south respectively, held by the 'Peninsular and Oriental Line and the Union Steam Shipping Company. (MP/SoAS, 'Resolutions, Relative to the Introduction of Labourers from the East Coast of Africa, passed by the Legislative Council of Natal on 10th September, 1874.' And Blake, op.cit., 145.)

80 "Le Roi ent l'occasion d'y apprécier sa connaissance des affaires coloniales, ses vues larges, son enthousiasme pour les grandes entreprises, son ardeur dans tout action humanitaire." (M. Coosemans, note on Mackinnon in Biographie Coloniale Belge (Brussels, 1948) I, 628.)
years. It was a partnership, financed largely by Mackinnon and sustained by his lasting sense of gratification at being the friend of royalty, which led to the formation of Leopold's Congo Free State in 1885 and Mackinnon's Imperial British East Africa Company three years later. Leopold succeeded in realising his personal ambition; but Mackinnon died a disappointed man.

If it can be said that Mackinnon wished merely to add a sizeable part of


Space does not permit a detailed treatment of either the Mackinnon-Leopold partnership or the I.B.E.A. Company. Mackinnon and the Congo are treated adequately in Dr. Roger Anstey's Britain and the Congo in the 19th Century. Dr. Anstey did not, however, have access to the illuminating correspondence between Mackinnon and General Gordon (Acc. 4031) in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and General Sanford (HSP Box 127) in the Henry Shelton Sanford Papers, General Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford, Florida. The best single work on the I.B.E.A. Company (not discounting P.L. McDermott's British East Africa or I.B.E.A.) is H.J. de Kleweit's 'The History of the Imperial British East Africa Company.' Anglo-Belgian relations are also examined in Iain R. Smith's Oxford Ph.D. Thesis, 'The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition' (forthcoming, 1969). Mr. Smith makes the interesting point that Mackinnon's revival of the idea of a chartered company for East Africa took place at the same time as the formation of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, in November-December 1886, not February 1887 as stated by de Kleweit and others. In connection with Mackinnon's first attempt in 1877 to win a concession from Seyyid Barghash of Zanzibar to administer and develop the latter's mainland territories by means of a private company, there is the interesting possibility that the original idea for such a venture was not Mackinnon's but that of General Gordon. In a letter to Mackinnon, dated 5th February 1880 (NLS 4031), Gordon reminds Mackinnon that in 1877 he sent him a memorandum of his ideas for a "Hudson's Bay Company" in Africa. While this is obviously the background against which Mackinnon's efforts to secure Gordon's services for the International African Association's African schemes should be viewed, it also sheds new light on Mackinnon's early attempts to secure a foothold in East Africa.

Stanley, op. cit., 448-49.
East Africa to the formal territorial Empire, then he was a successful man. Protectorates were declared over Uganda in 1894 and British East Africa in 1895. It is clear, however, that this was not Mackinnon's aim. He had hoped for many years of enlightened Company rule, extending the economic influence of the Empire, and bringing to East Africa the blessings of Christianity and civilisation. But the I.B.E.A. Company, the commercial success of which was intended to bear testimony to Mackinnon's own greatness, ended ignominiously in 1895 having realized very little of its founder's dream.

Mackinnon was an ambitious man. His ambition led him beyond the field of commerce, in which he was undoubtedly an expert, into the realms of politics, diplomacy and international rivalry. Other, equally ambitious men of the time, with a commercial background - Cecil Rhodes, for example - succeeded in similar circumstances. Some of Mackinnon's contemporaries felt that Mackinnon failed either because he had no talent for African affairs or because in his closing years he had lost his grip on these affairs and had become increasingly impractical. Others, such as H.M. Stanley or P.L. McDermott (the I.B.E.A.

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84 See C.7646 (1895), Correspondence Respecting the Retirement of the Imperial British East Africa Company, April 1895. Note that the inscription on the Company's official badge was Inheritor.

85 Lord Salisbury in 1890 believed that Mackinnon had lost his grip on African affairs. (Lady Gwendolen Cecil, Life of Robert Marquis of Salisbury (London, 1931) IV, 280-1.) Kitchener in the same year felt more strongly and urged that Mackinnon should be removed from the Company lest Britain's future work in Africa should become the laughing stock of Europe. (Kirk Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford, Kitchener to Kirk, 12th July 1890.) Kirk, one of the founders of the Company, was by 1892 trying to sever his associations with it. He confided to F.D. Lugard that "Sir William is one of the most impractical men I have ever had to do with and with all his success in India he is ignorant of Africa." (Ibid, Kirk to Lugard, 20th January 1892.) Quoted in Anstey, op.cit., 69, and notes 2 and 3.
Company's Secretary) laid the responsibility for Mackinnon's failure squarely on the shoulders of an unscrupulous Foreign Office which deceived Mackinnon into believing that he could expect moral and financial support for his time and capital expended in rescuing Witu and Uganda - areas which lay outside the original territorial Concession of the Company from German occupation. Historians in recent years have tended to be sympathetic. Anstey, in his Britain and the Congo in the Nineteenth Century, sees Mackinnon as an assertive, trustful businessman whose failure may be explained in terms of rapidly declining health in his last few years.

Oliver, in The Missionary Factor in East Africa, places Mackinnon amongst the small group of philanthropists who risked capital in East Africa "which could have been more gainfully employed elsewhere".

A less charitable but more realistic note is struck by M.J. de Kieweit in her 'History of the Imperial British East Africa Company' where she sees Mackinnon as a man, not particularly horrified by the slave trade, but so

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86 Stanley, op.cit., 446-47, and McDermott, op.cit.. See also H.M. Stanley, letter to the Scotsman, 19th December 1894. Alexander Low Bruce expressed a similar opinion in his 'Cape to Cairo: or Britain's Sphere of Influence in Africa', African Review, No. 5, Supplement, 23rd December 1892. George S. Mackenzie, T.B.E.A. Company's Administrator also felt that "political exigencies and national rivalries forced a more extended policy" upon the Company. (Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Societies' Papers (APS) Ma. Brit. Emp. S.22/G.6, 'Scottish Mission', Mackenzie to T.F. Buxton, 28th January 1892.)

87 Mackinnon suffered from chronic inflammation of the lungs. This disease steadily sapped his energies from 1887 to his death in June 1893. (HSP 127/vii, Mackinnon to Sanford, various letters of 1887; and FCSP/NLS 7856, Mackinnon to Rev. G. Smith, 13th March 1893.) Anstey, op.cit., 69.

88 Oliver, op.cit., 89.
anxious for fame and recognition that he embarked upon a series of African ventures which were wholly inconsistent with his earlier, cautious and secure investments. But while agreeing with de Kieweit on the point of Mackinnon's craving for fame and recognition, the present writer finds no evidence to support her view that Mackinnon's African commercial schemes were intrinsically less commercially sound than his earlier ventures. It appears certain that to the end of his days Mackinnon continued to be bold and far-sighted in his investments, and consistently refrained from associating himself with an enterprise which did not appear to him to contain the elements necessary for commercial success. This is true of the I.B.E.A. Company where Mackinnon had a responsibility to his shareholders to make the Company economically viable.

The clue to an understanding of his failure would seem to be in deficiencies in Mackinnon's character and experience. Mackinnon, as mentioned earlier, was a man of humble origins who delighted in his fraternity with royalty, titled persons, and men of important affairs. Nothing offered Mackinnon greater pleasure than his association with King Leopold of the Belgians. Considering the methods by which the King's personal empire in the Congo was won, and

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89 De Kieweit, op.cit., 17-18.

90 The I.B.E.A. Company's Prospectus, dated 14th August 1889 contains the following statement: "The Directors anticipate valuable results from the Company's contemplated trading operations in the interior...... Great opportunities will arise for utilising capital in the development of the vast territories which come under the management of the Company and are comprised within the sphere of British influence. (NLS Acc.6021.) See also similar statements in 'I.B.E.A. Company, Report of the Court of Directors to the Founders of the Company, 1st June 1889.' (Ibid.)

91 There is a special clause in Mackinnon's Will concerning the disposition of the portrait presented to him of King Leopold. (See Appendix III, Article 7.)
considering also the subsequent history of the Congo Free State under Leopold's management, it is significant to note that in 1885, referring to the French threat to Leopold's Congo designs, Mackinnon warned the Foreign Office that Leopold would lay upon the Governments of Europe "the entire responsibility of allowing France to destroy the noblest and most self-sacrificing scheme for Africa's development that has ever been or will be attempted." 92 Mackinnon was no judge of character. This is also revealed in his relationship with General Sanford, whose friendship Mackinnon cultivated largely because he was the American Minister in Brussels and because he provided a channel of communication to King Leopold. But Mackinnon was to find that his previous friendship with Leopold and the effectiveness of the Florida Land and Colonisation Syndicate suffered as a result of Sanford's angular personality. 93 While status was a major consideration with Mackinnon in choosing his friends and associates, he could also, with an almost perverse disregard for any consideration other than that of luckless circumstances, befriend, sponsor and often employ younger men. Undoubtedly this reveals the generous aspect of Mackinnon's nature; but it also reveals a blind spot in his faculty for character judgement. 94

92 HSP 127/vi, Mackinnon to Clement Hill, 5th January, 1885.
93 See above, p. 24, note 73.
94 The best example of this is Mackinnon's patronage of Cornelius Abdul Rahman, one of the first missionaries at the E.A.S.M., Kibwezi, who was removed from its service by Dr. R.U. Moffat in 1892 for misconduct and incompetence. See below, Pp. 76-81.
By experience, Mackinnon was ill-equipped for the political manoeuvrings in which he became involved through his African schemes. However shrewd and competent in business affairs, he was nevertheless strictly an amateur in the field of diplomacy. He believed himself to be adept at influencing African affairs. At the time of the Berlin West African Conference, 1884-85, Mackinnon believed that he was exerting this influence by sitting in his suite at the Burlington in London and giving advice by wire to Stanley and Sanford at Berlin, by conducting an intelligence network to keep himself informed of the views of Lord Granville and others, and by walking round to the Foreign Office to glean some confidential information from his contacts.95 "Wire me" he wrote confidently to Sanford "if you think I can do anything at any moment here. I have as you know easy access to all at the Foreign Office."96 It is, however, in the history of the I.B.E.A. Company that Mackinnon's lack of experience and ability in politics is most clearly revealed. He made the fatal error of assuming that the Foreign Office shared his view that the I.B.E.A. Company was carrying on the work of the Empire. The decision of the British Government to consolidate Mackinnon's work by declaring a Protectorate over Uganda in 1894 prompted Leonard Woolf, in his Empire and Commerce in Africa. A Study in Economic Imperialism, to depict Mackinnon as the prime example of the capitalist imperialist - "a

95 "At crucial moments Sir William Mackinnon could walk round to the Foreign Office or the Treasury with the son-in-law of Queen Victoria as a certificate of his Company's character, a symbol of philanthropic patriotism, or an expert on finance." (Leonard Woolf, Empire and Commerce in Africa. A Study in Economic Imperialism (Published by the Labour Research Bureau, London) n.d., but c. 1918.)

96 HSP 127/v, Mackinnon to Sanford, 12th December 1884. Mackinnon was not above using a mild form of bribery or blackmail to get information from the Foreign Office. In the early 1880s, for example, in return for information about the progress of negotiations for an Anglo-Portuguese African treaty, he paid the debts of a Foreign Office Official. (Anstey, op.cit., 68.) Dr. Anstey, however, takes the liberal view that there was nothing in this to suggest an improper understanding. He sees it as another example, only slightly questionable, of Mackinnon's generosity.
human being who has yielded to the tyranny of his own desires and of the 
social and economic system in which he blindly believes" — who by masquerading 
as a philanthropist is able to summon support from influential and respectable 
quarters in his task of influencing the Government to follow the path of 
economic imperialism. Mackinnon, however, does not quite fit this picture. 
In the final analysis he emerges as a naive, rather pathetic figure, striving 
outside his true medium and with limited capabilities for fame and recognition. 
It was only at the end of his life that he realized that he had misinterpreted 
official thinking on Africa and that he had been the unwitting instrument, 
not the instigator or manipulator of Foreign Office policy.

Mackinnon's character, ideas and ambition determined the basis for the 
establishment of the East African Scottish Mission in much the same way as 
they influenced the nature and direction of the I.B.E.A. Company. As a 
devout Christian Mackinnon believed that foreign missions alleviated the 
sufferings of ignorant and downtrodden peoples. As a man of his time, he 
supported missions as essential aids to the furtherance of Britain's imperial 
purpose. But as one who sought to associate his name with enduring services 
on behalf of the Empire, Mackinnon saw the need to establish his own mission. 
It would be separate from the I.B.E.A. Company but would play a complementary 
role in creating his personal empire in East Africa.

97 Woolf, op.cit., 321.
98 H. Lambert-Playfair, former British Consul in Zanzibar, remarked in 
1890 that Mackinnon believed that commercial undertakings, when combined 
with missionary enterprises, were the only sound basis for Africa's 
political and social progress and for the expansion of the Empire's 
economic and civilising influence. (FCSP/NLS 7856, Playfair to Rev. G. 
Smith, 23rd January 1890.)
1. William Mackinnon

2. Alexander Low Bruce

3. The first missionaries of the E.A.S.M. at Mombasa in September 1891.
Left to right: Cornelius Rahman, John Linton, Thomas Watson, John Grieg,
James Stewart and George Wilson.
There was no need for Mackinnon to follow Stewart of Lovedale's suggestion of naming the mission after himself. He insisted, instead that it should be a private undenominational venture, free of control by any church or missionary society, and restricted in its subscription list and committee membership to his own family and closest friends. Hence, in the minds of his contemporaries, the E.A.S.M. was always regarded as Mackinnon's mission. And although he had little to do with the routine affairs of the mission's inauguration and management, Mackinnon succeeded in imprinting his autocratic personality firmly upon the new mission. No decisions as to its constitution and development were taken without reference to Mackinnon's attitudes and preferences. Some of the first missionaries at Kibwezi resented the influence of "the great Sir William Mackinnon"; but they either accepted it or resigned. 99

Chief amongst those to whom Mackinnon delegated responsibility for managing the E.A.S.M. was Alexander Low Bruce. 100 Bruce was born into a respectable, middle-class Edinburgh family in 1839. After leaving the Edinburgh High School he entered the Leith Office of the Edinburgh brewing firm of William Younger & Company. 101 Soon afterwards he was sent to London where he spent fifteen years, rising eventually to the position of manager. In 1874 he returned to Edinburgh and accepted a partnership in the Company. 102

99 This resentment, displayed in particular by Dr. R.U. Hoffat, is treated more fully below, Pp. 66-82.
100 The author is grateful to Professor George Shepperson of Edinburgh University for arranging access to the Bruce family papers — a limited but useful source of information concerning Bruce's early life and business career. There is, in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, a volume of obituary messages and articles entitled, A.L. Bruce. In Memoriam (privately published, Edinburgh 1894).
102 Obituaries in the Scotsman and The Times, 28th November 1893.
Bruce became interested in Africa at approximately the same time as Mackinnon, but in a much more personal way. His first wife, Catherine Greenlees of Campbeltown, had given him four children but had died during their period of residence in London. At the time of David Livingstone's death, and following a business trip to America, Bruce met Robert Moffat and Livingstone's daughter, Agnes. Two years later Bruce and Agnes were married. Inspired by Livingstone's life and ideas, Bruce turned his attentions towards Africa. And since William Younger and Company enjoyed a thriving beer market in South Africa, Bruce was able to combine business with his personal interests on several visits to southern and central Africa. By 1893 he was the owner of large estates at Magomero in the Shiré highlands of Nyasaland, of which his eldest son, David, was the manager.

In his native city of Edinburgh, Bruce became a leading citizen. Having been brought up in the United Presbyterian Church, but having no deep loyalties to its secessionist principles, he demonstrated his belief in the necessity for the reunification of the Church in Scotland by joining the Established

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103 During their courtship Bruce expressed the view to Agnes Livingstone that by her father's death "a new era in the history of that wonderful continent takes its date. The national life of England has been enriched by his labours and the whole world has received a mighty impulse forward by his example." (Alexander Bruce Papers (ABP), Bruce to Agnes Livingstone, letter no. 3, 4th January 1875.)

104 Scotsman, op. cit., Bruce's last visit to south-central Africa took place in 1888. He had planned to revisit the continent shortly before his death in 1893. The estates in Nyasaland of which David Bruce was the manager were the setting for the abortive John Chilembwe uprising of 1915. (See G. Shepperson and Thomas Price, Independent African (Edinburgh University Press, 1958) 80–81. Another of Bruce's sons, Robert, was staying in 1888 with Rev. Dr. James Stewart at Lovedale, South Africa. (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 29th February 1888.)
Church of Scotland while continuing to be an active unofficial member of the United Presbyterian Church. Bruce was a principal contributor to the endowment fund for a Chair of Public Health at Edinburgh University, and was a founder, and subsequently the Treasurer of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. In business he was recognised at home and abroad as being an eminent financier of rare executive ability. In politics, Bruce was an ardent Liberal who, like Mackinnon and many others, moved to the Liberal-Unionist side over the issue of Home Rule for Ireland. After 1886 Bruce was a leading member of Edinburgh's Liberal Union Club, and, although declining the invitation he was asked by Goschen and other prominent Unionists to stand for Parliament. Shortly before his death in November 1893 he was nominated a Justice of the Peace.

105 "Mr. Bruce was no sectarian, and in religious as in other matters he had wide sympathies and many friends in every denomination." (Scotsman, 28th November 1893.) "In regard to the Church Question in Scotland, Mr. Bruce was decidedly opposed to Disestablishment. He desired to maintain the National Church, recognising its great services to the people, and hoping for reunion amongst Presbyterians." (Scotsman, 4th December 1893.) See also, SP, Bruce to Stewart, letter of 1892.

106 Scotsman, 28th November 1893.

107 New York Daily Tribune, 7th December 1893. Besides being a Partner in William Younger & Company, Bruce was Deputy Chairman of the Abbey and Holyrood Breweries, and a Director of the London and Edinburgh Shipping Company and the Edinburgh Investment Trust Company. In 1888 he became a Director of the I.B.E.A. Company, and 1889 a Director of the African Lakes Corporation. He was also a Director of the Scottish Exploration Company Ltd. of Glasgow. (ABP, envelope containing correspondence, 1889, of the Secretary of the Scottish Exploration Company Ltd., William Bwing, concerning the transfer to Cecil Rhodes by Bruce of one hundred one pound Company shares.)

108 Scotsman, 28th November 1893.
Apart from charitable and often eulogistic obituaries, there is a paucity of contemporary writing about Bruce's character or personality. He was less of a public figure than Mackinnon; yet at the same time he was well-known, widely respected and generally regarded as an authority on African missionary and commercial concerns. It is significant that in his main obituary in the Scotsman of 28th November 1893 it is emphatically stated — as though to distinguish him from men like Mackinnon — that Bruce consciously avoided publicity, self-praise and recognition for his services. Unlike Mackinnon who was a man of humble social origins and experienced the need to assert himself, Bruce was born into that section of Edinburgh society which made a sober virtue of commercial success combined with good works on behalf of the City, the Church, foreign missions and the Empire.

In his attitude towards Africa, Bruce was a more aggressive imperialist than Mackinnon. Mackinnon may have been content to operate within an area of the informal Empire of paramount British commercial and political influence such as East Africa. Bruce, preferred direct territorial annexations. The two were in agreement that the Empire had to find new markets for its produce in order to sustain its power. But Bruce did not have Mackinnon's

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109 Ibid.
110 For an analysis of the informal, non-territorial British Empire of the 19th Century, see R.E. Robinson and J. Gallagher, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', Economic History Review, VII, 1, 1953. And for the change in the official mind of the Foreign Office to a policy of formal territorial annexations, see by the same authors, with Alice Denny, Africa and the Victorians (London, 1961).
111 Bruce opposed the Manchester school of thought on free trade, and the undesirability of adding further territories to the Empire, on the grounds that since the whole world could not be converted to a system of free trade a contraction of Empire would mean a contraction of markets for British manufacturers. (Bruce, 'Cape to Cairo', op.cit.)
faith in chartered companies as a means of achieving this goal where there was no established trade to offset the cost of administrative duties. He preferred to think that trade followed the flag. His philosophy of the Empire, more outspokenly racialistic than Mackinnon's, revolved around the notion that through her genius for colonization — merciful, civilizing and economically rewarding in its effects — Britain had a world mission of the highest moral responsibility. And it was necessary, he thought, to consolidate the Empire so that this world mission, and indeed European civilization, might be safeguarded:

"Why have we encouraged confederation in Canada, in South Africa and in the colonies of Australia, but so that it may lead to a closer union between the colonies themselves, and we hope ultimately with the mother country, so that the English race may go forward to fulfil her (sic) great mission in the world.... We are vitally interested in the advancement of all the white races, or those inhabiting the temperate zone, unless we are prepared to see the Mongolian and black races .... overshadowing and ultimately swamping western civilization."  

In Africa, Britain's imperial mission, as Bruce saw it, was to establish commerce, Christianity and civilisation from the Cape to Cairo. Cecil

112 Unlike the Royal Niger Company which was already a trading company at the time of receiving its Royal Charter, and the British South Africa Company which offset its administrative costs by revenue from mining and land sales, the I.B.E.A. Company, Bruce felt, was from the outset forced to concentrate wholly on administration and on saving Witu and Uganda from German control. (Bruce, op.cit.)

113 Scotsman, 3rd December 1893.

114 Scotsman, 8th July 1893, report of an address by A.L. Bruce to the Edinburgh Liberal Union Club.

115 "I hope to see all three Companies — Impl. East Africa, African Lakes & Southern Co. amalgamated and Railways and trading posts and mission stations right through the heart of Africa from the Cape northwards towards Cairo" (sic). (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 8th November 1889.)
Rhodes, he felt, was trying to wreck this mission. In a paper entitled 'Cape to Cairo: or Britain's Sphere of Influence in Africa', Bruce gave a warning that since Rhodes depended for his political support at the Cape on the pro-Boer party, Cape colonial policies and influences, particularly with regard to African land and labour, would spread to Central Africa. In his private correspondence, Bruce claimed that Rhodes wished to become master of southern Africa.

The ambition displayed by Cecil Rhodes was particularly offensive to Bruce because it affected Nyasaland — the country which Bruce's father-in-law, David Livingstone, had marked out as an area of special Scottish interest, and from which he had made his famous and inspiring appeals to the commercial and philanthropic sectors in Britain. With this personal, family interest, and as a Director of the African Lakes Corporation, Bruce was at the forefront of those who called for a British Protectorate to save Nyasaland from the Portuguese and from Cecil Rhodes.

116 Bruce, op. cit. This paper was originally written for the Y.M.C.A., Edinburgh in 1892. Together with another paper, 'Christian Responsibilities of Empire', read to the Youth Fellowship of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh in 1893, it reveals Bruce's deep concern that the Christian youth of Britain should be educated on the subject of its imperial responsibilities.

117 SP, Bruce to Stewart, n.d. but 1892.

118 The African Lakes Corporation, based on Glasgow, was never a chartered company. It was first established in conjunction with the Livingstonia Mission under the name of the Livingstonia Central Africa Trading Company. Subsequently it was renamed the African Lakes Company, then the African Lakes Trading Company, and finally the African Lakes Corporation. (See inter alia, F.L. Moir, 'The Story of the African Lakes Corporation', Leo Weinthal (Ed.), The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route, 3 Vols, (London, 1922) I.)

119 Besides lobbying influential men in an attempt to force Gladstone to change his 'non-involvement' African policy, Bruce in 1891 was engaged in resisting the attempt made by Cecil Rhodes to take over the African Lakes Corporation. A judgement was given against Rhodes in the Bill Chamber — a now defunct Edinburgh Court — on the technical point that the African Lakes Corporation was incorporated under Scottish and not English Law.
In Mackinnon's view Bruce had impeccable qualifications for the task of organizing and managing the proposed East African Scottish Mission. Mackinnon had never visited Africa; and, apart from contributing to the fund of the Livingstonia Central African mission, had no connections with the missionary field in Africa. Bruce, by contrast, was related by marriage to the families of two famous Scottish missionaries, David Livingstone and Robert Moffat. And having visited southern Africa he was well acquainted with African missions.

It is not on record how and when Mackinnon and Bruce first met. But it is reasonable to assume that they had known each other since the 1870s through their common interests in commerce, African exploration and philanthropic causes. They shared many common sentiments concerning the imperial purpose in Africa and were closely associated in the formation of the I.B.E.A. Company from November 1886.


121 Bruce was particularly well acquainted with the Free Church of Scotland's Lovedale mission at the Cape and with the Church of Scotland's Blantyre mission in Nyasaland. It is interesting to note that the Bruce family connection with Blantyre, and with the Church of Scotland mission at Kikuyu in Kenya, continued until as recently as 1956 - the year in which Bruce's daughter by his first wife, Miss Agnes B. Bruce, died at the age of ninety-one. (Scotsman, March 1956, obituary on Miss A.B. Bruce.)

122 See above, p.28, note 81. Bruce was one of the original subscribers to the I.B.E.A. Company in April 1888 and became one of its Directors. With Mackinnon, James F. Hutton, R. Ryrie and George S. Mackenzie, Bruce represented commerce on a Board otherwise composed of noted philanthropists and high-ranking, retired officers of the Indian Army and the Foreign and Colonial Services. (See De Kiewiet, op.cit., Ch.IV.)
Bruce had two further qualifications for the proposed missionary venture which recommended him to Mackinnon. Mackinnon intended the new mission to add to his personal status as a great pioneer of philanthropic and imperial works. Bruce was less interested in personal fame than in helping to further Britain's world mission by promoting missions as part of the Cape to Cairo scheme. He would therefore be content to assume the responsibilities of secretary and treasurer to the mission while leaving to Mackinnon the greater share of the credit for its formation. Bruce's other qualification was his friendship with the Rev. Dr. James Stewart, M.D., D.D., of the Lovedale mission - a man and a mission greatly admired by Mackinnon. Stewart had the experience, and the reputation as a pioneer missionary in Africa necessary to lend respectability and a greater chance of success to Mackinnon's mission. Through Bruce, it was arranged that his services were secured as leader of the founding expedition and consultant on missionary affairs.

James Stewart had known Bruce since the time of the latter's marriage to Agnes Livingstone. Agnes, he had known since she was a child. In 1862 he had travelled on the same ship as her mother, Mary Livingstone, to join David Livingstone on the Zambesi. Hence, within the Bruce family, Stewart was venerated as the companion of David Livingstone in Central Africa, the man who had comforted Mary Livingstone on her deathbed at Shupanga in April 1862,\(^{123}\) and the missionary hero who in promoting the establishment of the Livingstonia mission in Nyasaland had created a lasting memorial to David Livingstone's work.

But while this was the basis of a close relationship which secured to the E.A.S.M. the services of a leader amongst missionaries in Africa, it is interesting to note that Stewart had little real claim to the good opinions of Agnes and Alexander Bruce. They were unaware, as were all of their contemporaries save a few, that Stewart had been one of Livingstone's most vicious critics in the early 1860s or that he had caused Livingstone much pain by paying discreet attentions to Mary Livingstone.

Stewart, as a young man, had drawn his inspiration for missionary work in Africa from his reading of David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. Together with some friends he had established the New Central Africa Committee in 1861 - an amateur body not formally recognised by the Free Church - the purpose of which was to found a mission in Central Africa. In 1862 his Committee raised funds to send him to consult Livingstone on the plan for a mission near Lake Nyasa. Mary Livingstone was at this time proposing to rejoin her husband in Africa and asked Stewart to delay his voyage by one month so that she might travel with him. She was a lonely woman, given to lapses of religious faith, who in twenty years of married life had lived with

124 Stewart was born in Edinburgh on 14th February 1831, the son of a prosperous cab proprietor. His family were strong supporters of the Free Church after the 'disruption' of 1843. Stewart studied at St. Andrews University and at New College, Edinburgh. In 1860 he was licensed as a preacher in the Free Church of Scotland. (See R.H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale: The Story of a Century* (Lovedale Press, 1941); and James Wells, *Stewart of Lovedale. The Life of James Stewart, D.D., M.D.* (London, 1909).)

125 Published 1857 by John Murray, London.

126 Shepherd, op.cit., 169-70.

127 Stewart and Mary Livingstone had been friends for sometime before travelling together to Africa. In Glasgow Stewart had been tutor to Mary's son, Thomas. (W.G. Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.* (London, 1882) 246.)
her husband in a home for only four of them. In Stewart, she found an
attentive, sympathetic friend to whom she could turn for companionship and
religious counsel.

On arrival at Capetown, Stewart discovered that he was the subject of
suspicion and criticism. His mission to Central Africa was not officially
recognised by his Church and his true intentions were a matter of considerable
speculation. The Portuguese Consul was convinced that Stewart was a trader
in missionary guise who carried with him large quantities of beads for sale to
the Africans living along the Zambesi. In church circles too he was suspect.
The Bishop of Capetown tried to dissuade him from proceeding with his journey,
warning him that Livingstone would not be pleased to see him. At Durban,
Stewart encountered the same opposition from Portuguese agents and Anglican
churchmen. But by then a new problem confronted him. Rumour was rife that
he was enjoying an improper relationship with Mary Livingstone — the rumour
apparently having originated with a fellow passenger, Bishop Mackenzie's
elderly sister. Mary Livingstone’s protective attitude towards Stewart,
and in particular her flat refusal to continue her journey if anything were
done to prevent Stewart from accompanying her onwards to the Zambesi, doubtless

128 Beaver, op. cit., 407.
129 Wells, op. cit., 43-4.
130 Idem. Wells gives as a reason for this attitude on the part of Episcopalians
a jealous desire to keep Central Africa as a sphere exclusively for the
Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, whose leader, Bishop Mackenzie,
was already in the Shiré highlands of Nyasaland.
131 George Shepperson (Ed.), David Livingstone and the Rovuma. A Notebook
132 Wells, op. cit., 43.
Livingstone gave Stewart a cordial greeting when his ship arrived at the Zambezi delta in February 1862. That he continued to display a friendly attitude after he had heard the rumours is an indication of Livingstone's understanding of his wife and of his generous nature. But the incident served to mar the happiness of his reconciliation with his wife; and when she died at Shupanga two months after her arrival Livingstone's grief must have been increased by self-reproach at their prolonged and frequent separations.

The rumours of a scandal were effectively stopped by Mary Livingstone's death and by Livingstone's apparent indifference to them. The matter was soon forgotten and it in no way affected Stewart's later career as principal of the Lovedale mission at the Cape. But the incident does suggest a lack of

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133 The degree of familiarity in the relationship between Stewart and Mary Livingstone is revealed in the following extract from Stewart's private journal: "(on being Livingstone for the first time) I could not help remarking to Mrs. Livingstone that the Doctor seemed to be a great swell. She gives me a gratified slap for so speaking of the great pioneer ..." (Wells, op.cit., 60.) It is interesting to note that in an article entitled 'Recollections of Dr. Livingstone and the Zambezi' in the Sunday Magazine, November 1874, Stewart gives a censored version of the same exchange: "This was Dr. Livingstone, and I said to his wife, 'There he is at last! She looked brighter at this announcement than I had seen her do any day for seven months before." (Blaikie, op.cit., 246-7.)

134 Until recently it has been the fashion amongst historians of the Zambezi expedition to omit to mention the rumoured scandal. Reginald Coupland, for example, does not refer to it in his Kirk on the Zambezi (Oxford 1928) despite numerous references in Kirk's Zambezi journal. (Shepperson, op.cit., 30-31.) Wells and Shepherd, Stewart's biographers, mention neither the scandal nor the criticisms made by Stewart of David Livingstone. Blaikie, Livingstone's first serious biographer, made only fleeting references to a 'slander' to the effect that the marriage between Livingstone and his wife was not entirely happy. He did not mention Stewart except as a kind friend and valued counsellor. (Blaikie, op.cit., 255-58.) Professor Shepperson puts the alleged scandal in its most reasonable perspective thus: "Mary Livingstone, during the frequent and prolonged absences of her husband, sought what solace she could obtain in the society and attentions of others — and if these sometimes seemed indiscreet, it reflects on Victorian narrow-mindedness rather than her own lack of standards." (Shepperson, op.cit., 31.)
sensitivity and judgement on Stewart's part. He was thirty-two years old at
the time and might have been expected to be conscious of the dangers of
encouraging the emotional responses of a mature, lonely and possibly frustrated
woman. He appears to have been flattered by the growing affections of the wife
of a public figure such as David Livingstone. And reflecting upon the animosity
which he attracted to himself at Capetown and Durban in 1862, and surveying
his subsequent career, there emerges a picture of Stewart as a man who aroused
criticism as a result of his considerable self-esteem, his overbearing attitude,
and his dislike of opinions inconsistent with his own. Of all Livingstone's
detractors, both during and after the controversial Zambezi Expedition, the
busiest and harshest was James Stewart. Historians have shown an understanding
of the difficulties which Livingstone faced and an appreciation of the political
significance of the Expedition. Stewart's viewpoint was personal. He
had been inspired by reading Livingstone's Missionary Travels in 1857 to establish
an industrial mission in the Lake Nyasa region. But having witnessed the failure
of the Universities Mission at Magomero and the disturbed state of the interior
of Central Africa, Stewart had reached the conclusion that Livingstone, through
his "accursed lies", had suppressed the truth about Central Africa and
misled him and others into believing it to be a promised land for Christianity
and commerce. In conversations and by private letters he circulated the

135 For example, Coupland, op.cit., Shepperson, op.cit., Seaver, op.cit.,
136 "Stewart's Journal of eighteen months in Africa reveals him as the
introspective observer of a tragic scene, pre-occupied in soul-dissection
and petulant self-grieving." (Seaver, op.cit., 435.)
137 Stewart, Zambezi journal, 17th September 1862, quoted in Seaver, op.cit.,
435-36.
138 Stewart apparently paid little heed to the explanation given by the Rev.
Horace Walker that the Lake Nyasa region had altered greatly as a result
of the ravages of the slave trade, since Livingstone visited it during the
early 1850s.
the rumour that in spite of all that Livingstone had written and continued to claim, the Shiré highlands south of Lake Nyasa were unfit for the cultivation of cotton.

It is a mark of the difference between the two men that in spite of this attack on his dearest project, Livingstone maintained a friendly attitude towards Stewart. He had tried to assist Stewart's mission by offering his own services when he should be free, and by offering to pay Stewart's salary from his own resources. He knew that Stewart was doing much that was harmful to his reputation but remained generous and forgiving to the last.

In London in 1874, at Livingstone's funeral, Stewart was present to claim his share of the great hero's reflected glory by showing himself as the sorrowing former companion of the deceased. Never slow to seize an opportunity rewarding to himself, Stewart now embarked upon a task in which he cast himself in the role of Livingstone's successor. He raised Glasgow merchant money, a staff, and secured the official blessing of the Free Church for a new Scottish mission in Central Africa to be called Livingstonia. It is ironical that Stewart

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139 Blaikie, op. cit., 266.

140 "The man and the hour had come. Stewart was a true Elisha on whom the inspiring mantle of Elijah had fallen, and he went straight from that grave to take up his master's work. He caught and responded to 'the wink of opportunity' ..." (Wells, op. cit., 124.)

141 Stewart was unable to go with the Livingstonia expeditionary party to its first site at Cape Maclear in 1876. Later in the year, however, he joined them and was responsible for the choice of site for the second station at Bandawe in Tongaland. (On Bandawe, see Norman Long, "Bandawe Mission Stations and Local Politics, 1878-1886", Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 32, December 1967.) While in Nyasaland, Stewart assisted the Church of Scotland missionaries at their Blantyre station to settle the problems arising from their over-zealous disciplinary measures. (For manuscript material on the disciplinary issue at Blantyre, see Scottish Record Office, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, Hope, Todd and Kirk Papers, Box 44/2.) Stewart's cousin, Charles Stewart, C.E., left his engineering work on the Sirhind Canal in the Punjab, to join Robert Laws at the Livingstonia Mission. He died shortly after his arrival in 1877 while working on a road leading northwards from Karonga. (Sixty-Sixth Report on Foreign Missions to The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (Edinburgh), May 1896, 11.)
should be remembered mainly as the originator of a lasting memorial in Nyasaland to a man whose ideas and opinions he had scorned, and whose reputation he had done much to damage. In the same way as Mary Livingstone's death overshadowed the gossip concerning Stewart's indiscreet attentions, Livingstone's death and the period of public adulation which followed it, relegated to the dim recesses of memory the words and actions of his chief critic.

The fitting sequel to this unpleasant narrative of Stewart's rancour and hypocrisy is to be found in the history of the establishment of the East African Scottish Mission. By a superb twist of fate, positions were reversed: Stewart was the leader in 1891 of an expedition in little-known territory; his companions were younger men charged with the responsibility of establishing a new mission; and acting as chief critic of Stewart's methods and ideas — David Livingstone's nephew, Dr. Robert Unwin Moffat. As will be shown in greater detail below, Moffat with better reason in 1891 than Stewart had in 1862, criticised his leader for suppressing the truth about conditions in British East Africa and for exaggerating his own achievements as well as the mission's prospects of quick success.

When Stewart was approached by Alexander Bruce in 1889 with a request to assist in forming the East African Scottish Mission, he had been Principal of the Lovedale Missionary Institution at the Cape for nearly twenty years. He had joined the staff of Lovedale in 1866 and succeeded Principal William Govan

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142 Robert Unwin Moffat was the grandson of the noted missionary, Robert Moffat. His aunt was Mary Moffat, Robert's daughter, who married David Livingstone. His cousin was Agnes, the daughter of Mary and David Livingstone who married A.L. Bruce.

143 See below. Pp. 81 and n. 56.
in 1870. Within a few years Lovedale was synonymous with Stewart. Blythswood in the Transkei,\textsuperscript{144} the Gordon Memorial Mission at Umsinga in Natal\textsuperscript{145} and the Livingstonia Mission in Central Africa were all Stewart's creations. In agreeing to assist Mackinnon and Bruce it might be said that Stewart wished to enhance his already-considerable reputation as a pioneer founder of African missions, or that he hoped for generous contributions to Lovedale's development plan.\textsuperscript{146} But his primary motive was much more ambitious. Another link would be forged in the chain of mission stations — Lovedale, Blythswood, Livingstonia, the E.A.S.N. and possibly a mission to the Galla of Abyssinia\textsuperscript{147} — a possible federation of which, under his control at Lovedale, would constitute the missionary counterpart of the 'Cape to Cairo' scheme.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{144} Blythswood, so named after a Transkei magistrate, Captain Blyth, was established by Stewart in 1873 at the request of the Fingo peoples.

\textsuperscript{145} Stewart established this mission in Zululand at the request of the Countess of Aberdeen in memory of the missionary, the Hon. James Gordon, who was the brother of the Earl of Aberdeen and who had died in 1868. Both this and the Blythswood Mission were associated with the Free Church of Scotland.

\textsuperscript{146} Stewart's main ambition for Lovedale was to develop it into an inter-tribal, inter-state and inter-church African University. (Wells, op.cit., 106.)

\textsuperscript{148} "In his own sphere he (Stewart) was at least as great an imperialist as Rhodes ..." (Wells, op.cit., 105-6.) This is true of Stewart in the wider sphere as well. But Stewart, like Bruce, was greatly concerned to check Rhodes' ambitions, especially where they affected Nyasaland. In 1892, for example, Stewart was urged by his brother-in-law, John Stephen of Alex Stephen & Sons, Glasgow, a Director of the African Lakes Corporation and a subscriber to the E.A.S.N., to persuade Mackinnon to buy up the African Lakes Corporation as an auxiliary of the I.B.E.A. Company. The advantage of such an action, if Nyasaland were connected with Uganda by steamers and a railway, would be a much more effective blow to the slave trade than Mackinnon's proposed East African railway. But the necessity of the action was created by Rhodes' intention to sell his shares in the African Lakes Corporation to Lord Gifford, the Chairman of Rosenthal's Company, and to incorporate Nyasaland into a wider South Africa of his own making. (SP, John Stephen to Stewart, 30th April 1892.)

\textsuperscript{147} See Appendix II.
Mackinnon, Bruce and Stewart were the architects of the East African Scottish Mission. The first two were dead within two years of the mission's establishment. Only Stewart witnessed what was to become of their efforts. In designing the mission, each had had his own purpose. Mackinnon regarded it as complementary to the I.B.E.A. Company - the two in combination earning him lasting fame as the volunteer pioneer of British interests in East Africa. Bruce, who believed that Britain had a genius for colonization and who saw missions as a major aspect of Britain's world mission, hoped that the mission would prove to be an important link in the Cape to Cairo scheme. Stewart, typically, acted out of complex motives, but had a design for the mission of comparable dimensions in the form of a Lovedale-based missionary Federation. In 1889, when the idea for the East African Scottish Mission was conceived, the future had seemed promising. But by 1891, before the planning stage of the mission was completed, it no longer seemed certain that the original purposes of the founders would be achieved.

149 Stewart died in 1905 - four years after the mission had been handed over to the Foreign Mission Committee of the Established Church of Scotland. He returned to Scotland from East Africa in 1892, and, after a visit to America in 1893, returned to Lovedale in 1894 after an absence of four years. In 1899 he visited America again and attended the Seventh General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches. From 1899 he was Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland. Thereafter, he returned to Lovedale. One year before his death he presided over the First General Missionary Conference in South Africa. In 1903 he published his most ambitious work, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, described in his typically hagiographical biographies as a "missionary classic". (See Wells, *op.cit.*, 315.)
3. Plans and Foundations

The planning stage of Mackinnon's mission began with a misunderstanding. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church, having been asked by Bruce on September 9th 1889 to release Dr. Stewart so that he might assist with the establishment of a new mission on Lovedale lines in East Africa, assumed that they were being offered a control of a new mission at Mombasa at the expense of the I.B.E.A. Company. On October 22nd the Committee unanimously resolved to lend their support.\(^{150}\) Providing that they were not asked to bear any part of the cost, they were willing to supply the staff for the new mission (beginning with two medical missionaries) and they were in agreement that Stewart should be asked to visit Mombasa to report on its suitability as a mission site.\(^{151}\) There was another reason for their ready response to Bruce's request. The Free Church Deputy, Dr. Lindsay, had recently suggested that Mombasa would be a more suitable home for the sixty-four Galla ex-slaves currently at the Free Church Keith Falconer Mission at Sheikh Othman, Aden.\(^{152}\) It was indeed a happy coincidence that their suggested home was to be the site of a new Lovedale.

By the end of October the misunderstanding had been removed. Acting on Mackinnon's instructions, Bruce informed the Foreign Mission Committee that

\(^{150}\) Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee Minutes, 22nd October 1889.

\(^{151}\) FCSF/ML3 7774, Secretary George Smith to Stewart, 23rd October 1889.

\(^{152}\) See Appendix II.
nothing was being asked of them except that they should agree to the temporary release of Dr. Stewart. The proposed mission, it was pointed out, was independent of the Free Church as well. Barely concealing his disappointment, the Committee's Secretary, the Rev. George Smith, wrote to Stewart on October 31st advising him that a decision had been taken to send the Galla children to Poona in India; Stewart could come home via Mombasa if he wished, but he should bear in mind that owing to a current deficit the Free Church would be unable to spend money on a new mission at Mombasa.153

Stewart did not share the Committee's sense of disappointment. He was unwilling to lose the opportunity of establishing a mission on the Lovedale model in East Africa. And knowing that Bruce did not share Mackinnon's objection to the idea of Free Church management, he decided to accept the invitation in the hope that he could persuade Mackinnon to see the advantages of association with an experienced missionary Church.154 Nor was Stewart willing to lose sight of the Gallas. Through his wife, who was currently recovering from an illness in Edinburgh, he persuaded the Foreign Mission Committee to defer any decision as to the future of the Gallas until he arrived home on furlough in the following year.155 A plan was already taking shape in his mind; the Gallas would come to Lovedale; at some appropriate point in the future they would be transferred to Mackinnon's mission in East Africa; and from there, under his own direction, they would go out as the vanguard of a new mission to the Galla or Abyssinia.156

153 FCSP/NLS 7774, Smith to Stewart, 31st October 1889.
154 SP, Bruce to Stewart, 8th November 1889.
155 FCSP/NLS 7774, Smith to Stewart, 7th January 1890.
156 See Appendix II.
Stewart arrived in Edinburgh in June 1890. Within a few weeks Bruce presented him with a rough blueprint of the proposed mission.157 Starting with a station at Machakos in Ukamba, the mission would operate four departments of work — religious, educational, industrial and medical. Of these, the last two were to receive particular attention. Medical work would be the most effective means of winning the confidence of Africans and would strengthen the administration of the I.B.E.A. Company. The dominant characteristic of the mission, however, would be its industrial work. In a disparaging reference to missions which neglected this principle, Bruce pointed to the Church Missionary Society at Mombasa who teach the natives to sit and sing themselves away, but do nothing for the education of their hands ..."158 Mackinnon’s mission would train heart, head and hands and aim at getting the "whole man" for Christ. And since the mission’s industrial teaching would be mainly agricultural, it was proposed to ask the I.B.E.A. Company for a grant of fifty to a hundred square miles of adjoining land.159 As to the mission’s religious character,

157 SP, Bruce to Stewart, 14th July 1890.
158 Ibid. The C.M.S. view on the emphasis which should be given to the industrial principle in missionary work was given as follows by a leading member of its Committee in London: "I am entirely in favour of the Lay Evangelist, the Medical Evangelist, whenever Gospel-preaching is the substantive work; but when it is proposed to have a pious Industrial Superintendent, or Evangelical tile-manufacturer, or a Low-Church breeder of cattle or raiser of turnips, I draw my line." (R.N. Cust, An Essay on the Prevailing Methods of Evangelising the non-Christian World (London, 1894) 16 — quoted in Oliver, op.cit., 25.)
159 SP, Bruce to Stewart, 30th September 1890. One of the earliest proponents of the industrial mission ideal — independent, self-supporting and self-propagating institutions — was William Carey, the founder of the English Baptist Missionary Society, who in 1792 published his views in a book entitled, An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for Conversion of Heathens. (Facsimile from the 1792 ed. published London, 1891.)
it was Mackinnon's declared wish "that the religious teaching shall always be in accord with Bible truth and with the evangelical teaching of the Westminster Confession of faith." In short, the mission was to be undenominational, yet at the same time to be understood to be Presbyterian. There would be no formal affiliation with the missionary committee of any Church. The mission would be managed by a committee of laymen consisting of Sir William Mackinnon, Bruce himself as Secretary and Treasurer, Sir William's nephew, Peter Mackinnon, and James Macalister Hall - a Campbeltown man who since 1849 had been a major partner in Mackinnon's business empire and who was also a Director of the I.B.E.A. Company.

In August 1890, Stewart prepared for Mackinnon a document entitled, 'Memorandum on the Proposed Mission'. Little more than a summary of Bruce's points, it is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it contains the statement that Stewart had devoted the years 1861 to 1863 to the establishment of the Livingstonia Mission in Central Africa - a remarkable aberration of memory, but nevertheless consistent with Stewart's post-Livingstone image of himself. Secondly, the Memorandum shows that Stewart had begun his campaign of persuading Mackinnon to drop his objection to an affiliation with the Free Church. He stated that in its "origin and proposed purport" the mission occupied "a somewhat

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160 SP, Peter Mackinnon to Stewart, 6th November 1894.
161 SP, Bruce to Stewart, 30th September 1890.
162 For information on the business career of J.M. Hall, see Blake, op.cit.
163 SP, Stewart to W. Mackinnon, 20th August 1890.
164 Ibid. In making this point Stewart was advising Mackinnon that whereas in 1861-1863 he had worked without a salary, now he would have to be paid his Lovedale salary of £380 per annum.
unique position" - the implication being that this was not without its dangers for a small committee of inexperienced laymen. And to reinforce this point, Stewart drew Mackinnon's attention to the fact that however commendable the fourfold scheme of religious, educational, industrial and medical work might be, the majority of missions had yet to accept such an extensive combination.

Mackinnon was not impressed. Other members of the committee, Bruce and Hall, tried to influence him along similar lines by pointing to the advantages to be obtained from drawing upon the missionary experience of the Free Church. But he remained obdurate - not out of prejudice, as Hall believed, but because he profoundly distrusted Rainy and other Free Church leaders over their attitude towards the question of church reunion, and because he wished to maintain his personal stamp upon the mission.

That Stewart was disappointed, is beyond doubt. There followed a period of some eight months during which little was done to further the plans for the mission. Stewart began to show signs of impatience and a declining enthusiasm, since he had not expected to spend so long in preparation for the project to which he had committed himself. During this interval of inactivity, Mackinnon, Bruce and Hall were preoccupied with the grave problems which the I.B.E.A. Company was facing in East Africa.

Almost since the Company's inception, Mackinnon had aimed to control the Lakes region in the hinterland of the British sphere. At first it had seemed possible to achieve this aim from a base in the Equatoria Province of the southern

165 SP, Bruce to Stewart, 24th November 1890.
166 SP, Stewart to Bruce, 1st September 1893.
167 See above, p.19, and note 57.
Sudan. But when H.M. Stanley's Emin Pasha Relief Expedition ended in the evacuation of Equatoria and the removal of its Governor, Dr. Emin, to Zanzibar, Mackinnon in 1889 had turned his attention towards the prosperous and strategically-situated Kingdom of Buganda. On July 1st 1890 Germany recognised British claims to Zanzibar and Buganda and received in return the North Sea island of Heligoland; by December, Captain F.D. Lugard was in Buganda to establish the infrastructure of the Company's administration and trade. Early in 1891 it was apparent that Buganda was overtaxing the Company's resources; War between Catholic and Protestant Baganda was still in progress; and Lugard's attempts to secure peace created a diplomatic incident involving the Governments of France and Great Britain. By this time, the Company was well launched on its campaign to raise a subsidy from the British Government for the building of a railway from the coast to Lake Victoria.

168 Mackinnon's intentions regarding Equatoria are treated in I.R. Smith, op.cit.
169 On September 2nd 1889 Mackinnon received a letter from the C.M.S. missionary to Buganda, Alexander Mackay, urging him on political and economic grounds to incorporate Buganda into the Company's territories. (NP/SCMIS.) It should be noted that Mackinnon, like Rhodes and Bruce, was a supporter of the Cape to Cairo scheme. In 1889-1890 he had been engaged in attempts to secure a corridor of territory - to link British Central, with British East Africa - first through the German sphere in East Africa and then through Leopold's Congo Free State. (De Kiewit, op.cit., 204-5.)
170 Anglo-German Agreement, July 1st 1890.
171 See D.A. Low, Religion and Society in Buganda 1875-1900, (East African Studies, No. 8, Kampala, 1956.)
By April 1891 Stewart had succeeded in diverting the attention of the mission's principal founders temporarily away from Company and Buganda affairs. It was nearly a year since he had left Lovedale to assist in the planning of Mackinnon's mission; he was prepared to waste no more time. An 'Agreement Respecting the Establishment of the Mission' was hastily prepared and issued by the Committee on April 1st.\(^{173}\) It was a brief document, stating nothing more than that it was intended to establish a mission in the Company's territories, that Dr. Stewart had been asked to make a preliminary expedition to choose a site, and that the Committee and other subscribers guaranteed an initial capital of £10,000.\(^{174}\) Shortly afterwards, Stewart sailed for South Africa, intending to spend some weeks at Lovedale before proceeding to Zanzibar to recruit porters for his initial surveying expedition.\(^{175}\) When he left, Stewart was asked

\(^{173}\) The full text of the Agreement appears as an Appendix to E.A.S.M., Report I, *op. cit.*

\(^{174}\) The Committee and Subscribers to the E.A.S.M. in 1891 comprised the following (an asterisk denotes that the person named was also a Director of the I.B.E.A. Company):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Subscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Sir William Mackinnon</td>
<td>£2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alexander Low Bruce</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. James Macalister Hall</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Peter Mackinnon</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>General Subscribers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Fowell Burton</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Duncan Macneill</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. John Usher</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. John Stephen</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J.C. White</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Hall (J.W. Hall's sister)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Janet Mackinnon</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Jameson (W. Mackinnon's sister-in-law)</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£10,000

\(^{175}\) On April 21st 1891 the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church gave its formal assent to Stewart's temporary employment with the E.A.S.M. (Minutes, 21st April 1891.)
by Mackinnon to spend one, if not two years in East Africa to ensure that the
mission was firmly established.\textsuperscript{176} Stewart's response was that he had already
wasted too much time at the planning stage; he did not say exactly how long
he would stay with the mission, but by the time of his arrival in Mombasa he
had decided to spend no more than three months in East Africa.\textsuperscript{177} At the time
of Stewart's departure a decision had not been taken as to the exact title of
the mission. Something approaching 'The East African Scottish Mission' was
contemplated; but Mackinnon wished to stress the mission's industrial character.
He was therefore annoyed when this title was fixed by the publication of Stewart's
Report on the mission in 1892,\textsuperscript{178} and complained that he would have preferred
the title to read 'The East African Scottish Industrial Mission'.\textsuperscript{179}

The haste with which the final planning stage was conducted is revealed
in the choice of a staff for the new mission. None was ordained nor had any
of them had previous missionary experience. Most were young men not yet thirty
years of age. Posts were not advertised nor was there a proper appointments
committee. Mackinnon chose one man, Bruce another, and Stewart the remainder,
solely on the basis of friendship or recommendation. Scant attention was paid
to character, health or religious conviction - an omission which in several
cases had unfortunate consequences. The overriding impression obtained from
a perusal of the sources for this aspect and period of the mission's history
is that the Committee suffered from inexperience in the delicate task of choosing

\textsuperscript{176} EASM Report I, 18.
\textsuperscript{177} Robert Unwin Moffat Letters (RML), 14th September 1891.
\textsuperscript{178} EASM, Report I, published Glasgow, 1892.
\textsuperscript{179} SP, Mackinnon to Stewart, 22nd July 1892.
missionaries, and that the initial staff was hurriedly assembled at a late hour. 180

The only missionary appointed in advance of the last, hurried preparations was Robert Unwin Moffat. 181 In 1890 Moffat had concluded his medical studies at Edinburgh University and had been asked by Bruce to accept the post of head of the proposed mission's medical department. His was a family appointment since he was cousin to Bruce's wife, Agnet. 182 He accepted the post and sailed for South Africa late in 1890 to visit his parents at the Cape before proceeding to Mombasa. It was recognised that he would arrive in East Africa well in advance of the other missionaries. Hence, for a few months he would be stationed at Railway Point, Mombasa, as a medical officer in the service of the I.B.E.A. Company, and would have an opportunity of learning Kikuyu. But even in the case of Moffat's appointment, apparently efficiently arranged, there was present the same degree of haphazard planning which characterised the final arrangements. When Moffat left Britain he was under the impression that the proposed mission was a part of the I.B.E.A. Company; and it came as a great shock to him when he was informed by Stewart during the preliminary expedition to the interior

180 The contracts drawn up for the staff were vague in the extreme and contained few of the provisions and insurances against contingencies found in contracts issued by Foreign Mission Committees of the Scottish Churches. One clause designed "to prevent waste of time from hunting, when such is not necessary to procure food, or from exploration of the country without specific object ..." demanded that all ivory, minerals, "or anything I may shoot, find, acquire or have presented to me ..." should remain the property of the mission. (FCEA P/2, 'Memorandum of Agreement between T. Watson and the Mission to the Territories of the Imperial and British East Africa Company' n.d.)

181 The author intends within the near future, to edit and publish the East African letters of Dr. R.J.U. Moffat, 1891-1906.

182 See above, p.47, note 141. Moffat was born at Kuruman, South Africa in 1866, the third son of the Rev. John Smith Moffat. He was known to Stewart, having been a pupil at Lovedale for a short period. His medical studies at Edinburgh were financed largely by the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society. Moffat was appointed to the E.A.S. for an initial three years at a salary of £250 per annum. (RML, 23rd February, 1891.)
that it was intended that he - at the age of twenty-five - should be Superintendent of the mission when Stewart departed.

Mackinnon's choice of a missionary, as storekeeper and assistant teacher, was Cornelius Abdul Rahman. The origins of this person are a matter of speculation: he was a Christian and westernised, but Moffat, in his letters, refers to him as "the Indian chap". He was recommended to Mackinnon by a Mr. Thomas Paterson of Glasgow as a young man of good character who needed a kindly and generous patron. His appointment is a good example of Mackinnon's compassion for young men in need of assistance at the start of their careers. But it is questionable whether Mackinnon was wise in giving him a chance to prove himself in an undertaking so important as a Christian mission in Africa. Rahman was soon discovered by his colleagues to be querulous, weak and given to bouts of drunkenness, and of brutality towards his African servants. Stewart recognised that his appointment had been a cardinal error of judgement on Mackinnon's part; but there was very little opportunity for complaint since he was Mackinnon's favourite and the only one at Kibwezi in whom Mackinnon took a personal interest.

The remainder of the staff was appointed by Stewart in or around April 1891. Thomas Watson was chosen as evangelist and teacher. He was born in Dundee in 1859, and had studied for an M.A. Degree and part of a Divinity course at Glasgow University - paying his own fees by working as a carpenter during the

183 RML, 14th September 1891.
184 Ibid.
185 Moffat did not endear himself to Mackinnon by dismissing Rahman for misconduct in 1892. Rahman's activities after 1892 are unknown to the author. It is possible, however, that he returned to East Africa as a settler since there is a letter in the East African Chronicle of June 25th 1921 on the Indian Question written by a Mr. Abdul Rahman.
vacations. A quiet, modest man, Watson was the only one of the original party of missionaries who was still with the mission in 1900. Of John Linton, appointed as artisan missionary, little is known. He was a young man, apparently a somewhat colourless personality, who suffered from ill-health from the moment he reached East Africa. The principal artisan missionary was John Greig, Stewart's brother-in-law in Glasgow, John Stephen had recommended him. Greig was older than the others, having worked in tea factories in India, and at the time of his appointment he was working in Glasgow as an engineer on a tea-leaf drying machine. It transpired that he was a lazy, conceited man whose angular personality prevented him from enjoying companionship with any of his colleagues. Stewart was very quickly disenchanted with him. Like Linton, Greig was dead within eighteen months of the mission's establishment at Kibwezi.

George Wilson was added to the staff in Mombasa in August. He had been dismissed from the Company's service, in Mackinnon's words, for failing "to conciliate the natives" during his time as captain of the Company's fort at Bagoretti. Stewart met him on a ship between Zanzibar and Mombasa and persuaded him to accept an appointment as caravan leader and guide to the mission party for three months; and if he wished to remain with the mission Stewart would pay him a salary equal to his own. Wilson accepted the appointment -

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186 EASM Report I, 12.
187 SF, Stephen to Stewart, 6th May 1891.
188 SF, Stewart to Bruce, 27th September 1891.
189 SF, W. Mackinnon to Stewart, 6th October 1891.
190 See above p.2, and notes 5 and 6.
191 SF, Stewart to Wilson, 3rd September 1891.
Stewart having persuaded Mackinnon that he was a man of good character who had not been personally responsible for the fighting at Dagoretti - and stayed with the mission until 1894.\(^{192}\) Wilson's appointment to the mission was a shrewd move on Stewart's part. Already disillusioned, and impatient to be done with a task at hand, Stewart was able to use Wilson's extensive knowledge of the interior as an excuse to save time by ignoring the Committee's instructions that he was to make a preliminary journey to choose a site before the remainder of the staff arrived.

In April 1891, when the 'Agreement Respecting the Establishment of the Mission' was signed, the question of the exact situation of the mission in East Africa remained undecided. Originally, Mombasa had been named, but by June 1890 Mackinnon had decided that Machakos would be more suitable.\(^{193}\) Later, the neighbourhood of Mt. Kenya was suggested, but this was dropped when it became evident that the Tana river did not offer a viable means of communication between Mt. Kenya and the coast.\(^{194}\) At the time of Stewart's departure for Africa, Mackinnon changed his mind once again and recommended Dagoretti in Kikuyu country.

Dagoretti, as was shown earlier,\(^{195}\) was known to be unsuitable before Stewart arrived in Zanzibar. But Stewart's reasons for rejecting Machakos are questionable. There had been fighting between the Company and the local Kamba;\(^{196}\)

\(^{192}\) Wilson's main work was the construction of the 'Mackinnon Road' from Kibwezi to Mombasa. He joined the Uganda Administration after leaving the mission and held several positions of high responsibility - Deputy Commissioner after 1902, for example - before retiring in 1909. He died in 1943. (For biographical notes see Perham and Bull, *op.cit.*, III, 423.)

\(^{193}\) SP, Bruce to Stewart, 14th July 1890.

\(^{194}\) SP, Stewart to Mackinnon, 'First or Interim Report on the E.A.S.M.', 3rd June 1891.

\(^{195}\) See above, Pp.2-3 and notes 5-8.

\(^{196}\) See above, p.3.
but the fort at Machakos had not been abandoned, and it could be argued that
the planting of the mission in the neighbourhood would have been the best means
of restoring the confidence of the local people in white men in general, and
in the Company in particular. Officially, Stewart gave as his reason for
rejecting Machakos the absence of wood and water in proximity to the major
Kamba settlements. 197 This was totally untrue. 198 Stewart and Wilson did
visit Machakos, but more for the sake of appearance than with any intention
of settling there. It is entirely possible that Stewart, with his overriding
desire to spend as short a time as possible in East Africa, had decided to
establish the mission at Kibwezi, a mere 150 miles from the coast, before he
set off from Mombasa. He had read the Company's correspondence and reports
concerning the exploration of the interior and had been struck by a recommendation
of Frederick Jackson's that Mbuinzau Hill near the Kibwezi stream was an ideal
site for a mission. 199 In addition, he had discussed the Kibwezi area with Wilson
who knew it well, having built the Company's fifth stockade there in 1890. 200
It was possible, therefore, for Stewart to argue convincingly against Machakos
and in favour of Kibwezi. By October 1891 Mackinnon was too engrossed in
the Company's problems to give more than a passing thought to Stewart's

197 EASM Report I, 8-9.
198 John Ainsworth, in charge of the fort at Machakos, wrote to the Company
Administrator in Mombasa praising the Machakos district as being abundant
in wood, water and dense settlements of people - all in close inter-
proximity. (FO 2/57, Ainsworth to Administrator, 30th December 1897.)
199 SP, F.J. Jackson to Buchanan, 30th January 1889. Copies of the Company's
exploration reports and correspondence are to be found in the Stewart Papers.
200 Perham and Bull, op.cit., I, 185.
decision to remain at Kibwezi. It was not until after Stewart's departure from the mission in March 1892 that it became apparent that Kibwezi was probably the worst site he could have chosen. There was wood and water in abundance. But the area was extremely unhealthy, and, after their curiosity had worn off, the Kamba returned to their permanent settlements some considerable distance away and proceeded thereafter largely to ignore the mission.

The East African Scottish Mission was the creation of a small group of imperially-minded, and for the most part personally-ambitious men who were devoted to Livingstone's brand of religious and economic imperialism. It was conceived at a time when the ambitions of its founders seemed possible of achievement; but by the time of its establishment in 1891 events had shown that the thinking which lay behind it was outdated and impractical. Yet in another sense the presence of the E.A.S.M. in the interior of East Africa was premature. Stranded at Kibwezi in the interval between the collapse of the Company and the arrival of the colonial administration and settlers, less aggressively evangelical than static and institutional, surrounded by peoples indifferent to education and the gospels, and lacking the advice and management of an experienced Home Committee, Mackinnon's mission slowly declined into a state of inertia. Mackinnon died in June and Bruce in November 1893. Stewart maintained a connection with the mission until 1894, having tried once more, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Committee to transfer the mission to the Free Church. Mackinnon's relatives,

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201 In October Mackinnon advised Stewart that he had no objection to Kibwezi, adding that current events made it seem likely that the Company would shortly retire from Uganda and fall back to Machakos, or even to the coast. (SP, W. Mackinnon to Stewart, 6th October 1891.)
through loyalty rather than through enthusiasm for the mission, maintained the E.A.S.M. until 1900 as a memorial to a man and his ambitions which had failed.
Chapter Two

THE KIBWEZI EXPERIMENT

1. The Personality Factor

The dominant feature of life in the early years of the East African Scottish Mission was the abrasive rubbing of personalities. Although by no means a unique experience,\(^1\) it was particularly serious in the case of this mission and accounted largely for the long delay in the starting of effective work. In the beginning the two incompatible egos in conflict belonged to James Stewart and Robert Moffat – the one, a pioneer missionary of proven ability, proud, jealous of his reputation and accustomed to obedience; and the other, a young man of high ideals, irreverent towards authority, intolerant of human weakness, and iconoclastic towards established missionary practices. Within a month of their meeting in East Africa they had recognised the many profound differences which separated them; and each knew that in whatever followed, one would be justified and the other condemned.

Robert Moffat had been in Mombasa for three months before Stewart arrived. During this period, as a doctor in the service of the I.B.E.A. Company, Moffat had been lonely and bored. He disapproved of the loose, irresponsible lives led by his fellow officers, and since the Company’s affairs were in disorder, he had little medical work to keep him occupied.\(^2\) For a time Moffat had considered

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\(^1\) See, for example, the case of missionaries in Northern Rhodesia illustrated in R.I. Rothberg, Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia (Princeton University Press, 1956) 156.

\(^2\) RML, letters to his parents, 22nd April and 2nd June 1891.
befriending the C.M.S. missionaries at Freretown. But he found them to be narrow in their outlook, hasty to condemn all Company men—Moffat included—for immoral living, and heartily disliked by the Company for the trouble they caused by encouraging and harbouring fugitive slaves.\(^3\)

Moffat was anxious to make a start on the work which had brought him to East Africa. He looked forward to Stewart's arrival, expecting that together they would make a preliminary survey of the interior to choose a suitable site. And when Stewart had returned to Scotland, Moffat and one companion would operate the mission on a modest scale for a preliminary two years. It was with great surprise that Moffat learned of the decisions taken by Stewart at a late hour. There was to be no preliminary survey. Instead, Stewart, with a party of six missionaries, two hundred porters, vast stores and equipment and with little of his time to devote to the enterprise, intended to establish an elaborate industrial mission in one operation. After his departure Moffat was to succeed him as general Superintendent.\(^4\)

None of this was known to Moffat before Stewart and the other missionaries arrived in Mombasa. Moffat was furious that decisions concerning his future had been taken without his agreement, and felt that he was being made a victim of Stewart's impatience to discharge his responsibilities towards the mission in the minimum possible time. Before the expedition which left Mombasa on September 19th 1891 had proceeded very far inland, Moffat informed Stewart that

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\(^3\) For the Company and the problem of fugitive slaves, see P.L. McDermott, British East Africa or I.B.E.A. A History of the Formation and Work of the Imperial British East Africa Company (London, 1895) 609–622.

he considered the venture to be misconceived and that he would on no account accept the post of Superintendent. Stewart attempted to mollify the younger man by saying that there had been no time to inform him of the new plans since everything had been arranged hastily at the last moment - the responsibility for this, according to Stewart, lying with the promoters of the mission. Moffat was unimpressed by this half-truth, and noted that Stewart had been so impatient to return to Lovedale in April that he had left most of the final arrangements to John Greig. The result was that the mission was provided with a massive quantity of equipment - collapsible boats, new patents to test and other useless items - amongst which there were few drugs or dressings and no medical instruments.

On pressing Moffat to give his reasons for refusing to accept the post of Superintendent, Stewart was astounded to learn that his chosen successor had a jaundiced view of missions and missionary methods. Moffat had found much to criticise in what he observed at Freretown and Rabai. He doubted whether work of any value was being done, scorned the method as being "too theatrical", and despised their African converts. He made no secret of his view that the E.A.S.M. was not likely to do any better. But his strongest reason for declining the post of Superintendent was his inability to see himself as the conventional missionary leader observing conventional missionary forms.

5 RML, 14th September 1891. In addition each member of the party was issued with a revolver and several rifles: "We are really most warlike" wrote Moffat: "Dr. Stewart says to be well armed is an almost sure guarantee of having peace."

6 RML, 17th September 1891. Moffat's view of missionaries was reinforced when he found that the porters who deserted the mission were Rabai Christians, not the Zanzibar Swahili: "I must confess to be getting very sceptical of the ordinary ways of teaching the Gospel and making Christians of these people.... I would rather have twenty Zanzibaris - followers of the Prophet, than a hundred of these so-called Christians." (Ibid, 9th November 1891.)
Moffat informed Stewart that he repudiated John Knox's view of the Atonement and that he saw little utility or value in collective, spoken prayer. His view of prayer was serious since in missionary practice great importance was attached to being seen by Africans in communal and vocal prayer, and to inviting Africans to participate in the rite. Moffat confessed to being a "strong Quaker" in this matter, and announced that he would never agree to lead prayers; he believed that only one man in a hundred had the special gift for this and that men should not be called upon to pray unless they felt inspired.

These revelations provided Stewart with a weapon to be used against the man who had already emerged as his most damaging critic. Stewart made no attempt to sympathise with Moffat and was not prepared to admit the validity of his views on method and personal faith even in a mission which was designed as private and undenominational. Henceforth, Stewart found it possible to deflect charges made by Moffat against him by reminding the Committee that as a missionary Moffat had been found wanting. Stewart's reaction to Moffat's confessions was to advise him to resign from the mission as soon as a more suitable replacement could be found. He wrote to the Committee advising them to replace Moffat at the earliest opportunity, saying that he had no wish to see any "unorthodox representation of Christianity" handed out to the Kamba at the start of the mission's life.

The reaction in Edinburgh was one of consternation. Bruce was distressed.

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7 SP, Stewart to Bruce, 27th September 1891.
8 RML, 15th February 1892. Bruce and Stewart thought this attitude strange in a man who was the son of a clergymen and grandson of Robert Moffat, a famous London Missionary Society missionary in Bechuanaland. But his attitude was the result of what he referred to as "my George Square experiences" at Edinburgh University - his deep friendship with certain eminent Quakers. (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 29th April 1892.)
9 SP, Stewart to Bruce, 27th September 1891.
and his wife hurriedly sent religious books to Moffat to fortify his flagging spirit and to reverse his apparent "eclipse of faith". ¹⁰ That Bruce and his wife should have thought that Moffat's opinions constituted an eclipse of faith was entirely due to Stewart's misrepresentations. ¹¹ Moffat had followed Stewart's advice and had written to the Secretary of the I.B.E.A. Company advising him that he would resign on personal grounds, and requesting permission to return to his post of Company doctor, preferably in Uganda. ¹² Bruce had no desire to see his wife's cousin leave the mission under such regrettable and discreditable circumstances. He wrote two letters to Moffat: one as a Director of the Company informing him that an appointment in Uganda was improbable since the Company's current policy was one of retrenchment; and another as Secretary of the mission's Committee advising him to withdraw his resignation. ¹³ He warned Moffat that by resigning he was breaking his contract and might have to pay the cost of sending a replacement to Kibwezi, and that the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society might ask to be repaid the grants it had made towards his medical studies at Edinburgh University. The first contingency was imaginary since Moffat had never signed a contract with the mission, ¹⁴ and the second was improbable since the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society had no connection with the E.A.S.M.. But the warning had its effect. Moffat withdrew his resignation and agreed to accept the post of Superintendent for one year.

¹⁰ Ibid, Bruce to Moffat, 26th January 1892; and Bruce to Stewart, 29th April 1892.
¹¹ In his letter to Bruce, informing him of Moffat's confessions, Stewart merely stated that Moffat had expressed repugnance to prayer - omitting to add the qualification that Moffat was distinguishing between personal prayer and communal, vocal prayer. (SP, Stewart to Bruce, 27th September 1891.)
¹² SP, Moffat to Secretary, I.B.E.A. Company, 28th November 1891.
¹³ Ibid, Bruce to Moffat, two letters, 26th January 1892.
¹⁴ RML, 6th March 1892.
Another reason for Moffat's reluctance to become Superintendent was his growing dislike for the other missionaries and his fear that in time there would be serious trouble at Kibwezi. Greig, he regarded as "all gas and jaw", an utter failure who was unpopular with all. Rahman was a "dandy and an ornament" and a "little low sneaking humbug". Watson he could tolerate as a "good-hearted chap", but regretfully he lacked "the taste and evidences of a gentleman". Of them all, the only person with whom Moffat found any common ground was George Wilson. They were both young, vigorous and capable men. They shared, moreover, a growing dislike for Stewart's autocratic manner and refusal to entertain the opinions of younger men. In this alliance lay another source of conflict between Stewart and Moffat.

The only portrait of Stewart at Kibwezi, from September 1891 to March 1892, is found in Moffat's letters to his parents. Stewart is represented as an absurdly vain figure, pathetic in his lack of self-control, and mainly responsible for the deplorable staff relationships at the mission. Moffat himself emerges from these letters as possessing in full measure youth's idealistic and uncompromising attitude to the ephemera of truth and right - aghast and outraged to discover that the once-imagined missionary hero is merely human.

15 Stewart was no better pleased than Moffat with the first missionaries at Kibwezi. Within a month of the mission's establishment he had decided that several of them would have to be replaced by "men of different stamp". (FGSP/NLS 7877, Stewart to Mrs. Stewart, 17th November 1891.)

16 RML, 14th September 1891.

17 Ibid, 14th September 1891; and 10th April 1892.

18 RML, 18th February 1892.

19 Moffat wrote sorrowfully to his mother that Stewart had shown "surprising weakness". He would never again be able to regard him with the old respect. His mother, he knew, would be shocked to learn this of her old hero; but Moffat assured her "there is very little heroic about Dr. S. at core". (RML, 3rd January 1892.)
To understand, but not to excuse Stewart, it must be stressed that he was working against time. For his own private reasons he did not wish to spend more than three months in the field. But before leaving he wished to see the grass-thatched houses and church completed. The short rains had begun; Greig and Linton were permanent invalids, and the two ablest men on the station appeared to be joining forces to oppose and obstruct him. His shortage of time led him to supervise closely every aspect of work. He interfered and directed, brushed aside the opinions of others and insisted that everything be done in his own way. It is not surprising that on occasions he submitted to bouts of rage and invective, knowing that Moffat at least disapproved of all he was doing.

Much of the trouble at Kibwezi might have been avoided had Stewart been prepared to spend a year with the mission. Doubtless he felt justified in spending a shorter time since the Committee in Edinburgh had kept him idle from June 1890 to April 1891. But the fact remains that his return to Lovedale was not a matter of urgency. He had leave of absence for four years. Stewart must therefore bear the greater part of the responsibility for what happened at Kibwezi since it was by his own decision that he ignored the Committee's instructions to make a preliminary survey for a site and attempted to establish the full mission in one short operation.

20 FCSP/NLS 7877, Stewart to Mrs. Stewart, 12th November 1891.

When Stewart addressed gatherings of Africans on the purpose of the mission, Moffat felt that he either spoke far above their understanding, or, when he tried to be simple, he was "fearfully abstruse". (RML, 15th February 1892.) The houses which Stewart was building, Moffat regarded as too large, and with ridiculously high roofs. The Church was "a very swagger affair" and premature. Moffat made no secret of his belief that not a word about religion need be addressed to the Kamba for a year: "First get the language and influence with them and show them the fruits of our religion, and then if the fruits attract then they will be ready to accept the religion." (RML, 6th March 1892.)

22 In the interval between leaving Kibwezi (March 1892) and returning to Lovedale, Stewart lectured to Divinity students at the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, accepted an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity of Glasgow University, and went on a tour of North America.
The compression of work into a short space of time, and in adverse conditions, made Stewart unpopular with most of his staff. John Greig so detested Stewart that even when on his deathbed he would not allow Stewart to approach him.\textsuperscript{23} Thomas Watson was not a man to voice his opinions, but he demonstrated his disgust at Stewart's handling of staff relationships by eating alone and avoiding contact with his colleagues wherever possible.\textsuperscript{24} Rahman, who was heartily disliked by all at Kibwezi, took care to remain on good terms with Stewart. Wilson, who was popular with the mission's African staff,\textsuperscript{25} was angered by Stewart's accusations that he was undermining his leader's authority, and later confided to his friend, Captain F.D. Lugard, that Stewart had made his life a misery.\textsuperscript{26} Moffat and Stewart were implacable enemies.

When Stewart announced in March 1892 that he would shortly be returning to Scotland, the sense of relief at Kibwezi was profound. A letter was sent to Stewart by those who would remain, suggesting that past differences be forgotten and that in honour of services rendered, the mission should be named Stewart-Ville.\textsuperscript{27} To an extent, Stewart was prepared to meet the gesture. To Watson, he gave fatherly

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\item\textsuperscript{23} RML, 20th December 1891. Greig died of dysentery on December 18th, leaving a wife from whom he was estranged and three small children.
\item\textsuperscript{24} NLS 8015, David Charters to Peter Mackinnon, 23rd February 1894.
\item\textsuperscript{25} RML, 15th February 1892. Wilson had tried to impress upon the Swahili labourers on the mission that it was Stewart and not he who was the senior man; the labourers' reply was jocular and irreverent. When in one unguarded moment Moffat praised Wilson's influence with Africans, Stewart became extremely angry.
\item\textsuperscript{26} M. Perham and M. Bull (Eds.), \textit{Diaries of Lord Lugard 4 Vols.} (London, 1959–63) III, 394. Lugard was returning from Uganda in August 1892 when he met George Wilson south of Kibwezi at work on the Mackinnon Road.
\item\textsuperscript{27} RML, Kibwezi staff to Stewart, 11th March 1892. Stewart could not permit the mission to be named after him since its purpose was to give credit to its principal founder - William Mackinnon.
\end{itemize}
advice and good wishes. To Rahman, he was indulgent to the end, remembering that his patron was Sir William Mackinnon. To Wilson, he displayed an attitude of forgiveness, knowing that it would not look well to return to Scotland bearing a grudge against a man whom he had appointed in defiance of Mackinnon's wishes. Linton had been constantly ill with dysentery and was to be repatriated when sufficiently strong to travel. But to his last day at Kibwezi, Stewart refused to mend his breach with Moffat. He maintained that Moffat had been disloyal and uninterested in the progress of the mission. On reaching Edinburgh, Stewart's first task was to persuade the Committee to ask Moffat for his resignation "as a first step towards progress".

The Committee yielded to Stewart's pressure and began to search for a medical missionary to replace Moffat. But it proved to be a hollow victory for Stewart.

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28 "Work humbly, patiently, perseveringly, mindful of what it is that alone will appear valuable and give satisfaction at the close of life. Strive to be a trusted man rather than a popular man. Keep up the forms of a religious life, even if you do it alone. In teaching and preaching be brief, be simple; remember that in the mind of the native there are but few ideas and very little power of sustaining attention. In your relations with your fellow-workers be sincere and frank; if trouble arises, calmly and fully give and seek such explanation as will in all likelihood clear it away". (Extract from Thomas Watson's Diary, 8th March 1892, quoted in Wells, op. cit., 240-41.)

29 SP, Stewart to Wilson, 11th March 1892. Forgetting their differences, Stewart assured Wilson that he had always found him to be the most energetic and pleasant of co-workers.

30 SP, Stewart to Moffat, 4th March 1892. Stewart could not forget the incident over which he and Moffat had had a violent public quarrel. A large gathering of Kamba elders and villagers had been summoned early in January to be lectured on their responsibilities as prospective Christians. Stewart called upon Moffat as Superintendent-elect to address the gathering in the customary missionary style. Moffat refused since he would not lead public prayers and since he did not believe in the necessity of forcing Christianity on the Kamba at so early a stage in the mission's life.

31 SP, Stewart to Bruce, 25th June 1892. Stewart had been pressing for Moffat's removal since April, and had already won from Bruce an assurance that a suitable replacement would be found. (Ibid, Bruce to Stewart, 29th April 1892.)

32 In April, Bruce finally agreed that Moffat had to go. He expressed a keen disappointment that Moffat had shown no inclination to follow his grandfather's example in spreading the faith. (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 29th April 1892.)
Moffat had anticipated the move and before being asked for his resignation, announced that he would leave the mission at the end of the year. The confrontation between Stewart and Moffat was not ended. Stewart sensed that Bruce was unwilling to believe that Moffat was evil. And knowing that Moffat had written critically of him to the Committee, Stewart perceived that he must continue to show that Moffat's appointment to the mission had been a cardinal error of judgement.

The first step was to wean George Wilson from his close friendship with Moffat. Stewart found little difficulty in this respect since Wilson for financial reasons could not afford to lose his position with the mission. Knowing that Moffat was in trouble with the Committee, Wilson found it advisable to dissociate himself and to court Stewart's favour. For his own reasons, Stewart decided graciously to forgive Wilson from his past misdemeanours. Wilson responded by assuring Stewart that he had always admired him, and hastened to add that he was in total disagreement with Moffat's "ultra-quixotic" ideas on missions. And to ensure that after his departure Wilson and Moffat would remain estranged, Stewart created a tension between the two younger men by allowing Wilson to think that there was a possibility of his being recommended to the Committee.

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33 RML, 10th April 1892. Moffat had decided to leave mainly because there was no medical work at Kibwezi which gave him any opportunity to practice his skill. He wanted to go to a good London Hospital for further training. But since that was financially outwith his reach in 1892, he decided to work for two years with the I.B.E.A. Company in Uganda.

34 Stewart was aware that Moffat had informed Bruce that when he left Kibwezi in March the mission buildings had not been completed, that none of the departments of work was functioning properly, and that the site was proving unhealthy.

35 Perham and Bull, op.cit., III, 394.

36 SP, Stewart to Wilson, 11th March 1892.

37 Ibid, Wilson to Stewart, 7th May 1892.
as a more suitable Superintendent than Moffat. Stewart knew that Mackinnon would never agree to this; but the exercise had the desired result of making Wilson resentful of having Moffat placed in authority over him.38

A means of scrutinizing Moffat's every move at Kibwezi recommended itself to Stewart in the form of Cornelius Abdul Rahman. Knowing that Moffat detested Rahman, and that Rahman reciprocated the sentiment, Stewart maintained a correspondence with Rahman from which he obtained further evidence to use against Moffat. He learned, for example, that Moffat had abandoned the daily prayer meetings in favour of a single, weekly service.39 And it was through Rahman that Stewart heard of Moffat's twelve-day absence from the mission while visiting Nzaui.40 This was information out of which at Moffat's expense Stewart hoped to make much capital in Edinburgh.

In May it appeared that Moffat had finally disgraced himself. Rahman resigned from the mission without notice, claiming that Moffat had forced him to leave.41 Recalling that Rahman was Mackinnon's own choice for the mission,

38 SP, Stewart to Bruce, 26th April 1892; and Wilson to Stewart, 7th May 1892. Although unable to secure for Wilson the post of general mission Superintendent Stewart ensured that Wilson's appointment with the mission continued by placing him in charge of the building of the road between Kibwezi and Mombasa. (See below, pp. 103-104, 122-127.)

39 SP, Rahman to Stewart, 25th April 1892: "I hope to write to you from time to time without keeping anything back and hope your feelings towards me remain unchanged."

40 Stewart affected great indignation at Moffat's action in deserting his post at the mission and told Bruce that this was but one more example of his "perversity of mind and spirit". (SP, Stewart to Bruce, 25th June 1892.) Moffat had in fact gone to Nzaui to recuperate from a bout of malaria and to report to the Committee on the suitability of the site for a future outstation. (RML, 1st May 1892.)

41 SP, Rahman to Stewart, 18th May 1892.
and that Mackinnon had requested that he be shown special kindness and consideration, Stewart wrote hastily to Mackinnon assuring him that he had no sympathy with the charges made by Moffat, and recommending that Rahman should be sent back to Kibwezi - Moffat having first been dismissed. Mackinnon's reaction to the news of Rahman's resignation was one of near apoplexy. For a time, there was talk of action being taken against Moffat.

By rushing to defend Rahman, Stewart had made a false move which he was soon to regret. He wrote severe letters of reprimand to Moffat and Watson which prompted in return a public indictment, not only of Rahman's conduct, but of his own part in the affair. Watson revealed that during Moffat's absence at the coast Rahman had been suspended temporarily by Wilson for mismanaging the mission's store, and then again by Watson himself for removing goods from the store for his own use without permission. Moffat, in his letters, took up the narrative from Watson. He had returned from Mombasa to find Rahman in a defiant mood. His suggestion that Rahman should relinquish his responsibility for the store was met with abuse and a declaration of resignation. Moffat agreed with Rahman that it would be better if he left the mission. He warned Rahman that he was obliged to give three months notice but was unable to prevent him from leaving immediately.

42 Ibid, W. Mackinnon to Stewart, 6th October 1891. Shortly before the news of Rahman's resignation reached the Committee, Mackinnon had received a long letter from Rahman in which he claimed that the Europeans at Kibwezi were ignoring him. (SP, Mackinnon to Stewart, 22nd July 1892.)
43 SP, James Stewart, 'E.A.S.M. Private Report', 15th July 1892.
44 RML, 24th July 1892.
45 SP, Moffat to Stewart, 21st July 1892; and RML, 9th September 1892.
Stewart claimed that Moffat should not have agreed to Rahman's resignation for the simple reason that it was Mackinnon's wish to keep his protege at Kibwezi. Moffat retorted that his own conscience came before the wishes of Sir William Mackinnon. Rahman had done no useful work for the mission. He was brutal in his treatment of the African staff, and on one occasion had been involved in a fist fight with a porter. In Mombasa, while waiting for a ship to England, Rahman had spent all his money on a drunken spree and had been arrested for assaulting an Indian. 46

Moffat took care to acquaint the Committee with the details of Rahman's conduct. There was little that Stewart could do to refute the charges. Worse still, he was reminded by Moffat that while at Kibwezi he too had expressed disgust with Rahman and had recommended his dismissal. 47 Stewart could not deny this since he had communicated these sentiments to Bruce and to his wife late in 1891. 48 But he did try to excuse himself by saying that when he had suggested that Rahman should leave the mission, he had done so out of anxiety for the man's health. 49

Stewart's attitude to the Rahman affair was determined - as Moffat clearly saw - by a desire to avoid offending Mackinnon. 50 For several months Stewart had been aware that Mackinnon was not entirely pleased with him. Mackinnon had been

46 SP, Moffat to Stewart, 21st July 1892; and RML, 9th September 1892.
47 RML, 24th July, 1892.
48 FCSP/NLS 7877, Stewart to Mrs. Stewart, 12th November 1891; and SP, Stewart to Bruce, 27th September 1891.
49 RML, 27th October 1891.
50 "That old Dr. S. is an arrant old humbug. He knows which way his bread is buttered and takes care to keep on good terms with the people who have the money. He ought to have taken Rahman back with him, only he was afraid to offend the great Sir William Mackinnon. So he left him behind and left me to reap the whirlwind." (RML, 11th August 1892.)
polite, but pointedly reproachful when he learned in December 1891 that Stewart had decided to spend less than a year in the field. But Stewart had a method of dealing with his employers' displeasure. In his letters to Mackinnon and Bruce he would dwell at length on an issue which was causing him grave anxiety; then he would show how he proposed to solve the problem. The final touch was an expression of grief that his employers did not seem pleased by his efforts. This approach invariably yielded the desired response — an affirmation that the Committee, collectively and as individuals, had the greatest faith in his ability and judgement.

Shortly before it became known in Edinburgh that Rahman had resigned his post at Kibwezi, Stewart found that Mackinnon was showing new signs of displeasure. The occasion was the publication in June 1892 of Stewart's Report on the establishment of the E.A.S.M. Stewart had ordered a lavish format for his publication and had painted a glowing picture of the mission and its prospects in order to enhance his reputation as a pioneer of missions in Africa, and to attract a wide

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51 SP, W. Mackinnon to Stewart, 2nd December 1891.
52 For example, in December 1891, conscious that he was likely to be criticised for attempting to establish the full mission in a very short space of time, Stewart wrote to Bruce expressing anxiety at the mounting costs at Kibwezi. Bruce responded correctly, as is revealed in a letter to one of the mission's subscribers: "I am sorry he is worrying about the expenditure. I have told him that he should remember that it is not the hard earnings of the working classes he is spending but that it is some of the abundance of well-to-do people who have enough to spare. I don't want him to be pinching himself believing that the subscribers to the Mission do not desire this, especially with such a conscientious and wise administrator as I believe Dr. Stewart to be." (ASP, S.22/ G.6, Bruce to Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, 28th January 1892.)
53 EASM Report I.
54 The chapter dealing with Stewart's association with the E.A.S.M. in James Wells, Stewart of Lovedale (op.cit.), is based entirely upon this Report. Its hagiographical approach may thus be more readily understood.
range of subscribers to the mission. Mackinnon was displeased for two reasons. First, he had wanted the mission to be known as the East African Scottish Industrial Mission; but the report had fixed the title, omitting the word industrial. His second complaint concerned Stewart's bid for publicity and a broader base for subscriptions:

"I am not at all anxious for subscriptions as I should prefer maintaining (the mission) on its present basis. If we get subscribers to come in with £500 or £1,000 there will be no objection to that, but the general subscriptions will involve a staff and an organization at home which we desire if possible to avoid."

And, as if to put Stewart's mind at rest on a point which they had disagreed upon before, Mackinnon concluded: "I have no wish whatever to have it managed by the Foreign Missions Committee in Edinburgh."

Conscious of mounting disfavour, Stewart saw the necessity of supporting Rahman's case against Moffat. The situation seemed at first to present a fortunate coincidence of opportunities: by supporting Rahman he would not only appease Mackinnon, but would strengthen his defence against Moffat's criticisms and prove once again to the Committee that they had chosen badly.

The initiative had in fact passed to Moffat. Angered by the knowledge that Stewart was concealing the truth about his own view of Rahman in an exercise of character defamation, Moffat launched a counter-attack. Having publicised the

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55 SP, Mackinnon to Stewart, 22nd July 1892. Mackinnon also registered his displeasure with Stewart's efforts to secure for the mission the Arthington Bequest to the Freedman's Mission Aid Society. The New York Committee of the Society wanted the £10,000 bequest for Fisk University; the London Committee supported Stewart's application on the grounds that the money was given for missions in Africa. Had Mackinnon not objected, Stewart intended to use the money to send the Galla ex-slaves at Lovedale to Kibwezi for training as missionaries to Abyssinia. (See Appendix II.) Further sources of Mackinnon's displeasure were the appointments by Stewart of George Wilson, and of Andrew Dick as temporary commercial agent to the mission. Dick had been dismissed from his post of accountant with the I.B.E.A. Company. (SP, Stewart to W.P. Alexander, June 1894.) Dick was killed in a fight with some Maasai at Kedong in November 1895.
the truth about Rahman, he proceeded to criticise Stewart for publishing false information in the Report on the E.A.S.M.\textsuperscript{56} Moffat described the Report as reading like "a prospectus of a syndicate which relies on the gullibility of its readers",\textsuperscript{57} and claimed that Stewart had "stretched veracity to its utmost limit" and entered "in some cases ... the realms of fiction".\textsuperscript{58} In a complaint reminiscent of a similar one made by Stewart about Livingstone thirty years earlier,\textsuperscript{59} Moffat charged Stewart with exaggeration and with concealing the true facts about the mission and its prospects. No less than Mackinnon, Moffat recognised Stewart's bid for a broader base of subscriptions; but more than Mackinnon, Moffat saw that Stewart was telling the Committee and subscribers only that which he thought they wanted to know.

Moffat’s counter-attack against Stewart had the desired effect upon the Committee. No attempt was made to send Rahman back to Kibwezi.\textsuperscript{60} By November

\textsuperscript{56} Moffat had already noticed Stewart's tendency to publish false information. Referring to an article for the Missionary Magazine which Stewart wrote before leaving Kibwezi, and in which he claimed that on Sundays the mission held three services — one in English, one in Kiswahili and one in Kikamba — Moffat pointed out that they had never had a service in Kikamba, since no Kikamba had ever attended their religious gatherings. (RML, 24th August 1892.)

\textsuperscript{57} RML, 27th October 1892.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, 16th October 1892. For example: Stewart gave the distinct impression that the large meeting he held shortly before his departure with the local Kamba was a great service in the church — two hundred people being present, including thirty-four women. (EASM Report I, 10.)

\textsuperscript{59} See above Pp. 46-48.

\textsuperscript{60} Rahman caused Mackinnon great distress by announcing that if he were not to be allowed to return to the mission he would go to Central Asia to lead a pastoral life. But in 1894 he was still in London. (SP, Mackinnon to Stewart, 3rd February 1893; and Stewart to W.P. Alexander, June 1894.) See also above p.60 , n.185.
4. James Stewart

5. Robert U. Moffat

6. David Charters

7. Thomas Watson
the issue had been closed and Mackinnon had decided to take no action against Moffat. Stewart, meanwhile, was endeavouring to extract from Mackinnon an assurance that he was still in good favour. Bruce asked Moffat to remain at the mission until March 1893; thereafter, if the Company were still in Uganda, he would secure for Moffat a post as medical officer. But Moffat was by this time thoroughly disenchanted with the E.A.S.M. He had the satisfaction of knowing that he had successfully defended his reputation before the Committee. When on December 14th a letter arrived at Kibwezi offering him the post of Medical Officer to Sir Gerald Portal's Uganda expedition he made a hurried departure from the mission. In later life he spoke little of the institution and the experience which he bitterly regretted.

By November 1892 Bruce and Stewart had agreed upon a successor to Moffat. This was David Charters, twenty-eight years old, a Glasgow-trained doctor, and a

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61 RML, 18th November 1892.
62 SP, Mackinnon to Stewart, 28th November 1892.
63 RML, 20th November 1892.
64 MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 5/19 A.G., "General Acknowledgement", 11th January 1893.' For Moffat in Uganda, see RML, letters 1893 to 1896. See also Sir Gerald Portal, The British Mission to Uganda in 1893 (London, 1894.)
65 In 1941 Dr. J.W. Arthur, former head of the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, was collecting material for an article to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the E.A.S.M. He wrote to R.U. Moffat, then living in Rhodesia, asking for information, but was informed bluntly that Moffat had no desire to recollect his experiences at Kibwezi. (AP, J.W. Arthur to H.R.A. Philip, 3rd September 1941.)
66 SP, W. Mackinnon to Stewart, 28th November 1892.
In 1890, at the recommendation of the explorer, Henry Morton Stanley, Charters had been offered an appointment with the I.B.E.A. Company as leader of an expedition to launch a steam boat on Lake Victoria. Although this expedition was scrapped, Bruce in 1892 remembered Stanley's description of Charters as "one of those good Scotsmen, qualified to be entrusted with duties", and offered him a post with the East African Scottish Mission.

In the eyes of the Committee, Charters had good qualifications for a post at Kibwezi. He was a practical man with some training as an engineer. He had been a missionary in Africa and was a qualified doctor. But above all, he was a vigorous Christian evangelist. The Committee were agreed that the evangelistic

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67 David Charters was born in 1864 into a Glasgow working class family. His parents were Congregationalists who in 1879 became members of the Baptist Church. Possessing a keen interest in engineering, Charters took two diplomas in mechanical engineering in 1883, and in 1885 was appointed engineer missionary in charge of the steamer, Peace, at the Baptist's Arthington Congo Mission, Stanleypool. In 1888 Charters returned to Glasgow to study medicine, intending to go back to Africa as a medical missionary. (Victoria T. Coats, David Charters, Engineer, Doctor and Missionary (London, 1925) 1-43.)

68 At the beginning of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, Stanley had met Charters at Stanleypool and had been transported some distance up the River Congo by him in the Peace. (Coats, op.cit., 35.) Although impressed by Charters, Stanley was most annoyed with the Baptist Missionary Society for failing to place entirely at his disposal their two steamers, Peace and the Henry Reid. (HSP 127/vii, Mackinnon to Sanford, 30th May 1887.) Amongst Charters' contemporaries on the Congo, 1885-1888 were John Ainsworth, later the I.B.E.A. Company District Superintendent at Machakos and subsequently Sub-Commissioner for Ukamba with the Administration of the British East Africa Protectorate, and Roger, later Sir Roger, Casement. (F.H. Goldsmith, John Ainsworth, Pioneer Kenya Administrator, 1864-1946 (London, 1955) 1-2.)

69 Coats, op.cit., 45.

70 Before joining the E.A.S.M. Charters had been lay assistant to Dr. Oliver Flett of the Baptist Church in Paisley – a founder of the Baptist Theological College in connection with the Baptist Union of Scotland. (Coats, op.cit., 41-42.)
side of work at Kibwezi had been grossly neglected. Bruce and Stewart felt that Charters would attend satisfactorily to this aspect of the mission's work, but Mackinnon insisted that Charters be appointed only as Acting Superintendent so as to permit the appointment in due course of an ordained missionary.

Once more, as it transpired, the Committee had acted unwisely. Ordained missionaries were scarce, and those who were available for Africa belonged to formal missionary churches or societies. Thomas Watson at Kibwezi, a Free Church Probationer, had been given to understand that he would succeed Moffat as Superintendent. Subsequently the Committee decided to place Charters above him. Watson was offended; and although cooperative in his dealings with Charters, he remained morose and withdrawn. The appointment as Acting Superintendent was no more satisfactory to Charters. He was to find that he had the full responsibilities of the Superintendentship but without the executive authority which the position carried. The result was a continuation of the staff conflicts and frustrations which had distinguished the mission during its first year.

For the first nine months of his appointment, Charters succeeded in infecting a new life and person into the mission. He arrived at Kibwezi in March 1893 to find that of the original group of missionaries, Watson alone remained. Wilson

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Bruce was of the opinion by December 1892 that the success of the mission depended upon the extent to which the primary aim of conversion was kept in view - but without unduly developing the emotional side of evangelism. (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 4th December 1892.) Stewart agreed, pointing out that although the C.M.S. in Uganda had neglected medical and industrial work, it was their concentration on evangelism which gave them their stronghold over the Baganda. (Ibid, Stewart to Bruce, 11th July 1893.)

SP, W. Mackinnon to Stewart, 6th December 1892.
RML, 27th October 1892.
NLS 8015, Charters to W.P. Alexander, 19th March 1894.
by then was permanently engaged in the road project and on January 3rd John Linton had died of dysentery. But Charters had brought with him an amiable and industrious artisan missionary, John Paterson of Dundee. By the end of the year, the three men had cooperated to make the station at Kibwezi more habitable and permanent than it had ever been. In January 1894, Charters reported to the Committee:

"I must be careful to remark here, that though our religious influence over the natives may be put down as nil at present, the Wakamba are not altogether indifferent to us and what we have done.... As to the staff I cannot speak too highly of the good feeling and general hearty good will with which Watson and Paterson have cooperated with me. Truly we have worked happily together and our work has prospered."

This spirit of optimism and achievement had all but disappeared by the end of January. Progress had been made, but tensions and frustrations were growing. Each missionary at Kibwezi suffered periodic, debilitating attacks of malarial fever. All hands were constantly at work improving and maintaining the station without the services of a carpenter and without heavy machinery; and little time was left for learning Kikamba or for aggressive efforts in preaching and teaching.

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75 Moffat and Portal passed through Kibwezi on their way to Uganda late in January 1894. (See Portal, op.cit., 59-60, 236.) Watson recounted the cause of Linton's illness and described how he had worked unaided and alone through the night of January 3rd making a coffin for Linton's body. Moffat was stricken with guilt for having left the mission only eighteen days before Linton's death; but he comforted himself by the thought that the Committee had had ample notice of his intention to leave the mission in December and should have sent a doctor to the mission before he left. (RML, 3rd February 1893.)

76 No information has been discovered which gives any details about Paterson's early life. He stayed with the E.A.S.M. until its transfer to the Church of Scotland in 1901, and remained at the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu until 1904. After leaving the mission he became a planter at Chania Falls, Thika, where he was still to be found in the 1920s. (See B.C. McIntosh, 'John Paterson', The Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies, 3, June 1968, 11-12.)

77 NLS 8015, Charters to Committee, 25th January 1894.
Services, as supplied to the mission by the I.B.E.A. Company, were both costly and inefficient. And since Company caravans regularly passed close to Kibwezi, Kamba trade was attracted away from the mission's store.

Staff relationships were becoming strained. Watson was threatening to resign unless he were permitted to open an outstation in a more populous district. Mr. and Mrs. Victor Hill had joined the mission in November 1893, the one to take charge of women's work and the other to assist Watson in the school. But before long Hill had quarrelled with Watson and Charters. Watson refused to have Hill as his assistant, either on the station or in the proposed outstation. Charters and Hill quarrelled violently because Hill refused to soil his hands with industrial work, insisting that he had been sent to Kibwezi to teach, not to saw planks or mend roofs. The incident demonstrated to Charters that as Acting Superintendent he had full responsibility but no power. He could not force Hill to assist in daily tasks, nor could he dismiss him. At this point, Charters began to regret that he had ever come to Kibwezi.

This was a period in the life of the mission when sympathy, encouragement, additional funds and full cooperation were required of the Committee. In January, however, news was received of Bruce's death, together with a rumour that the mission might be transferred to a church or society. The prospect of new management and new objectives, after great labour and two lives had been expended in laying the foundations of one design, was not well received at Kibwezi.

78 For more detailed treatment of the relations between mission and Company, see below, Pp. 113-28.
79 Nothing is known about the background of this couple. It appears that Bruce vetoed their appointment but was overruled by Stewart and Peter Mackinnon. (SP, Peter Mackinnon to Charters, 13th April 1894.)
80 NLS 8015, Charters to P. Mackinnon, 15th February 1894.
81 The effect upon the home base of the deaths of Mackinnon and Bruce is discussed below, Pp. 128-36.
82 Coats, op. cit., 118, letter by Charters, 21st January 1894.
There followed a period of acute anxiety during which little was known of the deliberations in Britain over the future of the mission.

Charters believed that it would help the mission's supporters to reach a decision if he wrote frankly about his problems and about the condition of work at Kibwezi. In a strongly phrased letter to Peter Mackinnon he spared no one's feelings. In relation to Africans, the E.A.S.M. was none of the things which it claimed to be. Certain improvements could be made; but the only guarantee of achieving the aims of the mission's founders—the training of Africans as Christian artisans and as missionaries to their own peoples—was to have the Galla ex-slaves, currently at Lovedale, transferred to Kibwezi.

This letter earned Charters a sharp rebuke from no less a person than Henry Morton Stanley. Mortified, but in no way deterred, Charters continued to write in uncompromising terms about the mission. To add to his problems, he had received instructions from W.P. Alexander, an old business associate of William Mackinnon's who was now acting on behalf of the promoters, to reduce expenditure and to refrain from starting any new work. Exhausted both in body and spirit, he turned the full force of his invective upon James Stewart. In March Stewart had written to him from Chicago suggesting that he spend less time on the station and more on making contact with the Kamba. This was sound advice but for the

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83 NLS 8015, Charters to P. Mackinnon, 15th February 1874.
84 See Appendix II.
85 Coats, op.cit., 143.
86 NLS 8015, Charters to Alexander, 19th March 1894.
fact that Stewart had left his successors with a station only half-completed which required constant attention and left little time for other work. It seemed to Charters that all his problems had their root in Stewart's mistakes. It was Stewart who had established the mission on too ambitious a scale and who had left it in the hands of men who were not true missionaries. Stewart had chosen a poor site for the mission and had encouraged the sending of a lady missionary when Kibwezi was no more than a frontier station.\(^87\) It was he who was responsible for allowing Victor Hill to believe that he would be left alone to teach when every other missionary performed common tasks. And above all, by refusing to send the Gallas to Kibwezi, Stewart was withholding the very life-blood of the mission. In April, Charters submitted his resignation from the post of Acting Superintendent and began to investigate the possibility of serving as medical officer in Uganda.

Charters' complaints brought some relief to Kibwezi. Alexander promised to appoint a carpenter without delay and to raise the matter of the Company's treatment of the mission with the Board of Directors in London. Watson was authorised to proceed with the opening of an outstation, and Charters was asked to withdraw his resignation.\(^88\) Less satisfactory was the news that expenditure still had to be kept to a minimum, and that Stewart, having taken great offence at Charters' criticisms and at the attitude of the Mackinnon family to the Free Church, had no intention of releasing the Gallas for Kibwezi.\(^89\)

\(^{87}\) Ibid, Charters to Alexander, 11th April 1894. In 1892 Stewart had recommended that lady missionaries be sent to Kibwezi: "Their presence will greatly increase the confidence of the native peoples, extend the influence of the mission, and make a wonderful difference on the life of the station in a great variety of ways." (EASH Report I, 16.)

\(^{88}\) SP, Alexander to Charters, 8th June and 2nd August 1894; and MS 8015, Charters to Dr. MacDonald, Mombasa, 25th July 1894.

\(^{89}\) SP, Stewart to Alexander, June 1894; and to Charters, 6th June 1894.
In September 1894 Charters went on a hunting trip to Mbuinzau Hill. He failed to return to camp on the evening of the 26th. On the following day the two Maasai schoolboys who had accompanied Charters and his companion returned to Kibwezi to raise the alarm. Search parties were organised by Hill and Paterson, but by October 8th the search was abandoned. The bodies were never found and the circumstances of death remain a mystery to this day.

Following the disappearance of Charters, Thomas Watson was forced to abandon his plans for an outstation at Msauli and to return to Kibwezi as Superintendent. In January 1895 the Hills returned to Scotland, but in the following April reinforcements arrived. These were Dr. Mathew Wilson of Burnfoot, Bo'ness, and Mr. John Landie of Dundee — the latter as artisan missionary. Watson, Paterson, Wilson and Landie worked well together but were agreed that Kibwezi would have to be abandoned. British East Africa became a Protectorate in 1895. The Uganda Railway was under construction. Already it was clear that the focus of development would be in the interior beyond Kibwezi. Early in 1896 Watson and Paterson

Various opinions were held as the cause of death. Some thought that the two men might have been murdered by Maasai; others believed that they had fallen prey to lions. In 1914 a patrol of the British Expeditionary Force operating from Voi found human remains and a water bottle near the Chyulu Range. There was some speculation that the remains were those of Charters and his companion, but it was thought more likely that they were the remains of a Greek trader who had disappeared in the district some months earlier. (Coates, op.cit., 158-171; and EASM Report III, 4.) Charters' companion was Francis J. Colquhoun, a former member of the British Freeland Association's expedition to found a "communistic" settlement in British East Africa. The main party of Freelanders, headed by the German, Dr. Wilhelm, had landed at Lamu with the intention of navigating the Tana and incorporating the Mt. Kenya region in their socialist state. The Freeland Expedition had collapsed by the time of Colquhoun's arrival in Mombasa. He decided to join another Freelander, Dr. Kolb, on an expedition to Mt. Kenya. When their porters deserted at Ikutha, Colquhoun decided to return to the coast. He was a guest at the E.A.S.M. and was invited by Charters to join him on a hunting expedition before proceeding to Mombasa. (See McDermott, op.cit., 361-64; SP, J. Piggott to Secretary, I.B.E.A. Co., 25th October 1894; FGSP/NLS 7857, D. Douglas Maclagan to Rev. G. Smith, 19th November 1894; and MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail to Mombasa, "Communistic Settlement near Mt. Kenya", 4/357 A.G., 30th December 1892, and 5/5 D.I., 21st January 1893.)
explored Kikuyuland and found it to be a healthy and populous area for missionary work. When Watson went home on furlough in July 1896 he took with him a unanimous appeal for permission to transfer the E.A.S.M. to Kikuyu.

In 1897, the now Rev. Thomas Watson returned to Kibwezi with instructions to sell the mission Station and to begin work afresh at Kikuyu. In June 1898, when arrangements for the transfer were complete, Mathew Wilson died of blackwater fever. A month later Lundie was invalided home. Paterson was on furlough. Just as the Uganda Railway reached Kibwezi Watson left the mission for a new frontier.

In January 1899 Paterson returned to East Africa to rejoin Watson on the new mission site a few miles from Fort Smith which had been purchased from Muyua, son of the late Waiyaki wa Hinga. Shortly afterwards they were joined by Dr. Thomas Homer of Edinburgh and Alexander Walker of Dundee. Homer and Walker were the last missionaries to be appointed by the independent Committee of the E.A.S.M. They proved to be as unfortunate a choice as some of the first missionaries appointed by the Committee. Watson was forced to request their dismissal – Homer for refusing to accept his authority as Superintendent, and Walker for frequenting the bars of the railway encampment on the site of modern Nairobi.

In December 1900, Watson, the last and most faithful of the missionaries who arrived at Kibwezi in 1891, died of pneumonia at Kikuyu, having only a few months earlier been married in Mombasa to Miss Minnie Cummings of Dundee.

91 EASH Report III, 8; and Report IV, 7-8, 12. The transfer to Kikuyu is treated more fully below, Pp.136-51.
93 Referring to the unsuitability for missionary life of both Homer and Walker, Watson delivered the following gentle rebuke to the Committee: "If I may do so without presuming, I would state most earnestly that it concerns the very life of the mission that every member of the staff should be sincerely Christian and truly missionary-minded." (NLS 8015, Watson to Committee, 1st September 1900.)
94 NLS 8015, Watson to Committee, 28th September 1900.
At the risk of understatement it may be concluded that the East African Scottish Mission was for the most part unfortunate in its choice of missionaries. Stewart, to an extent, was responsible for this since he tried to do too much in too short a time and was unable to work harmoniously with his colleagues. The Committee, too, for failing to pay sufficient attention to the suitability and health of its candidates for missionary work, must bear a part of the responsibility.

In a broader sense, however, the history of the staff at Kibwezi appears to have been conditioned by the fact that missionaries were in short supply in the late 19th century. The common assumption that David Livingstone and others inspired large numbers of their countrymen for service in Africa may be false. It seems more likely that until well into the present century, such missionaries as were available found a greater attraction in India and China. If this is true, then it is more readily appreciated that the E.A.S.M., a poor competitor with established missionary churches and societies, had little choice amongst the few who were willing to go to an undeveloped field in virtually unknown territory.

Finally, when reviewing the personality clashes and the poor performances of some of the Kibwezi missionaries, it must not be forgotten that work was carried out in difficult and sometimes dangerous conditions where loneliness and mental and physical depression were common experiences. With a lay Committee, inexperienced in mission management, the men in the field carried a far greater burden of responsibility and initiative than was the case with missionaries who were directed by professional bodies.
2. Contact with Africans

When the expeditionary party of the E.A.S.M. left Mombasa in September 1891, it carried sixty rifles hired from the I.B.E.A. Company. Maasai war parties were reported to be active and there had been news of fighting at Dagoretti and Machakos. The mission party did not have to use its rifles against Africans either during the expedition or at any subsequent time. But the ironic postscript is that several of the mission's Martini-Henry and Winchester rifles were sold by Stewart to Captain Richard Nelson of the Company in March 1892 - rifles that were used a few months later in a brutal and unprovoked punitive raid on the Taita.

On its arrival at Kibwezi, the mission party was asked by Mzee Kilundu to stay in his district. Stewart reported that Kilundu wished for protection against the Maasai who had raided his people a few days earlier. What Stewart did not report publicly was that Kilundu had also asked for protection against the personnel of Company caravans who were fond of pillaging and raping in districts through which they passed. Stewart extracted a promise from Kilundu that if the mission guaranteed the good behaviour of Company caravans he would instruct

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95 Wells, op. cit., 237-38.
96 SP, Stewart to Bruce, 18th July 1892; and R.M.L., 15th May-24th July 1892. Moffat met Nelson shortly after the raid when Nelson was critically ill and had to be moved to the mission for treatment. Nelson, noted by Moffat to be a near-alcoholic, had carried out a punitive raid on the Taita after some of his Taita porters had deserted his caravan.
97 EASM Report I, 6. See also FCSP/NLS 7877, Stewart to Bruce, 14th September 1891. Moffat makes no mention of a recent Maasai raid in his letters for this period. There is a strong possibility that Stewart exaggerated the Maasai danger to the Kibwezi district, as well as the appeal for protection by Kilundu, in order to support his decision to settle the mission at Kibwezi and not further inland. In a letter to Bruce Stewart claimed that he had mediated for peace between the Maasai and Kamba at a cost of two donkeys. (FCSP/NLS 7877, Stewart to Bruce, 22nd December 1891.)
his people to cease their retaliatory practice of shooting at Company porters with poisoned arrows.  

After paying a brief visit to Machakos, Stewart returned to Kibwezi in November to choose a site for the mission. He found that Kilundu was not entirely cooperative. For many weeks he procrastinated about the land he was prepared to sell, and withheld until December his agreement to Stewart's choice of a site. On December 7th, three hundred acres on the south bank of the Kibwezi stream were exchanged for several rolls of cloth and brass wire. There appears to have been little subsequent contact between Kilundu and the mission.

98 SP, Stewart's Diary, entry for 29th October 1891.
99 At Machakos Stewart met as many elders as possible, told them about the mission, and, in return for presents of wire and beads, secured their agreement to his plan of opening a station in their district at some future time. Stewart's plan was to begin at Kibwezi, and to extend in due course to Machakos, thus occupying Ukamba from both ends. (See above, p.9 and n.27.) One of the elders contacted by Stewart was Nzibo who had met Lugard in 1890. Lugard was so impressed by Nzibo's personality that he decided against asking him to sign one of the Company's paper treaties. (Perham and Bull, op.cit., I, 24-27th March 1890, 161-62.) Stewart gave Nzibo a red flannel dressing-gown which caused him great delight. (FCSP/NLS 7877, Stewart to Mrs. Stewart, 12th November 1891.)
100 Moffat noted that Stewart had "made a goat of himself with the locals", and that he had made "a fearful fuss over the petty chief here and treated him as though he was a most precious person. Already he has repented of that and found that it was casting his pearls away." (RMLI, 29th November 1891.)
101 See Appendix I for text of the Agreement with Kilundu. In August 1893 David Charters secured a small strip of land upon which stood the old I.B.E.A. Company No.5 stockade. (See plan of mission station at end.) Possession of this land gave the mission control of its water supply—the fountainhead of the Kibwezi stream. The Agreement, concluded 12th August 1893 was signed by Charters, and by the seller, Mindi, witnessed by two Swahili workmen, Nzola and Soniena Livingstone. (NLS 8015.)
Ukamba during the 1890s extended from the Tsavo River northwards to the Athi, and from the Kaputiei plains in the west, eastwards to the area between the Tiwa and Tana Rivers. Its people, Bantu-speaking, acephalous but with village and district elders (wazee) and councils of elders (nzama), monotheistic ('Mulungu' was God) but worshipful of ancestors (aiimu), lived mainly in settlements in hill country and near running water. Some districts were densely populated as in Ulu between Nzui and Machakos and Kikumbulyu, south of Kibwezi. Subsistence cultivators in the main, they had a surplus of food in good seasons to sell to passing caravans, and were substantial keepers of goats and sheep. Cattle were scarce — possibly as a result of the great rinderpest epidemic which began towards the end of the 1890s.

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102 A detailed contemporary description of Ukamba was made by Captain J.R.L. MacDonald, R.E., of the Company's Railway Survey Expedition. See MP/BOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 18th April 1892', enclosing MacDonald's reports to the Secretary of the I.B.E.A. Company, 5th March 1892; and J.R.L. MacDonald, Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa, 1891 to 1894 (London, 1897) 26–35.


104 Within a seven mile radius of the mission at Kibwezi the Kamba did not number more than about 1,200 — most of whom lived too far away to be expected to attend the mission regularly or frequently. (SP, Watson to Alexander, 23rd May 1895.) The Kamba avoided low-lying areas like Kibwezi in part because of the ravages of the tsetse fly.

105 See R.W.M. Mettam, 'A Short History of Rinderpest with Special Reference to Africa', Uganda Journal V, 1, 1937. George Wilson, in his earlier journeys through Ukamba in 1889 and 1890 had seen large herds of cattle in Kamba lands, but by 1891 most of them had disappeared in the cattle sickness which spread from Maasailand to the coast. The Rev. J. Burness of the C.M.S. Station at Rabai lost his seventy head of cattle in the epidemic. (SP, Stewart's Diary, entry for 7th November 1891.)
The Kamba practised domestic slavery and on occasions sold slaves to caravans from Mombasa. But slavery did not constitute a problem — or an opportunity to gain resident converts — for missionaries in Ukamba. Nor, as in Nyasaland, was there any conflict between missionaries and slave traders. The E.A.S.M. in 1891 purchased the freedom of a few slaves, and in 1893 there is on record a case of some female domestic slaves taking refuge at Kibwezi. When one of the owners called to recover his property, David Charters gave him a "sound thrashing"

106 In 1887 the Austrian explorers, Von Hohnel and Teleki met the caravan of a Mombasa Arab called Abdullah, and were informed that slaves had been bought in Ukamba and Kikuyu. (L. Von Hohnel, Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie Trans. by N. Bell, 2 Vols. (London, 1894) II, 248.) In his Report for April 1892 the District Superintendent of the Company's fort at Machakos, John Ainsworth, stated that Swahili traders periodically entered the Machakos district to buy donkeys and slaves. (MP/SOAS, Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 4/340 D.I., 17th June 1892.) The Kamba evidently, raided on occasions for slaves in Kikuyu country and even in Maasai settlement areas when the warriors were temporarily absent. (John Ainsworth, Report on Ukamba Province from July 1905 in Cd.2740 (1905), Reports Relating to the Administration of the East African Protectorate, October 1905, 2.)

107 At the coast, missionaries specialised in keeping runaway slaves. In 1893, for example, the United Methodist Mission at Ganjoni near Mombasa was reprimanded by the Company for harbouring a fugitive slave. The same mission had been in similar trouble in 1889. The Methodists, like the C.M.S. missionaries, continued to ignore the instructions issued in February 1884 by H.M. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs through the British Consul in Zanzibar to all missions that, having no legal right to harbour slaves, they were obliged to secure the release of slaves by payment through the Company to the owner. (FO 2/59, E.L. Bentley, Ag. Sec. I.B.E.A. Company, to Rev. C.T. Wakefield, 24th April 1893.)

108 For the conflict between missionaries and slave traders (Mlozi and others) in Nyasaland, see inter alia, W.J. Jack, Daybreak in Livingstonea (Edinburgh, 1901.)

109 EASM, Report I: 'Statement of Expenditure', 27; and PCea F/2, Watson to Bruce, 30th January 1893. George Wilson purchased the freedom of a number of slaves and employed them as "tractable and grateful" personal servants. (SP, Wilson to Stewart, 7th May 1892.)
and sent him on his way.  

To contemporary observers, Ukamba in the early 1890s appeared to be plagued by Maasai raids. That Maasai - 'Wakuafi', as Krapf called them - had been active in the area since mid-century, is beyond doubt. It is unlikely, however, that later in the century relationships between Maasai and Kamba were as bad as European observers believed. It is abundantly clear that the so-called Masai, whose warpaths crossed Ukamba at several points, were not true Maasai; rather, they were Bantu imitators from the Mt. Meru region of northern Tanzania known as Wa Arush or Wa Arusha. Basically, the Wa Arush were Chagga and Meru tribesmen, agriculturalists who had adopted the customs and accoutrements of the purely pastoral Maasai of the Rift Valley. In the dry season, April to November, they raided across Ukamba into Galla country, taking advantage of the decimation of people and cattle suffered.

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110 Coats, op. cit., 144-52, letter by Charters, 11th August 1894. Nyasaland missionaries were unable to deal as summarily with slave owners. The Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre caused great offence to Chief Chikumbu in 1887 by employing a number of his Chipeta slaves. Chikumbu protested to Consul Hawes, who reported the matter to the Foreign Office. The Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh received a stern warning from the Foreign Office. The issue was finally resolved by the payment to Chikumbu of five trusses of calico cloth as ransom for the slaves. (Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee Minutes, March 1887, 17-18; and 20th November 1888, 15.)

111 On his first journey to Ukamba at the end of 1851 Krapf heard of a 'Wakuafi' party having been at the River Tsavo and having killed several Kamba en route to Galla country. (Krapf, op. cit., 287.) Professor R.C. Bridges, in his 'Introduction to the Second Edition' of Krapf's book, draws attention to a civil war between groups of Kwavi Maasai in 1854-1855 and indicates that the Mombasa region itself was threatened in 1887 with attacks by refugees of this war. (Ibid, 37-38, 41-42.)

112 The I.B.E.A. Company, for example, believed that its duty was to keep in check "the marauding and bloodthirsty Maasai tribe who at present lay waste large tract of land and who are the terror of the (Kamba people)." (NLS 8021, Report of the Court of Directors to the Founders of the Company, 1st June 1889.) See also C.W. Hobley, Kenya from Chartered Company to Crown Colony (London, 1929) 45.

113 See above, Pp.11-12. Contemporary observers were aware that their Maasai came from the Wa Arush tribe. (MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 3/622 D.I., Masai Raid', 28th August 1891; and SP, Wilson to Stewart, 24th August 1892.) The Wa Arush, together with the Mokogodo north of Nanyuki, were good examples of the outer ring of hybrid or bastardized Maasai who were responsible for most of the 'Masai' raiding of the late 19th century. (Personal communication, Dr. A.H. Jacobs, University College, Nairobi, 22nd July 1968.)
by the Maasai-proper in the great rinderpest epidemic.

Clearly, their presence was sufficient to cause great alarm in Kamba villages. Many eye-witness accounts have survived to bear testimony to this. But the more astute observers of the time recognised that there existed an understanding for mutual peace between the Kamba and the Wa Arush - an agreement which both sides frequently ignored, but which was adequate nevertheless to ensure that there were no major wars between the two tribes. George Wilson of the E.A.S.M., when working on the road to the coast in 1892, reported that some twenty miles south of Kibwezi many Wa Arush had settled down as cultivators amongst the Kamba:

"I have met them and they seem to be quite reconciled to the change, though they still retain the superior characteristics of their race, and are very discernible from the Wakamba. They are in communication with their own tribe, and act as middlemen in securing supplies for it. There is seemingly perfect confidence between the two peoples, the Masai telling me freely of the honourable treatment they receive from the Wakamba in this part, in contrast to that by those at the Kibwezi and Mazole."

A situation appears to have prevailed that where the Wa Arush habitually crossed Ukamba on their way to Galla country - at Mtito Ndei in the south, and between Kibwezi and Nzaui to the north - the Kamba tended to be nervous of attacks and sparsely settled. Elsewhere there were sizeable concentrations of people and only very infrequent skirmishes.

114 MacDonald, Soldiering and Surveying, op. cit., 26-35. On occasions, however, the Kamba carried out retaliatory raids on the Wa Arush. In August 1892 some Wa Arush raided the southern Machakos district and Kilungu's. Two thousand Kamba were reported to be preparing to meet the raiders on the Athi plains. (MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 1st November 1892', enclosing August report by Superintendent J. Ainsworth at Machakos.) It appears that in the main, the Wa Arush were provocateurs, the Kamba raiding only in retaliation. (FO 2/57, Ainsworth to I.B.E.A. Company Administrator, 30th December 1892.)

115 MP/SOAS, Wilson to Bruce, 23rd August 1892. Wilson also reported that the area south of Kibwezi was once densely populated. Many people had died in the great famine of 1884-85. Within a few years the area became populous again only to encounter a large influx of Wa Arush. At first the people fled to the east; but finding that the immigrants were peaceful, returned to settle and to live in harmony with them.
The target of Wa Arush attacks was often not so much the Kamba as caravans passing to and from the coast. It was in this area of activity that the E.A.S.M. came into contact with the Wa Arush. Captain J.R.L. MacDonald, the railway surveyor who visited Kibwezi early in 1892, claimed that on one occasion the Scottish mission was threatened with an attack. This was an overstatement. Since April 1892 caravans belonging to the mission and the Company suffered periodic attacks of a few days march north and south of Kibwezi. In August Moffat reported raids for cattle around Nzaui. Early in October a Swahili caravan camping at the Kiboko stream was attacked by Wa Arush. A thousand goats were captured and only four survivors of the caravan escaped to the mission at Kibwezi. A mail party with despatches for Uganda saw the dead at the Kiboko and returned to Kibwezi to ask Moffat for protection. Seizing an opportunity to do something for Uganda, Moffat organised an armed escort to conduct the mail runners past the Kiboko. Moffat stayed with them until they met another Swahili caravan at the Danyere stream. He returned to Kibwezi, having covered eighty miles in two days, only to learn

116 "The Masai ... threatened to attack the mission station, where a few cattle has been collected. This was a real danger to the new settlement. Dr. Moffat, however, showed an undaunted attitude, and made no elaborate preparations for defence, thus infusing a confidence into the Wakamba, and discouraging the enemy. For some months, the position was one of gravity, but ultimately, the war clouds passed away, and the mission was left to pursue its own avocations in peace." (MacDonald, op.cit., 35-36.)

117 It is most likely that MacDonald, who was not at Kibwezi during the supposed period of danger, based his account upon letters written for the press by A.L. Bruce — letters which greatly annoyed Moffat for their exaggeration of the danger. (RML, 3rd February 1893.)

118 RML, 10th April 1892.

119 Ibid, 24th August 1892.

120 At the Kiboko Moffat encountered "the most gruesome sight" of mutilated bodies being fed upon by lions and hyaenas. (RML, 16th October 1892.)
that another mail party, which carried the orders for the retention by the Company of Uganda, had been wiped out at Kinani to the south. 121 This was a particularly heavy period of raiding by the Wa Arush, but at no time was the mission station itself threatened. 122

The last recorded raid by the Wa Arush in the Kibwezi district took place in February 1893. 123 Thereafter the mission continued to encounter the Wa Arush—not as raiders but as squatters on the mission’s land. In September 1893 a few families of Wa Arush settled close to the mission buildings; within a month they had become a substantial village. David Charters gave the men the choice of working for the mission for several days each week or paying rent in the form of one goat per family every three months. The squatters considered the conditions too harsh and moved away. Charters did not regret their departure since they had refused to work, preferring instead to buy cloth and ornaments from passing caravans by selling their women as prostitutes.

One of their number Leikere, had offered to work but died at the mission. Charters was certain that he was poisoned by the others. 124

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121 Bishop Tucker of the C.M.S. was at this time camped at Tsavo, en route for Uganda. He witnessed the results of the attack, learned that the mails had been destroyed, and noted that the Wa Arush had proceeded eastwards to Galla country. (A.R. Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and British East Africa 2 Vols. (London, 1908) I, 201-204.)

122 The only recorded case of a mission in Ukamba having been attacked by Wa Arush was that of July 1891 involving the German Lutheran mission at Ikutha, twenty-five miles north-east of Kibwezi. (See Map I.) An attack by six-hundred warriors forced the missionaries to take refuge on a nearby hill. When the missionaries returned to their station they found that it had been looted—not by the Wa Arush, but by the local Kamba. (MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Kombasa, 3/622 D.I., "Masai Raid", 28th August 1891', enclosing a report of the incident by Mr. Hoffmann of Ikutha.)

123 PCEA F/2, Watson to Bruce, 1st March 1893. It is interesting to note, however, that in October 1894 a caravan some few miles north of Rabai was attacked by Masai. Unpublished Diary of Florence Deed, C.M.S. missionary at Rabai, 9th November 1893 to 26th January 1895, entry for 29th October 1894.)

124 NLS 8015, Charters to Wilson, 26th January 1894. A diluted version of this episode is given in a letter by Charters to his friends, dated 5th October 1893, in Charters, op. cit., 109-110.
The Committee in Edinburgh were displeased to learn that the squatters had gone.\(^{125}\) Stewart, when he heard of it, was furious and accused Charters of neglecting a valuable opportunity to evangelise the Maasai. He was undisturbed by reports of immoral behaviour, saying that this was common throughout heathen Africa and that the splendid characteristics of the Maasai race permitted one to overlook their occasional lapses from grace.\(^{126}\)

Late in 1894 Wa Arush squatters returned to settle at Kibwezi. Recalling the Committee's attitude on the previous occasion, Watson did not send them away in spite of the fact that they continued to provide a brothel service to passing caravans.\(^{127}\) On this occasion, the Committee's reaction was different. Having been informed that the mission was earning itself a bad name in East Africa, they ordered Watson to disband the colony immediately.\(^{128}\) After 1895, no further squatters came to the mission.

In 1892 there arrived at Kibwezi a Kikuyu who was to become the first martyr in the Kikuyu political struggle, and of whom it was widely believed during the 'Mau Mau' Emergency that Jomo Kenyatta is the reincarnation.\(^{129}\)

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125 SP, Alexander to Charters, 2nd August 1894.
126 Ibid., Stewart to Alexander, 20th July 1894.
127 Ibid., Watson to Alexander, 29th December 1894.
128 Ibid., Alexander to Watson, 15th February and 5th June 1895.
129 See Appendix IV, Mbugua Njama, Mahoya ma Waiyaki (Prayers of Waiyaki) (Nairobi, 1952) translated by James Ngugi. Many praise-songs for Waiyaki were sung in Kikuyuland during the Emergency. Some of these are to be found in J.J. Gakara, The Creed of Gikuyu and Mumbi (Nairobi, 1952) translated by Lawrence Kangai. A good example is as follows:

"Waiyaki died a long time ago
Fighting for his country against the foreigners.
Waiyaki was tortured a long time ago
Fighting for our country so that we might have a place to settle.
When Waiyaki was arrested, he prayed to God
That there might be courageous heroes to get our land back.
Citizens listen to the second disciple of God;
He is Jomo Kenyatta." (Song No. 33.)

See also a book of political songs c.1951 by Kinuthia Mugia, an imperfect copy of which is deposited in the Research Project Archives, University College, Nairobi, File D/6/1.
This was Waiyaki wa Hinga. There is a strange thread of association linking the Scottish Mission in Kenya with Waiyaki over a period of seventy-five years. George Wilson knew Waiyaki well during the time that he was in charge of the Company fort at Dagoretti, and had fought his way out of Waiyaki's siege. After his arrest for attempted murder at Fort Smith in 1892, Waiyaki was conducted in chains to the coast, but died of a head wound on reaching Kibwezi. When Thomas Watson removed the mission to Kikuyu in 1898 it was from Manyua, a son of Waiyaki, that he purchased a mission site at Thogoto. In 1918 four of Waiyaki's grandsons were boarders at the Church of Scotland Mission school at Thogoto. And when the Scottish Mission faced a confrontation with nationalist elements amongst the Kikuyu in 1929 and again in 1953, it was not forgotten that the father of Kikuyu freedom fighters had died in what were believed to be strange circumstances in the hands of Scottish missionaries at Kibwezi. Finally, the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, successor to the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya, officiated in February 1966 at the dedication of the Kihumo Church near Thogoto to the memory of Waiyaki.

Waiyaki's demise was an inglorious affair. He was arrested at Fort Smith in August 1892, allegedly for making an attempt upon the life of the District Superintendent, Mr. Purkiss. Waiyaki had come to protest at a raid carried out by Purkiss and H.H. Austin of the Railway Survey as a punishment for the

130 A student of the History Department at the University College, Nairobi, Mr. C.N. Ncuha, investigated through oral traditions and testimony the early life and career of Waiyaki. His findings are preserved in the Department's Research Project Archives, File, RPA/UCN B/2/2(1).
131 MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 3495/D.I., "Dagoretti", 12th August 1891.'
132 AP, J.W. Arthur to his father, 29th March 1918.
murder of a Company askari, Maktobu. He is alleged to have attacked Purkiss with his simi, but to have been disarmed and struck over the head with his own weapon. As a typical example of "a treacherous Kikuyu", Waiyaki was marched to the coast for trial and deportation. Waiyaki was followed at a distance by some of his warriors. Popular stories have it that Waiyaki was killed by the Sudanese soldiers of Austin's caravan, or that he was buried alive near Kibwezi in a face-downwards position. Austin claims that he died at the E.A.S.M. from his head wound. Purkiss at a later date also died at Kibwezi. But Austin's statement that the "two enemies in life thus peacefully sleep their long sleep in close proximity to one another in the churchyard of the old Kibwezi Mission Station" is false. If Waiyaki did die at Kibwezi — and there is nothing in the mission's records to show that he did — he would have been buried in an unmarked grave, at some distance from the graves of Europeans, together with other non-Christian Africans.

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135 See RPA/UCN, B/2/2(1), oral traditions collected by C.M. Mucuha. There are several variations on this theme of the manner in which Waiyaki died; all of them suggest that he was murdered. The researcher inspected a manuscript, currently in the possession of Mr. T. Waiyaki, in which the author, Kibaara Kabatu, claims that during the Emergency, freedom fighters buried Europeans alive and face-downwards in revenge for the murder of Waiyaki.
136 Austin, op.cit...
137 The Stewart Papers and Moffat letters, although they cover this period in detail, contain no reference to the incident. Obviously, however, Waiyaki was not the notable, then that for political purposes he was to become.
138 In March 1968 the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, Rev. John Gatu, went to Kibwezi to recover some relics of the E.A.S.M. for the forthcoming seventieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Presbyterian Church in Kikuyuland. (See B.G. McIntosh, 'The Pioneer days of the Scottish Mission' commemorative article in East African Standard, Weekend Standard, Friday, March 22nd 1968, 9, 6.) The modern township of Kibwezi stands on the site of the mission. When the Rev. Gatu was digging in a side street of the town for some redbricks from the foundation of a mission house, curious townspeople asked him if he was digging for Waiyaki's remains. (See John Gatu, 'Is there a Diamond?', St. Andrews Journal (Nairobi, June 1968)2.) See also illustration, p.145.
African labourers at the Kibwezi mission were for the most part Swahili who were recruited by the Company's Transport and Shipping Department in Mombasa. While these men were skilled and could be engaged for up to a year, it was an unsatisfactory arrangement for the mission. The Swahili workmen were usually Mohammedans, and frequently deserted. It was the declared policy of the mission to reduce the numbers of workmen from the coast in favour of local Kamba. But it was soon discovered that the Kamba had very little interest in working for wages.

When the mission first came to Kibwezi, the Kamba attended in great numbers to lend good-natured assistance with the work of clearing the site. For several months thereafter smaller groups returned to seek employment and payment in cloth and wire. Moffat was not anxious to employ more than about twenty-five Kamba at any one time; he had been left by Stewart with the major tasks of completing the houses and church and preferred the services of the more skilled coastal men.

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139 The Transport and Shipping Department acted as the mission's coast agent until 1895. Thereafter, the agency was handled by Smith, Mackenzie & Co. Porters (Wapagazi) carried 65lb. loads and were paid Rs.10 per month. Guards (askari) were paid Rs.14, and labourers Rs.6. All received food in addition to wages. (NLS 8015, Charters to S. & T. Dept., I.B.E.A. Co., 18th July 1893.)

140 Being Mohammedan, the Swahili labourers refused to attend Christian services. In May 1893 Charters was alarmed to find a Swahili labourer teaching a Maasai schoolboy lessons from the Koran. He felt that by refusing to attend church, the Swahili were setting an example which the Kamba were only too willing to follow. (SP, Charters to Stewart, 10th May 1894.)

141 NLS 8015, Charters to C.W. Hobley, T. & S. Dept., 29th April 1893; and SP, Alexander to Charters, 2nd August 1894.

142 RML, 10th April 1892.
Under pressure from Mackinnon and other members of the Committee who were also Directors of the I.B.E.A. Company and who were anxious that the mission should introduce the Kamba to the notion of wage-labour, Moffat's successor at Kibwezi made attempts to replace the Swahili by Kamba labourers. At first, David Charters assumed that this would present no problem. But within a year of his arrival at Kibwezi he was informing the Committee that the Kamba showed no desire to work on the station. The few who came would seldom commit themselves to work for longer than a month. His early hope that the mission as a source of trade goods would attract the Kamba did not materialise. A greater variety of goods could be more plentifully obtained from the numerous passing caravans.

A single exception is found in the case of George Wilson's road work. At Mackinnon's request Wilson in 1892 began to construct a road from Kibwezi towards Mombasa. Mackinnon was anxious that only Kamba labourers should be used and was pleased that Wilson succeeded so well in this respect. In August 1892 Wilson had seventy Kamba employed on his road gang, none of whom had worked for a European before. Of their progress he wrote:

"With regard to the Wakamba as workmen ... they are cheerful and can be led; and with a more extended experience they should become a useful factor in the native labour question. It has to be remembered that this is their first experience in working for hire.... Now they are working miles away from their homes, thus bringing them under the useful discipline of the camp. I believe that the additional experience I speak of, particularly such as they obtain at Kibwezi and on the road will greatly enhance their value as workmen. Their present rate of pay is one ring of brass wire per day, equal under existing conditions to 4½ annas a day. I do not regret paying this, knowing that if the matter of native employment becomes a vital...


144 NLS 8015, Charters to Committee, 19th March 1894.
question the cost of transport can be reduced by at least one third." Wilson's labourers stayed with him in spite of the proximity of the Wa Arush warpaths, and left him only when the road had passed the southern boundary of Ukamba. Thereafter, Wilson employed Taita or Giriana labourers. It was a matter of considerable pride to the I.B.E.A. Company that the Mackinnon Road, as it came to be called, was constructed entirely by local African labour.

At Kibwezi, there was no improvement in the labour question. The Kamba continued to avoid the mission and the Swahili workmen continued to ignore the spiritual machinery of the mission and to desert. The mission's aim to grow cash crops such as coffee, tea and rubber thus remained unattainable for want of adequate labour. For six months in 1897 the mission had a total labour force of one Maasai and nine Swahili. In that year, as the Uganda Railway and Protectorate Administration began to move into the interior, even coastal workers became scarce. On the one occasion when, in time of famine

145 MP/SOAS, Wilson to Bruce, 23rd August 1892. Wilson discovered that he could increase the work output by introducing a system of daily piece-work by squads.

146 McDermott, op.cit., 398. For additional treatment of George Wilson's road project, see below, Pp. 123-27.

147 NLS 8015, Mathew Wilson to Alexander, 12th October 1897.

148 There is an interesting insight into the Uganda Railway labour question in a letter by Dr. Wilson to W.F. Alexander. A report by a Railway engineer was published in the Zanzibar Government Gazette, November 1896, claiming that a thousand Kamba and Kikuyu labourers had been successfully recruited for the railway earthworks. The report appeared in the Times of January 28th 1897 together with a letter by C.H. Allen of the Anti-Slavery Society to disprove the view expressed by Government that a massive importation of labour from India was essential if the Uganda Railway were to be built. Wilson strongly refuted the claims made in the report that Africans worked successfully on the Railway. He was their Medical Officer and had witnessed the hundreds of deaths from dysentery and inadequate care. Knowing that the survivors would dissuade their fellow-tribesmen from working for the Railway, Wilson warned that Indian labour was essential; (NLS 8015, Wilson to Alexander, 22nd June 1897.)
in mid-1896, hundreds of Kamba came to the mission for work, they had to be turned away because of a decision by the promoters of the mission to reduce expenditure at Kibwezi.

In its treatment of labour, the E.A.S.M. avoided some of the excesses of discipline which were frequent occurrences during the late 19th century.\(^{149}\) This may have been for no other reason than that there were never more than a few African labourers or scholars employed on the station at any one time. But before leaving the mission, Stewart had given strict instructions on discipline. He had noticed that the younger missionaries tended to favour traditional punishment. One porter had been flogged on the journey from the coast during his absence.\(^{150}\) There was to be no flogging and no ordering of offenders to stand for long periods in the sun bearing heavy loads. Criminal cases were to be sent to Mombasa for trial; ordinary offences were to be punished by fines of a reasonable amount, extra labour and deprivation of privileges. School children were not to be caned or beaten. This last injunction was made at the request of Mzee Kilundu.\(^{151}\) It appears that the

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\(^{149}\) The I.B.E.A. Company had a shocking record in this respect. The unwarranted punitive raids on the Kamba and Taita by Messrs. Leith and Bateman respectively, are but two examples. Officially, in daily caravan and fort work, officers were permitted to administer up to fifty lashes. (MP/SOAS, "Precis of Mail to Mombasa, 3495/D.1., "Flogging of Natives", 12th August 1891.\(^{1}\)) The C.M.S., likewise, were stern disciplinarians. In 1881, the missionary in charge at Freretown was indicted for administering excessive punishment - flogging Africans for trivial offences, married women included. (FO 541/49, Zanzibar No.289, Kirk to Granville, 21st July 1891.) In the southern interior missions were furnished with a guide, albeit unofficial, recommending flogging and withholding food rations as efficacious punishments. (Rachel Watt, *In the Heart of Savagedom. Twenty-Five Years Missionary Labour in East Equatorial Africa* (London, n.d.) 96-102.)

\(^{150}\) SP, Stewart, "Statement on the Past of this Mission", 7th January 1893.

\(^{151}\) SP, Stewart, "General Instructions. E.A.S.M., Kibwezi", 11th March 1892.
missionary reputation for classroom beatings preceded the missionary occupation of new spheres in the interior.

Contact between the mission and Africans in the sphere of religion was practically nonexistent. Services, Swahili in the morning and English in the afternoon were held regularly on Sundays. The church, which was completed on February 5th 1893 and which could seat three hundred people, was attended only by the missionaries themselves and those rare few Swahili workmen who were nominal Christians.152 On the day that the church was completed, Watson invited all the labourers to a meeting. He explained the purpose of the church and extended a general invitation to all to attend. But almost to a man, the Swahili asked to be excused from attending.153 The obvious solution was to recruit only those Swahili who professed to be Christians. This, however, was virtually impossible to achieve since coastal workers were in great demand in many parts of the interior, and since the great majority of them were Mohammedans from Zanzibar and Mombasa. Language was an insurmountable barrier. Few of the Kibwezi missionaries ever had more than the rudiments of Kiswahili, and none had the time to learn Kikamba.154 The station required a great deal of attention and precluded efforts to tour the district, if not to preach, at least to explain the purpose of the mission.155 There were only two ordained men at Kibwezi

152 PCEA F/2, Watson, 'Report for Quarter ending 31st March 1893.'
153 Ibid.
154 Only very occasionally did a Makanza attend church. But then, it was for no other reason than that he had some general matter to discuss with the Superintendent. (NLS 8015, Charters to Committee, 19th March 1894.)
155 For a few weeks in September 1894 Watson was able to tour the Nzaui district explaining the function of the mission. But with the disappearance of Charters he was obliged to return to Kibwezi to take charge of the station.
between 1891 and 1898: Stewart for a few months at the start of the mission's life, and Watson from 1897. Stewart was too busy to carry out evangelistic work, and Watson was fully occupied in 1897-98 in removing the E.A.S.M. to Kikuyu.

In education, the missionaries at Kibwezi fared only a little better. The educational policy laid down by Stewart had not been ambitious. Since industrial training was to be the principal objective, a mere grounding in literacy was all that would be required. Both boys and girls would be taught. Boys would then proceed to training as farmers and artisans, while girls would be encouraged to become boarders and to be taught the simple rules of health, hygiene and home management.

A school at the E.A.S.M. was opened on July 28th 1892 with a total enrolment of two Kamba boys. In subsequent years, the number of Kamba pupils rose slightly on occasions, but for the most part the school made very little progress. Education, as offered by the mission, had little utility or meaning for the Kamba. Parents regarded it as work for their children and demanded payment. David Charters believed that bribing children to come to school would lead to trouble in the future. The Committee in Edinburgh was not so certain. Stewart advised them to order Charters to compromise; there were few missions

156 "The range of education should be very limited - ability to read and write and the simple and compound rules in arithmetic is really all that is necessary for a long time to come." (SP, Stewart to W. Mackinnon, 'Memorandum on Proposed Mission', 20th August 1890.)

157 Ibid. Stewart's view was "that if the women are left uneducated and untrained in industrial habits, their influence retards the general progress of the work amongst the men, and more frequently than not, throws them back again to a low level of life."


159 NLS 8015, Charters to Committee, 25th January 1894.
anywhere in Africa which had not bribed children or parents in the beginning. According to Peter Mackinnon, advised Charters to bribe children to attend school, not with cash or trade goods, but with food, recommending that the E.A.S.M. should follow the example of the early days at Livingstonia. This was reasonable advice and might have worked had it not been for the continued lack of interest displayed by the parents; the inability of the mission to attract Kamba labourers and their families to live on the station, and the distance at which most of the Kamba of the vicinity lived from the mission.

If the mission had had to rely solely on the Kamba for its educational work, the school which had closed from want of use in March 1894 would have remained closed. In June 1894, however, the missionaries were encouraged by news from the District Superintendent at Fort Smith, Frank Hall, that twenty-two Maasai children would soon be sent to Kibwezi as permanent school boarders.

The Kaputiei Maasai of the plains near modern Nairobi had been greatly weakened by cattle disease, famine, and attacks by the Loita Maasai of Narok. Many of the Kaputiei Maasai were known to Hall since he used them periodically as

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160 SP, Stewart to Alexander, 19th March 1894.

161 Ibid., Peter Mackinnon to Charters, 13th April 1894. Dr. Laws at Livingstonia began his school by teaching the alphabet to the children of the mission's workmen. In time, as a resident labour force was built up, and an industrial training was established, it was possible to begin a boarding school. Children received two hours of classroom instruction, followed by two hours of manual labour in the mission's garden. For the latter work they were paid in food. (See W.P. Livingstone, Laws of Livingstonia (London, 1923) 94-95, 140.)

162 The German Lutheran missionaries at Ikutha in Ukamba had a similar experience. Watson visited them in 1896 and reported to the Committee: "At first they devoted themselves entirely to the work of preaching, but now, they say, the only hope is in getting hold of the young and teaching them. In school work they hate the same difficulty as we have: boys will not come to be taught without some material inducement. They keep six or seven boys working about their house and this secures a nucleus for their school. They mentioned five months as the longest term for which they had any boy to stay. Thus it would seem that the Akamba aversion to routine life for any length of time is general." (NLS 8015, Watson to Alexander, 27th April 1896.)

163 NLS 8015, Charters to Committee, 14th July 1894.
military levies; and at their request he assisted the survivors of the famine to settle as agriculturalists near Ngong. Having been in contact with Charters at Kibwezi, and knowing of the mission's difficulties in schooling, Hall arranged with several Maasai parents that in return for food, their children should be sent to the E.A.S.M.

The arrival of the Maasai boys at Kibwezi infused the missionaries with enthusiasm and a new sense of purpose. No one at the mission could speak Kimaasai, but strenuous efforts were made to teach the boys Kiswahili – and in their leisure moments, cricket as well. At first, it was hoped that the Kamba, out of jealousy, would be encouraged to send their children to school more regularly and for longer periods; but after an initial period of improved attendance the Kamba children continued to stay away. In time, also, it

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164 Personal communication, Mr. B.K. Kentai (senior) of Ngong, 26th February 1966. The Kaputiei Maasai had raided Uhehe in modern Tanzania and had returned with diseased cattle which infected their whole herds.

165 During the 1894 cattle sickness and famine several Maasai boys found their way to other missions. One, Aramato, went to the C.M.S. station at Taveta. Later he was sent to Frumetown and admitted to the Divinity School. In 1899 he was reunited with his mother who had been sold as a slave by the Kamba to the Giriama. (Proc. C.N.S., 1904-1905, 77.) A group of Ilkisongo Maasai boys found their way to the C.M.S. mission in Mombasa (unspecified). These were Some ole Keturai, Locnkumok ole Kiria, Ole Natu and Ole Rise. (Personal communication, Mr. G. Lolkingiel of Loitokitok, 3rd May 1966.)

166 NLS 8015, Charters to Committee, 14th July 1894. These were not the first Maasai boys to come to Kibwezi. In 1892 three boys, abandoned by passing caravans, were picked up and taken in as personal servants by Thomas Watson. (SP, Watson to Stewart, 23rd August 1892; and PCEA F/2, Watson to Committee, 30th December 1892.)

167 SP, Alexander to Charters, 31st August 1894; and Charters to Stewart, 4th September 1894. See also NLS 8015, Watson to Alexander, 21st June 1896.
became apparent that expectations of a rapid development in educational work amongst the Maasai would not be fulfilled. Several of the boys died soon after reaching Kibwezi as a result of their experiences during the famine. Several others ran away. By January 1896 only seven of the original twenty-two remained.

Watson's efforts at educating the boys was hampered by the language barrier and by the incessant demands of the station upon his time. Mathew Wilson, during Watson's furlough, 1896-1897, was fully occupied with his work as medical officer to the Uganda Railway labourers and found it still more difficult to devote time to the Maasai boys. Two of the remaining seven ran away. In desperation Wilson applied to Smith, Mackenzie & Co., for a Swahili teacher; the man they sent was only slightly more advanced than the pupils he was to teach. When Watson returned to the mission the boys told him that they had no desire to remain with the mission or to accompany it to Kikuyu. They had heard of the opportunities for employment which existed in Mombasa and were determined to go there. They ran away one night in January 1898 and did not return.

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168 A statement of the educational progress of the Maasai boys by 1896 is given in EASM Report III, 6: "Those that remain are now spelling their way through the Gospel of St. Luke in Kimwahili. They can do a little arithmetic, write simple sentences on a slate, and are learning to use pen and ink." Stewart offered to send an African teacher for the boys from Lovedale, but Watson declined the offer since Stewart proposed sending a man who would be similarly handicapped by the language problem.

169 NLS 8015, Wilson to Alexander, 22nd June 1897.

170 Ibid., Watson to Committee, 21st January and 18th February 1898. There is little information available to indicate what might have become of the Maasai boys. In 1909, and again in 1923 one of the boys, Almassi, who had been with Charters at the time of his disappearance in 1894, came to the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu in search of work. This particular boy had become house servant to a Mrs. Mary MacGregor. (PCEA A/4, John Paterson to H.E. Scott, 6th May 1909; and PCEA A/37; J.W. Arthur to Paterson, 4th March 1924.) One other is said to have adopted the Swahili name, Juma Dunia, and to have been employed by the Department of Agriculture, first at Mombasa, and subsequently in 1933 at Ngong. (Personal communication, Mr. B.K. Kiantai of Ngong, 26th February 1966.)
Medical work had been expected to achieve quick and friendly contact with Africans. At first, many Kamba attended Moffat's dispensary to have teeth pulled and skin ulcers dressed. But they did not wish to submit to surgery and refused to stay overnight in hospital. David Charters, who had resigned from engineering missionary work to become a medical missionary, was more fortunate when he first came to Kibwezi. He was the first to use chloroform for surgery, and proudly informed the Committee that "the Wakamba evidently think that the 'Bwana Doctari', as they call me, can do anything." But within a year, Charters was as disillusioned as Moffat had been and was beginning to look for a medical post elsewhere.

The medical department at Kibwezi was used mainly by passing caravans. Having the only doctor in the interior between Mombasa and Uganda, the E.A.S.M. quickly became invaluable to the I.B.E.A. Company and subsequently to the Protectorate Government. From 1896 the Government and the Uganda Railway began to use the mission regularly. Dr. Mathew Wilson, whose surgery was much admired by Albert Cook of Uganda on a visit to Kibwezi in 1897, was appointed medical officer to the Railway earthworks labourers in November 1896 and again in May 1897 — an appointment which, besides providing work for the medical department, earned the mission a handsome profit.

Of all the departments of work, the greatest faith had been placed in the industrial. The founders of the mission, responding to an international resolution...
on the desirability of industrial teaching in Africa,177 and subscribing to a long-established theory of work (from the Carpenter of Nazareth to William Carey, David Livingstone and beyond), looked to industrial work as the most effective and enduring agency for introducing Africans to the Christian life.178 It was believed that the state of African civilization, as it was then regarded, was in great need of industrial treatment. As Stewart's biographer observed:

"He (Stewart) was dealing with a race as unprogressive as any known to us. They had developed no art of any kind, no writing, no philosophy, no money currency, no initiative, and they had lived very much like animals. Industrial training was essential to their uplift."

But this department showed the same record of failure which distinguished the other departments of work.

Agriculture had been recommended as the main area of industrial teaching.

In November 1891 Stewart bought ten oxen and gave them to one of the two Kaffir youths he had brought from Lovedale to be broken in to the yoke.180 Moffat in 1892 brought ploughs from Mombasa to be drawn by the oxen. During the superintendentship of David Charters, one hundred square miles of land was added to the mission's territory as a grant from the I.B.E.A. Company. John Paterson arrived in 1893 with tea seeds from India and coffee seeds from Aden.181 A great

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177 General Act of the Brussels Conference Relative to the African Slave Trade, Brussels, 2nd July 1890, Article II/1.

178 SP, Stewart to Alexander, 20th July 1894.

179 Wells, op.cit., 218: "He did not wish (the native) to be a learner for learning's sake, but to be a learner that he might be a doer, a maker, a lover of labour, and a man." (Ibid., 215.)

180 RML, 21st December 1892.

181 SP, Charters to Stewart, 3rd August 1891. A little coffee was grown at Kibwezi from 1893, and again at Kikuyu from 1898. Although only partially successful in this respect, the E.A.S.M. has a better claim to be the first to grow coffee in the interior of Kenya than the Holy Ghost Fathers who planted their first coffee crop at St. Austins near Nairobi in 1899. See J.A. Kieran, 'The origins of commercial coffee cultivation in East Africa', African Historical Studies (Boston, Mass.) Spring 1969; and by the same author, 'The Holy Ghost Fathers in East Africa, 1863 to 1914', University of London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1966, 416-17. See also below, p.151.
agricultural mission was planned which would make the mission self-sufficient in its food supply and upon which hundreds of Kamba families would live and work. But climate and soil proved to be unsuitable for anything other than the most hardy fibres. And even if climate and soil had permitted the growth of coffee, tea and even rubber – the latter having been contemplated in 1896 – there remained the perennial problem of scarcity of labour. No apprenticeship training schemes were successful and at no time did the mission grow enough food for its own purposes. As with the medical department, the mission’s workshop was saved from extinction by receiving a few contracts after 1895 from Government and Railway for woodworking services. Projects in carpentry, masonry, engineering and irrigation were carried on, but only with the help of Swahili workmen and only for the building of the station.

3. Mission and Company

Although at no time, legally or financially, a part of the I.B.E.A. Company, the East African Scottish Mission was designed to complement the Company’s work in East Africa. There existed between the two institutions a common management and a theoretical harmony of interests. Three-quarters of the mission’s first Committee were Company Directors, and several of its subscribers had been early subscribers to the Company. While the Company would strive to facilitate and promote the mission’s establishment and development, it was expected that the mission would increase the value of the Company’s territories through its civilising
influences and industrial teaching. 186

From the time of the arrival in Mombasa of the first party of Scottish missionaries, it was clear that there would be an unequal division of benefits accruing from the interrelationship. The missionaries believed that the Company would supply Persian agriculturalists and Negro American artisans (the latter having joined the Company from the American Mission in Bombay) as industrial assistants. 187 But none of these was available in September 1891. Likewise, it was expected that the Company would assist in the recruitment of porters. Again, it was found that porters were unavailable—every man being recruited for Company caravans to Uganda. It was Messrs. Roasted, Ridley of Zanzibar, and not the Company, which secured some porters for Stewart. In Mombasa, when the missionaries were trying to recruit extra porters privately, the Company’s Administrator attempted to stop them with a warning that they would be infringing the monopoly, as suppliers, of Arab and Indian merchants. 188

Mackinnon and Bruce, when they planned the mission in 1889 believed that the Company would prepare the ground for the planting of a successful mission by providing protection from hostile tribes, modern communications and a thriving commercial and administrative environment. By 1891 they had to admit that in this respect the establishment of the E.A.S.M. was premature. 189 Around Dagoretti and Machakos the Company had alienated Africans and implanted in them a fear and distrust of whitemen. It could offer little protection; for, by 1891 all but one

186 SP, McDermott to Acting Administrator, Mombasa, 10th May 1894.
187 Ibid., G.S. Mackenzie to Stewart, 1st June 1891.
188 SP, Wilson to Stewart, 3rd September 1891; and Stewart to Bruce, 14th September 1891.
189 Ibid., Bruce to Stewart, 18th September 1891.
of the seven Company posts between Mombasa and Dagoretti had been abandoned.\textsuperscript{190} The route to the interior had not been improved since 1888. It was still a caravan track, subject to attacks at several points by marauding Wa Arush, and waterless over long stretches.

That the E.A.S.M. was in the main the private affair of Mackinnon and Bruce is indicated by the unwillingness shown on various occasions by the Company to treat the mission as an exceptional and favoured concern. At the planning stage of the mission, Bruce and Stewart decided that if the mission were successful and the land around it thereby increased in value, it would be advantageous to secure a large grant of adjacent land from the Company to help finance the mission in future years.\textsuperscript{191} The Company's immediate reaction was that such a grant could not be made, especially at Dagoretti or Machakos, since it would encompass settled villages and their inhabitants.\textsuperscript{192} For a variety of reasons, the main one being that he had too little time to spare, Stewart did not attempt to secure extra land whilst at Kibwezi. In October 1892, however, Bruce formally requested from the Company a grant of one hundred square miles of land for the mission in the vicinity of Kibwezi.\textsuperscript{193} They refused. Not only were the Directors in London unwilling to grant extra land, since all rights in occupied land were vested in the Company, but they refused to recognise as legal the agreement for three hundred acres concluded in 1891 between Stewart and Mzee Kilundu.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{190} In 1891, Bruce could only hope that the presence of the mission would serve to restrain the officials of the Company "who in some cases have not shown that regard for the natives which they ought." (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 18th September 1891.)

\textsuperscript{191} EASM Report I, 12.

\textsuperscript{192} MP/SoAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 3/489 D.I., "Lovedale Mission", 12th August 1891.'

\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., A.L. Bruce to E.L. Bentley, 7th October 1892.

\textsuperscript{194} SP, Bruce to Stewart, November 1892.
An appeal was made to Mackinnon, currently engrossed in Uganda affairs and the railway subsidy question, to come to the mission's aid. Subsequent dispatches from the London headquarters to Mombasa reveal that Mackinnon had displayed great annoyance over the land issue and that he had reminded the Board of Directors that the E.A.S.M. was of special interest to himself and an asset to the Company. Title deeds would be issued for the Kibwezi site and an application was invited for the registration of blocks of adjacent land to a total of one hundred square miles. No other mission would be permitted to settle on this land; and excepting the right of the Company to prospect for minerals and to construct roads and railways across it, the land was to be granted in perpetuity to the E.A.S.M. with no restrictions as to sale or use. It was stressed, however, that this grant did not constitute a precedent for the granting of land to other parties.

By the time of this deliverance, it was feared that the Company's days in East Africa were numbered; it was therefore essential that the mission should survey the land it required without delay and apply through the Company for registration in Zanzibar.

David Charters chose the land in one block on the northern bank of the Kibwezi stream in June 1893. It was then uninhabited, and gave access to the springs on Mbuinzau Hill as a possible site for an outstation. Charters was too

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195 MP/SOAS, "Precis of Mail to Mombasa, 4/305 D.I., "East African Scottish Mission", 4th November 1892; 4/321 D.I., 2nd December 1892; 5/127, E.L. Bentley to Acting Administrator, Mombasa, 10th April 1893; and G.S. Mackenzie to Bruce, 6th April 1893. In November 1895 the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland was negotiating with Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company for a grant of 136 square miles for a new mission at Kondawi, using as a precedent the grant of 100 square miles by the I.B.E.A. Company to the E.A.S.M. in 1893. (ECSP/NLS 7776, Rev. G. Smith to Peter Mackinnon, 25th November 1895.)

196 See Map I, Pp. 137-38.
generous in his preliminary survey, enclosing an area closer to one hundred and fifty square miles. J.R.L. Piggott, the Company's Administrator in Mombasa, insisted that the area be reduced and expressed an unwillingness to grant the strip of land near the Kibwezi fountainhead where there had once been a Company stockade. By December, the mission was in possession of title deeds to the land it required. In 1898, when the mission was transferred to Kikuyu, it still possessed this land; and in 1901 when the E.A.S.M. became the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu, the land became the property of the Church of Scotland.

The same unwillingness of the Board of Directors in London to treat the E.A.S.M. as an exceptional case deserving favoured treatment was evident in the attitude of the Company Officials in East Africa. There was very little liking for missionaries in Mombasa. By ignoring Company decrees concerning the liberation of domestic slaves, missionaries had created much tension between the Company and Arab slave owners. On hearing of the intention to establish a new mission in the Company's territories, J.R.L. Piggott insisted that it be made plain that the mission would be subject to the Company's authority and would have to abide by its rules.

The conflict which developed between the mission and the Company resulted from Mackinnon's directive that in all its requirements the mission should deal solely with Company departments in Mombasa, when better service could have been obtained from Indian, or private European traders such as Andrew Dick. The Company's Transport and Shipping Department was inefficient and expensive to a high degree. Ignoring an order that mails should be delivered free of charge to Kibwezi in return for the mission's frequent assistance in carrying the mails between Tsavo and Kikuyu, the Company charged a delivery price of one shilling.

197 NLS 8015, Charters to Stewart, 3rd August 1893. See also above, p.92 note 101. 198 MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa: 3/489 D.I., "Lovedale Mission", 12th August 1891.'
for a parcel and sixpence for a letter. On goods sent to Kibwezi, the Company made a profit of ten rupees per porter-load. These were high charges for services inefficiently rendered. Accounts submitted to the mission were usually inaccurate, never on time. Goods arrived underweight and partially spoiled through poor packing and handling. And in spite of special requests, the Transport Department persisted in sending the same, dull, unvaried type of trade goods with the result that the Kamba around Kibwezi ignored the mission and preferred to trade for a wider variety of goods with passing Company caravans.

For its part, although unable for reasons outlined earlier to influence the Kamba and to make of them a semi-skilled labour force for the Company, the mission rendered invaluable services to its partner. Since it lay astride the caravan route to Uganda, it became a resting and refuelling point for the Company’s caravans; and being the only station with a doctor between the coast and Lake Victoria, the mission was an indispensable aid to the Company in the field of medical treatment. As P.L. McDermott, the Company’s Secretary in London, observed, “the Kibwezi Mission practically amounts to a station of this Company and thereby relieves the Company of the expense of a station at that point.”

It was only in 1894—a late date considering the Company’s prospects for remaining in East Africa—that through repeated complaints to the Committee the mission had the satisfaction of knowing that officials in

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199 SP, Mackinnon to Bruce, 1st January 1892. In April 1893 the mission paid £11 - 5 - 0 for the delivery of its mail. (Ibid., Charters to Stewart, 3rd August 1893.)

200 NLS 8015, Charters to P. Mackinnon, 15th February 1894.

201 SP, McDermott to Acting Administrator, Mombasa, 10th May 1894.
Mombasa had been severely reprimanded and ordered to deal promptly and efficiently with mission indents at cost price.\(^{202}\)

In a real sense the Company did not have time to devote to promoting the interests of the E.A.J.M.\(^{203}\) Since before the establishment of the mission at Kibwezi it was Uganda and the railway which occupied a central position in the Company's thinking and activity. Mackinnon, a firm believer in the necessity of road and rail communications, had planned various roads and ordered the construction of a narrow gauge railway leading out of Mombasa. But by 1891 he had realised that a full-gauge railway to Lake Victoria was a prerequisite for the Company's success.\(^{204}\) Lord Salisbury was sympathetic. Mackinnon's request for an annual Government subsidy of £25,000 – for a railway more than four hundred miles long which would cost £3,000 a mile to build – appeared to him to be a remarkably inexpensive means of fulfilling his country's obligations under the General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1890.\(^{205}\) The Treasury was

\(^{202}\) Ibld., Alexander to Charters, 23rd October 1894; and MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail to Mombasa, 5/119 A.G., "Mission Indents", 24th March 1894.'

\(^{203}\) To this it should be added that the affairs of the Company in Mombasa were in a state of chaos – a situation remarked upon by all who had dealings with the Company. (N. de Kiewiet, 'History of the Imperial British East Africa Company', University of London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1955, 233.)

\(^{204}\) Since its foundation the Company had spent about £6,000 on transportation to Lake Victoria. Mackinnon felt that transportation by a railway would have cost the Company no more than £1,500. (SP, Mackinnon to Stewart, 2nd December 1891.)

\(^{205}\) The Brussels Act called upon Signatory Powers to construct rail and other modern communicational systems as a measure to combat the slave trade. It permitted the delegation of this duty to Chartered Companies. (General Act of the Brussels Conference Relative to the African Slave Trade, Brussels, 2nd July 1890, Article I/3 and Article IV.)
parsimonious and Parliament was unlikely to vote a subsidy for a railway on commercial grounds. To overcome these problems, Mackinnon arranged a preliminary railway survey by Captain J.R.L. MacDonald of the Royal Engineers and instructed him to emphasise the humanitarian rather than the commercial prospects of a railway in his report. 206

The Company had overreached itself financially in its occupation and administration of Uganda. While on the one hand it threatened to withdraw, on the other, it instituted a campaign in the British press designed to arouse public opposition to such a step. 207 The Directors realised that the Company had failed to attract capitalists and that their sole hope lay in a successful appeal to patriotic and humanitarian sentiments. 208 Although in March 1892 the Survey Bill was passed by Parliament, the Liberals had abstained from voting on a measure which they recognised as a first step in the formal annexation of new African territory. In July 1892 the Liberals formed a Government and hopes of Parliament passing the railway subsidy Guarantee Bill began to fade. The Directors were demoralised. Once again the Company threatened to withdraw from Uganda by the end of the year.

Lugard's controversial Uganda administration placed Uganda at the forefront of national interest in Britain. Fed daily on reports of a possible revival of the slave trade, and of the fate of Uganda missionaries in face of an aggressive Islam, the British public unanimously resolved in favour of the retention of

206 SP, Bruce to Stewart, 25th October 1891.
207 "The ball has been started rolling in the Scotch Press, as in addition with 2 leading dailies. There are 15 provincial papers we have access to through our (Edinburgh Liberal) Union Club whose members write to the papers on missions & Impl. questions." (sic) (SP, Bruce to Stewart, 18th September 1891.
208 SP, Bruce, "To the Chancellor", 3rd September 1891.
Uganda. The Liberal Government was divided on the issue but compromised by offering to subsidise the Company's Uganda administration until March 1893. In November 1892 the British Consul-General in Zanzibar, Sir Gerald Portal, was asked to visit Uganda and to advise the British Government on its options. No one doubted that Portal would recommend the withdrawal of the Company and its substitution by the Government. Only Mackinnon, at a late hour, attempted to reverse the inevitable. But when advised by the Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, that Her Majesty's Government had decided to do nothing to impede the Company's withdrawal from Uganda, he retired from public life, a broken man and died soon afterwards in June 1893.

Portal's report was placed before Parliament in April 1894. The burden of his argument was that in East Africa, the experiment of combining trade and administration in the same hands had proved a failure. In June 1894 a British Protectorate was declared over Uganda. Although left nominally in charge of British East Africa for a year after the withdrawal from Uganda, the Company was gradually winding down. In April 1895 the Directors accepted an offer by the Government of £50,000 for the surrender of the Company's Charter.

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209 The Presbyterian Churches in Scotland were amongst those who declared publicly their support for the retention of Uganda. (FCSP/ALS 7856, P. Mackinnon to Rev. G. Smith, 9th November 1892.)


211 Do Kieweit, op.cit., 304.

212 A.B. Kemball, Chairman, I.B.E.A. Co., to Foreign Office, 11th April 1895, No. 25. in C.7646 (1895), Correspondence Respecting the Retirement of the Imperial British East Africa Company, April 1895, 24-25.
The formal transfer from Company to Crown took place on July 1st 1895 and was followed soon afterwards by the declaration of the second British Protectorate in East Africa.

Troubled by many problems after 1891 - not least of which was a steadily diminishing capital - the Company was prevented from showing the interest in the E.A.S.H. which Mackinnon had desired. For their part, the missionaries at Kibwezi were close and not unsympathetic observers of the Company's fortunes in East Africa. Every traveller to visit the mission brought news of Uganda - often before such intelligence was known in London - and information as to events in Britain. To a man, the Kibwezi missionaries longed for the coming of the railway to relieve them of the tedium of their existence, to bring settlers and effective administrative control - in short, to create an environment in which the Kamba would no longer find it advisable to ignore the mission.

Hence, while sympathising with the Company in its fall from grace, they welcomed the declaration of the Protectorate in 1895.

One area in which mission and Company cooperated to good effect - albeit for a short period of time - was the construction of the road from Kibwezi to Mombasa. Roads, no less than railways were Mackinnon's special interest. In 1879, when the International African Association was in its ascendancy, Mackinnon...

213 For example, Robert Moffat in 1892 wrote to his parents: "The Uganda agitation seems to have resulted in the retaining of the Company's force there for a year and by that time the question of the Railway will be settled. If the Liberals come into power I am afraid it will be all smashed up - but let us hope no such catastrophe occurs." (RML, 16th February 1892.) While in Mombasa in May 1894, David Charters was informed of the contents of Portal's report. He considered it to be an unnecessarily harsh indictment of the Company and felt that Lugard was a better man than Portal. (Coats, op.cit., 150.)

214 The arrival of Government and settlers in the wake of the Uganda Railway proved in Kenya to be a prelude to the effective missionary occupation of the interior. After 1900 missionary work was distinguished by a close harmony between missionary and secular agencies. In Nyasaland, by contrast, where successful missionary work preceded the arrival of settlers and Government, missionaries were fearful of, and often opposed to secular influences upon their African adherents. (See G. Shepperson and T. Price, Independent African (Edinburgh, 1963 Ed.) 13-14.)
joined forces with Leopold of the Belgians to build a road from Dar es Salaam to Lake Tanganyika. This project, which involved the use of Indian elephants, was the first 'Mackinnon Road' in East Africa. A few miles of road were built, but the project was soon abandoned after the deaths had occurred of several elephants and other workers.

The second 'Mackinnon Road' lay between Kibwezi and Mombasa. In 1890, a small part of it was built on the waterless Taru plain, south of Ukamba, by two Company officers, C.W. Hobley and G.C. Leith. They ceased work when their porters were recalled to supplement Lugard's caravan to Uganda. Hobley returned for a brief period of roadmaking early in 1892, only to be recalled once more in accordance with the Company's current policy of cutting down expenditure.

An opportunity to continue the road was found to lie with the E.A.S.M. In October 1891, Stewart suggested that for the sake of more rapid and economical communications, the mission might undertake to build a road from Kibwezi towards the coast. Mackinnon agreed that a road was essential, whether or not the Uganda Railway was built, and asked Stewart to arrange its construction by local

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215 There are many references to this road in the letters by Mackinnon to General H.S. Sanford in the Sanford Papers, Florida (HSP):

216 RPA/UCN 0/1/2(5), 'Historical Documents of Smith Mackenzie & Co.', Albrecht O'Swald to F.I. Tiarks, 8th June 1920.


219 SP, Stewart to Bruce, 10th October 1891. Stewart was of the opinion that at that time a road would be more valuable than an expensive railway.
African labour "receiving very moderate wages as the road will be for their benefit as much as for ours". In January 1892, at Mackinnon's request, the Company voted the mission Rs.5,000 for a road suitable for wheeled traffic "such as the light carts of India". It was expected that the Kibwezi–Mombasa road would promote the development of trade in East Africa. And for the mission, it was hoped that the road would reduce by half the current price of Rs.25 per porter-load of sixty-five pounds from the coast.

George Wilson began to cut a road southwards from Kibwezi in July 1892. The Company's Rs.5,000 enabled him to build only thirty miles of road. When this was done, Wilson went to Mombasa in November and applied for a port in Uganda. Anxious that the project should be completed, Mackinnon appealed to his fellow-Directors to vote a further Rs.30,000 to complete the project. But since the Company's capital had been practically exhausted in Uganda, they declined to

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220 SP, W. Mackinnon to Stewart, 2nd December 1891. Mackinnon had for some time been toying with the idea of building the road from Kibwezi to Malindi, but abandoned it when it became clear that Mombasa, and not Lamu, would remain the gateway to the interior.

221 Bruce to Stewart, 3rd December 1891. The Company's award of funds was part of a larger sum voted initially to Messrs. Roach, Powell and Weaver, Company servants, for the construction of a road between Malindi and Jelari. Only nine miles of this road were built before the project was abandoned, mainly for financial reasons. (MP/SOAS, 'Precis of Mail to Mombasa, 4/14, "Road making", 1st January 1892."

222 RML, 10th April 1892.

223 See above, p.103 for details of Wilson's Kamba road labourers. Advice on the construction and alignment of the road was given by Captain MacDonald of the Railway Survey in January 1892. (E&SH, Report I, 11.)

meet his request. 225

Faced with the alternatives of abandoning the road or paying for its completion himself, Mackinnon chose the latter. If a railway was unobtainable, he was determined that there should at least be a road – not only between Kibwezi and the coast but from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. Bruce, like Mackinnon, became obsessed with a determination to complete the road; as one of his obituary notices indicates, he was talking incessantly about the unfinished road in the last delirium before his death. 226

There is a curious document amongst the Mackinnon Papers in London, unsigned and undated, in the form of a memorandum proposing the formation of an 'East African Trading and Transport Company' with a share capital of £120,000 in units of £5. 227 There is no evidence to show that this Company was floated. The most likely explanation of it seems to be that Mackinnon, before deciding to pay for the road himself, entertained the idea of constructing a more ambitious network.

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225 It is possible that the Company was influenced in its decision by advice it had received from Mombasa that an improved caravan route via planned water tanks and rivers would serve equally as well as an expensive road, the value of which would not be appreciated by Africans, and which would be avoided by them if asked to pay taxes for its upkeep. (FO 2/57, E.J.L. Berkley to Secretary, I.B.E.A. Company, 23th January 1892.)

226 Scotsman, 4th December 1893.

227 "The Company is formed for the purpose of making roads, tramways or railroads in East Africa and of organizing regular transport services thereon. One of the first roads to be constructed will be that from the port of Mombasa towards the Great Lake Victoria Nyanza. A portion of this road, of nearly 40 miles in length, viz. from the Scottish Christian Industrial Mission at Kibwezi towards Mombasa has already been made and has been acquired for a very small sum by the Company who will continue it until it meets the terminus of the short railway recently made by the I.B.E.A. Co...." (MF/SOAS.)
of roads in East Africa through the agency of a new company. Circumstances did not favour the scheme. In November 1892, Mackinnon sent a telegram to George Wilson, advising him that Rs.20,000 would be sent from one of Mackinnon's companies in Calcutta to enable him to resume work on the road.

In effect, the road from Kibwezi to Mombasa had ceased to be a project connected either to the mission or to the I.B.E.A. Company. It was as though the road had become Mackinnon's last effort to justify his work in East Africa by proving that modern communications were essential to the success of the Company. It would be a private road, accompanied by a telegraph, and would be completed at least as far as Machakos long before the railway was built. He would repay the Company its grant of Rs.5,000 and pay Wilson's salary himself. The success of the road would earn him credit as a pioneer of roads in East Africa and would underline his role as a philanthropist who had contributed to the abolition of the dependence on human porterage - a dependence which for so long had sustained the slave trade.

In the Stewart Papers there are two letters by George Wilson to "A.A." in which reference is made to this company. It appears that Wilson had known of Mackinnon's intention to form a Transport Company and that he had been offered the post of manager in East Africa together with a share of the profits. At Wilson's suggestion the scheme was reconsidered briefly in 1894. Wilson asked for £1,000 to start a transport service by donkey carts, further revenue being raised by means of toll charges upon Africans using the road. Clearly, Sir William Mackinnon's Trustees felt unable to launch the scheme. (SP, Wilson to "A.A.", 23rd March and 13th April 1894.)

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HP/SOS, Precis of Mail to Mombasa, 4/320 A.G. "Mr. Wilson's Road", 2nd December 1892. The Company had agreed to help Mackinnon by ordering Captain Nelson at Fort Smith to use his existing labour force, when time permitted, to build a road from the Kikuyu towards Kibwezi. (Ibid., 4/362 D.I., "Road making: Degoretti to Kibwezi", 30th December 1892.) Of the Rs.20,000 sent by Mackinnon Rs.5,000 were diverted for the construction of a lead mine at Mazeras. In 1893, J.W. Gregory visited the mine - by then abandoned - and noted that its ore consisted of thin strings of Galena or sulphur of lead which were very low in silver content. (J.W. Gregory, The Great Rift Valley (London, 1896) 63.)

SP, Watson to Stewart, 30th January 1893.

PMP, "Sir William Mackinnon's Trust", op.cit., W. Mackinnon to Wilson, 9th December and 30th December 1892.

Ibid., W. Mackinnon to Bruce, 7th February and 17th March 1893.
When Mackinnon died in June 1893, some one hundred and twelve miles of road had been built. Thereafter it was completed as a memorial to him by his wife and nephews. For a few months before its retirement from East Africa, the I.B.E.A. Company held a lease for the road from Mackinnon's family. After 1895 the road was continued at Government expense northwards from Kibwezi to the Uganda Protectorate by Captains B.L. Solater and G.E. Smith of the Royal Engineers. By 1897 the Mackinnon Road and the Solater's Road constituted the only trunk road in British East Africa. But by 1905, having been found to coincide for the greater part of its length with the Uganda Railway, the road had fallen into disuse. Many branch roads were built which led from it, and some sections which did not follow the railway were maintained. It was only in the 1920s, with the growing use of motor vehicles, that the Mackinnon and Solater's Roads were reopened.

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233 EASII Report II, 8; and SP, Peter Mackinnon to Stewart, 13th January 1894. The Mackinnon Road, completed at the joint expense of William Mackinnon and his relatives, Peter, John and Duncan Mackinnon in 1894 at a total cost of £3,779. One hundred and seventy-four miles of road in all were built by George Wilson between Kibwezi and Mazeras - fifteen miles from Mombasa. On November 19th 1894 an Agreement was signed in which the Mackinnon brothers, as Trustees of Sir William Mackinnon's Estate and as individuals, leased the road and its adjacent, alternate blocks of land to the I.B.E.A. Co. "for the term of twenty years at a peppercorn rent" - the object being to relieve the Mackinnon family of the cost of the road's upkeep. (PMP, 'Sir William Mackinnon's Trust', Vol. II.) When the Company's Charter was surrendered to the Government in 1895 it was agreed that the road should be regarded as private and not public property. (C.7646 (1895), op.cit., A.B. Kenhall to Foreign Office, 9th January 1895; and T.H. Sanderson to I.B.E.A. Co., 14th February 1895.) The author has not seen official correspondence relating to the purchase of the road from the Mackinnon family by the Foreign Office in 1895 or 1896. But, as was feared in 1894, it is very likely that the Government paid very little for it. (SP, P. Mackinnon to Charters, 13th April 1894.)


In the atmosphere of bitterness and disillusionment in which the I.B.E.A. Company wound up its affairs, to a certain extent the E.A.S.M. was tainted by the same suggestion of failure. Its origins and development had seemed to many to run a close parallel to those of the Company. Several of the early subscribers to the mission who had also been subscribers to the Company refused to continue their association with it after 1895. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton was a notable case in this respect. But the duty of continuing the mission, after the death of its principal founders and the failure of their great design for East Africa, fell upon the unwilling shoulders of Mackinnon's family. Torn between a sense of loyalty to the head of their family and a desire to be rid of the mission, and limited in their range of action by Mackinnon's wishes and views, they accepted responsibility for the E.A.S.M. until December 1900.

4. The Home Base

In death, as in life, William Mackinnon wielded a powerful influence over the fortunes of the E.A.S.M. His death in June 1893 was followed by a period of confusion in which various schemes were considered for transferring the mission to more experienced hands. The limiting factors were, however, the principles upon which the mission had been designed and the distrust with which in his last

236 Sir Edwyn S. Dawes, in a letter of March 25th 1895 to the Chairman of the I.B.E.A. Company, illustrated the feeling of bitterness amongst many of those who had been associated with the Company: "There are some amongst us who would be prepared to sacrifice all they have invested rather than submit to a slur being cast upon the Company and the honourable names connected with it by a blind acceptance of unexplained conditions, which imply that either by incapacity or by maladministration half the capital of the Company has been improperly or wastefully expended." (C.7646 (1895), op.cit., Enclosure No.2 in 24, 24.)

years Mackinnon had viewed the disestablishment movement within the Free Church of Scotland. Stewart returned at this time to salvage something for himself. But he too was to experience the strength of Mackinnon's hold upon the mission.

When he heard the news of Mackinnon's death, Stewart wrote from America to Peter Mackinnon, Sir William's oldest nephew, outlining his suggestions for the future of the E.A.S.M.238 His main points were that the mission should be managed by a committee of wealthy Glasgow laymen, and that the Free Church should be general supervisor, having first received the £30,000 which, before adding a codicil to his will in April 1893, Mackinnon had bequeathed to its missionary purposes.239 Peter Mackinnon's reaction was cautious. He did not dismiss Stewart's suggestions, but thought it extremely unlikely that as a Trustee of Sir William Mackinnon's Estate he would have the power to apply the cancelled bequests for the benefit of any mission in Africa.240

There was another factor to be considered. To secure the mission's future financial security and to preserve its undenominational character, Bruce had proposed that the mission be transferred to the Edinburgh Medical Missionary

238 SP, Stewart to P. Mackinnon, 'E.A.S.M. Suggestions for the future', July 1893. Amongst his other activities in America, Stewart lectured on African missions to Negro students at the Hampton Institute and visited the Chicago Exposition. (See K.J. King, 'The American background of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and their influences in education in East Africa, especially in Kenya', University of Edinburgh, Ph.D. Thesis, 1968, 20.) As a matter of passing interest, it might be noted that a man called Schufeldt, one of the organisers of the Chicago Exposition, attempted to induce Tippu Tip, the great African slave trader, to secure for showing in Chicago a family of pygmies. Tippu Tip declined to act unless King Leopold gave his permission. The King's approval was obtained by the U.S. Government. The scheme was abandoned because Schufeldt refused to pay Tippu Tip's price. (FO 84/2148, Consul Euan Smith to Lord Salisbury, No.211, Confidential, 31st July 1891.)

239 See Appendix III, and p.19 above.

240 SP, P. Mackinnon to Stewart, 8th August 1893.
Society. He was, moreover, greatly annoyed with Peter Mackinnon for soliciting Stewart's views without first consulting him. And when Bruce died in November 1893 Peter Mackinnon felt obliged to investigate the proposals he had made.

Professor Simpson of Edinburgh University asked the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society if it would accept the E.A.S.N. together with a proposed additional endowment of £35,000 to be raised by Mackinnon's family and friends. The Society expressed their sympathy and desire to be of assistance, but declined the offer on the grounds that the mission was outwith the scope of their constitution. 241 Stewart had already warned Mackinnon that the Society merely trained and supplied men to other missions. He expressed relief at their refusal to accept the mission since he believed that at some future point they would have altered the mission's constitution and direction. 242 The E.A.S.N. still lay within his grasp.

The problem which exercised the minds of all interested parties at the beginning of 1894 was how to secure the mission's financial future. To date, only £1,840 had been subscribed in excess of the £10,000 with which the mission had started in 1891. 243 In its first year the mission had cost the Committee £4,390. 244 By January 1894, £7,222 had been spent, leaving a balance in the hands

241 Ibid., P. Mackinnon to Stewart, 13th January 1894.
242 SP, Stewart to P. Mackinnon, 16th January 1894.
243 Of this £1,840, the greater part had been subscribed by W. Mackinnon himself. Small amounts were received from the Hon. Mrs. Ferrand, Mrs. Mackinnon of Davaar, Mr. John Linton, Rev. A. Gordon, Mrs. D. MacNeill, Lord Overtoun, G.M. Burroughs (through H.N. Stanley), A. Macnab, Alex Sinclair, N. Macmichael, R.C. Currie and S. Macleay. (EASM Report III, 8.)
244 This figure is slightly below the average cost for the first year of work in five other African missions:
C.M.S. Uganda, 1876-1877 ........................................ £6,950
C.E.M. Blantyre, 1876-1877 ........................................ £3,548
F.C.S.M. Livingstonia, 1875-1876 ................................ £5,111
L.M.S. Central African Mission, 1876-1877 ...................... £3,584
U.N.C.A. Zanzibar, 1878 ........................................... £4,520
(SF, Stewart, 'E.A.S.N., Statement on the Past of this Mission', 7th January 1893.)
of the Committee of £4,648.245 At most, this would suffice to keep the mission going for another three years. William Mackinnon’s wife had asked her nephew, Peter Mackinnon, to investigate the possibility of forming a committee to raise £35,000—a sum which would be augmented by further subscriptions from relatives and close friends as a memorial to her husband. Eventually, the fund-raising committee would be replaced by a permanent committee of laymen governing the mission as an undenominational venture.246

Stewart was alarmed at the implications of Lady Mackinnon’s proposals. He was now aware that Peter Mackinnon had no objection to transferring the mission to the Free Church, but perceived that Lady Mackinnon, supported by her husband’s old friend, J.H. Hall, was determined to adhere strictly to William Mackinnon’s views on the Free Church as expressed in the codicil to his will. For Peter Mackinnon’s benefit, Stewart argued that a committee of laymen, unaligned with any church, would find it possible with the proposed endowment to continue the mission for ten years. But they would not be able to afford the cost of expanding missionary work, especially in relation to the opening of outstations.247 Only a professional missionary church, supported by a large Christian congregation, could meet such expense—that is, if tempted in the first instance by the offer of the proposed endowment.

Encouraged by Peter Mackinnon’s apparent difference of opinion with his relatives

246 SP, P. Mackinnon to Stewart, 13th January 1894. Mackinnon had prepared his will in 1884; there was, therefore, no provision in it for the E.A.S.M.
247 Ibid., Stewart to P. Mackinnon, 16th January 1894. Lovedale had survived in its early years on about £800 per annum; Livingstonia, likewise on £1,300. But in 1894, through expansion and through outstation work, Lovedale was spending £9,000 a year and Livingstonia almost £7,000.
Stewart ventured to say:

"I cannot help thinking that too much is inferred in connection with the codicils of Sir William's settlement revoking certain bequests. He expressed his dissatisfaction and regret at the policy of the Free Church in reference to certain home matters, and marked it in the way he did. But I cannot think that he meant to carry that view so far as to affect the very plan he had himself worked out for the conducting of this mission, or to set aside the principle on which he intended it to be carried on — namely a very large infusion of the industrial method." 248

He deplored the casting around which seemed to be going on for a possible association with a church — any church but the Free Church. He argued that the United Presbyterian Church was new to missionary work in Africa and was further from Mackinnon's views on Presbyterianism than the Free Church. The Church of Scotland, as recent revelations at Blantyre showed, had allowed a form of worship in its African mission which would have been anathema to Mackinnon who insisted upon a spartan form of service for himself and his tenants at Clachan. 249 And to go outside Scotland to seek association with another Presbyterian church would be a ridiculous and fruitless exercise. 250


249 See above, p.18 and n.54. Stewart was referring to the criticisms of the Rev. Dr. David Clement-Scott contained in James Johnston's *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa* (London, 1893) for his conduct of religious services in a manner resembling more closely the ceremonious ritual of the Church of England. A commission was formed by the Church of Scotland in January 1897 to investigate, amongst other things, reports that D.C. Scott favoured divine liturgies, surplices, processions, and turning to the East when reciting the Creed. The commission's report was published in the *Scotsman* and *Glasgow Herald* on March 31st 1897. (Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee Minutes, 4th May 1897, 10. See also Andrew Ross, 'The origins and development of the Church of Scotland Mission, Blantyre, Nyasaland, 1875-1926', University of Edinburgh, Ph.D. Thesis, 1968. The present writer, not having had an opportunity to read this thesis, is grateful for information from it communicated to him by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Ross.)

250 SP, Stewart, 'E.A.S.M. Suggestions on the Proposed Trust Deed', 14th February 1894. Stewart also warned against the proposal to have the mission supervised jointly by the three Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. Livingstonia and Lovedale were Free Church institutions with which the United Presbyterian Church was associated. But the U.P. Church had proved unwilling to contribute more than a fraction of the total yearly cost of running these missions. (*Ibid.*, Stewart, 'E.A.S.M. Suggestions for the Future', July 1893.)
Early in February 1894, a meeting to discuss the future of the mission took place at the Burlington Hotel in London. Present at the meeting were Lady Janet Mackinnon, Peter Mackinnon and his brothers, John and Duncan, J.M. Hall, W.P. Alexander, a Mr. Chapman and James Stewart. In two hours of discussion nothing concrete as to the future was decided. A memorandum proposing a Trust Deed for the mission's financial security was circulated. The meeting confirmed what Stewart already knew and feared. In the matter of the interpretation which was to be placed on William Mackinnon’s codicil, the family of Mackinnon, with the single exception of Peter Mackinnon, was unanimous.

Becoming exasperated by the unwillingness of his opponents to see the reason and justice of his arguments, Stewart continued to exert pressure on Peter Mackinnon, growing bolder in his statements, and introducing an element of blackmail into his dealings. He suggested that since few of the original subscribers to the mission – amongst them, his own brother-in-law, John Stephen – had been consulted, they might not feel obliged to contribute to the proposed endowment. He would find it difficult, moreover, to persuade his Free Church masters to send the Galla ex-slaves from Lovedale to Kibwezi if the Mackinnon family intended to spurn the Church. And if, as he recollected, someone at the Burlington had asked him to act as Superintendent of the E.A.S.M. from his position at Lovedale for a few years, then he could only agree to this request if the Free Church were given control of the E.A.S.M. 251

By the third week in February, matters had reached a deadlock. John and Duncan Mackinnon had entered the arena, determined to block Stewart’s every move. On the evening of the meeting at the Burlington they had circulated a memorandum designed

to raise united opposition by family members and friends to any suggestion for the mission's future which was not strictly in accordance with their uncle's views. Lady Mackinnon and J.M. Hall were firmly on their side. W.P. Alexander had forwarded his own proposals, but these were ignored since the issue was one of confrontation with Stewart. Both sides wished for a lay managing committee, but they were irreconcilably divided over the question of whether the Free Church of Scotland should control the committee. Peter Mackinnon confided to Stewart that he did not feel bound by Mackinnon's codicil and that he would be pleased to be rid of his responsibility to the mission. But at the same time he wanted no breach within his family and warned that whatever solution was chosen for the mission's future, it had to be one on which his family was unanimously agreed.252

In desperation, Stewart appealed to Peter Mackinnon to use his influence to wean Lady Mackinnon from the viewpoint of her nephews. He gave his views of John and Duncan Mackinnon in unflattering terms. On this occasion, Stewart had gone too far. He received a very cold and curt letter from Peter Mackinnon reminding him that Lady Mackinnon was in very poor health and ought not to be troubled. In defence of his brothers, he suggested that Stewart should appreciate that they venerated their uncle's memory, having been particularly affectionate towards him, and that they felt it was their sacred duty to respect his views and wishes. Stewart's indiscretion had served merely to arouse in Peter Mackinnon a sense of identity on the current issue with the other members of his family. The deadlock was now broken. Stewart was informed that all were agreed that the mission would remain undenominational and free of control by any church.253

252 Ibid., P. Mackinnon to Stewart, 14th February 1894.
253 SP, P. Mackinnon to Stewart, 23rd February 1894.
Unable to concede defeat gracefully, Stewart accused the Mackinnon family of having deceived outside subscribers from the beginning. His accusation was false, but not untypical of a man whose memory on suitable occasions was marvellously short. No one, least of all Stewart himself, was in any doubt in 1891 that Mackinnon's mission was largely a private, family affair, undenominational and free of church control, and financed by the family and close friends of its principal founders.

The troubles of the mission were not yet over. Lady Mackinnon died early in March 1894, and since she was the force behind the proposed endowment and had intended to contribute at least one-third of its total amount, the settling of the financial question was delayed indefinitely. Her trustees, Lt. Col. John Jameson and Robert Jameson who were her brothers in Glasgow, were expected in due course to make available for the mission the £10,000 she had promised. But they, even more than John and Duncan Mackinnon, had to be satisfied that nothing would be done which did not conform absolutely to the views and wishes of William Mackinnon.

Between 1894 and 1897 nothing was done to further the plan to raise a new endowment or to appoint a permanent committee — the mission having in effect been without a committee since Bruce's death. Clearly, the fierce, protective attitude displayed by the certain members of the Mackinnon family had been no more than a response to Stewart's attempt to win the mission for the Free Church. When Stewart

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254 "The chief mistake originally made was that of inviting outside subscribers without making sufficiently clear on what lines the mission was to be wrought. There may be a little feeling for some time...." (SP, Stewart to P. Mackinnon, 28th February 1894.)

255 See above, Pp.51-57.

256 SP, P. Mackinnon to Stewart, 6th November 1894.
abandoned the attempt, and when Lady Mackinnon died, the Mackinnon brothers lapsed into a state of apathy. They had committed themselves to maintaining the mission on its original lines; there was sufficient money remaining to the mission's account to permit this for a few more years. For the meantime, they were content to leave mission affairs to their uncle's old business associate and a former Honorary Secretary of the I.B.E.A. Company, W.P. Alexander. Stewart returned to Lovedale at the end of 1894, his connection with the E.A.S.M. finally severed.

The initiative for change and improvement came from Kibwezi. Thomas Watson, who for several years had wished to abandon the current site of the mission, stressed in his letters to Alexander the many obstacles to progress, and insisted that the money available could be more gainfully applied in a new area such as Kikuyu. To humour him, Alexander asked Watson to visit Kikuyu and to report to him by December 1895. The reply to Watson's report was predictable: unless health demanded an immediate removal, for financial reasons a transfer to the proposed site at Dagoretti was impossible for the foreseeable future.

Knowing that health alone did not demand an immediate transfer, Watson approached Alexander from a different angle. Reminding him that in 1891 Mackinnon and Bruce had hoped that the mission would be sited at Dagoretti, Watson warned that if the transfer were delayed indefinitely, the chance of securing a suitable site in Kikuyu at some future time would be greatly reduced. Settlers were in Mombasa "eager to go in and possess the land", and a coffee growing syndicate was negotiating...
for the purchase of a block of land at Dagoretti.  But above all, there was
a distinct possibility that another mission would be first in Kikuyu.

The other mission was the new Africa Inland Mission based upon Philadelphia,
U.S.A. Headed by Peter Cameron Scott, its first party of missionaries, includ-
ing five men and three women, arrived in Mombasa in October 1895. When the
party passed Kibwezi, Watson was unable to persuade its leader to divulge his plans.
Later, Watson learned that had it not been for the necessity of building houses
quickly for the women at points not too far from the coast, the missionary party

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258 NLS 8015, Watson to Alexander, 14th March 1896, The Coffee Syndicate to
which Watson referred was one in which the shareholders were Smith,
Mackenzie & Co., the British India Steam Navigation Co., Captain B.L. Solater,
Captain G. Smith, C. Kitchin, and Sir Lloyd Mathews. On June 12th 1896, an
estate of 137 acres, the "Mirimhi Estate" was purchased from an African near
Dagoretti. The enterprise was a failure, no successful coffee crop being
planted. In 1914 Smith, Mackenzie & Co. bought out the other shareholders
and became sole owner. (See RPA/UCN G/1/2/1, 'Historical Documents of
Smith, Mackenzie & Co.' Part II.)

259 Inspired by the enthusiasm for missionary work in Africa by Peter Cameron
Scott, a Glasgow-born American Presbyterian who had served with the Missionary
Alliance at Banana in the Congo in 1891, a small council of Philadelphia
Christians headed by Dr. A.T. Pierson decided in 1894 to organise a 'Faith
Mission' for work in British East Africa. The council of the Africa Inland
Mission was never associated with any single church. It drew its membership
and support from Presbyterians, Baptists, Adventists, and from societies
such as the Glasgow Bible Society and the Pennsylvania Bible Institute.
Although unsuccessful in Ukamba in the 1890s, it was destined to become one
of the most powerful Protestant missions in Kenya after 1900. (See Catherine
S. Millar, The Life of Peter Cameron Scott. The Unlocked Door (London, 1955)
25-29.) See also above, Pp.9-10.

260 The first party included in addition to P.C. Scott, Messrs. Krieger, Hotchkiss,
Wilson and Severn, and P.C. Scott's sister, Margaret, together with Miss
Reckling and Mrs. Lindberg. In July 1896 a second party of missionaries
arrived, seven in number, which included P.C. Scott's parents. (Millar, op.cit.,
34, 40.)
MISSION STATIONS IN UKAMBA IN THE MID-1890S

KEY

- Mission Station
- East African Scottish Mission's (E.A.S.M)
- East African Scottish Mission (E.A.S.M)
- Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Society (L.E.L.S.)
- African Inland Mission (A.I.M.)
- Independent Mission - Stuart Watt (Ind.)

0 5 10 15 20 Miles

I. MISSION STATIONS IN UKAMBA IN THE MID-1890S
would have proceeded straight to Kikuyu. Beginning with a station at Nzau —
the place which Watson had chosen as an outstation for the E.A.S.M. in 1894 —
the Africa Inland Mission had started work at Kilungu, Kangundo and Sakai
within a year of its arrival in Ukamba. In April 1896 the leader of a
Swahili caravan assured Watson that the American missionaries had reached
Kikuyu. This proved to be untrue. By February 1897, P.C. Scott was dead
and all but one of the remaining fourteen missionaries had retired through ill
health. It was only after 1901, with the arrival of C.E. Halburt and Lee H.
Downing, that the Africa Inland Mission was revived and transferred to Kijabe
in Kikuyuland.

The missionary occupation of the far interior of British East Africa was
about to begin. By 1896 it was clear to all that with the construction of the
Uganda Railway the focal point for settlement and administration would be further
inland than Machakos. The Africa Inland Mission, with its station at Kangundo,
had reached the threshold of Kikuyuland. The independent mission of Mr. and
Mrs. Stuart Watt at Ngelanif was likewise posted on the boundary between Ukamba
and Kikuyu. The German missionaries at Ikutha were planning an extension to

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261 See Map 1. It has proved impossible to locate Sakai on the map. It appears
to have lain some miles north-east of Kilungu.

262 NLS 8015, Watson to Alexander, 27th April 1896.

263 Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Watt first came to East Africa in 1885 as C.M.S. missionaries
to Kisokwe in Ugogo. They retired to Northern Ireland a year or two later and
then emigrated to Australia. In 1893 they returned to East Africa in an indepen-
dent capacity, intending to establish a mission in Kikuyu country. Dissuaded
from this by Frank Hall, the Company's District Superintendent at Fort Smith,
they bought a site at Ngelanif, north of Machakos. The Stuart Watts do not appear
to have enjoyed a good reputation in missionary circles. No one really took
them seriously. Stuart Watt, who had been a patient at the E.A.S.M. in 1896
(Rachel Watt, op.cit., 317-18) applied in 1898 for a post with the Scottish Mission
at Kikuyu. Watson advised the Committee in Glasgow to refuse his application on
the grounds that he was "poor missionary material". (NLS 8015, Watson to Messrs.
W. Mackinnon & Co., 17th December 1898.) The C.M.S., likewise refused to employ
Stewart Watt at this time. In about 1914, the Stuart Watts retired to England.
Kitui and beyond. It seemed to Watson in 1896 that the E.A.S.M., static and immovable at Kibwezi, would be fortunate if it brought up the rear in the missionary occupation of the highlands.

Alexander shared Watson's view that these developments put a different complexion on the question of a removal. Ever conscious of financial considerations, he insisted that if the mission were to be transferred the site at Kibwezi must first be sold at a good profit. The most likely prospective buyer was the Uganda Railway since it had been decided that the railway would run through mission ground. But the railhead would not reach Kibwezi for another year, and until then there was little hope of a sale unless the Protectorate Government were a willing buyer. By mutual agreement, the matter was reserved for discussion when Watson returned to Scotland on his first furlough in July 1896.

Watson spent a year in Britain, during which time he completed his training in Divinity and was ordained as a minister of the Free Church of Scotland. In Glasgow he had many long and fruitful meetings with Alexander and the Mackinnon brothers. He was able to recount the mission's history and elaborate upon its problems in a more incisive way than had been possible in five years of correspondence from Kibwezi. The effect of his presence was to arouse a new enthusiasm amongst the mission's promoters - an enthusiasm which was no doubt underpinned by a knowledge that if they did not cooperate, Watson would not return to East Africa.

264 The E.A.S.M. had been in contact with the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Society's mission at Ikatha since 1892. Moffat was visited by one of its missionaries, Herr. Kiedermein in August 1892. (RML, 24th August 1892.) A year later Charters went to Ikatha to attend to another missionary who was dying of fever. (SP, Charters to Stewart, 3rd August 1893.) In April 1896 Watson spent three days at Ikatha and learned of the plans for extension. (NLS 8015, Watson to Alexander, 27th April 1896.)

265 NLS 8015, Watson to Alexander, 30th March 1896.
By April 1897 Watson had finally convinced the promoters of the mission that
climate and health at Kibwezi were too uncertain and that the sparsity of
population in the district did not offer the mission sufficient scope. Kikuyu by
that time was more settled and better known than it had ever been, and it was
becoming the target of several missions. The promoters agreed that a change of
site was necessary, but, having in mind the fact that only £2,555 remained to the
mission's credit, they decided that the change must be part of a wider scheme of
putting the mission on a sound basis. The time seemed appropriate to revive
the plan of 1894 of raising an endowment of £35,000 as a memorial to Sir William
Mackinnon.

On June 3rd a meeting took place in London between Peter, John and Duncan
Mackinnon and W.P. Alexander. Resolutions were passed which included the following:

- between them the Mackinnon brothers would endow the mission to a total of £25,000;
- Mr. Robert Jameson would be invited to contribute the £10,000 which Lady Mackinnon
  had promised in 1894;
- efforts should be made to secure other subscriptions so that
  the mission might be assured of an income from capital of not less than £1,500 per
  annum;
- the Rev. Thomas Watson would be invited to return to East Africa to make
  arrangements for the disposal of the site at Kibwezi and to effect the removal of
  the mission to Kikuyu; and finally,
- that Messrs. Jameson, Naclae & Baird, W.S.,
  of Glasgow would be asked to prepare in legal form the new constitution and Deed

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266 As early as 1892, Bishop Tucker of the C.M.S. Uganda had called for the
missionary occupation of Kikuyu: "Kikuyu must be evangelised. Who will have
the honour of being the first missionary to settle in this lovely country,
and lay the foundation of the future Church? ... it can be done, and in my
opinion, ought to be done at once." (FO 2/57, Bishop Tucker, letter from
Fort Smith, 13th November 1892.)

267 ASP S.22/0.6, Alexander to Sir T. Powell Buxton, 15th July 1897.
of Trust approved by the Mackinnon family, and W.P. Alexander "the meantime acting
Hon. Sec.". 263

The constitution was restated in its original form: "The Mission shall be
Religious, Educational Medical and Industrial, and its religious teaching shall
always be in accord with the Evangelical teaching of the Westminster Confession
of Faith.". The Committee, to consist of between four and ten people who were
members of the Evangelical Presbyterian Churches of England and Scotland, would
in the first instance consist of the Mackinnon brothers, Robert Jameson and
J.N. Hall, the same, with the exception of Hall, being also Trustees of the Endow-
ment Fund. Since it was not intended that the Committee should be burdened with
routine duties of managing the mission, Messrs. William Mackinnon & Co. of Glasgow
would be appointed Honorary Secretaries and Treasurers. The single substantially
new feature, but one which was in no way antagonistic to the original structure of
the mission, came under the heading of 'Arrangements for a fixed period':

"The Mission shall be conducted as an undenominational Mission for at least
five years. At the end of that period should the whole Committee by vote of
three fourths or nearest thereto so elect, the Mission may be allied with
or made over to some then existing religious body holding principles consistent
with the Mission's foundation. Otherwise it shall be continued on an undenom-
inational basis for an additional period of five years and so on for five
yearly periods thereafter until agreement for absorption be arrived at by
vote of three fourths or nearest thereto of the Committee for the time being." 269

And as a postscript, it was added that should the mission for any reason fail, the
Endowment Fund would pass to the National Bible Society of Scotland.

263 Ibid., 'Report of a Joint Meeting of the Committee of the Mission and Intending
Subscribers to the E.A.S.M. Endowment Fund, held at 23 Great Winchester Street,
London, 3rd June 1897', enclosed in Alexander to Buxton, 15th July 1897.

269 ASP S.22/0.6, 'Draft Constitution for the East African Scottish Mission',
enclosed in Alexander to Buxton, 15th July 1897.
In August 1897 a delay occurred in finalising arrangements since the persons who proposed to endow the mission would not act until approval of the arrangements had been received from each of the original subscribers to the mission.\textsuperscript{270} If a unanimous approval were not forthcoming, the promoters would either leave matters as they stood or they would abolish the existing mission and create a new one on similar lines which would be exclusively a memorial to Sir William Mackinnon.\textsuperscript{271} By October the approval of all surviving members of the original group of subscribers had been given. But with the exception of Peter Mackinnon and W.F. Alexander, none of the original subscribers supported the Endowment Fund of 1897.\textsuperscript{272}

Having secured the mission's financial future, the next stage was to issue a book of rules governing the conduct of the mission in the field as well as the terms and conditions of its staff appointments. Nothing of this nature had been prepared in 1891, and it was this omission which had caused many of the problems which had been

\textsuperscript{270} See above, p.57, n.174.
\textsuperscript{271} ASP, S.22/\textdagger, Alexander to Buxton, 12th August 1897.
\textsuperscript{272} By 1898 the list of subscribers to the new Endowment was as follows (EASM Report IV, 7-8):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Memory of A.L. Bruce</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. A.L. Bruce</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Agnes Bruce</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Memory of Sir William Mackinnon</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Mackinnon</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Jameson</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John and Duncan Mackinnon</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. P. Mackinnon</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Overtoun</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.F. Alexander</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stuart Hall</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.B. Gray</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.N. Gray</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.D. Wylie (Calcutta)</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.C. Turner (Calcutta)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. MacIre</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.G. Currie (Bombay)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.W. Hamilton (Calcutta)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Renner</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Capital Increment) 100

\textbf{£38,370}
experienced at Kibwezi. Advice on rules and conditions was sought from the Free Church, and it appears that the model adopted was that of Livingstonia.

A greater emphasis was placed upon qualifications and the general good health of new appointees. Details as to salaries, allowances, resignation and dismissal were carefully enumerated. To avoid a recurrence of the problems in staff relationships, it was emphasised that every man on the station would be expected to assist in any task which might arise. Further, it was stated that "whilst the Missionary supervising the Mission shall have as free a hand as possible in the management of details, the Committee shall keep strictly in its own hand the general missionary policy to be pursued"; and "in all radical questions in which difference of opinion may arise, there shall be an appeal to the Committee whose decision shall be final."

In October 1897, the Rev. Thomas Watson returned to Kibwezi bearing the long-awaited instructions for the removal of the mission to Kikuyu. By 1898 the removal was completed and the E.A.S.M. was the first Christian mission in

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273 See above, p.59, and n.180.
274 FGSP/NLS 7858, Messrs W. Mackinnon & Co. to Secretary George Smith, 30th June and 12th August 1897. A copy of the E.A.S.M.'s rules of 1897 is to be found in a volume entitled, Kikuyu Mission East Africa, 1891-1908, currently in the possession of the Africa Secretary, Overseas Council, Church of Scotland, in Edinburgh. See W.P. Alexander, op.cit., 43-44, for instructions to missionaries. The instructions to Korogwe and Buganda were based upon these same instructions.

275 The scale of salaries and allowances was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Outfit</th>
<th>Travel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>£330</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>First Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>First Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Second Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Second Class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salary at the married rate could not be claimed for the first three years of an appointment. Contracts were for five years from the date of arrival in Mombasa. Any missionary resigning (6 months' notice) before he had served four years would be asked to repay his passage and outfit and to pay his own passage home. An exception would be made in case of ill health.
Kikuyuland. Soon afterwards, in 1899 and 1900 respectively the Holy Ghost Fathers and the Church Missionary Society opened stations near the site of modern Nairobi. After 1901, the missionary occupation of the highlands and the Nyasa area began in earnest.

Apart from the contributions made to the early work of the Uganda Railway and the Protectorate Administration, the Kibwezi experiment had been a notable failure. A substantially better performance was expected of the E.A.S.M. after its removal to a new frontier at Kikuyu. The mission buildings and cultivated land at Kibwezi were sold to the Uganda Railway and soon became overlaid with the paraphernalia of a railway station, and the beginnings of a modern township. In 1908 a party of missionaries from the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu, headed by the Rev. Dr. Henry E. Scott, paid a nostalgic visit to the working place of their pioneering forebears. Sixty years later a party of African leaders of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa paid a similar visit. In the town itself the African Presbyterians unearthed from beneath the surface of a side street a few red bricks made by David Charters and Thomas Watson. Some of these bricks have been built into the stone monument near the Church of the Torch at Kikuyu, unveiled by President Jomo Kenyatta on March 23rd 1968, commemorating the work of the early missionaries at Kibwezi and the growth of the Presbyterian Church in Kikuyuland.

Many contracts for timber and joinery works were given to the mission's workshop. Dr. Mathew Wilson, as mentioned above, acted on two occasions in 1897 as Medical Officer to the Railway labour gangs. From September 1897 to March 1898 he also acted as District Administrative Officer for Kibwezi. Finally, at the request of the Sub-Commissioner for Ukamba, John Ainsworth, the mission undertook to build a road from Kibwezi to Mbuinzau Hill.

KN, I, No.2., April 1908, letter by H.E. Scott, 29th February 1908.
8. The old graveyard of the E.A.S.M. at Kibwezi in 1968.

Although nothing of the mission remains visible today apart from an overgrown cemetery outside the township, Kibwezi is not forgotten. There are signs that the Presbyterian Church of East Africa is anxious to regain a foothold there:

"We are extremely sad ... that while these graves remain to the testimony of those who 'gave all' to this country, (the) P.C.E.A. has never been able to follow up what was an impossible task at the time in that district. Sad because, next to the place where the first public Presbyterian worship was held in the country ... there is an Ismailia Mosque. Sad because adjacent to these famous graves, the Roman Catholic Church is putting up a Hospital ... What would those lying in those graves feel today, if ever God restored them to life again? This is a challenge which P.C.E.A. and the Church of Scotland must jointly address themselves to, or else, woe unto you. History may be repeating itself here - a Moslem shrine stands at the place of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem!"278

Chapter Three

THE NEW FRONTIER

1. A Change of Hands

From the end of the nineteenth century, the European occupation of the fertile and populous highlands of British East Africa was achieved by the official, the soldier, the settler-trader and the missionary. Interdependent and complementary in their roles, their efforts facilitated by the spread of modern communications, the European colonisers found room to improvise in the making of a profit, whether in cash or in souls, from their self-justifying task of bringing a new civilisation to heathen peoples. They operated in frontier conditions; and prominent in their vanguard was the East African Scottish Mission.

The early efforts of the E.A.S.M. to obtain a foothold at Kikuyu provide an insight into the manner in which Africans were to lose much of their land. On returning to East Africa in October 1897, the Rev. Thomas Watson was confronted by the problem of disposing of the mission's land at Kibwezi and acquiring an estate of similar proportions at Kikuyu. He felt some concern at first that the mission's claim to its land at Kibwezi would not be recognised by the Protectorate Administration. Stewart had omitted in 1891 to define the boundaries of the station in sufficient detail and had failed to deposit the original agreement between himself and Mzee Kilundu with the Committee. The agreement itself, furthermore, had not been recognised as valid by the I.B.E.A. Company in 1892.¹ But the Protectorate had yet to formulate a land policy and it was hoped that six years' occupancy, together with development of the land, would be sufficient title.

¹ See above, Pp. 115-17.
With some trepidation, but duty-bound to secure the best possible terms for the mission, Watson approached the Protectorate's Commissioner, Sir Arthur Hardinge. He proposed that the Protectorate should accept the mission's station and its hundred square miles of land in exchange for a similar acreage near Dagoretti. With regard to the larger portion of mission land, Harding's laconic reply was that Her Majesty's Government would not care to invest in a hundred square miles of bush. For the remainder, Harding proposed that in return for the surrender of the Kibwezi station, the Protectorate would assist the mission to purchase land at Kikuyu; in recompense for the buildings and agricultural development at Kibwezi, a small piece of waste or forest land might be added free of charge. The alternative, as Harding explained to Watson, was for the mission to find a purchaser for the Kibwezi estate and to buy land at Kikuyu privately; in this case the mission would have to pay considerably more for its land, since only Government could buy land at a cheap rate, and no assistance other than what was given to any deserving settler could be expected of Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioner.

The Protectorate was not yet empowered to make grants of unoccupied land, and clearly, had little interest in acquiring the mission's land at Kibwezi. Watson had already proposed a sale to the Chief Engineer of the Uganda Railway. The response had been favourable, but the price suggested was disappointingly low. Leaving the Committee to consider Harding's proposals and to negotiate with the Foreign Office for better terms, Watson applied himself early in 1898 to acquiring a foothold for the mission at Kikuyu. He was unable to select a site near Dagoretti (Kiamuthumu, or 'place of the Europeans', to the Kikuyu since Company days) until

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3 Ibid., Watson to Alexander, 20th December 1897.
it was ascertained whether it would be within the railway's reserved mile zone.\(^4\)

But beyond Dagoretti, some two miles from Fort Smith and on a parallel with the proposed Kikuyu railway station, Watson found it possible to purchase forty-four acres of land. In July, following the death of Dr. Mathew Wilson and the repatriation to Scotland in broken health of John Lundie, Watson wasted no further time in completing the transfer of the mission. By October he had left Kibwezi for good, having sold the station, but not the hundred square miles of land, to George Whitehouse, the Railway Chief Engineer, for Rs.4,000, or approximately £270.\(^5\)

The mission estate at Kikuyu was purchased from Munyuat a son of the late Waiyaki wa Hinga,\(^6\) for three cows, one calf and ten goats. Watson had asked for a hundred acres of uncultivated land, but the elders refused to part with their rights to more than forty-four acres. Already they were alarmed at the land hunger of the incoming Europeans; they began to express their fear that if more land were alienated their people might starve in bad seasons.\(^7\) A year later, their worst fears were confirmed: settlers were pouring in and the Railway had bought out all owners of land for one mile on either side of the proposed rail alignment at the rate of cloth to the value of Rs.7 per acre. In September 1899 Watson observed

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4 The Indian Land Acquisition Act of 1894, permitting the Crown to acquire land for one mile on either side of a railway line, was applied to the East Africa Protectorate by the East Africa Order in Council, 1897. The right of the Crown to sell land within the mile zone was provided in the East Africa (Acquisition of Lands) Order in Council of 1898.

5 EASM Report IV (Glasgow, 1899) 4. See also Cd.2164 (1904), Final Report of the Uganda Railway Committee, July 1904, 19-21.


7 NLS 8015, Watson to Mackinnon & Co., 21st October 1898.
that it was difficult to tell what was Government land and what was not since the Kikuyu were laying claim to all the land — not because they wished to enrich themselves by selling it, but because they were afraid of losing their main source of livelihood. Soon afterwards the Kikuyu were faced with an acute food shortage — Ng'aragu ya Ruraya, or 'the famine from England'.

Early in 1899, knowing that the Committee was having no success in its negotiations with the Foreign Office, Watson attempted to purchase more land for the mission. The first estate was good agricultural land, but there was the possibility that at least a quarter of it would be found to lie within the railway mile zone. Watson sought out Munyua to make an offer for the purchase of an additional hundred acres extending away from the railway line. Munyua was emphatic in his refusal to add more land to the mission station or to part with rights in land in any other part of his district. He would exchange the first site for another of similar size a mile to the west at Thogoto; alternatively, he would allow Watson to build a permanent station at the latter place but without surrendering his ownership of the land. Watson rejected the offer as providing the doubtful security "merely of a native's word.".

Watson continued to apply pressure upon Munyua and was successful in September 1899 in securing his agreement to the sale of thirty acres at Thogoto for three cows.

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8 Ibid., Watson to Mackinnon & Co., 1st September 1899. The C.M.S. found less difficulty at first. They occupied Fort Smith in 1900, but moved shortly afterwards to the nearby district of Mayombo where a Kikuyu headman sold them a plot of land. The land at that place had recently suffered a Maasai raid and all its inhabitants had been massacred. The Kikuyu were afraid of the place and willingly parted with it. A.W. McGregor, the C.M.S. missionary, renamed it Kikuruko, or 'a place of rest and peace'. (Charles Richards, 'History of the C.M.S. in the Highlands', unpublished manuscript, 4.)

and a calf. Thereafter it was unnecessary to deal with reluctant Africans in the acquisition of land. Before 1899 the Crown had held no title to unoccupied land in the Protectorate. Land had first to be purchased from its African owners, whereafter the Protectorate could, by the issue of land certificates, confirm the purchaser in his occupancy of the land for periods of up to twenty-one years. 

Capitalising on the fluid state of opinion on the juridicial concept of a Protectorate, the Foreign Office appealed to the Law Officers of the Crown against the system whereby jurisdiction over land in the Protectorate was held by Chiefs and Elders "who are practically savages". Replying to Lord Salisbury on behalf of the Law Officers, R.E. Webster and R.B. Finlay concluded in December 1899 that "the right of dealing with waste and unoccupied land accrues to Her Majesty by virtue of her right to the Protectorate." Although the Law Officers' opinion was not given legal effect until 1901 in the proclamation of the East Africa (Lands) Order in Council, by June 1900 the E.A.S.M. held ninety-nine year leases to its two plots at Kiku- Projection and was given to understand that it need deal only with the Protectorate in its future land requirements.

Of regular missionary work in the latter years of the E.A.S.M., there is little to record. No direct influence was exerted in the religious or educational departments of work, although with the arrival at Kiku- Projection late in 1899 of Watson's bride,

10 This was the substance of the opinion given to the Foreign Office by the Colonial Office in 1896. See Foreign Office Confidential Print (FOCP) 6861, John Bramston, for Colonial Secretary, to Foreign Office, 4th September 1896.

11 FOCP 7403, Francis Bertie for Foreign Office to Law Officers of the Crown, 18th November 1899.


13 The original plot had been increased to sixty acres and was the mission's agricultural land, while the second plot, increased from thirty to forty acres, had become the site of the permanent mission buildings.
a class for a handful of boys was conducted on the verandah of the manse. 14
Medical work was limited by the absence of a doctor at the mission apart from the eight months in 1699 of Dr. Thomas Homer's appointment. Inevitably it was the mission's industrial department which received the greatest attention, less for training purposes than to meet the essential tasks of building a new station and growing food. While Watson and Alexander Walker laboured on the second plot to make bricks for the houses, John Paterson tended to ten thousand coffee seedlings on the original plot. 15 The coffee crop suffered the ravages of a species of grub - probably the popularly-named 'army-worm' - but potatoes fared well. The sale of mission potatoes in July 1900 paid Paterson's salary and the wages of the mission's total labour force.

Mutual understanding and confidence between the mission and the Kikuyu began to develop as a result of the smallpox epidemic and famine of 1899 to 1900. By September 1899, owing to drought, crop failure and heavy buying of food for the Uganda Railway, famine was widespread in Kikuyu and Ukamba. In the relief camp at Machakos there were seven hundred famine victims; in camps at Ngong, Dagoretti and Fort Smith the numbers were growing rapidly. At the E.A.S.M. Watson at first distributed rice only in return for work on the station; by December he was giving free rations to an average of sixty people a day and had a permanent relief camp housing seventy-six children and elderly Kikuyu. 16

14 Mrs. H.E. Scott, A Saint in Kenya. The Life of Marion Scott Stevenson (London, 1932) 72. An evening class for seven youths was also conducted. (KN, I, No.3, May 1908, 12.)
15 Paterson brought the coffee seedlings from Aden on his return from furlough in January 1899. In later years, coffee at Kikuyu was brought from the Seychelle Islands and from Central Africa.
16 The E.A.S.M. Committee gave £500 for famine relief in the vicinity of the mission. (Scott, op.cit., 59.) For details of the famine and sickness in Ukamba see John Ainsworth to C.H. Craufurd, H.M. Acting Commissioner, 19th April and 10th May 1899 - copies in History Department, University College, Nairobi.
In their starving condition the people of Ukamba and Kikuyu had no resources with which to resist the spread of smallpox from the railhead inland.\textsuperscript{17} Although spared the full horror of famine and smallpox such as was experienced at Machakos to the south-east and Metume's to the north-east, the area around the mission was severely affected. The Kikuyu seemed resigned to the disaster and made little effort to help themselves. At the end of 1899 the rains failed. Children were dying and gardens lay unattended. Young women, desperate when the relief camp at Fort Smith closed down and when a large rice consignment was delayed by a strike on the railway, drifted to Nairobi to the railhead to find work. There, many of them died of smallpox and many others became prostitutes. In January 1900 the smell of rotting corpses lay heavily on the air. Many cases died at the mission. These, and others who had been cast out into the bush, were buried by Watson unaided by any African. The fear of a corpse was too great at that time.\textsuperscript{18}

In February 1900 the rains came. Smallpox began to recede, and slowly the Kikuyu began to return to their gardens. By May the crisis had passed. Drumming, dancing and general rejoicing went on for weeks. *Ngambi,*\textsuperscript{19} as Watson was now called, believed that the small relief the mission had been able to bring to the Kikuyu was "a setting forth of Christianity perhaps just as effective in the end as preaching and teaching would have been in more favourable circumstances."\textsuperscript{20} But before he

\textsuperscript{17} This was not the first smallpox epidemic in the interior. John Ainsworth, for example, reported in 1892 that smallpox was raging around Machakos, having spread from Mala and Chana. (*MP/SAE*, 'Precis of Mail from Mombasa, 28th November 1892', enclosing Ainsworth's Report for the quarter ending 30th September.)

\textsuperscript{18} Vivid descriptions of the scourge of famine and smallpox are given in Watson's letters to the Committee during the period 4th August 1899 to 6th July 1900. (NLS 8015.)

\textsuperscript{19} From Kiswahili: 'one who arranges things for the common good.'

\textsuperscript{20} NLS 8015, Watson to Mackinnon & Co., 6th July 1900.
could reap the benefits of the improved relationship with the Kikuyu, Watson died, of pneumonia early in December 1900. His widow, 'Ma Watson' or Bibi wa Ngumbi, as she was affectionately known, stayed at Kikuyu for some thirty years, the first ten months of her widowhood being spent alone at Thogoto.

Watson's death confirmed the Committee in their opinion that the time had come to transfer their responsibilities to more experienced hands. Other difficulties apart, they recognised the impossibility of finding qualified missionaries from the very few who were available for service in East Africa. On December 15th 1900, Messrs. William Mackinnon approached the very Rev. Donald Macleod of Park Parish, Glasgow, with an offer of the E.A.S.M. to the Foreign Mission Committee of the Established Church of Scotland. The Church's Foreign Mission Convener, Rev. John McMurtrie, was enthusiastic in his response to the offer, but warned that "struggling as we are with a parsimonious Church which is only beginning to understand its relation to Christ's Kingdom it would be necessary that our pecuniary burden be not increased." In short, the Foreign Mission Committee would be delighted to accept the mission, its endowment fund and all its land in East Africa provided they were not called upon to spend money on their new acquisition. This was a short-sighted attitude which was to cause considerable trouble in the future.

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21 EASM Report V (Glasgow, 1901) 2.
22 Stewart's biographer, James Wells, claims that the offer was first made to the United Free Church. But this is extremely unlikely, considering the controversies of 1893-1894, and there is no record of such an offer having been made in United Free Church Foreign Mission records. (See J. Wells, Stewart of Lovedale, The Life of James Stewart, M.D., D.D. (London, 1909) 239.)
23 Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Papers, National Library of Scotland (CSP/NLS) 7538, McMurtrie to Macleod, 19th December 1900.
At the General Meeting of the Foreign Mission Committee in Queen Street, Edinburgh, on April 23rd 1901, the offer of the E.A.S.M. was accepted pending ratification by the General Assembly. The General Assembly in May adopted the recommendation for acceptance by the Foreign Mission Committee without a single dissenting vote.

According to the Deed of Constitution of 1897 the Committee of the E.A.S.M. could not transfer the mission completely until five years had elapsed. Hence, although the Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee managed the mission's affairs from 1901 and appointed its staff, an element of dual management persisted until January 1903 wherein Messrs. William Mackinnon & Co. received copies of all correspondence and continued to disburse funds.

The question of transferring the mission's land and endowment fund was not so easily settled. In 1901 the Committee and Trustees of the fund insisted that prior to a transfer of assets a ruling had to be sought in Edinburgh's Court of Session. For reasons which are not explicit – Mr. Islay Kerr of Messrs William Mackinnon & Co. gave all of the Committee's records for salvage in 1914 – the settlement of legal technicalities involved in the transfer of the endowment did not take place.

The epitaph of the mission's was pronounced as follows: "From the Reports of the Mission it would appear that, whilst nine years of labour have laid the foundation of what may become a highly successful mission, there has been little result of a spiritual kind to record. This is no unusual experience at the beginning of a Mission, and in the present instance, it is sufficiently accounted for by the deaths of the leading missionaries, by the difficulties which a mercantile company, though comprising Christian men of the greatest earnestness, must encounter in conducting a Mission without the support of a Church, and, lastly, by the necessary removal of the Mission to a distant site after many years of work." (Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee Minutes (CS/FMCM), 23rd April 1901.)

CSP/NLS 7538, McMurtrie to Mackinnon & Co., 30th May 1901.

See above, p. 141.
until May 10th 1907. 27

The inability of the Foreign Mission Committee to gain control of the endowment before 1907, particularly during the period of a serious deficit in its funds between 1905 and 1907, was a source of great irritation. But it raised the important question of how the mission was to be financed.

The endowment brought an income from interest of not more than £1,200 per annum which was barely enough to pay the missionaries' salaries at Kikuyu. 28

There were a few private subscribers who were not necessarily members of the Church of Scotland. To remove this anomaly, and to be able to plan for the future, the Foreign Mission Committee appealed on several occasions for a reversal of the decision to maintain the new mission separately from the Church funds. 29 The appeals were not answered. From 1907 until after 1930, the C.S.M. at Kikuyu depended for its income on the endowment, a small rental on the lease of a portion of its Kibwezi estate, and above all on voluntary subscriptions raised by propaganda and appeals in a new journal, Kikuyu News, published monthly from 1908.

No substantial changes in the mission were made at the time of the transfer;

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27 In 1904 the mission's land at Kibwezi was transferred to the Church of Scotland by J.M. Hall on behalf of the Committee and John Mackinnon on behalf of the Trustees. (PCEA F/2.) In 1905 the Court of Session sustained an appeal by the Church of Scotland for the whole of the endowment fund. The last legal obstacle was not removed until 1907. (Church of Scotland, Report of the General Assembly (CS/RGA), May 1908.)

28 The endowment of 1897 was invested variously in debenture, consolidated, arbitration and cumulative preference stock in the Australian United Steam Navigation Company Ltd., the British Government, the Great Central Railway Company, the London, Chatham and Dover Railway Company, the British India Steam Navigation Co. Ltd., the Metropolitan District Railway, the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Co. Ltd., the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co. Ltd., the Queensland Government and in the Upper Assam Tea Co. Ltd. (Kikuyu Mission, B.E.A., Annual Report, 1909.)

29 This point was repeatedly made that the endowment was given as an encouragement and a responsibility, not as a substitute for effort and expenditure on the part of the Church. (P.M.C., Reports to General Assemblies, May 1905 and May 1907.) In 1905 the Church was spending £1,800 annually on education alone at Blantyre. (CS/PMC, 6th March 1906.)
indeed, until after 1907 it might be said that the Church of Scotland had no fixed policy for Kikuyu. The Committee and Trustees of the E.A.S.M. had stipulated that the religious teaching of the mission should remain in accordance with Bible truth and with the Westminster Confession of faith; beyond this, they had merely requested that the headquarters should remain in British East Africa.30 New missionaries, naturally, came under the Church of Scotland's rules and regulations and were required to be members of, or by declaration devoted to, the Presbyterian Church. But it was left to the new Superintendent at Kikuyu, the Rev. Dr. David Clement Scott, to formulate his own policy, to manage as best he could, to test the relationship established with the Kikuyu by Thomas Watson, and to implement Watson's plan of working effectively through ownership of a large tract of land.31

Other considerations apart, the Foreign Mission Committee welcomed the offer of the E.A.S.M. as a means of providing new work for David Clement Scott. In 1899 the Committee had decided not to permit Scott to return to Blantyre, thus terminating a brilliant but controversial career spanning twenty years. The decision had been unpopular in several influential quarters, and Scott's enforced idleness had been a source of considerable embarrassment to the Committee. For Scott, the offer came as a reprieve; he saw an opportunity to vindicate his missionary policies, and he would exploit it to the fullest advantage.

30 F.M.C., Report to G.A., May 1905.
31 Watson had strongly urged his Committee to accept the view that a firm hold on the Kikuyu could only be secured by possessing as much Kikuyu land as possible so as to encompass the people within the mission's boundaries. (NLS 8015, Watson to Mackinnon & Co., 7th March 1900.)
Scott was born into comfortable circumstances in Edinburgh in 1853. On leaving school he entered the Edinburgh Office of the Standard Insurance Company, resigning on the eve of high promotion to train for the mission field in India. At Edinburgh University, where he studied Arts and Divinity, Scott was noticed by such professors as Charteris, Campbell-Fraser and Calderwood for his unusually brilliant intellectual gifts. Besides taking medals in Philosophy and Divinity and showing himself to be a champion athlete, Scott prepared himself as a missionary by spending vacations as a catechist at Quaff in the Shetlands.

Scott's plan to work in India was forestalled by an urgent appeal for a capable man to rescue Blantyre from the disorganisation and disrepute into which it had fallen. Scott responded to the appeal, but his friends and mentors felt that while it was obvious that his "genuine talent for high mental speculation and his vision of God in Christ might be expected to captivate the finer Hindoo spirits ...", to send him to "the barbarians of Africa was .... using a razor to cut blocks."

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33 See above, p.47, n.141.
34 Charteris, op.cit., 6.
35 Wann, op.cit., 2.
It was in no small way the result of Scott's work that Blantyre became one of the most famous of African missions. Scott came to Blantyre in 1881. When he left in 1898 he had established thriving educational, religious, medical and industrial work, promoted extensions to Zambija, Mlanje and Domasi, and produced two enduring symbols to his achievement. The latter were the church at Blantyre and the *Cyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mang'anja Language*. The church was built before a single African convert had been gained, and was an attempt on Scott's part to translate into solid form something of the mysticism and vision of his spiritual philosophy. He undertook the project without architectural training and completed it with the assistance of unskilled African labour. With its undulating roof contour, said to be representative of the Mountains of Moab, and its ornate columns and arches, the Blantyre church was the wonder of Central Africa. The Mang'anja Dictionary, no mere lexicon, was a standard work of reference on the language, manners, customs and religion of the Nyanja or Wanyasa peoples.


*Published in Edinburgh in 1892.*

*Charteris*, *op.cit.*, 9.

In his attitude towards Africans, Scott was enlightened and advanced beyond the standards of his day. It is true that he followed the common purpose of trying to persuade Africans to abandon their traditional way of life in favour of European customs and standards. But he did not despise African customs, and with the exception of witchcraft, did not regard them as evil. While advocating industrial training for Africans, Scott did not subscribe to the view that the highest level of African intellectual ability was simple literacy tied closely to basic instruction in crafts.

In the Nyanja elders, as with the Kikuyu elders later, Scott found worthy opponents in dialectic. His Mang'anja Dictionary, the fruit of his belief in the ability of Chinyanja as a medium to express ideas which were subtle and philosophical, symbolised a new conception of the dignity of the African peoples of Nyasaland. Africa, he felt, had a great contribution to make to the Christian

40 "Scott's principle was that he represented Christian Scotland, and had to educate Africans up to recognise our social refinement as well as our spiritual religion." (Charteris, op.cit., 14.)

41 "A leading axiom of all his missionary life was that the intimacy with and ascendancy over men gained by training and working with them in industrial occupations was a sure way to win their hearts for himself and for the Master whose witness he was." (Wann, op.cit., 3.)

42 In 1892 Scott brought two African boys from Blantyre with him on his furlough. He put them in good Edinburgh schools and was delighted when each came top of his class. (Charteris, op.cit., 10-11.)

43 While Scott gained a reputation amongst Africans for his skill as an orator in debate, he also captured the respect of Africans by demonstrating the power of his religion. The story is told of how at a time of great drought the elders came to him to ask for rain; he went into the church to pray, and within an hour there was a torrential downpour. (AP, J.W. Arthur to his mother, 10th March 1907.)

44 Shepperson and Price, op.cit., 17.
Church. And recalling the doubts expressed by his friends at his decision to go to Africa in 1881, Scott would often assert that "Africa is an education; here you go to school again."\textsuperscript{45}

Scott's unusual attitudes towards Africans and Africa were a source of friction between himself and other Europeans. Scott was a passionate man whose beliefs were held deeply, and who had little patience with more conservative missionary colleagues. Other missionaries criticised him for ignoring or disbelieving what they regarded as evil in African customs.\textsuperscript{46} They criticised him also for his faith in African intellectual ability and for giving unreasonable freedom and authority to African teachers and evangelists. Scott was unpopular for his opposition to the growth of a mission council at Blantyre as a self-perpetuating white oligarchy which would impede African initiative in church leadership.\textsuperscript{47}

Fearful of European secular interests which were growing in the Nyasaland Protectorate, of their effect upon the vested interests of Africans,\textsuperscript{48} Scott rapidly became unpopular in official quarters. The jealousy and strife which he is said to have caused with successive administrators - Captain C.E. Foot, Consul A.G.S. Hawes, Acting Consul J. Buchanan, and Consul General H.H. Johnston - earned Scott a sharp reprimand from the Foreign Mission Committee in 1891.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{45} Hetherwick, "David Clement Scott", \textit{op.cit.}, 6.
\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ibid.}, 4.
\textsuperscript{47} This and other points concerning the various attitudes of D.C. Scott were communicated to the author by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Ross of New College, Edinburgh University. Dr. Ross's assistance is gratefully acknowledged.
\textsuperscript{49} CS/FMCM, 17th November 1891.
Another of Scott's peculiarities which earned him much criticism was his conduct of religious services at Blantyre. His church was criticised as being unreasonably costly to build—in fact it cost £1,100, most of which was donated by friends—and was regarded by many as resembling more closely a Catholic cathedral than a Presbyterian house of worship. Such a view was not confined to Scott's fellow churchmen. Bishop Hine of the Anglo-Catholic U.M.C.A. once remarked of Scott that "he had a love of 'ritual' and orderly services which seemed unusual in a Presbyterian and led me to think (perhaps incorrectly) that his ecclesiastical sympathies were rather with the southern than the northern side of the border." Scott was notorious for preaching sermons which few could understand or follow.

Scott's unorthodoxy in religious matters was a main preoccupation of the Church of Scotland's Committee of Investigation, established in 1897 to review his conduct of the mission at Blantyre. His 'High Church ritualism'—processions, surplices for choir boys, turning to the east, printing and using a 'Divine Liturgy'—together with reports of his inability to coexist harmoniously with fellow missionaries and Protectorate officials were the subjects of the closest scrutiny.

Another serious charge against Scott was his determined emphasis on industrial work with total disregard of the Foreign Mission Committee's view of the subject and of its expense. In 1881, when he first went to Blantyre, Scott had been instructed to suppress industrial work in favour of more aggressive efforts in the religious and teaching departments. This he had refused to do, opting instead...

50 Robertson, *op.cit.*, 9.
51 Hine, *op.cit.*, 79. The Bishop, who was a frequent guest at Blantyre and who often preached a sermon recalled the general consternation in Church which Scott once caused by bursting forth during a quiet period in a solo rendition of the 78th Psalm to a Gregorian tune.
52 "He did not teach the doctrines of our faith in the usual manner. He always spoke extempore, and .... from visions he had of divine things, and as aspirations towards them." (Robertson, *op.cit.*, 3.)
53 CS/FMCM, 4th May 1897.
for a scheme of industrial development, the boldness and scale of which alarmed the Committee in Edinburgh. Scott's policy was effective, and for a decade there was little complaint from Edinburgh. But in 1892, when Blantyre and other stations were firmly established, the Committee began to press for a saving in expenditure by a reduction of industrial work.

Supported by Alexander Hetherwick in this respect, Scott fought the Committee until 1897, arguing that any shortage of funds was rather the result of an under-development of industrial departments than of the opposite. But the Committee of Investigation, while concluding that the Church of Scotland had much cause to be proud of its Central African Mission, ruled against Scott in the matter of industrial work.

Sick in body and spirit, and having suffered the loss by death of his wife and closest colleagues in the field, most of whom were related to him by blood or marriage, Scott returned to Edinburgh in 1898 a broken man. He had not been

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54 Robertson, op. cit., 5-6.
55 Hetherwick, in 1896, warned the Committee: "Break up our industries and you destroy our chief means of influencing native life here, and when that is gone, why keep up the semblance of a mission at all?" (CS/FMCM, Hetherwick to Committee, 23rd January 1896.)
56 The Committee's Report was published in the Scotsman, March 31st 1897.
57 Summarising the Committee's findings, the Foreign Mission Committee reported: "They are of the opinion that expenditure on the Industrial side of the Mission is liable to misuse, and requires the most careful supervision. They would even suggest, looking especially to the rapidly changing conditions and circumstance of African affairs, that the policy of such expenditure ought to be reviewed from time to time with a view to its being gradually dispensed with. In any case they think that the amount so expended should form only a moderate proportion of the whole cost of the Mission." (CS/FMCM, 6th July 1897.)
58 Between 1892 and 1897 the following members of Scott's family died in Nyasaland: the first Mrs. D.C. Scott in 1895; Scott's only child by his second marriage in 1897; his brother, William Affleck Scott, medical missionary in 1895; John Bowie and Mrs. Henry Henderson, brother and sister respectively to the first Mrs. D.C. Scott, together with Mrs. Henderson's child, in 1892; and Henry Henderson, pioneer missionary at Blantyre, in 1893. Outside the family circle there was Robert Cleland, pioneer at Mlanje, who died in 1891.
permitted to give evidence in his own defence to the Committee of Investigation, and all that he had achieved appeared to be lost. Incredibly, by the following year he was ready to return to Nyasaland, but the Foreign Mission Committee had decided that his usefulness in that field had come to an end.59

There remained the problem of finding work for a man, only forty-eight years old, who was restless for a return to missionary work in Africa. Scott's selection for the E.A.S.M. at Kikuyu was the obvious solution to the problem. But the decision to send him there was ill-advised, although perhaps inevitable. The issues which had caused conflict between Scott and the Foreign Mission Committee had not been resolved. Once more he would apply the methods which he believed to be best, in the face of a parsimonious Church, a hostile Committee, the criticism of colleagues, and with the same added burden of personal bereavement. Scott's six years at Kikuyu were to be the final chapter in his brilliant but tragic career.

2. Potatoes for Salvation

David Clement Ruffelle Scott came to Kikuyu in November 1901. Accompanying him were his wife, Edith Ruffelle (whose maiden surname Scott had added to his own name), his two daughters by his first wife, Isobel and Marjerie, and William Carlisle Fraser, a new artisan missionary.60 A month later, with the arrival

59 CS/FMCM, 11th June 1899.
60 Carlisle Fraser, an Englishman from Budeleigh, Devon, had been a missionary with the C.M.S. in German East Africa during the early 1890s. In 1893 he was the subject of an investigation by the Foreign Office, following his report to the German authorities that the C.M.S. and the I.B.E.A. Company were supplying guns to the Chagga of Kilimanjaro. (FO 2/227, Piggott to Secretary, I.B.E.A. Co., 8th March 1893.) Carlisle Fraser soon proved unacceptable to all at Kikuyu and was dismissed by Scott early in 1902.
from Bombay of Dr. Karl H.H. Uffmann, the number of missionaries at Kikuyu rose to five and the total of Europeans to four men and four ladies – Mrs. Watson and John Paterson being already at the mission.

Life for missionaries at Kikuyu in the early years of the present century was exciting and informal. The mission station stood in a clearing in the broad belt of forest which separated the southern Kikuyu from the pastoral Maasai of the plains. Wild animals were frequent visitors to the mission – rhino, buffalo and leopard providing sport for amateur missionary white hunters. Hyaena were omnipresent, particularly when a non-Christian African was buried on the station; the crunching of human bones and the accompanying shrieking hyaena laughter caused the missionaries many a sleepless and fearful night.

At first, Scott and his fellow workers at Kikuyu lived in considerable fear of the Maasai. At no time was the mission itself threatened by an attack, but the general fear was that a skirmish between Kikuyu and Maasai would take place in the forest clearing in which the mission stood. On several occasions between 1902 and 1904 war horns were sounded in nearby villages and Kikuyu youths in full war dress came streaming through the mission to meet the Maasai. But in most cases the alarm was given over a few Maasai stock thieves and little fighting took place.

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61 Uffmann, a German by birth and a Presbyterian by conviction, was a graduate in medicine of Edinburgh University. He belonged to a highly respected Indian missionary family, and at the time of his appointment to Kikuyu he was working at his father's leper colony at Puralie. Hans Uffmann, his brother, was one of the first European planters at Kikuyu. Karl Uffmann, left the mission in November 1905 in protest against the refusal of the F.M.C. to allow him sufficient funds for medical work and a few months leave to get married. It is thought that he joined the Uganda Protectorate medical service.

62 Arthur Ruffelle Barlow Papers (HP) Edinburgh University, 'Some early memories'; undated typescript; Private Barlow Papers (PBP), Diaries, and Personal Communication, 9th March 1967, by Mr. R. Macpherson, formerly of the C.S.M. Kikuyu. The significance of the non-Christian burial is that the dead were buried, not in the European mission cemetery, but in a forest clearing. The mission provided a shroud, not a coffin, and bodies were easily exhumed by hungry hyaenas.

63 F.M.C. Report to the G.A., 27th May 1902, enclosing D.C. Scott's First Report from Kikuyu. See also PBP, Diaries, 26th January, 12th and 15th February, and 15th July 1904.
There was comparatively little hostility towards Europeans in southern Kikuyuland. But for a few years missionaries and planters lived in fear of an African uprising. Further north, around Kihumbuini, Fort Hall and Nyeri, and in Embu country, the position was very different. The hostility towards European intrusion in these areas, a feature remarked upon by Thomas Watson in 1899 and 1900, developed from 1902 into an armed resistance which was met by punitive expeditions of King's African Rifles and Maasai levies. In disaffected areas the punishment meted out was immeasurably heavier than was merited by particular cases of provocation. For attacking a caravan or for murdering a single European, the Irenyi Kikuyu and the Embu in March 1904 suffered seven hundred and ninety-six, and two hundred and fifty casualties respectively at the hands of Government forces - casualty figures which were drastically reduced in the official reports to the Foreign Office.

Pacification by brute force of truculent or hostile Africans was but one feature of life common on the frontier which was the East African Protectorate before the First World War. As C.E. Ayres observes in The Theory of Economic Progress:

"A frontier is a penetration phenomenon. It is a region into which people come from another and older centre of civilisation, bringing with them the tools and materials of their older life ... and ... their immemorial beliefs and 'values', their mores and folkways. But it is notorious that the latter invariably suffer some reduction in importance under the conditions of frontier life. Existence on the frontier is, as we say, free and easy. Meticalous observance of the Sabbath and the rules of grammar are somehow less important on the frontier than 'back home'."

64 The alarm felt by Europeans in 1904 at the creation of a Nairobi Defence Force was quelled by a circular from Sub-Commissioner Ainsworth, assuring all that this was a precautionary measure only. (PEP, Diaries, 15th July, 1904.)

65 NLS 8015.

66 The best account, from the European viewpoint, of Kikuyu and Embu primary resistance is given by Richard Meinertzhagen in his Kenya Diary, 1902-1906 (Edinburgh, 1957) 32-152.

67 Meinertzhagen, op. cit., 139-146, 146-152, 158.

68 Published 1944 by the University of North Carolina Press, p.133.
This observation, although made by Ayres with the American West in mind, applies equally to British East Africa.

Nairobi, a frontier town in the best tradition, was notorious for its immoral and drunken European soldiers and Railway officials.\textsuperscript{69} In the field it was possible for a European officer to shoot his troops without fear of a court martial penalty to himself.\textsuperscript{70} In areas yet untouched by administrative authority a rich field for ruthless speculation was found by European ivory traders, the most colourful of whom was John Boyes.\textsuperscript{71} Missionaries, too, were prone to lapses on the frontier. The Scottish mission in 1899 had had to dismiss one of its missionaries for drunken behaviour in Nairobi bars,\textsuperscript{72} and the Italian Consolata Fathers at Tuso, near Karure's village in the Fort Hall district, were expelled in 1902 for immoral conduct.\textsuperscript{73} Some of the early officials of the Protectorate's local administration were poorly educated men who abused the considerable power vested in them, and whose unsuitability was remarked upon by Sir Clement Hill of the Foreign Office during his visit to East Africa in 1903.\textsuperscript{74}

European settlers, led by such colourful characters as Lord Delamere and

\textsuperscript{69} Meinertzhagen, \textit{op.cit.}: "My brother officers are mainly regimental rejects and heavily in debt; one drinks like a fish, and one prefers boys to women and is not ashamed." (7th June 1902, 9-10.) And: "Nearly every man in Nairobi is a railway official. Every one of them keeps a native girl, usually a Masai, and there is a regular trade in these girls with the local Masai villages." (8th June 1902,12.)

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid, 143-144.

\textsuperscript{71} See J. Boyes, \textit{The Company of Adventurers} (London, 1928); and C.W.L. Bulpett (Ed.), \textit{John Boyes, King of the Wakikuyu} (London, 1911). Meinertzhagen records other cases of European traders arrested for murder, illegal elephant hunting, raiding, extorting Hut Tax, or for immorality. These were Smith, who kept a large harem of concubines at Karure's village, Tuso; Vincent, Atkinson and Smith who murdered, plundered, and shot elephants in Rendile country; and Gibbons who extorted Hut Tax and ivory from the Embu. Vincent, Atkinson and Smith, like Boyes, were acquitted because as Europeans there was only inadmissible African evidence against them. (Meinertzhagen, \textit{op.cit.}, 34-5, 119-22.)

\textsuperscript{72} See above, p. 89.

\textsuperscript{73} Meinertzhagen, \textit{op.cit.}, 34.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, 122.
E.S. Grogan, were typical frontier types. There were the extremists, the 'Happy Valley' contingent, who found relief from their tensions and frustrations in sexual licence and in daring exploits with horse and gun. But for the majority of early settlers the antics of the extremists provided the comic relief in a life which revolved around drought, locusts, labour-shortage and childbirth - one which had to be lived, not played. In the main, settlers regarded themselves as colonists, builders of a white man's country; some regarded Africans as cheap labour whose lives were less important than a healthy cow or a good wheat crop. Others were paternalistic and compassionate. None was in favour of making of the African a competitor in education, manners and dress, or in political and economic ability with the European.

To a large extent, and in contrast to Nyasaland and Uganda, settlers and missionaries coexisted harmoniously from the outset since neither could claim a

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76 H.E.B. Robinson, 'Come. Follow Me!', Kenya Weekly News, 9th December 1966, 35. The same writer gives a humorous insight into settler-missionary relationships: "The good and tireless clergy used to tour the country calling at different small centres and holding church services where they could. Ours were always held at the Crossroads Inn in Molo and if the parson was late the congregation filled in time at the bar instead of sitting around groaning."

77 There are on record many incidents where a settler murdered an African for trespassing upon, or in some way interfering with his farm. In 1907, for example, a settler shot a Somali herdsman for driving his cattle across the farm. (Paice Papers (PP), Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London, Arnold Paice, Nyeri farmer, to his mother, 18th November 1907.) A European would never be convicted of murder unless there were European witnesses - and unless the latter were willing to testify against a fellow-white.

78 Karen Blixen, for example. See Out of Africa (London, 1937).
prior vested interest in the highlands. This does not mean that settlers necessarily approved of missionary efforts to 'elevate' Africans, or that missionaries overlooked the many and varied excesses of conduct committed by settlers. But the necessity of cooperation at the practical level in persuading Africans to attend a mission or to work on a farm was greater than in other British Protectorates in Africa. Regarding the higher aims of the settlers - a self-governing white colony - the majority of missionaries were not much concerned at the turn of the century. The most noticeable exception in this respect was the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu.

Situated in a fertile region, attractive to European planters, the C.S.M. had enjoyed the company of settlers almost since its foundation at Kikuyu. Thomas Watson had found much to regret in their behaviour and low moral standards - this and the high wages they demanded being the reason for his decision not to associate with them in developing the mission.79

D.C.R. Scott took a different view. He arrived at Kikuyu at a time when it was clear to all that the land would soon be opened to a massive influx of white settlers and that the economic and political future lay with the colonist. He was no less aware of settler failings than Watson - he advised his nephew, Arthur Ruffelle

79 NLS 8015, Watson to Mackinnon & Co., 19th November 1898. John W. Arthur's first impression of settlers, on his arrival at Kikuyu in 1907, was that their number included "too many roters up from South Africa who are unscrupulous beggars." (AP, Arthur to his mother, 14th January 1907. Note: the distinction made: Arthur was never against the British settler.) Not long after Arthur arrived there occurred the famous incident of the public flogging of three Africans by E.S. Grogan in Nairobi. (See Cd.3562 (1907), Correspondence Relating to the Flogging of Natives by Certain Europeans at Nairobi, July 1907.) Similarly, Arthur Ruffelle Barlow, Scott's nephew who came to Kikuyu in 1903, felt that to be a settler meant "making a scoundrel of oneself, lowering one's humanity and putting aside all honour ..." (PBP, Barlow to his father, 6th November 1906.)
Barlow, to sign the pledge against alcohol before coming to East Africa, but saw white settlement as a medium through which to make substantive gains for missionary influence. Other missions might be content to set to work without considering the colonial aspect of white settlement, but they would be ignoring an opportunity to secure a whole colony for Christ. Missionary work amongst Europeans and missionary influence over European commerce were to Scott just as important as spreading the gospel amongst Africans.

Scott believed that most areas of human activity could be counted in some sense as being a part of Christ's kingdoms on earth; commerce alone had still to be won. And since commerce was to be the medium for development and civilisation in the Protectorate it was important, and possible, to capture it for Christ. He had a vision of the future which transcended the average missionary plan or prospect; all nations had to be the subject of his endeavours as a missionary:

"My idea in all this is, as (an) advocate of native Christianity, to be able to answer and help the native life in all its relations with the civilisation of which they are heirs; to set the seal of our Lord upon the Colony through the native Church and by our work and service there; to have a holy colony and a holy commerce; and to give the Church of Scotland the power to exercise her high-calling."

Although mystical, visionary and imbued with the prophet spirit, Scott also had his practical side. He had charge of a mission which had scarcely begun to influence the Kikuyu; and he faced a situation where the home Committee refused to

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80 PBP, Scott to René Ruffelle, 16th May 1903.
81 "A great problem at present is, 'Is there room for the settler?' Officialism says NO. But it is absolutely essential for the native life here that the European settlers - not monevized men, for money does not flow into untried ventures, but men who are themselves their money and invest themselves. Capital follows.' (CS/RGA, 26th May 1903, extract from a letter by Scott.)
82 CS/FMCM, 'Proposals Regarding Kikuyu', April 1907, by D.C.R. Scott.
spend more money on the mission other than what was received from interest on the endowment fund - a sum which, after salaries were paid, left some £100 per quarter for missionary work. How therefore was he to extend the mission's influence over Africans and to be able to afford the cost of expanding the work and meeting the competition of other missions in occupying spheres of influence?

The answer seemed to lie at hand in the prospects of the Protectorate in land-ownership and commerce. A great scheme for the resolution of practical difficulties and the realisation of his vision began to form in Scott's mind. He would buy as much land as he could for the mission and develop it as a commercial project. As many African labourers as could be appointed would be set to work on mission ground, and through daily activity in a missionary environment they would become infected with the message of Christianity. Profit on the sale of mission produce would make for self-support and permit expansion. Co-operation in agricultural work and the marketing of produce with European planters would ensure greater efficiency. It would also be the means of incorporating commerce into Christ's kingdoms. The humble potato was to be the main agricultural preoccupation and, hopefully, the medium of salvation.

Scott's vision of the future led him to play a leading role in the beginnings of European political and commercial activity in the regions around Nairobi. He was present at the meeting of unofficial Europeans at Wood's Hotel, Nairobi, in January 1902 to discuss the implications for white settlement of the suggestion made by Uganda Railway officials that the Protectorate should be developed through the promotion of Indian land settlement. 83 Scott was party to, although not a

83 W. MacLellan Wilson, The Colonists Association of British East Africa (Nairobi, n.d. but c. 1908) 2.
signatory of the letter which the Committee of twenty-two Europeans sent to Commissioner Eliot.  

The letter, containing some of the first anti-Indian public statements, suggested a variety of measures for the promotion of white settlement. It also heralded the foundation of the first Colonists' Association of British East Africa, headed by Eustace Atkinson. This association, although stated by one writer to have shown little sign of life, was responsible for the emergence of firm official support for the policy of reserving the highlands for white settlement, for the repeal by Eliot of Jackson's stringent land regulations of November 1902, and amongst other things, for securing the reversal of the policy whereby Goans were classed as Europeans.

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86 Acting as Commissioner in Eliot's absence, and displaying an unusual concern for African interests in land, F.J. Jackson issued a series of regulations which Eliot considered to have all but stopped the entry of settlers. (See Huxley, White Man's Country, op.cit., I, 89-90 for the bearing which Jackson's regulations had upon settler land prospects.) Under pressure from the Colonists' Association, Eliot made amends by issuing his E.A.F. Rules for the Purchase of Land under the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1902, Mombasa, 21st December 1902, See also Cd.1626 (1903), Report by H.M. Commissioner on the East Africa Protectorate, June 1903, 19.)

87 Macmillan Wilson, op.cit., 3-6. The first Colonists' Association became in January 1903 the Planters and Farmers' Association led by Lord Delamere. Following the failure of the Association's attempts to find markets for produce in South Africa, a return was made to politics and the second Colonists' Association emerged. This body in 1908 had over two hundred members and several branches. In November 1910 it became the Convention of Associations.
By the end of 1902 Scott was the acknowledged, although unofficial leader of settlers around Nairobi and Kikuyu. His campaign for concerted action in developing agriculture and commerce led to a meeting at Kikuyu where a decision was taken to form a new body, the Planters and Farmers' Association. At the Nairobi Hotel on January 14th 1902, the Association came into being with Lord Delamere at its head and a membership of twenty-three. Scott's role in the formation of the Association and his close friendship with Delamere elicited the following comment by F.J. Jackson, in recollection of a meeting at Kikuyu in 1903 between Scott and Sir John Kirk:

"He (Scott) was well known to Sir John as a bit of a firebrand when at Blantyre in Nyasaland; Sir John also knew that .... he was allowing himself to be made use of by Nairobi agitators on account of his education and flow of language, a politician-missionary in fact."  

To a large extent it was Scott who was making use of the settlers; through their contacts and efforts he hoped to find a market for his potatoes in Durban and Delagoa Bay.

Scott was on intimate terms with a number of settlers around Kikuyu: A. McAlister, with whom he entered into a trading partnership, Alexander Low, whom Scott appointed as his agricultural agent, McQueen, one of the first white settlers in the highlands, 

88 "I saw the prospects of a rapid advance of European colonisation, and did my best to help them .... I led the planters for a time, hoping to create a righteous public opinion for native and other questions ..." (CS/FMCK, 'Proposals Regarding Kikuyu', April 1907, by D.C.R. Scott.)

89 MacLellan Wilson, op.cit., 1.

90 F.J. Jackson, Early Days in East Africa (London, 1930) 64-5. Jackson continued: "When it came to say goodbye, the Doctor, who had been very effusive, expressed the wish that he (Sir John) could be our Commissioner, to which the old man replied, 'You would very soon regret it, as I am quite sure it would not be long before we quarrelled'!"

91 Of McQueen, Meinertzhagen noted in his Kenya Diary: "He takes the view that the white man is the master race and that the black man must for ever remain cheap labour and slaves." (23rd November, 1902, 60.)
Sydney Fichat, an official of the Planters', and later, the Colonists' Association, and several others were frequent guests at the mission for dinner and discussion on farming and colonial prospects or for a game of whist or bezique. At least three settlers, Lauterbach, Rosengrain and Praschkaner, were at one time in Scott's employment as overseer of potato fields. Wherever possible, Scott gave active encouragement to prospective settlers — especially if they came from Scotland.

By May 1903 Scott was ready to present his agricultural scheme to the Foreign Mission Committee for approval. In a mood of great confidence he wrote about his scheme to relatives in Britain. W.J. King of the Planters' Association had reported a good market for potatoes in Natal. The scheme would be self-financing on a progressive scale. Twenty-five acres of potatoes planted in 1903 were expected to yield £430 — sufficient to pay wages, to buy a thousand acres of land, to buy new seed, and to bring a hundred acres under cultivation by 1904. The scale of enterprise would increase until it yielded a net annual profit of £6,000 by the end of 1905. By that time Scott would be able to appoint men from Britain to take charge of vast missionary plantations, each working to realize his great vision. Abyssinia in the north was beckoning him; it moved his mystical spirit, and would be reached by a chain of ten, self-supporting industrial stations. To his late wife's sister he

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92 PBP, Diaries, various entries, early 1904. On occasions the presence at the mission of settlers had a frontier atmosphere about it. Barlow records in his diary a dinner party at the mission where a lavish meal was served, popular songs (not hymns) were sung by Scott in his fine baritone, many toasts were drunk, and where the party ended in uproar when McAlister, who was inebriated, refused to toast the King. (Diaries, 16th November 1905.)

93 When in February 1904, a man called Pinig, representing a syndicate of prospective Scottish settlers, received discouraging advice from officials at Nairobi, Scott rekindled his enthusiasm by an assurance that a golden future for colonists and many opportunities to get cheap land existed in the Protectorate. (PBP, Diaries, 20th February 1904.)

94 MacLellan Wilson, op. cit., 1. The high prices engaged on the South African market for East African potatoes received a special mention in Sir Charles Eliot's annual report, 1903. (See Cd.1626 (1903), Report by H.M. Commissioner on the E.A. Protectorate, June 1903, 16.)
wrote:

"I see endless power and my principles are: (1) to make the work the means of annexing the nations to our Lord. (2) To make the spiritual grip of the principles involved in commerce, planting, political relationships, etc., the means of annexing these for our Lord."\textsuperscript{95}

On June 5th Scott wrote to the Committee requesting permission to make the C.S.M., Kikuyu, self-supporting and dynamic through the development of agriculture and the industries. He was confident that they would agree to his proposals, if only in recognition that it was a means of raising money for the development of the mission.

In Edinburgh, there was a deep division of opinion over the proposals within the Foreign Mission Committee. All were agreed that since the Church refused to spend money on the mission something had to be done to increase the mission's income; but very few wished to see this achieved through an emphasis of the industrial aspect of work. Blantyre, and the controversy surrounding Scott, was still fresh in many minds.\textsuperscript{96} One member of the African Sub-Committee, Dr. J. Mitford Mitchell resigned so as to dissociate himself completely from the scheme which Scott had proposed.\textsuperscript{97}

The Rev. Dr. James Robertson of Whittingham, supported by other friends and admirers of Scott, argued forcefully that the scheme was consistent with the principles upon which the mission had been founded and upon which the Church had accepted the mission from the Committee of the E.A.S.M. The only possible solution was a compromise. In July the Foreign Mission Committee agreed that Scott should be permitted to work his scheme for two years, or until he came home on furlough.

\textsuperscript{95} PEP, Scott to Rene Ruffelle, 4th June 1903.
\textsuperscript{96} See above, Pp. 161-62.
\textsuperscript{97} CS/FMCM, 17th November 1903. Mitford Mitchell became Convener of Scotland's Colonial Committee.
following which there would be a review of progress and prospects. Scott would be assisted from Edinburgh by an Industrial Committee composed of his brother, Mr. Andrew Scott, C.A., as Secretary and Treasurer, the Very Rev. Professor A.H. Charteris of Edinburgh University, the Very Rev. Dr. Archibald Scott of St. George's Church, Edinburgh, and Scott's old pupil, the Master of Polworth. It was to be understood that the Foreign Mission Committee would not exceed in its grants to the mission the sum derived from the endowment; all financial and administrative responsibility for the scheme rested upon Scott himself and upon his friends in the Industrial Committee.98

Professor Charteris and others thought the latter conditions exceedingly strange in a body of churchmen who professed responsibility for a new mission; but out of respect and admiration for Scott they were prepared to assist him by searching for subscribers and by investing their own money if necessary.99 Scott was undaunted by the burden of personal financial responsibility and proceeded to launch the scheme with his usual faith and cheery optimism.

The core of the scheme was the acquisition of a large estate at Kikuyu. With a figure in mind of five thousand acres, Scott approached the Protectorate's officials towards the end of 1893.100 He discovered that there existed in certain quarters an opposition to the idea of missions owning large blocks of land. The Sub-Commissioner for Ukamba, John Ainsworth, had for several years expressed the

98 CS/FMCM, 27th July 1903.
99 Charteris, op.cit., 16.
100 In addition, Scott applied for three thousand acres at Limuru, some fifteen miles from the mission, to be divided into two estates, 'Iona' and 'Brandiston', for his daughters. Since his daughters were minors and non-residents, Scott's application was rejected. He did, however, manage in November 1904 to get one thousand acres at 'Iona' for himself. This was the estate which was managed by A.R. Barlow between 1904 and 1906. After Scott's death it was sold privately in Nairobi in July 1908 for £400. (PHP, Diaries, 6th November 1904, and 24th July 1908.)
view that the average mission whose purpose it was to preach and teach needed no more than five or ten acres. Scott's point, naturally, was that the C.S.M. was not an average mission; unlike most, it planned extensive agricultural development and was geared to assist in the promotion of European settlement and commerce — a subject close to the heart of Commissioner, Sir Charles Eliot.

It took Scott eighteen months of hard bargaining with Ainsworth, Barton Wright (the Land Officer), Eliot and his successor, Sir Donald Stewart, before he acquired an estate of three thousand, four hundred acres for the mission. He admitted that the effort had been exhausting, but felt that its worth lay in the winning of Ainsworth to the mission's side and in the good relationships which had been established between mission and Government. The estate itself was of great value, being close to the railway, forested over a third of its leased acreage, and having a water supply in the Nyongara and Nairobi rivers.

African rights in land which had been leased to Europeans had since 1899 been confined to physical occupation, cultivation and grazing. When an African ceased to occupy or use the land it reverted to the lessee; alternatively, the lessee could exclude an African from his land by paying him compensation for huts or cultivation.

101 NLS 8015, Watson to Mackinnon & Co., 8th June 1900.
103 "Such an estate could not now be obtained by any mission." (CS/FMC, 'Supplementary Report by Rev. D.C. Ruffelle Scott', March 1907.) Under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 the mission was able to purchase one thousand acres in freehold at Rs.2 per acre, and to secure a ninety-nine years lease for a further two thousand, four hundred at a rental of Rs.15 per hundred acres.
104 By 1906 the cash value of the estate had increased by seven times the original price paid. Settlers in the vicinity were selling land at about £1 per acre, some plots near Nairobi fetching double this figure. (CS/FMC, 'Report on Kikuyu and Kibwezi', August 1906 by James Reid.)
105 This had been the case since the Law Officers' opinion of 1899, the enactment of the East African (Lands) Order in Council, 1901, and the issue by the Foreign Office of the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1902. There was no recognition that Africans held any title to land.
Scott regarded these conditions as necessary, especially in missions where temporal possession of Africans and their villages was the starting point for effective Christian work. While many would argue that the land regulations were designed to benefit colonists alone, Scott insisted that "it is not as if the Kikuyu were simply bag and baggage in the annexation of their land and personality by either Church or Government. They are in God's hand (and are) the princes and arbiters of their own destinies, and it is for us to take care that it shall be so ...".  

He was thankful that the estate which he secured for the mission encompassed many African villages. While resettling them on the mission's freehold ground at some distance from the forest, he looked to the Kikuyu families as ready labour for his agricultural scheme. Their employment would bring them under constant missionary influence; the 'whole man' would be gained, and the foundations deeply laid of Christian life. While other missions devoted their energies to securing children for the school and were resigned to waiting several years for signs of Christian dividends, Scott believed that his scheme afforded a means of rapid evangelisation - amongst adults as well as children. 

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106 F.M.C. Report to the G.A., May 1905, extract from Dr. Scott's report.

107 CS/FMCM, 'Report on Kikuyu and Kibwezi', August 1906, by James Reid. At Blantyre, African squatters had been permitted access to the mission's forest, with the result that it was soon denuded and the mission had to pay £7- per annum for firewood.

108 "The grand idea of it all is not money, but the fact that it is the only way thoroughly to exercise mission influence on the people - the only hope of our having a mission at all, - the bringing of the Church into contact with the whole question of African salvation, and the use of Kikuyu and other native labour to spread the Gospel to half of the Colony, and reach regions remote." (CS/FMCM, "Report by the Rev. D.C. Ruffelle Scott, D.D.", 6th November 1906.)

Scott's policy of reaching adults was described thus by J.W. Arthur: "He says why wait for a dozen years for your children to grow up; the Gospel is the norm for the human conscience and it can win the adults to Christ. He instanced Livingstonia in its present adult converts and he says why not here. He says Blantyre is all very well but why wait for the ten years of Blantyre before you have your adult converts. In order to do this he has a service every morning for the workers for about twenty minutes." (AP, Arthur to his mother, 30th July 1907.)
Another important aspect of the scheme was the acquisition, by agreement with other missions, of an opening for the establishment of new stations in a line towards Mt. Kenya and Abyssinia. In 1902 at a conference with Bishop Peel of the C.M.S. a line was drawn on a map from the Ngong Hills near the C.S.M., Kikuyu, to Mt. Kenya and thence to Abyssinia. The territory north of the line became the sphere of activity for the Scottish mission. And since the A.I.M., centred on Kijabe, already lay within the Scottish sphere, an agreement was reached between the two missions wherein the A.I.M. surrendered their rights in the sphere in return for first option in the southern Maasai reserve and a chain of route stations only from Limuru to the Nile.

Early in 1904 the prospects of commercial success were promising. The Uganda Railway, a Bank in Mombasa and three steamship companies which ran monthly services from Mombasa had assured Scott of their sympathy and cooperation in carrying out his scheme. Through Alexander Low of the Kikuyu Trading Syndicate and through the Planters and Farmers' Association, markets for potatoes had been secured at Durban, Johannesburg, Delagoa Bay, Dar-es-Salaam, Zanzibar and Aden. Local markets for scarlet-runner and haricot beans had also been secured.

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110 Ibid, May 1904: 'Kikuyu Report' by D.C.R. Scott. Concerning the necessity of occupying the C.S.M.'s sphere, Scott wrote in this report: "From Ethiopia there comes a voice as she stretches out her hand again to God. Menelik desires an industrial mission - one just such as ours. When one knows the power and concourse there of nations and creeds, the intimate connections of that empire with our whole North African imperial policy, the questions of language, racial origins, and the Christian past which there lie hid, we should be depriving our Church of an honour and spiritual stimulus, as well as failing in our high call if we were unappreciative of the call or too fearful to respond."
111 CS/RGA, May 1904: extract from Scott's Kikuyu Report.
Potatoes and beans were quickly and easily grown and enjoyed a good price. No one intended to concentrate upon them longer than was necessary. But a quick return on their sale would permit the planting of more remunerative, and less perishable crops such as coffee, black wattle and fibres. As far as the C.S.M. was concerned, a thousand coffee trees from Blantyre had been planted since 1902 and were expected to yield in 1907; Blantyre coffee at that time was selling for £112 a ton. A verbal agreement existed between Scott and the Manager of the Uganda Railway to the effect that if Scott were to plant five hundred acres of black wattle, the Uganda Railway would buy it all for fuel. And there was still a hundred square miles of mission land at Kibwezi which was eminently suited to the growing of sisal fibre.

The major disadvantage of the agricultural scheme was its highly speculative nature. If Scott could get his potatoes to foreign markets before they perished, and if the current high price was maintained, then he was assured of spectacular success. But having invested all his capital in a single venture, and lacking the security or credit of sound financial backing, he was entirely dependent upon the successful sale of each consignment in order to recoup costs and to permit an expansion of operation. A single failure to find a market for a consignment was likely to prove disastrous.

Scott's first consignment of twenty tons of potatoes was sold early in 1904 at Johannesburg for £30 a ton. Later in the year he dispatched a second consignment of forty tons, expecting a yield of £1,200. This consignment reached

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113 Ibid.
114 PCEA A/4, J. Paterson to Rev. Dr. H.E. Scott, 3rd June 1909.
115 For further details of the C.S.M.'s use of its Kibwezi estate, see below, pp. 220-22.
116 Robertson, op.cit., 13.
Mombasa one day after the steamer had sailed and was left to rot on the dockside.

Undaunted, Scott invested the remainder of a legacy of £1,000 which had come to him for his children, together with some £500 donated by friends in Britain, and dispatched a third consignment of thirty tons of potatoes early in 1905.

This consignment was stolen at Delagoa Bay and amounted to a loss of £900.

From then onwards Scott was heavily in debt, as were his partner, McAlister, and his agent, Low; and although it offended his pride to do so, he turned to the Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh for help.

While admitting the full extent of his losses, Scott argued that the scheme had justified itself by its results. In transmitting crops to South Africa, he had brought up the produce of local planters, both European and African, in order to promote the economic development of the Protectorate as a whole. It was his proud claim that the success of the first consignment stimulated "the beginning of the present phenomenal development of Kikuyu and Nairobi." His efforts had

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117 Charteris, op.cit., 16.
118 CS/FMCM, Report by Scott, 6th November 1906.
119 McAlister and Low had suffered heavy losses in the two consignments which failed to reach the markets. Both borrowed from Scott and from the mission. It is likely that neither had repaid Scott when he died in 1907. McAlister, who lost Rs.15,000 had repaid his debt to the mission by 1908. (PCEA A/2, McAlister to H.E. Scott, 1st April 1908.) Low still owed the mission £286 in 1912 and was thought to have no intention of repaying his debt. (CSP/NLS 7561, W.M. McLachlan to J.W. Arthur, 27th November 1912.)
120 CS/FMCM, Report by Scott, 6th November 1906. In 1904 983 tons of potatoes were exported to South Africa by planters in the Nairobi district, and the value of potato exports had increased from £300 to £3,000. (Cd. 2331 (1905); Report on the E.A. Protectorate for the Year 1903-4, January 1905, 15-16.)
earned him a place as a missionary leader in the Protectorate; settlers and
Government were extremely friendly and sympathetic towards the Scottish mission
and had recognised his contribution to development and progress. And although
permanent buildings had yet to be erected on the station, and school and church
and hospital were still in their infancy, the scheme had had a deep Christian
influence upon the many Kikuyu who lived and worked on the mission station. In
short, he had laid the foundations of successful missionary work, secured a valuable
sphere for extension towards Abyssinia, and now expected the Committee to come
forward and accept full responsibility for the future.

Initially, when Scott began to suffer a financial loss, the Foreign Mission
Committee had been reasonably sympathetic. In April 1905, for example, they sent
him £200 to ease the deficit. But the evident failure of the agricultural
scheme in a financial sense lent support to the arguments of those who had been
against the scheme and the emphasis on industrial work since 1903. By May 1905,
Scott's critics in the Committee were in the ascendant and were calling for an
investigation and a reappraisal of priorities of work at Kikuyu. The financial
Sub-Committee was expressing alarm at the scale of expenditure on the agricultural
scheme. It curtailed any move towards accepting responsibility for the outlay of
funds by Scott on the grounds that the Church faced a deficit of its own in its
Foreign Mission schemes, and that the E.A.S.M. endowment had not yet been finally

121 In addition to leading the colonists association for a time, Scott was active in
trying to raise a syndicate of missionaries in the Protectorate to create a
strong Church and public opinion in Britain for questions relating to develop-
ment in East Africa. He was made Chairman of a United Missionary Society to
take up the question of missionary schools for the children of impoverished
white settlers. He was asked to bring to the attention of the Colonial Committee
in Edinburgh the need for a Scottish Kirk in Nairobi. And lastly, he presided
at a St. Andrew's dinner attended by representatives of Government, the Railway
and all Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, and at which matters of vital
importance to the Protectorate were discussed. (CS/FCFM, 'Proposals regarding
Kikuyu', April 1907, by D.C.R. Scott.)

122 CS/FCFM, 15th April 1905.
transferred to their hands. 124

In 1906 Scott returned home on furlough and James Reid of Blantyre was sent to Kikuyu to take charge and to submit a full report on Scott's conduct of the mission. In Edinburgh, as one of his staunchest friends observed, Scott was called before the Committee and "had to run the gauntlet of severe criticism which it makes one and to remember." 125

In August, Reid's first report on Kikuyu reached the Committee. While its language is restrained, and due credit is given to Scott for acquiring a valuable estate, the report contains the seeds of an argument which was to receive heavier emphasis in subsequent months. The emphasis on agriculture had been made at the expense of the school:

"The school is of paramount importance in Africa, and the Committee would do well to develop this side of the work without delay. There is no continuity in the present system, and at best it is unsatisfactory... Schoolboys are written on as workers, and a certain portion of their day is spent in school. At the end of the month they are paid, and... fifty per cent or more do not re-engage, and a fresh lot come into school... The remedy for this is, of course, the introduction of a boarding system." 126

Scott reacted by attempting to disabuse the Committee of the notion that the

124 See above, Pp. 154-55.
125 Charteris, op. cit., 16. Charteris tried, unsuccessfully, to help Scott by proposing the appointment of an Association, directed by a Council of the Kikuyu Mission and responsible to the F.M.C., whose purpose would be to raise subscriptions for evangelistic and industrial work at Kikuyu, and for the continuation of the agricultural scheme. (CS/FMCN, 10th July 1906.) As Reid's reports show, Scott received little support from former Blantyre colleagues. In 1901 Alexander Hetherwick had refused Scott's entreaties to let him have a few of his old Nyasaland African converts as assistants at Kikuyu. (CS/NLS, the Very Rev. Dr. McMurtrie to Mr. Scott, 27th September 1901; and to Hetherwick, 28th September and 18th October 1901: "Blantyre owes him something... We think you undervalue Dr. Scott's power to keep his own converts straight!")
126 CS/FMCN, J. Reid, 'Report on Kikuyu and Kibwezi', August 1906. Reid suggested that the model for the boarding school be that of Mlanje.
industrial policy for development could be ignored. He reminded them that Blantyre's great success was based upon the industrial policy, and that the C.M.S., traditional opponents of the industrial factor in missions, had since 1904 added industrial work to all their stations through the services of a Missions' Aid Society. The agricultural scheme had been an experience dearly bought; but Scott firmly believed that it would be a missionary exposition and a revival. He appealed for a free hand to continue his scheme.

The Foreign Mission Committee reserved its judgement until it had received the

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127 "Our Blantyre Mission is conclusive proof, if proof were needed, of the unqualified success of this policy, and of its fitness for Africa. This Mission (Blantyre) is unique in the history of Missions; and we have the remarkable phenomenon of a British colony instinct with a Christian Mission. All the skilled labour of the colony is carried on by 'mission boys'. There is a presbytery with native members. Education has taken as great a hold as it has done in Scotland. There is no Mission I have ever heard of in which similar results have been attained; and the Free Church Missions are wholly and enthusiastically upon the same lines. Blantyre made British Central Africa." (CS/FMCM, 'Kikuyu Report' by Scott; 6th November 1906.)

128 Ibid. At a conference in Mombasa in 1904, which Scott attended, Bishop Peel of the C.M.S. preached a sermon on 'The Whole Man for Christ', and it was unanimously resolved that C.M.S. missions must be worked on industrial lines. (For the earlier C.M.S. attitude, see above, p.53, n.158.) But since the C.M.S. was by its constitution prohibited from spending money on purely industrial missionary work, it was necessary to rely upon a special committee to raise funds for industrial work. At the coast, C.M.S. missions had of necessity, and for many years, adopted the industrial principle in education. One of the reasons for the new policy in the highlands of British East Africa was that neither Government nor settlers approved of missions which were exclusively evangelical and educational. (See words to this effect by Sir Charles Eliot in Cd. 1626 (1903), Report by H.M. Commissioner on the E.A. Protectorate, June 1903, 27.) Victor Buxton (a relative of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton who owned an estate at Limuru was the chief sponsor of C.M.S. industrial work in the highlands. (AP, Arthur to his mother, 10th and 31st March 1907.)
report of its deputy, the Rev. J.D. McCallum, who had visited Kikuyu on his way home from Blantyre early in 1907. McCallum's report, submitted in March 1907, was a savage indictment of the agricultural scheme and Scott's conduct of the mission. Like Reid, McCallum deplored the fact that after six years no permanent buildings had been constructed. He failed to see what justification there had been for putting every penny into the cultivation of potatoes. He accused Scott of concealing the true extent of the deficit in his accounts; Scott's figures showed a loss of £1,561, but as McCallum argued, if one included Low's debt of £286, labour costs, the greater part of the endowment income over two years and occasional contributions out of Scott's salary, the total deficit figure for the period, 1904 to 1906, was £2,761.

McCallum's recommendation was that since the agricultural scheme had been a "dismal financial failure", and since Scott had led the mission into undesirable competition with European colonists, the focus and medium of future work should be education:

"There is little doubt that at Kikuyu a Missionary Institution may be raised preparing teachers, evangelists, and artisans who shall play a great part in the civilisation and Christianisation of that part of Africa. As soon as possible out-stations should be opened amongst the dense heathen populations to the north. But Kikuyu should be so equipped as to supply to all advanced mission posts whatever educated and skilled workers may be required."129

March 1907 was a good month for reports. In addition to McCallum's, there was another from Reid and two from Scott — Reid and Scott both being present in Edinburgh at the time to fight for their respective viewpoints. Reid's second report, although reasonable in tone, provided facts to supplement the arguments forwarded by McCallum. Both made a point of showing that Scott had been unreasonably

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optimistic - that in fact he had taken unjustified risks in dealing with perishable 
crops and markets which were at no time guaranteed as safe. 130

McCallum and Reid were calling Scott to account for his ineptitude as a 
businessman. More practical than Scott, they insisted that to deal with low-price 
crops like potatoes, where the profit balance was marginal, economy of working was 
essential. Scott had ignored this, and with his vast acreage and hordes of workers 
was guilty of over-development. Reid made the further point that farming around 
Kikuyu was still in its infancy; most planters were still feeling their way 
cautiously and none had experience of growing cash crops on a large scale in East 
Africa. 131 It would be better, he argued, since the livelihood of the mission was 
at stake, to postpone the agricultural experiment until more experience in farming

130 Ibid, 'Report on Kikuyu' by J. Reid, March 1907. The charge that the market 
for potatoes was unstable was the most common levelled against Scott, both 
in 1907 and in retrospect in later years. This is true to a certain extent 
in the case of South Africa. The prospects there seemed promising at first, 
and only in 1904 were they revealed as unstable. One factor which had been 
overlooked was the competition, in season, offered by Cape potatoes. But 
Scott's confidence in potatoes was shared by Government, who in successive 
reports, between 1905 and 1910, criticised planters for losing confidence 
when faced with one or two major setbacks. By 1905 a new market had been 
found for British East African potatoes in Madagascar; by 1909 the demand 
in Zanzibar and German East Africa was mounting steadily; Egypt alone by 
1909 was importing British East African potatoes to an annual value of £80,000. 
(See Cd.2331 (1905), Report on the E.A. Protectorate for the Year 1903-4, 
January 1905, 15-16; Cd.2740 (1905), Reports Relating to the Administration 
of the E.A. Protectorate, October 1905, 51; and COOP Africa. No. 954, Main 
Report on the E.A. Protectorate by Sir Percy Girouard, 26th May 1910, 120.)

131 Disillusioned by the setbacks in 1904–5 in exporting potatoes to South Africa, 
the Planters and Farmers' Association had eschewed agricultural commerce and 
returned to politics under the banner of the second Colonists' Association 
of British East Africa. (MacLellan Wilson, op.cit., 1.)
had been gained by those for whom agriculture was their true business.

The core of Reid's argument was that Scott could not have both profitable agriculture and significant influence over the Kikuyu. To make a profit on the estate, it was necessary to employ the minimum number of workers consistent with efficiency; by employing large numbers of labourers on a monthly basis only, Scott was defeating both his purposes. This brought Reid back to his original argument that "the true feeder of the Church is the school." And the development of the school, in the form of a missionary training institution such as McCallum had advocated, was the only means of achieving another of Scott's great purposes - the extension of work to Mt. Kenya and beyond.

Reid concluded his report with an eloquent appeal for the development of Kikuyu on the lines of Blantyre - not as it was twenty years previously, but as it was in 1907. Scott appeared to be putting Kikuyu through the "plodding experience" of Blantyre's early days. The time had come to advance, using Blantyre's thirty years of experience as a guide, on new and relevant lines, in the task of establishing a strong mission in British East Africa.

Scott responded to his critics with an impassioned defence of his work at Kikuyu. He deeply regretted the willingness of the Committee to accept evidence of men who had only recently visited Kikuyu, and for short periods. Without dwelling upon the details, since Scott in his second report deals item-by-item with the content of his critics' reports, he argued that he had had no option but to act as he had done. He noted that both McCallum and Reid saw a great future for Kikuyu; this, he claimed, was the result of his own work. Had there been no agricultural scheme and no effort to secure a stake in the land and the temporal possession of the people, as well as a sphere for expansion, there would have been

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no bright outlook for the future in 1907. All that remained was to decide whether
or not Scott's policy was the right one for future development.

Scott did not share Reid's conviction that the model of contemporary Blantyre
could be applied wholesale to Kikuyu. Having had experience of Blantyre in its
early days he did not see how the necessary growth period at Kikuyu could be bypassed.
Yet, while accepting the necessity of such a period, Scott still had a vision of
ultimately greater things at Kikuyu:

"I believe the Church is awakening to a far, far wider, stronger, deeper view
of Missions, and enlarged conceptions of the Kingdom of God. The new idea
of African Missions is furnishing a key even to Home questions. I should
like to see commerce become the Kingdom of Christ as it must do soon. Indian
missions will be carried on upon broader lines, and we need all we learn in
Africa to meet the problem of China. The victory over gold, the concordat
between religious and daily life, the doctrine of the whole man, the problem
of the universal in the particular, and the wider metaphysics and science of
Christianity seem to me to hail from 'Africa's sunny fountains' and 'their
golden sands'."

Scott made one final attempt to win the Committee to his viewpoint in April
1907.133 But in the same month, the Special Sub-Committee appointed to consider
the various reports submitted, delivered a verdict against him.134 Scott was to
be relieved of his industrial and agricultural duties and the Industrial Committee,
established in November 1903 to assist him in Edinburgh, was to be scrapped. Hence-
forth Scott was to confine himself to evangelical and educational work.

It was the view of the Special Sub-Committee that the time had come for a
fresh definition of mission policy and a fresh arrangement of mission methods.
The Committee did not, however, define what these were to be. Clearly, the weight
of opinion in the Committee had been against Scott; yet there was a reluctance,
whether from compassion or from fear of a reaction in favour of Scott in influential

134 CS/FMCM, 16th April 1907.
quarters to condemn him openly. Scott's old friend and mentor, Professor A.H. Charteris, urged him to stay in Edinburgh until the Committee explained precisely what it had in mind. But Scott was anxious to return to Kikuyu, even on these terms, to finish as much of his work as was possible in the short time he knew to be left to him.

In his last six months at Kikuyu, Scott experienced both hardship and reward. On his arrival in May 1907 he found himself under the threat of court proceedings in connection with his large overdraft at a Mombasa bank. The Foreign Mission Committee had undertaken to reimburse him the £1,000 he had spent on the agricultural scheme; they had not done so in May and were still to fulfil their undertaking after his death in October. It was a friend, probably the Master of Polworth, who rescued Scott from near public disgrace by sending £600 to his private account in Mombasa.

Although undiminished for his own part in his enthusiasm for agriculture and for work amongst adults, Scott found that his colleagues at Kikuyu had gladly transferred their interest to education for the young. While Scott had been in Edinburgh, his nephew, Arthur Ruffelle Barlow, and the new medical missionary,

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135 Charteris, op.cit., 17. Charteris had known Scott for twenty-seven years.
136 Ibid, 17-18. Scott's already large overdraft had been increased by Reid who, on taking charge at Kikuyu in February 1906, regarded the agricultural scheme as Scott's private project and debited all costs to the latter's account in Mombasa. (PCEA A/2, Reid to the Very Rev. Dr. McMurtrie, 16th October 1907.)
137 Arthur Ruffelle Barlow, the favourite nephew of Scott's second wife, Edith Ruffelle, had come to Kikuyu from Devon in December 1903 at Scott's invitation. He was then seventeen years old. Living alone on Scott's 'Iona' estate at Limuru, Barlow developed an absorbing interest in Kikuyu life and language. He was soon fluent in idiomatic Kikuyu and had begun to translate hymns, prayers and excerpts from the Bible into Kikuyu. In January 1906 he was arrested and tried at Fort Hall for unlawfully entering the closed district north of the Muringato River in the Kenia Province. Barlow had gone to Mugoiri to assist some Kikuyu friends in the settlement of a dispute. After receiving a heavy fine, Barlow was kept at the C.S.M. as a missionary assistant in translating and printing work. (See PBP, Diaries, 30th July 1904 to 19th February 1906.)
Dr. John W. Arthur, had started a boarding school for boys and had scrapped the system of paying boys for agricultural work as an inducement to attend school.

Scott did not oppose boarding education for the young but believed it would have followed more fruitfully and on a larger scale in due time from his agricultural and industrial efforts. Arthur saw that Scott would not take much interest in the school but would continue to stress the work amongst adults. There remained between the two men a certain but restrained tension over development policy.

Arthur had great admiration for Scott, for his scholarship, energy and faith, but regarded him as an eccentric who "like other people needs help in the things in which he has not got the gifts." 

During his last months at Kikuyu, a period during which he was conscious of approaching death, Scott felt keenly the lack of close and loving relationships with family and friends which had sustained him in difficult periods at Blantyre. His wife had died in December 1902 and his daughters were in Scotland. His nephew, A.R. Barlow, was in sympathy with a development policy which ran counter to his own,

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138 John W. Arthur was born in Glasgow in 1881, the second of four sons. His father was a successful businessman, much influenced by the Moody and Sankey Movement, who passed on to his son his love of religious work amongst young people and his passion for rugby football. Arthur senior, and his father, were leading promoters of the establishment of the Scottish Rugby Union, and both played for Scotland in the 1870s. J.W. Arthur was educated at the Glasgow Academy, studied medicine at Glasgow and London, and graduated Doctor of Medicine at the age of 25. He applied for missionary work in India, but finding no opening, accepted a post with the C.S.M., Kikuyu, in 1906. (Interview with Mrs. E.M. Arthur, Edinburgh, 7th July 1965, and written communication from Mrs. Arthur, 8th July 1965.)

139 PBP, Diaries, 7th April 1907.

140 AP, Arthur to his mother, 30th July 1907.

141 Ibid, Arthur to his mother, 4th June 1907. Amongst other things, Arthur was much put out by having to live in a temporary hut while Scott stored potatoes in the better living quarters. (Mrs. E.M. Arthur, interview, 7th July 1965.)

142 AP, Arthur to his mother, 30th July 1907.
10. David Clement Scott

11. Arthur Ruffelle Barlow

12. Henry Edwin Scott

and having a reserved and hypersensitive nature, was not affectionately responsive. Scott's loneliness was eased by the presence at Kikuyu of George Abercrombie.\(^{143}\) It was upon Abercrombie that Scott lavished his affections, visiting him frequently in a Nairobi hospital in spite of his own failing health and inability to walk.\(^{144}\)

Scott died at Kikuyu on October 13th 1907 as a result of multiple thrombosis of veins in his legs — a condition which had troubled him at least since 1904.\(^{145}\) Shortly before his death, Scott's vision of an extension to Abyssinia was as strong as ever.\(^{146}\) He was greatly comforted by Arthur's assurance that in May 1908 he and Barlow would plant the first station in a line towards Abyssinia at Meru, on the eastern slopes of Mt. Kenya.\(^{147}\) But the greatest reward, from Scott's point of view, and the seeming justification of all that he had done, was the request by six Kikuyu for baptism. Scott's last act was to baptise Karanjia, the first Kikuyu to receive the sacrament at the mission, in demonstration of his faith "in the elevation of the whole man in an Industrial Mission, up to the deliberate adoption of the Christian pledge ...".\(^{148}\) Forgetting for a moment their fear of the dead, the Kikuyu who had worked with Scott, came to look at the body of the man they had called Watenza.\(^{149}\)

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143 Abercrombie, an agnostic and former secretary to Sir Rivers Wilson, had been invited by Scott to come to Kikuyu for a year as temporary assistant in the mission's business and financial department. He contracted malaria on a shooting trip with Barlow and spent most of his time in East Africa in the Nairobi hospital.

144 "Oh Rene", wrote Scott to his wife's sister, "how I have come to love Abercrombie. I never felt the same way for a man before. It is a queer kind of love, almost as if he were my son, and I could sacrifice anything for him ..." (Quoted in Charteris, op. cit., 19.)

145 PEP, Diaries, 29th March 1904.

146 Charteris, op. cit., 20.

147 Robertson, op. cit., 15.


149 PEP, Diaries, 14th October 1907; and AP, Arthur, Circular Letter, 14th October 1907. The name Watenza was given to Scott by the Kikuyu because of his tendency, when he first arrived, to use the Mang'anja word tenga (carry).
To deliver a final judgement on a man such as Scott is no easy task. His many gifts of spiritual insight, scholarship, language and personality were universally recognised in his own day by admirers and critics alike. But he was a tragic figure. His gifts set him apart from other men and tended to work to his disadvantage by lending an aura to his ideas and actions which was at best inspired, at worst eccentric. In one sense Scott's philosophy of missions was firmly rooted in the 19th century, and was inapplicable to the new Africa; yet in another sense, it represented ideals which had still to be achieved anywhere in the field of missions.

With less than £400 per annum for building costs and the development of four departments, and faced with multiple problems of work in a new sphere, it is difficult to see what alternative Scott might have had to his agricultural scheme. There was nothing to be gained by starting with preaching and teaching. The Church Missionary Society at Kabete, Kahuhia and Weithaga had attempted this with little success, and had been obliged to give more attention to industrial work.

In Roman Catholic missions, by contrast, where agricultural schemes on large estates were common, more rapid results had been gained amongst young and old alike. It is significant to note that in 1908, when concern was expressed at the preoccupation with material labours at Holy Ghost missions, Bishop Allgeyer

150 In 1907 the C.M.S. had thirteen baptised Kikuyu Christians, only one of whom had received the sacrament in 1906-7. They had seventy-three children in school, or an average of twenty-four per station - a figure not much higher than that enjoyed by the C.S.M. at Kikuyu in the same year. It should be noted, however, that the figures given for the C.M.S. exclude the numbers of scholars at the C.M.S. station in Nairobi. This station, established in 1906, was unusually well-attended since it was the only evangelical and educational facility available for Nairobi's growing African labour force. (Proc. C.M.S., 1906-7.)

151 See above, p. 183, n. 128.
defended his plantations policy with arguments almost identical to those used by Scott in 1907.152

By 1907, however, conditions in the Protectorate were more conducive to the successful operation of evangelical and educational missions. European occupation had become a more concrete factor in the lives of the Kikuyu, and amongst the younger generations there was a growing appreciation of the connection between mission education and the most remunerative posts in European employment.153 The time was at hand when the demand for education would begin to outstrip the resources of the missions. But the fact remained that development, whether through the school or through a plantation policy was expensive. A new approach was possible, but the Scottish mission might have been spared many years of financial hardship had the overriding desire in 1907 not been to abandon Scott's agricultural scheme. By 1911 proposals were being forwarded for a revival of the policy of self-sufficiency through land and commercial agriculture.154

152 The major difference between the C.S.M. and the Holy Ghost Fathers was, however, that the latter had no interest in promoting the interests of white colonists. Indeed, it was their desire to exclude the growing secular influences in the Protectorate which to a large extent impelled the Holy Ghost Fathers to buy as much land as possible. This apart, it is clear that they enjoyed better support from their superiors than did Scott; their attempts at self-sufficiency were not regarded by the Propaganda Fide as engaging in commerce and were not prohibited by Canon Law. (J.A. Kieran, 'The Holy Ghost Fathers in East Africa, 1863 to 1914', University of London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1966, 349, 406.)

153 This argument is developed by Roland Oliver in The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London, 2nd Ed., 1965) 198-202. A.R. Barlow, recalling the years 1907-8, wrote: "With the establishment of British Government administration a few years previously, the building of the railway, and the arrival of the first settlers, those influences which have since transformed the old British East Africa Protectorate into the modern Kikuyu Colony had already begun to rush in from the outside world and to open up the minds and change the lives of the Kikuyu people." (BP, 'Some Early Memories' n.d.)

154 Similar proposals were made in 1915 for the C.M.S. station at Embu which had been closed for two years. Through the cultivation of crops on an estate of twenty-five acres, many converts and scholars were gained in subsequent years. (Richards, op.cit., 11.)
Central University of German Language

Chapter Four
MISSION ASCENDANT
1. New Bearings

Writing from Blantyre in 1909 to H.E. Scott at Kikuyu, James Reid remarked: "We follow your fortunes in Kikuyu News. They are changed days for Kikuyu. One sees less mention of potatoes, and more of legitimate missionary work."¹ This remark was occasioned by clear evidence that the prevailing policy at Kikuyu was one of giving to the school the foremost place in missionary work - a policy based upon the belief that the only true foundation of a successful mission was education.

The policy of emphasising education was applied from 1908 as an alternative means of realising goals inherited from the E.A.S.M. and kept firmly in view by David Clement Scott. Scott had planned a self-supporting, self-propagating mission through a scheme of agricultural development; given time he promised that his scheme would fill both church and school. But his colleagues were impatient. They chafed at the restrictions placed on the development of their various departments of work by the exclusive claim on all income for agricultural development. They had all, with the exception of A.R. Barlow, joined the mission during Clement Scott's last year at Kikuyu and could not appreciate the reason for the potato experiment. Conditions in the Protectorate in 1907 appeared to favour the beginning of a boarding school system. Other missions were concentrating their efforts in this direction and seemed likely to leave the C.S.M. far behind in the winning of converts.

¹ PCEA A/4, Reid to Scott, 10th May 1909.
Life in the British East Africa Protectorate in 1908 was substantially different to what it had been when Clement Scott first came to Kikuyu. The agricultural scheme had coincided with the first large influx of white settlers and had been part of the resulting speculation in land and commerce. But by the time of Scott's death, although the frontier atmosphere of the country was to persist for a long time to come, the earlier, colourful manifestations of life on the frontier were receding. Neighbouring settlers were seldom seen as guests at the mission for long discussions on colonising prospects or for companionable card games. There was less hunting and shooting on the estate by missionary riflemen, and less of the pioneering spirit of indifference to the lack of proper accommodation and other comforts of life. By 1908 there were four ladies on the station; permanent houses had to be provided for them, and manners and dress had to be adjusted accordingly. The manse, no longer a potato store or a makeshift surgery where operations were performed on the dining table, became the respectable centre of the mission - the gracious home of the leading missionary's wife, and the venue for decorous entertainment and hospitality.

Opposition to the agricultural scheme, having been started by James Reid during his temporary appointment to Kikuyu in 1906, was sustained by J.W. Arthur and others until Clement Scott's death. But the effective champion of 'legitimate' missionary work, and of bringing the C.S.M. into line with other missions, was found in Clement Scott's successor.

2 The bone of contention between Arthur and Clement Scott had been the place which the former wished to give to the boarding school. Arthur was very anxious to make changes at Kikuyu but agreed at the time of Scott's death to a request by Barlow not to dishonour the memory of the deceased by making those changes immediately. (PBP, Diaries, 15th October 1907.)
Henry Edwin Scott, born in 1864 and appointed to Kikuyu in November 1907, had been an ordained medical missionary in Nyasaland for eighteen years, serving successively at Blantyre, Domasi and Zomba. Like Clement Scott, he was educated at Edinburgh University where he distinguished himself as an outstanding athlete and scholar and as a man devoted to preparing for the missionary life. His appointment to Kikuyu was not, however, a reprieve from retirement, but the promotion of an experienced man from an older to a younger mission which was badly in need of strong leadership.

At Kikuyu, although he lived for only four years after his arrival, Henry Scott became a popular and successful missionary head. Besides enlisting the enthusiasm and cooperation of his staff in a new direction of work, Scott was acknowledged as a leader of Protestant missions in the Protectorate, and was a prime mover in cooperative schemes, described below, which were to have a profound influence on later missionary developments.

In many respects Henry Scott's success consisted in carrying to fruition projects which Clement Scott had initiated. He displayed the same broad perspective, force of personality and energy of his namesake. Yet there were important differences between the two men. The first and obvious difference was their attitude to missionary method. Clement Scott did not believe that Kikuyu could start from the point reached by contemporary Blantyre; he saw this not as a disability but an opportunity to make new departures in the concept of an African mission and to aim at far wider, more ambitious goals in a young Protectorate.

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3 CS/FMCN, 18th April 1911; and KN, No. 27, April 1911, W. Borland, 'The Worker', 8.
Scorning such grand schemes, the more pragmatic Henry Scott insisted that Kikuyu should be modelled faithfully on Blantyre. His emphasis, as it had been in Nyasaland, was on pure evangelism; all other departments of work would be subordinated to this primary aim. There could be no compromise and no delay. The Christian school was the most appropriate and most effective evangelistic agency.

Another important difference between the two men was their attitude to African beliefs and customs. Clement Scott was greatly impressed by the powers of logic and oratory, and the keen sense of justice, displayed by Kikuyu elders. To him, the Council of Elders was "splendid in its morale and enforcement of Government"; he warned that no missionary or Government official could work without it. Regarding Kikuyu customs, he wrote as follows to the Committee in Edinburgh:

"When one thinks how good and strong are Kikuyu laws and customs, how wise the Wazee .... and how utterly above ordinary home conceptions of heathenism, one feels that it requires the fullest intelligence of the Church, and the deepest results of applied Christianity, to meet the missionary necessities of the case."6

Such sentiments are difficult to find in the records of the C.S.M. in the post-Clement Scott era. Henry Scott believed that Africans had no principles, and at a Public Meeting following the United Missionary Conference at Nairobi in 1909, he declared that Africans "are held down by customs and traditions which are wholly incompatible with a true development into useful, industrious citizens,

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5 CS/FMCN, Scott, 'Proposals Regarding Kikuyu', April 1907.
7 KN, No. 29, June 1911, A.R. Barlow, 'Reflections on our loss', 19.
and which make it impossible for them to be honest, reliable men."  

These views of African customs dictated the attitudes of the two men towards the future position of Africans in a colonial society. Clement Scott had a vision of a time in the future when Africans would take their place as equal citizens and arbiters of their own destinies in a modern, technological community of nations. Christianity and western civilisation were the rightful inheritance of Africans. It was inevitable that much of their traditional way of life, however commendable, would have to be abandoned. The role of Europeans in the Protectorate, missionaries and laymen, the former guiding the latter, was to assist Africans to realize their inheritance.

Henry Scott, by contrast, did not believe that for the foreseeable future Africans would be able to stand unsupported in the conditions of the modern world. The principle upon which his educational policy was based was that African powers of intellect and application were inferior to those of Europeans, and that Africans should receive a training which would befit them for their proper station in a white man's country. To this end, the fabric of African life had to be preserved.

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8 Report of the United Missionary Conference, Nairobi, 7-11th June 1909 (Nairobi, 1909). At this Conference, Protestant missionaries were in general agreement that African customs to be opposed included African marriage ceremonies, polygamy and the lack of rights for widows; casting out the sick and superstitions concerning the dead; circumcision, not so much for its own sake, but for the attendant heathen rites; dancing, particularly those held at night where sexual stimulus seemed to be the prime objective; nakedness, but at the same time the wearing of European clothes; and for the American fundamentalists in particular, the taking of beer and tobacco. Note that in Henry Scott's time at Kikuyu, missionaries were issued with Alexander Hetherwick's 'Instructions to the Missionaries' – a booklet of guidance, amongst other things, in attitudes to be adopted to African customs. One instruction was that heathen superstitions should not be treated lightly since "they are gropings in the dark" and "all the native has until you put the Christian faith in their place." (CS/FMCN, 20th November 1906.)

as far as possible, but with a grafting on of Christianity to purify and enlighten that life. 10

Leaving aside the question of attitudes of racial superiority, it should be stressed that the policy which Henry Scott represented - one held by the majority of his contemporaries - sprang from a genuine concern to protect African society from rapid disintegration in the face of the multiple forces of the European presence. There was a general awareness at the time that these forces exerted a disruptive, centrifugal effect, the most immediate result of which was the separation of the individual from his community. Clement Scott had felt this danger and had tailored his agricultural scheme to allow for the spread of Christian influence amongst adult workers on his estate. He believed that adults were sufficiently mature in mental power to comprehend Christian theology, and that they would be the more natural agents for the spread, albeit gradual, of Christian teaching in the villages.

It is, however, a paradox that the new policy which prevailed at Kikuyu after 1907, of concentrating upon education for the young in the belief that adults were too firmly steeped in heathen superstition and vile customs to become effective Christian evangelists, had the opposite effect to the one intended. The Henry Scott school of thought aimed at African development along African lines, using young, educated Christians as the agents for the creation of a Christian, industrious society. Yet the concentration on education, and in particular the use of the boarding school, was perhaps the most effective of all forces in the breakdown of the traditional order. It would not be too much to say that in the beginning at least, the educational drive created a class of tribal outcasts whose

10 This was also the official policy at Blantyre: "The Christian faith does not aim at dis-Africanising the native convert. It aims at purifying and elevating his social and national life and customs, and leading himself and his family into the Christian habits of life and thought." (Hetherwick, 'Instructions to the Missionaries', op.cit.)
new community was the Church. No one who studies missions is unaware of the trials of parental and communal censure which young adherents of missions endured.

While on the one hand the effect was to produce a quiescent bourgeois of African Christians, loyal to the Church and finding favour with the missionaries as living examples of what a Christian African community should be, there also emerged a class of radicals. These were young men who had served their apprenticeship in the mission schools and who became the opponents of the missionary attempt to keep Africans in their appointed station in a white man's country. Although by no means always sure of their ultimate aim, it was the young mission-educated men who noticeably in post-war years led the crusade for higher African education, and who spurned any attempt to make education conform to the missionary view of African life and culture.

It might be argued that this was inevitable and that most missionaries recognised the element of euthanasia in their work. Yet, had it not been for the conservatism displayed by missionaries, or the insistence on regarding African development within the framework of the needs and aspirations of white colonists, the process would have been considerably less violent and bloody; and missions would have emerged with more credit for the lives, money and devoted effort which they expended in the task of bringing Christianity to British East Africa.

Concerning the vital necessity of infusing African society with Christian standards, one missionary expressed the case as follows: "You only have to look at the houses in which they live, the conditions of their women and children, the way in which they treat those who are weaker than themselves, their natural disinclination for continuous labour, their superstition about sickness and neglect of those who are ill, to see at once the intense need for best development, and to be assured that nothing but the Gospel of Jesus Christ can ever bring it about." (Archdeacon Walker, C.M.S. Uganda, address to the Public Meeting at the Railway Institute, Nairobi, June 1909, Report of the United Missionary Conference, Nairobi, 7-11th June 1909 (Nairobi, 1909.).)
Besides being set on a new bearing in general policy from 1907, the C.S.M. overhauled its internal mission government and entered into a freshly defined relationship with its home committee as regards administration and finance.

The governing body of the mission, as it had been in effect since 1901, was the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland. The history of this body goes back to 1824 when as a result of representations made to the General Assembly concerning the foreign mission work in India, the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts came into being. Although the name of this Committee, appointed to conduct missionary ventures on behalf of the Church, was never officially changed, by custom it became known as the Foreign Mission Committee.12 As a standing committee of the General Assembly, its personnel changed as the years passed, but legally it remained the same Committee. In 1923, for example, the Committee consisted of forty ministers and seventy elders appointed on its own nomination by the General Assembly, together with one representative appointed annually by each of the eighty-four Presbyteries of the Church, the whole giving a total membership of one hundred and forty-four.

The Secretary and other officials, including the members of the various sub-committees were appointed by the Committee itself, but the Convenor was appointed or reappointed annually by the General Assembly. In brief, the Foreign Mission Committee was responsible for conducting foreign missions, for appointing missionaries and for raising the necessary funds. Each year it was obliged to report

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on its activities to the General Assembly, the latter body having the power to
review decisions and operations, and requiring to be consulted on specific matters
such as Church Union in mission fields, the ordination of lay missionaries for
work abroad, and matters affecting ecclesiastical law.

Until 1936, the C.S.M. in Kenya stood in a special relationship to the
Foreign Mission Committee. The reason for this goes back to 1901 when, as a
condition of acceptance by the church of the E.A.S.M., it was decided that the
mission should not form a charge on the ordinary funds for mission purposes. The
actual details of the financial and administrative relationship of the new acquisition
were delayed until 1907 — until the Committee of the E.A.S.M. was empowered to
hand over its responsibility, and until the complex legal difficulties were solved
as to the transfer of land and the Endowment.

In May 1907 the mission became the responsibility of a special British East
Africa, later Kikuyu, Sub-Committee. This Committee, composed of representatives
of the F.M.C. and of the subscribers to the mission, was responsible to the F.M.C.
for raising funds and for general administration. Amongst its first members
representing the subscribers were the wives of Alexander Low Bruce and Peter
Mackinnon. From 1908 until his death in 1921, J.W. Arthur, father of Dr. Arthur
at Kikuyu and a successful Glasgow businessman, held the post of Convener of the
Kikuyu Sub-Committee. Besides being of great benefit to his son, Arthur's position
on the Committee was of great value to the mission in terms of business contacts,
the creation of a Glasgow Auxilliary Committee, and the raising of considerable
sums of money for missionary development.14

13 CS/FMCM, 29th May 1907, and 19th November 1907.
14 Another member of the Glasgow Auxilliary Committee was Professor W.B. Stevenson
of Glasgow University, brother of Marion Scott Stevenson of the C.S.M. in Kenya.
In 1936, following the reunion six years earlier of the Established and United Free Churches of Scotland, the Kikuyu Sub-Committee was abolished. The mission no longer stood in a special relationship to the Church, but like other missions was managed by the Africa Sub-Committee of the F.M.C. The subscribers continued to send one representative to the new Committee, a position held for many years by Miss A.B. Bruce, daughter of the pioneer founder of the E.A.S.M. 15

The C.S.M. was fortunate in the continuity for many years of personnel in its local and home administration. Arthur succeeded Henry Scott in 1911, and with several other leading missionaries who came to Kikuyu as early as he, continued to serve the mission until after 1929. In the Foreign Mission Committee, two men who took a deep personal interest in the mission, Convenor, J.N. Ogilvie and Secretary W.M. McLachlan, served from 1908 until 1925 and 1929 respectively. And in the Kikuyu Sub-Committee, Arthur senior was a devoted worker from 1908 until 1921. The many years shared by these men made for cooperation, understanding and efficient action which played no small part in the success of the mission.

But in spite of this, the mission was never assured of a regular, adequate or guaranteed income. It was the perennial shortage of funds which dictated a closer control of missionary policy by the home Committees than might otherwise have been the case.

A major disability experienced by the mission was the impression widely held that it was a rich institution on account of its inherited Endowment and its earlier patronage by wealthy businessmen. It was, in fact, one of the poorest missions in the Church of Scotland. The Endowment, fully invested and untouchable, brought an income from interest of about £1,500. The other sources of income were so varied and so irregular that running the mission became a major exercise in accountancy and business administration. Clement Scott, who had mingled his own and his friend's

15 See above, p.41, n.121, and below, p.204, n. 20.
money with payments from the Endowment, left financial chaos at Kikuyu in 1907—a situation for which his successors refused to accept any responsibility. A fresh start was made by Henry Scott in book-keeping, payments and general financial administration from the end of 1907.

An effective medium for propaganda and for attracting subscriptions was found in the periodical of the mission, Kikuyu News. Started in 1908 by Henry Scott, and edited at first in Scotland by the Rev. Dr. James Robertson of Whittinghame, the periodical quickly became one of the most popular and successful missionary magazines of the Church. Everything of a controversial nature was, naturally, edited out, and to a large extent a deliberately optimistic picture was presented of the mission's progress and widening influence. But from 1908 to 1958, at a fixed annual subscription of two shillings and sixpence,¹⁶ Kikuyu News is perhaps one of the best journalistic records of a mission available.

Appeals for subscriptions were made through Kikuyu News, pulpit addresses, and a missionary deputation work during furloughs. While congregations, Sunday Schools and individuals pledged money for general purposes, many donations or undertakings were given for specific purposes. Money for the running of a Kikuyu and Tumutumu Boy's Brigade battalion was given by Edinburgh and Glasgow Brigade Companies. Both individuals and Sunday Schools 'adopted' a boy or a girl at the mission and undertook to pay for annual costs of feeding and clothing, receiving in return, photographs, accounts of progress, and occasionally letters from the boy or girl so assisted.¹⁷ Women's work at the mission was assisted

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¹⁶ KN, No. 216, December 1958, article on the history of Kikuyu News by the Rev. Dr. R.G.M. Calderwood, Pp. 96-98.

¹⁷ Kamau wa Ngengi, alias Johnstone Kamau, alias Johnstone Kenyatta, alias Jomo Kenyatta was allocated in 1912 to St. John's (Cross) Sunday School, Dundee. (KN, No. 36, June 1912, Pp. 12-13.)
by contributions of clothing and other comforts by the Church's Women's Association for Foreign Missions. Beds in the hospital were frequently financed as memorials. Occasionally a large legacy was devoted to the mission, such as the one in 1909 of £500 from a person whose chief concern was that Kikuyu should become a bastion against the spread of Islam, or another of £2,000 in 1912 left by Mrs. A.L. Bruce.

Being entirely dependent on the liberality of home subscribers for general purposes and for special appeals for new work, the mission was on occasions affected by the whims and prejudices of its subscribers. Henry Scott, for example, twice unwittingly offended supporters of the mission in Scotland, the consequence in one case being the loss to the mission of an intended large subscription. On both occasions, however, it was only the extreme Presbyterian viewpoint which was offended. The lady who had promised the large subscription objected to Scott's choice of stained glass windows in the Watson-Scott Memorial Church at Kikuyu in 1908. And on the other occasion, an aged gentleman who counted himself as a direct descendant of those true Presbyterians who in 1638 forced the Glasgow

Mrs. Peter Mackinnon in 1914 endowed one such bed at Kikuyu as a memorial to her husband. (CSP/NLS 7565, W. McLeachlan to Mrs. P. Mackinnon, 28th April 1914.) The building of the Hunter Memorial Hospital at Kikuyu, opened in 1908, was financed largely by a private donor, Mrs. Hunter, in memory of her husband.

PCEA A/5, W. Borland to H.E. Scott, 9th December 1909.

Ibid, A/12, Arthur to Barlow, 29th April 1912. The generosity of the Bruce family towards the mission continued for many years. In 1927, for example, Miss Bruce gave £600 in response to an appeal for a modern water system at the C.M.S. station, Tumutumu. Mrs. A.L. Bruce, who died in 1912, being the daughter of David Livingstone was chiefly interested in Nyasaland. She visited the Protectorate six times, the last occasion: being in 1911. In 1909 she was at Blantyre to lay the Foundation Stone of the Blantyre Mission Central Institution and to receive an address of welcome from the Town Council. (The Late Mrs. Livingstone Bruce, In Far Field, XXXIV, 6, June 1912, 191; and PCEA A/5, James Reid to H.E. Scott, 19th August 1909.)

PCEA A/3, Borland to Scott, 22nd September 1908.
Assembly to rescind the King's imposition of the Articles of Perth upon the Church in 1618, objected to Henry Scott's use in Kikuyu News of words such as 'Yule', and other days of the "so-called 'Christian Year', as if these were recognised with approval, and adopted, by the Church of Scotland."  

For a few years after 1907, when apart from the extension to the Mt. Kenya district no costly projects were launched, the financial state of the mission was reasonably good. Legacies and large donations were more frequent than in later years, and the most serious financial problem was to bring some order into the accounting system at Kikuyu. In 1909 income exceeded estimates by £814. But by 1910 a brake was applied to the growing number of special appeals, particularly for extensions to the work at Tumutumu. Other mission, such as Panjab in India, were in dire financial straits in that year and were considered to be in greater need of a special appeal than Tumutumu. The British East Africa mission had by then entered into a condition of growing deficit which by 1923 had reached a figure of £5,000, only £1,000 less than the total deficit in the financial condition of the F.K.C. 

By 1926 the mission's debt had been reduced to £1,500, the financial situation remained a matter of grave concern. McLachlan was at first horrified by Arthur's action in that year of launching a special appeal for £40,000 for a new church and other purposes at Kikuyu, but later changed his mind as the money began to

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22 Ibid A/5, A. Niven to Borland, 18th June 1909.  
23 PCEA A/4, McLachlan to Scott, 23rd March 1909.  
24 Ibid A/6, McLachlan to Scott, 14th April 1910.  
come in. In 1936, however, with the incorporation of the mission in the area responsibility of the Africa Sub-Committee, the Church of Scotland finally accepted full responsibility for the finances of the C.S.M. in Kenya.

The unique financial position of the Scottish mission in Kenya had its effect upon the question of staffing. As the various departments of work became firmly established, and as extensions were made into new territorial spheres, so the need for trained additional staff grew. Tumutumu in the Nyeri District was opened in 1908, and Chogoria in Meru country in 1921. Each was developed on the same pattern as Kikuyu and required doctors, preachers, artisans and teachers. There were on occasions possibilities of opening still further stations; but invariably shortage of funds for general purposes and for extra staff proved a limiting factor. The principle insisted upon when additional stations were planned was that no funds should be diverted from an established station. Salaries were always the most costly item on the missionary budget and were the most difficult to meet. It was this, which perhaps as much as any other factor, compelled the mission to enter into agreements with the Protectorate Government for special grants-in-aid to meet the cost of salaries. And, as will be shown in greater detail below, cooperation with Government was an exercise which many were to regard as being more troublesome than valuable.

Added to the financial problem in securing staff was the difficulty of finding suitable trained men for the mission field. In general it might be stated that at no time since 1900 was the supply equal to the demand. There was never a shortage of applicants for artisan missionary posts, especially from unemployed and unsuitable men. But doctors, ordained men, and qualified teachers were the most difficult to find. In 1913, for example, there were two vacancies for doctors
in the Scottish mission field which had remained unfilled for several years and which in that year seemed likely to remain so for some time to come. Immediately after the First World War, at a time when qualified missionary teachers were in great demand in Kenya to meet the phenomenal increase of pupils in mission schools, the shortage of applicants was more acute than ever.

There were, however, exceptions in this situation. The Rev. James Youngson, who came to Tumutumu in 1911, and who later served for a few years as minister to St. Andrew's Church, Nairobi, declined an opportunity to go to India, the 'Mecca' of most missionaries, in favour of an opening in British East Africa. And in the critical post-war years there was a growing interest in developing Africa which secured for the Scottish mission such able men as the Rev. R.G.M. Calderwood, and Mr. G.A. Grieve.

In retrospect, notwithstanding the very real difficulty in securing suitable

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26 CSP/NLS 7563, McLachlan to Robertson, 18th June 1913.
27 R.G.M. Calderwood, born at Gairlochhead in 1896 and educated at George Watson's Edinburgh, and Glasgow University, was a son of the manse whose father and grandfather had been much influenced by the Moody and Sankey Movement. Calderwood's own formative experience was hearing an address by William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Glasgow Student Christian Movement Quadrennial. After gaining the Military Cross during the Great War and completing his studies at Glasgow, Calderwood came to Tumutumu in 1922. He succeeded Arthur in 1937, becoming Chairman of the Christian Council of Kenya in 1943 and first Moderator of the P.C.E.A. in 1956. Calderwood died in 1968. (Biographical information given in an interview at Nairobi, 24th February 1966.)
28 G.A. Grieve, 1888-1965, was born in Dundee and was educated at Markinch School and Edinburgh University. He completed his studies for an M.A. and Dip. Ed. at Edinburgh University and Moray House in 1920, and was appointed to take charge of the teacher-training programme at the C.S.M., Kikuyu. In 1926, having gained a Bachelor's Degree in Education in Edinburgh, he returned to Kenya to become the first headmaster of the Alliance High School. Grieve retired from Kenya in 1940 but returned to the country on several occasions, the last being as a guest of honour at the Independence Celebrations. (See, the Grieve Papers (GP), Edinburgh University Library.)
men and women, it must be concluded that the C.S.M. in Kenya was fortunate in its missionaries and fortunate in the long periods for which the most able amongst them served. Although Clement and Henry Scott were at Kikuyu for only six and four years respectively, others, notably Barlow, Mrs. Watson, Arthur, Miss Marion Stevenson, and M.R.A. Philp, served an average of twenty-eight years each in the period, 1899 to 1941.29

Although most of the members of this group held views on Africa and Africans which find little favour today, by the standards of their time they were leaders in ability and achievement in the Kenya missionary field. It would be difficult to find a group more wholly unrepresentative of the portrait of Kenya missionaries as untrained and of low intellectual calibre drawn by one leading African.30

There was perhaps no other mission in Kenya which paid so much attention to securing graduates with specialised training for its important posts, and certainly no other mission which insisted upon placing a fully-qualified doctor at each of its stations.31

It is true that of the above-mentioned group Mrs. Watson and A.R. Barlow were not graduates and had no particular training. But Mrs. Watson, in her work amongst women and young boys, possessed qualities which no training could impart. She was mother to thousands of Kikuyu children who passed through her hands, and is remembered with great affection—by President Kenyatta, amongst others32—not least for her unsparring use of the birch rod! And Barlow, whose

29 The actual dates for each are: Mrs. Watson, 1899–1930; Barlow, 1903–1941; Arthur, 1906–1937; Miss Stevenson, 1907–1929; and Philp, 1910–1930.
31 There were, of course, many others who served at the C.S.M. in the lower echelons. Generally speaking, they were capable men and women, many of them University graduates, amongst whom the chief cause for comparatively short periods of service was ill-health.
32 President Kenyatta, speech at the P.C.E.A., Kikuyu, on Saturday 23rd March 1968 at the Seventieth Anniversary Celebrations of the founding of the Presbyterian Church in Kikuyuland.
official designation was Translator, was the finest European scholar of the
Kikuyu language in Kenya for half a century. The Kikuyu Bible and the Kikuyu-
English Dictionary are but two of his many achievements.

The government of the mission in the field had, in Clement Scott's time,
been an informal affair in which executive power was undefined and left to the
discretion of the head of the mission. On Scott's return to Kikuyu for the last
time in 1907, he carried with him instructions from the F.M.C. to hold monthly
staff meetings, and to transmit the minutes of meetings to Edinburgh for scrutiny.
This arrangement, referred to as the Kikuyu Mission Conference, became the British
East Africa Mission Council in 1908. After 1921 it was known as the Kikuyu Mission
Council. 33

The principle of restricted membership of the Mission Council was established
in 1908 by Henry Scott. Under the old system every missionary had been a member
of the Conference, but Scott did not regard this as desirable for the Council
as the mission's executive body. By way of compromise, and in order to avoid
giving offence to those missionaries already at Kikuyu, the membership of the
Conference became that of the Council. Thereafter while the ex officio Chairman
of the Council was the head of the mission, members of Council would be chosen
by the F.M.C. 34

The Council system was an efficient means of governing the mission in its
daily routine and relationships with the F.M.C. until after the First World War.
It did not, however, escape criticism either by new missionaries who found that
they did not become members automatically, or by outside observers. In the latter
case, criticism of the Council's undemocratic nature was expressed by the Rev.

33 For simplicity's sake, the proceedings of the Council are referred to as Kikuyu
Mission Council Minutes. (KCMC) throughout the period covered by this work.
34 PCEA A/1, Scott to Dr. McMurtrie, 13th January 1908.
Professor Harlan P. Beach, Professor of Missions at Yale University and a member of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference. On a visit to Kikuyu in 1912, Beach was surprised to find that artisan missionaries were not members of Council (unless they had served for many years) and that they appeared to be treated as second-class staff members.

In 1921, following complaints by the Tumutumu missionaries that the Council system was unrepresentative of staff opinions in general, and of Tumutumu's interests in particular, the constitution of the Council was revised. The new constitution was a compromise, since opinions were deeply divided on the issue in the mission field, and made no major innovations save that the permanent official of the Council became Chairman. The Secretary had all administrative functions as his province, but the Chairman, elected annually, presided at Council meetings. And in order that total power and discretion should not be vested in one official, it was declared that the Secretary and Chairman should co-jointly sign letters explaining the minutes to the F.M.C. The basis of the Council was not broadened to include all serving missionaries, but a system of regular general staff meetings without administrative powers was started at each station.

Hence, until after 1929 the Council of the C.S.M. in Kenya, by comparison to those in India and China, remained one of the most undemocratic in the Scottish mission field. In 1932, following severe criticism of the Kenya system in the F.M.C. a new council constitution was brought in which specifically provided for the participation of all missionaries in the field. Thereafter, the Church

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36 PCEA A/13, Beach to Arthur, 2nd August 1912.
37 This aspect of the mission's history was evident in 1917. (See p.323.)
38 KMCM, 5-9th October 1920; and CS/FMCN, 1st March 1921. The latter source gives the new constitution.
39 PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Arthur', Calderwood, note to Barlow, 12th July 1932.
of Scotland Mission Council in Kenya conformed to the pattern laid down by the F.M.C. of the re-united Church of Scotland.

After Clement Scott's death a new bearing was set for the mission in its relationships with the secular agencies of the Protectorate. Clement Scott had made little practical distinction between white and black; both communities were his province, and their interests were interrelated in his ideal of a wider mission which aimed at a holy colony and a holy commerce. Henry Scott, a more conventional missionary, but no less interested than his predecessor in securing for the mission a leading place in the Protectorate's affairs, preferred the role of the missionary leader arbitrating between Government and settlers in defence of what he saw to be African interests.

There was no other mission in the Protectorate which became involved in Protectorate affairs to the same extent as the O.S.M.. From the time of his arrival, although refusing an invitation to become a member of the Colonists' Association, Henry Scott took a keen interest in all matters affecting European settlers. He found that there were no missionaries who were taking an active part in shaping policy. In March 1908, hearing that the settlers were to meet the Governor in Nairobi to discuss labour problems, Scott declared that this was the kind of occasion at which the missionary voice ought to be heard. He insisted that the Rev. Charles Hulbert, Field Director of the A.I.M., and another American missionary should accompany him to the meeting. The impression which he made earned Scott a place on the Provincial Labour Board - the first of several secular bodies.

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40 PCEA A/2, Sydney C. Fichat, Secretary, Colonists' Association, to Scott, 1st May 1908. Together with this letter of invitation, Fichat sent Scott the publication by W. MacLelllan Wilson - The Colonists' Association of British East Africa (Nairobi, n.d.).
on which he was to serve with considerable effect. 41

From that time onwards Scott became a popular and respected figure in Government and settler circles. He never identified himself with the settler cause to the extent that Clement Scott had done, but being committed to the ideal of a white man's country, he set himself to help the settlers in ways appropriate to his standing as a missionary. Henry Scott established the precedent at Kikuyu of educating settlers about missionary work. He attended their meetings and invited leading settlers to attend missionary functions. The Christian settler was regarded as the ally of the missionary in 'uplifting' Africans to a higher plane of civilisation.

The Young Men's Christian Association in Nairobi was Scott's creation. Out of concern for the moral welfare of European men in a town riddled with bars and brothels, Scott began to speak of the necessity for a Y.M.C.A. In 1909 Scott had the good fortune to meet the American President, Col. Roosevelt, at a service held for the St. Andrew's congregation in Nairobi. Roosevelt, who was in East Africa for a shooting trip, listened sympathetically to Scott's proposals for a Y.M.C.A. and handed him the first subscription towards the cost of erecting a hostel. The President also introduced Scott to a wealthy member of his party, a Mr. McMillan, who gave £1,000 towards the project on the understanding that the Protectorate Government would make a grant of the required land and that a Secretary was appointed from abroad. By August 1909, Scott had secured the land and building had begun on a site not far from the one reserved for St. Andrew's Church. 42

42 Mrs. H.E. Scott, A Saint in Kenya. The Life of Marion Scott Stevenson (London, 1932) 92-93; and PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 3rd August 1909. In addition to his work with the Y.M.C.A., Scott was closely connected with the establishment of the Boy Scout movement in Nairobi.
The building of St. Andrew’s was another service performed by Scott for Europeans. This was a project which Clement Scott had initiated but which was still under consideration by the Colonial and Continental Committee of the Church of Scotland at the time of his death. Henry Scott conducted regular Sunday services for Nairobi Presbyterians in the European School from the time of his arrival, and was instrumental in securing land and money for the building of the Church. The foundation stone was laid in July 1910 by Governor Girouard and the Church was opened in the following December. Until 1913 the mission continued to provide the services of one of its ordained men as minister. The first permanent minister at St. Andrews was the Rev. J.T. Souttar who in August 1914 officiated at the baptismal service at Kikuyu at which Kamau wa Ngengi became Johnstone Kamau – later Johnstone Kenyatta.

A close relationship persisted between the C.S.M. and St. Andrew’s, the two in 1920 being incorporated into the first Presbytery of the Church in Kenya. Through St. Andrew’s the mission retained close contact with officials and settlers who were members of the congregation. W. MacLellan Wilson, for example, a leading settler and one-time Secretary of the Colonists' Association, was a member of St. Andrew’s Board of Management from 1909 and an Elder of the Church from 1918. The Rev. J.F.G. Orr, moreover, who was Minister at St. Andrew’s from 1921 to 1935, was President for many years of the Nairobi European Political Association.44

43 See PCEA/TT, Margaret Malcomsen, 'A brief outline of the first twenty-five years of Saint Andrew's Church, Nairobi, Kenya Colony', 1958; and a Jubilee publication of St. Andrew's Journal (P.C.E.A., Nairobi) entitled, 'St. Andrew's, Nairobi. A Short History of the Congregation and a Guide to the Present Church. Jubilee of Service, 1908–1968.' See also below, Pp.299 - 301, for the relationship of the Church in its early years to the question of a United Church in E.E.A.

44 Malcomson, op.cit., 14.
Cooperation with Government officials was a hallmark of Henry Scott’s administration and a legacy passed on to his successors. There was an interdependence between missions and officials which could be worked to the advantage of both sides. The necessity to missions of firm administration does not require comment, but the extent to which officials relied upon missions is often underestimated. The records of the Scottish mission, as with those of other missions, are full of requests from officials (and from settlers) for educated mission youths to enter Government service as Hut Tax collectors, Census counters, medical and veterinary assistants, and clerks. And in their administration of the country, it was upon missions that officials relied for intelligence concerning African unrest and the activities of the various categories of witchdoctor, and for preaching loyalty to the Government. 45

Not all officials approved of missions and some were actively hostile. But there were many whose names are familiar in histories concerning the colonial period who worked closely with missions and who rendered assistance and encouragement. Amongst those who took a great interest in the C.S.M., there was H.R. Tate, D.C. of Kyambu and later P.C. of the Kenya Province, 46 W. MacGregor Ross of the Provincial Works Department, M.H. Beech, Assistant D.C. at Dagoretti, Norman Leys of the Medical Department, 47 and John Ainsworth, Sub-Commissioner at Nairobi, P.C. of the Kisumu Province, and finally, Chief Native Commissioner. 48

45 PCEA A/5, H.R. Tate to Scott, 'Confidential. Intelligence re Native Affairs', 1st April 1909.
46 Philp at Tumutumu felt, however, that Tate had 'High Church' views and was more inclined to favour the C.M.S. (PCEA A/28/1, Philp to Arthur, 13th August 1916.)
47 See the long chapter on missions in Norman Leys, Kenya (London, 1924.)
One of the first public utterances of the harmony in work between missions and officials was made at a Public Meeting in Nairobi at the close of the United Missionary Conference. At this meeting, Henry Scott moved the resolution that "in the work of uplifting native races Christian Missions and a Christian Government are mutually dependent." H.R. Tate presented an address treating the subject of the value to Government of missions:

"We look to them to strengthen the moral force of this country, to give a true ideal to its development, to counteract the destructive forces which inevitably follow the opening up and development of new regions in Africa and to deepen the unity which should hold this country together. ... I believe in the work of missions ... and I regard them in the true sense as an imperial force composed of faithful and trusty sons and daughters of the Empire."  

On the many occasions when officials opposed the policy of the Governor on questions such as land, labour and education and were unable to express their opinions effectively, it was to missions that they looked for public protest. In 1918, Ainsworth, being unable as an official to write to the Press, urged Arthur to speak out on the subject of education and offered to write down his own views on the subject. Tate in 1919 professed grave alarm at his Government's labour policy and advised Arthur and other missionaries that the time had come for a public outcry by missions. And MacGregor Ross, writing to Norman Leys on the currency question in 1921, acidly remarked that the "putrid missionaries" in Kenya were at last waking up to the effects of the currency changes upon Africans and were contemplating an address to bodies in Britain.

50 Ibid.
51 Ainsworth, even as Chief Native Commissioner, urged many things which were ignored by Governor Northey and the Colonial Office. (AP, Ainsworth to Arthur, 6th March 1923.)
52 PCEA G/1. Ainsworth to Arthur, 20th March 1918.
53 Ibid, Tate to Arthur, 7th December 1919.
An example of the way in which officials sometimes differed with missionaries on the question of the best defence of African interests is the criticism of Henry Scott made by Norman Leys in 1910 in connection with the second Maasai move. Steps were taken in 1910 by Governor Girouard to arrange for the transfer of Legalishu's Maasai from the northern, Laikipia Reserve to join the other main body of Maasai under the Oloiboni, Lenana, in the Southern Reserve. There was a suspicion in several quarters that Girouard, who professed a humane and sympathetic Native Policy, had submitted on this issue to pressures for the opening of the Laikipia Plateau to white settlement.

Henry Scott, who enjoyed a close relationship with the Governor, was invited to attend a meeting at Ngong between three 'chiefs' and thirty elders of the Maasai and the Governor, three P.C.s, the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Crown Advocate. Scott's function at Ngong in February 1910 was to act as an independent witness to the signing of an agreement for the transfer of the northern Maasai. He was aware that the move was politically inspired and that certain speculators were wanting the land. But he took the view that in spite of this it was in the best interests of the Maasai as a whole that the two major sections should be reunited in one Reserve.

Norman Leys heard from MacGregor Ross that Girouard had consulted the mission and that Scott had shown sympathy towards the Governor's intentions. He wrote a strictly confidential letter to Scott in which he outlined his own views on the

55 The Oloiboni in Maasai, roughly the equivalent of the Nandi and Kipsigis Orkoiyot, was the tribe's chief ritual expert. Lenana had been made a paramount chief by the Colonial Administration.

56 PCEA A/9, Scott to McLachlan, 3rd May 1910. After the meeting, at a time when the agreement was suffering heavy criticism, Scott wrote to the Governor to offer his assurance that he was perfectly satisfied that the Maasai had not been coerced into signing at Ngong. (Ibid, Scott to Girouard, 1st May 1910.)

57 Under the Governorship of Sir Donald Stewart the Maasai were separated in the Ngong and Laikipia Reserves by the 'Masai Agreement' of 1904. (See Cd. 5584 (1911), Correspondence Relating to the Masai, June 1911.)
subject. For the past eighteen months he had opposed the Maasai move by every means at his disposal and was in serious trouble because of it. Other officials who had originally opposed the move had recently dropped their objections. In Ley's view the only effective opponents were the missionaries; but they had shown no interest in evangelising the Maasai, and as he understood it, were in favour of the move. "One expects", he concluded, "from Christian Missions a continuation of the courage and independence which in the past had made them the protectors of those who have neither votes nor guns." 58

There is no record of Scott's reply to this remonstrance, but it is clear from a second letter to him by Leys that he had not taken offence. 59 The unhappy sequel to the incident was a general mismanagement of the logistics of the move, a mounting opposition by Leys and by various bodies in Britain, the resignation of the Governor in 1912, the removal of Leys in 1913 to a medical post in the Nyasaland Protectorate, and the loss to the Maasai of the northern Reserve. 60

Scott's attitude to the Maasai move was governed more by a desire to establish his influence with the Governor than by concern for what best suited the Maasai themselves. It is significant to note that in his Secret Report of 1910, Girouard remarked that missions "are only too glad to assist any defined policy of Government." 61 In Scott's case this was particularly true. The previous Governor, Sir James Hayes

58 PCEA A/7, Leys to Scott, 29th May 1910. Leys for many years had taken an interest in the C.S.M. In 1908, for example, he had recommended that the mission should mount a stall showing examples of its work at the Pastoralists' Association's Show at Nakuru. He sent donations to the mission and asked to be supplied with its annual reports. (Ibid, A/3, Leys to Scott, 11th September 1908.)

59 In this letter, Leys thanks Scott for taking his criticisms in good part and goes on to describe how he had a meeting lasting two hours with the Governor. Leys was almost convinced that the Governor did have a firm and just policy for African development and that the Maasai move was an exception to this policy. (PCEA A/7, Leys to Scott, 6th June 1910.)

60 See Leys, op.cit., Ch. IV.

61 CACP, African No. 954, 18382, 26th May 1910, 153.
Sadler, Scott had regarded as weak and lacking in decision.  

Girouard, from the time of his arrival, proceeded with great energy to tighten the Governor's control over the various departments and over missions and Native policy. For this reason, and also perhaps because he was a Roman Catholic, Scott took great pains to bring the full force of his charm and personality to bear upon Girouard.

Scott and Girouard became close friends and exchanged several visits to their respective establishments at Kikuyu and Government House. Between them they hoped for a Native policy which would satisfy the interests of both Government and missions. This close relationship led to the effective beginnings of Government grants-in-aid to missions for education, and was the establishment of a precedent in cooperation which J.W. Arthur was to repeat with similar success in 1923 with Governor Coryndon.

2. Land and Labour

Until the early 1930s the C.S.M. was the largest landowning mission in Kenya, with estates at Kikuyu and Kibwezi comprising some 67,400 acres. But in the

62 PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 3rd April 1909.
64 Scott read a united missionary address to the Governor on his arrival in Nairobi on September 20th 1909. The address, expressing the hope for cooperation between missions and Government, was signed by nine Protestant Missions. (PCEA A/5.)
65 PCEA A/7, Girouard to Scott, n.d. but 1910; and Ibid, A/8, Lady Gwendolen Girouard to Scott, n.d. but 1911.
income yielded from land and in the use made of it, the C.S.M. had a very poor record compared to that of other missions, particularly Roman Catholic societies, which owned much smaller estates.

It was Clement Scott’s ambition to make revenue from the agricultural exploitation of land to meet the ordinary purposes of the mission and finance the establishment of a chain of stations to Abyssinia. At the time of his death, however, there had emerged a strong body of opinion which regarded profit from land exploitation as inconsistent with missionary principles. The consequence of this opinion was financial penury and the establishment of only two additional stations, neither of them more than two hundred miles from Kikuyu. Henry Scott was one of those who opposed developing land for profit. But his successors took a more liberal view, of necessity, and contemplated schemes which were in essence little different to the one attempted by Clement Scott.

In 1898, when Thomas Watson removed the mission to Kikuyu, he was unable to sell the hundred square miles of land at Kibwezi which was granted to the mission by the I.B.E.A. Company. For a few years it had seemed possible that the Protectorate Government might not recognise the validity of the mission’s claim to this land, Lord Salisbury having ruled in 1899 that the Protectorate should not recognise grants of land made by the Company until such grants were established in a court of law. By 1904, however, the legal uncertainties had been removed and the mission was confirmed in possession of its Kibwezi estate.

Believing that income earned from leasing the estate to a commercial company was in no way contrary to missionary principles, the F.M.C. suggested in 1905 that a new survey be made of Kibwezi with a view to a lease of the estate to a

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66 NLS 8015, Watson to H.M. Commissioner, 25th February 1899.
fibre-growing concern. Clement Scott never had the time to attend to this, but in August 1906 James Reid surveyed the estate and reported to the Committee. Even at that time the mission's estate was regarded by Europeans living in the area as particularly unhealthy. Yet it was always a source of wonder to the Committee that while other estates in the vicinity were in great demand by settlers, and appeared to have good prospects of success in fibre production, the mission's estate was generally unwanted and regarded as a bad investment.  

Reid thought the estate much maligned and compared it in vegetation and climate to Blantyre and Zomba. He estimated that the land was worth £9,000, and believed it to be suitable for the growing of fibre (Sanseveria Echerenhergii) which was fetching £25 a ton on the London market. His proposal was that all or part of the estate should be leased to a planter or a company, and that in addition to an annual land rent, the mission should receive a royalty based on a percentage of the fibre produced. To prove his point, Reid sent two youths from Kikuyu at the end of 1906; after several months of hard labour they had prepared only a fifth of a ton of fibre for market. The lesson learned was that mechanised agriculture was essential.  

By December 1907 a portion of the Kibwezi estate had been leased to a planter called Beaton at a rental of £250 per annum. It was hoped by the F.M.C. that income from rent and royalties would finance the new mission station opened in

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67 Reid reported that from Makindu to the coast there was a land-grabbing fever amongst settlers. There was, for example, an Anglo-American Fibre Company with an estate of one hundred and fifty square miles at Voi, and seven planters within a two-mile radius of the old mission station. (CS/FMCM, Reid, 'Report on Kibwezi and Kikuyu', August 1906.)

68 CS/FMCM, J. Reid, 'Kikuyu Report', March 1907. The Kamba, according to Reid, refused to work with sisal because it was too rough on their hands. In later years, the principal labour force on the estate was drawn from Nyanza.
1908 at Tumutumu. Beaton, however, was unsuccessful and after two years was hinting that he might wish to relinquish his lease. Income from Kibwezi at no time then or in the future yielded enough for Tumutumu or any other major project.

In 1909 Beaton offered to buy the whole estate for £5,000. An opinion was taken from a leading Nairobi businessman, V.W. Newland, and a decision was made to decline Beaton's offer. There was, however, another planter in the district, R.R. Hollins of Johannesburg, a partner in the British East Africa Fibre and Industrial Company Limited, who showed an interest in the estate. In 1910, with higher hopes of profit, the mission assigned the lease to Hollins.

The next twenty years showed little improvement in the mission's dealings with its lessees. Fibre from British East Africa, although in time developing into a major industry, in those years competed badly with fibre from Yucatan in the world market. In 1913, at a time when plans were being made for the commercial development of the Kikuyu estate, a Land Advisory Committee appointed by the mission, and on which W. MacGregor Ross sat, suggested the sale of Kibwezi at a price of £50,000. Hollins refused to pay this sum, and procrastinated until 1917 before signing a new lease more favourable to the mission. By March of that year he agreed to new terms wherein he leased the estate for fifty years at an annual rental of £600 until 1943, and £1,500 thereafter.

The British East African Fibre Company had the same experience at Kibwezi as the E.A.S.M.: bad fortune and ill-health. In 1917 two of its European employees died and in the following year nine were in hospital with malaria and dysentery.

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69 PCEA A/5, McLachlan to Scott, 8th December 1909.
70 CSP/LS 7562, McLachlan to Arthur Senior, 17th March 1913.
71 CS/FMCM, 11th July 1916.
African employees in considerable numbers had died and dysentery was endemic.\textsuperscript{72}

The problem, as it had been in the 1890s, was dense scrub covering most of the estate, bad water, and the presence of tsetse fly and mosquito.

Efforts were made to clear the estate and to provide better medical facilities for employees. But by 1922 the Company was on the point of liquidation, having for several years been kept solvent by large grants from Mr. Molteno.\textsuperscript{73} The decline of the Company coincided with a period of mounting deficit in the mission's finances and reaffirmed the F.M.C. in their earlier desire to sell the estate and be done with inadequate and fluctuating annual rents. The relationship between the mission and the Company dragged on until 1938 when the F.M.C. ordered a quick sale. The Rev. R.G.M. Calderwood, Arthur's successor at Kikuyu, appealed for more time since a wealthy Kenya Syndicate headed by Col. E.S. Grogan and Sir John Ramsden, and another Syndicate in Tanganyika, were interested in purchasing the estate for about £16,000. No extra time was given and Calderwood was instructed to sell the estate to the now Kenya Fibre and Industrial Company Limited for their price of £8,500 - £500 less than Reid's estimation of the value of the land thirty-two years earlier.\textsuperscript{74}

The question of what to do with the three thousand, four hundred acres of land at Kikuyu was of more immediate relevance to the mission than Kibwezi had

\textsuperscript{72} CSP/NLS 7612, Hollins to McLachlan, 30th May 1918.

\textsuperscript{73} Possibly this was P.A. Molteno, M.P., who was much involved during the Great War in forcing the British Government to investigate conditions in the East African Carrier Corps, and the plight of German East Africa's 185,000 domestic slaves. (See ASP S.22/0.133.)

\textsuperscript{74} Full details concerning the negotiations for a new lease and the final sale, as well as Government's attempts to secure part of the estate for the Native Reserve are given in PCEA F/2, correspondence regarding the Kibwezi Estate, 10th November 1931 to 6th June 1938.
been. For, allowing that the estate might be worked by a company quite separately from the mission, there was the problem to be considered of the effect upon the mission of the proximity of a secular organisation with an inevitably large resident labour force.

After Clement Scott's death, the staff at Kikuyu decided to reduce his large planted acreage for economy's sake and in accordance with the prevailing spirit of opposition to missionary trading schemes. The policy adopted was one of self-sufficiency; only enough would be grown to feed the personnel of the mission. In any case, the only income for agricultural work was £400 per annum promised for three years in 1908 by a Miss Houldsworth in Scotland. After paying the salary of the agricultural missionary, A.Y. Allan, only £280 remained for all direct agricultural work. And in the current financial situation of the mission, a part of this sum was usually required for some other branch of work.75

There was a curious ambivalency of attitude towards mission land at Kikuyu during Henry Scott's time. While on the one hand he recommended the planting of coffee and black wattle as investments for the future and praised the effort of agricultural work in bringing labour under daily missionary influence, on the other, Henry Scott could speak disparagingly about his predecessor's efforts to make a profit out of land development in cash and converts. Under Henry Scott's administration, so long as the mission was not seen to be working actively to make the land pay, it was permissible to expect a future profit from a crop such as wattle which needed little attention.

The immediate value of the estate, and the future of agricultural policy, lay as far as Henry Scott was concerned in the opportunity afforded for giving

75 PCEA A/3, McLachlan to Scott, 16th July 1908.
agricultural education to the Kikuyu. This belief that Africans, in order to be trained for their station in the country, should be trained in more scientific farming methods was one urged strongly by the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1924. It is therefore of interest to note that as early as 1911 the C.S.M., encouraged by the Governor, the Provincial Commissioner and the Director of Agriculture, had adopted an agricultural bias in African education and was preparing for its first agricultural apprentices.

Soon after Henry Scott's death the question arose at Kikuyu as to whether in fact it was wrong for the mission to have a commercial policy. It was felt that such a policy, if successful, did not mean that the mission was spiritually a failure. Where was the harm in running other departments of the mission out of profit made on the sale of coffee?

This question, raised first by Dr. H.R.A. Philp as interim Chairman of the Mission Council in September 1911, was taken up vigorously by Arthur on his return from furlough as the new head of the mission. In 1907 when Clement Scott died, Arthur confessed to Barlow that he had been unnecessarily critical of the agricultural scheme, but nevertheless he had been content under Henry Scott to see more attention paid to church, school and hospital.

To support his argument to the F.M.C. in favour of agricultural development, Arthur warned that many settlers were jealous of the size of Kikuyu's estate and continually inquired why nothing was done with it. Africans would be wondering

76 See below, Pp. 401-404.
77 PCEA A/9, Scott to Dr. Robertson, 15th March 1911.
78 Ibid, Philp to Molachlan, 16th September 1911.
79 See p. 48. PEP, Diaries, 15th October 1907; and PCEA A/1, Arthur to McMurtrie, 23rd October 1907.
at the reason for their being herded into a Reserve while so much land which
had once been their own remained fallow. And Government was refusing to grant
additional land at Tumutumu because the mission had not developed its estate
at Kikuyu. Finally, Arthur pointed out, the Holy Ghost Fathers at St. Austin's
Mission near Nairobi, with a smaller estate and half Kikuyu's staff, had become
entirely self-supporting through coffee farming. 80

Conscious of the opinion of many home supporters that the mission ought
not to be directly associated with a money-making enterprise, and that A.Y. Allan,
the agricultural missionary, was incapable of operating an extensive development
scheme in coffee or wattle without several assistants, Arthur by the beginning
of 1913 had opted for a scheme whereby the land would be developed by a private
company in association with the mission. There existed a precedent for this in
Nyanza where the C.M.S. were deriving the benefits of land development through
an association with Victor Buxton's East African Industries Limited.

Arthur's proposals were considered by a Special Committee on Land Development
of the F.M.C.. McLachlan himself was at this time in favour of development being
carried out by the mission itself; there was a legacy from Mrs. A.L. Bruce which
could be borrowed for this purpose. 81 But the weight of opinion was for the
formation of a private company. The Special Committee consulted such people as
Victor Buxton, and J.B. Ellis, Chairman of the Coffee Growers' Association of
British East Africa, and asked Arthur to seek similar expert opinion in the
Protectorate on coffee prospects. By the end of 1912 the Committee which included

80 PCEA A/12, Arthur to McLachlan, 18th September and 9th November 1912.
81 CSP/NLS 7561, McLachlan to Arthur Senior, 6th December 1912.
Arthur's father and several other Glasgow businessmen had decided to float a private company which would be operated in the interests of the mission, and upon which the C.S.M. and Kikuyu Sub-Committee would be represented.

In April 1913 a local Land Advisory Committee was convened by the C.S.M. to look into the question of how best the mission's land might be managed by the proposed company. Its report was encouraging, but its recommendation that Kibwezi be sold for £50,000 was rejected by the tenant, Hollins. Nevertheless, by January 1914 a prospectus was in preparation in Edinburgh for the company to be called Kikuyu Industries Limited. The C.S.M.'s investment would be an initial six hundred acres of land, and it was hoped that by offering shares in the Protectorate and in Britain a working capital of £4,000 would soon be raised.

The prospectus was at first received coldly by many of the mission's home supporters who had little sympathy with trading missions; but on the eve of the First World War applications for shares, particularly from wealthy ladies, had increased rapidly. Arrangements for floating Kikuyu Industries Limited were shelved when war was declared and land development at Kikuyu was delayed for several years more.

Towards the end of 1919 the scheme was resurrected. During the War McLachlan had been advised by a Sheffield merchant, Hattersley, who was interested in floating a company for land development in the Protectorate, that quasi-missionary companies were bad investments; Victor Burton's East African Industries Limited which served the C.M.S. was practically wound up by 1915. Hattersley had offered to manage Kikuyu in much the same way as Hollins did at Kibwezi. But by February 1920 a decision had been taken to go forward with a Kikuyu Land Development Scheme operated by the F.M.C. and the Kikuyu Sub-Committee themselves with a competent

82 CSP/NLS 7564, McLachlan to Arthur, 5th and 9th January 1914; and Ibid 7565, same to same, 5th March 1914.
83 CSP/NLS 7569, McLachlan to Hattersley, 7th June 1915.
manager and Advisory Board of businessmen in Kenya. 84

The F.M.C. approved the Kikuyu Land Development Scheme at a meeting in July 1921. 85 It was noted with satisfaction that Arthur had secured as Manager of the Scheme an experienced planter called John Stirling who since 1911 had managed Lord Cranworth's estate at Londiani. The Kikuyu Sub-Committee was authorized to raise £10,000 capital, the intention being to go in, not for coffee as before, but for flax. Within five months it was admitted that expectations had been too high. The scheme could not have been introduced at a worse time in view of the current financial stringency of Britain and the shortage of money in business circles. Only £3,500 had been raised or promised and there was little likelihood of an increase in subscriptions. 86

The last attempt to work the mission's land at a profit thus started at half-cook. Stirling was leased a portion of the estate and was assisted by an Advisory Committee composed of Barlow for the mission and three leading settlers, W. MacLellan Wilson, Abrams and Mathew Kell. 87 It is appropriate at this point to pause and reflect upon the similarities of the agricultural policies of 1921 and 1903-1907. Clement Scott had been censured for attempting to work the land at a profit through an association with European planters. Now, fourteen years after his death the circle had been completed. Kikuyu was once more pledged to an agricultural scheme in association with settlers who were considerable planters.

84 Ibid 7579, McLachlan to Arthur, 18th February 1920.
85 CS/FMC, 12th July 1921.
86 Ibid, 15th November 1921.
87 KMC, 27th-31st December 1921.
and active members of the settlers' political association. Consciences were no doubt eased by the fact that the actual running of the scheme was not wholly in mission hands.

Stirling's Land Development Scheme was a dismal failure, the market for flax having collapsed in 1923. Efforts were made to grow coffee and maize at a profit but with little success. By 1928 the Scheme was running at a deficit. Stirling resigned in 1931 and no further effort was made to develop the mission's land. In 1932 the Carter Land Commission recommended that two thousand acres of the C.S.M.'s estate be handed over to the Reserve to be restored to its rightful African owners, the remainder of the mission's leasehold land being converted at Government's expense into freehold. All that was retained in the surrendered land was the right to manage existing school and church plots.

As a landowner of considerable size, the C.S.M. looked to its numerous resident Kikuyu families for its supply of labour. Clement Scott had called upon the estate residents when labour was required and had welcomed their presence in the hope that they would become his first converts. He had never made labour a fixed condition of residency. Henry Scott changed this in 1908 by adopting the view that residents were squatters upon the mission's estate and that labour for set periods during a year was the condition of tenancy.

The history of labour in its relation to land at the C.S.M. is a case study of the process which was being worked out on a larger scale in the Protectorate and which in later years was to become a major political controversy. There was nothing in law which provided for the security of African rights to land

88 CSP/NLS 7588, McLachlan to Stirling, 20th December 1923; and Ibid 7590, same to same, 1st September 1924.
which they occupied at the time of the European land rush. True, the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 required the Commissioner to exclude occupied lands from sales or leases to settlers. But Commissioner Eliot, whose chief concern was to promote European settlement, had declined to demarcate African occupied land, leaving it to settler purchasers either to buy out the occupiers or to retain them as labourers.91

There is nothing on record to show that areas occupied by Africans were specifically excluded from the lease for two thousand acres which Clement Scott obtained for the mission. The question of compensation did not arise since he made no move to evict the families already resident on the land. But what Clement Scott did do, which was to have significance for the future, was to remove the resident families away from the mission's forested land and to give them gardens of equal size on another part of the estate. This other part happened to be mission freehold land. Hence by 1908 the situation obtained wherein Clement Scott's successor found some 120 men, 170 women and 145 children living on freehold land without apparent right at law to be there. Further, it was by then difficult to tell who had been resident at the time of the acquisition of the estate and who had settled upon it since that time. The obvious solution, based on current practice, was to regard all as squatters and to reserve the right to evict those who refused to work for the mission.

Henry Scott introduced a system in 1908 of requiring all male Kikuyu squatters to sign an agreement with the mission before the District Commissioner. The terms of the agreement were that in return for the right to live on the estate

and to work small gardens, a man had to work for the mission at Rs.4/- per month for a total of four months in a year. Other conditions, not specifically written into the agreement but insisted upon strictly, included the sending of children to the mission school, and two hours work and attendance at a daily religious service for Kikuyu women in return for permission to cut dead wood in the mission's forest.

When this system was first introduced Henry Scott met with a great deal of opposition from the tenants. Chief amongst these was the headman Warali who refused to sign the agreement or to allow the mission to run a small school near his compound, and who left the mission with his wives and numerous children to make a new home in the Kikuyu Reserve. On those occasions when men who refused to sign the labour agreement refused also to leave the estate, Henry Scott had recourse to official pressures. The course of action open to the mission was summarised thus by H.R. Tate, D.C. of Kyambu:

"It is the part of the landlord and not of Government to give notice to native tenants that they will be required to leave the property on which they are living, in a certain time. If they fail to do so and if the notice is given to them is a reasonable one, information may be given to the Police and a summons against the offenders applied for from a magistrate. The offence is 'criminal trespass'."

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93 PBP A/R. Barlow to his father, 26th March 1909. Other conditions were that tenants should sell their milk to the mission at a fixed price, and that the mission should have the first option to buy their surplus crops at market rates. (PCEA A/1, 'Kikuyu Report for 1908', 20th January 1909.)
94 PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 25th September 1908; and Mrs. H.E. Scott, op. cit., 123-24. The Kikuyu Native Reserves were demarcated in 1904-5. In 1906 two Reserves were proclaimed in the Official Gazette. One Reserve comprised the Nyeri and Fort Hall areas, and the other, Kyambu.
95 PCEA A/4, Tate to Scott, 23rd February 1909.
Having evicted many families in 1908, Scott was gratified to find in the following year that there were far fewer objections to the signing of the labour agreements. In October H.R. Tate visited the mission to witness the agreements, and whereas twenty-two more than in the previous year were signed on, there were seven who at the last moment refused to affix their thumb prints. Three of them repented later but were fined one month's wages for their show of opposition in front of the D.C. 96

By 1915 the scale of conditions included in the agreements for tenants had become more formally established. 97 The period of yearly work was the same, but the monthly wage had risen by one rupee. Gardens sub-let without permission were to be confiscated. A similar penalty existed for taking work with another employer or for leaving the mission for unauthorised periods of time. Children of tenants were to be registered with the mission and were required to attend school. There was to be no dancing on the estate, and no attendance at dances outside the estate on Sundays. Any tenant found drunk more than twice was to be evicted. By 1920 as the influence of native church laws was brought more fully to bear, 'beer drinking on the estate was entirely prohibited.

Although for their own purposes, Scottish missionaries experienced little difficulty in respect of labour, 98 there existed in the Protectorate at large a labour problem which they could not afford to ignore. They were concerned at the abuses involved in the recruitment of labour for Government and private undertakings; but they were also concerned, as were most of their contemporaries, that Africans should be encouraged – by compulsion if necessary, provided that

96 PCEA A/1, Scott to Molachlan, 13th October 1909.
97 PCEA/TT, File ‘Minutes of Staff Meetings, Kikuyu’, 1st April 1915.
98 The C.S.M. station at Tunutumu was an exception in this respect. Beginning in 1908 with only five acres of unoccupied land, it was forced to rely upon outside labour for its various early purposes of clearing and building a station, and experienced in a small way the same labour problems as beset the European planters and farmers.
it was by some open and forthright method – to leave the Reserves and seek work. This was essential if the Protectorate were to make any progress. But it was also essential from another point of view: Protestant missionaries almost without exception believed in the gospel of work, and held that the traditional pattern of African life was morally and spiritually degrading; Africans had therefore to be compelled to work for the sake of their Christian salvation. It was not in the principle of compulsory labour but in the method to be adopted that missionaries held a different view to that of Government and settlers.

The labour problem in the British East Africa Protectorate, a disparity between the supply and demand of labour from the Reserves, was a function of Government's inability to formulate a policy and the rapidly increasing rate of white settlement. During the first seven years of this century, official policy was one of watchful inactivity. The early Commissioners and Governors were reluctant to act upon such a complex problem as the provision of an adequate supply of labour until greater experience of the conditions peculiar to the Protectorate had been gained. In general, while securing labour for its own purposes, Government frequently acted as recruiting agent for settlers. In 1907, however, instructions were received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that no Government officer should do anything directly to assist private employers. These instructions, coming at a time when the newly-appointed Secretary for Native Affairs, A.C. Hollis, was issuing reprimands to district officers who were helping settlers to secure labour, and when Governor Hayes Sadler was touring the Reserves


100 There had for some time been a growing concern in the Colonial Office over the trends in labour in British East Africa. The Masters and Servants Ordinance, based upon a Transvaal law and promulgated in 1906 to provide for the imprisonment of labourers who failed to complete their contracts, was one of the trends which produced the instructions to the Governor. (See, PP, Arnold Paice to his mother, 3rd July 1907, for a statement of the settler point of view with regard to the inability of employers to do anything about labourers who deserted. Paice's method, if he caught deserters, was to give them a good beating.)
advising Africans that they did not need to work if they did not wish to,
angered the settlers and prompted an approach by the Colonists' Association
to the Governor in January 1908.

The Colonists' Association, a body which existed to resist acts of Government
which were regarded as being "to the detriment of the colony as a white man's
country", protested against the Government's unwillingness to advise Africans
that they should work for Europeans. While it was admitted that forced labour
was undesirable if other means could be found, it was also pointed out that
Government's recent attitudes had opened the way for the rise of a new class of
private recruiting agents whose methods even the settlers deplored. In response
the Governor issued a code of Labour Regulations for the management of labour.
But these, because they were alleged to have raised costs to employers by twenty-
five per cent, served only to intensify the settlers' fury. In face of extreme
pressure by Delamere and the Colonists' Association, Governor Hayes Sadler finally
agreed to meet the settlers at a public meeting in Nairobi.

This meeting, held at the Railway Institute in March 1908 and referred to
earlier, was the one at which Henry Scott made his public debut. Delamere and
others spoke heated words concerning the duty of Government actively to encourage
the flow of labour from the Reserves, and many references were made to South
African and Rhodesian Native Labour laws. Henry Scott rose to introduce himself
towards the end of the meeting and scored a great success with the settlers by
his sympathetic attitude and by quoting examples of the manner in which the labour

101 MacLellan Wilson, op.cit., 5.
103 PCEA A/1, Scott to Robertson, March 1908.
problem was being tackled in Nyasaland.

The meeting ended on an inconclusive note. The Governor appeared to accept the validity of points made about Southern and Central African systems but declined to make any comment. After lunch on the same day the settlers marched on Government House to extract a clear statement of attitude from the man they called 'Flannelfoot'. The scene which ensued was in the best traditions of the frontier. A badly-frightened Governor, trying hard to retain his dignity, stood on his balcony before an unruly crowd of settlers, led by the long-haired Delamere and including in their midst a South African who sported a snarling leopard's head on his hat, and who jeered him and called for his resignation.

The sequel to the confrontation was the Governor's agreement to the appointment of a Provincial Labour Board to inquire into the labour situation and to review the Labour Regulations issued earlier in the year. Henry Scott, who had retired discreetly to the mission at Kikuyu before the march on Government House was called upon to meet with the new Board on March 25th. In Conference with the Governor and Provincial Commissioners he was responsible for the issue of Amended Labour Regulations out of which those items which had caused offence to the settlers were removed. Scott's official nomination to the Board came not from Government, however, but from the Colonists' Association.

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104 Huxley, op. cit., I, 226.
105 Ibid, 227-29. For Delamere's account of the incident see Cd. 4122 (1908), East African Protectorate. Correspondence re Affairs, Delamere to Governor, 2nd April 1908.
106 PSEA A/2, 'Labour Regulations, as Amended at the Conference held on March 25th, 1908, at Nairobi'. The amended regulations provided for the giving by employers to labourers of proper housing, a blanket, food, cooking utensils and facilities, medical treatment, water, and the cost of the journey home at the end of a contract.
107 PSEA A/2, Sydney S. Fichat, Secretary to the Colonists' Association, to Scott, 25th April and 1st May 1908.
latter's request, although declining a simultaneous invitation to become a member of the Colonists' Association, Scott became one of the three unofficial representatives on the Board, the other two being Delamere and A.A. Bailie—both of whom had recently been suspended by the Governor from the Legislative Council on account of their insulting behaviour during the confrontation at Government House.

The crisis of 1908 and the framing of amended labour regulations settled the dust of conflict for a few years, but did not achieve any significant progress in the solution of the labour problem. There were, however, certain results of the crisis which were of considerable importance for the future. The first of these was the awakening in the British Parliament and in certain liberal and philanthropic quarters of British life to the pressures in the Protectorate in favour of forced labour. Attention was drawn not in the first instance by labour itself, but by the protests made in London at the suspension of Delamere and Bailie from the Legislature. On inquiring into the events which lay behind the Governor's action, it was concluded by many that Delamere was the arch-advocate of forced labour. Delamere denied the charge with vehemence. But it is as obvious today as it was then that his request for Government encouragement of the flow of labour could not be met, nor the required volume of labour achieved, without some measure of compulsion. The C.S.W. was fortunate on this occasion to escape identification with Delamere, and consequent public censure in Britain, on the issue of forced labour.

Another important result of the crisis was the attainment of an understanding on labour between Henry Scott and Lord Delamere. They both agreed that it was

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108 PCEA A/3, Delamere, 'private' letter to Scott, 12th September 1908: "You and I, I know, both agree that if methods are to be adopted for getting labour they should be legalised and bear the light of day."
wrong for young, able-bodied Africans to 'loaf about' in the Reserves in paint and feathers. Being practical men, they recognised that a measure of compulsion was necessary; but if it were to be free of hardship and abuse, it must be legalised and clearly stated. As far as the C.S.M. was concerned, Henry Scott had established a precedent with regard to its official policy on labour. J.W. Arthur, in 1919, repeated this sentiment in exactly the same terms when he signed the Bishops' Memorandum on forced labour. 109

By 1912 the labour problem had once more become critical and had provoked the appointment by the Acting Governor on August 13th of a Native Labour Commission. The Commission was chaired by Mr. Justice Barth, and consisted of three officials, three settlers (Delamere among them), a solicitor and two missionaries. The latter were the Rev. Father G. Brandsma of the Mill Hill Mission representing Roman Catholic missions, and for the Protestant side, J.W. Arthur of the C.S.M.

The terms of reference of the Commission were to inquire into the reasons for the shortage of labour and the remedies suggested, wages and labour conditions, the effects upon labour of District Administration, Native Reserves, taxation and systems of Industrial Labour, and finally, the methods employed for recruiting labourers. 110 The Report of the Commission, thorough and far reaching in its recommendations, foreshadowed the controversial Natives Registration Ordinance of 1915 by calling for the adoption of an identification system based on the Southern Rhodesian Natives Pass Consolidation Ordinance of 1913. 111 It skirted the question of forced labour but sought to promote a flow of labour by recommending a progressive tax on land and stock, Government labour camps and the issue in

109 See below, p. 374-376.
111 Ibid, 330.
unequivocal language of instructions to Africans by district officers to enter
the labour market.

The publication of the Report in 1913 provoked a series of questions in
the British Parliament, as did that of the Evidence taken from settlers, officials
missionaries, Indians and African chiefs and headmen. Shocking evidence of
labour conditions, especially in transit by rail to and from employment areas,
was brought to the public notice, as was the fact that the majority of settlers
were in favour of forced labour by Government. It was only the outbreak of war
in 1914 which prevented a public outcry such as took place in 1919.

Missionaries of the G.S.M. as well as those of other societies, gave
evidence to Judge Barth and his Commissioners during their tour of the Reserves;
At Tunutumu, Philp, Barlow and Miss Stevenson presented their evidence in relation
to those aspects of work amongst Africans which interested them the most. Philp,
a medical missionary, took great delight in showing the Commissioners examples of
extreme cases of yaws and ulcers, and asked how the Government expected to secure
labour when it did nothing to assist missions in their medical work in the Reserves.
Barlow, a student of Kikuyu language and customs, complained of the effect upon
traditional life of the disorganisation in the labour system whereby men had to
work at unreasonably long distances from their homes. Marion Stevenson, the
champion of education and the training of Kikuyu women, brought the Commissioners'
attention to the deplorable moral consequences of the forcing out of young girls
together with men for labour purposes.

112 Mrs. H.E. Scott, op.cit., 170-72; and KN, No. 44, September 1913, A.R. Barlow
'The Labour Problem in B.E.A.', 20-22. Miss Stevenson spoke of the new
custom of mirango – the forcing of young girls into sexual relations in huts
by the young men acting as labour recruiters on behalf of chiefs. This was one
of the complaints in the Kikuyu Association's Memorandum of Grievances of
1921. (See below, p. 351, n. 15.)
It is difficult to ascertain the influence Arthur might have had upon the findings of the Commission. He was in 1913 a comparatively young and inexperienced head of the mission and was at the beginning of his career as a missionary-politician. It is clear, however, that Arthur followed Henry Scott's policy on the various questions raised; the declaration in paragraph 83 of the Report on the desirability of agricultural and technical education for Africans, but with the added provision for literary education at the primary level is pure Henry Scott. Arthur's moment of publicity in the labour question was delayed until 1919.
3. The Mission School

The years, 1907 to 1914, were for the C.S.M. and other missions a time of foundation laying in education and of ascendancy in influence over Africans. Early attempts to establish educational systems were opposed — by chiefs and headmen, by parents and by young people themselves — but by 1914 a great demand for education had arisen. During the war, when money and staff were in short supply, and when thousands of youths were taken for transport and carrier service, the demand was checked. But from 1919 it gathered new and greater momentum and provoked a reappraisal by missionaries of the methods and objectives which had been adopted in the earlier years.

The first tentative steps in the direction of an educational system at Kikuyu were taken during Clement Scott's last year of life. Realising the need for improved communication in church and classroom, Barlow in May 1906 took the important decision to substitute Kikuyu for Kiswahili at the mission. In the same month, assisted by Clement Scott's printer-trainees, Hugo and Wachira, he began to compile the first Kikuyu school primer. A teacher's class was started in December. But the most important step

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113 FBP, Diaries, 20th May 1906. Barlow had been an avid student of the Kikuyu language since his arrival in the Protectorate in 1903. Aided by Kwenja and Kabengo, he had started to compile a Kikuyu dictionary and was engaged in translating several portions of the Bible. The corollary of his decision to introduce the use of Kikuyu at the mission was compulsory language examinations, set and marked by himself, for all missionaries at Kikuyu from 1907 onwards.

114 Hugo was baptised, Petro, in 1908, and Wachira, Danieli. In 1908-1909 they were the first missionaries at the new station at Tumutumu. During the plague epidemic of 1913, Danieli's two children died of the disease and he and his wife contracted it. Danieli died in 1915.

115 Barlow's assistants in the teachers' class were Yussufu, a Chagga youth from Kilimanjaro, and Waitito, one of Mrs. Watson's first pupils. Hugo and Wachira were amongst the first students in the class. (F.K.C. Report to G.A., May 1907.)
of all was the establishment by Arthur and Barlow in March 1907 of the first boys' boarding school. Education, food and clothing would be provided free of charge, but the old system of attracting boys to school by offering paid employment was abandoned.116

These were no more than tentative steps, taken during Clement Scott's furlough, which were not carried forward to any great extent until 1903. Clement Scott had not opposed the efforts of Barlow and Arthur to bring some order into the educational system; but neither had he done anything to assist them. It was not until Henry Scott arrived that the mission formally adopted a policy of giving education a foremost place in its work.117

One of the first problems encountered in the new educational drive was that of persuading boys to stay as boarders. When on March 6th 1907 an announcement was made at Kikuyu that employment was to end and that a boarding school would be opened on Monday the 8th, all of the forty schoolboys walked out of the mission. Eight returned to enrol as boarders, but within a week the first of several general strikes had occurred.118 Trouble arose when the boys were asked to perform unpaid manual labour in addition to school work. Some boys wished to stay at school and were content to accept any condition

116 Starting with Mrs. Watson's small verandah school in 1902, Clement Scott had expanded the system to provide informal schooling for his agricultural labourers. There was a morning class for younger boys during a break from work and an evening class for older boys who were capitains, or foremen of labour gangs. Instruction was in Kiswahili. (BF, Barlow, 'Some Early Memories', n.d.)

117 Until he had an opportunity to adapt the educational system at Kikuyu to the conditions peculiar to British East Africa, Henry Scott used the educational code of Blantyre. (PCEA A/3, J. Wylie, Blantyre, to Scott, 16th October 1903.)

118 FBP, Diaries, 8th - 24th April 1907; AP, Arthur to his mother, 4th June 1907; and Mrs. H. E. Scott, op.cit., 63-64.
imposed upon them; others were mutinous and incited their fellows to rebellion. But all shared the problem of parental opposition to the loss of income from their wages.

For many months the number of boarders at Kikuyu never rose above eight. A similar situation prevailed at first at Tumutumu station in 1909. Having the major task of building a new station, Barlow was obliged to employ young men as labourers and to give them schooling in short intervals between periods of work. He did, however, deduct half a rupee from wages as payment for the few hours in the day in which instruction was given.119 On August 31st 1909 Barlow opened the first boarding school at Tumutumu but had to be content with two or three boys for many months.120

It was impossible at first to dispense completely with cash payments. Both at Kikuyu and Tumutumu it was necessary to tour the villages making special appeals to parents to allow their sons to return to school, and to boys who had run away. A few rupees to a reluctant parent, or a gift of a blanket, and the odd rupee to a boy were found to be essential.

There were no missions at this time which were unaffected by the problem of having to give cash payments as an inducement to the acceptance of education. It was a vexing problem for missions since payments were made either as bribes, which were regarded as morally wrong, or in return for labouring work, which

119 PCEA A/5, Barlow to Scott, 2nd September 1909.
120 Before the arrival of Dr. H. R. A. Philp in 1910 and Marion Stevenson in 1912, Barlow was in sole charge of all work at Tumutumu. In his educational efforts he was assisted by teacher-catechists from Kikuyu such as Mattayo, Wangong'u and Petro Hugo. Barlow was a severe disciplinarian, and it was his free use of the kiboko (whip) which added to the early reluctance of Tumutumu boys to remain in school. (FDP, Diaries, 31st August to 12th September 1909.)
detected from the time available for schooling. The C.S.M. had stopped
payments at Kikuyu by 1903, but the Holy Ghost Fathers did not find it
possible to do the same until 1912. The C.M.S. stopped payments at about
the same time as the C.S.M., but experienced similar problems when they tried
to combine manual work with schooling.

In time, however, other inducements besides money proved effective in
securing inmates for the boarding school. Boys who agreed to return were
rewarded by the gift of a fat sheep, or by gramophone concerts and magic
lantern shows. Football — Arthur wished that it could have been rugby —
became a popular and daily recreational activity, as did the Boys' Brigade.

But above all — and this was not fully appreciated at first by missionaries —
it was the African love of music and singing which brought many young people

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121 A decision was taken at the Bishops' Conference of 1912 to stop payments
and to begin to ask parents to contribute towards the cost of running
schools, and to ask the community as a whole to contribute towards the
mission's general upkeep. (J. A. Kieran, 'The Holy Ghost Fathers in
400.)

122 The Rev. J. J. Willis' first attempts to introduce unpaid manual work
for schoolboys nearly wrecked the school at Maseno. (Willis Papers,
Makere University Library (WPI), Willis, Journal, 14th March 1908.)
In 1912, when the Rev. Walter Chadwick opened a school at Butere, he had
to begin by employing boys as paid labourers and to release them from
work in order to attend classes. (Elizabeth Richards, Fifty Years in
Nyanza. The History of the C.M.S. and the Anglican Church in Nyanza
Province, Kenya (Maseno, 1956) 15-16, 34.) Livingstonia in Nyasaland
had solved its problem in the 1890s through lending vernacular books to
its adherents. The desire for books produced a greater willingness to
attend school without payment; and in time, the Ngoni were paying the
equivalent of a day's wage for the cheapest book, and a month's wages
for the Zulu Bible. (Sixty-Fourth Report on Foreign Missions to the
General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, May 1896)
89.)
In breaking down opposition to the non-wage school, much also depended upon the attitudes displayed by missionaries towards Africans. At first meeting, Africans tended to regard Europeans with a mixture of fear and amazement; mothers could obtain obedience from a child by threatening to give him to the muthungu, or white man. Where missionaries did not keep Africans at arm's length and insist upon maintaining their own 'standards'; where they exchanged visits with Africans to their respective houses and allowed shy, curious children to touch their strange skin, eyes and hair; then the barriers of fear and suspicion were lowered and the school was assured of ultimate success.

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123 Rather crudely, this point was made by Henry Scott's wife: "music always gets the African ..." (Mrs. H. E. Scott, op.cit., 70.) But Africans agree. Kuhorwa Kareri, for example, was a young herd boy and leader of young men's dances who was drawn to Tumutumu mission by hearing the daily singing of the schoolchildren. He wanted to learn the songs and to gain popularity by teaching them to his fellow dancers. This was his reason for joining the mission in 1913. Today he is an elderly and respected minister of the P.C.E.A. (Interview with the Rev. Charles Kareri, Tumutumu, 14th March 1968.) R. Kugo Gatheru, likewise, describes in his autobiography how for himself and many of his contemporaries it was singing at the mission which provided reason enough for staying at school. (Child of Two Worlds (London, 1964) 35-36.)


125 "In this way we loved those who allowed us to know them." (Kareri, interview, op.cit.) There are many people in the Nyeri District today who are called Baro (Barlow), Philip or Felipu (Philp) and Namacheki (Harion Stevenson). (Namacheki was a nickname given to Miss Stevenson and is said to mean 'the thin one' or 'the one who lost a cheque-book'. Another of her nicknames was Nyaruta, 'the one with much saliva — who speaks a great deal'.)

There remained, however, in the early years a burden of parental and community opposition which had to be borne by young people who elected to join a mission school. Boys in many cases had to run away from their homes and were not reconciled with their parents for many months. But in Kikuyuland there was never the same opposition to boys attending mission schools as there was in the case of girls.

Parents had no objection to taking the wages of girls employed at a mission as labourers or as laundry assistants. They were not pleased when missionaries suggested that a girl might receive a little training in domestic science because the value of such a girl in the marriage market was lowered. African men had little liking for a girl whose head was filled with European ideas. But the great reaction came when the missionaries began to persuade girls to remain at the mission as boarders.

At Kikuyu Mrs. Watson had since 1899 employed a few girls as laundry assistants and had taken in washing from nearby settlers and from other Europeans in Nairobi. But from 1907, with the arrival at the mission of

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126 At Tumutumu in 1909 an angry parent came to take his son from the school and ordered the boy to remove his mission clothes since he had no wish to attract the ridicule of his neighbours in the village. In this case the boy defied his father and stayed in school. (PBF, Diaries, 15th September 1909.) An example of a far worse experience for boys in West Africa is given in literature. Nwoye, telling his son, Obi, of the attitude of Okwonko, his own father, when he joined a mission, said: "I was no more than a boy when I left my father's house and went with the missionaries. He placed a curse on me. I was not there but my brothers told me it was true. When a man cursed his own child it is a terrible thing. And I was his first son .... I went through fire to become a Christian." (Chinua Achebe, No Longer at Ease (African Writers Series, No. 3, London, 1964) 133.)
Marion Scott Stevenson, girls' work was redirected into a more specific training of prospective wives for Christian male Africans. Marion Stevenson was responsible for the first attempt at Kikuyu to establish a girls' boarding school. So great was the opposition from parents that the first boarding house was a closely-guarded place of refuge - the loft of the manse.

Through sheer persistence, and with a great deal of courage, Miss Stevenson gradually gathered around her a small group of girls who wished to become Christians. Four of these intimated their wish to make public profession of their faith on Easter Sunday 1909. They were seized by their parents and hidden from the missionaries. They escaped and professed at a secret service. Once more their parents took them away, but two returned and became the first boarders.

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127 Marion Scott Stevenson, born in Forfar in 1871, was educated at John Watson's Institution and the Ministers' Daughters College in Edinburgh. Women were not admitted to Edinburgh University until 1893, but Marion attended lectures given at Shandwick Place by University lecturers for the Association for the University Education of Women. After studying music and languages in Germany, she was ready to enter University in 1893, but was prevented by a long illness. Her passion for the Indian mission field was imparted to her by her uncles who were missionaries. But, after hearing Clement Scott, a relative of her father's first wife, lecture on the mission field in Africa at the Tolbooth Church in 1892, and again at the General Assembly of 1906, Marion applied for a post at the C.S.M., Kikuyu, in 1907. (Mrs. H. E. Scott, op. cit., 1-54.)

128 Marion Stevenson became famous for her practice of touring villages in her crusade for girls' work. She walked hundreds of miles, sleeping at night in a small tent, and enduring many hardships before the force of her personality began to be felt. On one occasion, when trying to influence girls in a village, she was struck down and beaten by a drunken headman. (Mrs. H. E. Scott, op. cit., 124.)

129 PBP, Diaries, 10th April 1909.
The girls' fathers were mollified to a certain extent by an assurance given at a large shauri, or public discussion, that Christian youths had made offers of marriage to their daughters. But mothers would never accept the loss of their daughters. One mother found her daughter washing in the Nyongara Stream in a symbolic gesture of rejection of the old ways. In great sorrow, she threw earth over her head and cried out, "Neagothiel! Neagothiel! I have no daughter! My child is dead".  

The process was repeated at Tumutumu from 1912 when Marion Stevenson arrived to take over the running of the school and to begin work amongst girls. By 1914 there were twenty-four girls in the boarding school, but not before many had suffered for their new faith. There was Ngonina whose father cursed her in public, Wakiiru whose father performed a ceremony to pronounce her dead, and Mweru whose mother tried to drown herself, calling her "murderer".

To condemn the missionaries for attempting to secure girls for training as the future wives of Christian men is to look down the telescope of history from the wrong end. Believing as they did in the necessity of 'purifying' certain aspects of African life, and in a strict moral code, they could not have acted differently. But by struggling with parents for the possession of girls, body and soul, the Scottish missionaries were laying in a store of trouble for the future. The C.M.S. policy was to take in only those girls whose parent or lawful guardian had given prior consent. It is not surprising, therefore, that when in 1929 missions faced critical opposition

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131 Ibid, 163-165.
from the Kikuyu over female circumcision, the C.M.S. were relatively unaffected while the C.S.M. paid dearly for its inability to compromise.

When trying to establish central mission schools and village outschools, missions looked to chiefs and headmen for support. Clement Scott had established an outschool at Munyua's in 1902 and another at Kioi's in 1904. Henry Scott established another at Iuchendu's in 1909, and by 1915 there were two more at Maturi's and Kang'au's. For the most part, these Kikuyu dignitaries were friendly and cooperative, but on occasions they could be temperamental. If offended, or if there was a heavy load of community work, they sometimes used their influence to close the village schools.133

Tumutumu experienced a greater degree of opposition by chiefs and headmen. Three outschools had been established by 1910, at Kuyiha's, Kvitungu's and Rukanga's, and a further two were opened at Kithi's and Cathigira's in 1911. Some did well at first but gradually declined; others never made any progress at all. There was little overt hostility and nothing concrete which could give the missionaries a case to bring before the District Commissioner. But there remained until after 1912 a passive resistance in the Tumutumu region which held back the outschools and which affected at various times the progress of

For a time, the chiefs and headmen refused to encourage children to attend village schools or the central school, expressing a fear that the district officer might not approve. Henry Scott soon rectified this by getting the District Commissioner for Kyanbu, H. R. Tate, to set their minds at rest. (KMA DC/KBU/3/33, Scott to Tate, 7th April 1909.) Tate refused to order the chiefs and headmen to allow mission schools at their villages and stressed that the cooperation of Kikuyu leaders must always be enlisted. But he did agree to summon chiefs and headmen at whose villages the C.S.M. wished to open outschools in order to advise them that Government had no objections, and to point out to them the value of education. (PCEA A/4, Tate to Scott, 14th April 1909.)
the central school. 134

Much greater opposition by chiefs and headmen was experienced by the C.M.S. in the Fort Hall and Embu districts. Here, the ravages of frontier traders had been endured in the early years of the century, and here also the full weight of the military arm of pacification had been felt. The C.M.S. and Consolata Fathers moved into districts which were unsettled and whose people were less inclined to look kindly upon white men than their neighbours in Kyambu. But while the Consolata Fathers acquired large estates and placed large staffs upon them to build self-contained Christian communities, the C.M.S. established small, evangelistic centres, often with only one missionary in charge, and depended upon the people's good will in allowing their children to attend school. 134*

The chief opponent of the C.M.S. was the Kikuyu leader, Karuri wa Gakure – a former trading partner of John Eyles. Karuri was friendly at first but did his utmost in 1906 to check the progress of schools when he found that C.M.S. missionaries were advising sub-chiefs not to admit his councillors to their

134 PBP, Diaries, 12th April 1910; BP, Barlow, circular letter from Tumutumu, 17th November 1910; and Ibid, Barlow, Tumutumu Report for 1912. Murigu, one of the three senior Chiefs of the Kenya Province, resisted the C.S.M.'s attempt to open a school at his village until 1917. (Mrs. H.E. Scott, op. cit., 190.)

134* Examples of C.M.S. 'one-man' stations are as follows: the Rev. A. W. McGregor at Kabete from 1900, and at Thunguri, later Weithaga, from 1930; the Rev. Burns at Sakini, Ukamba, from 1903 (later handed over to the A.I.M.); the Rev. G. Burns at Nairobi from 1906; Dr. T. W. W. Crawford of the Canadian C.M.S. at Kahuhia from 1906; the Rev. E. W. Crawford at Kabare from July 1910; Dr. T. W. W. Crawford at Embu from September 1910; the Rev. D. Laight at Ntira from 1912; and the Rev. A. E. Clarke at Kathukeni from 1913. (See Map 2, after p. 308.)
to their districts.\(^\text{135}\) On two further occasions, in Fort Hall in 1909 and Embu in 1911, C.M.S. work was brought to a standstill by opposition from chiefs. But in the last resort missionaries could appeal to the district authorities; if they could prove that a troublesome chief or headman had broken the law it was possible to put an end to opposition by arranging his arrest with the District Commissioner or police.\(^\text{136}\)

At mission schools there was a problem of discipline. The C.S.M.'s Bambara,\(^\text{137}\) or boarding school, placed unaccustomed restrictions on young people, especially as good Scottish school discipline was brought to bear. Teacher-trainees who missed Marion Stevenson's class were given two days of hard labour in the garden. Day pupils who failed to attend morning class were kept behind at the close of school, and any who missed afternoon gardening as well were made to stand on a table at breaktime for three days. A boy who wore his shirt outside his trousers went without a shirt for the remainder of the day, however cold the weather. Insolence was punished by confinement in a tool shed; and for serious breaches of


\(^{136}\) Kahuga, a steadfast opponent of C.M.S. work at Kahuhia, was arrested after the missionary in charge had indicted him on a charge of robbery and extortion. (Proc. C.M.S., 1903 – 1909, 56.)

\(^{137}\) Bambara (sometimes Manbera) was a humorous nickname for the boys' boarding house — the noise coming from it being reminiscent of the legendary Tower of Babel at Shinar. (Genesis, xi.)
discipline there was a thick strap. 138

Kikuyu and Tumutumu both had long periods of indiscipline and restlessness amongst their schoolboys. At circumcision time the problem was particularly acute, the majority of boys absenting themselves for weeks on end, and many failing to return. 139 In time the problem receded, but for Kikuyu there remained a serious problem of indiscipline amongst the senior teachers.

Henry Scott was distressed at the low calibre of African teachers at Kikuyu in 1907 and aimed at improving the situation immediately. He felt strongly that the mission's success in education depended upon properly trained teachers who could act as assistants in central schools and be placed in charge of village outschools. 140

This dependence upon African teachers lay at the root of the trouble at Kikuyu. Senior teachers were not boys; they were young men, adults in the eyes of their tribe, who were nevertheless given very little personal authority, and who were treated as schoolboys. They were also the best educated Africans in the Protectorate and were in great demand by Government and settlers for employment at far higher wages than the mission was prepared to pay.

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138 Mrs. H. E. Scott, op. cit., 109-117. Five Kamba boys from the vicinity of the old mission site at Kibwezi attended school at Kikuyu for a few months in 1903. They found the discipline unpalatable and ran away. (Ibid, 113.)
139 To avoid interruptions to the progress of central schools, and to divorce circumcision from its accompanying 'immoral' celebrations, the C.S.M. began at an early date to persuade boys to undergo circumcision on mission grounds, preferably in the hospital at the hands of the medical missionary.
140 PCEA A/1, Scott to Hetherwick, 1st February 1903, and to McNair, 12th February 1903.
to give. They were indispensable to the mission and they knew that this was so. But the missionaries endeavoured to prove that this was not the case, and the result was a test of wills.

The first strike by teachers at Kikuyu took place in 1909. Six senior teachers walked out of the mission only to discover that missionaries were united in matters such as this; the Rev. Henry Leakey refused them entry to a wedding in the church at the C.M.S. station, Kabete, saying that they were not welcome until they had made their peace with Cicia.

There was little further trouble with teachers in Henry Scott's time. In 1912, however, the problem arose again in connection with J. W. Arthur's

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141 The C.M.S. at Maseno also experienced strikes by teachers in 1903. But there was a remarkable difference in the reason behind the strike - a dissatisfaction with the content of the educational curriculum. (J. Anderson, 'The struggle for the school. A study of conflicting educational objectives in the colonial situation, taking Kenya as a case study', unpublished manuscript, University College, Nairobi, 1969, Ch. 9, 2-3.) At the coast in the 1890s, the C.M.S. had provoked a strike amongst its pastor-trainees by applying Bishop Tucker's rule against the wearing of trousers in order to "preserve the simplicity of life and conduct" of African Christians. (K. E. Stovold, The C.M.S. in Kenya. Book One: The Coast 1844 - 1944 (C.M.S., Nairobi, n.d.) 56.) Arthur, Jocia and Mutha Getau, three senior teachers at Kikuyu, when they went to Freretown in 1912 were not allowed to wear boots or any form of European dress. (PCEA A/12, J. W. Arthur to the Rev. J. E. Hamshon, 10th February 1912.)

142 Ibid A/5, Leakey to Scott, 7th September 1909. Cicia ('the one with spectacles') was Henry Scott's Kikuyu nickname. There was one occasion when the agreement between missions broke down. In 1911 a senior teacher at Kikuyu, Paulo, wished to 'buy' a wife and was given temporary leave by Arthur to work outside the mission for higher wages. Paulo found his way to the A.I.M. station at Kijabe and was given a teaching post. Arthur was furious at the A.I.M. for 'stealing' one of his teachers. The A.I.M.'s attitude was that they in the first place would never in conscience have allowed one of their youths to 'buy' a wife. (PCEA A/9, Philp to Lee Downing, 21st August 1911; A/8, Lee Downing to Philp, September 1911; and Arthur to Lee Downing, 14th November 1911.)
decision to apprentice both junior and senior teachers for three year periods. In this way it was hoped to reduce the high rate of loss to the mission of trained men. Junior teachers had little option in the matter; the continuation of their education depended upon their willingness to become apprentices. It was more difficult to bind the senior teachers, but a precedent had been established early in the year when Jocia, Arthur and Nutha Getau signed agreements before being sent to the C.M.S. at Freretown for training in Kiswahili.

The apprenticeship scheme transformed what had been small areas of conflict into major issues between the mission and its teachers. Arthur's expression of disapproval at the practice by teachers of making and selling beer almost provoked a strike in October 1912. His rule that teachers had to be in bed by nine o'clock at night was another potentially explosive issue. But the real issue between the parties was that of wages. The strike which occurred on December 12th was ostensibly caused by Arthur's refusal to lift the nine o'clock rule or to give teachers free food; the motive for the strike was, however, to force the mission to pay higher wages. Jocia, Arthur, Alfredi, Jocua and Nutha walked out of the mission but returned by the end of the month. A truce lasted until 1914 when there were further strikes. In 1915

143 PCEA A/12, Arthur to Barlow, 26th February 1912. The C.S.M. was the only mission which apprenticed its teachers. H. E. Scott had intended that teachers should be apprenticed from 1910, but the practice did not become formalised until 1912. Another reason for apprenticing teachers was to qualify for additional per capita grants-in-aid from Government under the general scheme of assistance for missionary technical education.

144 PCEA A/12, Arthur to McLachlan, 10th September 1912, and to Barlow, 13th December 1912. The F.M.C. were greatly alarmed by the trouble at Kikuyu and warned Arthur to conceal it in public print. (CSP/NLS 7563, McLachlan to Arthur, 26th February 1913.)
Protestant missions were obliged to meet this common problem by agreeing to raise the wages of teachers to the level of those paid to educated Africans by other employers. 145

Problems apart, a substantial advance in education had been made by 1914. Kikuyu, with only eight boarders at the end of 1907, had a hundred and ten by 1911 and could scarcely keep pace with the growing demand. Tumutumu's school roll in 1914 was four times what it had been in the previous year. Outschools had improved and were acting as feeders of the central schools. 146 At both stations there was instruction in progress for teachers, hospital assistants, artisans and girls.

Priorities in educational work had been established by Henry Scott. In 1908 there was a feeling within the F.M.C. that instead of opening a second station while Kikuyu was yet undeveloped, the principal objective should be to make Kikuyu another Lovedale—a great training institution which would serve all denominations of missionary societies and undertake work in Nairobi and amongst Europeans. 147

Scott rejected the F.M.C.'s plan as being unattainable in British East African conditions at so early a period. Africans in large numbers had been in contact with European civilisation for a few years but had still to receive

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145 KICM, 15th – 19th May 1915. The initiative for the agreement by the A.I.M., C.M.S., G.M.S. and C.S.M. came from A. R. Barlow.
146 In February 1909 a village school at Kabuku on the Limuru estate of Mr. Victor Buxton was taken over from the C.M.S. at Kabete.
147 PCEA A/3, Robertson to Scott, 13th June 1908.
the education which would enable them to adjust. It was necessary, therefore, to begin by extending Christian primary education outwards from Kikuyu and Tumutumu to cover as wide an area as possible. And in any case, other missions had their own principal training centres – the A.I.M. at Kijabe and the C.H.S. at Freretown – and could not be expected to send their best students to Kikuyu. 143

The plan of founding a chain of stations northwards to Abyssinia had died with Clement Scott. But in theory at least the C.S.K. had a sphere for expansion in the country lying to the north of a line running from the Ngong Hills to Mt. Kenya. Henry Scott and Arthur crossed the Tana River in July 1903 to choose a site for a second station in the C.S.K.'s sphere and chose one near Tumutumu Hill in the Nyeri District. 149 All round, the Roman Catholic Consolata Fathers were active; it was imperative, therefore, to waste no time in occupying Tumutumu. 150

143 Ibid A/I, Scott to Robertson, 29th July 1903.
149 Tumutumu, until a few years before Scott's visit, lay on the northern fringe of Kikuyu settlement. Beyond lay an area known as Enroror which was a seasonal pastureland for the Laikipiak Masaai until about 1870, and for the Purko Masaai thereafter. With the coming of British administration and the spread of European settlement the Masaai retreated from the area and the Kikuyu extended their own settlement northwards to the Chania River. (Personal Communication, Dr. A. H. Jacobs, Nairobi, 8th August 1963; and R. A. Bullock, 'A Study in Pioneer Settlement – Southern North Nyeri District, Kenya', Queen's University of Belfast, B.A. Dissertation, 1958, 56-58.) In 1912 the C.S.K. at Tumutumu had plans to extend their medical work to the few Masaai still residing in the old Enorro area. Their leader was Turungi who claimed that his people were the remnant of the 'Il-dala-lo-Kutuk' clan who before the coming of Europeans had been crushed by the Purko or 'Burugu' Masaai. (PCEA A/10, Barlow to Arthur, 20th March and 20th April 1912.)

150 The first missionary to attempt to work north of the Tana was Stuart Watt in 1894. (Rachel Watt, In the Heart of Savaredom (London, n.d.) 192-193. See also above, p.135, n.263.)
As funds and staff for a new station were in short supply, it was decided to send two of Marion Stevenson's teacher-catechists as the first missionaries to Tumutumu. These were Petro Kugo and Danieli Wachira, former printing assistants to Clement Scott, who had recently been baptised. Petro went to Tumutumu alone in October 1903 and was relieved a few months later by Danieli. Considering that Kikuyu from Kyambu were not always popular north of the Tana, and considering also the difference in dialect between the northern and southern Kikuyu, Petro and Danieli were remarkably successful. When A. R. Barlow arrived to take charge in July 1909, he found a day school in progress which had an average attendance of twenty-five.\textsuperscript{151}

By 1910, as the outline of an educational policy for the Protectorate began to take shape in consultations between missions, and between missions and government, the C.S.M.'s own educational policy had reached a new stage of development. A gift from Scotland of £500 for a permanent school building enabled Henry Scott to put into effect a plan for an educational institute at Kikuyu.

\textsuperscript{151} Barlow in 1909 was already a legend throughout Kikuyuland because of his ability to speak fluent, idiomatic Kikuyu, and because of his past record of living with the Kikuyu, dancing with them, eating their food and drinking their beer. Although he remained a particularly sympathetic and well-informed person where the Kikuyu were concerned, Barlow had given up his carefree activities with Kikuyu friends by the time he came to Tumutumu. The main reason for this was his arrest in 1905 and his deportation from the Mt. Kenya area for allegedly interfering in native affairs. Officials had made it plain to him that they did not approve of Europeans who fraternised with savage peoples. Barlow's return to Mt. Kenya was authorised by the Governor on the condition that he did not repeat his early indiscretions. (PCEA A/1, Scott to Sir James Hayes Sadler, 3rd June 1903; and Acting Secretary to Scott, M.P. No. 1411/08, 19th June 1903. See also above, p. 175, n. 100, and p. 183, n. 137.)
Scott deliberately chose the word, institute, to signify the harmony and interrelationship of literary education at the primary level and technical training. The institute he envisaged would consist of a morning school for young boys and an afternoon school for older youths. The former would receive elementary literary education and would provide a supply of candidates for the teachers' class and for responsible sub-posts in Government and private employment. The latter — and it was hoped that these would be in the majority — would receive a little elementary education in Kikuyu and Kiswahili and would be given technical training as apprentices in masonry, carpentry, hospital work and agriculture.

While primary education of a religious nature would remain the foundation of the educational system, the main stress was to be placed upon technical training. This, in Scott's view, was the only sensible system in a Protectorate where European interests would continue to be paramount. Precedents could be drawn from the South African situation where efforts to

152 PCEA A/9, Scott to McLachlan, 4th February 1910.
154 "He saw that the solution of the native problem of this country requires the education of natives to become useful members of a community in which European interests will be uppermost, and the training of them in principles of life which will be required of them under the leadership and in the employ of white men." (KN, No. 29, June 1911, Barlow, 'Reflections on our loss', 19.)
solve the 'native problem' were hailed as models for British East Africa.\textsuperscript{155}

The corollary of the decision to build an institute at Kikuyu was a centralisation policy for the mission. Kikuyu was to remain the senior station. Tumutumu would be directed from Kikuyu and would be required to send in for higher training at the institution its best students. But the centralisation policy did not survive the rise of Tumutumu as an educational mission of considerable importance in its own right. After Scott's death in 1911, Arthur tried to maintain the policy but found that his colleagues at Tumutumu were reluctant to service the senior station. They were enjoying spectacular success in primary education and were pressing for staff and funds to develop an apprenticeship system in technical training.\textsuperscript{156} By 1914, as a result of pressures brought to bear at home and in the field by Dr. Philp and Marion Stevenson, both stations were major educational institutes with the full range of primary and technical facilities.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{155} PCEA A/9, Scott to Robertson, 15th March 1911. Henry Scott found useful ideas in Dulley Kidd's \textit{Kaffir Socialism}. He agreed with Kidd that Africans tended to learn everything by heart and to avoid thinking. A wide variety of educational approaches was therefore essential, but ultimately, practical work would prove more relevant than mental work. And in dealing with Africans, Scott was at one with Kidd in his belief in the necessity of training character together with mental faculties. At Kikuyu a premium was placed upon technical training (self-reliance), gymnastics (health and coordination), football (team spirit) and upon drilling in the Boys' Brigade (discipline) - so that Africans would become "men instead of clever boys": (Ibid, Scott, draft of an article for \textit{In Far Fields}, missionary magazine of the Church of Scotland, 24th June 1910.)

\textsuperscript{156} PCEA A/8, Barlow to Arthur, 22nd August 1911.

\textsuperscript{157} Tumutumu's success as an educational mission created a tension between the two stations. The staff at Tumutumu chafed at their control by Kikuyu and were to suggest in later years that they be given independent status. (See below, Pp. 332-34 and n. 190.)
The educational advance brought in its wake a mounting problem in finance. The year 1911 saw a great increase in the numbers of children in school, but at the same time, the F.M.C. began to apply a brake on spending and special appeals for additional funds. Kikuyu had spent £284 on education during the year, and Tumutumu, £200; in the estimates for 1912, £682 was requested for the former and £654 for the latter. The F.M.C. were delighted at the success of the mission but could not spare more than £500 for both stations. The main effect of the financial problem was to increase the mission's dependence upon aid from Government.

158 CSP/ML 7557, McLachlan to Robertson, 13th October 1911; and 7558, McLachlan to Arthur, 18th January 1912.
4. Education and Government

The first measure of cooperation in education between the C.S.M. and Government arose in 1908 in connection with the schooling for European settlers' children. The problem of educating these, the future leaders in a white colony, was not a new one. In 1905 a Committee of settlers made various recommendations to the Governor, none of which was acted upon owing to shortage of funds. Missions at this time, with the exception of the Holy Ghost Fathers at St. Austin's near Nairobi, were criticised for having taken no interest in the welfare of European children. In 1906 the issue of European education was raised again by the settlers; it was obvious then that the Protectorate's Commissioner, Sir James Hayes Sadler, expected some assistance from missions in this respect.

Clement Scott convened a meeting of Protestant missionaries to discuss the problem. Concern was expressed at the lead which had been taken by Roman Catholics in European education and it was agreed that Protestant societies should act promptly. Missions could not assume the whole burden of European education, but they could make a valuable contribution by providing schools for children whose parents could not afford the fees of the proposed Government school at Nairobi. Each society was asked to approach its home committee. Clement Scott, during his

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159 In 1905 the Holy Ghost Fathers had built a boarding school for thirty Europeans. (Cd. 2740 (1905), Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, October 1905, 23.) Bishop Allgeyer, when criticised from within his own Order for diverting resources away from African work, argued that it was essential to influence the people who would one day control the affairs of the country. (Kieran, op.cit., 351-52.)


162 CS/FMCM, Scott, 'Proposals Regarding Kikuyu', April 1907.
furlough in 1906, pressed the F.M.G. to set aside funds. But since the E.A.S.M. had not been finally transferred to the Church of Scotland, it was felt that nothing could be done.

Henry Scott inherited this problem and was as anxious as Clement Scott had been to act positively. In July 1908, at the request of the Governor, he drew up proposals for the erection at Kikuyu of a boarding school for a hundred European children. There would be four standards at the primary level; Scott would act as Superintendent, and Mrs. Watson would be set aside as the main teacher. Government would be asked to subsidise the fee structure and to guarantee that all times the C.S.M. would be free of any financial obligation to the school. European work would be kept entirely separate from African work.163

The Executive Council approved the proposals and recommended that they be forwarded to the Colonial Office. The latter confirmed that the proposals were acceptable, but the Governor decided to delay his own decision until the Educational Adviser appointed from India, J.N. Fraser, had had an opportunity to review the situation in the Protectorate.164

It was Fraser who put an end to the C.S.M.'s plan to provide educational facilities for European children. He took as his model the A.I.M. station at Kijabe where in February 1909 twelve children were being educated by a trained teacher and a boarding school was scheduled for opening in September. The A.I.M., moreover, being a wealthier mission than the C.S.M., were prepared to draw upon general mission funds for European education, and accepted a Government monthly

163 PCEA A/1, Scott to Sir James Hayes Sadler, 7th July 1908; and CS/FMCM, 17th November 1908.
164 PCEA A/1, Scott to McLeachlan, 25th December 1908.
subsidy which was considerably lower than the figure of Rs.35 which Scott had stipulated as a minimum for one child educated at the C.S.M.. 165 On this issue Scott was not prepared to compete with another Protestant mission. The A.I.M. had more funds at their disposal and could afford to go ahead with only a two-year guarantee of aid from Government. He therefore withdrew his proposals to the Governor. 166

A more fruitful area of cooperation between missions and Government proved to be that of African education. From the turn of the century, officials - insofar as they had any policy for African education - had urged missions to give technical training a central place in their schools. 167 The increase in white settlement produced a growing demand for trained African labour; there were Indians in quantity as skilled artisans, but they were expensive and unpopular. As far as Government was concerned the major issue in education in 1906 was the provision of facilities for Europeans. But the Commissioner referred briefly to African education in his public statements, and, hinting that Government grants might be available, called upon missionaries to cooperate between themselves in the introduction of systematic

165 PCEA A/4, Fraser to Scott, 14th February, and Scott to Fraser, 20th February 1909. Fraser's final recommendation was the building of a Central Government school in Nairobi with boarding facilities and a grant of Rs.15 per child per month to the A.I.M. until the Government School was completed. It is interesting to note that Fraser's recommendations on European education were subsequently found to be of little value. He had grossly underestimated the number of European children who would require education in 1912, while overestimating the cost per head of a boarding system. He recommended that children should enter school at the age of eight, but the Government decided that five was a more suitable age. (CCCP, African No. 954, 8232, Report on British East Africa, 1912, by E.P.C. Girouard, 19th February 1912, 188.)

166 On learning of the failure of the plan for a European school at Kikuyu, a Nakuru settler wrote to Scott: "God help the little children of the present generation if their minds are to remain fallow until such time as a complicated scheme of education has been considered by the Colonial Office!" (PCEA A/5, C.M. Rogers to Scott, 11th September 1909.)

167 See, for example, Sir Donald Stewart's exhortation to missions in Cd.2331 (1905), Report on the East Africa Protectorate for the year 1903-4, January 1905, 27; and John Ainsworth's in his Report on the Ukamba Province, 1895-1905, in Cd.2740 (1905), Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, October 1905, 23.
technical training for Africans. 168

Technical training began at Kikuyu under Clement Scott, but, in the absence of an artisan missionary between 1902 and 1907, it was informal and sporadic. Clement Scott trained Nugo and Wachira as printers, and several others became reasonably skilled in carpentry and stone dressing under his guidance. 169

Henry Scott was anxious to introduce more systematic technical training at Kikuyu and tried in 1908 to secure some Blantyre men as technical assistants. Reluctantly, he was obliged to do without them since the wages they demanded for coming to Kikuyu were the same as those they could obtain in Johannesburg. 170

The first step towards an efficient educational system in Scott's view was to bring together the various Protestant missions for discussions on common problems and for a united approach to Government in the matter of grants-in-aid. It is not surprising that Scott should have been the prime mover in this respect since he had recently arrived from Nyasaland where a missionary Education Board had been formed in 1904. 171 In November 1908 he began to seek the opinion of other missions; the response was immediate and enthusiastic. By the end of the year a Joint Committee on Education had been formed.


169 Examples of C.S.M. technical work were displayed at the Agricultural Show in Nairobi at the end of 1902 and were praised by the Commissioner. The baptismal font which still stands in the Watson-Scott Memorial Church at the P.C.E.A., Kikuyu, was made by one of Clement Scott's masons, Muhango. (F.M.C. Reports to G.A., May 1903 and May 1904.)

170 Scott was particularly keen to secure two men, Ned, and Bertie Silumbana. But neither would come for less than Rs.35 a month — more than double the average monthly wage for a trained African in British East Africa. (PCEA A/2, Wylie to Scott, 16th May 1908; and A/3, Hetherwick to Scott, 25th June, and Wylie to Scott, 27th November 1908.

171 The first General Mission Conference at Livingstonia in 1900 adopted a Common Educational Code, and the second, at Blantyre in 1904, formed an Education Board. An approach was made to Government in 1905 for financial assistance in primary and technical education. (CS/PMC, 11th July 1905, enclosing James Henderson (F.C.S.M., Livingstonia), A. Hetherwick (C.S.M., Blantyre), W.H. Murray (Dutch Reformed Church Mission) and A. Hamilton (Zambesi Industrial Mission) to Sir Alfred Sharpe, 25th May 1905.)
Beginning as a C.S.M. and C.M.S. project, the Joint Committee in 1909 became the Missionary Education Board representing all Protestant missions in the Protectorate. It provided a forum for the discussion of common problems in language and school texts, method and discipline. And when the Government Education Board was formed in 1909, Henry Scott was appointed to it to speak for Protestant missions in his capacity of Chairman of the Missionary Board.\footnote{172} 

The formation of the Missionary Education Board coincided, not unintentionally, with the visit to the Protectorate of the aforementioned Educational Adviser from India. J. Nelson Fraser, educational expert from the Indian Education Service, Bombay, arrived in British East Africa towards the end of 1908. His appointment was not welcomed by Scott who felt that any advice on education which the Government might desire could be more readily given, and with the benefit of local experience, by members of the Missionary Education Board. But after meeting Fraser, Scott decided that he was a good man for the work and looked forward to a period of fruitful cooperation with the Government.\footnote{173} 

Scott was gratified to discover that Fraser shared many of his views on African education. Both saw the problem in terms of reducing the rate at which western influences were corroding the traditional fabric of African society; the answer to the problem was seen to lie in religious teaching, a training in strict obedience to authority and practical education of a technical nature. They agreed that Government should assist mission schools and that education, in order to be appreciated, should not be free of charge to parents or children.\footnote{174} 

\footnote{172} The Government Education Board, an advisory body, consisted of the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, a representative of the settlers, one Roman Catholic, and one Protestant missionary. 
\footnote{173} PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 25th December 1908, and 9th February 1909. 
\footnote{174} Ibid, Scott to Fraser, 18th February 1909.
Frazer met the Missionary Education Board early in March 1909 to discuss the ways in which Government might assist missions in schemes of technical training. He intimated that Government was not anxious to spend money on primary education, but that grants might be forthcoming for the training of carpenters, weavers, bricklayers, masons and blacksmiths.\textsuperscript{175} For his own part, Henry Scott, was delighted and proceeded to draw up a scheme for the training of carpenters and blacksmiths together with a budget for Government grants towards the cost of tools and workshops. The P.M.C. were equally well pleased but warned that as funds were limited, Government must pay the greater portion of the cost of technical training.\textsuperscript{176}

Fraser attended the United Missionary Conference in Nairobi in June 1909 where education and the recent Government proposals constituted a major area of discussion. Besides adopting a Common Educational Code\textsuperscript{177}, the Conference passed a variety of resolutions on the subject of technical education and Government aid. In general,

\textsuperscript{175} PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 9th March 1909. It is interesting to note that Fraser was against giving Government grants for agricultural training. In this he was alone; missions, Government and many settlers placed a high premium on the inculcation amongst Africans of improved agricultural methods. Sir Percy Girouard, for example in his main Report for 1910, quoted Lord Selborne on South African Native Policy in education: "I would adapt my education so as to make him (the native) above all things, a skilled agricultural labourer." (CCOP, African No. 954, 18381, Report on British East Africa by E.P.C. Girouard, 25th May 1910, 131.) And in 1913 the Labour Commissioners, recommended agricultural training as a means of improving the efficiency of labour. (East Africa Protectorate. Native Labour Commission, 1912-13, Report, (Nairobi, 1913) Para. 88, p.332.

\textsuperscript{176} PCEA A/4, McLachlan to Scott, 6th April 1909.

\textsuperscript{177} The Common Educational Code was as follows: an elementary code for village teaching, embracing five classes with instruction in the vernacular to class three, Kiswahili in classes four and five, but with no English; and an advanced code for central mission schools, embracing four classes and six standards, Kiswahili commencing in class three, and optional instruction in English between class four and standard four. Advanced teaching, confined to candidates for teaching and preaching, would be given only to youths of proven moral character. (Report of the United Missionary Conference, Nairobi, 7-11th June 1909, minutes and resolutions, 8th June 1909.)
missions were in favour of systematic technical instruction in their schools. But two issues were raised which were to prove major obstacles to effective cooperation with Government for many years to come. Willis of Maseno moved that Government aid should place no restriction on the freedom of missions to impart religious teaching, and Scott called upon Government to assist missions, not merely through grants for buildings, tools and apprenticeship schemes, but through grants for literary education at the elementary level.

The issues raised by Willis and Scott were particularly relevant to a scheme which arose at this time for the education of chiefs' sons in Government-assisted mission schools. In most places in Africa, where distinct tribal leadership obtained, missionaries directed their efforts towards educating those who would succeed to positions of authority. In the highlands of British East Africa it was found to be a sufficiently difficult problem to persuade chiefs and headmen to allow out-schools near their villages without attempting at the same time to secure their children as pupils. To solve this problem Henry Scott in 1909 asked

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178 The Rev. C.E. Hulbert of the A.I.M. elaborated on the popular theme of saving Africans from becoming "intellectual imposters". He stated: "It is the duty of all who have anything to do with natives who are just coming out of the darkness of heathenism, to train them that they should not aspire beyond what they are able to do.... The proper place of the native will be found only by himself, when he is morally right, mentally equipped and industrially trained to fill the highest place for which he has capacity." (Conference Report, op. cit., 11th June.)

179 Conference Report, op. cit., resolutions of the Public Meeting, 11th June 1909.

180 The Portuguese missionaries in the 16th century endeavoured to educate and baptise the sons of kings in Kongo and in the empire of the Mwenemutapa. A more recent example is that of the C.M.S. and White Fathers in Buganda after 1875.

181 The C.M.S. in Fort Hall from 1903 tried, but without success, to secure the children of local chiefs for their schools. (Proc. C.M.S., 1904-5, 85.) The C.M.S. at Maseno in 1908 asked the P.C., John Ainsworth, to encourage chiefs to send their sons to the mission school. The first reaction of chiefs was one of suspicion, and the practice grew of sending, not sons, but boys who were distant relatives. Chief Ogola of Kisumu was one who did this. (J.E. Odhambo, 'A History of the Independent Schools Movement in the Nyanza Province, with special reference to Kisumu and Siaya Districts', University College, Nairobi, B.A. Dissertation, 1969, 13.)
Government to cooperate with missions in Kikuyuland by persuading chiefs to allow their sons to be educated in selected and aided missionary schools.

The scheme was based upon the assumption that Government would continue to work through chiefs and headmen and that the principle of primogeniture would be applied. Most missionaries regarded the pre-war generation of chiefs and headmen as drunken and unreliable old men; it was essential to ensure that the next generation were trained men, sympathetic to missions, and leaders of Christian communities.

Scott began in May 1909 by testing the reaction of H.R. Tate, D.C. of Kyambu, to his scheme. Tate was impressed and began to survey his district with a view to finding out which chiefs would be willing to send their sons to school. Fraser was consulted and gave the opinion that there should be one mission school for chiefs' sons in northern Kikuyuland and one in the southern area. Scott was extremely anxious that his own mission be appointed for southern Kikuyuland, and in October 1909 was pressing the Secretary for Native Affairs for a rapid decision.

With the transfer of Sir James Hayes Sadler to a new post in 1909, and pending the arrival of the new Governor, Sir Percy Girouard, the scheme fell into abeyance. By February 1910 Girouard had turned his attentions towards African education, and being greatly impressed by Scott's proposals, announced at a meeting of the Government Education Board that he wished to give the scheme a central place in

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182 PCEAA/1, Scott to Tate, 25th May 1909. Scott prepared a memorandum for Tate in which he suggested that Government should make grants for both the literary and technical education of chiefs' sons. Literary education would be given only to boys who were under fourteen years of age at the time of entry to school; all boys would be apprenticed to a trade for three years.

183 Tate found that eight out of fourteen chiefs in Kyambu were in favour of the scheme. (KNA DC/KBU/3/4; Kyambu Political Record Book, Part II, 6th September 1909).

184 PCEA A/1, Scott to Hollis, 20th October 1909.
his Native Policy. Scott, the Provincial Commissioner for Ukamba and the Secretary for Native Affairs were appointed to a Sub-Committee and instructed to work out details for the implementation of the scheme.

This was one of several areas in which Scott and Girouard worked closely and with great amity. Girouard had been Governor of Northern Nigeria and was accustomed to a strong, defined Government policy. In British East Africa there was nothing, as far as he could see, which remotely resembled the efficient system devised by F.D. Lugard. It was his intention to take a firm hold on all matters in the Protectorate, and in the difficult area of African development he welcomed the friendship and advice of men like Scott.

The wording, and sentiments expressed in a Confidential Memorandum circulated to all missions in March 1910, indicate clearly that Girouard was influenced to a large extent by Scott. He stressed the necessity of cooperation between officials and missionaries and of demonstrating the same to Africans. He felt, as did Scott, that Africans had to be protected from the abrasions of western civilisation and encouraged to develop along their own lines; only that would be rejected which was "repugnant to higher ideals of morality and justice". Africans should not be allowed to think that they could emulate Europeans or aspire to their educational,

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185 J.J. Willis of the C.M.S., Maseno, was a very close friend of Scott's and was his most enthusiastic supporter in the scheme. At Willis' request, Scott broadened his scheme to include the whole country on the basis of one Roman Catholic, and one Protestant, mission school for chiefs' sons in each district. Willis urged Scott to ensure that Government agreed to subsidise the cost of literary education at the primary level and apprenticeship schemes, and to permit freedom to missionaries in religious teaching. (PCEA A/6, Willis to Scott, 18th January 1910.)

186 PCEA A/9, Scott to McLachlan, 18th February and 10th March 1910.


188 The full text of this interesting Memorandum is given in Appendix V. The Memorandum was issued soon after a meeting between Scott and Girouard, and between Girouard and a representative body of missionaries.
social or economic status. And since Girouard intended to conduct local adminis-
tration more extensively through chiefs and headmen instead of European officials,
the scheme of education proposed by Scott found ready acceptance.

Scott was jubilant at his success. The Governor had endorsed his appeal for
aid to missions for the religious, primary and technical education of chiefs' sons.
But almost immediately the scheme ran into difficulty. The C.M.S. of the Mombasa
Diocese had hoped that by providing technical education at Preretown their other
stations would be free to receive aid for evangelistic teaching; and the A.I.M. had
a verbal agreement with the C.S.M. to leave technical education to the latter in
southern Kikuyuland. In July 1910, however, the Government Education Board declared
that no mission which did not give technical instruction would qualify for appoint-
tment as a Government-assisted training institution for chiefs' sons. As neither
the C.M.S. nor the A.I.M. in the highlands had any tradition of technical teaching,
and no staff or facilities, the Board's decision automatically excluded them from
the scheme. Not unnaturally, they felt that Scott had deliberately arranged that
only the C.S.M. would qualify for Government aid.189

To an extent, Scott was guilty of having sacrificed the interests of fellow
Protestant missions. But the reason was not malice or greed. Education for chiefs' sons was a political issue; a compromise was necessary which accommodated the views of settlers and officials as well as those of missionaries. In his dealings with the Government Education Board, Scott had perceived that the weight of opinion
was in favour of practical education, and that Government aid was more likely to

189 PCEA A/6, K. St. Aubyn Rogers, Secretary to the C.M.S. Conference, Mombasa,
to Scott, 28th February 1910; and Hulburt to Scott, 26th July 1910. Hulburt
had been told by C.W. Hobley, the Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, and A.C.
Hollis, the Secretary of State for Native Affairs, that Scott was determined
to secure all chiefs' sons for his own mission.
be secured for one properly–equipped mission school in each major administrative
district than for the host of missions which was clamouring for a share in the
scheme. J.J. Willis, at Maseno in the Uganda Diocese, was in complete agreement
with Scott that such a compromise was necessary, and appealed to other missions to
agree to it or risk losing control of the scheme to their Roman Catholic rivals. 190

While Protestant missionaries argued amongst themselves as to which of them
should participate in the scheme, Girouard announced in December 1910 that the
scheme was experimental and that Government aid could not be guaranteed indefinitely. 191
Many began to feel at this time that Government were trying to withdraw from the
scheme in spite of clear assurances of support given earlier in the year. Clearly,
officials were disgusted at the failure of the Protestant missions to agree amongst
themselves and some were of the opinion that education for chiefs' sons might be
given more effectively under purely Government sponsorship. 192 By the end of
1910 the scheme had been publicised by district officers in the Reserves and it had
been found that many chiefs and headmen were unwilling to send their sons to missions.
Education itself was not opposed; it was the religious content of missionary teaching
which was unpalatable to many chiefs.

190 PCEA A/6, Willis to Scott, 2nd March 1910. Like Scott, Willis stood to gain
by the compromise since Maseno was equipped and ready to give technical training.
It should be noted that Scott had a firm ally on the Government Education Board
in the person of W. MacLellan Wilson, the settlers' representative, who was a
faithful and active member of St. Andrew's Church congregation, Nairobi.

191 PCEA A/7, A.B. Chilson, Friends' Industrial Mission, to Scott, 23rd December
1910.

192 A rather discreditable example of missionary in-fighting concerns the attempt
by the G.S.M., A.I.M. and C.M.S. to exclude the German Evangelical Lutheran
mission at Ikutha in Ukamba from participation in the scheme on the grounds
that it was not an English–speaking mission. The true reason for the exclusion
was to present the Governor with a scheme in which a quid pro quo was offered
for the exclusion, likewise, of the generally detested Consolata Fathers of
Turin. (PCEA A/7, J. Hoffmann, Ikutha, to Hulburt, October 1910; and covering
letter to same, Lee H. Downing to Scott, 3rd December 1910.)
The attitude displayed by chiefs towards religious education produced another Government decision which was ill-received by missions. This was the popularly known conscience clause. In March 1911 the Government Education Board ruled that a chief or headman had the right to stipulate no religious instruction for his son in a mission school receiving Government aid.\(^{193}\)

The reaction by missionaries can be easily appreciated. They were, after all, primarily transmitters of the Christian religion, and Christianity permeated the texts which they used in the teaching of literacy. It was too much to ask that they should provide a purely secular education in separate classrooms for chiefs' sons. Officials and settlers insisted that moral teaching was essential for Africans; missionaries agreed, but they saw no other way of teaching morality except through their religion. The conscience clause was the final blow to the scheme. While the A.I.M. and other missions announced their withdrawal from the scheme, the C.S.M. tried to salvage something from the wreck.\(^{194}\) But in April 1911, with Scott's death, much of the interest and initiative on the missionary side disappeared.

The effect of the disagreement between missions and Government over religious education was to confirm a number of officials in their opinion that Government schools for African technical education should be established. In March 1912, C.W. Hobley informed missions that they could educate chiefs' sons out of their own resources if they wished, but that the money set aside by Government for the scheme of aided missions schools would be devoted to secular schools in Ukamba.\(^{195}\)

\(^{193}\) PCEA/TT, 'Miscellaneous', 'Revised Scheme for the Education of Sons of Chiefs approved by the Board on March 6th 1911'.

\(^{194}\) The scheme had started well for the C.S.M.. In 1910 Paramount Chief Kinyanjui had placed two of his sons in the mission school at Kikuyu and several headmen had followed suit. (PCEA A/9, Scott to McLachlan, 7th April 1910.)

\(^{195}\) PCEA A/12, Arthur to McLachlan, 15th May 1912.
This was confirmed by J.R. Orr, the Director of Education.\textsuperscript{196}

In any case, Government's interest in educational aid purely for the sons of chiefs and headmen had diminished; a policy for the future had been devised of working local administration through a system of Native Councils.\textsuperscript{197} The role of the Government school was seen to be in the training of Africans for responsible sub-posts in Government and private employment. At the end of 1912 the Education Department announced that the small Government school at Kitui would be expanded,\textsuperscript{198} and that in 1913 a new Government school would be opened at Machakos. When funds permitted, further schools would be opened at Mumia's, Kima and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{199}

The growing discord between missions and Government was not confined to the scheme of education for chiefs' sons. In the general field of Government aid for technical instruction in mission schools friction arose over the method by which grants were made. From 1909 small sums were given for tools and for the erection of workshops.\textsuperscript{200} Missions pressed for a capitation grant based upon the number of

\textsuperscript{196} KNA, Orr, 'Report on Educational Progress for the year ending 31st March 1912."

\textsuperscript{197} PCEA A/10, Barlow to Arthur, 8th February 1912. Government's view at this time was that chiefs and headmen for the most part owed their positions solely to Government and were not regarded by their people as the true authorities. It was, however, difficult to make a change in the system. Chiefs and headmen were firmly entrenched and enjoyed a considerable measure of power. Girouard's resignation, the war, and the political troubles of the immediate post-war years delayed action until 1924 when, by amendment to the Native Authority Ordinance of 1912, Local Native Councils were formed.

\textsuperscript{198} The Kitui school was established for chiefs' sons in 1909 by the District Officer, J.B. Ainsworth, who was the brother of John Dawson Ainsworth, the Provincial Commissioner.


\textsuperscript{200} Formal recommendations in this respect were made by J.N. Fraser in his Report on Education in the East Africa Protectorate (Nairobi, 1909).
apprentices indentured to an approved trade; but in March 1911 the Government Education Board ruled that grants for apprentices would be made according to results obtained by apprentices in annual Government examinations. 201

The examinations were found to be unreasonably difficult and missions could not be sure of recouping their outlay on the preparation of apprentices in the year before an examination. Furthermore, since Government did not set aside more than £500 for apprentices, the number which could be enrolled at missions at £5 per apprentice was severely limited. The C.S.M. was particularly anxious to expand its apprenticeship scheme, but being wholly dependent on Government grants, was checked in its progress. 202

While missions varied in their attitude towards technical instruction in their schools, they were all agreed that the basis of their educational system was literary teaching at the elementary level — apart from anything else, as a precondition of baptism. Further conflict with Government thus arose when aid for literary education

201 Orr, op.cit., Appendix D: 'Native Technical Education Scheme as Revised by the Education Board 3-13th March 1911'. It is interesting to note, as another example of Scott's influence in education, that the Board adopted the Blantyre scheme for the standard training of carpenters in mission schools.

202 PCEA A/16, Arthur to H.P. Espie, 17th September 1913; and A/20, Arthur to McLeachlan, 21st August 1914. In 1912, the only missions receiving Government aid for technical instruction were the C.S.M., Kikuyu (Tumutumu qualified for aid in 1913), the C.M.S. at Freretown and Maseno; the Lumbwa Industrial Mission, The Friends' Industrial Mission at Kaimosi, the Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Ikutha, the Holy Ghost Fathers at St. Austin's, Mangu and Mombasa, and the Mill Hill Fathers at Ojala's in Nyanza. The two single stations which had the highest number of apprentices were the C.S.M. at Kikuyu and the C.M.S. at Maseno, with thirty-five and thirty-eight respectively. As a whole mission, however, the Holy Ghost Fathers had a total of seventy. (Orr, op.cit., Appendix E: 'Return of Natives under Instruction at Missions!')
apprentices indentured to an approved trade; but in March 1911 the Government Education Board ruled that grants for apprentices would be made according to results obtained by apprentices in annual Government examinations. 201

The examinations were found to be unreasonably difficult and missions could not be sure of recouping their outlay on the preparation of apprentices in the year before an examination. Furthermore, since Government did not set aside more than £500 for apprentices, the number which could be enrolled at missions at £5 per apprentice was severely limited. The C.S.M. was particularly anxious to expand its apprenticeship scheme, but being wholly dependent on Government grants, was checked in its progress. 202

While missions varied in their attitude towards technical instruction in their schools, they were all agreed that the basis of their educational system was literary teaching at the elementary level - apart from anything else, as a precondition of baptism. Further conflict with Government thus arose when aid for literary education

201 Orr, op.cit., Appendix D: 'Native Technical Education Scheme as Revised by the Education Board 3-13th March 1911'. It is interesting to note, as another example of Scott's influence in education, that the Board adopted the Blantyre scheme for the standard training of carpenters in mission schools.

202 PCEA A/16, Arthur to H.P. Espie, 17th September 1913; and A/20, Arthur to McLachlan, 21st August 1914. In 1912, the only missions receiving Government aid for technical instruction were the C.S.M., Kikuyu (Tumutumu qualified for aid in 1913), the C.M.S. at Freretown and Maseno; the Lumbwa Industrial Mission, The Friends' Industrial Mission at Kaimosi, the Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Ikutha, the Holy Ghost Fathers at St. Austin's, Mangu and Mombasa, and the Mill Hill Fathers at Ojala's in Nyanza. The two single stations which had the highest number of apprentices were the C.S.M. at Kikuyu and the C.M.S. at Maseno, with thirty-five and thirty-eight respectively. As a whole mission, however, the Holy Ghost Fathers had a total of seventy. (Orr, op.cit., Appendix E: 'Return of Natives under Instruction at Missions!')
was stopped. In 1911 Government set aside £500 for literary education in mission schools where there was a minimum of fifty pupils; in February 1912 Girouard expressed the official view that technical education was of primary importance and that the £500 should be transferred from the literary to the technical vote. After 1912 no grants were made to missions for elementary literary education.

Missions which gave technical education were not so badly affected since they continued to draw an income from Government for their apprenticeship programmes. But stations of the C.M.S. and A.I.M. in Kikuyuland which were wholly evangelical in their approach to education were cut off from all Government aid. Arthur’s comment at the time of Girouard’s resignation was, "I don’t think Sir Percy was any real help to missions."

The efforts of missionaries from 1908 to enlist the interest and support of Government in African education had produced results which were unintended and undesired. Government’s enthusiasm for technical education – as a means of preparing Africans for their appointed station in life, and of meeting the demand for skilled labour while at the same time reducing the dependence in this area upon Indians – had by 1912 reached a point where missionaries began to experience difficulty in exerting control over educational developments. An Education Department had been established in 1911 and was to remain for many years a junior office in the Government hierarchy. Its first Director, J.R. Orr, chafed at his lowly status, and felt obliged to act positively and vigorously. His efforts were resented by missionaries; they felt that educational matters were being "hustled", and that in his declared

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203 PCEA A/9, Arthur to McLachlan, 1st December 1911.
204 COCP, African No. 954, 8232, op. cit., 189-90.
205 PCEA A/12, Arthur to McLachlan, 6th August 1912.
intention of creating an understanding between Government and missions he was
going about his affairs in the wrong way. 206

At the end of 1912, J.W. Arthur was provoked into giving his view of the
educational problem by a letter from an official suggesting that technical training
should precede literary education, and that religious teaching should be voluntary
for African pupils - Government adopting a neutral position towards both Christianity
and Islam. 207 Missions, said Arthur, aimed at creating a "pure manhood"; this could
be achieved by providing a basis of Christianity, an intellect sharpened by simple
literary education, and a backbone of technical instruction. He referred to the
resolution of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, that secular powers should
guarantee religious freedom and give encouragement to missionaries; his understanding
of the resolution was, however, faulty, because he went on to state that traditional
African religions must vanish, and that Government should instruct chiefs and head-
men to tell their people to attend missions so that they might learn the "true"
religion. 208

Ideally, Arthur would have preferred that there should be no Government schools,
and that Government should devote its resources to the creation of stronger, better-

206 PCEA A/9, Philp to McLachlan, 6th October 1911; and A/12, Arthur to Barlow,
12th February 1912. Arthur objected to Orr's practice of consulting individual
missions and missionaries, and thought that he should confine his approach to
the Missionary Education Board. There was no hostility between Orr and Arthur.
Orr was tolerated as being an amiable person, not unsympathetic towards missions,
who could always be persuaded to redirect his great schemes for educational
development along paths more favourable to missionary interests.

207 PCEA A/10, M.H.W. Beech, District Officer, Dagoretti, to Arthur 5th and 30th
December 1912.

208 Ibid A/14, Arthur to Beech, 18th February 1913. When asked by S.M. Zwemer,
Editor of The Moslem World, for information regarding the spread of Islam in
British East Africa, Arthur said that the greatest danger lay in the fact that
the majority of African soldiers and policemen were Muslims and that the latter
in particular were in daily contact with chiefs and headmen. He felt that there
was a grave danger in the proposal for a Government school at Machakos. It would
be attended by the sons of chiefs and headmen, and since Christianity would not
be taught, Islam would find a ready opening. (PCEA A/11, Arthur to Zwemer, 12th
September 1912.)
equipped mission schools. His own area of work, Kikuyuland, was entirely in mission hands; but as Orr had pointed out, the people of Fort Hall were appealing to Government for secular schools. He accepted the existence of Government schools but could not refrain from expressing the view that they were a futile exercise and defeated Government's own declared policy of preventing the breakdown of tribal society.

Arthur argued that it must be recognised that the effect of the European presence was to change the old order of things. Government, however, were bringing about a change more quickly than missions, and were putting nothing of any worth in place of traditional African socialism or tribal cohesion. Individualism founded upon materialism was the result. Christianity, he declared, "puts a new socialism as its basis and a new morale to which the old cannot compare". Government had therefore to give missions every encouragement in their literary and religious work.

On the eve of war, Protestant missionaries were conscious of a growing dilemma in education. Government participation and aid were essential since missions could not of their own limited resources meet the rising demand for education. But Government's independent attitude was regarded as being fraught with danger for the

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210 Ibid. Orr believed that the breakdown of tribal barriers would result in racial consciousness amongst Africans and the unification of tribes against the white population. His remedy: "scientific teaching and the preeminent usefulness of the black man to society as a whole in the sphere of morals, industry or commerce, can alone contribute to the harmony of races".
211 PCEA A/12, Arthur to Beech, 10th December 1912. In this respect, Arthur's creed was as follows: "I strongly believe in elementary Christian education for all: this would mean village schools worked through the missions: from these schools only the best products would go to the higher schools, which for a long time to come will be but for the few. The remainder would have a certain amount of education which does not necessarily unfit them for work, but ought to make them better workers and will have got the higher morale as the basis of their lives".
The struggle between missions and Government for paramount influence in African education, which was to be a marked feature in post-war years, had already begun.

212 Government's educational policy constituted a major area of discussion at the United Missionary Conference, Kikuyu, in June 1913. The delegates agreed to approach the Governor with a warning as to the dangerous effects upon missionary work and African development of the Provincial Commissioner's recent Circular placing restrictions on catechists and missionary schools in the Reserves, and of the attitude of neutrality towards religious education. In respect of the latter danger the Conference wished to stress that the Government Arab School in Mombasa had regular instruction from the Koran, and the Government School in the King's African Rifles lines at Nairobi was solely in the hands of a Muslim teacher. (United Missionary Conference, Kikuyu. B.E.A., June 17-22nd, 1913 (Nairobi, 1913) 2-4.)
Chapter Five

TOWARDS A UNITED CHURCH

1. Unity in Theory

During the first decade of the 20th Century, Protestant missionaries in British East Africa began to seek ways in which united action could be brought to bear upon common problems. They did so out of practical necessity. Scattered throughout the Protectorate there were Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker and Adventist and Independent missions, each of which faced the numerous difficulties of beginning work in a new field. Out of the conferences held to discuss matters of common interest, there grew a plan for a united African church. The plan was conceived in frontier conditions where the historic divisions within Protestantism seemed less relevant and less insurmountable than in the home countries. But, as missions overcame their initial difficulties and began to enjoy success in their respective spheres, so the old divisions reasserted themselves, interests clashed, and personal and institutional animosity replaced the earlier missionary fellowship.

In 1907 two conferences met which established the precedent for periodic consultations between Protestant missionaries. The first of these, held at the Friends' Industrial Mission, Maragoli, was attended by a few outside observers such as Hurburt of the A.I.M., Kijabe, but was a gathering mainly of Anglicans, Quakers, Baptists and Seventh Day Adventists working amongst the Nilotic and Bantu-speaking peoples of Kavirondo. Although a great many fundamental questions were left outstanding, the conference agreed to definite spheres of work, to recognise the

1 Regarding some of the fundamental differences which existed, Willis wrote: "While we teach (Africans) to observe Sunday, the Seventh Day Adventists are teaching them to observe the Jewish Sabbath . . . . While we allow Infant Baptism, the Baptists, a few miles off emphasise the necessity of adult confession of faith before Baptism, (and) the Quakers believe in no outward Baptism at all." (WPM, Journal, 14th January 1908.)
converts of each other's missions, to standardise spelling and the use of texts in Bantu and Nilotic languages, and to meet again at Maseno in January the following year.

The second missionary conference of 1907 was held at the Kijabe station of the A.I.M.. In attendance, there were about thirty-five missionaries of the A.I.M., two American Quakers, Dr. J.W. Arthur of the C.S.M., one C.M.S. missionary and two distinguished visitors – Dr. Karl Kumm of the Sudan United Mission and Mr. Marshall of the Moody Institute in Chicago. The conference was in the main a seminar for the A.I.M. on method and policy; its devotional sections were of a reviverist nature in which much discussion was held on the second coming of Christ. But for Arthur it was an introduction to the field of united missionary action which made a deep impression upon him.

In 1908 Henry Scott emerged as a leading champion of missionary unity in a single African church. He did not attend the third missionary conference, at Maseno in January 1908, but made his mark at Kijabe in September. He was invited to attend the next conference at Maseno in January 1909, and went there with the express intention of arousing support amongst the Kavirondo missionaries for a united church. Hulburt had declared his interest in the project. Willis, doubtful at first in view of the many difficulties involved, had consulted his Bishop and was pleased

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2 AP, Circular Letter, 24th September 1907.
3 Ibid. "There was a feeling of oneness which was refreshing ... There was no room for the feeling of inter-mission jealousy or pride of place, for the unity of the Spirit was there."
4 "Dr. Scott gave definiteness, if not character, to much that otherwise would have been featureless. It was his statesmanlike advocacy of advanced measures that thrilled the assembly of nearly sixty missionaries with a sense of their responsibilities unto God with regard to the future native church, and made them tingle with desire to be generous-spirited, not petty or narrow." (PCEA A/3, J.W.E. Reibe, A.I.M., to Scott, 24th September 1908.)
5 PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 25th December 1908.
6 Ibid A/3, Hulburt to Scott, 4th December 1908.
to be able to advise Scott that Tucker did not regard a single, united African church outside the range of practical politics.\(^7\) On the last day of the conference the following resolution was passed:

"that this conference regards the development, organisation and establishment of a united self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending Native Church as the ideal of our missionary work."\(^8\)

While it is true that the plan for a united church recommended itself to missionaries as a matter of urgent, practical necessity, the part played by Scott in arousing and sustaining enthusiasm must not be underestimated. His enthusiasm was infectious, and his personal charm, formidable. He travelled widely throughout the Protectorate, seeking at first hand the views of leading missionaries and discussing the problems which affected them most. Scott established deep, personal friendships with men like J.J. Willis, Charles Hulburt, Bishop Peel, A.B. Chilson at Maragoli and W.R. Hotchkiss at Lumbwa, and it was upon this basis that arrangements for a united church went forward.

Scott initiated and organised the first general Conference of Protestant

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\(^7\) PCEA A/3, Willis to Scott, 25th October and 3rd December 1908. Other expressions of approval and support included one from A.B. Chilson, Field Secretary of the Friends' African Industrial Mission, Maragoli, who strongly recommended a broadening of the concept of the united church to include unity-minded missions in Rhodesia and Central Africa. (PCEA A/4, Chilson to Scott, 16th January 1909.)

\(^8\) A year later, Scott received a request from the London Missionary Society in North-eastern Rhodesia for copies of the proposals for a missionary federation in British East Africa. The L.M.S. Secretary intimated that missions in North-eastern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were themselves contemplating federation. (PCEA A/7, W. Freshwater, Mpolokoso Mission, to Scott, 13th October 1910.) A few months earlier, however, Scott had been informed by Hetherwick that as far as the C.S.M. was concerned, "we do not hope for even federation here - but we hope to have a union between Livingstonia and Blantyre - that is as far as we can go just now." (PCEA A/7, Hetherwick to Scott, 17th June 1910.)
missionaries at Nairobi in June 1909. Before it met he knew that there were practical difficulties to be solved before full union. He was determined, however, to leave behind him an African Church which, if not united, would be so closely federated in its branches as to permit the holding of common communion services.

Already, a major obstacle had presented itself in the form of Anglican episcopacy. At the Maseno conference in January 1909 Scott had stated that he had no quarrel with Episcopacy as a form of government, but that he saw a difficulty in the claims involved in the Historic Episcopate. J. J. Willis had consulted his superiors in the Church of England to ask what the attitude of the Church in general, and of the C.M.S. in particular, would be to the prospect of a united church in British East Africa. The burden of the reply confirmed Willis in his fear that the movement for church union would founder on the Episcopate. Shortly before the Nairobi Conference, he confided to Scott that he was increasingly doubtful whether they would ever attain their goal; he thought, however, that they should continue to work steadily towards it.

Representatives of eight Protestant missions attended the Conference in June.

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9 Scott also organised the first united conference of African Christians. He chose as his occasion the opening of the Watson-Scott Memorial Church at Kikuyu in January 1909. Fifty African Christians attended who were adherents of the C.S.M., A.I.M., C.M.S. and the Gospel Mission at Kambui. J. M. Fraser attended the conference, and, like others, was impressed by the debates held on topics such as the hindrance to successful evangelisation in villages, the Christian attitude to "objectionable" African customs, and the duties of African Christians. (PCEA A/4, 'Church of Scotland Programme of the Native Conference to be held on the occasion of the opening of the Church, 28th and 29th January 1909'; and A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 9th February 1909.)

10 PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 25th December 1909.

11 Ibid A/4, Willis to Scott, 5th April 1909.

12 The eight missions represented were the Church of Scotland Mission, the Africa Inland Mission, the Church Missionary Society, the United Methodist Mission, the Friends African Industrial Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists Mission, and the English Friends Industrial Mission on Pemba.
The full range of missionary work was reviewed, but the major area of discussion was the African Church. In his paper entitled, 'Evangelistic work by the Native Church', Scott urged missionaries to establish self-reliant African churches at their stations. Catechumens must be taught that evangelisation and Christian liberality were their primary duties. African congregations should be encouraged to form their own administrative organisations and to appoint elders to direct evangelistic work and to collect church offerings.

Urging the necessity of fostering initiative and self-reliance amongst African Christians in preparation for what would ultimately be their own United Church, Scott's plan was as follows:

"The direction in which the elders should be trained to devote the church offerings is a new station or school, which will wholly belong to the native church and for the guidance of which they will be wholly responsible. The elders should be taught to engage their own teachers, to fix his salary, to superintend the work by visitation by one of themselves who will report to the congregation. That is, the native congregation will have a little foreign mission of its own. The congregation will come to feel that this work is their own and that the mission is in no way responsible for it and will not give a rupee towards it."

Congregations, he continued, should produce unpaid volunteers to go out with catechumens on Sundays to carry on evangelistic work in the villages. Eventually, groups of Christian villagers would start daughter churches, while an elder deputed by the mother, or mission church, would organise the congregations. In this way,

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14 This had been the theme of the united conference for African Christians at Kikuyu in January 1909.

15 Ibid, 35. The only pre-war example in Kikuyuland of African initiative of this kind occurred in connection with the Gospel Missionary Society station at Kambui. In 1913 a group of senior Christians established a small school at Gathiko on land donated by Mukunga wa Njehu. In 1922 the school was removed to Githunguri where, under the leadership of Musa Ndirangu, an anti-mission group founded the first truly independent school, and later, teacher-training college, in Kikuyuland. (John Anderson, 'The Struggle for the School. A Study of Conflicting Objectives in the Colonial Situation, taking Kenya as a Case Study', typescript, University College, Nairobi, 1969.)
daughter churches would become new centres of evangelistic activity, and the
influence of the mother church would be carried further afield.

The paper read by J.J. Willis, 'The Desirability of a Common Native Church',
dealt directly with the problems and options which faced missionaries in their
ultimate goal. There was, he said, nothing to be gained by disregarding the deep,
historical differences which existed between Protestant Churches. At the same time,
Churchmen in Britain had declared their interest in unity abroad and reunion at
home, and had recognised that the initiative in these directions would come from
the mission field.

China had already indicated that this might be so. At the Shanghai Conference
of 1907, fifty Protestant Missions had resolved to make their primary aim a United
Christian Church in China. British East Africa, Willis said, was a frontier
territory and it should therefore be easier than in China to achieve a United
Church. The Resolution of the Maseno Conference in the preceding January was
sufficient testimony to the general desire for unity; but as yet, no one had
suggested ways in which the practical difficulties might be solved.

Emphasising the need for unity - but unity which did not entail restrictive
uniformity or loss of identity by individual units in the structure of a United
Church - Willis suggested four fundamental points as the basis for negotiation.

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17 Willis was referring to the Resolutions of the historic Lambeth Conference
   of 1908 and to the Statement of the Committee on Foreign Missions appointed
   at the Conference. Extracts from the Resolutions and statement are given in
   J.J. Willis and J.W. Arthur (and others), Towards a United Church (London,
18 Report, op.cit., 17.
These were little more than the terms of the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888, rephrased to minimise offence to non-Anglicans. Willis' version of them read as follows: the Bible as the common standard of appeal; the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, as expressing a common faith; the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and a duly ordered and safeguarded ministry.\(^\text{19}\)

Regarding the price that would have to be paid for unity, Willis pointed out that missions should be prepared to sacrifice their individual freedom, but that none must sacrifice any principle loyally held. While the goal of ultimate union should be kept firmly in view, there was no immediate hope of organic unity, but only of federation, initially for practical purposes, leading to it.

When Willis was finished each member of the Conference stated his view of the fundamental points. The first two raised no difficulties. But Baptism, administered with outward signs, was anathema to the Quakers. They had come to the Conference prepared to accept Baptism in this form as the price of unity; but, as E.J. Rees informed Scott privately, they opposed the resolution for the acceptance of Baptism because of the tendency of the Conference to accept Episcopacy in the United Church.\(^\text{20}\)

Further disagreement arose over the form of church government which would be adopted. The C.M.S. were committed to a form of government consistent with the Historic Episcopate,\(^\text{21}\) while the C.S.M. and A.I.M. favoured a Presbyterian form. The Quakers would accept nothing which contained any element of Episcopacy. Obviously, the problem called for a federation in which for the time being missions could practice their own systems of government, while agreement could be reached.

\(^{19}\) In the original, the fourth term of the Quadrilateral read: "The Historic Episcopate locally adapted in methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of this Church."

\(^{20}\) PCEA A/5, Rees to Scott, 22nd July 1909. See also PBP, Diaries, 9th June 1909.

\(^{21}\) Report, op. cit., 29-31, K. St. Aubyn Rogers, 'Native Church Government'. 
as to common usages in areas less controversial.

At the close of the Conference, although the prospect of the method by which a United Church might be achieved was still clouded, enthusiasm for union was as strong as ever. Many resolutions were adopted of which the most important was:

"That the orderly development, organisation and establishment of a united, self-supporting, and self-propagating Native Church be a chief aim in all mission work." 22

A Sub-Committee of the Conference was appointed under Scott's chairmanship to work out concrete proposals for union or federation, and the standards, constitution and form of worship of a single African Church. 23

By this time Scott had decided that union would be achieved, not immediately, but through a federation of missions. 24 The C.M.S. would be free to govern their branches of an African Church episcopally, while other missions would be content with a Presbyterian form of government. Harmony would be achieved so long as the C.M.S. honoured their verbal promise not to insist upon the Confirmation of converts of other missions before admitting them to church membership. Such a system would regulate the conditions of church membership and the ordination of African clergy, and would meet the growing problem of the overlapping of work.

Scott was aware that apart from the C.M.S. at the coast, all missions in British East Africa were comparatively young and inexperienced. There were some who felt that since a United Church was a wide and difficult undertaking, missions

22 Ibid, Resolution VIII, moved by Scott, 44.
23 Other members of the Sub-Committee included J.J. Willis, J.A. Wray and K. St. Aubyn Rogers of the C.M.S.; Charles Hulburt and W.P. Knapp of the A.I.M.; Theodore Burt of the Pemba Industrial Mission; Udy Bassett of the Methodists; A.B. Chilson of the Friends, Maragoli; and A.A. Carscallen of the Seventh Day Adventists. The German Lutherans and the Swedish Mission were asked to nominate representatives.
24 PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 12th June, and to Borland, 24th June, 1909.
ought to wait for a few more years. But Scott was convinced that the want of experience was an asset; missions were prepared in 1909 to accept advice from each other and were yet to settle in their aims and methods. It was therefore of vital importance to act promptly, to adopt common aims and lines of work, before the situation ceased to be fluid. He asked for information, from Church of Scotland missionaries with Indian experience and from J.H. Oldham, Secretary to the World Conference of Missions, about similar movements in other mission fields. And he asked what the attitude of the Church of Scotland would be to the proposal for a United Church in British East Africa.

The reaction from the F.M.C. was a mixture of encouragement and caution. The Very Reverend Dr. James Robertson was in favour of the movement but emphasised that the ultimate goal would not be achieved for a very long time to come. As W.M. McLachlan pointed out, to the best of his knowledge nothing of a similar comprehensive nature had been attempted anywhere in the mission field and that British East Africa would have to proceed without the benefit of experience and precedent in other countries. The Rev. W. Borland, F.M.C. member and Editor of Kikuyu News, advised Scott to beware of cooperative schemes with Anglicans. Realising that much of the impetus behind events in British East Africa lay in the close and cordial relationships between the leading missionary personalities, he doubted whether the successors of the present C.M.S. Bishops would consider themselves bound by decisions taken before their time. Reflecting upon his knowledge of Anglican attitudes in India, Borland said:

26 PCEA A/5, McLachlan to Scott, 28th October 1909.
"Even in the sphere of Mission Cmity, which is not so difficult as union or federation of the native church, the Anglicans do not 'play cricket' in India. This is the main source of weakness of Evangelical Mission work in India at present. A combined effort to evangelise India is not possible because of the Anglican attitude .... Scheme after scheme of cooperation has been wrecked because of the infallible prayer book and the three orders of the ministry."27

As far as Scott was concerned, it was sufficient for present purposes that he had a splendid understanding with J.J. Willis, now Archdeacon of the eastern sphere of the Uganda Diocese, and that Bishop Peel of the Mombasa Diocese was in full sympathy with the findings and resolutions of the 1909 Nairobi Conference.

Early in 1910 Scott produced a Memorandum entitled, 'Proposed Union of Native Churches in British East Africa', for circulation amongst all missions and for the perusal of home societies and churches.28 The Memorandum was mainly Scott's own work, but at root it was a compromise between his own and Willis' ideas. Originally, Willis had proposed that in the United Church all missions should be made a part of the Church of England in order to bring their ecclesiastical work into line with the more developed work of Uganda and the coast.29

27 Ibid, Borland to Scott, 1st August 1909.

28 In brief, Scott's Memorandum was in two parts: a United Native Church, and a Federation of Missions. He envisaged a Federation which would recognise within itself all ministerial orders and a common membership for all churches. The United African Church would be formed by a Representative Council of missionary and African Church delegates, charged with encouraging a common form of worship, a common course of instruction for catechumens and African ministers, and a common discipline. The form of church government recommended was that of the Church of Uganda up to the point where Bishops were introduced. Scott felt that since this form of government closely resembled that of the Presbyterian Church — the Anglicans having Church Courts which corresponded to the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod — it could be accepted together with the Anglican nomenclature. Anglicans could retain their Bishops; but for other missions the head of their individual branches of the Native Church could be a non-consecrated Bishop rather like the old Scottish Superintendent, appointed for limited periods and with limited powers. Finally, the Representative Council would cease to exist when the African Church had reached the point of having a Synod. (PCEA A/1, Scott to Robertson, 13th October 1909.)

29 PCEA A/5, Willis to Scott, 29th September 1909, and A/1, Scott to Robertson, 13th October 1909.
It seemed to Scott in 1910 that there was very little in the way of an immediate Federation being formed by the C.S.M., C.M.S., A.I.M. and Methodists. The three Quaker missions were firmly controlled by their home boards in their attitude to the outward and visible signs of the Sacraments, and Scott was greatly tempted to proceed without them. But he was still prepared to make the attempt to accommodate their views and proposed that Baptism and the Lord's Supper in a Federation of African churches should be tailored to meet their views.  

The attitude in Scotland to the Memorandum was on the whole very favourable. Scott was praised for his vision and for his substantial achievements, but concern was expressed at the modification of the Sacraments to suit Quaker sensibilities. It was not, as Ogilvie explained, that in principle the F.M.C. did not wish to make concessions; but there were many ministers in the F.M.C. who held a conservative view of the validity of the visible signs in the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was inviting trouble to sacrifice this much to the Quakers.  

Willis was of the same opinion. He believed that the Sacraments were only a small part of a much larger area of differences between the Quakers and other missions. It might aid the creation of a Federation to make concessions at this stage, but in time there would be serious trouble.  

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31 PCEA A/7, Rev. G.H. Donald to McLachlan, 20th July 1910; Robertson to McLachlan, 12th July 1910; and McLachlan to Scott, 21st July 1910.  
33 PCEA A/7, Willis to Scott, 30th June 1910.
The C.M.S. in Britain in 1910 were also giving close consideration to Scott’s Memorandum. In November 1910 the General Committee resolved:

"That the authorities of the Society’s Missions in British East Africa be encouraged to do what in them lies to foster the spirit of unity, and to advance such measures of cooperation as they may from time to time conclude to be wise and capable of practical application; provided always that, since the concurrence of the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa would be essential to the efficient adoption of any proposal, all suggestions made to, or by the Missionaries of the Society, he submitted to the Bishops."

At the second Nairobi conference, held in February 1911, the societies assembled agreed that the time was not yet ripe for any attempt at a union of the African Churches. They felt, however, that a formal scheme of Federation was desirable. Agreement was reached as to the principles of a common catechumenate, open Communion, and a general form of Church worship and government.

It came as a considerable shock to Scott and to others when Hulburt, who until then had been moderate and cooperative, joined with the Seventh Day Adventists in demanding that all participants in the Federation, together with their church members, should pledge themselves to abstain from tobacco and liquor. Scott suggested that abstention from intoxicants should be optional; Hulburt and the Adventists refused to compromise, and the Conference ended in deadlock.

Neither Scott nor Willis had ever had much liking for the Seventh Day Adventists and would gladly have excluded them from the Federation over this issue. But the A.I.M. was a major society in the Protectorate. It was felt that if Hulburt would agree to the optional rule on intoxicants then the Federation could be brought about within six months; if he refused, there was no point in carrying negotiations

34 Resolution of the General Committee of the C.M.S., 8th November 1910, quoted by Willis in Towards a United Church, 28.
35 KN, No. 27, April 1911, 5-6.
Two months later Scott was dead; Federation was deferred for two years. The Conference which met at Kikuyu in June 1913 represented the last attempt to discover whether his proposals were capable of translation into action.

While negotiations for a Federation were going on in British East Africa, tentative moves towards missionary cooperation on a world basis were being made by societies in Britain, North America and Germany. In June 1888 a great Missionary Conference attended by a hundred and forty societies was held in London to publicise the state of the heathen world and to review the progress of foreign missions. This was followed in 1908 by a meeting at Oxford of an International Missionary Committee to discuss the consequences and opportunities for the Christian Church of the increasing contact between races and nations of the world. The outcome of the meeting was a decision to hold a World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, and the appointment of eight Commissions to investigate and report upon major problems in missionary work.

Events in British East Africa, being far in advance of the recommendations of the Commission on Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity, were not directly influenced by the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh.

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36 PCEA A/9, Scott to McLachlan, 8th February 1911.
37 Willis in Towards a United Church, 27.
however, was a delegate to the Conference.\textsuperscript{40} But in his case the experience appears to have been of little value, considering the uncompromising attitude he adopted at the Nairobi Conference in 1911.

Edinburgh was of more immediate relevance to the home base of missionary work. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland had a large body of delegates at the Conference who later wrote detailed notes and comments to accompany the circulation of Commission Reports amongst missions in the field.\textsuperscript{41} The majority of commentators hailed the recommendations of the Commissions with regard to the corporate unity of Native Churches, cooperation in the training of Native Workers, and the regular meeting of Churches and missions. But the delegate to the Conference who was elected to comment upon the Report of the Commission on Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity, the Very Rev. Dr. Mitford Mitchell, expressed a pessimistic view where missionaries in India and British East Africa might have expected the greatest encouragement. Regarding the Commission's call for regular united conferences in the mission field, and for the support and encouragement of the same by home bodies, Mitchell dourly remarked: "whether anything more than a mere wish for their success is possible seems doubtful."\textsuperscript{42} Fortunately, Mitchell was not representative of the F.M.C. in his attitude towards united missionary conferences.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{40} PCEA A/7, McLachlan to Scott, 21st July 1910. Hulburt met J.W. Arthur Senior and McLachlan at the Conference and delighted them by his generous praise of the C.S.M. at Kikuyu.

\textsuperscript{41} CS/FMCM, 15th November 1910, and 28th February 1911, 'Notes by Members of the Committee of Delegates.'

\textsuperscript{42} CS/FMCH, 28th February 1911: Mitchell, 'Notes on Commission VIII', 34-36. Mitchell was similarly pessimistic about Scott's attempts to establish a united European Church in Nairobi for Anglicans and Presbyterians. (See below, Pp. 300-301.)

\textsuperscript{43} It must not be forgotten that the Church in Scotland was disunited at this time. The Free and United Presbyterian Churches had united in 1900, but the Established and United Free Churches did not follow suit until 1929. But from 1908, if not earlier, a dialogue took place between the two major churches with reunion being held consistently in mind.
The direct link between the movements for unity in Britain and British East Africa was not established until after 1913. The Kikuyu Conference of June 1913, and the controversy which followed from it, placed British East Africa firmly in the mainstream of the movement for Christian Reunion - almost by default since the events at Kikuyu in 1913 were regarded by many as a prime example of how not to go about a federation. The formation of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, together with the translation of the Continuation Committee of the World Conference at Edinburgh into the permanent International Missionary Council, were important milestones in the creation of effective relationships between missionaries in the field and their committees and boards at the home base.

The Kikuyu Conference of 1913 did not begin well. Certain missionaries of the C.M.S. had been creating trouble in the United Language Committee and were reluctant to attend. Since 1911 the feeling of mutual distrust had deepened between missions involved in negotiations for a Federation, and this was reflected in a last-minute decision of the Committee of the Conference to defer discussion on Federation until the last two days of the meeting.

Under the guidance of J.J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, Scott's Memorandum on Federation and a United Church was reintroduced with care and consideration for the views of dissident missions. Something of the earlier spirit of generosity and fellowship was recaptured, and the delegates began to feel that they were involved in a matter of historic significance. A Basis of Federation had been prepared,

44 PCFA A/14, Arthur to Hulburt, 28th May 1913. The C.M.S. missionaries who refused to attend the Conference were A.W. McGregor and R.A. Maynard. For further details of the dispute, see below, Pp. 305-306.


46 For an account of the proceedings of the Conference, see United Missionary Conference, Kikuyu, B.E.A., June 17th-22nd, 1913 (Nairobi, 1913.)
The Basis of Federation did not differ greatly from Scott's Memorandum of 1910, but it had been altered in some respects to achieve the widest area of agreement then possible between the A.I.M., C.M.S. and C.S.M. \(^48\) Inevitably, the smaller societies found difficulty in accepting the Basis as it stood. The Baptists asked if they would be allowed to re-baptise converts of other branches of the Church; the Anglicans replied that they recognised only one Baptism.

The Anglicans were asked if they would insist upon Confirming the converts of other missions before admitting them to Church membership; Willis replied in the affirmative, but Bishop Peel said that he was in favour of individual liberty on this issue. When heads of missions were asked to state whether they accepted the Basis of Federation and whether they would transmit it to their home organisations for approval, the heads, delegates and unofficial members of the C.M.S., A.I.M., C.S.M. and United Methodist Mission stepped forward to sign the document. The Gospel Missionary Society announced its withdrawal from the proposed Federation, and the German Lutherans and the American Friends refused to sign without the permission of their home boards.

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47 Federation of Missionary Societies: Constitution (Nairobi, 1913). The full text of the Constitution is given in Appendix VI below.

48 The first fundamental provision of the Basis, with its emphasis on the authority of the Holy Scriptures, reflects the attempt made to accommodate the A.I.M. viewpoint. Before the Conference, Hulburt had declared that he expected every mission entering the Federation to hold the same attitude towards the Bible as he did. As Arthur said later, he expressed a deep fear of the attitude to Bible criticism within the C.M.S. and of the teaching of the Scottish Divinity Halls. (PCEA A/16, Arthur to Ogilvie, 16th September 1913.) The F.M.C., soon after the Conference, expressed disquiet at Hulburt's view and hoped that the C.S.M. would not submerge its distinctive identity and contribution in the proposed Federation. As Convener Ogilvie said: "The Church of Scotland stands for earnestness of spirit, combined with sobriety of judgement in theology and tolerance of action in Church relationships, and I hope that these qualities will be preserved in any Federation which our mission enters... otherwise the happy band of complete understanding and trust between the Field and the Home Church is endangered." (OSF/NLS 7563, Ogilvie to Arthur, 25th July 1913.)
Little more had been achieved than a broad and undefined agreement between the major societies. While the Federation was still to be formally entered into, the prevailing sentiment had been one of urgency, and of reaching a decision at the Conference, since with each passing year the achievement of Federation was becoming more difficult. That the smaller societies had been unable to pledge themselves, was regarded as unimportant. The spirit of unity amongst the major missions had been recaptured and missionaries were conscious of a major achievement. At the close of the Conference, with the exception of the Quakers, a common service of Communion was held for all who had attended. The chief celebrants of the Sacrament were the two C.M.S. Bishops, Peel and Willis.

In sending the Constitution of the proposed Federation to Edinburgh, Arthur expressed the hope that the F.M.C. would deal generously with the proposals as a tribute to the work of Henry Scott. The immediate response was an inquiry as to whether the C.M.S. in British East Africa imagined that the Anglican home authorities would approve such a scheme. McLachlan was struck by two aspects of the Constitution; the evidence of an amateur hand in the drawing up of the Basis of Federation, with resulting looseness in thought and arrangement; and the manner in which Federation and the formation of a United African Church had been confused. He was doubtful whether the scheme would be accepted by the general meeting of the F.M.C. But events dictated that the F.M.C.'s judgement should be deferred. A great storm arose over the Kikuyu Conference and the

49 Chadwick, op.cit., 25.
50 FCEA A/16, Arthur to McLachlan, 10th September, and to Ogilvie, 16th September 1910.
51 CSP/NLS 7564, McLachlan to Arthur, 13th October 1913.
52 Ibid, McLachlan to Robertson, 10th September 1913.
attitude of the Church of England towards Reunion; there was nothing to be gained by discussing Kikuyu until the outcome of the controversy was known.  

In one sense, trouble began with the publication of an article in the Scotsman of the 9th August 1913 entitled, 'A Great Day in British East Africa', by the Rev. Norman Maclean of the F.M.C. who had been a guest at the Kikuyu Conference. The views expressed by Maclean prompted The Church Times to publish an article entitled, 'Jerry-Building', in which a warning was given that if the C.M.S. condoned the vagaries of its Bishops in East Africa it abrogated the first word of its title, and that if, as Maclean had implied, there was some friction in East Africa between High and Low Church members, then the net result would be no church at all.

While these articles alerted the public to the possibility of trouble, the signal for a crisis was given by Frank Weston, Bishop of the U.M.C.A. Diocese of Zanzibar. Weston heard about the Conference from Edgar, Bishop of St. Albans. Believing that the C.M.S. Bishops had actually entered a Federation, and that the united Communion service at the close of the Kikuyu Conference was an integral part of the scheme of Federation, Weston wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on August 5th to demand an inquiry into the proceedings at Kikuyu. Three weeks

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53 The controversy over Kikuyu created intense interest throughout the missionary world, particularly in China and South India, although in the latter area missionaries were surprised at the reaction to the Kikuyu proposals; they felt that the proposals differed little in principle from efforts made in South India during the past thirty years. (Bishop of Madras, Pastoral Letter, The Madras and Tinnevelly Diocesan Magazine, February 1914, quoted in Uganda, 4, April 1914, 238.)

54 The C.M.S. had not seen fit to invite representatives to the Conference from the U.M.C.A. in the Diocese of Zanzibar. Willis claimed as the reason for this the restriction of the scope of Federation proposals to British East Africa. Whatever the reason, Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar, was offended at the failure of the C.M.S. Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda to consult him or to invite him to the Conference.

55 Information supplied by the Rev. R.G.M. Calderwood, Interview, Nairobi, 18th March 1966.
later he formally indicted Bishop Willis and Bishop Peel before the Archbishop for propagating heresy and committing schism. The indictment was brought to the attention of the world by the publication in November 1913 of Weston's open letter to the Bishop of St. Albans, Ecclesia Anglicana — for what does she stand? 56

The result was a deepening of the controversy and a great increase in the number of opinions, in the Press, in books, pamphlets and in the resolutions of Conferences, on the issues raised by the Kikuyu Conference. 57 Weston had acted out of ignorance. Willis visited him in Zanzibar to discuss his views and extracted an admission of error and an offer to retract his publications. 58 It was decided, however, that matters had gone too far to be stopped. And in any case, Weston had what he imagined to be a personal grievance against the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa. In February 1914 he reported to the Archbishop that Bishop Tucker in 1908 had unlawfully transferred to the A.I.M. the Anglican Christian community at Nasa in Usukuma. Bishop Peel, moreover, by refusing in 1900 to administerOrdination, while acting for Bishop Richardson, on the grounds that teaching in the Diocese of Zanzibar on Communion and Absolution were incompatible with loyalty to the Church of England, had brought about the


57 McLachlan observed in December 1915 that the C.S.M., Kikuyu, had become in a short space of time the best known mission in Christendom. He was annoyed, however, by Norman Maclean's "ridiculously aggressive" letter to the Scotsman of 13th December 1913 under the title of 'Christianity at its lowest'. (CSP/NLS, McLachlan to Arthur Senior, 18th and 29th December 1913.) Amongst other things, Maclean said in his letter that the Kikuyu Conference was the outcome of the World Missionary Conference of 1910 at Edinburgh. This was strongly refuted by the Bishop of Winchester and by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference currently meeting at The Hague. (Reported in *Uganda*, 4, January 1914, 39.)

58 PCEA A/18, Arthur to McLachlan, 23rd January 1914.
practical separation of the Dioceses of Zanzibar and Mombasa. "The present position", he said, "is the logical outcome of a deliberate policy that involved the sacrifice of relations with Zanzibar with a view to closer friendship with non-conforming bodies."

Weston proceeded to announce his own scheme for a Central Missionary Council in East Africa which would replace the scheme of Federation proposed at Kikuyu in the previous year. It was hailed with incredulity, if not by the C.M.S., by all of the non-Episcopal churches and boards with interests at Kikuyu. He scored a greater success with his next publication, The Case Against Kikuyu: A Study in Vital Principles. It was a formidable essay in logic and was recognised as being irrefutable providing that the Anglo-Catholic premises from which he started were accepted.

Willis and Peel ably defended themselves in print against Weston and their other critics. But the final judgement, eagerly awaited throughout the missionary world, lay with the Archbishop himself.

During the months of controversy the Church of Scotland had conceived a growing sympathy for the trials of the two C.M.S. Bishops. In December 1913, the Acting Committee of the F.M.C. decided not to scrutinise the scheme of Federation, but rather to pass a wide, general resolution in favour of Federation which would strengthen the hand of the Evangelical party within the Church of England.

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59 Weston to Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 14th February 1914, quoted in Uranda, 4, April 1914, 244.
60 Frank Weston, Proposals for a Central Missionary Council of Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches in East Africa (London, March 1914).
61 "I wonder", wrote McLachlan, "if Zanzibar imagines for a moment that the non-Episcopal Churches and Societies could accept his Scheme?" (CSP/NLS 7565, McLachlan to Robertson, 24th March 1914.)
62 Published by Longmans, London, 1914.
63 "He never wrote anything better .... but as an apologia it was a failure. His logical deductions depend on the acceptance of the premises from which he starts." (H. Maynard Smith, Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar (London, 1926) 159.)
65 See next page.
A similar resolution was adopted at the General Assembly in May 1914:

"The General Assembly have learned with much satisfaction of the proposed Federation of the Missions of our own and other branches of the Church of Christ in British East Africa. Recognising the importance of such ultimate cooperation, alike for the present advance of Christianity in the Field, and for its defence against opposing forces and influences, and also for the bearing it must exercise on the ultimate formation of a United African Church, they desire the Foreign Mission Committee to continue to foster the movement towards Federation now in progress."66

In July 1914 the three Bishops involved in the Kikuyu controversy appeared before the Consultative Committee of the Lambeth Conference. Two main issues were considered: to what extent, if any, had the proposals made at Kikuyu contravened any principle of Church Order; and whether the common Communion service celebrated by the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda was inconsistent with the principles accepted by the Church of England.67

The findings of the Committee, and the deliverance of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Easter 1915, revealed a great measure of sympathy with what had been done at Kikuyu. At the same time, Weston, whose charge of heresy against his brother Bishops had never been admitted, was upheld in three major points.

65 CSP/HLS 7564, McLachlan to Arthur, 5th January 1914. The Bishops received copies of the resolution and expressed their deep gratitude. They were in great need of moral support, not only in Britain, but in British East Africa. In January 1914 the Young Men's Society of St. Stephens (Anglican) Church, Nairobi, passed a resolution against the Bishops and dissociated themselves from the proposals of the Kikuyu Conference. Their leader, the Rev. M. Falloon, by supporting the resolution, condemned his own Bishop. (PCEA A/18, Arthur to McLachlan, 3rd February 1914.)

66 CS/RGA, May 1914. The C.M.S. as distinct from the Church of England had expressed a similar measure of encouragement. On December 9th 1913 its General Committee approved of C.M.S. missionaries entering the Federation provided they retained their independent management and were free at any time to withdraw. (Reported in Uganda, 4, January 1914, 38.)

67 For an account of the Committee's deliberations and the deliverance of the Archbishop, see J.J. Willis in Towards a United Church, 44-51, See also G.K.A. Bell, Randall Davidson (London, 1935).
The use of the term "Federation," was deprecated as having legal overtones and as implying a closer association than really existed. While a Bishop could decide whether or not to admit to Communion non-Anglicans cut off from their own churches, Anglicans must on no account receive Communion from ministers who were not episcopally ordained. And finally, to avoid future grave misunderstandings, the united Communion service held at the close of the Kikuyu Conference should not be regarded as a precedent.

The controversy, now stilled by the Archbishop's deliverance, in a sense had been out of all proportion to the importance of the principles agreed upon at Kikuyu in 1913. Little more had been suggested than a loose federation for the promotion of a single standard for Church membership, a single code of discipline, a simple course of instruction for African ministers, and a common form of simple worship. Even in these respects it was premature. There was no African Church in existence and no African clergy; nor was there an organisation outside of East Africa which could bring together the home organisations in comparable united action.

Yet Kikuyu raised issues of fundamental importance to the question of Christian Reunion, and rightfully takes its place with other famous names - Lambeth, Edinburgh, Swanick - along the path towards unity. It was a striking example of missionary fellowship and a united effort to save the African Church from the unhappy divisions of Western Christendom. It also marked the end of an era in missionary cooperation in British East Africa. Only a small minority of those who attended the next major Conference at Kikuyu in 1918 had been active, or had attended the Conference, in 1913.

68 Peel died in 1916. His successor, Bishop Heywood, always left the gathering temporarily when united Communion services were held at the close of meetings or Conferences in later years. (Information supplied by Mrs. E.M. Arthur, Interview, Edinburgh, 7th July 1965.)
Perhaps it is true, as Professor Roland Oliver has said, that had the C.M.S. been less intimately involved with the movement, Federation might have been achieved by the other missions with limited Anglican participation. Much the same sentiment is found in the jest which became popular amongst missionaries after 1915— that what happened at Kikuyu was doubtless the Will of God, but it was contrary to the laws of the Church of England.

2. Disunity in Practice

One of the earliest duties of the head of the mission at Kikuyu was to provide facilities for worship for the growing number of Scottish settlers and officials in and around Nairobi. Thomas Watson, and after him, Clement and Henry Scott, would cycle to Nairobi each Sunday to hold a European service in a private residence, hotel or school. Clement Scott had proposed a Presbyterian Church for Nairobi, but it was left to his successor to organise the first official congregation in 1908 and to invite subscriptions to meet the cost of land and building.

In August 1908, at a dinner at Government House, Sir James Hayes Sadler asked Henry Scott if he did not agree that since Nairobi was still a small town a really good, single church for Anglicans and Presbyterians would be desirable. By a curious coincidence, a similar suggestion had been made in the previous month by the Rev. J.D. Mullins, Secretary of the Colonial and Continental (Anglican) Church Society in London to the Moderator of the Church of Scotland.

70 Calderwood, Interview, 18th March 1966.
71 PCEA A/1, Scott to the Rev. Dr. J. Mitford Mitchell, 12th August 1908. Sadler had been one of the first subscribers to the proposed St. Andrew's Church building fund. (Ibid A/3, Sadler to Scott, 15th June 1908.)
72 PCEA A/3, Mullins to Moderator, 3rd July 1908.
Anxious to promote visible unity in this, as in other areas, both Scott and Bishop Peel readily responded to the idea of a joint church in Nairobi. Peel offered to forgo the consecration of St. Stephen's Church in favour of a plan for a new central church at another site. In September a meeting was held between representatives of the C.M.S. and C.S.M., and between those of the Anglican and Presbyterian congregations, at which the majority were in favour of a single church.

From the outset, the plan had found little favour in the Committee of the Church of Scotland which supervised overseas congregations. The Convenor of the Colonial and Continental Committee in Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr. J. Mitford Mitchell, had replied unenthusiastically on behalf of the Moderator to the Rev. J.D. Mullins in London. Taking the view that unity and cooperation must begin at the home base, and not in the field, he had stated that the Church of Scotland would be failing in its duty if it did not provide the accustomed, simpler form of worship for Presbyterian settlers in Nairobi. And when Scott began to write of the plan and the agreement to it of Bishop Peel and others, Mitchell pointed to the unhappy experience of the Presbyterian churches with Anglicans in India. There, he said, the High Church Anglicans regarded the Church of Scotland as being outside the Catholic Church, and their Bishops would not allow Scottish ministers to celebrate Communion in churches which Government had allowed to fall into their hands. Even if the proposal were merely to use the same church building at Nairobi at separate hours for the two congregations, he was still completely opposed to the plan. Scott could go ahead if he wished, but he need

73 Ibid, Peel to Scott, 8th September 1908.
74 PCEA A/1, Scott to McLachlan, 17th November 1908.
75 Ibid A/3, Mitchell to Mullins, 14th July 1908.
76 PCEA A/3, Mitchell to Scott, 5th October 1908. The Church of Scotland Mission in Nyasaland also had a grievance against High Church Anglicans - for starting a boarding school in an area in total disregard of agreements as to boundaries. (PCEA A/5, Reid to Scott, 31st July 1909.)
not expect any financial support from the Colonial and Continental Committee. 77

Not all in Edinburgh were opposed to the plan. Leading members of the F.M.C. were enthusiastic, as were most of the members of the Kikuyu Sub-Committee. 78 And it transpired that Mitchell alone in the Colonial Committee was against the idea of unity with Anglicans in a single church. It is interesting to note that while Mitchell argued that union of any sort, at home or abroad, was impossible until the Church of England changed its views, his successor as Convener of the Committee held the view that in the Church of Scotland, "some horizons must broaden before a real union could be counted practicable". 79

It was not, however, the lack of enthusiasm on Mitchell's part which wrecked the plan, but the opposition of a small minority within the Anglican congregation in Nairobi. Although a minority, their view was decisive because they were led by the person most directly concerned in the negotiations – the Rev. W.M. Falloon, Anglican Chaplain of St. Stephen's. 80 Falloon's attitude persuaded Scott that the joint church could never be worked harmoniously, and in June 1909 the St. Andrew's congregational committee resolved to erect its own church building. 81 Bishop Peel was deeply upset by Falloon's attitude and appealed to Scott not to give up the attempt to seek unity in other areas. 82

77 Ibid A/4, Mitchell to Scott, 20th November 1908.
78 PCEA A/3, Dr. Fairbairn to Scott, 16th October, and McLachlan to Scott, 17th December 1908; and A/4, Dr. Robertson to Scott, 15th December 1908.
80 The first Anglican Chaplain in Nairobi was the Rev. P.A. Bennett who took up the post in 1901 after a period of service with the Western Equatorial African Mission. He was succeeded by Falloon in 1904. (Proc. C.M.S., 1901-1902, 107; and 1906-1907, 70-71.)
81 PCEA A/4, W. MacGregor Ross to Scott, 9th April; and A/1, Scott to Mitchell, 26th June, 1909.
82 PCEA A/4, Peel to Scott, 15th May 1909.
In 1912, the Rev. Harry Leakey of the C.M.S. station at Kabete and J.W. Arthur revived the plan of a joint church for Anglican and Presbyterian congregations — this time on the Limuru estate of Mr. Victor Buxton. Once again, however, it was the Anglican Chaplain and a small minority of his congregation who upset the negotiations by insisting that the building should belong to the Church of England and that Presbyterians would be permitted to use it at separate times. The conflict between the opposing parties was much more bitter on this occasion than at Nairobi in 1909. A stormy meeting was held on the farm of a Mr. Campbell at which Leakey and Arthur were attacked "in ungentlemanly fashion", and the decision was made to build a purely Anglican church on Campbell's land.

Representatives in British East Africa of the Church of England, as distinct from the Church Missionary Society, were not, it seems, unity minded.

Missionaries themselves, although for the most part committed to the ideal of unity, often found it difficult to work harmoniously when dealing with the practicalities of united action. This was true of their efforts to join hands in the immense task of reducing the Kikuyu language to a written form and of finding Kikuyu equivalents for abstract words and expressions in Christian theology. Cooperation in this field was essential if the message of Christianity were to be conveyed clearly and meaningfully to African peoples.

In the early years of the twentieth century each mission had its own amateur linguist who set about translating hymns, prayers and small portions of the Bible. Perhaps the first amongst these was Father Henry of the Holy Ghost Fathers who

83 PCEA A/12, Arthur to Peel, 10th July 1912.
84 Ibid, Arthur to T.V.F. Buxton, 14th November 1912. Arthur claimed to have been informed that the Rev. Low had persuaded Bishop Peel not to support the plan for a joint church at Limuru. It appears that the only church in which Anglicans and Presbyterians shared the same building was that at Nyeri after 1913. (Anonymous, The Best Place in the World for a Home, May 1931.)
by 1902 had prepared, amongst other things, a basic Kikuyu grammar. For the Protestants, there was the Rev. A.W. McGregor of the C.M.S. who had translated St. John's Gospel by 1904; the Rev. Harry Leakey at Kabete who in the same year was at work on a skeletal Kikuyu dictionary; associated with the C.S.M. from 1903 there was A.R. Barlow – the most prolific translator of them all.

Clement Scott, an accomplished Mang'æanja linguist, had never had the time to master Kikuyu. He attempted a few translations for use at religious services but these were rejected by his nephew, Barlow. In 1907 Scott had a plan for a major reference work in Kikuyu which would be done by himself and Barlow and which would be called the Church of Scotland Mission Kikuyu Grammar. He died before he had begun work on the grammar, but Barlow continued it and published it in 1914 under the title of Tentative Studies in Kikuyu Grammar.

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85 Cd.1626 (1903), Report by H.N. Commissioner on the East Africa Protectorate, June 1903, 27. Father Flick in German East Africa was also mentioned as having compiled a Kimassai grammar.
87 From the time of his arrival in 1903 to manage Clement Scott's private estate, 'Iona', Barlow amused himself by translating parts of the Old Testament into Kikuyu. He began translation in earnest when he joined the C.S.M. permanently towards the end of 1905.
88 PBP, Diaries, 7th March 1906. Barlow rejected Scott's translations after one attempt to use them at an African church service.
89 Ibid, 7th June 1907. Scott's plan had been to publish the grammar without reference to its authors, that is, to give the credit to the mission and not to any individual.
90 Barlow was assisted in the final preparation of his Tentative Studies by Marion Scott’s brother, Professor W.B. Stevenson, a noted Hebrew scholar, of Glasgow University. Amongst other major works in the Kikuyu language in which Barlow was involved are his translation of St. Mark's Gospel, published in 1908 by the National Bible Society of Scotland, the Kikuyu New Testament, and the Kikuyu-English Dictionary – a volume edited by Mr. T.G. Benson and based upon Barlow’s unpublished dictionary, begun in 1909, and those of the Rev. Canon Harry Leakey, the Rev., now Archbishop, L.J. Beecher, the Rev. Fr. Ghilardi of the Consolata Mission, Imenti, and with the assistance of many Kikuyu Africans, especially Mr. Mathew Njoroge wa Kabetu and Mr. Reuben Murungi wa Kihua. The author had the privilege of meeting A.R. Barlow in 1964 and 1965 at his Dunfermline home. He was at that time, and until his death in October 1965, typing with one finger – having lost the use of the others after a stroke – a companion volume to Benson's dictionary and had reached the letter, 'S'.
While at the Maragoli conference of Kavirondo missionaries in 1907 steps were taken towards united action in Bantu and Nilotic translations, at Kijabe in the same year the question was raised of cooperative work by missionaries in Kikuyuland. During 1908 there existed an informal, self-constituted united language committee upon which Barlow, Hulburt, Lee Downing and Harry Leakey served with marked fellowship and unity of purpose. By the end of the year the A.I.M., C.M.S. and G.S.M. had adopted rough, common translations of the Apostles' Creeds, the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, which were used in January 1909 in a united service at Kikuyu on the occasion of the dedication of the Watson-Scott Memorial Church.

In December 1908 the old committee was abolished and an official body, calling itself the United Gikuyu Translation Committee, was established for Protestant missions in Kikuyuland. Almost at once there was friction. In March 1909 a special Revision Sub-Committee was formed to correct and rewrite the various translations of parts of the Bible made by individual missionaries. It was to be a three-man committee consisting of Barlow for the G.S.M., Lee Downing for the A.I.M. and one representative of the C.M.S. The Rev. A.W. McGregor felt that since he had been the first amongst the C.M.S. missionaries in Kikuyuland to begin translation work he ought to sit on the committee. Barlow and Lee Downing refused to have him on account of his inadequacy as a linguist and intimated their desire to work with Leakey.

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91 "I do rejoice much in the result of our meetings, and believe that we are on the way to such practical unity as will make our printed matter interchangeable and our work so essentially one that natives shall not feel radical differences." (PCEA A/2, Hulburt to Scott, 28th March 1908.)


93 PCEA A/4, Hulburt to Scott, 16th April 1909. Barlow, it should be noted, rewrote McGregor's translation of St. John's Gospel in March 1906 after finding it to be of little practical use. (PBP, Diaries, 7th March 1906.)
There followed a period of unhappy relationships within the C.M.S.
Bishop Peel, the Rev. C. Burns and the Rev. K. St. Aubyn Rogers were all agreed that Leakey, and not McGregor or Dr. T.W.W. Crawford (whose Kikuyu Catechism had been rejected by the Translation Committee), had the highest qualifications for a place on the Revision Committee. It fell to Scott and Hulburt to write letters to the C.M.S. Conference in May 1909 explaining their reasons for wanting Leakey, so that McGregor and Crawford should not be condemned by missionaries of their own society.\textsuperscript{94}

McGregor did not submit gracefully to his exclusion from the Revision Committee. In July 1911 he threw the Translation Committee into an uproar by intervening while on furlough in Britain to stop the publication by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of the Committee's Kikuyu Hymn Book. He felt that he had not been consulted sufficiently before the decision was taken to send the work for publication.\textsuperscript{95}

By March 1912 Barlow was so disillusioned with the Translation Committee and the inability of its members to work harmoniously that he announced his resignation.\textsuperscript{96} The problem as far as the C.S.M. was concerned was that the Committee had outlived its purpose. They were perfectly satisfied with Barlow's translations as being the best available — Barlow's penchant for idiomatic translation made the work of others seem pedestrian by comparison — and chafed at the restrictions placed upon unilateral publication by the constitution of the

\textsuperscript{94} PCEA A/4, Peel to Scott, 8th and 24th April 1909; and Leakey to Scott, 22nd and 26th April, and 5th and 6th May, 1909.

\textsuperscript{95} PCEA A/9, Philip to McLachlan, 10th August 1911.

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid A/10, Barlow to Arthur, 20th March 1912.
Committee. While McGregor had caused much of the friction, and was to continue
to do so, not a little of the animosity was caused by the C.S.M.'s attitude
of superiority and complacency.

In 1913 the C.S.M. proposed that the Translation Committee be abolished
and that a new Committee be established of which the single permanent official
was A.R. Barlow. There was a great deal of resentment in the C.M.S. and A.I.M.
at this proposal, and it was against this background that the famous Kikuyu
Conference in June began. A compromise was reached in which it was decided to
have a United Kikuyu Language Committee consisting of Barlow, Leakey, Downing
and Henderson of the Gospel Missionary Society, and to apportion amongst its
members the books of the New Testament for translation.

At a language meeting at Thika in 1914 the C.S.N. delegates were amazed to
discover that the C.M.S. claimed exclusive right to make the final translation
of the Lord's Prayer, the Creeds and the Commandments on the grounds that
these were part of the Prayer Book of the Church of England. (Mrs. H.E.
Scott, op.cit., 183.)

Arthur, for example, wrote a rather unpleasant letter to Hulburt in December
1912 informing him that he felt, as did Barlow, that A.I.M. translations
were invariably poor. (PCEA A/12, Arthur to Hulburt, 11th December 1912.)

The proposal stemmed from Barlow's peculiar position in the C.S.M. He did not fit into any of the
scheduled categories of missionary, and although he was in the top grade
with the official title of Translator, he was the odd-job man in the mission
and never had as much time as he could have wished for translation work.

Barlow was given St. John's Gospel, the Epistles of St. John and the Revelation. It is
interesting to note that early in 1913 Leakey took a Kikuyu youth with
him to Hamburg, Germany, to consult the Bantu languages expert, Professor
Carl Meinhof. (Ibid 7562, McLachlan to Leakey, 21st and 25th February 1913.)
Meinhof's Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantu Sprachen (Leipzig, 1899)
was recommended as a standard work on phonetics to Henry Scott by Professor
Stevenson in 1909. (PCEA A/4, Stevenson to Scott, 23rd April 1909.)
The history of the United Language Committee shows that the practical need for unity was inversely proportional to the success of individual missions. More time was wasted in the name of unity after 1913 than was justified by the result: the Kikuyu New Testament was not published until 1932, and the Kikuyu Bible as a whole was not published until 1966.

The clash between the theory and practice of unity is further demonstrated by the history of mission spheres. The policy of separate spheres of influence, held generally at first to be necessary in order to avoid wasteful overlapping in a new field, had the disadvantage of entrenching on a territorial basis the marked differences between Protestant missions in religious teaching, method and discipline. Spheres were static while the African population, in labour terms, was fluid. The difficulties which arose from the existence of spheres were met by attempts at reducing visible differences in missionary practices through unity in education, language translation and a single African Church. But the background against which moves towards unity must be seen is one of continual conflict between the C.S.M. and C.M.S. over the boundaries of spheres.

In 1902, Bishop Peel and Clement Scott agreed to take as their respective spheres of influence the territory lying east and west of a line running from Ngong to Mt. Kenya and onwards to Abyssinia. Owing to lack of funds for expansion, either from the agricultural scheme or from the F.M.C., Scott was unable to realise his ambitious plan of a chain of stations stretching from Kikuyu to Abyssinia. In January 1908, taking stock of the situation regarding spheres, Henry Scott discovered that other missions had occupied the Scottish

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101 F.M.C. Report to G.A., May 1903.
sphere. In the south, between the railway line and the Limuru ridge, the C.M.S. were in control; to the north of the ridge there was a belt of A.I.M. territory stretching westwards from Kijabe. And beyond the A.I.M. lay the C.M.S. again with a large triangle of land between Fort Hall, the Aberdares and Nyeri township. After six years of inactivity, all that remained in Kikuyuland to the C.S.M. was a strip of land south of the railway line, adjacent to the mission, and a small district immediately south-west of Mt. Kenya which lay in an area closed to Europeans by the Protectorate Administration. 102

Shortly before his death, Clement Scott had arranged for Arthur and Barlow to go to Meru, north-east of Mt. Kenya, to open the first in a series of missions in the direction of Abyssinia. 103 Henry Scott elected instead to begin by working the Nyeri District from a site near Tumutumu Hill. 104 While the F.M.C. were deliberating as to whether they could afford the expense of a second station, Protectorate officials were urging Scott to occupy Tumutumu immediately or risk the entry to the district of the Italian Consolata Fathers.

By 1908, Missionary Institute of Consolata had more missionaries and more stations in Kikuyuland than any other mission. The founder of the Institute in 1901, Canon Joseph Allemano, had an agreement with the Capuchins that while the latter would evangelise the Galla from the north, within Abyssinia, the Consolata Fathers would work towards the southern Galla from a base within British East Africa. 105

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102 KMCN, 10th January 1908.
103 PCEA A/1, Arthur to McMurtzie, 23rd October 1907.
104 By 1908 missions could not apply for sites of more than five acres. This regulation had been in force since the proclamation of Kikuyu Reserves in 1906. Other missions which had entered the Fort Hall and Nyeri Districts before 1906 had obtained much larger sites. The Consolata Fathers at their Nyeri station, for example, had two thousand acres. (CS/FMCN, Reid, 'Kikuyu Report', March 1907.)
2. MISSION STATIONS IN CENTRAL KENYA, 1898-1923
After the first party of Fathers, headed by Gays and Perlo, were refused entry to the northern province of British East Africa, the Propaganda Fide ruled that the Institute of Consolata should develop part of Monsignor Allgeyer's Holy Ghost Vicariate in Kikuyuland. Allgeyer accepted the Italian Fathers as temporary collaborators and asked them to occupy stations around Fort Hall. He did not know it, but the Institute of Consolata was content with its new field of work and had no intention of returning any stations to the Holy Ghost Mission. And so, the efforts of a new and vigorous society came to be concentrated wholly in Kikuyuland. There was little brotherly feeling between the Consolata and Holy Ghost Fathers, little liking amongst officials for the Italian missionaries, and a united attitude of loathing towards them on the part of Protestant missionaries.

In October 1908 Scott asked the Commissioner of Lands for a guarantee that the Consolata Fathers would be kept out of the Mt. Kenya district; he was gratified to receive a reply a month later stating that by an agreement in August with the Sub-Commissioner of the Kenya Province, the Italians were not to be given any more land north of the Tana River. The understanding between officials and Protestant missionaries did not survive the coming of a Roman Catholic Governor, Sir Percy Girouard. Although he showed no greater favour to Catholic or Protestant, Girouard

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106 Kieran, op.cit., 388-89. Although by 1906 the occupation of Kikuyuland by the Holy Ghost Fathers had not proceeded very far, the policy of the Order as a whole in East Africa since 1900 had been to accelerate the dispersal of stations in response to the scramble for spheres amongst Protestant missions. This was a departure from the 19th century practice of slow and steady progress in founding solid stations.

107 The Sub-Commissioner at Fort Hall in 1902, Hinde, was a singular exception. It was he, apparently, who approached the Vicar Apostolic of Zanzibar and other mission superiors with the suggestion that the Consolata Fathers should evangelise Chief Karare's district. (Conquest for Christ, op.cit., 17.)

108 Barlow was at first horrified, later amused, at having to share a cabin with some Consolata missionaries on board ship during his passage to Britain on furlough in 1908. (PBP, Diaries, 28th June 1908.)

109 PCEA A/1, Scott to Commissioner of Lands (Col. J. Montgomery), 20th October 1908; and A/3, Commissioner to Scott, No. 477 of 13th November 1908.
redressed the imbalance in official policy and declared that Roman Catholics could open stations in areas open to Protestants, provided that they did not settle within ten miles of another mission. 110

Meanwhile, Scott had been successful in securing the agreement of the C.M.S. and A.I.M. to the surrender of parts of the territory in the Scottish sphere which they had occupied. The A.I.M. surrendered most of their portion of the sphere, and the C.M.S. returned half of the territory lying between the railway line and the Limuru ridge. And in the country beyond the Tana, the C.M.S. modified their triangle of occupied territory to give the C.S.M. the larger sphere in the area south-west of Mt. Kenya. The year, 1908, closed with benevolent expressions of goodwill from all sides and a united hope for the final settlement of all disagreements. The spirit of generosity where spheres were concerned was a by-product of the movement for unity in all aspects of missionary work which was gathering force. In May 1909, after the Government Survey had revealed the inaccuracy of earlier maps, the C.M.S. cordially agreed to alter the Ngong–Kenya line in order to double the C.S.M. sphere in the trans–Tana district. 111 The C.S.M. agreed to a small enlargement of the A.I.M.'s territory in the Kiambu and Ngenda districts. And in April 1910, the C.M.S. and C.S.M. agreed to leave the Maasai Southern Reserve exclusively to the A.I.M. 112

As the various stations of the C.M.S. and C.S.M. became more firmly established, received new staff from home, and began to plan more ambitious work,

110 PCEA A/7, Barlow to Scott, 30th June 1910; and Secretariat to Scott, M.P. No. 2365/1909 of 1st August 1910. The Governor's decision caused great alarm at Tumutumu since there were already three Consolata stations within the vicinity, and now the Italians were seeking a position not more than two miles away. If successful, they would have four stations within ten miles of Tumutumu. (PCEA A/5, Barlow to Scott, 4th October 1909.)

111 PCEA A/5, K. St. A. Rogers to Scott, 28th May 1909. See also files in Lands Department, Nairobi, 669/I–II, 'Mission Spheres'.

112 KMCN, 27th May 1910. In December 1909, also the C.S.M., C.M.S., A.I.M., U.M.C.M., F.A.I.M. and S.D.A. agreed to form a board of arbitration to deal with spheres and adjustments to boundaries. A similar suggestion was made as part of the scheme of Federation at the Kikuyu Conference in 1913.
existing agreements as to spheres were found to be restrictive. Towards the end of 1910, finding that Kikuyu lacked sufficient manoeuvering space in southern Kikuyuland, Henry Scott asked the C.M.S. to hand back its Kabete station and sphere of work to the C.S.M. 113 Quite naturally the C.M.S. were annoyed at being asked to hand back an area of work which had been established prior to the 1902 agreement for the creation of spheres. 114

While expressing their reluctance to part with Kabete, the C.M.S. advised Scott than in the event of their doing so, he would have to pay full compensation for buildings and land development. Clearly, the C.S.M. could not afford such an expense, but Scott was tempted to pursue the matter vigorously in the hope that the Government would buy Kabete station and its experimental farm, leaving the surrounding territorial sphere to the C.S.M. But after reflecting upon the adverse effects his action would have on the negotiations in progress for Church Union or Federation, he decided to let the matter rest. 115

Shortly after Scott’s death, Tumutumu began to feel a similar desire to break out of the restrictive limits of its sphere. The occasion for a dispute with the C.M.S. was the declared intention of the latter to link its cis-Tana and trans-Tana work by opening a new station at Ndegwa’s village. Ndegwa’s lay eight miles east of Tumutumu on the revised boundary between the C.M.S. and C.S.M. spheres fixed in 1909 by Scott and Bishop Peel. 116 The C.M.S. argued that they

113 PCEA A/9, Scott to McLachlan, 12th November 1910.
114 In March 1900, Bishop Peel advised Thomas Watson that the C.M.S. proposed to open a station near Fort Smith. Since the E.A.S.M. was the first mission in Kikuyuland, and since by the standards of the time, first arrival bestowed certain rights to exclusive influence over surrounding territory, Watson protested strongly. But later in the year, the Rev. A.W. McGregor opened the Kabete station only five miles from Kikuyu. Kabete lay within the Scottish sphere as delimited by the agreement of 1902, as did Waithaga, also opened by A.W. McGregor in 1904. (PCEA A/7, Mrs. Watson to Henry Scott, 28th October 1910.)
115 PCEA A/9, Scott to McLachlan, 12th November 1910.
116 North of the Tana, the Ngong-Kenya line between the two spheres was moved about six miles to the east to permit a larger sphere of influence for the C.S.M. at Tumutumu.
could not adhere to the agreement against opening a station within five miles of the boundary since they could find no other site which so perfectly connected all their work in Kikuyuland. And beyond this, there was a likelihood that if the C.M.S. did not occupy Ndegwa's, the Governor would give it to the impolite Consolata Fathers. 117

Speaking for the C.S.M., Dr. H.R.A. Philp tried to show the C.M.S. why they should not occupy Ndegwa's village, but rather, allow the C.S.M. to take it. Tumutumu was expanding rapidly, yet in all directions its line of expansion was blocked. To the north the Kikuyu population was sparse in what, in any case, was an area scheduled for European settlement; to the north-east lay the dense Mt. Kenya forest; west and south of Tumutumu lay the boundary of the C.M.S. Weithaga sphere: the only outlet for the C.S.M. was to the east, and the C.M.S. were proposing to block it with a station at Ndegwa's. Why, asked, Philp did the C.M.S. not undertake to evangelise the untouched areas north of Mt. Kenya; the C.S.M. could never attempt this since the F.M.C. in Edinburgh was marshalling its strength for a new advance into Portuguese East Africa. 118

The C.M.S. were sympathetic but firm; they could not relinquish their claim to Ndegwa's, since to do so would permit the C.S.M. to drive a wedge between two major areas of their work, but they were prepared to surrender the Mahiga district contiguous to Tumutumu. 119 In November Arthur returned from furlough as the new head of the C.S.M. and took over from Philp the negotiations with the C.M.S. With considerably less tact and forbearance than Philp, Arthur demanded that the C.M.S. refrain from taking Ndegwa's and that they should return Kabete to the

117 PCEA A/8, K. St. A. Rogers to H.R.A. Philp, 19th July 1911.
118 Ibid, Philp to Rogers, 26th May 1911.
119 PCEA A/8, Rogers to Philp, 2nd June 1911.
C.S.M. without further delay. Mahiga, he said, was of little use to Tumutumu since it was already occupied by sixty-eight Italian missionaries.\(^{120}\) If the C.M.S. in British East Africa were not prepared to make concessions, then the matter would be referred to the Church of Scotland to be raised with the C.M.S. in London.

Certain progress was made towards agreement over Kabete when negotiations broke down as a result of the C.S.M.'s refusal to recognise the town of Nairobi as an exclusive C.M.S. sphere.\(^{121}\) But in June 1912 the C.M.S. returned most of their Kabete sphere south of the railway line to the C.S.M., and thereby removed the immediate source of offence.\(^{122}\)

It was a constant source of irritation to Arthur that while the C.M.S. and A.I.M. had occupied large areas with a series of what were often no more than one-man stations, the C.S.M. with more staff at its two stations than the full C.M.S. complement, was restricted to two small spheres around Kikuyu and Tumutumu. Neither of the other two societies were, in Arthur's view, working efficiently; yet they were unwilling to allow the C.S.M. an opening. He wanted to expand the work of the C.S.M. but was held back by a shortage of funds and by the traditional Scottish policy of having solid, well-staffed stations, each with its religious, educational, medical and industrial departments. The various measures in land development at Kikuyu and Kibwezi were designed to meet the shortage of funds;\(^{123}\) but if a compromise were necessary in order to claim new

\(^{120}\) Ibid A/9, Arthur to Rogers, 14th November 1911. Peel had offered Mahiga to Scott in 1908 and it had been declined for the same reason. But in November 1915 the C.S.M. decided to accept Mahiga, but delayed occupying it, by African evangelists, until 1920. (KCMC, 29-30th January 1920.)

\(^{121}\) PCEA A/12, Arthur to Bishop Peel, 13th February 1912. Arthur's view was that towns should be regarded as neutral areas. Converts of all missions flocked to towns and should therefore be given the opportunity to attend a church of their parent mission. But the C.M.S., having worked (alone amongst Protestant missions) in Nairobi with great success since 1906, were unwilling to allow other missions to enter their sphere.

\(^{122}\) PCEA A/12, Arthur to Peel, 12th July 1912.

\(^{123}\) See above, pp.218-228.
spheres, he was prepared to have one-man stations. 124

In effect, Arthur was calling for a change of policy in the C.S.M. In 1911, in response to a query from the F.M.C. regarding the mission's future policy, Henry Scott had stated:

"We consider that effective work will be possible by having strong staffs at our two stations, Kikuyu and Tumutumu, and evangelising the rest of our spheres by means of Native Agents .... As far as we can judge, our policy is the most economical and the most efficient." 125

The F.M.C. had gladly accepted this statement of policy as being consistent with the principles by which the Church of Scotland had earned a reputation for stable and efficient missionary work.

Since the beginning of 1913, Arthur had felt that the last area open to the C.S.M. for expansion was that lying to the east and north east of Mt. Kenya. 126 Knowing that the C.M.S. intended to confine themselves to Embu country, and that they had already admitted the Methodists to their Meru sphere, in September Arthur requested a similar opening for the C.S.M. 127 The C.M.S. responded by offering a site amongst the Chuka and Mwimbi peoples, east of Mt. Kenya, on the condition that it was occupied without delay. 128

When Arthur began to exhort the F.M.C. to approve the extension to Chuka–Mwimbi and to sanction a special appeal for what would at first be a one-man station, the response was discouraging. McLachlan did not welcome the departure

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124 PCEA A/14, Arthur to McLachlan, 14th February 1913.
125 CSP/NLS 7565, McLachlan to Arthur, 5th February 1914.
126 PCEA A/14, Arthur to McLachlan, 14th February 1913. Barlow and the industrial missionary, W.O. Tait, had visited Meru country in 1912 and had reported favourably on its suitability for future work.
127 PCEA A/14, Arthur to Rogers, 16th September 1913.
128 KMCM, 9th January 1914. The element of urgency arose from the fact that the Consolata Fathers, who already had stations at Igoji, Imenti, Tigania, and Amugenti, had filed applications for further sites amongst the Chuka and Mwimbi.
from Henry Scott's policy; nor did he think it possible to launch another special appeal so soon after the one for Tumutumu when other missions of the Church, particularly in India and China, were in greater need of special appeals to subscribers. It would be better, he thought, to concentrate upon Kikuyu, and gradually to extend work to the Nairobi area. And finally, McLachlan could see little justification for entering a new sphere when less than one per cent of the population in the existing spheres had been converted to Christianity. 129

Crestfallen, Arthur proposed to the C.M.S. that they should take back Chuka-Nwimbi and give the C.S.M. their Mutira station which lay east of Tumutumu. The C.M.S. parried this unwelcome proposal by suggesting that they would be prepared to exchange their medical mission at Kabare in Embu for the C.S.M. station at Tumutumu. And so, the C.S.M. were left with a new sphere around Chuka-Nwimbi which, through shortage of funds and an unwilling home committee, they were unable to occupy. 131

While on furlough in Scotland in January 1915, Arthur and his father had a long meeting with McLachlan and others at the F.M.C. headquarters in Queen's Street, Edinburgh. Arthur had prepared maps showing mission spheres in the highlands of British East Africa and used them to illustrate his arguments in favour of an extension to Chuka-Nwimbi. He won the day and cabled a jubilant announcement of victory to his colleagues at Kikuyu and Tumutumu. 132

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129 CSP/NLS 7565, McLachlan to Arthur, 5th March 1914.
130 KKCM, 28th August 1914; and PCEA A/20, Arthur to McLachlan of the same date.
131 Arthur asked Dr. H.R.A. Philp to leave Tumutumu and go to Chuka-Nwimbi. Philp replied that if Arthur insisted, he would resign from the mission. (CSP/NLS 7568, McLachlan to Robertson, 5th January 1915; and PCEA A/25, Arthur to McLachlan, 17th September 1915.)
In September, Dr. Stanley E. Jones was preparing to go to Chuka-Mwimbi when the possibility of extension in another sphere, German East Africa arose. But fearful of losing the most recent acquisition, Arthur decided to send a senior teacher, Samsoni from Tumutumu to begin work in a modest way at Chuka.

Early in 1916, Samsoni and his wife, Naomi, began a small school at Gaitungi's village, only a few miles from the Consolata station at Igoji.

Early in 1916, Arthur's attention was distracted from Chuka-Mwimbi by rumours that the C.M.S. intended to build a training institution for boys at Kabete after the manner of the older institutions at Freretown and Taita, and that they were embarked upon a wholesale recruiting campaign with a view to taking over the captured mission sphere in German East Africa. While Arthur had his own designs upon German East Africa, and was dismayed by the C.M.S. plan, he was far more worried by the possibility of a major training institution so close to Kikuyu.

133 Stanley E. Jones, born in Yorkshire in 1886, was a highly trained graduate in medicine of Glasgow University. He was appointed to Kikuyu in 1914 and resigned in 1924. His wife died in the smallpox epidemic of 1916.

134 Samsoni was the brother of Danielli Wachira, one of the first missionaries to Tumutumu in 1908. Other African teacher-catechists at Chuka between 1916 and 1922 included Daudi, Willie Kanini and Ishmaeli Wango. In 1919 there were sixty boys and fifteen girls in school.

135 After changing sites several times, the C.S.M. mission was finally settled in 1922 on forty acres of leased land at Chogoria in Mwimbi. The first European missionary there was Dr. Clive A. Irvine, who had served with African troops during the German East Africa Campaign, and who had been appointed locally by Arthur in 1919. Irvine took over Chogoria in 1922 and ran it for its first three years on a grant of £1,600 given by his wife's father, Mr. Ernest Carr of Carr's biscuit company. Had it not been for Carr's generosity Chogoria might never have been established. In 1922 both the F.M.C. and the C.S.M. in Kenya had large deficits in their finances, and the F.M.C. had stipulated that not only was Chogoria to be maintained apart from normal Church funds, but that it should not form a charge upon funds set aside for Kikuyu and Tumutuma. (For an account of the first ten years of Chogoria mission, see C.A. Irvine, *Chogoria 1922* (Edinburgh) 1932. And for an historical account of Chuka and Mwimbi, see District Commissioner's Office, Embu, D.R. Crampton, 'Early History of Chuka and Mwimbi', memorandum in Chuka Political Record Book, Vol. II.)
18. Samsoni and his wife, Naomi

19. Dr. and Mrs. H.R.A. Philp

20. Missionaries at war. K.M.V.C. Personnel, 1917. Left to right from rear: Sgt. Whibley, C.M.S.; Cpl. Boden (C.M.S.); Sgt. Leakey (Limuru); Cpl. Stevenson (A.I.M.); Lt. Hooper (C.M.S.); Capt. Arthur (C.S.M.); Lt. Barlow (C.S.M.); Lt. Tait (C.S.M.); Cpl. Fielding (A.I.M.) and Cpl. Harries (C.M.S.).
Negotiations for a Federation of missions had by 1916 produced modified proposals for an Alliance. It was envisaged that the Alliance would have a Central Training Institution and that the C.S.M. station at Kikuyu would be its location. Infuriated by what appeared to be a transgression of the principles accepted in the proposed Alliance, and reminded once again that the presence of the C.M.S. at Kabete was a source of grievance to the C.S.M., Arthur bluntly demanded the return of Kabete to the C.S.M. without further delay. The C.M.S. were greatly offended by this unexpected attack. Replying for the Conference, the Rev. K. St. Aubyn Rogers denied that the proposal for a training institution at Kabete in any way affected the Alliance, and requested that Arthur should refrain from interfering in the internal arrangements of another mission.

Arthur was not to be dissuaded from pressing serious charges against the C.M.S.. Their plans for Kabete and German East Africa seemed to him not only to threaten the Alliance, but to reject in the most blatant possible way the recommendations of the World Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, and those of the Kikuyu Conference of 1913, on mission comity through the mutual respect of spheres. In his correspondence of the time Arthur accused the C.M.S. of adopting a "dog in the manger attitude" and of trying to exclude the C.S.M. from existing and new fields; if their attitude did not change, he warned, "then it must mean war to the knife all over the place ..."

It was an affront to the C.S.M. that while the C.M.S. had occupied most

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136 The proposal for a Central Training Institution as part of an Alliance of Protestant Societies was first raised at a limited conference in Nairobi in December 1915 where the constitution of an Alliance was drawn up. (See below, Pp. 395-397.)

137 KMCM, 12-13th January 1916, Minute prepared for the C.M.S. Conference, 12th January 1916.


of the Scottish sphere they had neglected the southern portion in order to compete with Roman Catholic missions north of the Tana River, and had recently handed over a large part of the southern portion to the A.I.M. And in their own sphere the C.M.S. had not worked effectively; Embu lay in ruins, having been deserted between 1912 and 1915. The C.S.M., meantime, were expected to content themselves with two inadequate spheres around Kikuyu and Tumutumu. The most recent insult was the proposed institution at Kabete since the C.S.M. had never recognised the legitimacy of the C.M.S. position there. 140

The situation which had arisen was not, however, lacking in possibilities of gain for the C.S.M. It was recognised that German East Africa did not offer a natural extension of the work at Kikuyu. But in the previous year Arthur had spoken of possible new work in German East Africa to McLachlan of the F.M.C. McLachlan had expressed the view that the C.S.M. in British East Africa could not expect funds for extensions both to Chuka-Mwimbi and to German East Africa. But since Convenor Ogilvie had stated that of the two, German East Africa was the more valuable sphere, Arthur had delayed the occupation of Chuka by a European missionary. 141

In May 1916 Arthur declared that he was still interested in German East Africa, but that it might be a more feasible plan to form a new united mission of the Church of Scotland and United Free Church to occupy the captured sphere

140 Arthur's argument concerning Kabete was based upon a mistaken premise. He believed that Bishop Peel in 1902 had asked Clement Scott for permission to establish a sanatorium at Kikuyu, and had then proceeded, after securing Scott's agreement, to establish a major station at Kabete. In fact, Kabete was established in 1900 before the C.M.S. and C.S.M. spheres were created, and the request for a sanatorium - never followed up - amounted to no more than a suggestion for C.M.S. facilities in the mission hospital at Kikuyu.

141 PCEA A/26, McLachlan to Arthur, 14th March 1916.
in the former German territories of Rwanda and Burundi.  

It was in British East Africa that Arthur felt that the C.S.M. stood to make substantial gains. He had given up all hope of getting Kabete back from the C.M.S.. But, if the Alliance were to be formed, and if Kikuyu became the site of the Central Training Institution, then the C.S.M. would have to be compensated by an enlargement of their sphere in another part of the country.  

It might be possible to achieve this enlargement at the expense of the C.M.S. if it were true that they intended to go into German East Africa in an ambitious way. The enlargement which the C.S.M. would accept was all the territory lying between Tumutumu and Meru. The C.M.S. would have to give up their stations at Mutira, Kabare and Embu, and there was a distinct possibility that the Methodist missionary, the Rev. R.T. Worthington, could be persuaded to abandon his unsuccessful station at Meru.  

If the C.M.S. were cooperative, the C.S.M. would be happy to relinquish Kikuyu station to the Alliance, and to permit the C.M.S. to work the Scottish sphere around Kikuyu from Kabete.

In addition, there was a possibility of taking over the whole of the A.I.M. sphere in Kikuyuland. In 1911 Hulburt had been considering a major advance into the Belgian Congo, and had offered to sell his Kikuyu stations to the Church of Scotland. McLachlan, for financial reasons, had been obliged to decline this attractive offer. In 1916 Hulburt repeated his offer to Arthur who felt that

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142 The suggestion for Scottish missionary activity in Rwanda and Burundi was not a new one. In 1910, Captain McQueen of the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment had recommended these territories to Henry Scott and had pointed out that they were virtually untouched by missions. Early in May 1916, McQueen, now a Major, had visited Kikuyu and repeated his suggestion. (PCEA/TT, ‘K.M.C. Minutes – Covering Letters’, Arthur to McLachlan, 11th May 1916, enclosing a report of an address to the Kikuyu staff by Major McQueen on May 3rd.)

143 Note that it was the industrial missionary, W.O. Tait, who first suggested to Arthur that the C.S.M. might be wiser to ignore German East Africa and concentrate upon securing a better sphere in British East Africa. (PCEA/TT, ‘Letters from Dr. Arthur’, Arthur to Hamilton, 25th April 1916.)


145 CSP/NLS 7558, McLachlan, confidential letter to Hulburt, 5th December 1911.
a splendid opportunity had presented itself for dealing with the C.M.S. from a position of strength.

Such were the plans of the C.S.M. in 1916 with regard to spheres. Arthur had given up the attempt to deal locally with the C.M.S. and had referred the issues to the home authorities. He was extremely anxious that the F.M.C. should finance his plans — he was prepared to recommend the sale of Kikuyu and Kibwezi estates if necessary — and was gratified to learn in October 1916 that Convener Ogilvie had gone to London to consult with the C.M.S. Secretary. Bishop Peel had died in 1916 and it was felt that if matters were allowed to rest until his successor had taken office and investigated the C.S.M.'s plans, a valuable opportunity for a quick settlement would have been lost.

It is interesting to note at this point that Arthur held the opinion that the success of the proposed Alliance depended upon the prior settlement of the dispute over spheres. "We might", he said, "contemplate delay in going forward with the Alliance, if the true spirit of the Alliance is not in some way to be shown by a change in the attitude of the C.M.S...".

While awaiting the outcome of the negotiations between the C.M.S. and the F.M.C., Arthur redirected his thoughts towards German East Africa. Annoyed by the claim of the C.M.S. to exclusive rights in the Kilimanjaro district by virtue of Bishop Hannington's pioneering work there, he cabled the F.M.C. in January 1917 to say that he was proposing to release three of his staff to occupy Lutheran stations in Dar-es-Salaam, Wilhelmsbad and Kilimanjaro. If the Church of Scotland did not act promptly, Livingstone and Blantyre cooperating

146 Ibid 7573, McLachlan to Arthur, 21st September 1916.
149 Arthur claimed that he had received an invitation from Dar es Salaam to occupy these three districts. (CSP/NLS 7573, McLachlan to Arthur, 31st January 1917.)
with Kikuyu in claiming former German spheres, the C.M.S. and U.M.C.A. between them would lay claim to the whole of German East Africa.150

McLachlan replied quickly and appealed for restraint. There would be no scramble for spheres in German East Africa; the Colonial Office had ruled that any German stations occupied before the end of the war, and before a proper apportionment had been made, would not be regarded as permanent. J.H. Oldham had formed a special Sub-Committee of the Conference of British Missionary Societies to settle all claims in conjunction with civilian authorities.

McLachlan reminded Arthur that the success of the negotiations with the C.M.S. in London for an enlargement of the C.S.M.'s sphere in British East Africa was based upon the assumption that the C.M.S. would be given a freehand in German East Africa. Arthur did not seem to realise that the three districts he proposed to occupy lay in a sphere which the Church of England regarded traditionally as its own. The Secretary of the C.M.S. Committee, the Rev. G.T. Manley, was in favour of the C.S.M.'s proposals, but there were two things to be considered: no settlement could be reached until after the war; and the C.M.S. in British East Africa were considerably less enthusiastic than their Committee in London about relinquishing their Embu sphere to the C.S.M..151

During the second half of 1917 Protestant missionaries in British East Africa raised their own Mission Carrier Corps and went into war. The question of spheres, whether in German or British East Africa, was not raised again until June 1918. By then Livingstonia had claimed all German Moravian mission stations in the New Langenburg Province of German East Africa, and in the following year Blantyre

151 CSP/NLS 7573, McLachlan to Arthur, 31st January 1917; PCEA A/29, McLachlan to Arthur, 6th February and 12th March 1917; and CSP/NLS 7564, McLachlan to Arthur, 16th July 1917.
sent African evangelists to occupy the Berliner Missions-gesellschaft at Iringa. The occupation of spheres in German East Africa by Scottish missionaries thus took place not from British East Africa but from Nyasaland. The result, nevertheless, was what McLachlan had feared: the C.M.S. in British East Africa regarded Iringa as their rightful sphere — in spite of the fact that Oldham had approved its occupation by the Nyasaland C.S.M. — and felt disinclined to make adjustments to their sphere in British East Africa to suit the C.S.M.

The plan devised in 1916 by Arthur for an enlarged sphere had already been modified. In October 1918 Arthur suggested to the C.M.S. Conference that they should forget the past and agree to a final division of spheres: Kikuyuland should be divided into two spheres, north and south of the River Tana, and the C.S.M. and C.M.S. should each choose one. He asked for a rapid decision from the C.M.S., intimating that unless this was forthcoming the matter would be raised at the next meeting of the recently constituted Representative Council of the Alliance. Bishop Heywood, Peel’s successor, saw the danger in this to the unity

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152 CSP/NLS 7578, McLachlan to Oldham, 3rd June 1919; and 7580, McLachlan to Manley, 22nd March 1920. The Rev. A.M. Anderson of Zomba was sent to take charge of the Iringa Scottish Mission. Files in the Tanzania National Archives which are of relevance to the British missionary occupation of former German stations in Tanganyika, and to the Scottish Mission at Iringa, include: 04/1916-20/170, 'Missionaries, repatriation of German and Austrian, and replacement'; 3632/Vol.I/1926, 'German Protestant Missionary Property: Deed of Transfer to Conference of Missionary Societies'; 0228/1922/81, 'A.M. Anderson - Scotch Missionary Society'; and 3873/1922, 'Mission Mahenge'.

153 Arthur, it should be noted, made one last attempt to secure a station for his own mission in German East Africa. In March 1920 the German Lutheran head of the Wuga station in Usambara asked Arthur if he would care to take over his work. Arthur visited the area and was enthusiastic, but the F.M.C. would not allow him to begin work there. (AP, Arthur, 'Report on a visit to German missions in Usambara', March 1920.)

154 CSP/NLS 7580, McLachlan to Manley, 22nd March 1920; and 7582, McLachlan to Anderson, 23rd March 1921.

155 Ibid 7606, Arthur to Rogers, 1st October 1918.
of the Alliance and suggested a private meeting. At C.M.S. House, Nairobi, on
October 25th a provisional agreement was reached on the lines suggested by
Arthur in which the C.S.M. was to take the northern sphere.156

The agreement depended, however, on the C.S.M.'s ability to relinquish the
Kikuyu station to the Alliance for the proposed Central Training Institution.
This was not a matter for private agreement between the C.M.S. and the C.S.M.,
nor could action be taken without reference to the F.M.C. At Arthur's request
McLachlan had sought a legal opinion as to whether the deed of transfer of the
E.A.S.M. to the Church of Scotland permitted the F.M.C. to surrender Kikuyu to
the Alliance. The opinion, received early in 1919, was in the negative.157 On
this issue the last major attempt to adjust the spheres of the C.S.M. and C.M.S.
failed.

Conscious of lacking a sphere of influence commensurate with its status and
scale of work, the C.S.M. had always been the most sensitive and querulous
mission where spheres were concerned. Henry Scott had tried to enlarge his
mission's sphere, but had regarded unity as being more important than adjustments
to spheres. Arthur had been less willing to compromise. Although his expansionist
policy had little effect upon the spirit of unity at the Kikuyu Conference in
1913, it has been noted that by 1917 he regarded the settlement of his dispute
with the C.M.S. as a precondition of the C.S.M.'s entry into the Alliance. Had
he known in 1918, at the time of the second Kikuyu Conference, that his plan
for an enlarged Scottish sphere north of the Tana River would not be realised,
it is possible that the formation of the Alliance might have been delayed.

156 PCEA A/34, Arthur to McLachlan, 28th October 1918.
157 Ibid A/35, Arthur to Hamilton, 1st April, and McLachlan to Arthur, 14th
April, 1919.
The policy of creating separate spheres had provoked the first important movement towards a United African Church and led to the Kikuyu Conference of June 1913. During the 1920s, as African Churches attached to missions began to take firm root, it was found that African Christians frequently changed their denominations by moving to another sphere where church discipline was less restrictive of personal liberty. In 1929 the Representative Council of the Alliance admitted, although it took no formal action, that separate spheres no longer worked and ought to be abolished. The sequel to this admission was the beginning, from 1932, of the second serious attempt to unite in a single African Church. In the intervening years, between the climax of the first Church Union movement and the beginning of the second, the retention of the policy of separate spheres had produced a spirit of compromise. Anglican opponents of the Federation proposals argued that Federation implied an abolition of spheres and carried the consequent danger to the episcopally ordained ministry of the C.M.S. converts seeking Communion in other churches. An Alliance of missionary societies for temporal purposes, but with the ultimate objective in view of a United African Church, became the choice of missionaries in the field and their superiors at home.

3. The Compromise

Nothing could be done to carry forward the proposals made at Kikuyu in 1913 until the controversy within the Church of England had been settled by the deliverance of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Easter 1915. The Continuation Committee of the Kikuyu Conference, in consultation with home authorities, produced in December 1915 a document entitled 'Proposals for an Alliance of Societies in British East Africa'; Church Union was still the ultimate objective, but a compromise had been achieved which was acceptable to the Church of England. 160

The term, Alliance, had been adopted to avoid the implication which had been seen to exist in Federation of an executive missionary body in the field which would be outwith the control of the Anglican Church. 161 It was formally admitted that any attempt for the present to constitute a United African Church was premature. Missionaries were to be permitted to visit and to administer to their own converts residing in the spheres of other missions. And while common methods were to be adopted by allied societies in respect of church membership, the Sacraments and the Ministry, omitted from the proposals were any reference to a common form of church organisation and any statement recognising a common membership between churches in the proposed Alliance. 162

160 To a large extent the document was the work of Bishop Peel and J.W. Arthur, each of whom had been in close contact with his home organisation in the framing of the proposals. Peel, for example, had insisted that while for his own part he would not discipline any of his people who sought Communion at the hands of ministers who were not episcopally-ordained, there must be nothing in the proposals which appeared to sanction "irregularities" in connection with Communion. It was Peel, also, who suggested the term, Alliance, instead of Federation. (PCEA A/25, Arthur to McLachlan, 17th September 1915.)

161 "The expression 'Allied Societies' as used in this Constitution shall be understood to mean the Local Governing Bodies of the Societies, Missions, or Churches occupying different spheres." ('Proposals for an Alliance of Societies in British East Africa', quoted in CS/FMCM, 18th April 1916, 5.)

162 A copy of the 'Proposals' may be seen in CS/FMCM, 18th April 1916, 5-9.
The proposals were approved by representatives of the C.M.S., C.S.M. and A.I.M. in December at Nairobi, and although the Methodists did not send a representative to the meeting, it was understood that they would join with the other three major societies in the Alliance. The Foreign Mission Committee received the report of its Acting Committee on the proposals and reviewed the situation at a meeting in April 1916. With minor alterations in the wording of certain parts of the proposed constitution of the Alliance, the Committee agreed to forward the proposals for ratification at the General Assembly of May 1917. 163

There were, however, two issues related to the proposals which caused concern both at home and in the field. These were re-Baptism, and total abstinence from intoxicants. Since 1912 the C.S.M. had made total abstinence from drinking a condition of church membership, and in 1916 they appeared to favour the A.I.M.'s suggestion that abstinence should be the condition of Baptism. The C.M.S. were more liberal in their attitude to this aspect of church discipline, but like the C.S.M., could not accept the demand of the A.I.M. that missions in the Alliance holding Baptist principles should be allowed to re-Baptise the converts of other missions before admitting them to church membership.

These issues had been discussed at earlier conferences, but achieved a new significance in 1916 when an Alliance aiming at ultimate organic unity seemed so close at hand. The F.M.C. considered the issues very carefully and resolved that re-Baptism was unnecessary and should be discouraged, and that while total abstinence from liquor might be a precondition of communicant membership of a church, it must on no account be made a precondition of Baptism. 164

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163 CSP/NLS 7572, McLachlan to Arthur, 10th May 1916.
164 CS/FMCM, 18th April 1916, 10-11.
a position with which the C.M.S. could agree, but not so the A.I.M. who declared that they could not be moved from their own standpoint. 165

Before the proposals for an Alliance could be put to the test over the matter of church discipline, the war began to affect missions more deeply than before; it was generally agreed that the Alliance would be delayed until the war was over. An opportunity to test the spirit of the Alliance in a practical way arose in 1917 in connection with the war effort of Allied troops in German East Africa.

Early in 1916, an Allied offensive under the command of General Smuts was launched against General Paul Von Lettow-Vorrebeck's forces in German East Africa. 166 As strategic towns and lines of communication were captured, the need increased of repair work on roads and railways, and above all of transport to facilitate the passage of troops through conquered territory. The age of the Ford motor car had begun in East Africa before the war, but mechanised transport was of little use in a country which had few roads and which enjoyed two annual seasons of heavy rains. The heavy task of supplying troops and of maintaining the vital lines of communication fell upon the humble African carrier - the anonymous labourer and transporter, without uniform, rank, number or regiment, who was in Rudyard Kipling's words, "the hands and the feet of the Army": 167

165 PCEA A/28/1, Rogers to Arthur, 14th August 1916.
166 Amongst the formidable array of books written about the war in East Africa, a useful, journalistic account is given by Brian Gardner in his German East (London, 1963).
167 These words appear in the inscription on the statues in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam commemorating the African dead of the German East African campaigns. The resilience and humour of African carriers amidst the horrors of their war conditions is revealed in the popular ditty which began:

"Oh, we are the porters who carry the food
Of the porters who carry the porters' food ..."
(Sir Philip Mitchell, African Afterthoughts (London, 1954) 49.)
By the end of 1916, Von Lettow-Vorbeck's guerrillas were concentrated in the south-eastern corner of German East Africa. The Allied forces, starting from points in a wide arc around the German position, planned to encircle their enemy and end the war. At this stage it was estimated that an extra 160,000 carriers would be required. The Military Labour Bureau, formed in February 1916 under the directorship of O.F. Watkins, called for 40,000 carriers from British East Africa alone, and intimated that 16,000 replacements would be needed each month after May 1917.

On March 26th 1917 missionaries in British East Africa were informed that all pupils, including apprentices, who had joined mission schools since June 1915 would be taken for the Carrier Corps; and further, that the Compulsory Service

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168 It should be noted that African carriers for the Allied forces in the war in East Africa were recruited not only from the three East African territories, Zanzibar and Mafra, but also from the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa, South Africa, the Belgian Congo, Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Hundreds of thousands of additional carriers were recruited in their own territory by the Germans, although, owing to the nature of German military strategy, it was impossible to keep any record of the exact numbers recruited. (General Von Lettow Voorbeck, My Reminiscences of East Africa (London, n.d.) 24.)

169 The predecessor of the Military Labour Bureau was the East African Transport Corps. Following allegations in the British House of Commons that the Bureau was no more than a unit for forced labour, the name was changed in 1918 to the Military Labour Corps. (ASP S.22/G.133, 'Forced Labour and Native Carriers'.)

Ordinance had come into force, and would be applied to missionaries as well as to other European civilians. 171

Arthur had been dreading this day since 1915 when, alone amongst missions in Kikuyuland, Tumutumu suffered the loss of its outschool pupils in the Government campaign to recruit carriers in the Reserves. 172 In that year, the chief opponent of the exclusion of missions from compulsory carrier recruitment was E.S. Grogan, the settler leader and member of the Governor's War Council. 173 But Arthur had an ally on the War Council in W. MacLellan Wilson, Clement Scott's old friend in the Colonists' Association and a member of the St. Andrew's Church Committee, who, with others, secured a declaration that missions were to be placed in a reserve category and to be exempt from carrier recruitment unless war conditions dictated otherwise. 174

While fearing the effects upon their work if scholars and teachers were taken as carriers, missionaries also feared for the progress of their work if they themselves were obliged to offer themselves for service at the front. In 1915, during a period of frenzied patriotism when Europeans all over Kenya were marching into Nairobi to offer themselves for service, the European War Committee in Nairobi began issuing invitations to missionaries to do likewise. Barlow and two other Scottish missionaries, W.O. Tait and George Dennis, were amongst those who received invitations. 175

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171 CS/FMCM, 10th July 1917; and KMCM, 18th April 1917. The news was given on behalf of the Kyambu District Organising Committee by the Assistant D.C. that Tribal Police would shortly be visiting mission schools to enrol youths as carriers. (PCEA A/29, Lane to Arthur, Circular No.M-P. 18/3/17, 26th March 1917.)

172 PCEA A/34, Arthur to the Acting Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 6th November 1918. Arthur claimed to have evidence that other missions, especially around Fort Hall, had been given special Government protection in 1915.

173 PCEA A/24, W. MacLellan Wilson to Arthur, 14th December 1915.


175 PCEA A/25, Arthur to Hamilton, 16th November 1915.
The prospect of losing as many as three missionaries was a source of worry to Arthur. Two others had resigned in 1915, the Rev. James Youngson and John Garrick; the Rev. J.T. Souttar of St. Andrew's had already offered himself for service as a war chaplain, and Dr. H.R.A. Philp was serving Government as the District Surgeon for Nyeri. At staff meetings, held at Kikuyu in December 1915, it was decided that the C.S.M. could not afford to offer more than two missionaries: Philp would continue in his medical work for Government around Nyeri, and Dr. S.E. Jones would be set aside to take charge of an extension to the mission hospital at Kikuyu for carriers. 176

There was a measure of disagreement within the staff of the C.S.M. regarding the duties of missionaries in time of war. Arthur, supported by McLachlan, was of the opinion that by working steadily amongst African peoples, and by ensuring that Africans remained loyal to the British cause, missionaries were making a significant contribution. 177 In the last resort the choice was left to the individual conscience. Dr. Philp accepted the post of Medical Officer to the Kenya Province between February 1916 and March 1917; 178 George Dennis served for

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176 PCEA/TT, 'Minutes of Staff Meetings', 26th November and 15th December 1915. Arthur had consulted the Chief Secretary at Nairobi, C.C. Bowring, and had received an assurance that for the meantime missionaries would not be compelled to enter military service. Arthur's offer of a carrier hospital at Kikuyu was eagerly accepted by the Principal Medical Officer, Col. A.D. Milne. With a monthly Government subsidy of Rs.250, Dr. Jones treated more than three hundred African carriers and soldiers from Uganda, British East Africa, German East Africa and Nyasaland. The hospital was closed in July 1917 when hospitals and convalescent camps began to be built at the front and along the lines of communication. (PCEA A/25, Arthur to McLachlan, 18th December 1915; A/26, Milne to Arthur, 11th January 1916; and A/32, Jones to McLachlan, 26th July 1917. See also PCEA 1/1-2, 'Kikuyu African Military Hospital, 1916-17'.)

177 PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Mr. McLachlan', McLachlan to Hamilton, 22nd December 1915.

178 PCEA A/26, Milne to Arthur, 8th March 1917. Philp relieved the incumbent, Dr. Nunan, so that he could go to the northern province for active service. For one year, Philp was in charge of 271 Europeans, 330 Asians and 851,026 Africans.
three months with the Y.M.C.A. at Moshi in 1916; and the Rev. A.A. Hamilton offered his services for three months in June 1917 to the Carrier Convalescent Camp at the Nairobi Racecourse.

When the order came on March 26th for carrier recruitment in mission schools, missionaries were stunned. For a few days they did nothing. Then at 5.00 a.m. on the morning of April 1st 1917 the solution came to Arthur: Protestant missionaries in Kikuyuland would offer themselves for the Carrier Corps and take with them their own company of carriers recruited in their schools by themselves. In this way he hoped to avoid losing contact with his adherents, to protect them against the horrible fate of the general carrier, and to minister, as conditions permitted, to the spiritual and medical needs of mission youths. This was the genesis of the Kikuyu Missions Volunteer Carrier Corps.

Without wasting any time, Arthur went into Nairobi to discuss his scheme with Lt. Col. O.F. Watkins, Director of Military Labour, Col. John Ainsworth, the Military Commissioner of Labour, and Leakey and Burns of the C.M.S.. The scheme was readily accepted by all; Ainsworth, who had been given a month to raise 40,000 carriers, gave Arthur two weeks to organise a voluntary missions corps. At the end of that period, Tribal Police would move into the Reserves to seize all male Africans between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five until they had secured their quota. Leakey, coincidentally, had devised a similar scheme; he was therefore anxious to cooperate with Arthur to the fullest extent.

179 PEB, Barlow to his mother, 18th June 1916.
180 John Gariock, who had resigned in 1915, attained the rank of Major in the Royal Horse Artillery and was killed in action in France in 1917.
181 AP, Kikuyu Missions Volunteer Corps Diary, 1st April 1917-13th January 1918, entry for April 1st. (Hereinafter referred to as 'K.M.V.C. Diary'.)
182 PCEA A/31, Arthur, circular to all missions, 3rd April 1917.
The next stage was to inform all missions and to urge prompt action in recruiting readers, hearers, catechumens and baptised Christians. Missionaries themselves were now obliged to volunteer. Arthur would be commanding officer of the corps with the rank of Captain; other senior missionaries would become Lieutenants, while missionaries in the lower grades would be appointed as Non-Commissioned Officers. They could be assured that as far as possible both they and the mission youths recruited for the corps would not be broken up at the front.\(^{183}\)

Arthur had acted swiftly and decisively and gained much credit in military and civilian quarters in the Protectorate and, after the initial shock had worn off, in the F.M.C. as well.\(^{184}\) Certain missionaries at Tumutumu were not so well pleased; they felt that Arthur had taken an important decision without first consulting them, and without due regard for the effect upon the mission's work of the prolonged absence of scholars and missionaries.

It is ironical that while for missions as a whole the K.M.V.C. was an exercise in practical cooperation, that spirit of cooperation and harmony of interest was lacking between the two stations of the C.S.M. The opposition party at Tumutumu, was represented by the Rev. A.A. Hamilton and Marion Scott Stevenson, disagreed with Arthur's action on the grounds that Tumutumu had suffered enough already through the disruption of its outschools in 1915. Shortly before Arthur arrived at Tumutumu on April 5th to explain the position, the D.C. at Nyeri had written to Hamilton to say that in view of the 1915 episode Tumutumu would be affected only very lightly by the new Government order for

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\(^{183}\) Ibid.

\(^{184}\) CSP/HLS 7574, McLachlan to Arthur, 5th June 1917.
massive carrier recruitment. 185 But when Arthur arrived, he visited the D.C. and P.C. and told them that as a result of his recent agreement with Watkins and Ainsworth, the position had changed and that Tumutumu, like other missions, was to make the maximum sacrifice. 186

This was the first grievance that the Rev. A.A. Hamilton had against Arthur—that he had unnecessarily overridden the D.C.'s decision to treat Tumutumu as a special case. Both Hamilton and Marion Scott Stevenson condemned Arthur for the recruiting speech which he later made at Tumutumu to all the mission's Africans: Miss Stevenson, because he proposed that the mission's few teachers should volunteer for the corps; 187 and Hamilton, because he felt that Arthur had presented the issue in overstressed, and one-sided moral terms:

"The moral issue was made out to be as clear for them as (it) was for our Lord on the way to the Cross. In other words the issue was: stay and deny the Cross of their Lord, go and walk in the way of the Cross; stay and be a coward, go and be a hero.... Naturally, all who heard the appeal volunteered to a man." 188

As Arthur saw it, he had been inspired by God, and he had presented the case to Africans at Tumutumu as a spiritual calling which drew added significance, or a parable, from the approaching festivities of Easter. It was an unwelcome hardship, which did not ease his personal sorrow at the recent death of his mother, to find that Hamilton was not prepared to keep the issue within missionary terms of reference. But if Hamilton wished to be unsentimental, Arthur could follow suit. There was, he stated, no choice in the matter. Tumutumu could not

185 PCEA A/31, Hamilton to McLachlan, 24th April 1917.
187 PCEA A/31, Marion Stevenson to McLachlan, 23rd April 1917.
expect special dispensation when all other missions were prepared to enter the scheme wholeheartedly. Africans either made the decision to join the Volunteer Corps, or the decision would be made for them by Tribal Police and they would find themselves in the general Carrier Corps where the incidence of mortality was appallingly high. Already, during the last week in March an example had been given of what was to come: Kikuyu, Leakey's station at Kabete and Canon Burn's station at Nairobi had been raided by Government agents acting as recruiters for the Carrier Corps. But the breach remained unhealed, and new troubles were to arise between Kikuyu and Tumutumu after the war. Arthur was disgusted to find that of the two hundred men sent in to Kikuyu by Tumutumu for the Volunteer Corps, all but fifty were Africans from villages who had nothing to do with the mission; and within a few days eighty of them had deserted. He noted, moreover, that Tumutumu had not sent any of its African teachers.

By April 1917 there were about 1,800 Africans camped at Kikuyu who had been drawn from the C.S.M., A.I.M., C.M.S., C.M.S. and, strikingly, from the Holy Ghost Father's mission at St. Austin's. Arthur, Barlow and W.O. Tait had

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189 PCEA A/31, Arthur to McLachlan, 2nd May 1917. The F.M.C. gave their entire sympathy and hearty congratulations to Arthur. (CSP/NLS 7574, McLachlan to Hamilton, 17th July 1917; and CS/FMCMP, 10th July 1917.)

190 After receiving letters explaining their protests from Hamilton and Miss Stevenson, McLachlan remarked that Tumutumu was beginning to regard itself an independent entity, and that this was not to his liking. (CSP/NLS 7574, McLachlan to the Rev. C.W. Hutcheson, Nairobi, 24th July 1917.)


192 Ibid A/30, Father L. Bernhard, St. Austin's to Dr. S.E. Jones, 5th October 1917. Towards the end of 1917 subscriptions were raised to provide Christmas presents for mission carriers. While the Protestant missions thought pencils and slates would make appropriate gifts, the Holy Ghost Fathers suggested comforts such as snuff and tobacco.
volunteered, as had eight missionaries representing other Protestant societies.\textsuperscript{193}

For about a month, the assembled units of the Kikuyu Missions Volunteer Carriers (K.M.V.C.) were camped on the mission estate at Kikuyu. The long wait brought problems of discipline, desertions, hygiene — smallpox broke out on April 18th\textsuperscript{194} — and most of all excitement and unrest amongst the girl boarders of the mission. The proximity of 1,800 males was obviously disturbing\textsuperscript{195} when the K.M.V.C. marched out on May 10th to entrain at Nairobi, half of the fifty-eight boarders went on strike and ran away from the mission. Most of the girls returned before long, but as Mrs. Watson sorrowfully observed, morale remained low for many weeks to come.\textsuperscript{196}

Pending the arrival of a transport ship in Mombasa, the K.M.V.C. stayed in a camp at Mazeras from May 12th to July 4th. There were many desertions, many cases of dysentery and smallpox, several deaths, and much boredom. The men were set to work on quarrying stone and on Government plantations, and all were greatly relieved when the order came for embarkation at Mombasa. The K.M.V.C. travelled by sea to Dar es Salaam, by rail to Dodoma, and from Dodoma to Iringa and Muhanga by foot. They arrived at Muhanga at the end of July and were set to work carrying loads forward, and stretcher cases back from the front, for the Belgian column advancing from Iringa upon Mahenge and Massassi.\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{193} See illustration No. 20. Barlow and Tait went to German East Africa ahead of the K.M.V.C. to serve for a few months with the Kavirondo section of the general Carrier Corps at Lindi. (\textit{AP}, Arthur, circular letter from Mazeras, 17th June 1917.) Barlow was allowed to return to B.E.A. in October 1917 to take his wife to Britain for medical treatment.

\textsuperscript{194} \textit{AP, K.M.V.C. Diary, 18th April 1917.}

\textsuperscript{195} The highest recorded number of Africans enrolled in the K.M.V.C. was 1,800. Of this number about five hundred were adherents of the C.S.M., about nine hundred of the C.M.S., fifty of the Holy Ghost Fathers' mission, and the remainder were drawn from the A.I.M. and C.M.S.

\textsuperscript{196} \textit{Ibid, Mrs. Watson, 'Our volunteer Carriers and those they have left behind', June 1917.}

\textsuperscript{197} \textit{AP, K.M.V.C. Diary, 12th May – 30th July 1917.}
August 1917 was the worst month. Operating in two sections, from Muhanga and Boma Mzinga, the K.M.V.C. carried more than 30,000 loads — far in excess of the official man-load ratio laid down by the Military Labour Bureau — and the result was an alarmingly high incidence of sickness and fifteen deaths. But by comparison to the plight of the general carriers, the K.M.V.C. were extraordinarily well cared for. Some thirty-five of their number, however, who had been left behind in the hospital at Mazeras and who travelled overland to rejoin the K.M.V.C. at Muhanga, experienced the conditions of ordinary carriers. They were part of a column of one hundred and fifty carriers and were brutally lashed by white N.C.O.s on several occasions; when they arrived at Muhanga, only four of them were fit to work.\footnote{199}

On November 21st orders were received to begin the evacuation of Muhanga and Boma Mzinga. In company with 4,500 Kikuyu and Kamba general carriers, the K.M.V.C. marched to Mombo, from which point they continued their journey to Nairobi by rail. The Corps was disbanded on January 16th 1918, having been on service for nine months, six of which were spent in German East Africa. By comparison to the number of recorded deaths in the Carrier Corps,\footnote{200} deaths in the K.M.V.C. were slight. About one hundred men had died of sickness, of whom twenty-five were adherents of the C.S.M..\footnote{201} There was no difficulty over the

\footnote{198 PCEA A/34, Arthur to McLachlan, 21st March 1918; and AP, Arthur, circular letter from Muhanga, 5th September 1917. For an African's account of his experiences with the K.M.V.C., see an article by an A.I.M. adherent called Tagi in the A.I.M. journal, \textit{Africa Inland}, 11, 8th August 1918, 15.}

\footnote{199 AP, Arthur, circular letter from Muhanga, 5th September 1917.}

\footnote{200 The Director of Military Labour, in his report cited above (n.170), estimated the number of deaths of carriers as being ten per cent of a total of 394,880 registered with the Military Labour Corps.}

\footnote{201 Two died at Kikuyu before the K.M.V.C. left for war; five died at the Mazeras camp; fifteen at Muhanga; one at Mombo; and two at Kikuyu in January 1918. (PCEA A/34, Arthur to McLachlan, 21st March 1918.)}
payment of wages, or of compensation to widows, except in cases where men had deserted. 202

Other missions in East and Central Africa had participated in the war, but none in the formalised manner of the British East African Kikuyu missions. In Uganda, seven European missionaries of the C.M.S. served with troops, while most of their scholars joined the African Native Medical Corps or other units and served in the Kagera district of Uganda and in German East Africa. 203 Nyasaland mission youths joined the regular Carrier Corps and suffered heavy casualties; and eight out of seventeen European missionaries of the C.S.M. in Nyasaland saw active service - one, Napier, being killed in Portuguese East Africa in February 1918. 204 Arthur Shearly Cripps, Mashonaland missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, commanded a detachment of carriers at the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. 205 And finally, there was Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar, who for a few months carried a large wooden cross and marched at the head of a tattered

202 Teachers and evangelists, however, received less military pay than they were accustomed to receiving from their employment at missions. In the case of the C.S.M., Arthur and Barlow agreed to make up the difference out of the increased pay which they had received during the war. But for general carriers, as a result of poor quartermastering, the issue of deferred and unclaimed payments lasted from the war to the early 1930s. (For a useful summary of the issue of the 'porter's claim', see Tanzania National Archives, W1/U-19351, H.M.M. Moore to Lord Passfield, Kenya Desp. No.87 of 7th February 1932.)

203 'Effects of the War on the Mission', Uganda 5, 1918-28, 36. See also G.S. Keane and D.G. Tomblings, The African Native Medical Corps in the German East African Campaigns (London, 1921). When the K.M.V.C. embarked at Mombasa for Dar es Salaam in July 1917 they had as shipboard companions four hundred Uganda mission volunteers of the Medical Corps and other units. (AP, K.M.V.C. Diary, 6-7th July 1917.)

204 PCEA A/33, McLachlan to Arthur, 11th June 1918; CSF/NLS 7576, McLachlan to Reid, 12th June 1918; and 7578, McLachlan to Colonial Secretary, 4th July 1919.)

205 See A.S. Cripps, An Africa for the Africans (London, 1927) 149 ff; for some rather bad, but poignant poetry by the same author, see Lake and War: African Land and Water Verses (O.U.P., 1917): 'The Dirge of the Dead Porters', and 'To my Carriers'. 
While resting on a friend's farm after the war, Arthur found time to reflect upon the progress of missionary work. Expressing the view that important new developments were at hand, he wrote as follows to his father:

"One feels at the beginning of things again and after what we have passed through and with this break in the continuity of the work, anything is possible."207

Arthur felt that the experience of Africans of different missions, and of missionaries themselves, during their period of service with the K.M.V.C. had given a new meaning to the cause of Christian unity.208 The spirit of the Alliance had proved its strength; the time had come for action.

In July 1918 a great Conference was convened at Kikuyu which was attended by over a hundred people, among them missionaries of the C.S.M., A.I.M., C.M.S. and U.M.M., together with officials and members of the European public. The purpose was to enter into the Alliance proposed in December 1915.209 Beforehand, the C.M.S. Committee in London and the F.M.C. in Edinburgh had agreed that their missionaries in British East Africa might provisionally enter an Alliance provided that the Constitution adopted differed in no way from that which had formed the

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207 AP, Arthur to his father, 23rd February 1918.
208 "Joint Communion services were held regularly – at one time by an Anglican Officer of the Corps, at another by a Church of Scotland minister – and at these all sat down together at the one Table of our Lord. This campaigning did much to bring the reality of their oneness in Christ Jesus to all concerned, and prepared the way for fresh efforts towards unity when the war ceased. In this Corps also there was a group of some fifty Roman Catholics who attended morning prayers and Church services. Here was the united Church of Africa in action." (J.W. Arthur in Towards a United Church, op.cit., 53.)
209 Only fourteen missionaries at Kikuyu in July 1918 had attended the 1913 Conference. Bishop Peel had died in 1916 and the Rev. Udy Bassett of the Methodist Mission died shortly before the Conference. Bishop Willis, whose area was now within the Diocese of Mombasa, attended, as did Bishop Heywood; and while Arthur represented the C.S.M., the Rev. W.T. Worthington represented the Methodists.
basis of agreement between the C.M.S. and the Church of Scotland in 1916. 210

The outstanding feature of the Conference was the remarkably liberal set of proposals which Bishop Weston – the mistake of failing to invite him was not repeated in 1918 – presented for the basis of a United African Church. 211 Taken completely by surprise, and anxious not to offend the Bishop and so precipitate, perhaps, another crisis, the Conference adjourned to consider the proposals.

On reassembling, the case against the Bishop's proposals was stated succinctly by Hulburt of the A.I.M.. Believing that any attempt at unity which involved the participation of the U.M.C.A. as well as the C.M.S. would make for an increase in the trend towards 'modernism' or undisciplined Biblical interpretation, Hulburt declared that

"no basis which placed the Church above the Word of God, no ritual which would take the place of personal communion, and no ecclesiastical control which limited personal liberty in vital things, or failed to honour the authority conferred by their own churches, was possible." 212

He could, however, accept the basis of the Alliance presently before the Conference.

The Conference then proceeded to adopt the basis of the Alliance, not as the ideal, but as the utmost that was possible at that time. After three days of "prayerful consideration", resolutions were passed which gave the final Constitution to the Alliance. 213 Weston, true to himself, rose at the last moment to protest against the signing of the Constitution by the two C.M.S. Bishops, saying that unity would not be achieved in this manner.

210 FCMA A/33, McLachlan to Arthur, 23rd July 1918.
212 Ibid, 8–9.
213 The full text of the Constitution of the Alliance, as adopted on 26th July 1918, is given in Appendix VI. With minor amendments to the wording, the Constitution was approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in May 1919.
The Constitution was signed by the representatives and delegates of the four major societies and was transmitted to the home authorities for approval. It is interesting to note that in demonstration of their belief, or perhaps their fear, that a purely African United Church was undesirable, the Conference agreed to omit the word Native and to confine themselves in future to discussing a United Church for all races.\textsuperscript{214} Other points of interest arising out of the decisions and deliberations of the Conference include the reaffirmation of the desire for united action in the higher education of Africans,\textsuperscript{215} the appointment of a committee to submit a training scheme for an African ministry, and the suggestion that work amongst women should be placed on an equal footing with that amongst men.

The executive body of the Alliance was a permanent Representative Council.\textsuperscript{216} Almost immediately, the Representative Council found itself involved in the practicalities of life in the Protectorate - African grievances and the growing discord between Europeans and Asians.\textsuperscript{217} It was found to be more effective in secular matters than in the purpose for which it ostensibly stood - the furtherance of the cause of a United Church.

\textsuperscript{214} Arthur in Towards a United Church, \textit{op.cit.}, 59.

\textsuperscript{215} The Conference proposed a united normal school for the coast, highlands and Lake regions of the Protectorate. Of particular interest to Kikuyu missionaries, however, was the discussion - attended by the Director of Education, J.R. Orr - of an Alliance Central Training College at Kikuyu. This was the subject of a smaller Conference held at Kikuyu in October 1919.

\textsuperscript{216} Associated with the Representative Council were the following special Boards: Theological, General Education, Medical, Language, Finance, Native Customs, Women's Work and Survey. Few of them ever met. The Representative Council soon showed itself to be a Nairobi-based body which was of interest more to Kikuyu missions than to any others in the Alliance. Bishop Willis rarely attended its meetings, and the Methodists' representative, likewise, was conspicuous by his absence.

\textsuperscript{217} Emphasising this aspect of the Council's work: Arthur reported in 1919: "The Alliance .... has come to be a potent force in the life of the Protectorate, and the Missions are able through its voice to present a united front to the pressing problems of the day. The Government recognise the Alliance as the spokesman of the Protestant Missionary bodies." (PCEA A/36, Arthur 'General Annual Report', 1919.)
Council of Evangelical Free Churches in England and the deliverance of the
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland – all of which gave clear, if qualified,
blessing to the movement for Christian Reunion. The focus of the Conference
was the United Church. As a major step towards achieving their goal, delegates
to the Conference decided to ask their home authorities to sanction joint
participation in the ordination of African ministers within the Allied churches
so that the ministers so ordained would be fully recognised as ministers in all
the churches concerned. Ordained European missionaries would receive similar
mutual recognition. And finally, it was felt that no United Church was feasible
where inter-communion was impossible without a special religious ceremony, or the
taking of additional vows.

During the months which followed the Conference the question of an Alliance
College, to be built on part of the Kikuyu mission estate, was of more immediate
interest than the United Church. Such a College, especially if it were to have
a joint theological training department attached to it, was felt to be a major
step towards ultimate church union. As ever, when faced with the prospect of
some practical aspect of unity, the A.I.M.'s fear of the dangers of 'modernistic'
teaching was increased.

There was, during 1922, a movement within the A.I.M. which favoured a total

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222 Resolution I, Kikuyu Conference. Resolutions and Events of Important Meeting
(East African Standard, Nairobi, 1922.) Resolutions II and III called for
the representation on the Council of the Alliance of the Governing bodies
of the African churches as distinct from the parent missionary societies,
and for the participation in the Alliance of Africans. The Kikuyu Mission
Council was of the opinion, however, that African participation could only
be considered after the problem of inter-communion had been settled. (KMCM,
7-11th June 1922.)

223 The Church of England's attitude was sympathetic, but it was stated that
church union in Kenya could not be divorced from the wider question at the
home base, and that progress must be cautious. The F.M.C. were a little
more optimistic, intimating to Arthur that both they and the General Assembly
would probably have no difficulty in accepting the Conference's resolution on
African ordination. (KMCM, 30th August and 4th September 1922.)
withdrawal from the Alliance. The movement reached a climax in August when news was received of a secession within the ranks of the C.M.S. supporters in Britain over the issue of 'modernist' interpretations of the Scriptures. A fundamentalist group withdrew to form the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society after a meeting in London in June.224 Encouraged by this mark of protest against liberal elements within the C.M.S., fifty A.I.M. missionaries serving in Kenya and the Congo met at Kijabe during the last week in August to discuss whether they should dissociate themselves from an organisation which drew its main membership from the C.M.S., and from the Church of Scotland whose Divinity teaching was equally suspect.225 The feeling of the Conference was that they could not remain within an Alliance in which their position was threatened.

At a meeting of the Representative Council of the Alliance in Nairobi early in September, Hulburt presented a memorandum setting out the fundamentals of the A.I.M.'s position. Although a modified expression of the sentiments expressed at Kijabe, the memorandum served to halt all negotiations for an Alliance College. It declared unequivocally that the A.I.M. could not envisage real and workable union in a United College unless the home authorities of other societies agreed to send to Kenya only those missionaries who held the position of the Conservative Evangelical party of the Church of England.226 It went on to insist that the staff of the College should adhere to a tripartite statement of faith as a condition

224 Capon, op.cit., 28.
225 Arthur had been forewarned at the Kikuyu Conference in January by the Rev. Mr. Morris, Field Director of the A.I.M. in the Congo, that trouble was brewing within the A.I.M. Both Arthur and Bishop Heywood attended the stormy Conference at Kijabe in August. (PCEA / TT, 'K.M.C. Minutes - Covering Letters', Arthur to McLachlan, 13th September 1922.)
226 Hulburt had expressed this same demand, for the appointment of missionaries who would be acceptable to the A.I.M., as early as 1913. (PCEA A/15, McLachlan to Arthur, 25th July 1913.)
of appointment, and as a further condition of tenure of appointment. 227

The Alliance College thus became the test of the Alliance, and ultimately, the test of the United Church itself. The College had been discussed since 1916, and in 1922 it seemed capable of early inauguration; large sums of money had been provided and negotiations had been opened with Government for a grant-in-aid. To save the College, the Representative Council resolved to recommend the memorandum to the allied societies for transmission to their home authorities as the rule to be adopted in future appointments for the missionary field in Kenya. 228

The reaction in Edinburgh to the A.I.M.'s memorandum and its acceptance by the C.S.M. was a conviction that the Alliance had lost control of the movement for unity. Expressing his personal opinion of the implications in the memorandum, the F.M.C. Convenor stated:

"In their Memorandum the A.I.M. ask practically that, apart altogether from a general expression of adherence to the basis of the constitution of the Alliance, a fresh confessional guarantee be signed by our Church of Scotland missionaries to Kikuyu, that the tenure of office of such missionaries be made to depend upon the tenure of their orthodoxy, and that as to their orthodoxy the Africa Inland Mission must be satisfied before ever they are accepted as missionaries in the Kenya Field. Manifestly no union on such conditions could possibly be considered by the Church of Scotland." 229

Arthur was warned that he had gone too far; he was committing the C.S.M. in Kenya to a credal position inconsistent with the established Faith and Order of the Church of Scotland. The C.M.S., likewise, would not be permitted to narrow down the basis of their belief to satisfy the conservative orthodoxy of

227 The statement of faith was as follows: "the Absolute and Eternal Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ; His substitutional Atonement; the absolute authority and integrity of the Holy Scriptures, as held and interpreted today by the Conservative Evangelical Party of the Church of England." (Alliance Representative Council Minutes (ARCM), 31st August – 2nd September 1922.)

228 At a meeting of the Kikuyu Mission Council on September 4th 1922, the C.S.M. decided to forward the memorandum and the Representative Council's resolution to the F.M.C. for acceptance. (FMCM, 4th September 1922.)

229 The Very Rev. Dr. J.N. Ogilvie in CS/FMCM, 6th March 1923.
the A.I.M. And apart from the demands of the A.I.M. with regard to the Alliance College, it was felt that missionaries in Kenya were forcing the pace towards complete Union. The Church of England had grave problems in connection with Order, the A.I.M. with Faith. The A.I.M. and C.M.S. were societies and, within limits, could frame new regulations as to the credal standing of their missionaries. But the C.S.M. was an organisation of the Church of Scotland, and should not ask what was unconstitutional for the Church to grant. Why, asked Convener Ogilvie, did the Alliance not frankly recognise these difficulties and content itself for the present in working along lines of common service, such as education, which were already open? 230

During the 1920s the proposals for joint participation in ordination, inter-communion and a theological department in the Alliance College were gradually abandoned. But the desire for an Alliance College persisted, and in March 1926 the Alliance High School came into being. In 1924 a Kenya Missionary Council was formed to provide a forum for a wider range of Protestant organisations in Kenya, and to take over from the Alliance its secular concerns. 231 The Alliance itself continued until 1935. But in 1924 the A.I.M. declared that they would only remain within the Alliance so long as they were not asked to touch any scheme for the Alliance College, united ordination or the United Church. 232 Proposals for a United Church were raised briefly in

230 Ibid.
231 One of the promoters of the plan for a Kenya Missionary Council was Dr. Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Commission who felt that the important matter of African education could not adequately be treated by an Alliance which represented only four societies. (FCEA/TT, 'Specials', Arthur memorandum, 'The Phelps-Stokes Commission', 9th April 1924.) In 1943 the Kenya Missionary Council was succeeded by the Christian Council of Kenya.
1922 and again after 1932. But the measure of compromise is revealed in the decision to maintain the Alliance when one of its members was pledged to do "nothing to further the principal cause for which it stood.

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233 See Church Union in East Africa. Record of a Conference held in Nairobi, October 13th and 14th 1932 (East African Standard, Nairobi, 1932); Church Union in East Africa. Proposed Basis of Union, July 1933 (Nairobi, 1933); and Conference on Christian Cooperation, 17th and 18th July, 1935 (Nairobi, 1935). During the 1930s and 1940s, the movement for unity in Kenya drew much encouragement from a similar movement in South India. (See C.S. Neill in Towards a United Church, op. cit., 77-148.)
Chapter Six

PROBLEMS IN A PLURAL SOCIETY

1. Harry Thuku

J.W. Arthur, in a letter to J.H. Oldham of March 1922, stated in wonder that:

"The development of the native peoples of Kenya in one short year and a half is simply past thinking. They are almost now able to safeguard themselves against oppression and exploitation. What is more to be feared is risings led by the young educated Christians and resulting in bloodshed and serious setbacks to their whole life."¹

Arthur was referring, of course, to the recent manifestations of Kikuyu political activity under the leadership of Harry Thuku.

The entry of Africans into the political arena with associations matching those of Europeans and Indians was the logical outcome of two decades of mounting grievances. Discontent with their lot in a colonial environment had been expressed by Africans in a formal way as early as 1912,² had been increased by the heavy demands of war, and reached a climax in the difficult years which followed the conclusion of hostilities. In 1918, to add to suffering endured in the war, there was famine and an epidemic of Spanish influenza, both of which claimed thousands of lives. Conditions thereafter became worse, not better.

The influx of ex-soldiers under a new European settlement scheme increased fears for the security of reserved land, and brought forth new demands for legal

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¹ IMC/H.3.II, 'Native Unrest - Harry Thuku, 1922-3', Arthur to Oldham, 14th March 1922. The Rev. Handley Hooper of the C.M.S. station at Kahuhia expressed a similar opinion: "I do not feel that I'm exaggerating to say that we stand at the cross-roads to rebellion and destruction of all that has gone before in the way of constructive work, or on the other hand ... to determined progress". (Ibid, Hooper, circular letter, 24th January 1922.)

² KNA DC/KBU/3/4, Kimbu District Political Record Book, 1908-1912, M.W.H. Beach, 'The Kikuyu Point of View', 12th December 1912, being a report of a meeting between the D.C. and fifty chiefs and elders at Dagoretti to discuss grievances as to land, labour, taxation and the disrespect towards parents and elders shown by young men.
certificates of ownership. Labour, the most recent abuse of which had been the compulsory recruitment of young Africans for the Carrier Corps, became critical when settlers demanded compulsion by Government officials, an increase in Hut Tax, and a lowering of wages. And there was the hated kipande, or labour identity disc, introduced in 1920 by amendment to the Natives Registration Ordinance of 1915, which was an affront to dignity and a restriction upon personal freedom of movement. The currency change of 1921, in which the old cent pieces were halved in value, hit Africans hardest as they were the holders of the majority of cent pieces in circulation.

While these grievances were shared by all Africans living in proximity to major European settlement areas, there were other disabilities which were felt more keenly by the younger generation of mission-educated youths. Intolerant of the old rules of tribal life, unable to express themselves as their talents demanded, the young men who flocked to towns to take posts with Government and private employers, became increasingly conscious of the limits imposed upon their opportunities in education, and of the gap which divided them from the conservative, loyalist chiefs, headmen and elders of the Reserves. Where the latter were content to express

3 The first written complaint by a Kikuyu against the lack of security to Africans in land tenure appears to be that by Mbiu Koinange in 1914. (M.P.K. Sorrenson, Land Reform in the Kikuyu Country (O.U.P., 1967) 21 and n. 13.)

4 IMO/H.3.I. 'Currency Changes', correspondence between Norman Leys and Leonard Woolf, April 1921. See also protests by Arthur and other missionaires, August and September 1921. The complication in the economic life of Kenya caused by the currency change was held in official quarters to have been a major cause of the depression in 1921 and 1922. (Economic and Financial Committee. Report of Proceedings during 1922, Nairobi, 1922.)

5 The original complaint of Christian, educated youths was that they had no voice in, and could hope for no justice from the kiamas or councils of the chiefs. (BP, 'Minutes of a Conference of Representatives of Native Churches in Southern Kikuyuland, C.S.M., Kikuyu, 5th July 1916.') After the war there were Christian chiefs in the Kenia and Ukamba Provinces, but by then the complaint of the young militants was that the chiefs and councils were too conservative.
grievances through missionaries and district officers, the young men were ready to raise an independent voice.

Out of the political discussion groups which could be found after the war in African quarters of Nairobi such as the Pangani Village, there arose a spokesman - a former adherent of the Gospel Mission at Kambui, a convicted forger and in 1921, a telephone operator in the Treasury - whose name was Harry Thuku wa Kairianja. Although lacking in those qualities of personality and leadership which were later displayed by Johnstone Kamau wa Ngengi, for about a decade Harry Thuku was the popular figurehead of a powerful movement for independent African expression.

Some confusion exists in the testimony concerning the dates on which African political associations in and around Nairobi were formed. It is clear, however,

6 'Native Orators', The Leader of British East Africa, 3rd September 1921.
7 Daudi Basudde, a Muganda who played a role in Nyanza African politics in the early 1920s, was also a telephone operator. Food for thought for followers of Marshall McLuhan. (See Understanding Media (New York, 3rd. Imp. 1964, chapter 27, 'The Telephone'.)
8 Spokesmen for a similar movement around Maseno in Nyanza included Simeon Nyende, Benjamin Owuor Gumba, Jonathan Okwirri and Joel Mshak Omoro. (See K. Okaro Kojwang', 'Origins and Establishment of the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association', B.J. McIntosh (Ed.), Nyano. Studies in Traditional and Modern East African History (Nairobi, 1969) and the forthcoming book by John Lonsdale, A Political History of Western Kenya, 1883-1957.) Note that besides trouble in Nairobi and in Nyanza, there was African unrest over land in Nandi country which led to the arrest of the orkoiyot, Barserion arap Manyei, in 1923. (See P.K. Arap Magut, 'The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoiyot, c.1850-1957', McIntosh, op.cit.)
9 C.G. Hosberg Jnr. and John Nottingham, quote oral evidence that the decision to form a Kikuyu Association was taken in 1919 by headmen living around Kabete, and that it was formed before November 1920 by Paramount Chief Kinyanjui in consultation with chiefs, headmen and senior Christians such as Mbiu Koinange, and Philip Karanja James and Josiah Njonjo of the C.S.M. The East African Association, they say, was the brainchild of Pangani activists such as Thuku, James Njoroge, Jesse Kariki, Job Muchuchu, Mwalimu Hamisi and Abdulla Tairara, and it was loosely organised, possibly earlier than 1921, under a Muganda Secretary who had connections with the Young Baganda Association, and a Nyasa treasurer who worked for the railways. They suggest that the East African Association became a formal, public body in the middle of 1921. Lastly, they
that by July 1921 there existed urban and rural associations, the East African Association and the Kikuyu Association, the one representing youth, education and a degree of inter-tribal and inter-territorial cooperation, and the other, an older generation, less well-educated and confined to southern Kyambu.

Between July 1921, when he emerged as leader of the East African Association and began to send memoranda, resolutions and cables to officials in Nairobi and London, to March 1922, when he was arrested and deported to Kismayu, Harry Thuku became a source of wonder and fear to European officials and missionaries. For the first time a popular African political leader was active in Kenya, touring the Reserves to address thousands of enthusiastic people, issuing a broadsheet under the Swahili title of Tangazo, visiting Ukamba, sending his agents to

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10 For a description of the method used by Thuku to organise mass meetings in the Reserves, see Johnstone Kenyatta, 'An African People rise in Revolt! The Story of the Kenya Massacre', Daily Worker, 20th January 1930.

11 Tangazo simply means a notice, proclamation or advertisement.

12 Thuku was not very successful in Ukamba, nor amongst the Maasai of Ngong. In the case of the latter, however, it came to the attention of Government that Thuku's agents were holding meetings with the Kaputiei Maasai around Ngong in September 1921, and that a Maasai, Temaliyu ole Lelila, had met Thuku and the Indian leader, M.A. Desai. (KNA DC/KAJ 9/1/1, Elliot, D.C. Ngong, to Lumley, Police Department, Nairobi, 5th October 1921.)
21. HARRY THUKU.
confer with the Young Baganda Association, writing to American Negro educationalists, and finally, to the great relief of Europeans, laying himself open to the charge of preaching civil disobedience.

Missionaries in Kikuyuland, while recognising that African grievances were genuine and while promoting their expression through the loyalist Kikuyu Association, were greatly alarmed by the rise of Harry Thuku and the East African Association. Thuku, they believed, was not his own master; he was being manipulated by Indian agitators. And the young Christians who were identifying themselves with Thuku were seen to be misguided, lacking in perspective and judgement, and ignorant of the dangers to themselves which they were courting. Arthur for one was in no doubt that Thuku's message was anti-missionary and anti-European. This is not quite true. Thuku was anti-missionary to the extent that he resented the missionary campaign to debase his reputation by preaching that he was ruining two decades of progress in the Kikuyu country, and he was determined to fight those African leaders of the Kikuyu Association who were closest to the missions and who were

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14 See Sad Bachan Singh, 'When they told me to arrest Harry Thuku', Drum, June 1968.

15 The Kikuyu Association held a public meeting at Dagoretti on June 24th 1921 which A.R. Barlow attended as translator and recorder. A long list of grievances - forced labour, indignities inflicted upon chiefs and headmen, malpractices by Tribal Retainers, the delay in the issue of title deeds to land, the Natives Registration Law, Hut Tax, and the reduction of wages, and the lack of Government schools in Kikuyuland - was written down and was later sent by Harry Thuku to the Secretariat in Nairobi. (IMC/H.3.II, 'Memorandum of Grievances. Important discussions between officials and the Kikuyu Association', enclosed in Thuku to Acting Colonial Secretary, Nairobi, 19th July 1921.)

16 IMC/H.3.II, Arthur to Oldham, 14th March 1922.

failing to help their people by refusing to speak out against Government and settler abuses in land and labour.18

In general it might be said that Harry Thuku enjoyed an enthusiastic following amongst young people throughout the length and breadth of Kikuyu country. This created a problem for missionaries since it was found to be increasingly difficult to retain control over the emotions and loyalties of apprentices and pupils in mission schools. In southern Kyambu, where chiefs, headmen and senior Christians remained loyal to missions and to the Kikuyu Association, the effect of the East African Association was less noticeable amongst young Christians.19 The C.S.M. at Kikuyu and the C.M.S. at Kabete experienced little trouble. But further north, in the Fort Hall and Nyeri districts where the Kikuyu Association held little sway,

18 It is interesting to note that in January 1922 Thuku appealed to Matthew Njoroge, a founder of the Kikuyu Association, to persuade the Association's members around Kabete to join with his own Association in the common task of redressing grievances. If they failed to cooperate - "if you now behave like rotters and are immediately afraid, we of the East African Association shall go ahead until all men know that we are helping them and that we are not seeking greatness at all. All we want is justice for all men". (CO 533/375, Kenya Confidential Despatch No. 18 of 25th January 1922, enclosing Thuku to Njoroge, 23rd December 1921.)

19 The exception in southern Kyambu was Thuku's own home area, the Ngenda location. (KNA DC/KEU/1/15, 'Annual Report, Kyambu District, 1922', 4-5. The D.C. daily observed that the G.M.S. missionary in the area was of little assistance to the Administration in combating Thuku's influence.) And after Thuku's arrest in March 1922, there was a greater degree of enthusiasm for the martyred leader everywhere in southern Kyambu. Although meetings to praise Thuku were clandestine, it was reported to Arthur that at gatherings where the two popular Kikuyu dances - the Mugoyo and Gicukia - were performed, young circumcised girls (airitu) were singing a political song in praise of Thuku. The song, soon banned by Government, began:

"Kinyanjui, Philip Karanja James, Mbiu Koinange, Josiah Njonjo,
A curse be upon you; thanks to you,
The lord of all the circumcised girls -
Those who were once made to work in the coffee -
Has been taken away".

(PCEA 0/1, Arthur to Chief Native Commissioner, 17th November 1922. The reference to coffee in the song was intended to convey the belief that it was Harry Thuku who successfully brought about the end of the system whereby young Kikuyu women were forced out to work on European plantations. Another political song, the Muthirigu, was sung and danced all over Kikuyuland during the political troubles of 1929-30.)
the effects of Thuku's meteoric career were felt more deeply by missionaries. Handley Hooper's station at Kahuhia was a hotbed of emotional enthusiasm for Thuku; the C.S.M. station at Tumutumu was similarly affected.

In February 1922, Harry Thuku's agents began to appear in the Nyeri District. On March 8th, Hope, the D.C. at Nyeri was informed by a Consolata missionary at Baricho that the agents had been publicising a political meeting to be held at Gakendu Market during the second week in March. The D.C. wired Nairobi to stop Thuku coming to Nyeri but was told not to interfere with the meeting since the Police were compiling evidence which would very shortly be used to arrest and deport Thuku. Warning Philp at Tumutumu about the proposed meeting, the D.C. requested that a reliable boy should be sent from the mission to hear what Thuku had to say.20 The D.C. also wrote to Arthur expressing disquiet about the support for Harry Thuku amongst the younger Christians at Tumutumu, and suggested that he should visit the area himself. Arthur was glad to respond to this invitation since a few weeks earlier Philip Karanja James, a Government Chief, had been poorly received in the Nyeri District during a tour to preach loyalty to the Government.21

Philp thought Arthur unwise to visit Tumutumu, and felt that such a visit, following the abortive tour of Nyeri by Philip Karanja James, could only serve to give Thuku a great deal of publicity and encouragement. It is interesting to note that Philp regarded Thuku as a greater menace to Kikuyu than to Tumutumu. He admitted that he had recently lost thirty junior apprentices who, taking their lead from Chief Gideon Gatere, a Tumutumu Elder, had made no secret of their liking for Thuku and had been dismissed for failing to comply with Philp's order against holding

political meetings. But apart from Gideon and these young men, Paramount Chief Wambugu and Tumutumu's senior Christians had remained loyal to the Government.22

Philp went on to explain why Chief Philip Karanja James was poorly received in Nyeri. Not only was he a stranger to the district - and there are marked differences even today between the northern and southern Kikuyu - but he was suspected of concealing his true relationship with Harry Thuku. The measure of Arthur's problem, according to Philp, was that his supposedly-loyal Christian chief and pillar of the Kikuyu Association, had been in league with Thuku since 1919.23 Philp suspected that Arthur was trying to bring Harry Thuku back into the Christian loyalist fold, and warned him that he had heard that Thuku was bragging to people in Fort Hall of how Dr. Arthur had helped him the most.

For Arthur's consideration, Philp related further information conveyed to him by his senior Christians: in 1919 the Kikuyu political movement began under the guidance of a European; there was at that time a heavy collection of money in southern Kikuyuland and Philip Karanja James gave Rs.500; later, the money fell into Thuku's hands and the relationship between Thuku and Philip Karanja began to deteriorate; towards the end of 1921 Philip Karanja wrote to Paramount Chief Wambugu and asked him to bring as many mission boys as he could to a meeting at Thika at which he and Thuku would preside;24 and finally, "Harry Thuku and Philipo Karanja invited our boys to sign a document, Wambugu aloof' but refused to show them

22 PCEA/TT, 'Tumutumu Annual Reports', Philp, Report for 1922. Most of the apprentices were later readmitted to the mission.

23 PCEA/TT, 'Letters to Dr. Arthur', Philp to Arthur, 12th March 1922. As amidst the conflicting mass of oral and written testimony concerning Harry Thuku there is no means for the present of extracting the true story of events, Philp's information is related purely as an interesting and novel insight into the Kikuyu political movement of the early 1920s,

24 There were two mass meetings at Thika in 1921, one on July 25th and the other in December. It is probable that Philp's informants were referring to the first meeting.
what was in it. Our boys and Wambugu refused. They also accuse Philip of concealing certain other papers - which information he shared with Harry Thuku. They in fact accuse Philip of double-dealing and of aiming like Harry Thuku at becoming paramount chief of the Kikuyu". 25

Before this could develop into an open conflict between Philip and Arthur, Harry Thuku was arrested and Philip Karanja James retained his reputation in European circles as a leading opponent of Thuku’s brand of proto-nationalism. 26 In public, at a meeting of the Convention of Associations in April 1922, Arthur praised the police for taking strong action to disperse the riot which had taken place outside Thuku’s cell on Thursday March 16th. 27 More than twenty people were killed. In private, Arthur had said that he thought the police had mismanaged the situation and had opened fire needlessly. 28

Although the Kikuyu political movement remained submerged for a few years after Thuku’s arrest, the events of 1921 and 1922 had come as a great shock. Missionaries did not believe that Africans knew their own minds, yet hundreds of mission adherents had gladly responded to Thuku’s spirit of independency. The experience convinced missionaries that they must work harder to achieve much-needed reforms in African conditions of life, and that more than ever before, Africans were in need of close missionary supervision and control.

25 PCEA/TT, ‘Letters to Dr. Arthur’, Philip to Arthur, 12th March 1922. Thuku was known to have exalted his own family, the Gathirimu, as the "royal" family from which an educated replacement for Kinyanjui ought to be drawn. (Rosberg and Nottingham, op. cit., 37.)

26 In 1924 Philip Karanja James was tried for corruption. Arthur persuaded the Court to deal leniently with him, "because of all he did for Government in 1922 during the Thuku troubles". (PCEA A/37, Arthur to A.J. Hopley, 7th July 1924. See also PCEA G/1, ‘Chief Philip Karanja’s Case’.)


Meanwhile a challenge had arisen to missionary control and to British civilisation in Kenya—or so it was felt—in the form of radical Indian politics. There was no doubt in the missionary mind that Harry Thuku would never have become a popular hero had he not been backed by Indian agitators. The time had come for a closing of the ranks within the European community; settler, missionary and official must unite to defend African interests and to preserve a Christian British colony in Kenya.

2. The Indian Question

On the evening of February 2nd 1923 a secret meeting took place at the Nairobi residence of Bishop Heywood. The Governor's private secretary, Major Dutton, asked missionaries of the C.S.M. and C.M.S. to send a cable to their home boards in Edinburgh and London requesting an immediate public statement condemning Indian demands in Kenya. The F.M.C. and the C.M.S. Committee felt unable to comply with this request since both had missions in India as well as in Kenya; but a beginning had been made in Nairobi towards direct missionary involvement in the crisis over the position of Indians.

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29 Information supplied by the late Mr. A.R. Barlow, interview, 30th November 1964. The cable, signed by Bishop Heywood, the Chairman of the Church of Scotland Mission Council and the Secretary of the C.M.S., read as follows: "Regarding new franchise proposals Kenya Colony, we strongly urge active support to proposed restriction of immigration for the sake of white races. We are convinced the development industrial and otherwise of African seriously jeopardized unless this safeguard provided. Immediate action essential". The cable was sent by Major Dutton, who took special precautions to ensure that it remained a secret. While McLachlan referred the cable to the Empire Problems Sub-Committee of the Church and Nation Committee who prepared a memorandum for the Colonial Office, sympathetic to the C.S.M.'s position in Kenya, but phrased in terms wider than those of purely missionary propaganda, Manley of the C.M.S. Committee in London had an interview with an official in the Colonial Office and showed him the cable from Nairobi. (CSP/NLS 75859, McLachlan to Arthur, 7th February 1923; to Manley, 9th and 15th February 1923; and to Oldham, 9th March 1923.)

30 Some of the information in this section was included in a paper read by the author to Conference in December 1968 of the Makerere Institute of Social Research under the title of 'Kenya 1923: The Political Crisis and the Missionary Dilemma.'
Since the war years, when European settlers achieved the right to elect representatives to the Governor's War Council, the major objective of the Convention of European Associations had been an elective Legislature leading to responsible self-government. In January 1922, hopes of realising this objective were raised by an address given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Winston Churchill, to the East African dinner in London. But the major obstacle was the Indian community. Settlers believed that demands for equal status as fellow-citizens of the British Empire were merely a cover for sinister Indian designs to dominate Kenya politically and demographically. Hence, in face of the various attempts made by the Colonial Office in post-war years to find an equitable solution to what had become known as the 'Indian Question', settlers insisted that no settlement could be made which ignored the four points of their 'Irreducible minimum': enforced racial segregation, restricted Indian immigration, the preservation of the 'white highlands' and the withholding of the franchise from Indians.

When in September 1922 news reached Kenya of the Wood-Winterton proposals for the settlement of the Indian problem - proposals which rejected all points in the 'irreducible minimum' save for the sanctity of the 'white highlands' great excitement was generated amongst the settlers. The plan for 'direct action' which grew out of their excitement was described as follows by one settler:

"We out here were quite prepared to go to extremes had the home Government refused to consider our claims. General Wheatly was appointed military adviser to the Vigilance Committee and every district had its 'A' Group consisting of settlers who were prepared to go armed to any part of the Colony and its 'B' Group consisting of those who were prepared to look after the farms and interests of the men in 'A' Group. I joined 'A' Group but was afterwards chosen to command 'B' Group. As leader of this, had things come to a head and 'A' Group been called out, I should have had to see that the natives were kept in order and put women and children in safety should trouble have come. There was some fear that, taking advantage of so many settlers being away from their farms, the native might have become a bit truculent and started a bit of cattle stealing ...."

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31 Reported in The Times, 28th January 1922.
32 PP, Paice to his mother, 8th August 1923.
'Direct action', first threatened in 1921 in response to the resolution of the Imperial Conference in London concerning equal citizenship throughout the Empire, involved the kidnapping of the Governor, the driving of Indians from the country and an entry into an alliance with the Union of South Africa. The reaction in India to the news that Kenya settlers were taking up arms was immediate, and, in the opinion of Charles Freer Andrews, threatened a disaster which was only narrowly averted by the summoning of all parties to London.\(^{34}\)

Between December 1922 and March 1923 the Colonial Office and the Kenya Government were constantly in touch in an effort to find a workable solution to the crisis. While the negotiations were kept secret both in Britain and in Kenya, Governor Coryndon, out of sympathy with the settler position and out of concern to avert the threat of rebellion, kept Lord Delamere and other leaders of the Convention of Associations informed as to the nature of the Colonial Office despatches.\(^{35}\)

Delegations representing official, Indian and European interests in Kenya and India had been summoned to London. Before they left, the Governor and the Convention leaders agreed that as a first step towards the solution of the crisis they must present a united European opposition to Indian demands. The Colonial Office was under strong pressure from India to secure a settlement satisfactory to Indians

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33 C.F. Andrews, letter to the Times of India, 14th March 1923; and FP, Paice to his mother, 29th September and 23rd October 1921.

34 Andrews, India and Britain (London, 1935) 122. Charles Freer Andrews, member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and personal friend of Mahatma Gandhi, visited Kenya in 1920, and again in 1921, at the request of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, President of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association. (See Andrews, The Indian Question in East Africa, Nairobi, 1920.) In 1923 Andrews was a member of the delegation from India to consult with the Colonial Office on the Kenya crisis.

35 FP, Barlow, 'The Political Situation', handwritten notes on the Indian Question, 15th February 1923.
at the risk of forcing India to separate off from the Empire.\textsuperscript{36} Hence, the Colonial Secretary had to be persuaded that the risk of offending India was the lesser of the two evils. Kenya Europeans had to convince him that a greater danger existed to African interests by submitting to Indian demands. Indians, regardless of whether or not they had political designs upon Kenya, would swamp the country, and gain control of Legislative Council and Municipal Councils. Christian, western civilising influences on Africans would be destroyed. Further, if the British Government was prepared to sacrifice Kenya for the sake of India, European settlers would rebel. Britain would lose a colony either way.

In bringing this message effectively home to the Colonial Office, the Governor and Convention leaders needed an ally—one who could truly be said to represent African interests and opinion. Missionaries had therefore to be included in the European delegation to London. There they would testify to the evil influence of Indians upon Africans. They would remind the Colonial Secretary that Christianity and British civilisation were at stake. And they would show how African interests would suffer if settlers were forced into rebellion.

After the failure of Major Dutton's secret mission to C.M.S. House in February 1923, Sir Robert Coryndon and Delamere saw that they must invite the participation of a Kenya missionary in their delegation to London. The anti-Indian sentiments of Protestant missionaries had already been conveyed to them in person by Arthur, and so they were optimistic that their proposal would receive a warm response.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36} See Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, 21st October 1920, No.1 in Cmd.1311 (1921), Correspondence regarding the position of Indians in East Africa (Kenya and Uganda); "It is our duty to impress upon you that public opinion throughout India regards the case of Indians in East Africa as a test of the position of India in the British Empire".

\textsuperscript{37} Arthur, Barlow and Canon Burns had met the Governor and Delamere at Government House in February. Speaking unofficially, Arthur had said that missionaries were against unrestricted Indian immigration, and against giving Indians any voice in the Government of Kenya. Sir Robert Coryndon intimated that he would send a copy of Arthur's statement to the Colonial Office where, he was sure, it would carry its due weight. (IMC/H.3.II, Arthur to Oldham, n.d., but received in London March 3rd 1923.)
During the first week in March, Major Dutton attended a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Representative Council of the Alliance. He presented the Governor’s request that missionaries should deliberate the Indian question, not so much from the political point of view, but in so far as it affected African interests. As if to make the meeting truly representative of all missions in Kenya, the Representative Council had invited the Roman Catholic missionary, Father Foley to be present. While the Council as a whole agreed that Indians in Kenya presented a menace to African interests, Father Foley abstained from making any comment out of consideration of the adverse effect such deliberations and resolutions would have on Catholic missionary work in India. He withdrew from the meeting. The Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, showed less concern for the possibility of a reflex action in India, and cheerfully agreed to appoint a representative to go to London as spokesman for the Africans and to state the case against Indians.  

Clearly, Arthur was the man for this task, and it was not long before the Alliance appointed him as their representative. To ensure that he could speak authoritatively for Protestant missionaries as a whole, Arthur prepared a questionnaire for general circulation. Amongst the many leading questions posed in the document, the following are a selection:

"Is the influence of the Indians as a whole a morally uplifting influence on the natives?"

"Have Indians as a whole a reputation for honesty and straight dealing amongst the natives?"

"Have you ever heard Indians advocate education and medical treatment for the native, or the development of his reserves, with a view to his uplift and enlightenment?"

"Have any movements of unrest amongst natives been due to Indian influences?"

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38 ARCH, 6-7th March 1923, Minute One: 'The Political Situation'. It was understood that Government would pay the expenses of the missionary delegate to London.
"Have Indians done anything to assist natives in legitimate grievances? If so, what was their motive?"

"What is your opinion on the claim for self-government by Europeans?"[39]

The response was overwhelmingly anti-Indian. There could be no doubt that the majority of missionaries in Kenya felt that the presence of Indians hindered African development and that submission to Indian demands would be a disaster for the future of Africans and missionaries alike.

The C.S.M. had always been committed to opposing unrestricted immigration of "low-class" Indian artisans into Kenya. This attitude was the logical consequence of the premium placed on technical education and the preparation of Africans for their role in the country as the skilled and semi-skilled labour force. From an early date, this attitude was found to be in harmony with the policy of white settlers which aimed at restricting the inflow of Indians in order to safeguard the ideal of a white man's country.

Clement Scott actively promoted the beginnings of European politics and commerce and found no difficulty in associating himself with the resolution of the first Colonists' Association which stated that

"... the further immigration of Asiatics into the country is entirely detrimental to the European settler in particular, and to the native inhabitant generally".[40]

By 1910, when, under Henry Scott, the C.S.M. had apprenticeship training schemes in agriculture, carpentry, masonry and medical work, the presence in increasing numbers of Indian artisans was seen to be a threat to the future of missionary work. Virulently anti-Indian statements were made by Scott in response to the call

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[40] FOCG Africa No.22, Committee of Europeans meeting at Wood's Hotel, Nairobi, to Sir Charles Eliot, enclosed in Eliot to Lansdowne, 21st January 1902. See also above, Pp. 170-72.
by A.M. Jeevanjee, nominated Indian representative in the Legislative Council, for increased Indian immigration. In a letter to Sir Percy Girouard, Scott declared:

"I consider that the presence of the low-class Indian in such numbers as we have them today, is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the native races. Not even Mr. Jeevanjee dare claim that the Indian's presence has bettered the condition of the native. All evidence points in the other direction".41

He deplored the fact that all the semi-skilled labour of the Protectorate was in Indian hands and accused Indians of having introduced a low moral tone and dishonesty in commercial dealings all over the country.42 In Nyasaland, by contrast, "the native has been trained to perform the whole of the skilled labour under European supervision".43 As Scott saw it, settlers wished to reduce the numbers of Indians in the Protectorate, Government also, but the latter were afraid to act officially against Indians out of fear of attracting adverse publicity. The solution was obvious to Scott: Government must increase the subsidies to missionary schools so that missions could more effectively train African artisans whose very number would be reason enough for excluding Indians.44

41 PCEA A/9, Scott to Girouard, 9th November 1910.
42 The C.M.S., similarly, fearful of the moral effect of Indians upon Africans, urged Scott to join with them in petitioning the Governor to prohibit Arabs and Indians apprenticing Africans under the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1910. (PCEA A/6, C.M.S. Secretary to Scott, 23rd March 1910.)
43 PCEA A/9, Scott to Girouard, 9th November 1910. Even in general storekeeping, settlers in Nyasaland by 1909 were calling for the exclusion of Indians. In the Blantyre area, for example, after several 'Banyan' traders went bankrupt and caused a loss to Europeans of £8,000, the cry went up for mission-educated Africans as petty storekeepers. (PCEA A/4, Reid to Scott, 10th May 1909.)
44 Ibid, Scott to McLachlan, 22nd February 1911. Although Government's subsidy was never regarded by missionaries as adequate, it was a source of gratification to Scott and others to note that Government had ignored J.N. Fraser's recommendations of 1909 to award educational subsidies to all three major races, and had confined themselves to assisting European, and African technical schools. (PCEA A/5, Hobley to Scott, 15th October 1909.)
A more positive aspect of the relationship between the C.S.M. and Indians is to be found in the history of mission hospitals. From as early as 1908 it had been the practice at Kikuyu to accept Indians as patients in the mission hospital and to give them the same facilities and treatment as were given to Africans. In June 1917, a prominent Indian leader in Nairobi, M.A. Desai, proposed that if the C.S.M. would lease a part of its land, the Indian community would erect a hospital and pay the costs of treatment, drugs and the services of the mission's hospital staff.* The initial reaction of the Mission Council to the idea of a hospital, exclusively for Indians and bound in perpetuity to their service, was unfavourable. It was possible, however, with the closing down of the extension to the hospital which had been built for African soldiers and carriers in 1916, to offer increased accommodation for Indians. After the war, for economic reasons rather than in response to Christ's command to work for the good of all nations, the C.S.M. was obliged to accept Indian grants for the erection of purely Indian wards at Kikuyu and Tumutumu.*

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45 PCEA A/29, M.A. Desai to C.S.M. Hospital, Kikuyu, 25th June 1917. The problem was, as Desai pointed out, that hospital facilities for Indians in British East Africa were so inadequate that many people travelled as far as Kampala for treatment. (Ibid A/30, Desai to Chairman, C.S.M. Council, 23rd August 1917.)

46 KMCM, 26th July 1917.

47 PCEA A/32, S.E. Jones to Desai, 30th July 1917.

48 KMCM, 27th-31st December 1921, and 30th August to 4th September 1922. The economic necessity for increased medical work amongst Indians arose from Government's decision to curtail grants-in-aid to mission hospitals. Dr. Philp was extremely popular with the Indian community in Nyeri on account of his services to Indians as Medical Officer for the Kenia Province during the war, and his unfailing courtesy and assistance in the years which followed. On Philp's retirement from the mission in 1930, Camur-ud-Deen, leader of the Indian community in the Nyeri district, presented a cheque for £150 for the Tumutuma Hospital and read a farewell address which was later printed on satin and framed. Philp's attitude, said Deen to Arthur, was "compensation for the unfortunate racial feelings and the consequent differentiation of treatment which exists in some quarters of this Colony". (PCEA/TT, 'Specials', Camur-ud-Deen to Arthur, 18th June 1930.)
Encouraged by an Imperial Government in the 1890s to settle in British East Africa, Indians by 1906 found it advisable to protect their interests through the formation of a political association. A.M. Jeevanjee, president of the Mombasa Indian Association—a body which had existed since 1900—summoned a mass meeting in Nairobi in April 1906, went to London to make direct representations to the Imperial Government, and in 1907 pioneered the formation of the British East Africa Indian Association. Undistinguished except for A.M. Jeevanjee's controversial appeal of 1912 for the annexation of British East Africa to the British Indian Empire, Indian political activity remained largely ineffective until after the war. From 1918 the East African Indian National Congress—originally formed in Mombasa in March 1914—became a truly East African organisation and was linked to the parent Congress in India; under the leadership of M.A. Desai, it changed the 'Indian Question' from a local affair into an issue of imperial significance.

There is an interesting letter in Edinburgh House (IMC) in the file marked 'Kenya—Indians', written in 1919 or 1920 by Sandbach Baker to A.M. Jeevanjee, in which it is stated that the Imperial Government regarded the building of a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria as a useful means of relieving India of her surplus population. In 1892 Sir F. Freegard, General McDonald and Sir Gerald Portal consulted Chambers of Commerce in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham. Baker and James Hutton, Chairman of the Cotton Growers' Association, represented the Manchester Chamber and advised the Government's delegation that the railway should be built to "relieve the congested districts of India". While the building of the railway undoubtedly encouraged and facilitated Indian settlement in British East Africa, it should be noted that of the 32,000 Indians employed for railway construction only 6,724 remained as permanent settlers. (J.S. Mangat, 'Indian Settlement in East Africa, c.1886 to 1945', University of London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1967, 88–89.)


A.M. Jeevanjee, An Appeal on Behalf of Indians in East Africa (Bombay, 1912.)

Mangat, op. cit., 233. A useful collection of documents and pamphlets of the East African Indian Congress is to be found in the Research Project Archives of the History Department, University College, Nairobi, in files marked RPA/UCN D/2/1 and D/2/1(1).
The growth of effective, radical Indian politics coincided with a period of major advance and expansion in missionary work. Education was in greater demand than ever before, and both Government and settlers had endorsed the policy of technical training for Africans in mission schools. A greatly increased number of trained Africans would soon enter the labour market, yet in 1919 it was noted by missionaries that the Indian voice for unrestricted immigration had reached a new level of stridency.

The Alliance of Missionary Societies—the effective mouthpiece of missionary sentiments towards the Indian threat to African interests—held as a major article of policy that "it is with the native inhabitant and the European ruler and colonist that the future of East Africa will mainly have to do". In 1921, at a meeting of the Alliance, convened to discuss the Indian demand for the franchise, the following statement was minutèd:

"The members of the Standing Committee strongly believe that the Indian influence on the native is bad and view with grave apprehension any administrative power being placed in the hands of Indians".

Shortly afterwards, the Council of the C.S.M. prepared a minute for the F.M.C. which, if approved by them, would be sent to Oldham, the Aborigines Protection Society and the Colonial Office.

The Council's minute, which endorsed the Alliance's view, and proposed restrictions on Indian immigration, reveals the way in which missionaries rationalised...
their role in the colony, and the relationship to that role of Indian demands for equal status with Europeans. Missionaries, in partnership with a British colonial Government and with Christian white settlers, held a sacred trust for the material, spiritual and intellectual uplift of Africans. No member of another race or culture, be he Christian or otherwise, could be permitted to share in the exercise of this trust.

Indian assistance to Harry Thuku — money, motor transport, a printing press and expert political advice — was regarded as a direct challenge to the sacred trust. It was bad enough that the very people for whom the trust was held thought that they could speak for themselves, but that Indians should encourage them could not be tolerated. Harry Thuku had become a hero because Desai, Mangal Das, Varma and others had feted, garlanded and financed him. And for this, missionaries were not prepared to forgive Indians.

58 Not even Goans, who were Christians, would be regarded as worthy of participation in the trust. (See above p. 171.) It is interesting to note, however, that in 1901 there was a Christian Indian railway inspector at Kabete who was carrying out energetic and voluntary work as an evangelist amongst the Kikuyu. (Proc. C.M.S., 1901-2, 107.)

59 See Mangat, op.cit., 243-4; and Keith Kyle, 'Gandi, Harry Thuku and early Kenya Nationalism', Transition, 27, 1966; and the files marked, 'Correspondence, 1922', and 'Correspondence with Kenya and Uganda Governments, 1921', in the Nairobi office of the former Kenya Indian Congress. While Thuku agreed, in recognition of Indian assistance, to insert a pro-Indian plank in his political platform, he is said to have warned the Indian leaders in Nairobi that Africans must be given equality of status in India. (IMC/H.3.II, Hooper to Oldham, 29th March 1922.)

60 "... we in the highlands of Kenya cannot forget the part the Indians played in the Harry Thuku movement which would never have been what it became but for the Indian agitators." (PCEA A/37, Arthur to the Rev. W. Paton, 22nd August 1924.)
From the beginning of 1922, missionaries adopted a more aggressive attitude towards the Indian problem. Many of their number spoke out against Indian claims and left settlers in no doubt where their sympathies lay. They shared the settlers' view that the Indian demands constituted a threat of political domination. Barlow summarised the problem thus:

"It is not a local problem merely concerned with the grievances and status of local Indians. They are economically free now; they also have areas of land set aside for colonisation by them which they have left untouched. It is not an economic question; but political and imperial. We are 'up against' India's aspirations. It may even be the commencement of the alleged impending conflict between East and West, between which Africa, practically open and undeveloped lies as a possible bone of contention between the two."

Opinions such as this were common at a time when rumour and speculation were rife. No one could prove that Indians in Kenya — or in India — had political ambitions; and no one could tell just how far the Colonial Office would go towards meeting Indian demands. At such a time, fear, prejudice and pessimism were stronger than logic, self-control and 'Christian' feeling.

Officially, the Alliance deplored the settlers' proposal to mount a 'loyal' rebellion should the Colonial Office not agree to their demand for restricted Indian immigration. But amongst themselves, missionaries agreed that in the event

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61 The tone of C.S.M. Council Minutes to the F.M.G. at this time was uncompromising — so much so that McLachlan refused to associate his Committee publicly with them for fear of a reaction in India. He was, however, entirely in sympathy with the sentiments expressed in the Minutes. (CSP/NLS 7853, McLachlan to Arthur, 14th March 1923.)


63 BP, Barlow, 'The Political Situation', 15th February 1923.

64 "... direct action in the present circumstances is justifiable; the immediate effects upon the minds of the natives would be fraught with great danger of unsettlement, if not chaos; and the effects in the future, with such an example of direct action before them would be deplorable". (Text of a resolution, for submission to Delamere through the Governor, prepared at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Alliance, second week in February, quoted in BP, Barlow to Philp, 18th February 1923. See also PCEA A/37, Barlow to Chairman, Dagoretti Branch of the Convention, 24th February 1923.)
of rebellion they would adopt a passive attitude and follow the Governor's advice to "try and keep the natives calm". They blamed the Indians for placing settlers in a position where to defend themselves they had to resort to unconstitutional methods. British prestige was at stake. Christian civilisation had been established by British capital and enterprise; it was the best civilisation available for Africans and it did not require Indian assistance.

In their desire to avert the twin dangers of Indian political domination and a settler rebel government, Kenya missionaries found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. While Arthur's memorandum and questionnaire of March 1923 had revealed a universal desire to oppose Indian claims, it had also revealed a division of opinion on the question of self-government for British colonists. Few missionaries were against self-government in principle. Not all were agreed that it was the immediate solution to the crisis. Settlers, however, had stated that an unofficial majority in Legislative Council was the very least they would accept in return for their agreement to a solution of the Indian problem. And having agreed to send Arthur to London - a political imperative in view of the threat of 'direct action' - missionaries had thereby greatly strengthened the settlers' position.

The missionaries' dilemma thus revolved around the choice of a political future for Kenya which would guarantee their paramount influence over African development. If under self-government settlers continued to demand forced labour, lower wages and more land from the Reserves, African resentment would continue to grow and missionary work would be endangered. At the same time they firmly believed

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65 BP, Barlow to Philp, 18th February 1923.
that Kenya must develop as a colony in which European capital and enterprise would continue to play a leading role. The question of self-government was therefore one of timing and degree. But in the face of the settlers' impatience on this point, and their determination to make self-government the solution to the crisis, missionaries were unable to give Arthur a clear mandate on how far he should support the settlers in London.

3. Arthur's Dilemma

During May 1923, when delegates from Kenya and India were gathered in London, two points were established. The first was that the formulation of a 'native policy' was a prerequisite for the settlement of the dispute between Europeans and Indians. And the second was that Lord Delamere, C.K. Archer, and T.A. Wood of the Convention of Associations had no friend in London save Arthur.

Towards the end of May, Delamere laid certain proposals before Arthur which, while securing to the settlers their major point of an unofficial majority in Legislative Council, were designed to reassure missionaries over the safety of African interests. Native territories were to be demarcated and held in trust for Africans by the Governor as High Commissioner. Legislative Council, with a European unofficial majority, would have no territorial jurisdiction over African lands. It would have the power to legislate in African affairs, particularly with regard to taxation and labour; but its power in this respect would be limited by the Colonial Secretary's right of veto only until it was considered that the local legislature was capable of handling Native Administration by itself. Indians would be given an area of land which was closed to Europeans and the privilege of electing two members to the Legislative Council on the basis of communal representation.
There were to be no restrictions on suitable European immigration. And if all the foregoing were granted there would be no need to enforce stringent control over Indian immigration.66

Using these proposals as a guideline, and after consultation with Bishop Willis who happened to be in London at that time, Arthur prepared a modified set of proposals. On the voyage from Mombasa to London he had told Delamere that the two things Africans cared most about were the safety of their land and their resistance to Indian claims. He was pleased, therefore, to note that the settlers in framing their proposals had remembered his words, particularly with regard to the land question. But he wanted stricter control of Indian immigration. He also insisted on observing the principle of territorial segregation of races when African lands were being demarcated and when an area of land was given to Indians. He was inclined to examine the question of Native Administration more closely, suggesting a system of Native Councils, a Native Affairs Board,67 and missionary representation of African interests on Legislative and Executive

66 BP, Arthur, letter from London, 2nd June 1923. Arthur wrote a series of confidential circular letters summarising his activities in London during the negotiations for a settlement of the Kenya crisis. These letters are the major source for this section.

67 The original suggestion for a Native Affairs Board, on which missionaries and settlers would serve with officials, had come from the Alliance, and more particularly from Arthur himself. At a meeting of the Convention of Associations in Nairobi in March 1922 Arthur had pointed out that such a Board was a safeguard against the recurrence of the troubles recently experienced in connection with Harry Thuku. While the Principal Labour Inspector, S.F. Deok, felt that missionaries would lose their influence with Africans by serving with settlers on the Board, Delamere felt that if he were associated on the Board with missionaries like Arthur, "it would make for a native policy such as had never been seen in the past". (Reported in the Leader, 1st April 1922.) In October 1922 the Convention reaffirmed its desire for a Native Affairs Board, and in February 1923, Arthur warmly recommended the proposal to J.H. Oldham of the International Missionary Council. (Lord Francis Scott Papers (LFSF), File XV, 'Convention of Associations', memorandum on the proposed Board presented at a meeting beginning October 16th 1922; and IMC/H.3,II., Arthur to Oldham, n.d., but received London, 3rd March 1923.)
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22. Dr. Arthur
Councils. These were minor alterations aimed at securing to missionaries a permanent place in African development. The major modification suggested by Arthur was the withholding for the present of an unofficial majority in Legislative Council for Europeans. Arthur himself was not opposed to it. The major concessions made by the settlers with regard to the demarcation of African land and the veto in Native Affairs reserved for the Colonial Secretary appeared to him to have removed the basis for missionary concern. But he could not allow his personal opinion to guide him in his final decision. 68

At lunch with J.H. Oldham on June 1st, Arthur outlined the settlers' proposals and explained his own modifications. Oldham admitted that the modified proposals were a reasonable solution to the crisis which had arisen. But while admitting the danger to Africans of unrestricted Indian immigration, Oldham felt that the settlers, and not the Indians, were the immediate and more serious problem. He, Lord Lugard, the Archbishop of Canterbury and members of the Round Table 69 tended to view the problem from another standpoint — namely, that the whole of Kenya was African, and that if any lands were to be demarcated it was those of the settlers. The solution, said Oldham, might lie in reducing the Colony to include only European lands, in granting settlers self-government, while African lands would be administered by the Crown and joined eventually in a federation of African states with Uganda, Tanganyika and Nyasaland. 70

69 For the formation and activities of the Round Table, see the papers of Philip Henry Kerr, Marquis of Lothian, in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, GD/40, 'Lothian/Newbattle Muniments'.
70 BP, Arthur, letter from London, 2nd June 1923. This, essentially, was Lugard's proposal for the settlement of the Kenya crisis. Lugard had already submitted his proposals to W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, towards the end of May. (CO 533/307, Lugard to Ormsby-Gore, 27th May 1923, enclosing 'Memo re "The Kenya Question"'). Expanding upon the theme of British trusteeship for African peoples, as set out in his book, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London, 1922), Lugard suggested separate areas for
On the evening of the same day, Arthur dined with the settlers at Delamere's Grosvenor Place residence. He outlined his modifications to their proposals and intimated the direction in which Oldham and others were moving. The settlers were keenly disappointed. Their proposals hinged upon the granting of an unofficial majority, and it was clear that they expected more gratitude from Arthur for having made substantial concessions to missionary and African interests. To remind him of the delicacy of the position, Delamere stated that unless settlers received security through an unofficial majority in Legislative Council, they would go into an alliance with the Union of South Africa; then missionaries and Africans would have gained nothing. 71

Torn between his personal desire to give a blessing to the demand for an unofficial majority and a sense of responsibility to his colleagues in Kenya, Arthur began to feel the uncomfortable weight of his dilemma. On June 7th, Oldham summoned him again to Edinburgh House. Lugard was extremely enthusiastic about the plan for a white colony and a federation of African states and was placing his weight in influential quarters. Arthur was asked his opinion of how the plan might be practically worked out. He reacted by pointing out that whereas large areas of Nyanza and Kikuyuland and all of Ukamba might immediately be made into an African state, in areas such as Kyambu a problem existed of separating Africans and Europeans. He could not say whether Africans living in areas such as this

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colonisation for Europeans and for Indians, each with self-government, and a federation of African States. Ormsby-Gore's comment on the Minute Paper attached to the memorandum indicates that he doubted the practicability of demarcating separate racial areas. He also clearly disagreed with Lugard that His Majesty's Government was in any way committed to the idea of an East African Federation.

would be willing to be moved into the African state. Oldham agreed that this was a difficult problem and suggested a compromise. The Colonial Office would declare at once its intention to administer Kenya as a trust for her African peoples. Europeans would retain the franchise, but Indians would be asked to accept nominated representation in view of the Crown's assurance that it intended to keep Government in its own hands. This situation would last for five years, whereafter a Royal Commission would go to Kenya to review the situation. Arrangements would be made to incorporate Kenya into a federation of African states. The existence of Europeans as a small enclave in an African country would merit special consideration. But the position of Indians would also have to be considered. Oldham was confident that if he could get C.F. Andrews, a member of the Indian delegation, to agree to this compromise, then India too would accept it.  

Arthur felt uneasy about Oldham's solution. He knew that the settlers regarded a federation of African states as the death-blow to white supremacy in Africa. For his own part he felt that Oldham was underestimating the importance of the role of British capital and enterprise as represented by the settlers; Africans could not expect to have the benefit of British civilisation without working either in their reserved lands or for European settlers. Moreover, Oldham had not realised the urgent necessity of restricting Indian immigration into Kenya. But since Oldham was proposing nothing drastic until five years had elapsed, Arthur felt that if need be he could accept the solution. He also felt that Oldham had rejected his own solution out of an unwarranted desire to placate India. If Oldham believed that India was likely to break away from the Empire unless African interests were shown to be the paramount concern — and at the ruin of the settlers' prospects —

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72 BP, Arthur, letter from London, 8th June 1922.
then Arthur just as firmly believed that India would never separate off in twenty years and that Oldham did not realise that there was nothing to stop the settlers from joining the Union of South Africa. He could not see, as Oldham did, that the settlers were a greater menace to African interests than the Indians. And he did not see the justification for giving India an equal voice with British capital and British civilisation in deciding what was best for Africans.

In spite of the differences between them, Oldham had sufficient regard for Arthur not to be influenced by the many attacks which were being made upon him and his apparent oneness with Delamere. Arthur's principal enemy was John Harris, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. Since the war years, Harris and other members of the Society had been keen observers of the labour question in Kenya. They had been prime movers in the parliamentary campaign to force the British Government to take note of appalling conditions in the Carrier Corps, and of the pressing problem of liberated German East Africa's thousands of domestic slaves. And when in 1919 and 1920 missionaries became involved in the controversy over forced labour, Harris became one of Arthur's most damaging critics.

Briefly, a controversy over forced labour began in October 1919 with the publication of a labour circular entitled, 'Native Labour required for non-native

Arthur's critics included Norman Leys, formerly of the B.E.A. Medical Department, W. McGregor Ross, formerly of the Provincial Works Department, and H.R. Tate, the old P.E. of the Kenia Province. Ainsworth, too, was in London in 1923. While expressing amusement at the settlers' newly-found concern for African interests, and congratulating Arthur on his appointment to the Kenya delegation, Ainsworth made the significant point that Arthur represented only the missionary point of view. Africans, he thought, were incapable of conceiving an opinion about anything, least of all the complex situation which had arisen over Kenya's political future. (AP, Ainsworth to Arthur, 28th April 1923. See also below, n.101.) Others held the same view - that Arthur could not possibly speak for Africans - but unlike Ainsworth, they believed that Africans could speak for themselves.

The Society's correspondence on these subjects may be seen in ASP S.22/G.132-133, '1914 Forced Labour in British East Africa', and '1916-18 Forced Labour and Native Carriers'.

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farms and other private undertakings', in which it was stated that "all Government officials in charge of native areas must exercise every possible lawful influence to induce able-bodied male natives to go into the labour field". The circular was issued under the signature of John Ainsworth, the Chief Native Commissioner, but was in fact the work of the Governor, Sir Edward Northey.

On seeing the circular, together with a notice dated 17th October 1919 in the Kyambu Patrol Book announcing that child labour would be recruited for coffee-picking, Bishop Willis, who was staying at Kikuyu with Arthur, decided to take action. Willis, Bishop Heywood and Arthur drew up a memorandum the main argument of which was that while the authors recognised that compulsion was necessary—both for the economic good of the country and for the moral and physical good of young Africans who were inclined to "loaf about" in the Reserves—Government's policy of giving undefined instructions to district officers to "induce" the flow of labour could only lead to hardship and abuse. If compulsion were necessary, then it should be openly declared and properly safeguarded.

Willis, Heywood and Arthur took their memorandum to a meeting early in November with Ainsworth and the Chief Secretary, C.C. Bowring. Both officials declared themselves opposed to the Governor's labour policy and welcomed the missionaries' document as a means of expressing a public protest which they, as civil servants, were not permitted to do. So anxious were they that the memorandum should reach

75 A copy of the circular is enclosed in Cmd. 873 (1920), Despatch to the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate relating to Native Labour, and papers connected therewith, August 1920.

76 The so-called 'Bishops' Memorandum' may also be seen in Cmd. 873 (1920).

77 AP, Arthur, 'Private and Confidential Statement with regard to the Committee's Minute on the Labour Question', October 1920. It is interesting to note that H.R. Tate, although he wrote after the missionaries had taken the initiative, said in a letter to Arthur: "I am very apprehensive about the future native policy of this Government and if you missionaries are going to take a stand on the matter the sooner you do the better." (PCEA A/36, Tate to Arthur, 7th December 1919).
the Governor before he went to England for treatment to a damaged eye, that Bowring himself typed the memorandum so that it could be circulated officially and published in the local Press without delay.

While the publication of the 'Bishops' Memorandum' caused an uproar both in Kenya and in Britain, the controversy was deepened by the issue of a resolution defending the memorandum's proposal for compulsory labour with due safeguards by the Representative Council of the Alliance in March 1920. By some oversight, the content of the Alliance's resolution became generally known in London, where it caused a sensation, before the P.M.C. in Edinburgh had received their copy. The Archbishop of Canterbury, J.H. Oldham and others were making public statements, and the prevailing sentiment was that the Alliance had acted unwisely. Arthur was reprimanded, but he produced a long statement in his own defence in which he explained that he and the Bishops, and later, the Alliance as well, had proposed a modified form of compulsory labour because, apart from other reasons, to have opposed the Governor completely would have meant widening the breach with the settlers - a breach which Protestant missionaries were trying to mend.

It was Arthur's proud claim that the Bishops' Memorandum had contributed to the decision taken by Lord Milner to order the cancellation of the Governor's

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78 ARCM, 13th March 1920.
79 CSP/NLS 7560, McLachlan to Arthur, 10th June 1920.
80 See J.H. Oldham, 'Christian Missions and African Labour', International Review of Missions, 10, 1921. C.F. Andrews produced a book shortly afterwards under the title of Christ and Labour which, although denounced by McLachlan as "a miserable work" by "that hopeless pacifist and pro-Indian", nevertheless prompted one member of the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland to demand an inquiry into the actions of the C.S.M. in Kenya with regard to labour. (CSP/NLS 7590, McLachlan to Arthur, 1st July 1924.)
81 AP, Arthur, 'Private and Confidential Statement with regard to the Committee's Minute on the Labour Question', October 1920. In May 1921 the P.M.C. declared themselves satisfied that the authors of the 1919 'Bishop's Memorandum' had acted out of high motives, and recognised that they had taken a public stand which was less open to objection than the policy advocated by Government. (CS/FMCN, 1st May 1921.)
labour circular. Harris of the Aborigines Society had been at the forefront of the outcry against Kenya missionaries, and had, in Arthur's words "been hauled over the coals .... for his misrepresentations". Hence, when Harris launched an attack upon Arthur in London in May 1923, Arthur was convinced that he was acting out of a sense of personal vendetta.

Harris opened his attack on Arthur by releasing to the Press a cable which had arrived at his office on May 29th, jointly signed by two of Thuku's lieutenants, Abdullah Tairara and Jesse Kariuki. The cable read:

"East African Association consisting of young Kikuyu, Kavirondo and Nandi and other natives wish to represent their grievances in Kenya and are sending their own delegation. They have no faith in Dr. Arthur and believe that he harms our cause and favours the white settlers. Our troubles emanate from white settlers alone. We are afraid to declare our mind here for fear of imprisonment, transportation or hanging. We request you to afford opportunity for the representative of the natives to wait upon you before taking decision regarding the fate of our country. We want to remain a Protectorate not a white Colony. We understand that the Chiefs were influenced and coerced to sign certain documents and we dissociate ourselves from their contents." Harris requested only that Arthur's name be omitted from the published text of the cable.

For about ten days Arthur's position was extremely delicate; he had apparently been rejected by Africans whose interests he was supposed to represent. The Convention leaders were alarmed at the prospect of their ally's loss of utility to their cause. Arthur dismissed the show in independence of mind on the part of Africans as being another ploy of Indian agitators in Nairobi. He knew better than Africans themselves what was best for them; they could not see that they were

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82 See Cmd.873 (1920), op.cit., Milner to Northey, 22nd July 1920.
83 BP, Arthur from London, 2nd June 1923. Harris, it should be noted, was actively engaged in 1923 in supporting the move for responsible self-government for Europeans in Southern Rhodesia.
84 Copy in ASP S.22/G.135, Harris to Tate, 4th June 1923. See also The Times, 1st June 1923. Harris had been in constant touch with East African Association leaders since 1921, and with Kenya Indians from an earlier date. Oldham dismissed the cable and told Arthur not to worry about Harris since at Edinburgh House, at least, he counted for nothing. (BP, Arthur from London, 6th June 1923.)
being made a pawn in the game of Indian politics. He had been in communication
with A.R. Barlow at Kikuyu about the possibility of preparing a statement in favour
of himself by loyal Kikuyu Christians. This proved to be unnecessary. On June
12th, The Times published a statement from its Nairobi correspondent showing that
official pressures had already been brought to bear on the situation. It had
been decided that Africans were not to be allowed to send their own representative
to London. The Kikuyu Association – a loyal body composed mainly of Government
chiefs and mission supporters – had spoken out in favour of Dr. Arthur as true
representative of the African point of view. It was now definitely established,
wrote The Times man in Nairobi,

"that the bitterest feeling on the Indian question exists among the native
tribes, principally amongst the Baganda, Kavirondo and Kikuyu. Material
concessions to Asiatics will be received with the utmost resentment and
(will be) fraught with serious danger of native unrest".

Harris' first strike at Arthur had failed. But before this became apparent,
Harris had launched another attack on Arthur. The occasion was the Annual Meeting
of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society on June 5th. The subject of
the meeting was the Kenya African and his relationship to the settler and the Indian.
The principal speakers included the Society's President, Sir Charles Roberts, M.P.,
The Bishop of Kampala, the Rt. Hon. Mr. S. Sastri of the delegation from India,
and several British M.P.s including Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Sir Thomas Bennett
and Sir Sydney Olivier. Arthur received an ordinary invitation and was not specifically
asked to address the meeting. His account of the meeting reveals that his view
of the proceedings was coloured by this assumed insult and by his personal feud
with Harris. Sir Charles Roberts made a speech which Arthur regarded as "brazen
cheek". The Bishop of Kampala then followed with an address which was ineffectual
since it tried to placate all parties. Sastri followed the Bishop with "an exceedingly
inflamatory speech" which was loudly cheered by the Indians in the audience. When
the discussion was thrown open to the floor Lord Francis Scott for the settlers rose to speak and "was his usual downright honest self". Arthur himself then took the floor with a three-point speech: he said that the British Government must retain control of Kenya until the local legislature was considered fit to run the country; secondly, missionaries believed that the settlers had done much for the uplift and development of Africans; Indians he concluded (amidst jeers from the Indian element in the audience), were represented in Kenya by a particular type which exerted an evil influence on Africans and definitely hindered their development. At this point Arthur left the meeting. 85

After he had gone a resolution was passed which stressed the primary importance of African interests and claimed parity in the contribution to African development of Indians as well as Europeans. Harris then tried to make capital out of Arthur's failure to stay to vote on the resolution by asking him to make a public statement as to which way he would have voted. 86 The sequel to the campaign to discredit Arthur was not what Harris had expected. On receiving a complaint from Arthur that he had not been invited to attend the annual meeting of the Aborigines Society as a principal speaker so that he could explain his position, Sir Thomas Powell Burton stormed into Harris' office on June 21st to deliver a blistering reprimand. He informed Harris that owing to the Society's treatment of Arthur and its nakedly pro-Indian policy, he was resigning from his position on the Society's Committee at the end of the year. 87 That the Society should lose the patronage of the grandson

86 ASP S.22/G.135, Harris to Arthur 12th June, to Oldham 12th and 20th June, and to Norman Leys, 21st June 1923. Arthur wrote privately to Harris, but because he refused to state how he could have voted, Harris described the reply as "slippery". (Ibid, Arthur to Harris, 13th June; and Harris to Polak, 14th June 1923.)
87 ASP S.22/G.135, Harris to Sir Charles Roberts, M.P., 21st June 1923. Sir Thomas, of course, had been a founding subscriber of the old E.A.S.M., and his son, Mr. Victor Burton, was closely associated with the C.M.S. in Kenya. Clement Scott had looked after Victor Burton when he first arrived in E.E.A. (BBP, Diaries, 5th July 1904.)
of one of its most famous 19th century leaders, was not a consequence which Harris had foreseen when he decided to attack John W. Arthur.

While Arthur was defending himself against Harris, he suffered another attack — on this occasion by one of his missionary colleagues in Kenya. The Rev. H.D. Hooper of the C.M.S. at Kahuhia wrote a letter to Maclennan in Oldham's office which he intimated might be published. The letter referred to a document on the land question, signed by Kinyanjui and other chiefs, and presented to the Governor on March 17th 1923. While admitting that as a whole the document was no worse than others of its kind — written by a missionary and signed by Africans — Hooper objected to two things. Firstly, the concluding paragraphs, in which anti-Indian statements were expressed and Arthur was mentioned as representing African opinions on Indian claims, appeared to have been inserted as a postscript by Arthur himself. And secondly, as Hooper claimed, Kinyanjui had visited Fort Hall and ordered the chiefs of the district to sign the document. Hooper regarded the document as vitiated evidence and feared that it would be used in the London negotiations.

88 PCEA G/1, Kinyanjui and other Chiefs to Northoote, 17th March 1923.
89 This is one of the documents referred to in the above-mentioned cable to Harris by Tairara and Kariuki.
90 BP, Arthur to Maclennan 8th June 1923. The background of the document was the long-held fear of the Kikuyu for the security of their reserved land. Since before the war missionaries and officials had been investigating the Kikuyu claim that since they bought their land from Athi or Dorobo they therefore owned it, and that their Gethaka, or owner-occupier, system implied individual ownership of land and inheritance. (See inter alia; M.W.H. Beech, 'The Kikuyu Point of View', 12th December 1912 (KNA DC/KBJ/3/4); A.R. Barlow, 'Kikuyu Land Tenure and Inheritance', Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, No. 45-6; M.W.H. Beech, 'The Kikuyu System of Land Tenure', Journal of the African Society, 17, 1917; and AP, Ainsworth, 'The Kikuyu Gethaka System', 23rd July 1920. See also the forthcoming Ph.D. Thesis, on Kikuyu traditional history, and the history of land in Kenya, respectively, of Mr. G. Mariuki (London), and Mr. Benson Kantai (Oxford). Since 1914 the Kikuyu had been agitating for the issue of legal certificates of ownership from Government as security against further encroachment by Europeans upon the Reserves. (See PCEA G/1, Northoote to Kinyanjui, 28th October, and to Koinange, 3rd November 1919.)
The document had indeed been Arthur's work. The climax of a long controversy over the question of legal certificates of land ownership for Kikuyu Gethaka holders came in February 1923 when Judge J.W. Barth ruled in the Supreme Court that Africans were 'tenants-at-will' of the Crown and could not be said to own any land. In the wave of great unrest which swept over Kikuyuland as a result of the ruling, Arthur suggested to his Kikuyu adherents that they should drop their demand for individual titles and seek instead a block title deed which would secure their land to the Kikuyu as a tribe. In conference with missionaries of the C.S.M., C.M.S. and G.M.S., Mbiu Koinange, Philip Karanja James and Josiah Njonjo agreed to this and asked Barlow to write down their views. Kinyanjui refused at first to sign the document, since he had been told by the Chief Native Commissioner to stop agitating about land, but gave his consent after Arthur had secured the Governor's approval. Koinange, James and Njonjo then took the document to Fort Hall and Nyeri to obtain other signatures.

Arthur had suggested that the document be drawn up in order to strengthen his hand in defending African lands in the negotiations in London. As to the comments on the 'Indian Question', he claimed that he had inserted nothing which had not been stated to him in person by the Christian Chiefs; he was in no doubt that all Kikuyu felt the same way. And the reference to himself, he pleaded, was surely the most natural thing since he had been appointed to go to London to represent African interests.

Of all Arthur's difficulties in London, this was the most serious. Arthur was more than a match for Harris; and it was easy to convince people that the East

91 AP, Copy of Judgement given by Barth on 8th February 1923 in Civil Case No.626 of 1922.
92 EP, Arthur to Maclennan, 8th June 1923.
93 Ibid.
African Association's cable had been written by Indians. But a fellow-missionary— one who had not opposed his going to London to state the case against the Indians— had attacked him in a most unfair fashion and seemed to be trying to take away the mandate which the Alliance had so clearly given him.94 Fortunately, Arthur had a protector in J.H. Oldham.

Oldham had ignored Harris' overtures concerning the cable from Tairara and Kariuki and the failure by Arthur to vote at the Aborigines Society's annual dinner, and he refused to make any use of Hooper's letter on the Kikuyu land document.

In keeping Arthur's reputation and position intact, Oldham demonstrated an appreciation of Arthur's personal dilemma and a recognition of Arthur's importance in the negotiations. He knew that Arthur felt a deep concern for African interests, that he was trying to be loyal to the opinions of the majority of Kenya missionaries, and that he earnestly wanted to help towards a solution which would safeguard the future development of African interests and missionary work. Oldham also knew that Arthur's vision of the most equitable solution was clouded by his deep antagonism towards Indians and by his conviction that British settlers and through them, British civilisation, were an uplifting influence on Africans and ought to be guaranteed a permanent position. But in spite of the deep differences in their respective outlooks, Oldham realised that Arthur commanded considerable respect in Kenya; his opinions had, therefore, to be taken into account. Moreover, it was more important to Oldham's plans to protect Arthur than to risk the complications which would surely follow his fall from grace.95

94 HP, Arthur to Hooper, 4th July 1923.
95 Arthur's distress at finding himself the subject of several attacks was eased by a newly-formed friendship with Dr. T. Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes educational Commission who was in London in June 1923 to confer with J.H. Oldham. Jones and Arthur attended the Aborigines Society's annual meeting together. Afterwards Jones declared how utterly sympathetic he felt towards Arthur and towards the settlers. He mistrusted idealism—particularly that of men like
Arthur, meanwhile, was still in close contact with the settlers. On the 12th and 18th of June he received invitations to dine at Delamere’s house. On the first occasion he found the settlers in a confident mood. To Arthur’s point that Sastri, the Indian leader, would shortly be returning to India and that Oldham felt he must be given a promise of at least four Indian seats in the Legislative Council, Delamere’s bold retort was that the most Sastri would get was two seats and modified immigration laws applicable to all. He repeated his warning that if settlers were not granted an unofficial majority they would take ‘direct action’; then there would no longer be any need to accommodate Arthur’s point of view. Arthur came away from the meeting feeling more firmly convinced than ever that the settlers held the whip hand.\footnote{BP, Arthur from London, 13th June 1923.}

At the second meeting, he found the settlers in a more anxious, but nevertheless determined frame of mind. Delegates had been summoned to an informal conference with the Colonial Secretary on the following day. All interested parties were expected to submit proposals for the solution of the crisis; it was therefore imperative that the settlers’ proposals should go in with Arthur’s blessing.\footnote{Ibid, Arthur from London, 19th June 1923.}

Delamere outlined the settlers’ proposals. Seeing that they were practically the same as those in the document which he had received from Delamere at the end of May, Arthur felt obliged to address the gathering. He advised the settlers that

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Norman Leys — and had great faith in the Union of South Africa. As Arthur recorded, "Dr. Jesse Jones .... holds that men and nations are not equals. He says he is always trying to urge the negroes to stick to their nationality and to show that the negro with his black skin has his own contribution to make and that he is not white .... In this I can feel that he is anti-Indian and very much pro-settler because he thinks it is for the African’s gain. He is therefore not at one with Oldham who is Indian in his outlook". (BP, Arthur from London, 5th and 6th June 1923.)
he could not go to the Colonial Office on the following day and express his opinions without first having communicated them to the settlers. He repeated his warning that the bulk of Kenya missionaries and nearly all the leaders of missionary churches and related organisations in Britain were opposed to the granting of an unofficial majority. But if the settlers did not press for this at the present time he could guarantee that all missionaries would support them against the Indian demands. At this point, the anger and frustration felt by the settlers exploded and Arthur was subjected to what he recalled as the warmest half-hour of his life.

T.A. Wood, representing the European business community in Kenya, demanded to know whether missionaries had not been catered for in the settlers' proposal to reserve 'native affairs' to the Crown. Arthur admitted this and went on to say that whereas he believed that Africans should not be purely under Government control and that settlers were awake to their responsibilities towards Africans, nevertheless the distrust of settlers was still present in the missionary mind. Sir Northrup McMillan then demanded an explanation of Arthur's statement that missionaries did not trust settlers. Arthur attempted to soothe him by saying that missionaries did not trust settlers sufficiently to agree to an unofficial majority at present, but that in a few years they probably would. McMillan retorted that if that were the case he would not be building any more churches and schools for his Kavirondo labourers to please the missionaries.\(^9\) Archer joined in the attack by asking Arthur whether he was trying to strike a bargain with them – that unless

\(^9\) McMillan's threat did not impress Arthur. For a long time he had held the view that the settler who promoted African schools on his farm would be the one who would get an adequate supply of labour. (PCEA A/34, Arthur to Orr, 28th March 1918.) McMillan was hurting no one but himself.
the settlers dropped their claim for an unofficial majority the missionary element in Britain would not support them against the Indians. Arthur was distressed that Archer should think that this was so. He replied that missionaries and churches in Britain would oppose both the unofficial majority and the extreme Indian demands. He suggested that Lord Delamere and Lord Francis Scott should try to meet with Oldham and the Archbishop to judge for themselves the feeling that existed in that quarter. Delamere agreed to this, if it were not too late; since the position demanded urgent action. C.F. Andrews had returned to India to arouse opinion in favour of African interests, and the settlers felt that this would endanger their own position.

Order was restored to the meeting and a more reasonable attitude was adopted towards Arthur by the intervention of Lord Delamere. He rebuked McMillan for his hasty words and Archer for putting an unjustified construction upon what Arthur had said. To Arthur he said that he had tried to accommodate his views but that in doing so he was already under criticism from other settlers for going too far on the African side. There were two things to be considered; the future security of settlers in Kenya and the kind of settlement which settlers presently in Kenya would accept. Settlers felt that they had to have at least an unofficial majority to protect themselves against the likely action of a future Labour Government upsetting the settlement which might be achieved, and against a possible future federation of African states. And with regard to the settlers in Kenya, an increase of Indian seats from two to four and the modified immigration proposal instead of absolute restriction on further Indian immigration would only be accepted if security were guaranteed through the granting of an unofficial majority. Delamere appealed to Arthur to see that settlers, if granted security, would be energetic in advancing African interests; otherwise they would be compelled to oppose native interests in
their continuing agitation for self-government. If Arthur could not support them in their search for security, then he must tell the Colonial Office that since the question was a political one and therefore outside his province, and since there was no time to seek fresh opinion from his colleagues in Kenya, he had no solution to offer. In other words, out of his admitted sympathy for the settlers, the best he could do to help their cause was to keep silent. Chastised, and reinforced in his belief that the settlers held, and were prepared to use, the ultimate weapon or rebellion, Arthur conceded that this was probably the attitude he would adopt.99

On the following day, when all parties were assembled at the Colonial Office, Arthur was relieved to discover that he would not, after all, have to keep silent. While intimating that he would give due consideration to the settlers' representations on the questions of the franchise, segregation, and immigration, the Duke of Devonshire stated categorically that African interests were paramount and would remain under the control of the Imperial Government, and that settlers could not expect an unofficial majority in the near future. Disheartened, but not yet without hope, the settlers were granted permission to submit their full proposals in writing to the Colonial Office.100 Arthur announced that he too would be submitting his own resolutions based upon the settlers' proposals. These, it will be recalled, accepted practically the whole of the settlers' demands, but with added safeguards for missionary influence and without immediate support for the unofficial majority.101

100 CO 533/306, Delamere to Colonial Office, 25th July 1923.
101 Ibid, Arthur to Colonial Office, 19th June 1923, enclosing his memorandum of proposals. In addition to those submitted by Arthur and Delamere, proposals were submitted to the Colonial Office by Oldham, Sir Robert Coryndon, Sir Humphrey Leggat who represented British commercial interests and who was unpopular with the settlers, and by John Ainsworth. Ainsworth's proposals were the most radical of all. Basing his arguments upon two major premises - that Kenya Europeans' fear of Indian domination resulting from a common franchise was not substantiated by the facts of life in East Africa, and that Kenya was, and would continue to be,
He hoped that the settlers would accept a solution along the lines he had suggested. He still saw the political future as lying with them, and fervently hoped that the news he had just received of the brutal murder of an African by a Kenya settler called Abrahams would not get into the British Press and spoil the settlers' chances of a reasonable settlement. 102

The deliverance of the Colonial Office on the 'Indian Question' was a masterly compromise, designed to minimise offence to any of the parties involved and to achieve a speedy return to the pre-crisis conditions in Kenya. The well-known declaration in the White Paper laid before Parliament on July 24th 1923 concerning the paramountcy of African interests meant very little then or for many years to come. Of more immediate significance, was the statement that the granting of responsible self-government was out of the question for the foreseeable future. 103 But in reality, the settlers lost nothing of what they already possessed. They retained their eleven elected representatives in the Legislative Council, the 'white highlands', and by a stroke of good fortune, won a promise of restricted Indian immigration. 104 Indians were given five seats in Legislative Council to which they could elect representatives, but the White Paper of 1923 was a major setback to their political campaign for equal rights as British Subjects.

primarily an African country — Ainsworth proposed a list of qualifications for voters on the principle of equal rights and opportunities for all civilised British Subjects of all races. The qualifications were stringent; no African could meet them for years to come. And if Europeans cared to trade directly with Africans, as Europeans did in Nyasaland and South Africa, Indians would gradually be squeezed out of the country. (CO 533/306, Ainsworth to Bottomley, 19th March 1923, enclosing memorandum of proposals.)

102 PCEA A/37, Arthur to Barlow, 19th July 1923.
104 On the Sunday which followed the laying of the White Paper upon the table of the House of Commons, a storm off Zanzibar caused a break in the cable linking Kenya to the outside world. Believing that settlers in Kenya had taken 'direct action' and cut the cable, the Colonial Office, before they realised what had caused the breakdown in communications, agreed to Delamere's timely request for restricted immigration. The White Paper had proposed that the question of immigration be left open for the time being. (Huxley, op.cit., II, 157.)
Arthur had been relieved of the burden of his dilemma when the Colonial Secretary announced on June 19th that the granting of an unofficial majority would not take place in 1923. It only remained for him to tailor his proposals so as to secure African interests while at the same time avoiding any harm to the general prospects of Europeans in Kenya. In this he succeeded well.

Judged by subsequent events, Arthur's mission to London had been a resounding success. Towards the end of 1923, the Colonial Secretary assured him in private that African lands would be safeguarded. Indian demands had been defeated and their immigration into Kenya was restricted. Local Native Councils were set

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105 ARCM, 19th-22nd November 1923. From October 1926 African Reserves were finally demarcated.

106 The Kenya missionary campaign to exclude Indians extended to Indian Christian missionaries as well. In July 1924, the Rev. A. Ralla Ram of Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, and Clerk of the Indian Presbyterian Church, wrote to Arthur proposing that Indian Presbyterian missionaries might work in East Africa amongst Africans. While Arthur and other Protestant missionaries felt that the Indian community in Kenya might be evangelised by a European missionary with experience of India, such as an Irish Presbyterian from Gujerat, they were determined to save Africans from missionaries who were Indian nationals. The F.M.C., while agreeing that Indian missionaries in Kenya would be unsuitable in view of past political troubles, were greatly annoyed by Arthur's insensitive and imprudent letters to the Rev. Ralla Ram and the Rev. W. Paton and Dr. Graham in India. Ogilvie felt that at the next Indian General Assembly and in the Indian Press, the Church of Scotland would be held up to derision. (CSP/1IS 7617, Ogilvie to Molachlan, 9th August 1924; and PCEA A/37, Ram to Arthur, 14th February 1924; and Arthur to Ram 10th July, to Dr. Graham, 10th July, and to Paton, 22nd August, 1924.) The reaction amongst Scottish missionaries in India to Arthur's London campaign against Indians in Kenya was less severe than might have been expected - especially in view of the fact that 1923 was the centenary year of the beginning of Scottish missionary work in India. While the ground had been prepared by the Bishop of Mombasa in a letter to Indian missionaries explaining the predicament of Kenya missionaries with regard to the 'Indian Question' (PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', Bishop of Mombasa to Tumutumu missionaries, 1st May 1923, enclosing draft of letter to India), Arthur was supported by the conservative, majority group of Scottish missionaries in India whose attitude derived from their opposition to the handing over of control in the Church to Indians for many years to come. (BP, Arthur to Hooper, 4th July 1923.)
up in 1924, and in the same year a missionary — Arthur himself — was nominated to represent African interests on Legislative Council. J.H. Oldham would be entitled to much of the official credit for these gains, but it should be recalled that Arthur had proposed them in his memorandum submitted to the Colonial Office.

At what price was Arthur’s success bought? The immediate result of his failure to support the claim for an unofficial majority made settlers very anti-missionary for a while; but Arthur had charm enough to win back the good favour of leading settlers, especially as from 1924 he began to work closely with them in the Legislative, and later, the Executive Council. More seriously, one could point to the perpetuation of racial discord in Kenya and the securing, down to the present day, of Indians in their position as scapegoat for the failings and frustrations of other races; the near-mortal blow to Kikuyu missions in 1929 resulting from a failure to recognise in 1922 and 1923 that Africans could think for themselves; the entrenchment of European privilege and control at all levels which called forth the ‘Mau Mau’ rebellion of 1952; and the impotence of the national churches in Kenya today which is the result of the reluctance of missionaries to accept Africans as partners or to relinquish control.

At the same time, it must be recalled that Arthur was a man of his time, by no means unique in his attitudes, and that missionaries in the 1920s worked in conditions very different from those of the present.

Arthur had been a missionary in Kenya since 1906. He had seen a colony grow, and Africans take their first faltering steps in a new world. His formative years were spent under the tutelage of Clement and Henry Scott. The latter especially he admired wholeheartedly, and in the attitudes he adopted towards the respective roles of Africans and Europeans, Arthur was a faithful disciple of Henry Scott.
The responsibility of running a large mission fell upon Arthur in 1911 when he was still a young man with only a few years of experience as a missionary. By the standards of his day, he was one of the most successful and able missionaries in East Africa. Charming and forceful in his personality, extremely popular in Kenya European society, a noted sportsman – most of his Saturdays were spent playing rugby in Nairobi – Arthur was a talented and ambitious man. His initiative and energy were boundless – often to the embarrassment of his home Committee – and it frequently pained him to discover that others might not share his views or wish to have him make their decisions. A sincere and honest man, and a minister of the Presbyterian Church since 1915, Arthur was committed to promoting African interests as in his own terms he saw them.

But in the final analysis, Arthur was out of pace with the changing mood of the 1920s. He was a member of the first generation of missionaries in the Kenya highlands; he was conservative in his attitude towards Africans – although progressive by traditional missionary standards – and did not see, as others were beginning to do, however imperfectly, that Kenya's future belonged to her African peoples.

4. African Education

Prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, missionaries and officials had been in conflict over the content of African education. Both parties aimed at creating an honest, industrious community of Africans and stressed the need for practical and moral training. Both had limited resources with which to meet the rising African demand for schooling. But whereas officials, backed by settlers, declined to invest in

107 See above, Pp. 269-276.
anything but technical training schemes, and adopted a neutral attitude towards the religious content of education, missionaries believed that technical training was worthless unless it were based upon sound Christian teaching, and further, that a basic literary education was a prerequisite for Christian character and technical efficiency.

Little progress could be made towards resolving differences during the war. But in 1918, when the demand by Africans for places in schools was intensified, the way was opened for a thorough reappraisal of the educational system in the Protectorate. Officials were determined to achieve closer supervision of education; missionaries, while prepared to accept a degree of closer supervision as the price of increased Government aid, were equally determined to retain their hold on African education and to safeguard its religious content.

In 1919, missionaries felt that they had won a major victory. Following the investigations and report of the Education Commission, 1918-1919, upon which J.W. Arthur served as a Commissioner, Government seemed willing to leave the whole of African elementary education and normal training in missionary hands. Increased Government grants were to be given for these purposes – on the basis of inspection of mission schools and not, as before, of results obtained by pupils in examinations – and it was expected that progressively, Government would relieve missions of the

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109 J.R. Orr, the Director of Education, claimed to have been deeply influenced in 1918 by a book published by C.T. Loram in the previous year under the title of The Education of the South African Native. Loram's three fundamental principles were that the education of the African is the duty of the state and that the state should not depend upon the charity of missions; that state funds should be expended only on secular education; and that Africans should pay a part of the cost of their education. (J.R. Orr, 'Grants-in-aid for Educational Work', 18th June 1925, Appendix B in Report of the Committee on Grants-in-Aid for Education in Kenya (Nairobi, 1925) 12-15.)

heavy costs of artisan training.  

It seemed that at last Government had adopted a firm educational policy and that missions were assured of their control of African education as a primary evangelistic medium. Every mission was, in the immediate post-war years, enjoying a tremendous increase in educational work. At Kikuyu in 1918 there were only one hundred and forty-six boys and eighty-nine girls at the central mission school; Tumutumu had fallen back to the figures of 1912. But by 1922 the numbers of scholars at each station had multiplied several times over, Tumutumu alone having more than two thousand on the roll.

In January 1919 the C.S.M. was offered a Government grant of £600 for improved normal facilities, and £300 recurrently on an annual basis for the salaries of teachers. Arthur accepted the offer and asked the F.M.C. to appoint a fully-qualified teacher in Scotland to take over normal training at the C.S.M. The man appointed was G.A. Grieve, who came to Kikuyu in 1920 and who was to become, a few years later, the first headmaster of the Alliance High School.

In 1920, while conscious that education had assumed a hitherto unrecognised importance, and that African education had been given its rightful place in the

111 AP, Arthur to his father, 19th February 1919; and GP, J.R. Orr, circular letter No.1122/3 of 24th September 1919. Since 1908, the C.S.M. had trained one hundred and five apprentices (including thirty-one teachers) and Government had not contributed more than one-sixth towards the cost of their training. (AP, Arthur, 'Native Education', May 1920.)


114 PCEA/TT, 'K.M.C. Minutes - Covering Letters', Arthur to McLachlan, 8th March 1919. J.R. Orr, the Director of Education, declared publicly that the foundation of his educational policy was the production of a greatly-increased number of African teachers. He proposed, therefore, to divert "for the time being" part of Government's technical vote to normal training in mission schools. (GP, J.R. Orr, Circular Letter No.1622/3 of 24th September 1919.)

115 See above, p. 207, n. 28.
scale of priorities, missionaries were beginning to see the dangers and limitations of their new understanding with Government. In May 1920 the estimates for Government aid to mission schools were approved by the Legislative Council, and it was felt that Government, because they expected missions to use the increased grant to launch new, ambitious schemes, had committed themselves to a policy of yearly grants-in-aid. Yet the estimates had been criticised in the Council by settlers who regarded the growing Indian problem as demanding a concentration upon the training of efficient African artisans.

Missions, faced with the increasing demand for education, could not afford to refuse Government assistance; if they did, Government schools in greater numbers would be opened, missions would lose the extended opportunity for evangelism which education offered, and a return would be made to simple evangelistic work. But to accept Government aid carried with it the danger of increasing Government control over mission schools, a greater degree of interference by Inspectors, a higher premium on efficiency and uniformity, and greater expenditure by missions themselves. Orr had been persuaded to limit the powers of Government Inspectors, but already he had ordered missions to change their policy towards the teaching of English. It is not surprising, therefore, that when G.A. Grieve, whose salary was paid by Government, arrived at Kikuyu, Arthur should have taken pains to instruct him that he was first and foremost a missionary, and that his chief loyalty was to the mission.

Since the Education Department was to become a major charge upon Government funds, J.R. Orr was appointed to Legislative Council in 1920.

The traditional policy of Protestant missions was to confine the teaching of English to teacher-trainees who were literate in the vernacular and who were of proven moral character. Orr's instruction to use English more than Kiswahili in mission schools was an unwelcome reversal of the policy to preserve Africans from the dangers of non-religious works in the English language. In 1921, however, the C.S.M. decided to suspend its old rules, but did not intend to give English too great a prominence in their educational curriculum. (OP, Orr, circular no.1622/3, 24th September 1919; and KMCM, 12-15th January 1921.)
and not to the Office of the Director of Education.\textsuperscript{119}

In 1922 it became evident that the worst fears of missionaries had been realised. In May Arthur received a curt letter from Orr advising him that the Education Department was not satisfied with the standard of technical education being given at Kikuyu.\textsuperscript{120} This was followed by an announcement that Government had decided to revert to the pre-war system of making grants to missions on the basis of results obtained by pupils in examinations.\textsuperscript{121} Orr, whose " fickleness" was beginning to test the patience of missionaries, had obviously succumbed to mounting pressures by settlers and some officials to reintroduce the emphasis in Government spending upon technical training for Africans.\textsuperscript{122}

In other respects, 1922 was a troubled year in missionary education. Following consultations in 1917 between the C.S.M. and the Commissioner of Labour for a scheme of Government aid to missionary medical work, grants to mission hospital training schemes and towards work in the Reserves were introduced in 1920.\textsuperscript{123} Abruptly in

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\textsuperscript{119} GP, Arthur to Grieve, 14th September 1920.
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\textsuperscript{120} PCEA/TT, "Letters from the Education Department", Orr to Arthur, 4th May 1922. Perhaps Orr was influenced by the knowledge that in December 1921, sixty apprentices had gone on strike at Kikuyu in protest against disciplinary measures. (KNA DC/KBU/1/14, Kikuyu District Annual Report 1921, 42.)
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\textsuperscript{121} KMCM, 7-11th June 1922. This decision contravened the recommendation in paragraph 44 of the Report of the Education Commission of 1919. (Report, op.cit., 7.) Note that the system of Government grants to schools for technical schemes on the basis of results had been introduced in Britain in 1868 but had been abolished in 1890 because it was found to have a limiting effect both upon the performance of pupils and the efficiency of schools.
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\textsuperscript{122} In March 1922, Arthur made a public appeal to the Convention of Associations for support in persuading Government to subsidise missions' schools and to leave the bulk of African education in mission hands. (Leader of British East Africa, 1st April 1922.)
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1922 the grants were withdrawn by the new Principal Medical Officer, Dr. Gilks. In 1924, when Arthur was appointed to the Legislative Council, he succeeded in securing a reversal of Gilks' decision, and grants were partially restored. The C.S.M., which had provided medical facilities for Africans since 1891, and which had been training African hospital assistants since 1907, felt the loss of Government grants more severely than other missions. And while a grant of £500 was reintroduced in 1924 towards missionary medical work in the Reserves, nothing was given after 1922 towards the cost of training medical assistants.

Another of the problems which arose in 1922 concerned the project for an Alliance College at Kikuyu. Conceived in 1915 in association with the proposals for an Alliance of Protestant Missions, the College project received a direct stimulus from a proposal made by the Chief Native Commissioner early in 1918. Ainsworth informed Arthur that there was a sum of £3,000 remaining in the East.

Arthur succeeded in getting the Colonial Secretary interested in missionary medical work, and Gilks, to save his own reputation and position, began to withdraw his opposition to Government aid for missions. (CSP/NLS 7607, Arthur to McLachlan, 13th June 1924.)

In 1922, Kikuyu and Tumutumu between them treated a total of 2,762 in-patients and 95,351 out-patients. (Kikuyu 1898-1948, The Jubilee Book, 48.)

Amongst those trained at the Kikuyu Mission Hospital, was Charles Kassaja Stokes - son of the C.M.S. missionary-turned-gunrunner, Charles Stokes, and a Niganda woman. Kassaja was adopted by Mrs. Watson, taken to Scotland, and put in a Dundee school for four years. He returned to Kikuyu in 1911 and was sent for further medical training in 1920 to the Albert Cook Hospital in Uganda. After serving at Kikuyu for fourteen years as a 'Bacteriologist and Clinical Assistant', Charles Kassaja Stokes returned to Uganda in 1934.

The problem appears to have been that while in theory missions could claim for hospital work, the Education Department, through which applications had to be submitted, never passed on the claims to the Medical Department. (PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', 1926-34, Arthur to Philp, 28th October 1929.) For a history of medical work in Kenya, see the forthcoming book by Professor Ann Book of the University of Hartford, Connecticut.

See above, pp. 316-317.
African War Relief Fund which might be used to erect missionary hospitals in the Reserves. Arthur suggested that the money be used instead to build an Alliance Medical College at Kikuyu; Ainsworth agreed, but warned Arthur that the money must be used without delay. 129

Arthur's proposal for an Alliance Medical College was hot intended to replace the proposal for a general Alliance College, but rather, to add to what was in 1918 a very ambitious plan for using Kikuyu as the headquarters of the Alliance and providing higher training for African evangelists and teachers. In June 1921 the plan was considered at a conference held in London by home and field representatives of the Alliance. The conference decided that the plan was too ambitious and too expensive for the present. But since the balance of the War Relief Fund – now amounting to over £5,000 – could be obtained through the Red Cross Society, permission was given to start building the medical college as the nucleus of the wider educational project of the Alliance. 130

Land was provided by the C.S.M. and the construction began of what was intended to be the Alliance Medical College. 131 Meanwhile, the whole concept of an Alliance College was threatened in 1922 by the A.I.M.'s attitude towards 'modernistic' trends within the C.M.S. and C.S.M. 132 A major reason for the decision of the Representative Council of the Alliance to request that home authorities comply with the demands set out in the A.I.M.'s memorandum was that a principal donor to the Alliance

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129 PCEA/TT, 'Letters to McLachlan', Arthur to McLachlan, 1st April 1918. It is interesting to note that a united missionary medical college in British East Africa was proposed in 1911 by the Very Rev. Dr. Mitford Mitchell of the Church of Scotland's Colonial and Continental Church Committee. (See 'Commission VIII on Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity (World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910) – Notes by the Very Rev. Dr. Mitford Mitchell and Mr. W.H. Smith', CS/FMCM, 28th February 1911.)

130 CS/FMCM, 12th July 1921.

131 The C.S.M. was criticised by the Director of Education for employing an Indian contractor. Orr felt that it reflected poorly upon the efficiency of the technical training programme at Kikuyu that mission-trained Africans could not be used. (PCEA/TT, 'K.M.C. Minutes – Covering Letters', Barlow to McLachlan, 2nd July 1923.)

132 See above, Pp. 342-344.
College had threatened to revoke his bequest if the A.I.M. were forced to withdraw from the Alliance.

Mr. Ernest Carr, benefactor of the C.S.M. station at Chogoria, had promised to give £10,000 towards the Alliance College. But since he held the Conservative Evangelical doctrine of the Church of England, as did the A.I.M., he regarded the continued presence of the A.I.M. within the Alliance as a guarantee of the safety of his own credal position.

While in Edinburgh in 1923, Arthur consulted the Convenor of the F.M.C. over the difficulty which had arisen. Ogilvie refused to allow the C.S.M. to submit to the demands of the A.I.M., but suggested a means whereby Carr's money might be secured. If Carr were permitted to choose two men for the appointments committee of the Alliance College who would safeguard his position, then it would not matter if the A.I.M. withdrew from the Alliance. Arthur agreed and went to London to arrange for the immediate release of Carr's money. 133

The year, 1922, closed on a note of victory for missions. Orr had been persuaded to revoke his decision of May 1922 to return to the old system of paying grants to missions on the basis of examination results. 134 But the victory was shortlived since Orr merely increased the standards of efficiency which his inspectors required of mission schools receiving Government aid. Caught in the crossfire between missionaries who wanted the maximum of assistance with the minimum of control, and settlers who demanded that Government funds be spent on nothing but artisan training, Orr tried to steer an independent course.

133 PCFA/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', Arthur to Barlow, 2nd July 1923. The Alliance project materialised in 1926 as the Alliance High School. The proposals for medical training had been dropped because of Government's reluctance to give subsidies for this purpose, and the other proposal for joint theological training had likewise been dropped because of the A.I.M.'s refusal to participate in any practical schemes of the Alliance.

134 CS/FMCM, 14th November 1923.
On July 23rd 1923 he summoned missionaries to his office and declared that he had lost patience with mission schools which had unqualified instructors, too many pupils and a consequent low level of technical efficiency. From January 1924, Government assisted technical education would be concentrated in four, instead of eight, mission schools each of which would be required to have two technical instructors whose qualifications were approved by the Colonial Office. A sum of £1,600 would be given for technical education in each of the four missions, and a sum of £3,110 would be shared amongst them for literary and normal training. Finally, Government were proposing to establish several new secular schools to which Africans would go for two years training, having been at mission technical schools for three years.

As acting head of the C.S.M., Barlow pointed out to Orr that hitherto, Kikuyu and Tumutumu together had been receiving £2,900 from Government; under the new proposals Tumutumu alone would receive a grant which was considerably less. It was not clear to Barlow or to other missions, whether Orr’s proposals meant a reduction of the grant for literary and normal training, and whether the reorganisation and relocation of technical schools would be followed by similar moves in connection with normal training. Orr replied to Barlow that he had no intention of reducing the grant to the C.S.M. as a whole; he merely wished to see a reversal of the current allocation of Government funds within the C.S.M. whereby two-thirds was devoted to non-technical education.

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135 Kikuyu, Butere, Kahuhia and Kaloleni were to lose their technical grants, while those of Tumutumu, Maseno, Musi and Kakamega (Mill Hill Fathers) were to be increased.


137 PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Barlow', Barlow to Orr, 28th June 1928.

138 Ibid, Orr to Barlow, 30th June 1928.
As with so many of Orr's schemes, this one wilted in the face of missionary protest. At a meeting of the Government Education Board in July, Leakey suggested an alternative scheme which found ready acceptance by officials and unofficials alike. The scheme proposed that Kikuyu, Kahuhia and Duterere should retain their grants, while the total Government grant should be increased in 1924 to £18,000—one-third of which would be devoted to literary and normal training. But if missionaries drew some satisfaction from bringing Orr to heel once more, what troubled them most in 1923 was the lack of a firm policy in education, and the likelihood that 1924 would be as worrying and uncertain as the two preceding years.

While Arthur was in London in 1923, besides carrying out his mission against the Indians, he was moving on the periphery of important negotiations for the educational future of British colonies. The Colonial Office, in preparation for the meeting of colonial Governors in June, had requested through J.H. Oldham that missionary churches and societies should draw up a memorandum of their views on African education.

In drawing up the final memorandum to be submitted to the Colonial Office on behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, Oldham had the benefit of discussions with Lugard, the three West African Governors and Dr. T. Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The memorandum was a plea for Government recognition of the contribution of missionaries to education, and of the necessity for cooperation— or

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139 FCEA/TT, 'Letters from Barlow', Barlow to Philp, 16th July 1923.
140 Educational Policy in Africa. A Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1923).
141 BP, Arthur, letter from London, 8th June 1923. One of the Governors had declared that he was opposed to Government African schools because they lacked adequate religious teaching.
partnership - between the two. It stressed the importance in African education of religion, and called for an educational policy which was essentially practical - not one which was designed to keep Africans in an inferior position - such as agricultural training for the benefit of African community life. And while missionaries would do everything in their power to improve the efficiency of their schools and teaching, it was urged that the Colonial Office should establish a Board of African educational experts, upon which missionaries would be represented, and which would advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Of more immediate relevance to the educational future of Kenya was the understanding which had been reached between Arthur and Dr. T. Jesse Jones. Realising the value to the missionary point of view of a visit to Kenya of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, Arthur expressed his enthusiasm for such a visit to Jones, Oldham and to the Chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Dr. Anston Stokes whom he met at Swanick. And in order to pave the way for the Commission in Kenya, Arthur took care to introduce Jones to Lord Delamere and Lord Francis Scott in the congenial atmosphere of a private luncheon party. At the beginning of July, he was delighted to be able to inform his colleagues at Kikuyu:

"I am glad to let you know privately that there is a very good chance that in January we will have the Phelps-Stokes Commission going to East Africa to complete its survey of African missions. With Dr. Jones it is hoped to have Mr. Loram and Dr. Aggrey (the West African from Tuskiee) and we are trying to persuade Oldham himself to come out in order that he may get the African atmosphere he needs for his present work ... If they come then I feel our position for the fairly far future will be assured, and Christian education for Africans in Kenya almost made certain. Lord Delamere after his talk with Dr. Jones and reading his report wrote three days after to the Sunday Times saying that he was in favour of the kind of education being given at Tuskeee (sic). All this is in preparation for his coming out as I have no doubt

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142 Arthur and Jones were in complete agreement as to the solution of the political crisis, and Jones was sure that C.T. Loram, the South African educational expert, would be as sympathetic towards Arthur's position as he was himself. (BP, Arthur from London, 5th June 1923. See also above, p. 382, n. 95.

143 BP, Arthur from London, 8th June 1923.
Dr. Jones impressed Lord Delamere and his influence counts for a lot amongst the settler community."\textsuperscript{144} When he returned to Kenya later in 1923, Arthur acted as agent in Kenya for the Commission, inviting applications from those who wished to meet them and planning their itinerary.\textsuperscript{145}

The importance of the visit to Kenya of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and of its recommendations lay not in any way in innovation,\textsuperscript{146} but in the stamping, with the authority of a disinterested body of experts, of schemes which had been discussed and forwarded at various times in Kenya in earlier years. In so far as the Commission suggested an agriculturally-orientated education for Africans, it should be noted that this had been a major aspect of industrial policy in the Scottish mission since its foundation at Kibwezi in 1891.\textsuperscript{147} And in so far as the effect of the Commission's visit to Kenya was to draw attention to Southern Negro colleges such as Hampton and Tuskegee as models for African schools, the names of these colleges had been familiar in Kenya since 1919, if not considerably earlier.\textsuperscript{148} Archdeacon Owen of the C.M.S. in Nyanza received a grant from the Phelps-Stokes Fund to visit the Southern United States in 1921, and must surely

\textsuperscript{144} PCIe/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', Arthur to Barlow, 2nd July 1923. When they visited Kenya in 1924, the Commission were received as guests at Lord Delamere's farm at Soysambu. (Huxley, op.cit., II, 181-3.)

\textsuperscript{145} ARCM, 24th September and 19th-22nd November 1923. The news that the Phelps-Stokes Commission had visited East Africa elicited from W.E.B. DuBois the comment: "What are Jones and his Fund doing in Africa?" (The Crisis, A Record of the Darker Races (New York) 31, No. 4. February 1926, p. 191.)

\textsuperscript{146} The Commission did, however, suggest the formation of the Kenya Missionary Council — a united body more widely representative of societies working in Kenya than the Alliance.

\textsuperscript{147} The E.A.S.M. was influenced in this respect by Dr. James Stewart of Lovedale, South Africa. It seems that too little is known about the inter-relationship of the development of 'negro' educational philosophies and methods in South Africa and the southern United States.

have introduced his fellow-Kenya missionaries to the work of Negro educationalists such as Booker T. Washington. 149

The closest admirer of Tuskegee and Hampton, long before the Phelps-Stokes Commission came to East Africa, was none other than J.R. Orr. In June 1923, for example, he announced to missionaries:

"Your committees are well aware that the policy of this department has been and still is to create a number of schools throughout the country on lines similar to Tuskegee. Of all educational systems the system of Hampton and Tuskegee appears to supply by the provision of industrial training an education which affects most widely the interests and activities of the Community as a whole and has therefore been adopted as a model for the training of Africans in this country." 150

It only remained for the Phelps-Stokes Commission to give a blessing to the educational policy which both Orr and Protestant missionaries had already adopted. Orr, essentially, was sympathetic towards missions and shared their view that African technical education should not be made a political weapon against Indians or fashioned to suit the needs solely of the European community. In July 1923 he...


150 PCEA/TT, 'Letters from the Education Office', Orr to missions, 'Technical Education in Native Schools', 25th June 1923. In the preceding February Orr had announced to missions that he proposed to mark the year, 1923, by a definite advance in the encouragement of agricultural training in African schools with a view to improving African self-reliance and social life in general. (Ibid, Orr to missions, 'Improvement of Agriculture among Africans', 6th February 1923.) In 1922, Arthur in a public speech in Nairobi, referred to agricultural training of Africans as being the theme of leading Negro educationalists. (Leader of British East Africa, 1st April 1923.) After the visit of the Commission the feeling existed in many quarters that the Phelps-Stokes Commissioners had been given too much credit for suggesting ideas which were not new in Kenya. Delamere's biographer, for example, claims that the Jeanes School at Kabete embodied principles which Delamere had expounded for several years. (Huxley, op.cit., 181-3.) And in 1927, Arthur remarked, "We all feel that we do not want the Phelps-Stokes people to get the credit so far as our work is concerned ..." (PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', Arthur to Barlow, 9th February 1927.)
had agreed to a scheme of grants proposed by Leakey. But later in the year the
settler element in Legislative Council succeeded in slashing the estimates in
all aspects save for the specialised technical training of Africans for work
outside of the Reserves. And it was in this area of assistance that by official
regulations missions were required to make the heaviest contribution from their
own resources. 151

The year closed with loud protests from the Alliance and from individual
missions. In their report to Edinburgh, the Kikuyu Mission Council explained
that fluctuations in Government policy — however sympathetic Orr himself might
be — offered no financial security to missions and hindered cooperation. The
time had come for a clear statement by Government that it intended to cooperate
with missions on a mutually agreeable basis which would not be substantially
altered for a decade at least. The basis of cooperation, as it was seen in the
C.S.M., was that elementary and normal education was the exclusive province of
missions; that since all parties in Kenya were agreed that African education should
be based upon manual work, Government should assist missions to give elementary
technical and agricultural training "which would be directed primarily to the
improvement of social and economic conditions in the Reserves"; and that grants
should be given towards the education of girls. 152

The Director of Education found no difficulty in accepting this as the basis
of cooperation between missions and Government. But the open question was whether
the settlers could be persuaded to do likewise. That was why Arthur had taken the

151 PCEA/TT, "Letters from Dr. Arthur", Arthur to Philp, 1st November 1923.
152 KMCM, 16th November 1923; and covering letter (PCEA/TT), Arthur to McLachlan,
5th December 1923. In October, C.S.M. missionaries had recorded their unanimous
agreement that the aim of African technical education should be the improvement
of African social life and that agriculture should be given priority. (Ibid,
Arthur to McLachlan, 18th October 1923.)
trouble to introduce Dr. Jesse Jones to Lord Delamere and Lord Francis Scott in London in June. Towards the end of the year, it was known that settlers were angry with missions for having failed to support the claim for an unofficial majority; Arthur was worried, but felt sure that the turning of the tide as far as the settlers were concerned would be achieved by the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1924.153

The Commission was successful in bringing about the cooperation which missionaries desired.154 The message of the Commission was that Government would spend money more effectively on improving existing schools than on building new ones, and that cooperation could be best achieved by the appointment of an Advisory Committee on which officials, settlers and missionaries would sit. The basis of a sound educational system was suggested as being a training in agriculture, hygiene, handwork, patriotism to colony and mother country, leadership and efficient teaching. While mission central schools would be heavily subsidised by Government, great importance was attached to the development of village or out-schools which in groups of ten might be supervised by visiting teachers on the lines of the Jeanes Fund Teachers system.155

The years after 1924, although not completely free from anxiety or incidents of conflict between missionaries and Government, were marked by an increasing awareness of the necessity of cooperation. The Education Ordinance of 1924 which brought every school in Kenya under the control and supervision of Government was approved by missions as a step towards greater efficiency. The importance of

153 PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', Arthur to Philp, 1st November 1923.
155 See J.J. Jones, Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board (London and New York, n.d.).
missionary education, properly guided and controlled, was reaffirmed by the East African (Ormsby-Gore) Commission in 1924, by Col. Denham, the Acting Governor who had been Director of Education in Ceylon, and by Mr. Biss, the Chief Inspector of Schools, appointed in 1924 after many years of Government Educational service in South Africa and India. The Advisory Committee on Education, established in 1924, and upon which missionaries outnumbered settlers and officials together, was an effective medium of cooperation, and the Committee on Grants-in-aid, set up in 1925, proposed a more liberal grant of funds for missionary education from 1926 onwards. And finally, in 1933 the Rev. J.W.C. Dougall, a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1924, was appointed as Educational Adviser to Protestant mission with the task of coordinating mission policy and of acting as a liaison between missions and the Education Department.

The period of increasing cooperation between missions and Government had the effect of changing the character of missionary work. The insistence that efficiency must rise, and that schools must be permanent and well-conducted, caused a slackening of evangelistic endeavour. The growing Churches demanded more pastoral and less evangelistic work; the recognition of a medical problem in the Reserves changed simple dispensary treatment of yaws and ulcers into major hospital undertakings;

156 Government's annual expenditure on African education rose from £9,150 in 1923 to £35,306 in 1929. (See 'Development of the Native Reserve. Education's place in the Government's Task, No. 6: The School Structure.' From "Bush College" to the University Standard; East African Standard, 14th May 1932.)

157 Note that in 1924 the C.S.M. tried to secure the appointment of J.W.C. Dougall to Kikuyu. Oldham was actively trying to encourage Dougall to go to Kikuyu, but the United Free Church, to which Dougall belonged, was unwilling to release him in 1924. (PCEA A/37, Dr. S.E. Jones to Arthur, 7th August 1924.) J.R. Orr, curiously, applied for a post at the C.S.M., Kikuyu, in 1927 when his contract with the Kenya Government was terminated. Arthur offered him the post of headmaster at the Central School at Kikuyu but the offer was not accepted. (AP, Arthur to Barlow, 7th June 1927.)
and the teaching of home economics came to be regarded as more relevant in women's work than the teaching of Christianity. The total effect was a narrowing of activity on all sides; missions in 1927 were undoubtedly more efficient than they had ever been, but they were noticeably less spiritual in their atmosphere and outlook. They no longer had the time to develop the friendly, personal relationships with Africans in their districts which had been the mark of their work in earlier years. The time was at hand when Africans in Kikuyuland would take over from them the initiative in religious and educational movements which were seen to answer the true needs and aspirations of the common man.

Broadly-speaking, it is possible to point to three major stages in educational development in Kenya. Before 1910 the major problem was to establish schools and attract young Africans to them. Little thought was given to the aim of education, and a wide variety of methods existed which drew its inspiration from the European backgrounds of individual missions. By 1910, the major societies had agreed that the principal aim of their educational work should be to produce Christian, basically literate, artisans who would fill the lower ranks of life in the service of Europeans. After the war, this stage of development began to change as missionaries found themselves caught in the dilemma of preserving the Christian content of education while being unable to afford the expense of artisan training. The third stage of development began in 1923—in anticipation of the visit to Kenya of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, and at a time when economy and self-interest were found conveniently to harmonise with African interests—and was marked by a declaration that missions would give simple agricultural training for the benefit of African social life within the Reserves.

The attempt was made during this third stage of basing African education on the ideal of African culture—of promoting the study of all that was considered
good in African traditional life. The attempt was made forty years too early; Kenya today is trying to recapture her traditional past and to promote development in accordance with cherished customs and beliefs. But in the late-1920s, young Africans regarded the emphasis on traditional life as a ploy to rob them of the educational openings offered to whites—in short, to prevent them gaining the power through learning which would enable them to guide their destiny in their own country.

5. Postscript

The militant Kikuyu political movement which began soon after the war, and which suffered a setback with the arrest of Harry Thuku, surfaced again in 1925 under the banner of the Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.). Its aims were, as before, to redress the many African grievances, but the principal areas of attention were land and education. As petitioners of the Commissions which visited Kenya after 1925, the K.C.A. expressed the deep fear that reserved land would never be secure until title deeds were granted. And while following the missionary lead in demanding elementary literacy, agricultural and technical education for Africans, the K.C.A. demanded that

"Native District Councils should be encouraged to send deserving boys from districts to England or elsewhere to receive education in arts, medicine, agriculture, engineering, etc., by the sanction of Government-aided scholarships."

Once again, missionaries refused to treat the Kikuyu political movement as truly

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158 The word, 'Central', in the title of the Association was adopted to show that its founders came from the Muranga district of Fort Hall in central Kikuyuland, (C.G. Rosberg Jnr. and John Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' Nationalism in Kenya (Stanford, 1966) 97.)

159 The K.C.A. differed from missionaries in that they demanded African education in Government schools.

160 Memorandum of the Kikuyu Central Association, Fort Hall, to be presented to The Hilton Young Commission (Nairobi, 1928).
independent, and continued to regard its participants as swollen-headed youths whose sense of self-importance was fostered by Indians and by misguided Europeans of the type represented by Norman Leys.\(^{161}\)

Within the C*S.M., the first station to notice the existence of the K*C*A. as a challenge to its work was Tumutumu.\(^{162}\) From a base in Fort Hall, the K*C*A. began towards the end of 1925 to infiltrate South Nyeri - an area which had for the most part stood aloof from Harry Thuku in 1922. Attempts were made to secure the appointment of K*C*A. members to the Local Native Council and to the various church bodies of Tumutumu mission.\(^{163}\)

Tumutumu and the K*C*A. clashed in the first instance over the issue of agricultural plots attached to mission out-schools. The sequel to the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission had been the development of practical work in agriculture in all schools attached to the C*S.M.. The K*C*A. warned the Gethaka holders from whom the extra land for agricultural plots had been obtained that the mission's policy was to acquire more land for European settlers. The warning caused great agitation in the villages and intensified fears for the security of land. In 1926 schools began to be closed and garden plots were reclaimed. In 1927, particularly in the Mahiga district, Tumutumu lost nearly half its out-schools and more than \(\frac{4}{10}\) thousand pupils.\(^{164}\) Having been persuaded that the warning was


\(^{162}\) The first signs that trouble was brewing came in 1924 when church members at Tumutumu began to show a marked defiance of the rules against beer drinking and the payment of goats - \(mburi\) cia \(rika\) - at age-grade initiation ceremonies, the celebrations attached to which were regarded by missionaries as immoral.

\(^{163}\) One such attempt is described by H.R.A. Philp in the chapter of his book, \(God\) and the African in Kenya (London, 1932), entitled, "\(X\)". A Sinister Character'.

\(^{164}\) The figures below indicate the extent to which Tumutumu's schools were affected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4,344</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(FCEA/TT, 'Specials', Tumutumu Report by Philp, 1931.)
unfounded, and having been offered no alternative opportunities in education by the K.C.A., villagers began towards the end of 1927 to reopen the schools under mission auspices.

While Tumutumu quickly recovered from the K.C.A.'s attempt to upset the out-school system, a far more serious threat to missionary work was seen to lie in the call for the reinstatement of the time-honoured custom of female circumcision. Protestant missions had been preaching against the custom, on medical as well as on moral grounds, for the best part of two decades. The custom had been outlawed in the African church and many Christians had declared their opposition to it. The campaign in defence of female circumcision by the K.C.A. was regarded by missionaries as a challenge to the African church, and a manifestation of a desire by evil men to return to the savage past.

In retrospect, the K.C.A.'s defence of female circumcision appears to have been a shrewd political move, designed to arouse mass support for the Association by bringing to the attention of a politically-unsophisticated people an issue which could be understood by all, and which would polarise frustrations and discontent. The arguments presented for the urgent necessity of defending the custom seem facile today – for example, that Europeans opposed female circumcision because they wished to take Kikuyu girls, and with them, the land – but it can be understood how the K.C.A.'s campaign aroused a sense of common identity and tribal

The K.C.A. are recorded as having tried to run the former mission schools; issuing instructions on teaching method and curriculum, but with little success. (PCEA/TT, 'General School Reports', 23rd January 1929.) K.C.A. leaders in the vicinity of Tumutumu included Hezekiah Mundia, Allan Gicuki and Paulo Muhika – all of Mihuti.
nationalism. 166

In March 1928 the K.C.A. held a large public meeting at Nyeri at which resolutions were passed in favour of female circumcision, the removal of penalties for beer drinking, and the revival of payments by Christians of rika goats. Tumutumu responded by suspending all church members who had attended the meeting. Deacons' Courts in all districts incorporated in the church were ordered to renounce the resolutions passed at the Nyeri meeting, and while most complied with the injunction, the courts at Nyeri, Mahiga, Kangoita, Mihuti and Aguthi were dismissed for showing an unwilling attitude. 167

It was felt that the K.C.A. had made a rapid advance in South Nyeri because there was no loyalist party to oppose them such as existed in southern Kiambu in the Kikuyu Association. In 1928 Tumutumu promoted the formation of the Progressive Kikuyu Party (P.K.P.) to represent the views of "the large number of Kikuyu in South Nyeri who hold moderate opinions in matters political". 168 Under the leadership

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166 It seems strange that missionaries did not realise at a much earlier stage the danger they were courting in attacking female circumcision. A clear indication of this was given by Wambugu, Paramount Chief of South Nyeri in 1921:

"We cannot abandon the custom of our ancestors in this matter: if a girl is uncircumcised her father can take no dowry for her. You white men came amongst us and we, seeing that you were good men, welcomed you with both hands. We readily do all that you tell us to do: you tell us to lie down, we lie down; you tell us to stand up, we do so. You impose taxes on us and we obey without a murmur; when your taxes become more than we can pay, we will come as suppliants and tell you so. But in this matter of our girls we cannot see eye to eye with you and we cannot agree to obey you if you attempt to coerce us."

(PCEA/TT, 'Nyeri District Council and Education Committee', Minutes of a meeting of Nyeri District Council, 9th June 1921.)

167 PCEA/TT, Tumutumu Kirk Session Minute Book, Minutes of Session, 30th March 1928.

168 PCEA G/5, preamble to the Progressive Kikuyu Party's 'Memorandum on Kikuyu Land Questions' to the Land Commission, 1932.
of Chief Gideon Gatere, and with an executive council of six office-bearers and
four members, the P.K.P. stood for harmony between races, loyalty to Government,
the constitutional expression of grievances, and opposition to female circumcision. 169

While Tumutumu was battling with the K.C.A., Kikuyu remained comparatively
unaffected until 1929. In April of that year, two Kikuyu women received a small
court fine for compelling a G.N.S. girl to submit to a form of cliterodectomy
prohibited under a by-law of the Kiambu Local Native Council. 170 Incensed by the
refusal of the Supreme Court Judge to whom the case was referred to convict the
women for causing grievous bodily harm, Arthur made a public protest against Govern-
ment's seeming approval of female circumcision. 171

From then onwards the conflict between missions and the K.C.A. became focussed
upon Kiambu. Joseph Kang'ethe, President of the K.C.A. launched an attack against
Arthur, demanding to know by what right he made opposition to female circumcision
a duty of African Christians. 172 The battle joined, Arthur prepared to rid the
church of the K.C.A.'s influence.

In August he submitted a memorandum to the Provincial Commissioner in which

169 The constitution and rules of the P.K.P. are given in Appendix VII. The
division between the membership of the P.K.P. and the K.C.A. was not as rigid
as missionaries might have desired: the name of the P.K.P.'s Secretary,
Stanley Kiama, appears on the letter written in February 1929 by Johnstone
Kenyatta to the Colonial Secretary, pleading for the release of Harry Thuku.
(Kenyatta to Colonial Secretary, 14th February 1929, Correspondence between
the Kikuyu Central Association and the Colonial Office (Nairobi, 1930) 6.)

170 Two forms of circumcision were practised: a major operation involving the
removal of the labia majora as well as the clitoris, and minor one involving
the removal of the clitoris alone. The two women were charged with performing
the prohibited major operation.

171 Arthur wrote a strongly-worded letter, attacking the custom and the K.C.A.'s
defence of it, to the Editor of the East African Standard which was published
on August 10th 1929.

172 PECA 6/6, William Njoroge, Kikuyu Church Elder; Evidence before the D.C. at
Kiambu, 29th July 1932, in Central Tribunal Case No. 56/32.
he demanded that government should warn the K.C.A. that action would be taken unless their defence of female circumcision was abandoned.  

173 A tour of missions in Kikuyu, Embu and Meru during the first week in October revealed to Arthur that he could not expect united missionary support for the strong line which he proposed to take within the African church.  

174 And having discovered at Chogoria the extent to which the K.C.A. had won the sympathy of Elders and church members, Arthur decided to put Kikuyu to the test by asking each African in the pay of the mission to sign a document renouncing female circumcision and the K.C.A. Twelve refused and were dismissed; thirty-six signed and the remainder promised to make a verbal declaration.  

175 Shortly afterwards the document was presented to the Church Elders—unconstitutionally, since the approval of the Presbytery had not been sought. Twenty-eight signed, eleven refused and four remained undecided. Knowing full well what was about to happen, yet driven by a desire to test the loyalty of his adherents, Arthur instructed that every congregation at Communion Service on Sunday November 1st be required to take a vow as Christians to reject female circumcision and the K.C.A.

176 Within a week it was known that the C.S.M. at Kikuyu had lost all its communicants save about two hundred-and-fifty from a roll of two-and-a-half thousand, and that there was scarcely a pupil left in any of the outschools.  

In the previous month

173 "If it had not been for this Association and its attitude to female circumcision, the question would by this time have been within reasonable hope of abolition." (KNA PC/CP 8/1/1, File AIM No. 15/15/2, Arthur, 'Memorandum on the Circumcision of Kikuyu Native Girls', 27th August 1929.)

174 PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', Arthur to Philp, 8th October 1919. It is possible that the original suggestion for a confrontation with church Elders and members over female circumcision and the K.C.A. came not from Arthur himself, but from Knapp of the Gospel Mission at Kambui. (Statement made to the author by the Rev. John Gatut Nairobit 10th April 1969.)

175 KMCN, 17th October 1929.  
176 PCEA G/6 Joshua Matenjwa, Evidence before the D.C. at Kiambu, 28th July 1932, in Civil Case No. 56/32.  
177 PCEA/TT, 'Letters from Dr. Arthur', Arthur to Philp, 7th November 1929.
as a result of Arthur's visit, Chogoria's Communion roll fell from a hundred to seventeen, all outschools were deserted, and only thirty out of a hundred-and-twenty remained in the central station school. 178

Tumutumu alone escaped the apocalypse. The battle with the K.C.A. had been fought and won by 1929. Chiefs, elders and senior Christians stood firm in their loyalty to the mission while trouble raged at Chogoria and Kikuyu. Additional factors contributing to Tumutumu's escape were undoubtedly that the K.C.A. had shifted the main focus of their activity from Fort Hall and Nyeri to Kiambu, and that no church member at Tumutumu was required to sign a document or take a public vow. 179

Towards the end of 1929, however, there was an increase in political activity around Tumutumu. Philp heard that a new dance-song, the Muthirigu, had been brought to Nyeri in December by Zakayo Waleru of Fort Hall, a former boarder in Tumutumu school. 180 The Muthirigu, a Kikuyu adaptation of a Swahili song, was first heard at Kabete in October 1929. Its endless stanzas permitted a wide range of improvisation and local adaptation - the names of loyal chiefs and missionaries being held up to derision. Philp heard that some of his church Elders had been involved in a performance of the song at Karatina, and that Christ's name had been vilified, and Islam praised. With the approval of the Kirk Session he asked the Presbytery for powers to excommunicate any Tumutumu Christian who was known to have attended meetings at which the Muthirigu was sung and danced. 181 Had the Government not

178 CS/RG 1930. The AIM followed Arthur's lead and lost more than ninety per cent of their adherents. The CMS had refused to take so uncompromising a line and were consequently affected to a far lesser degree.

179 Stanley Kiama, a member of Tumutumu Kirk Session, tried to persuade Philp to agree to all church members being asked to sign a document rejecting the K.C.A. Philp refused, saying that sufficient protection was given under existing church laws. (PCEA/TT, Tumutumu Kirk Session Minute Book, Minute 10 of Session, 18th January 1930.)


181 Tumutumu Kirk Session Minute 7 of Session, 18th January 1930.
banned the song in January 1930, Philp's proposed course of action might have resulted in trouble for Tumutumu similar to that experienced at Chogoria and Kikuyu.

Within the ranks of the K.C.A. there was a former Kikuyu mission pupil called Johnstone Kenyatta. Baptised Johnstone Kamau in 1914, and having left the mission during the war rather than sign an apprenticeship agreement, Kenyatta had worked as a labour supervisor on a European farm at Maragua, as an interpreter in the Supreme Court, and as a meter reader in the water department. In 1928 he became General Secretary of the K.C.A., and in 1929 he went to London to represent the Kikuyu point of view before the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1916 the C.S.M. had refused to recommend Kenyatta to any employer after he had left the mission in defiance of the apprenticeship requirement. In 1929, although he was not in Kenya during the November troubles at Kikuyu, the C.S.M. could no longer afford to ignore him. In May 1930 Kenyatta met the Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh; the favourable impression he created caused Arthur not a little concern.

When he returned to Kenya in October 1930, Arthur tried to draw him back into church fellowship. Kenyatta declined the invitation, and thereafter, in his dealings with the mission, he was treated as a major representative of the K.C.A.

At considerable cost to himself he was asked to resign his seat on the Executive Council in November 1929 and at much greater cost to the C.S.M., Arthur

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182 Popular stories have it that Kenyatta adopted the nickname people gave him on account of his beaded belt - mucibi ya kinyatta.
185 PCEA 0/5, Arthur to Kenyatta, 3rd October 1930.
had carried out what he felt was his duty with regard to the politics of female circumcision. His apologia, published in 1931 in the form of a lengthy memorandum on female circumcision, attempted to show that his action in November 1929 was no more than a reinforcement in difficult circumstances of a policy which the C.S.M. had adopted many years earlier. It also stated emphatically that much of the trouble might have been avoided, had Government cooperated with missions in demonstrating to the K.C.A. that they were opposed to female circumcision.

In truth, Arthur had committed the most serious error of judgement of his otherwise successful missionary career. He had failed to take note of Kikuyu aspirations towards higher education and partnership in deciding the African future, and had presented the K.C.A. with a victory which they could never have hoped might be possible. The disruption of 1929 opened the way for the first serious attempts at founding Kikuyu independent schools and churches, and intensified the deep antagonism between loyalist and independent African Christians. As one of the first African ministers of the C.S.M. church recently observed:

"We believed the K.C.A. to be anti-Christian. Only much later did we realise that our disagreement with them did not mean that they were not Christian or sincere. But from 1929, we who remained in the church were called Europeans. More so from 1952 when the Emergency started and 'Mau Mau' wanted to kill us. They thought we opposed Uhuru. But it is a blessing that Kenyatta has forbidden many people to take their revenge upon us since Independence; many wanted to because they still regarded us as Europeans and opponents of the nation. But it is against Government policy."

186 Church of Scotland. Memorandum prepared by the Kikuyu Mission Council on Female Circumcision (Kikuyu, 1st December 1931).

187 This aspect of the Memorandum's argument is definitely overstated. (Opinion of Mr. Robert Macpherson, Kikuyu, 27th March 1968.)

188 In 1919, Musa Getau, one of Kikuyu's first teachers, criticised Arthur for being too conservative in his attitude to advanced education for Africans: "I tell you that you will not escape hazards in this Kikuyu country since your cruelty has reduced the number of potential teachers who volunteer to carry out God's work hand-in-hand with you." (PCEA A/36, Musa to Arthur, 12th September 1919. Translated from Kikuyu by Mr. Lawrence Mungal.)


190 Statement to the author by the Rev. Charles Kareri, Tumutumu, 14th May 1968.
The first problem encountered during the period of research undertaken for this Thesis was that the home committee papers of the East African Scottish Mission had been given for salvage in 1914. Fortunately, duplicates of the greater part of the committee's correspondence and papers were found in the James Stewart Collection in the Rhodesian Archives. Another problem existed in the absence of materials relating to the establishment of the Scottish Mission in 1891, and to its history in the period before 1893. Here again, the Stewart Collection, supplemented by the Robert Moffat Letters at Makerere, was found to be invaluable. For the period 1893 to 1900, a continuous record of the mission's history is to be found in the Letterbook of the Superintendents of the East African Scottish Mission in the National Library of Scotland.

There is no shortage of materials for the history of the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya, 1901 to 1923. The most extensive and valuable collections are to be found in the General Secretary's Office, Presbyterian Church of East Africa, Nairobi, and in the Church of Scotland's foreign mission records in the National Library of Scotland. The author had access to these, as well as to the various collections listed below, but was refused access to the foreign mission papers relating to the Scottish mission in Kenya which are retained in the Church of Scotland Office at 121 George Street, Edinburgh.

The reason given was the unfortunate experience which the Church had suffered at the hands of insensitive researchers - apparently from America - who had been permitted in earlier years to consult what are essentially the most controversial papers of the Scottish mission. Through close investigation, a reasonably accurate picture was obtained of the materials which are closed to researchers. It has been found that duplicates exist in the Church Archives at Nairobi.
I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Personal interviews and/or written communications

B. Manuscript, non-published or unprinted materials

C. Official reports, correspondence, despatches and confidential print, 1895 - 1923

D. Published materials of primary importance
   1. PRESS
      (a) Newspapers
      (b) Periodicals
      (c) Pamphlets and reports
   2. BOOKS

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Articles

B. Pamphlets and reports

C. Books

D. Theses
I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Personal interviews and/or written communications

ARTHUR, Mrs. E.M., 13 Woodburn Terrace, Edinburgh, wife of the late Rev. Dr. J.W. Arthur.

BARLOW, Arthur Ruffello, the late, 28 Buchanan Street, Dunfermline, C.S.M. missionary in Kenya, 1903 - 1947.

— Mrs. N., wife of the late A.R. Barlow.


BROWN, Miss A.L., the late, nurse at Tumutumu mission, 1925 - 1929.

CALDERWOOD, Rev. Dr. R.G.M., the late, missionary at Tumutumu 1922 - 1936, head of the C.S.M., and first Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa.

GATU, Rev. John, Principal Clerk to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, Nairobi.

GRIEVE, G.A., the late, C.S.M. missionary at Chogoria from 1921.

KANTAI ole SEET, of Ngong Village, Kenya, Elder of the Presbyterian Church at Ngong.

KARERI, Rev. Charles M., ordained in 1926, minister in charge of the Presbyterian Church at Tumutumu.

MACKINNON, Angus, of Founders Court, Lothbury, London, of the family of Sir William Mackinnon.

— Duncan, of White Lion Court, Cornhill, London.

MACPHERSON, Robert, Alliance High School, Kenya, industrial missionary at Kikuyu from 1928.
MOFFAT, Mrs. A. C., of Kenilworth, the Cape, South Africa, wife of the late Dr. Robert Unwin Moffat.

POLLOCK, Mrs. G., of Ronachan, Argyllshire, of the family of Sir William Mackinnon.

SMITH, James, teacher at the Alliance High School, Kenya, since 1927.

B. Manuscript, non-published or unprinted materials

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, British and Foreign, and Aborigines Protection Society: Correspondence. Deposited at the Bodleian Library (Rhodes House), Oxford.

Files dealing with the Scottish mission and general problems in British East Africa - land, Indians, East African Association - include the following:

MSS Brit. Emp. S.22:

G.8. Scottish Mission (letters to Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton)

G.133 1916-1918, Forced Labour and Native Carriers

G.135 1921-1924, Indians in British East Africa (This file is a useful source of information on Dr. J.W. Arthur's activities in London in 1923 during the negotiations for a settlement of the Kenya crisis.)

ARTHUR, John W., C.S.M. Missionary in Kenya, 1906-1937: Correspondence and Papers. Held by the Library, University of Edinburgh. Although a large and full collection of materials dealing with every aspect of the C.S.M.'s history, the Arthur Papers were shorn of any document of a controversial or personal nature before they were deposited at Edinburgh.

BARLOW, Arthur Ruffelle, C.S.M. Missionary in Kenya, 1903-1947: Papers. Some of the Barlow Papers are at London University, particularly those dealing with Kikuyu language and ethno-history, while the portion which is of general historical interest is held by Edinburgh University. The Edinburgh collection
contains many valuable papers relating to early missionary work in Kenya, and to major political issues in the period up to 1935. Through the generosity of Mrs. N. Barlow the author was granted access to some private Barlow papers. These contain letters written by David Clement Scott from Kikuyu, 1903-1907, letters by A.R. Barlow to his parents, 1906-1916, and diaries for the period, 1903-1911.

BRUCE, Alexander Low, Edinburgh merchant and co-founder with William Mackinnon of the East African Scottish Mission: Private Papers. Held by relatives in Edinburgh. Containing no reference to the Scottish mission, the Bruce papers nevertheless provide some interesting information which assists towards an understanding of the man himself, his views on imperial commerce, and the standards and ideals of his time.

CHADWICK, Miss E., C.M.S. Missionary in Uganda, 1895-1914, and at Butee, 1914-1925: Reminiscences. Deposited at the Research Project Archives, History Department, University College Nairobi, File C/2/4. The manuscript proved to be of use for comparative purposes.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: Missionary Records. Now held by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. This collection contains the surviving foreign mission records of the Churches reunited in 1929 to form the Church of Scotland. In the case of the C.S.M. in Kenya, the collection consists mainly of letters sent to missionaries in the field by the Convenors and Secretaries of the Foreign Mission Committee. The following Letterbooks were consulted:

Miscellaneous:

8015 Letterbook of the East African Scottish Mission 1893-1900

Free Church of Scotland: (For the period when the East African Scottish Mission was in contact with the Free Church)

7753-7762 Clerks' Letterbooks 1885 - 1902
7773-7779 Secretaries' Letterbooks 1887 - 1906
7877 Letters from Livingstonia 1889 - 1894
(Letters from Dr. James Stewart at Kibwezi in 1891 were found in this file.)

Church of Scotland: (For C.S.M. in British Empire, 1901-1929)
7534-7540 Convener's Letterbooks 1872 - 1907
7556-7605 Letterbooks of Secretary W.M. McLachlan 1911 - 1929
7606-7608 Letters from Missionaries 1881 - 1933
7612-7617 General Letters to the Secretary 1918 - 1924
7619 Kikuyu Sub-Committee Minute Book 1918 - 1922
7625 Convener's Letterbooks, Africa 1888 - 1926

The value of this collection is reduced by the absence of a comparable number of incoming letters from missionaries in the field. While denied access to the main collection still held at the Church of Scotland's Department of Overseas Mission and Inter-Church Relations, 121 George Street, Edinburgh, the author was permitted to consult two bound volumes of mainly printed extracts from reports and minutes. These were:

'Kikuyu Mission, British East Africa, 1891 - 1908'
'Nyasaland and Kikuyu, 1882 - 1908'


GORDON, General Charles: Letters. Held by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (Acc. 4031). There are forty-four letters, 1880 - 1884, most of which are from Gordon to Mackinnon; a few are from Mackinnon to Gordon, and from Mackinnon to Kirk and the Sultan of Zanzibar. The letters deal with the attempts made by Mackinnon to secure Gordon's services for an international state in the Congo.
GRIEVE, G.A., C.S.M. Missionary and first headmaster of the Alliance High
School, Kenya: Correspondence. Held by the Library, University of Edinburgh.
Grieve's correspondence deals with the beginnings of higher African education
in Kenya.

INDIAN CONGRESS, Kenya, Nairobi: Congress Files. The following files were
consulted: 'Correspondence, 1922', and 'Correspondence with Kenya and Uganda
Governments, 1921'.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL, Edinburgh House, London: Papers. Files consulted:
'East Africa - Native Labour'
'East Africa - Indians'
'East Africa' - Kenya'

The last file contains extremely valuable material on Kenya missionary view
of Harry Thuku and the 'Indian Question', 1921-22.

KENYA NATIONAL ARCHIVES: Provincial and District Records. A selection of these
which was examined includes the following:

Central Province:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PC/CP</th>
<th>1/1</th>
<th>Political Record Books, Provincial, 1901-1926</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kikuyu District, 1908-1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Embu District, 1907-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Chuka Sub-District, 1907-1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Fort Hall District, 1902-1920</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC/CP</td>
<td>4/1-3</td>
<td>Annual Reports, 1906-1924</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC/CP</td>
<td>6/4</td>
<td>Native Affairs - Native Policy Generally, 1917-1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6/5</td>
<td>Education of Natives, 1918-1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC/CP</td>
<td>8/1</td>
<td>Administration - Female Circumcision, 1928-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8/5</td>
<td>Associations, 1921-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8/7</td>
<td>Political Situation and Unrest, 1924-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9/23</td>
<td>Surrender by C.S.M. of Land at Kikuyu, 1934-1938</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Districts:

1. Kiambu
   DC/KBU/1  Annual and Handing over Reports, 1907-1924
       "  3  Political Record Books, 1901-1924
2. Nyeri
   DC/NYI/1  Annual Reports, 1913-1931
       "  2  Political Records, 1916-1926

In addition to the above, a number of files formerly deposited at C.M.S. Headquarters in Nairobi were examined. (See Handlist, Ref. ARC(CGO) 1/50.) Most of the files deal with a period much later than that covered by this thesis.

LANDS DEPARTMENT, Nairobi, Ministry of Lands and Settlement; files containing correspondence on mission spheres, 1908-1920, marked 669/I and 669/II.

MACDONALD, J.R.L., Captain: Diary written 1891-1892 during the Mombasa-Victoria Nyanza Railway Survey, a copy of which is deposited at Makerere University College Library. The Diary contains some useful references to the Scottish Mission at Kibwezi.

MACKINNON, William, President of the Imperial British East Africa Company, 1888-1893, and principal founder of the East African Scottish Mission: Papers and Correspondence. Although not relating directly to the Scottish mission, two collections of Mackinnon papers proved invaluable for an understanding of the man himself and for his general imperial and commercial activities.

1. Mackinnon Papers, School of Oriental and African Studies, London:
   (a) Precis of mail, I.B.E.A. Co., London, to Mombasa, 10th July 1891 to 10th April 1893
   (b) Precis of mail, Mombasa to I.B.E.A. Co., London, 12th August 1891 to 14th February 1893
   (c) Miscellaneous correspondence relating to the construction of the Kibwezi-Mombasa road, especially George Wilson to Mackinnon, July-August 1892.
2. Mackinnon Papers in the possession of Messrs. Murray, Beith and Murray, W.S. Edinburgh:

(a) "Sir William Mackinnon's Trust", 2 Volumes

(b) "Trust, Disposition and Settlement of Sir William Mackinnon, Bart.

   (With Codicils, 1893), 21st April 1884"

(c) "Closed Record in the competition in the action of multiple-poinding
   and exoneration at the instance of Peter Mackinnon and others Pursuers
   and Real Raisers: against the said Peter Mackinnon and others, Defenders,

   Edinburgh, 12th December 1895"

(e) "Memorandum with reference to various Bursary and Charitable Purposes
   of Sir William Mackinnon's Will, 1918"

(f) "Extract Registered Discharge by Sir William Crawford Currie and others,
   as Residuary Legatees, in favour of Islay Kerr and others as Trustees
   of the late Sir William Mackinnon of Loup and Balinakill, Bt., 9th April
   1947"

MAXWELL, G., Nyeri farmer from 1904: Letters. A selection of these, containing
some important references to the Kenya land question, was kindly shown to
the author by Mr. R.A. Bullock of the Geography Department, University College
Nairobi.

MOFFAT, Robert Unwin, Missionary at Kibwezi, 1891-1892, later, Medical Officer
in Uganda: Letters to his parents, 1891-1907. Letters for the period 1891
to 1892 are a personal diary of events at the East African Scottish Mission.

PAICE, Arnold, Farmer at Naivasha and Nyeri from 1907: Letters to his mother.
Held at the Royal Commonwealth Society's Library, London. The Letters give
the settler viewpoint on questions such as land, labour and the Indian problem.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF EAST AFRICA, Nairobi: Correspondence and Papers of the
Church of Scotland Mission In Kenya. This was the most important source of
(d) "Trust, Disposition and Settlement" by Peter Mackinnon, 18th February
1897."
materials and was used extensively. The author catalogued the correspondence and papers in 1967 and placed them in the following groups:

FCEA A/1-38 General Mission Letters
B/1-15 Correspondence and Papers re Mission and Church Affairs
C/1-9 Correspondence and Papers re Synod and Presbytery
D/1-6 Minutes and Papers of the Representative Council of the Alliance
E/1-7 Correspondence and Papers re Education and the Alliance High School
F/1-10 Papers and Correspondence re Land
G/1-6 African Political Associations
H/1-5 Mission Financial Affairs
I/1-4 Medical Work
J/1-10 Language Study
K/1-4 Miscellaneous

Further Mission papers were located at Tumutumu in 1968. These have now been transferred to the central Church archives at St. Andrew's, Nairobi.

Thirty-three files - continuing Tumutumu's correspondence with Kikuyu, Edinburgh and district officers, together with papers on education and political questions - have been consulted and used extensively.

PRINGLE, J.W., Captain, member of the Mombasa—Victoria Nyanza Railway Survey: Diary. Copy in the Library, Makerere University College. The Diary contains an account of a visit to the Scottish Mission at Kibwezi.

SANFORD, Henry Shelton, General, U.S. Minister in Brussels: Correspondence and Papers. Held at the Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford, Florida, U.S.A.
Box 127 contains the correspondence between Mackinnon and Sanford on King Leopold's Congo schemes. Nine groups of letters are from Mackinnon to Sanford, 1879-1891 and one is a selection of Sanford's draft replies.

SCOTT, Lord Francis, leading Kenya settler: Correspondence and Papers. Held at the History Department, University College Nairobi. The Scott Papers are a large and valuable collection which deals with practically every aspect of Kenya's development after 1920. The following two files were consulted: Section H., 'General Political Matters', files marked, 'XIV Indian Question', and 'XV Convention of Associations'.

Materials selected from this list for consultation included:
1. Hope, Todd & Kirk Papers (Box 44), correspondence relating to the discreditable conduct of missionaries at Blantyre, East Central Africa, 1876-1884.
2. Lothian/Newbattle Muniments, GD/40, 139-216, miscellaneous correspondence and papers relating to Kenya, 1917-1939.

STEWART, James, Principal of Lovedale Mission, South Africa, 1870-1905: Correspondence and Papers. Held at the former Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury. In this very large collection, there are fourteen sections containing material on the East African Scottish Mission at Kibwezi.
These are:
1. Stewart and Secretary, W.P. Alexander, to missionaries at Kibwezi, 1891-1897
2. Miscellaneous correspondence to Stewart re Kibwezi, 1891-1899
3. Sir William Mackinnon to Stewart, 1891-1892
4. Peter Mackinnon to Stewart, 1893-1894
5. Stewart to Peter Mackinnon, 1893
6. Cornelius Rahman, Kilwezi, to Stewart, 1892
7. Kilwezi missionaries, generally, to Stewart, 1891-1894
8. Kilwezi missionaries to E.A.S.M. Secretary, 1893-1897
9. W.P. Alexander to Stewart, 1894-1897
10. A.L. Bruce to Stewart, 1888-1893
11. Stewart to Bruce, 1891-1893
12. Stewart to W.P. Alexander, 1894
13. Stewart's Diary and Notebook, 1891
14. Miscellaneous Reports and Correspondence.

TANZANIA NATIONAL ARCHIVES, Dar es Salaam: Files relating to Carrier Corps conditions during the 1914-18 war, and to the British missionary occupation of mission spheres in former German East Africa:

WI/U 19351 'Unclaimed Wages (in respect of War Service due to Natives'
WI/A 23428 'Askari Statue Dar es Salaam'
04/1916-20/170 'Missionaries, repatriation of German and Austrian, and replacement'
0228/1922/81 'A.M. Anderson-Scotch Missionary Society'
3632/1/1926 'German Protestant Mission Property: Deed of Transfer to Conference of Missionary Societies'.

UGANDA NATIONAL ARCHIVES, Entebbe: Files relating to Carrier Corps affairs and conditions, 1914-1918. Files consulted:

5627 'War with Germany: Native War Memorials'
5723 'War with Germany: Military Labour Corps: Statistical Branch'
5317 'War with Germany: Ordinances in connection with Military Labour Bureau'
4494, -2 'War with Germany: Grants of Compensation to Native levies and porters'.
4290/1-2 'War with Germany: Porters for Uganda Forces'. 
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE NAIROBI, Research Project Archives, Department of History:

Oral traditions, testimony and miscellaneous written documents:

B/2/2(1) 'Waiyaki wa Hinga'
C/1/1 'African Independent Church and School at Gituamba'
C/3/1 'Alliance High School Documents'
C/3/2 'Disciplinary practices at Preretown, Mombasa, 1881'
D/2/1 - 1(1) 'Indian Congress in Kenya'
D/2/5 - 5(1) 'Kavirondo Political Associations'
D/6/1 'Kikuyu Political Tracts'
G/1/2 - 2(6) 'Documents from the collection of Smith Mackenzie and Co. Ltd.'
H/1/4 'A Bibliography of Education in Kenya'.

WILLIS, J.J., C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno 1906-1911, Bishop of Uganda 1912-1933;
Journal, 1908-1910, and typescript on the Kikuyu Conference 1913. Held at
the Library, Makerere University College.

C. Official reports, correspondence, despatches and confidential print, 1895-1923

C.7646 (1895), Correspondence Respecting the Retirement of the Imperial British
   East Africa Company, April 1895.
C.8683 (1897), Report by Sir Arthur Hardinge on the Condition and Progress of
   the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 20th July 1897,
   December 1897.
C.769 (1901), Report by His Majesty's Commissioner on the East Africa Protect-
   orate, August 1901.
C.1626 (1905), Report by His Majesty's Commissioner on the East Africa Protect-
   orate, June 1903.
Cd. 2164 (1904), Final Report of the Uganda Railway Committee, July 1904.


Cd. 2740 (1905), Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, October 1905.

Cd. 3562 (1907), Correspondence Relating to the Flogging of Natives by Certain Europeans at Nairobi, July 1907.

Cd. 4122 (1908), East African Protectorate. Correspondence re Affairs, 1908.


Cd. 5584 (1911), Correspondence Relating to the Masai, June 1911.


Cmd. 873 (1920), Despatch to the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate relating to Native Labour, and papers connected therewith, August 1920.

Cmd. 1311 (1921), Correspondence regarding the position of Indians in East Africa, 1921.

Cmd. 1922 (1923), Indians in Kenya, July 1923.

D. Published materials of primary importance

1. PRESS

(a) Newspapers

East African Chronicle, The, 1921


(b) Periodicals


In Far Fields: 1912. (Missionary Magazine of the Church of Scotland: especially 'The Late Mrs. Livingstone Bruce', 6th June 1916.)


Life and Work in Nyasaland: 1907. (Blantyre Mission Journal: especially Alexander Hetherwick, 'David Clement Scott', and M.M. Chisuse, 'A Native Appreciation', 222-3, September to October, 1907.)

Outposts, The, (Edinburgh): 1908. (Church of Scotland Quarterly Publication: especially D. Cathels, 'The Late D.C. Ruffelle Scott', II, January, 1908.)

Tangazo (Nairobi): 1921-22. (Broadsheet of the East African Association)


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* Times, The, 1893, 1897.
c. Pamphlets and Reports

ARTHUR, J.W., East Africa in Transition (Edinburgh, 1942).

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1914 to September 15th 1919 (Nairobi, 1919).

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Female Circumcision (Kikuyu) 1931.

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Correspondence of the Kikuyu Central Association and the Colonial Office, 1929-
1930 (Nairobi, 1930).
East African Scottish Mission, Reports I-V (Glasgow, 1892-1901).

Educational Code. Drawn up by the Alliance, Nairobi, January 15th, 1919 (Kijabe, 1919).


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Memorandum of the Kikuyu Central Association, Fort Hall, to the Hilton Young Commission (Nairobi, 1928).


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STEWART, Andrew, Mrs. Henry E. Scott. Some Memories of a Gracious and Saintly Lady (Edinburgh, n.d.).


WESTON, Frank, Proposals for a Central Missionary Council of Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches in East Africa (London, March 1914).


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tion by R.C. Bridges, 1968).


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of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 61, 1931.

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B. Pamphlets and Reports


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C. Books

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D. Theses


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- Miss M.A. Emokor, Secretary to the Cabinet, Entebbe;
- the Director of the National Archives, Dar-es-Salaam;
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- Mr. S.M. Simpson of the Department of Manuscripts, Edinburgh University Library;
- Miss Grace Hunter, Librarian and Secretary, Centre for African Studies, Edinburgh University;
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- the Librarian, School of Oriental and African Studies, London;
- the Librarian of the Newspaper Library, British Museum at Colindale;
- Miss E.M. Sheppard, Secretary to the World Council of Churches, Edinburgh House, London;
- Mr. D.H. Simpson, Librarian Royal Commonwealth
Society, London; Mr. A.R.C. Grant, Archivist, the Centre for Military Archives, London University; the Keeper and his staff of the Public Record Office, London; and Master David Gordon, head of the family of General Charles Gordon, of Guilford, Surrey.

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SOURCES FOR THE ILLUSTRATIONS


22. Cartoonist’s Impression of Dr. Arthur in 1933: East Africa and Rhodesia, 16th February 1933, p. 543.

APPENDIX I.

AGREEMENT with KILUNDU respecting SALE OF LAND at KIBWEZI RIVER EAST AFRICA, 7th December, 1891.
AGREEMENT with KILUNDU respecting SALE OF LAND

at KIBWEZI RIVER EAST AFRICA, 7th December, 1891.

This is to certify that Kilundu, on behalf of himself and his people on the one part, hereby agrees to sell to Dr. James Stewart, representing the Committee of the East African Scottish Mission on the other part, to be the exclusive property of the Committee and free from all claims of any kind whatsoever, excepting only that of one right-of-way, the piece of land described as follows, viz.:—

The River Kibwezi to be the northern Boundary; the western boundary to be in a line drawn from the fountain or source to the large thorn trees standing about one hundred yards north-east of the Imperial British East African Company's stockade No.4, thence in a southerly direction one mile into the adjacent jungle.

From that line the boundary shall proceed in an easterly direction, passing mid-way through the jungle lying between the open plain adjacent to and west of Kilundu's old village, to the point of junction with the eastern boundary; the eastern boundary shall be a line drawn from the River Kibwezi in a due southerly direction, passing through the eastern jungle fringe of the first mentioned plain to the point of junction with the southern boundary.

In confirmation of this sale and grant to the said mission, which has settled at this spot at the invitation of Kilundu and his people, as expressed on their part at a meeting held on the 19th day of October, 1891, it is agreed that the said mission shall pay the price asked, namely, forty dotis - equal to about one hundred and sixty yards of calico in cloth - and brass wire as agreed on.

And the said mission, of its own accord, will further add a present over and above the said price, of a value at least equal to or exceeding that of the said price for the benefit of Kilundu and for distribution amongst his people.

And it is made known that by this sale and the terms thereof, Kilundu further confirms his desire, expressed from the first, that the mission should settle in his district; and also his promise to give land for building and cultivation wherever a suitable site should be found.

In consideration of the aforesaid payment, Kilundu, on behalf of himself and the Wa-Kamba people in his district, hereby transfers to Dr. James Stewart, on behalf of the Committee of the East African Scottish Mission, all right, title, and interest in the said land.

In confirmation of this sale, we, the undersigned, do hereby attach our signatures on this the seventh day of December, 1891.

(Signed) KILUNDU

Mark

(Signed) JAMES STEWART

Signed in the presence of:

(Signed) R.J. MOFFAT  

GEORGE WILSON

Witnessed by us, 7th December 1891

(Signed) MUTI YA NYATU

Mark

(Signed) NGEZU WA KILUNDU

Mark
APPENDIX II

Lovedale Callas and the East African Scottish Mission.
Lovedale Gallas and the East African Scottish Mission

In March 1888 two Zulus walked into the Edinburgh office of Robert Young, Clerk of the Free Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee. The two men were Claudius Dickson of the Leith Gasworks whose wife was from Brechin, and James Tontella, a former Lovedale scholar and a ship's stoker who had been shipwrecked in the Red Sea and who wished to return to South Africa.¹

Young had no difficulty in finding a place for Tontella as an extra hand on a Clan Line ship bound for the Cape. But a few months later there arose another more serious incident involving displaced Africans and the Red Sea. Captain Gissing of 'H.M.S. Osprey' arrested a dhow in September 1888 which was found to have a cargo of two hundred and thirteen Galla women and children destined for the slave market at Mocha.² On arrival at Aden, sixty-four Galla children were handed over to the Keith Falconer Mission at Sheikh Othman.

The Free Church, although in principle not opposed to accepting such a windfall of 'raw material', nevertheless had difficulty in deciding what to do with the freed slaves. There was no question of trying to return them immediately to their homeland. They might have been Arusi Galla enslaved by the Abyssinians in the Reever Shebeyli region; or alternatively they might have been Tana River or Boran Galla captured by the Maheran and Darod Somali.³ Only after a period of training would they be sent home. And then they would be evangelists in the vanguard of the missionary penetration of Galla Laud.⁴

Sheikh Othman soon proved unsuitable as a training place for the Galla children. Not only was it impolitic to maintain so large a settlement of freed slaves in the midst of a local slave-owning populace, but it was found

¹ FCSP/NLS, 7753, Robert Young to Stewart, 7th March 1888.
that the children did not thrive in the harsh climate of Southern Arabia. A solution to the problem of their immediate future came in early 1889 from William Mackinnon.

Mackinnon had taken a personal interest in the welfare of the Galla children. His wife supported a girl called Hawi and his nephew, Peter Mackinnon supported another.5 On learning that four of the children had died at Sheikh Othman, Mackinnon persuaded George Smith, secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee, to let him have the Gallas for the proposed East African Scottish Mission "as a base from which to try for Gallaland."6 This solution was opposed by Dr. James Stewart.

The idea of sending the Gallas to a new Mission in virtually unknown territory did not recommend itself to Stewart. He was no more pleased when in November 1889 he heard that the Free Church Deputy, Dr. Lindsay, had suggested strongly that the Gallas be sent to Poona in Western India.7 Stewart's wife was in Edinburgh at this time, and through her he persuaded the Foreign Mission Committee to defer their decision until he himself arrived in Edinburgh on furlough for discussions. By April 1890 he had arranged to transfer the Gallas from Aden to Lovedale at the Cape.

The manner in which Mackinnon viewed this reversal of his own plan is not on record. His sure disappointment was no doubt assuaged by Stewart's promise to send the Gallas to the East African Scottish Mission in due time.8 But by 1894 Stewart no longer had any intention of keeping his promise. He had from experience a low opinion of the missionaries at Kibwezi. He was conscious of

5 FCSP/NLS, 7773, George Smith to Mrs. Mackinnon, 1st April 1889.
6 FCSP/NLS, 7776, Smith to Stewart, 29th October, 1897.
7 FCSP/NLS, 7774, Smith to Stewart, 31st October 1889. The Poona station was closed soon afterwards as a result of a financial crisis within the Foreign Mission Committee. (E.G.K. Hewat, Vision and Achievement. A History of the Foreign Missions united in the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1960) 54.)
8 In order to find the money necessary for the transfer of the Gallas to Kibwezi; and for their maintenance, Stewart had made a strong bid in 1892 to the Freedman's Missionary Society for the £10,000 Arthington Bequest for evangelistic work amongst the Galla. (SP, Stewart to Rev. Dr. G.D. Mathews, 6th June 1892.)
the dangers confronting a Mission so isolated in potentially hostile territory. And above all, he had been deeply offended by Mackinnon's action in cancelling his bequests to the Free Church, and by the Mackinnon family's consequent refusal to transfer the Mission and its endowment to the Free Church.

When Dr. David Charters in 1894 made a strong appeal for the Gallas Stewart replied that while he had always expected to send the Gallas to Kibwezi as a base from which to establish a mission in Gallaland, or initially at least in upper Kikuyu, Mackinnon's attitude to the Free Church had changed the situation. He continued:

"As the Free Church has expended a considerable amount of money from first to last, probably between £4,000 and £5,000 on these Gallas, it is not likely that they would transfer them to a Mission which has given it (the Free Church) the go-by or some would say almost a slap in the face."

The Galla children, whose presence at Kibwezi might have radically altered the East African Scottish Mission's record of success and direction of advance, do not appear to have left southern Africa. Eight boys and one girl died at Lovedale. Two were permanent invalids. The majority left to take up employment as teachers, clerks, artisans and domestic servants between Capetown in the west, Bulawayo in the north and Durban in the east. Fifty-one had been baptised — nine of these having been admitted into the Church as full members by profession of faith. By 1897 there were fifteen Galla

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9 See Appendix III.
10 See Chapter II.
11 SP, Stewart to Charters, 6th June 1894.
13 Sixty-Eighth Report, May 1898, 10.
14 Ibid. The records suggest that the Galla children were not happy in their early years at Lovedale. The conduct of the boys was noted in 1894 to be poor, but improving. One missionary at Lovedale was disciplined in 1892 for sexual offences concerning the children. (Christian Express (Lovedale) October 1892.)
youths remaining at Lovedale who were undergoing training as teachers. These Stewart intended to send to Abyssinia as the nucleus of a new Free Church Mission should the time come when the Emperor Menelik would lift his ban on foreign missionaries. Before this plan could be realised a great famine occurred in India. The Galla support fund in Scotland was abandoned in favour of urgent appeals for famine relief in India. Stewart was advised to rid himself of the remaining Gallas by March 1898.  

15 FCSP/NLS 7760, Smith to Stewart, 1st April 1897; 7776, Smith to Stewart, 29th October 1897; and 7761, Smith to Stewart, 3rd December 1897.
APPENDIX III

Extracts from the Trust-Disposition and Settlement of Sir William Mackinnon, dated 21st April 1884, and the Codicil of 29th April 1893.
Seventh. After the death of my said wife, if she shall survive me, or on my own, in case I survive her, I direct my trustees to deliver the portraits of my mother and of the King of the Belgians (presented by his Majesty to me), as well as the portrait of myself lately presented to her by friends, to my nephew, Peter Mackinnon, Rosemount, Campbeltown, as his own absolute property, whom failing, to his nearest heir male of the name of Mackinnon, or failing such, to my own nearest heir of the name of MacNeill.

Nineteenth. I direct my trustees to set apart and invest in such securities as they shall see proper the sum of £5000 as an endowment for the minister of the Free Church at Clachan, the interest being payable to him at two terms in the year, Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions; but the same shall be payable only to a minister of the said Free Church adhering to the Disruption principles of 1843, declaring it to be my intention that no one holding views popularly known as Voluntaryism, or dissenting from the Disruption principles of the Free Church of Scotland, or permitting innovations in the form of worship in use in the Free and Established Churches in 1843 and previously, shall have any claim to said endowment. In case the incumbency of the said Free Church shall be at any time vacant, I empower my said trustees, in their discretion, during such vacancy to devote the interest or other annual produce of said £5000 to the promotion or support of any Evangelical Mission or other cognate objects as to my said trustees shall seem proper; and in case at any time hereafter a reunion of the Free and Established Churches of Scotland shall take place (the necessity for said £5000 being thereupon superseded by the existing endowments of the Established Church), or in case of a union of the Free Church and United Presbyterian or any other Church shall take place on any other than the said Disruption principles of the Free Church, I direct that the said capital sum of £5000 shall then be applied to Evangelical or Charitable or Educational objects connected with the Highlands of Scotland, according as my said trustees shall deem expedient.

* Private Mackinnon Papers.
Twenty-fourth. I direct the sum of £10,000 sterling to be set apart, in cash or in securities at probate value as to my trustees shall see fit, and invested in such way and manner as to my trustees shall seem proper, in order that the interest or other annual produce thereof may be applied annually in assisting Evangelical Missions in India connected with the said Free Church or the said United Church, or such other Evangelical Mission as to my trustees shall seem proper.

Twenty-seventh. I direct and appoint my said trustees to set apart and invest as to them shall seem proper, the sum of £20,000 for the purpose of providing annuities of such amount as my trustees shall appoint to old, retired, or invalided Foreign Missionaries of the Free Church or their widows or families, who may be otherwise unprovided for, the application of such annuities to be entirely in the discretion of my trustees, and in case the Free Church becomes united to the Established, United Presbyterian, or any other Church, not holding by said Disruption principles (according to the absolute discretion and opinion of my trustees) the said capital sum shall thereafter on the death of said annuitants as in consequence of their deaths respectively, being no longer required for providing said annuities revert to my trustees and form part of my trust estate.

Twenty-ninth. I hereby direct and appoint that the church which I erected for the use of the Free Church congregation at Clachan shall be used for public worship according to the Presbyterian form, customary at and prior to 1843, and I specially provide and declare that no instrumental music in the worship to be conducted in said church shall at any time be allowed on any ground or pretext whatever, it being declared that any departure from this condition shall constitute a ground for having declared a forfeiture, by the congregation worshipping in said erection, of the use of said church; and my trustees shall thereafter have power to use the said building for any Evangelical service, but always so as that no instrumental music shall be employed in connection with such service; And further, in regard to the cottage or manse built by me for the use of the minister of the said church, I hereby provide and declare that the same can and shall only be occupied by a minister adhering to the principles of the Free Church of Scotland as declared in 1843, and in case of any contravention of the
conditions hereby stipulated with reference to the use of the said church or the occupation of the said manse, I declare that my said trustees shall have power to sell or dispose of the said church and manse, or otherwise to deal with both in such way and manner as they shall see proper, and either to give the use of the manse free to any old friends of mine, or to let the same from time to time to any desirable tenant, or otherwise to deal with the said house according as my said trustees in their discretion shall see proper, which is hereby declared to be absolute in the matter, provided always that neither of said buildings can ever be used in connection with Episcopal or Popish worship or occupation.

Thirty-second. In case I leave any heritable or real property in India, Australia, or elsewhere than in Scotland, * I hereby declare it to be my intention and desire that the same shall belong to, and be divided among the eldest sons of the said John Mackinnon, Duncan Mackinnon, and Duncan Macneill, respectively, each eldest son receiving one-third of such property.

I declare it to be my intention and desire that the trust estate hereby conveyed shall be administered according to the law of Scotland, and that any attempt on the part of any of the beneficiaries under this trust to have the estate administered by the Courts of England or any other country shall be the occasion and ground of a forfeiture by the beneficiary or beneficiaries making such attempt of all beneficiary rights under the trust disposition and settlement, which forfeiture my trustees are hereby instructed to enforce; without prejudice, however, to the right of my trustees and executors to make up titles to any part of the trust property or effects situated in England or elsewhere.

* In 1895 the only estate abroad belonging to Mackinnon which could be said to be heritable or real was the Cossipore Tea Estate in India, and certain blocks of land on the Kirwezi-Nombasa road in British East Africa. (Closed Record in the Competition and in the Action of Multiple-pointing and Exoneration at the instance of Peter Mackinnon and others (Sir William Mackinnon's Trustees), - Pursuers and Real Raisers; against the said Peter Mackinnon and others, - Defenders, 12 December 1895, page 22.) See Appendix
Codicil to my Trust Disposition and Settlement

I hereby revoke, cancel, and annul and withdraw all and every the bequests of every kind made by me in my Trust Disposition and Settlement, dated 21st April 1884, to or in favour of the Free Church of Scotland, or all or any of its schemes, whether for its missionary purposes or otherwise. I take this step because of what I consider its departure in many ways from the constitution and principles of the Disruption Church of 1843, and last of all, by its acceptance of what is now known as "The Declaratory Act," which will in my opinion have a baneful effect on the Church's future usefulness.

(signed) W. MACKINNON,
Balinakill, Clachan,
Argyleshire, 29th April 1893.
APPENDIX IV

Waiyaki wa Hinga

1. 'Fort Smith. The Passing of Waiyaki', by H.H. Austin.
2. 'The Prayers of Waiyaki', by Mbugua Njama.
1. FORT SMITH.

The Passing of Wyaki

By Brig.-General H. H. Austin, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

It is strange how the perusal of a stray paragraph in the papers often vividly recalls events of the past. Last night, whilst reading The Times, my attention was arrested by a heading, 'King's Medal for Kenya Chiefs.' There I learnt that an interesting ceremony, without precedent in the history of Kenya Colony, had been performed at Government House, Nairobi, on the King’s Birthday. The King's Medal for Native Chiefs was then presented by the Governor to one Kinyanjui, paramount chief of the Wa-Kikuyu, for good services rendered during the campaign against the Germans in East Africa.

The disorderly happenings in Ireland and the varied interests of to-day were forthwith banished from my mind. Memory hurried me back thirty years to a tragedy of which I was a witness within the precincts of Fort Smith in Kikuyu. This concerned the murderous assault made by Wyaki, the then paramount chief of the Wa-Kikuyu, on Mr. Purkis, the representative of the Imperial British East Africa Company in Kikuyu. That unprovoked attack resulted in the downfall of Wyaki, and the installation by us of the aforesaid Kinyanjui, then a young man, to reign in his stead. How well Kinyanjui has performed the difficult duties which have devolved on him during the intervening years the paragraph referred to above makes clear.

It is my purpose in this article, however, to relate something of the troublous times in Kikuyu before the advent of the Uganda Railway, and during the treacherous sway of Wyaki. That chieftain had, from the first, been largely instrumental in stirring up the turbulent Wa-Kikuyu to oppose British occupation of this remote and fertile region, which is situated 350 miles from Mombasa on the main route to Uganda.

It was in 1890 that the Imperial British East Africa Company decided to establish a station in Kikuyu for the assistance of caravans proceeding through Masailand. The task was entrusted to Captain (now Brig.-General Sir Frederick) Lugard, who selected a site near a spot known as Dagoretti. The Wa-Kikuyu feigned delight at the prospect of a British post in their midst, and Wyaki went to the length of making blood-brothership with Lugard. A strong stockade was erected to enclose store-houses and buildings; and leaving Mr. George Wilson and some forty Swahilis to hold the new station Lugard continued his journey to Uganda.

For a time things progressed satisfactorily, but before long the natural treachery of the Wa-Kikuyu revealed itself, and Wyaki murdered two of Wilson's porters, who had visited his village to buy food for the garrison of the post. This led to hostilities, and Wilson

* From the Cornhill Magazine, May 1923. *
was hard pressed whilst endeavouring to maintain his position. Day by day his list of killed and wounded in the besieged post increased. With great difficulty he managed to get a runner through to Machako's Fort, some fifty miles nearer the coast, asking for a further supply of ammunition, and men if they could be spared. The commandant refused to send the assistance so urgently needed. Finally, when his ammunition was nearly exhausted, Wilson realised that the situation was becoming hopeless. He abandoned the fort, therefore, and fought his way through the surrounding forests to the Athi Plains, whence he continued safely to Machako's. There he reorganized his force and set out once again to reoccupy Dagoretti; but on reaching that place he found nothing left of the fort or its valuable stores, save some smoking ruins.

The occupation of Kikuyu, however, was a matter of great moment to the Imperial British East Africa Company, as it afforded an important jumping-off place for traversing the great foodless tract of country which intervened between Kikuyu and Lake Victoria. Kikuyu, relatively speaking, flowed with the proverbial milk and honey, owing to the fertility of its soil, its succulent pasturages, and the numerous clear streams coursing through its narrow valleys. Moreover, by reason of its altitude of over 6000 feet above sea-level, it was one of the healthiest districts in British East Africa. Cereals and live stock were procurable in abundance for the onward journey to Uganda; whilst sweet potatoes grew practically wild, and were so cheap an article of diet that porters could purchase some six or eight pounds of them as rations for one string of small beads. They were certainly very filling at the price.

A fresh effort was made, therefore, to establish a post in Kikuyu. This time the venture was undertaken by Captain (now Colonel) Eric Smith of the 1st Life Guards, an enterprising officer of wide East African experience. He was assisted by Mr. Purkis, a very handy young fellow, formerly a sailor, and with some South African experience. They set out from the coast in 1801 with a strong and well-equipped caravan. Smith decided to beard the lion in his den. Instead of halting on the fringe of the cultivated areas within the forest belt of Kikuyu, he boldly pushed on to Wyaki's village itself. There he calmly proceeded to pitch his camp in the centre of that disconcerted chieftain's stronghold. He now enjoyed six to four the best of the situation, and further negotiations followed with commendable promptitude. An excellent site for the proposed fort was without difficulty acquired from the nervous Wyaki—on a flat-topped open spur in close proximity to, and overlooking, his village. A small stream flowed down the valley below, whence water was easily drawn under the protection of the fort; whilst the country round consisted of acres and acres of sweet potatoes. Food and water, therefore, were close at hand in the event of the Wa-Kikuyu kicking over the traces and subjecting the fort to a siege, in accordance with precedent.

For some months thereafter Smith despatched well-armed working parties daily to the neighbouring forests to cut down suitable saplings for the construction of the stockade, and the store-houses and quarters erected within its perimeter. In March 1802 the Uganda Railway Survey Expedition, under the command of Captain (now Major-General
Sir Ronald Macdonald, reached Fort Smith from Mombasa; and we found Smith and Purlds comfortably installed in the new station, which had nearly approached completion. It was by far the most imposing post between the coast and Uganda, and consisted of a large oblong-shaped stockade surrounded by a deep ditch with a barbed-wire fence on the glacis. Entrance to the fort was effected by means of two draw-bridges across the ditch. These were drawn up at night, and the flanking defence of the perimeter was adequately provided for by means of bastions. Within the formidable enclosure brick quarters had been built for the officers, barracks for the men, and spacious stores for goods and grain; whilst a lofty flag-staff arose from the centre of the velvet-turfed fort square, and proudly flew from its summit the Company's flag.

Now that Smith and Purlds had evacuated Wyaki's village and taken up their residence in the fort, that potentate's protestations of pleasure at the settlement of white men in his territory began, gradually, to wear a bit thin. Before long, rumours were rife that Wyaki was secretly scheming against the British with the Wa-Guruguru, a neighbouring clan of Wa-Kikuyu with whom Wyaki was connected by marriage. But during our brief sojourn at Fort Smith the country bore an atmosphere of calm, though the founder of the post was not without misgivings lest trouble might yet arise as the result of Wyaki's intrigues. Still, the situation was sufficiently satisfactory to admit of the departure of Captain Eric Smith for the coast and England a few days after our arrival.

The command of this important outpost of Empire then devolved on Purlds, who was supported by a garrison of one hundred Swahilis. We, too, shortly continued our journey to Lake Victoria and Uganda; so Purlds was left entirely to his own resources in this turbulent region for the next four-and-a-half months. He proved fully equal to his responsible position. Step by step he widened the area of his activities by tapping districts further afield for food. He made friends with one Wandenge, the chief of a district some twelve miles from the fort, whence quantities of grain were cheaply procured and stored in the fort for the use of passing caravans. So peaceful for a time remained the outlook that small parties of a dozen armed Swahili porters were soon in the habit of travelling to and from Wandenge's village and the fort in perfect safety.

The chief danger to be apprehended seemed that of Masai raids into Kikuyu—from the grazing grounds frequented by those warlike nomads, and by which the country was surrounded. This menace was shortly translated into action by a marauding band of six or seven hundred El Moran, or Masai warriors, who invaded Kikuyu territory in May 1892 and devastated the country to within a few miles of Fort Smith. Wyaki and the Wa-Kikuyu, in their plight, appealed to Purlds for assistance in driving the raiders out of the country. This he at length consented to give when the Masai, carried away by their own enthusiasm as the result of their earlier successes, had the temerity to approach the precincts of Fort Smith. Turning out with his garrison armed with rifles, and backed by some 5,000 Wa-Kikuyu—now boldly assembled under the white man's fearless guidance—Purlds gave battle to the raiders on May 23. The unexpected rifle-fire proved too much for the Masai warriors, who fled precipitately.
holding their shields over their backs as though these would afford protection against the impact of bullets. They thus offered excellent targets. As soon as the Wa-Kikuyu saw the Masai on the run they valorously gave chase, and speared a good many in addition to those who had been shot. Purkis’s share of the spoil consisted of some fifty spears and shields. One of the latter, which was hanging up in his room on our return from the lake, had two bullet holes in it, almost plumb through its centre. A great number of cattle and large flocks of goats and sheep were captured, too, from the discomfited raiders by the pursuing Wa-Kikuyu.

This profitable intervention on the part of Purkis should, one would think, have earned the unswerving loyalty of Wyaki, and have brought home to that chieftain the inestimable advantage of living under the protection of the British. But it was not so; for that scheming rogue was soon at his old tricks again when his fears regarding the recent invasion of the Masai gradually subsided. A few days before the return of the Survey Expedition to Fort Smith from Uganda, in August 1892, Purkis sustained a great loss in the death of his Swahili headman, Makhitub, who was murdered by the Wa-Guruguru. The man was accompanied by ten armed Swahilis when they were attacked; and of these six were killed, while the remainder escaped with great difficulty, bearing the evil tidings to Fort Smith.

This deplorable outrage placed Purkis in a serious dilemma; for Makhitub was his right-hand man. The Guruguru district was some fifteen miles distant from Fort Smith, and Purkis dare not venture so far afield to administer punishment on the tribe, as this would entail his leaving the fort in charge of a Swahili subordinate during his absence. He knew Wyaki’s connexion with the Wa-Guruguru too well to take so great a risk, and yet his apparent inaction encouraged hostile sections of the Wa-Kikuyu to further deeds of defiance. Food parties, mail carriers, and others who strayed from the fort were set upon, whilst Wyaki and his followers covertly considered the chances of repeating at Fort Smith the success which had attended their efforts at Dagoretti.

Purkis’s relief may be imagined, therefore, when the Railway Survey Expedition marched in once more on its way to the coast. He immediately applied to Macdonald for assistance, which was promptly accorded; and an expedition against the Wa-Guruguru was rapidly organized. So secretly was this done that those of our Indians and Swahilis who were told off for the operations knew nothing of our destination when they were aroused at 2 a.m. on the morning of August 12. The Wa-Kikuyu guides, amongst whom were the two friendly chiefs, Kinyanjuji and Mu, were interned for the night in the fort lest news of our intention should inadvertently leak out amongst Wyaki’s followers.

And so we set out silently from our camp outside Fort Smith in the small hours of the morn—a force some two hundred rifles strong. It was divided into five companies, each under a British officer, including Purkis with fifty rifles from the fort garrison. The rest of the Survey Expedition, under an officer and British N.C.O., remained behind to protect the fort, and our camp without, during the absence of the punitive force.
We were back again at Fort Smith on the afternoon of the third
day, winding up with a fifteen-mile march from Wandenge's. During
this period we had covered forty-five to fifty miles over difficult
country, meting out punishment to those sections of the Wa-Guruguru
who were implicated in the murder of Makhtub and his small party.
This necessitated the burning of some thirty-five villages in the thickly
populated areas where opposition was met with before the recalcitrant
tribesmen rendered their submission and promised exemplary behaviour
for the future. The services of Kinyanjui were invaluable throughout
the operations, both as guide and emissary. The initial night march
into Guruguru without his assistance might well have resulted in a
failure to surprise the natives, so intricate was the terrain traversed
by the column in the dark. The country consisted of a seemingly
endless succession of ridges and deep, steep valleys, up and down
which we were continuously clambering. The district was profusely
cultivated in the vicinity of villages; elsewhere it consisted chiefly
of alternate patches of tall, thick scrub and short springy turf. Strips
of forest existed along the slopes of the deeper ravines, and afforded
considerable cover to those crouching within their shelter. The soil,
generally of a rich loamy clay, soon became terribly slippery during
the passage of men whose bare feet were dripping with the waters of
the streams crossed at the bottoms of the numerous valleys. The
ascent up the steep sides of such valleys was often very labious
in consequence, and made marching under these conditions extremely
fatiguing.

Most of the Guruguru villages of importance were concealed in
thick patches of bush or small woods. They were generally surrounded
by thorn zaribas, whilst the walls of the circular huts were of rough
boarding and surmounted by dome-shaped roofs of grass thatch.
Consequently, they burnt very readily, and some of the conflagrations
were so truly impressive, and the columns of smoke visible from so
great a distance, that they speedily stimulated the Wa-Guru-Uru' to
come to terms.

During our peregrinations of destruction we were guided to the
spot where Makhtub was killed; and as that event was still of recent
date, traces of the struggle and the scene of the last stand were
clearly discernible. The scrub was much trampled down; portions
of cloth were recognized as belonging to Swahilis who were speared
with him; and there a skull, with two front teeth missing, was all
that remained of another identified porter of his party. Ear ornaments,
lkeise, belonging to the attacking Wa-Guruguru, were picked up close
to hand, and that was pretty well all left of the dead by the voracious
hyaenas with which the country abounds.

The expedition was distinctly disappointing in one respect; and
that was our failure to capture herds of cattle and flocks of sheep,
which the Wa-Guruguru were known to possess in large numbers.
We secured no cattle, and only fifty or sixty goats and sheep. For
this, we learnt later, we had to thank Wyaki, who had by some
means obtained an inkling of the impending punitive expedition, and
sent out warnings hot-foot to his Guruguru relatives. Prior to our
arrival in their territory, therefore, they had driven their flocks and
herds away to the fastnesses of the forest belt which fences their
country in. There they were inaccessible to us in the short time
we could spare for the punishment of the hostile natives.
On our return to Fort Smith we adjourned to Purkis’s mess-room to partake of a much-needed cup of tea after the labours of the day. Purkis retired to his own room, which was next the mess, for a wash and brush-up before joining us at the repast. Whilst we were seated at tea, Wyaki suddenly arrived from his village and looked in at the window of the mess-room. Apparently seeing that Purkis was not with us, he continued along the veranda in the direction of that officer’s room. We were shortly afterwards startled by the sounds of a struggle, followed by stentorian shouts of ‘Kill him! Kill him!’ in the excited tones of Purkis. We were out of the mess-room in no time, and saw Purkis and Wyaki locked together in the veranda, the former brandishing Wyaki’s simé (a spatulate-shaped sword) over that chief’s head. Captain (now Colonel) Pringle, R.E., who was first out of the mess-room, was on to Wyaki in two bounds, and, seizing him by the throat, hung on like a bulldog. In a few seconds Wyaki was overpowered and hurled to the ground, whilst the whole garrison of the fort turned out like magic with their rifles in response to Purkis’s shouts. They would, without doubt, have slain Wyaki on the spot had we not been present. Rope was sent for instead, and Wyaki was soon bound hand and foot in such a manner that he was scarcely able to move. Later, he was hand-cuffed around the flag-staff, with a chain about his neck as an additional safeguard; and in this state he spent the night in the fort square.

Wyaki had obviously been drinking tembo. Annoyed at the injury inflicted on his Guruguru friends, he had forced his way unbidden into Purkis’s room and there began to taunt him with his failure to capture their cattle and flocks. Purkis ordered Wyaki to leave the room, whereupon Wyaki suddenly drew his simé from its sheath and was about to cut Purkis over when the latter fortunately detected the movement. He rapidly closed with Wyaki, dealt him a right-hander under the chin with his fist, and, snatching the simé out of Wyaki’s hand, caught him a crack over the head with his own weapon, which was considerably bent by the blow. These tactics had brought both combatants into the veranda, and Purkis’s shouts had quickly drawn us to his assistance. It was a pity Purkis’s blow was interfered with by the lowness of the veranda roof; but it was sufficiently shrewd to inflict a pretty severe scalp wound, which bled freely, and Pringle was a sanguinary-looking object when he had done with the great Wyaki.

The news of Wyaki’s attempt at assassination, and capture, spread like wildfire. The people of his village fled in mortal terror, driving their flocks before them. The inhabitants of other villages in the neighbourhood of the fort likewise took to their heels, fearing that they, too, would be punished for the sins of Wyaki. Kinyanjui and Mlu, who were both present in the fort, and had witnessed the affray, were at once despatched by Macdonald to tell the people that we regarded the incident as a purely personal matter, and that we did not propose to fight over it unless the first show of hostility came from the Wa-Kikuyu. They were instructed, also, to summon all the heads of the neighbouring villages to a large shauri (council) in the fort next morning, so that they might hear full details of the crime, and what it was intended to do with Wyaki.
Next morning nineteen lesser chiefs put in an appearance in the fort, after assurances that no harm should come to them, and the whole case was there thrashed out. They were told that for such a barefaced attempt to murder Purdis there were only two courses open to us—either that we should shoot or hang Wyaki straight away, or that we should take him down to the coast with us as a prisoner, in order that he might be dealt with by the Administrator-General of the Company. We had decided to adopt the latter course.

The shauri of Wa-Kikuyu entirely concurred in our decision. They said that if we desired to kill Wyaki now, they agreed; if we took him away never to return, they agreed. He was a bad man, and was always trying to raise trouble between them and the Mzungu (European), and they wished now to be friends. The shauri then asked that we should appoint another chief in his place, and it was resolved that for the present there should be a dual kingdom—Mtu and Kinyanjui holding sway vice Wyaki deposed. As these two men were great friends, and both much attached to Purdis, it was hoped that there would be little trouble with the Wa-Kikuyu henceforth. Kinyanjui thus first rose into prominence, and has since justified the confidence placed in him that August morning thirty years ago.

These matters being satisfactorily arranged, the villages around were quickly reoccupied, and a holy calm once more settled upon the scene before nightfall. Wyaki's old father sent a messenger to the fort requesting that he might ransom his son with cattle and goats, the usual Kikuyu method of patching up the peace; but the proposal was, naturally, not entertained. Next day some of Wyaki's people were permitted to visit him in the fort, prior to his departure for the coast with us the following day. His old mother brought round sheep for him to eat on the journey down, and when the first one was killed in the fort Wyaki begged Macdonald to take one half of it for the use of the survey officers. It was certainly rather forgiving of the rogue.

On August 17, 1892, we continued our return journey to the coast, Wyaki accompanying us in chains under an escort of Indians with fixed bayonets. He had precious little chance of escape, therefore, should a rising take place, and an attack be made on us whilst penetrating the belt of forest. The Wa-Kikuyu were far too frightened, however, to attempt anything of the kind, and, except just outside the fort, where there was a small gathering of them to see Wyaki depart for the coast, our caravan of over four hundred souls was studiously avoided. We saw few natives throughout the march, save at a distance—a very different state of things from our march into Kikuyu five months earlier, when the shambas were alive with Wa-Kikuyu, and the route more or less lined with them.

There is no need to follow Wyaki farther on his journey towards the coast. He was never destined to reach it; for when the expedition arrived at the Scottish Mission Station at Kilwazi, still some two hundred miles distant from Mombasa, Wyaki succumbed to the sword-cut he had received from Purdis. It had been carefully attended to, and he had appeared little the worse for it at first; but complications set in later which pointed to his skull having been
originally fractured. When it was reported to the Administrator-General, on our arrival at Mombasa, that Wyaki had died during
the journey, he promptly replied, with a whimsical smile: "I think
he showed great tact."

Wyaki, then, lies buried at Kibwezi. By a curious turn of fate
poor Furkis, who continued to do excellent work in Kikuyu and
Uganda for some years afterwards, ultimately died at Kibwezi too,
on his way to the coast. These two enemies in life thus peacefully
sleep their long sleep in close proximity to one another in the church-
yard of the old Kibwezi Mission Station.
Preface

Some people, when they hear what is contained in this book, will be very surprised and perhaps they will think about it and say that I am lying. But many of them will know what I am really saying, and even know what I am aiming at.

Our people, the Kikuyu, I believe that what I have written in this pamphlet is not much when compared with what actually happened, but I have included the important things; a lot I have left out. I have just highlighted these incidents so that you can see the bravery of Waiyaki, and so that when you are praying for our warriors you should have no doubts in your hearts at all nor should you ask yourselves why they should be prayed for.

This is a short statement recording the prayers which the respected elder, Waiyaki, prayed when he was dying, and showing how God heard his prayers and how He granted all that Waiyaki wanted. An elder of the generation of Njenga gave the author this information. I believe he was a companion of Waiyaki's, therefore if you should find any mistakes do not mind, for an old man can be forgetful because of his age.

Therefore I pray the readers of this booklet to think hard until each one knows the real aim of this book, and when he knows it he should ask himself questions like these:

1) Where am I now?
2) Shall I follow the race of the white people or the race of the black people?
3) If I follow the white people where shall I land up?
4) Where has the land of my grandfather gone, the land which had so much lush grass and many trees on it?
5) Why was Waiyaki really arrested?
6) What is the real reason for the slandering of Kenyatta and other African leaders?
7) Shall I marry into the clan of the white people?
8) Are there any sort of injections a black man can get to make himself white?

Let he who has ears listen, and he who has not cleaned his eyelashes do so now so that he can see afar.

Waiyaki, son of Hinga

Because the Kikuyu, from early times have attached great importance to their land and to their property the people of Waiyaki's time were very pleased with his actions and words because he was the most important leader then.

When I say that, I do not mean that there were no other leaders. But I think a lot of people will know why Waiyaki is remembered more than the other leaders of those times. The reason is he was a person who loved his people and the land he inherited from his father, Gikuyu, and his mother, Mumbi. Thus when the white people came they tried very hard to bribe people so that, through cunning, they might steal the rich earth. But Waiyaki himself did not like what the white people were trying to do because he was aware of the importance of the rich earth. Also his destiny had been foretold by the prophet, Nugo son of Kibero, who had prophesied what would happen. So with his army of many people he endeavoured to prevent them. But because the Europeans came with guns it was not possible to drive them away completely, although the warriors were very strong and brave.

During those days when Waiyaki was working against the white people they had cunning plans to arrest him.

The Arrest of Waiyaki

When the white people had completed their plans they sent for the respected leader, Waiyaki, telling him to go to the place where he had given the white people a plot of land to build on (it is the place called Wanyahoro near Kabete, or to use a European name "Fort Smith") so that they would negotiate a settlement. When he arrived one of the servants who had come with the white people said to him, "Do not go in for the white man is very angry". But because Waiyaki had no fear, because he was a leader, and also because he knew that he was in his own country he was very stubborn when he heard that he should not enter, especially as it was he who had given them the land.

So, being a brave man he was not afraid; so he entered. When he had entered he saw that the white man was really very angry. He pulled out his sword, but the Europeans combined to hold him and disarmed him. Indeed he was wounded on the face. His hands were bound. When the young people saw that their leader was arrested they shed tears of rage. But as you know, Waiyaki was a fighter for justice and peace and a lover of his people. He knew that if the young people
fought the Europeans they would be wiped out by the guns.

Waiyaki's message to the People

When he saw that fighting might break out he spoke with a loud voice saying:

"I beseech you, my people, beware of fighting, for it is not good that you should lose your lives because of me. Let me be taken where I shall be taken. If I die, I die, so be it."

And the people present were astounded and offered much property, goats and cows, so that Waiyaki might be released. But the Europeans were adamant in their refusal. Had you heard the bleating of the goats, the lowing of the cows and the agonised cries of the men you would have said it is better to die than to live in misery.

When the Europeans refused to release Waiyaki, the people went home, heeding his words of wisdom, for without doubt he was highly respected. He remained there for two days, his hands bound. On the third day he journeyed Eastwards. It is very significant that there were many guards with him, and when they were travelling and had reached N.I.T.D. (Native Industrial Training Depot) near Kabete a beehive, which no one had touched, fell from a tree, and the bees burst out and attacked the people who were guarding Waiyaki. The warriors wanted to fight, now they were being helped by the bees. But they remembered Waiyaki's words.

And they went on with their journey and they reached Kibwezi, near Mombasa. Waiyaki became very ill and he was buried there by those very Europeans.

The Prayers of Waiyaki

When Waiyaki died he prayed earnestly that God would resurrect him, because he saw that he had left his country in a state of much hardship.

Let us say that Waiyaki, when he died, went to the right hand of God, and because God loved His people He heard Waiyaki's prayers that it should be made possible for him to reach the white man's country to learn his customs so that he might return again to his own country to lead his people from slavery.

The Resurrection of Waiyaki

So Waiyaki was born again as a young child with another name and he was brought up and became a man with his own home. It came to pass, as God wished, Whose wisdom never fails, that he followed the very route he had followed to Kibwezi, and he went to Europe, where, through the kindness of God, and the diligence of
our hero he worked with all his heart to overcome many hardships until he finally obtained what had caused him to go to the land of the strangers for some eighteen years.

When the time came for him to return home he came back and the people saw him with their own eyes and welcomed him with much praising for they knew what he had gone to get for them. But there were some who were not happy, because they had been bought by the white people.

Now the Waiyaki of whom I am speaking, the one who was born again is of course, Jomo Kenyatta. Therefore because I believe there is no one who does not wish that Waiyaki had lived, know ye all that he was resurrected. I believe there is no one who is not listening to his words of wisdom and love for the people. Therefore give to Kenyatta what you wish for Waiyaki, for whom you know the warriors cried with rage holding their shields and spears, led by Waiyaki. Try to do likewise, let us follow Jomo until we get back our land and our freedom; for these are the very things that Waiyaki was fighting for when he was detained.

Remember Kenyatta has told us many times that our fight is not one of might, but is a war of right, and justice cannot be obtained unless we are united, so that we can demand our rights together.

Kenyatta's words are like those of Waiyaki, for he too was fighting for justice and right. There is a difference between the youth of today and of the past. In the past if they heard that their property had been stolen by the Masai, no one retreated because they knew the importance of their property and that they would be mocked for the young are responsible for retrieving property. Thus no one would have betrayed his country. If a young man found that his contemporaries had gone to war he would not say:

"they have gone, let me stay behind".

He would take up his arms and follow them shouting bravely even before he has seen the enemy. Thus if he had met with the enemy when he was alone he would not have retreated. He fought until his back ran with sweat because he knew what he was seeking.

Why is it that those people refused to be bought?

Or should we say maybe, that they did not want to be the recipients of "free things"?

Or perhaps they were not as clever as you who now know that your people and the rich earth can be sold for money.
These Days.

Many people these days prefer money to their integrity, their people and their land. For example if you see a man who in appearance seems adult, but inside he looks like dung on which rain has fallen, for if you look closely you can see he has big children; but if you look around you can see he has no land to cultivate: then you see his home looks like a cow's shed: then you see he is employed for a very meagre salary for about 30/- and in addition to all that he is always slandering K.A.U. day and night, slandering the leaders when he knows that it is for him and his children that a place to stay is being sought.

What is the worth of a creature like that???

Now he who is asleep should awake and wash his eyes so that he can see clearly and remember that our battle now is a battle of reason and unity. He should remember that today the spear is the pen, the sword is the book, the shield is reason, and the club is unity. Stop that slandering, lying gossip. Indeed it would be true to say that these days instead of joining our army for freedom and land they have found ways of cheating white people to enrich themselves, and also to be thought honest because they are not together with the rest of the people.

Shall we say this means that when they are speaking thus they think they are white people themselves. But the misery will come afterwards from their slandering people with unfounded allegations, saying that there is nothing they can do. They will meet such shame that not even a three-ton lorry will be able to carry it all.

Unthinking People

If you say that such people are confused, you speak the truth, because they have forgotten that God does not eat maize flour (i.e. is eternal) and that no one can inherit another son's property whilst that son is still alive. Thus Europeans cannot inherit that which belongs to the Kikuyu when the children of Kikuyu are still alive unless those children are disunited.

And they also went to spit out because they knew well that the curse of such a man as Waiyaki can destroy a whole country and a whole people even when those people claim that they are Christians and cannot be affected by a dead man's curse.

But have you forgotten the words of God's book while still claiming to be Christians? For there we often read that you should love your neighbour as
yourself. Now, instead of loving your neighbour are you not seeking to destroy him by selling him for money to enrich yourself, while he remains in misery for ever?

If in truth you know you have enough land and livestock do not stop another, who has nothing, from demanding back his property from those who took it from him. Also if truly you know that you are a Christian and you do not like the wealth of this earth let those who are not Christians, or those who like wealth ask for what they want, because God created every man with a unique heart and he cannot forgive sins that have not been committed.

Do not deceive the people
We should beg the man who persists in saying that he is a Christian to stop deceiving others. He does not love the earth. People who speak thus are jealous for fear that others might get as much land as the Christians have. If you look at the Christians you can see that many of them are well dressed. Their bodies are clean because they have good jobs. So the man who believes that kind of talk is a fool for he has not looked carefully at the man telling him such things.

They deceive us by saying they do not like wealth, but they are busy betraying us for money at night.

SHAME ON YOU LYING CHRISTIANS
STOP SELLING US UNDER COVER OF GOD'S NAME

Let us pray for our heroes
Oh merciful God, Creator of heaven and earth, you who gave Gikuyu and Kambi good country, well watered, fertile and spacious, we humbly pray for our heroes; for those who are dead, and for those who are living we ask that you should inspire them with greater strength and the courage of victory. For, oh God our Father, the rich earth which you gave to us has been taken by foreigners.

Hearken to our short prayer, oh Lord, and hear our crying, and help our heroes as you granted Walyaki's prayers. Keep him at your right hand, and bless us as you blessed the children of Israel when they were in Egypt, and keep us in peace for a long time.

Open the eyes of these blind black people, oh Lord, for their eyes are completely shut. Open their eyes and show them the way so they are no longer stopped by obstacles in the way (tree stumps).

Send them your holy water to clear their eyes. Lead them in the way of unity and true understanding.

Peace be to God.
APPENDIX V

Memorandum by Governor E.P.C. Girouard on policy for African development, March 1910.
Confidential Memorandum.*

It is essential for the prosperity of the East Africa Protectorate and more particularly for the welfare of the natives that the Government and the various Missionary Societies working in the Native Reserves should have one and the same object in view and should endeavour to work harmoniously in the great task before them of raising the African races to a higher level.

As the Kikuyu have come more in touch with the White Man than any other up-country tribe in East Africa, and have consequently run greater risks of becoming denationalised, I invited delegates of the Church Missionary Society, African Inland Mission and Church of Scotland Mission, i.e. the Protestant Missionary bodies established in the Kikuyu Native Reserves, to meet me in order that I might hear their views and discuss with them the important question of laying down a policy to be followed with regard to the administration of these people.

It was, I think, agreed by all present that the only humane method of dealing with such races as the Kikuyu, who have not reached a high stage of civilisation, is to develop them on their own lines and in accordance with their own ideas and customs, purified in so far as necessary. All the good in their government which makes for manliness, self-respect and honest dealing should be retained, and only that which is repugnant to higher ideals of morality and justice rejected. The introduction of so-called civilisation, when it has a denationalising and demoralising tendency, should be avoided and discouraged. It is not from the present generation that we may look for much, and great and enduring patience is expected from all those who work amongst the natives, whether as administrator or missionary; for exasperating as it may seem to see things go slowly, it is worse to upset ideals and customs really little understood. Succeeding generations are in our hands, and it is for us, the government and the missionary, to mould the people as best we can with the educative means at our disposal. As these means are limited, it is wisest to commence with the education of the sons of Chiefs and principal elders, and prepare them for the duties they will in course of time be called upon to perform. The education of these boys will be undertaken by

* PCEA A/6, Enclosure in Secretariat to H.E. Scott, Conf. N.P. 239/10, 3rd March 1910.
the Missionary Societies with the assistance of the Government, and the fathers will contribute towards their keep. The course of education should extend over 3 or 4 years, the boys being taught to read and write in their own tongue and in Swahili, whilst an elementary religious education and some training in technical work, such as agriculture or carpentry, should be undertaken.

The Missionary Societies are, I understand, only too willing to support the Government by inculcating in the minds of their converts and of those with whom they come in touch the necessity of respect for parental and tribal authority. If such authority were not recognised the people would rapidly become denationalised, and instead of a properly organised society a rabble would take its place, which would end in the destruction not only of the tribal organisation but also of the people themselves.

The use by natives of European dress is to be deprecated, and in this I believe the Missionary bodies are in full accord. If the loin cloth and "Kanzu" of the Coast native is not appreciated owing to the fear of Mohammedan influence, a singlet and short knickerbockers would be a suitable dress for converts.

It is my earnest wish that the natives should not be allowed, or be taught, to think that the Government and the Missionaries are not one and all working for their common good; and this can only be brought about by mutual support and at the same time by striving to preserve and not to destroy the African nationalism.

Sd/ - E.P.C. Girouard.

GOVERNOR.
APPENDIX VI


Federation of Missionary Societies.

CONSTITUTION.

With a view to ultimate union of the Native Churches a Federation of Missionary Societies shall be formed.

FUNDAMENTAL PROVISIONS.

I. The basis of Federation shall consist in:

(a) The loyal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as our supreme rule of Faith and Practice: of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief: and in particular of our belief in the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God: in the Deity of Jesus Christ, and in the atoning death of our Lord as the ground of our forgiveness.

(b) Recognition of common membership between the Churches in the Federation.

(c) Regular administration of the two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper by outward signs.

(d) A common form of Church organization.

II. Each Society joining the Federation shall be autonomous within its own sphere, and shall agree to begin to develop the Native Church along the following lines—

For purposes of Church organization the following districts are agreed upon:

Within each district the Native Church shall be organized under parochial and district councils.

The parochial councils shall consist of the minister or teacher in charge, and lay representatives chosen from the local Church.
Its duties shall be, to assist the minister generally, and especially in the examination of applicants for admission to the Catechumenate and Baptism: in the revision of the communion roll and in dealing with cases of discipline.

The District Council shall consist of all ministers, European and native: missionaries in charge of Parishes; a European layman may be elected from each local Church of at least 50 members; and one native from each local Church numbering up to 25; 2 from Churches numbering up to 100; and one additional member for each complete 100 thereafter. All in full membership are entitled to a vote. Its duties shall be to assist in establishing new centres of mission work in the district, and to see that the Word of God is purely preached within its bounds, the Sacraments duly administered, and discipline maintained.

Each District Council shall meet twice a year.

III. The Federation shall seek to foster the desire for union and by every possible means prepare the mind of the native Christians for realizing such.

To this end they shall encourage:—
(a) Similar forms and usages in Public Worship.
(b) Intervisitation on the part of Church members.
(c) Common attitude towards heathen customs.
(d) Common Church discipline.
(e) Common course of instruction for catechumens and native ministers.
(f) Systematic Bible study.

IV. There shall be formed a Representative Council of the Federated Societies.
(a) Each district shall send representatives as follows:—

   Europeans. One male delegate for the first 5 missionaries or fraction thereof; 1 for the second complete 5; and 1 for every complete 10 thereafter. (Wives of missionaries not to be counted for purposes of representation.)

   (b) The office-bearers of the Representative Council shall consist of a President and Secretary to be elected annually.
(c) The Council shall meet annually, time and place to be decided by the previous meeting, if possible.

(d) The Council shall be advisory and consultative; and executive except in matters pertaining to the policy of the different Societies or Churches.

(e) An Executive Council shall be constituted consisting of the President, the Secretary, and 3 members, whose duties shall be

(i) To prepare the business for Representative Council.

(ii) To carry out the instructions of Representative Council.

V. Membership.

(a) Those societies accepting all the Constitution of the Federation shall be eligible for membership in the Federation who are governed by recognised committees of Societies and Churches, and whose property is vested in trustees.

(b) The final decision as to membership of the Federation shall rest with the Representative Council.

VI. The Representative Council shall cease to exist as soon as the Synod of the Native Church shall come into existence. The Function of the Council is to manage affairs until such time as the Native Church can do that for itself.

MISSION COMITY.

1. That the Societies shall mutually respect one another's spheres.

2. That in all cases of local dispute between Missionary Societies and Churches, the matter be referred for settlement to a Court of Arbitration, consisting of representatives of 5 of the principal Societies in the Federation, but that their decisions shall not be final if they involve a question of Missionary Policy until the matter shall have been referred to the Societies concerned. The members of the Court of Arbitration shall be appointed by the Representative Council. 3 shall form a quorum.

(a) No boy who has been at a Mission School may be accepted into that of another Mission without a letter from the head of the former school.

(b) The Head of a school may not refuse such letter unless for a reasonable cause given in writing, or it be in a case where the boy is under punishment, when on the fulfilment, of the same he may receive a letter.

(c) Teachers and trained agents on joining another Mission shall not begin at a wage higher than that which they have been receiving.

(d) These rules are provisional until the Representative Council has dealt with such matters.

MINISTRY.

I. For the present that all recognised as Ministers in their own Churches shall be welcomed as visitors to preach in other Federated Churches.

II. In the future that each native candidate for the Ministry shall

(a) be recommended by his own Parochial Council.

(b) pass through prescribed course of instruction.

(c) subscribe to the fundamental provisions of the Federated Missions.

(d) be duly set apart by lawful authority and by the laying on of hands.

III. That a Committee be appointed to draw up a course of instruction for the Native Ministry.

IV. That Procedure to the Native Ministry shall be by four stages: Junior Preacher, Senior Preacher, District Preacher, Minister. A candidate shall become a Junior Preacher by examination if previously recommended by his Parochial Council. After two years, on further recommendation and examination, he may become a Senior Preacher. The stage of preparation for District Preacher is also two years; while that for Minister consists of four years. Each of the foregoing stages shall include a period of study and of practical work,
PUBLIC WORSHIP.

I. That a certain amount of form common to all Churches which would be helpful in encouraging an intelligent and hearty worship and would give a sense of unity among the young congregations be adopted. That there be included in the Service the Lord's Prayer, the 10 Commandments, the Creed, a Prayer for King and Governors, the Chiefs and people, and a Prayer for deliverance from the evil customs of the country.

II. That in Church services the position of kneeling be assumed in Prayer, and of standing during singing.

III. That the following order of Public Worship be used with sufficient frequency to enable the members of all the Churches to become familiar with a common order.

Order of Service suggested:—
Hymn or Psalm (stand).
Invocation to Worship (stand).
Prayer (kneel).
(Confession, Forgiveness, Lord's Prayer).
Ten Commandments (kneel).
Hymn or Te Deum (stand).
Reading from Scripture (sit).
Apostles' Creed (stand).
Prayer (kneel).
(For Church, for State, for Country, for all sorts and conditions of men, General Thanksgiving).
Hymn (stand).
Sermon (sit).
Hymn (stand).
Benediction (kneel).

MEMBERSHIP.

I. That the course of instruction and probation for Baptism shall last generally for two years after the first Public Profession.

II. That admission to the Catechumenate shall be by Public Profession.

III. That names of applicants for Baptism shall be submitted to the Parochial Council, and if approved the persons may be baptized by the Minister, and thereby become members of the Church.

IV. That those baptised in infancy shall pass through the Catechumen's Class.

V. That no Christian from another District may be enrolled as a Church member, without producing a leaving Certificate or letter from his former Church.
SACRAMENTS.

I. That the administration of Sacraments shall be normally by recognised Ministers of the Church occupying the District.

II. That the Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered either by Sprinkling or by Immersion according to the usage of the particular Church.

III. That Baptism shall be administered to infants or to adults according to the usage of the particular Church.

IV. That in all Baptism the Form "I baptise thee into the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," be used.

V. That no polygamist shall be baptised.

VI. That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall not be administered to anyone who is not a full member of the Church to which he belongs.

VII. That a register of communicants shall be kept in each Church, and attendances at Communion shall be regularly recorded. Members residing temporarily in other Districts shall be supplied with cards on the back of which the Minister of the Church visited shall record attendances at Communion.

MARRIAGE, ETC.

That a common policy shall be adopted in dealing with all vexed questions with regard to marriage, for example, between Christians, Catechumens, and heathen, also as regards tribal customs and heathen practices.

DISCIPLINE.

That each Mission shall finally decide in all cases of discipline in its own sphere, and their decision shall be respected by all other Missions in the Federation, provided that nothing in this constitution of the Federated Missions shall be so understood as to prejudice the Episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishops over all the members of their own Communion.

J. J. WILLIS,
Bishop of Uganda,
Chairman of Conference,
June 21st 1913.
Heads of Mission

W. G. Mombasa, Church Missionary Mission.
Chairman C. M. S. Conference, B.E.A.
Charles E. Hurlburt,
General Director, Africa Inland Mission.
John W. Arthur,
Chairman of Mission Council of Church
of Scotland Mission.
W. Udy Bassett,
United Methodist Mission.

Delegates

Harry K. Binns, C.M.S.
Henry H. Zemmer, A.I.M.
Jesse E. Raynor, A.I.M.
Lee H. Downing, A.I.M.
George W. Rhoad, A.I.M.
John E. Hanusher, C.M.S.
George Burns, C.M.S.
James Youngson, C.S.M.
Walter Chadwick, C.M.S.

Secretary of Conference. George W. Wright C.M.S.
G. Dennis, C.S.M.
E. Bassett, U.M.M.
M. L. Mason, C.M.S.
H. T. Harris, C.M.S.
E. W. Crawford, C.M.S.
F. J. Butcher, C.M.S.
H. J. Stumpf, A.I.M.
N. G. Rhoad, A.I.M.
W. O. Tait, C.S.M.
A. E. Barnett, A.I.M.
E. L. Davis, M.D., A.I.M.
E. Lockett, C.M.S.
Daniel M. Miller, A.I.M.
H. Virginia Blakeshe, A.I.M.
H. Elizabeth McKinstry, A.I.M.
John T. Gariock, C.S.M.
Mary E. Mure, C.S.M.
Isabell G. Scott, C.S.M.
W. Lewis Hetz, A.I.M.
A. E. Zimmermann, A.I.M.
A. E. Hurlburt, A.I.M.
Laura N. Collins, A.I.M.
Carrie Raynor, A.I.M.
Fred Lanning, A.I.M.
Grace U. Lanning, A.I.M.
Madge Hurst, A.I.M.
Harry Leakey, C.M.S.
Elizabeth S. McMurtrie, C.S.M.
Florence E. Deed, C.M.S.
Marion S. Stevenson, C.S.M.
V. V. Verbi, C.M.S.
D. Verbi, C.M.S.
Douglas Hooper, C.M.S.
Sibella Burns, C.M.S.
(APPENDIX VI)

CONSTITUTION OF ALLIANCE OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

Adopted at the United Conference of Missionaries at Kikuyu, July 26th, 1918.

I.—PREAMBLE.

The following Societies now working in the British East Africa Protectorate, namely, Church Missionary Society, Church of Scotland Mission, Africa Inland Mission, and United Methodist Church Mission, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, recognise the divine purpose of unity among Christians and look forward to the establishment of a United Church within the Protectorate. In the meantime they resolve to form an Alliance by the adoption of the subjoined Constitution, which is hereby approved and accepted by the Allied Societies concerned, with a view to moving along agreed lines of action appropriate to each Society, so as to prepare the way for further organic unity.

SECTION I.

MUTUAL RELATION AND AIMS OF THE ALLIED SOCIETIES.

An Alliance of Societies is hereby formed who agree:

1. To respect one another's spheres, as set out in a map, which a duly authorized representative of each of the Allied Societies shall sign, as an acknowledgement of the assent of each such Society to the Alliance (provided that nothing in this Constitution shall be so understood as to prejudice the Episcopal or other ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the local Church authorities in any of the Allied Societies over all the members of their own Communion).

(a.) Any Missionary shall be free to visit and minister to members of his own church living in the sphere of an Allied Society, provided that he shall first intimate his intention of so doing to the local representative of the Society occupying that sphere.

(b.) All missionary work within a district shall be under the jurisdiction of the Society responsible for that district.

2. To respect the autonomy of each Allied Society within its own sphere.

3. To foster the desire for union, and by every possible means to prepare the minds of all Christians for early union.

4. To develop the local church organizations along similar lines of District and Parochial Councils.

5. To recognize the status (see notes) of every Christian which is assigned to him by the branch of the Church of Christ to which he belongs.
Note (a). This refers to the position of a catechumen, or of a baptized or communicant member of some branch of the Church of Christ in connection with the Allied Societies.

Note (b.) While earnestly desiring such a measure of unity that full intercommunion between the members of the Allied Missions may become possible, we recognize that in existing conditions, such intercommunion between Episcopal and non-Episcopal Missions is not yet possible.

Note (c.) The Bishops of the two Dioceses concerned in the Alliance realize the dangers to which native converts are exposed through isolation. They deeply regret that it is impossible in the present circumstances to bid the members of their Church to seek the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained. But they will be grateful for such spiritual help as it may be possible for other Missions to give to those who may be for the time isolated from the ministrations of their own Church.

Note (d.) The responsible authorities of the Allied Missions will welcome as guests to their Communion any Communicant member of the Allied Missions for whom the ministrations of his own Church are for the time inaccessible, and as to whose moral and spiritual fitness they are satisfied, provided always that no obligation shall rest on any such member to avail himself of this liberty.

6. To discourage proselytising.
7. To respect the decision, in all cases of discipline, made concerning their own members by the respective Allied Societies.

Explanation.—The expression "Allied Societies" as used in this Constitution shall be understood to mean the local governing bodies of the Societies, Missions, or Churches occupying the different spheres.

SECTION II.

BASIS OF ALLIANCE.

1. The basis of alliance shall consist in—
   (a.) The loyal acceptance of Holy Scripture as our supreme rule of Faith and Practice; and of the Apostle's and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief; and in the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God; in the Deity of Jesus Christ; and in the atoning death of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ground of our forgiveness.
   (b.) The regular administration of the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, by the outward signs as commanded by Christ.

2. Those Societies only shall be eligible for membership in the Constitution of the Alliance, which are governed by recognized Committees of Missionary Societies, or Churches, and whose property is vested in Trustees.
No change shall be made in any Section of this Constitution, except at the request of the Representative Council, and with the consent of all the Allied Societies.

SECTION III.

Representative Council.
1. There shall be formed a Representative Council to which each of the Allied Societies shall send representatives on the following basis of representation. Each shall send Delegates as follows:—
   One delegate for the first five missionaries or fraction thereof, and one for every complete ten thereafter. Heads of Missions will be ex-officio members in addition.
2. The Council, except as provided in this Constitution, shall be wholly advisory, and shall exercise no control over the Allied Societies or Churches.
3. The Council shall meet annually at least. It shall appoint its own Officers, and frame by-laws for the conduct of its own business.
4. The duties of the Council shall be:—
   (a.) To make recommendations to the Allied Societies for the furtherance of the objects of the Alliance, and from time to time to frame and amend, with the consent of all the Allied Societies, any regulations which they find necessary to these objects.
   (b.) To consider and advise upon any question of Mission spheres or districts, or any other matter concerning mutual relations of the Allied Societies. In the event of a difference of opinion on any question falling within the jurisdiction of the Council as above defined, the Council shall have power, if they see fit, to make representations on that question to the governing authorities of the Allied Societies concerned.
   (c.) To take action without delay to secure the co-operation of African Christians in the work of the Council.
5. Any application for admission to the Alliance shall, in the first instance, be submitted to the Representative Council for them to consider whether the conditions in Section II are fulfilled. The application shall then be referred to the Allied Societies for their opinion, and the final decision shall be made by the Representative Council, where an unanimous vote of representatives of Allied Societies shall be necessary for the application to be approved.

SECTION IV.

Method to be Adopted by Each Allied Society Within its Sphere.
A.—Membership.
1. Admission to the catechumenate shall be by public profession; and a minimum course of instruction, approved by the Representative Council, as to its duration and general sufficiency shall be required before Baptism.
2. Those baptized in infancy shall pass through a course of instruction, similar to that which is required of adult candidates for Baptism, before being admitted to the Lord's Supper.

B.—Sacraments.

1. The administration of the Sacraments shall be by recognized Ministers of the branch of the Church of Christ occupying the district; provided that in cases of urgent necessity, and in the absence of a Minister, any Layman may administer Baptism.

2. The Sacrament of Baptism, either by affusion or by immersion, and either to infants or to adults, shall be administered according to the usage of the Branch of the Church of Christ occupying the district, and such Baptism shall be recognized by all members of the Allied Societies.

3. In Baptism, water, and the form, "I baptise thee in (into) the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," shall be used.

4. No person living in polygamy shall be baptised.

5. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall not be administered to anyone who is not qualified to be a communicant in the branch of the Church of Christ to which he belongs.

C.—Ministry.

In the future each candidate for the native ministry, to be ordained within the sphere of the Alliance, shall:

1. Pass through a prescribed course of instruction.

2. Subscribe to the Basis of Alliance Section II, 1, (a) and (b).

3. Be duly set apart by the lawful authority of the Church to which he belongs with laying on of hands.

SECTION V.

RELATIONSHIP TO NON-ALLIED SOCIETIES.

1. That the Allied Societies shall seek at all times to cultivate friendly relations with Non-Allied Societies, and encourage with them such measures of co-operation as are found possible.

2. That the Representative Council holds itself in readiness to enter into arrangements as regards existing spheres of influence, as a temporary measure for evangelistic purposes, with all such Non-Allied Missions as can wholeheartedly subscribe to the fundamental doctrinal Basis of Alliance as set forth in Section II, 1 (a).

3. That the Allied Societies will not open meantime any European Stations within these spheres, nor send native agents into them.

4. That the Allied Societies shall be free to visit and minister to their own members within these spheres.

5. (a) That all arrangements between Allied and Non-Allied Societies as to the recognition of spheres shall be reciprocal.
(b.) That the Allied Societies invite those outside the Alliance to conform, as far as may be possible in each case, with the general principles and organisation of the Alliance.

6. That a Conference be arranged annually, or at such intervals as may be deemed wise, in which all Missionary Societies and Europeans resident in British East Africa who subscribe to Section II, 1, (a.) may be invited to take part.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE.

In setting our hands to the foregoing Constitution, we, the representatives of the Allied Societies desire wholeheartedly to associate ourselves with the following Resolution unanimously passed by the United Conference of Missionary Societies met at Kikuyu, July 23rd to 26th, 1918:

We, being profoundly convinced for the sake of our Common Lord and of those African Christians, to whom our controversies are as yet unknown, of the need for a United Church in British East Africa, earnestly entreat the Home Authorities to take such steps as may be necessary, in consultation with the Churches concerned, to remove the difficulties which at present make this ideal impossible.

In the meantime we adopt the Basis of Alliance not as the ideal, but as the utmost possible, in view of our present unhappy divisions. And the Members of the Alliance pledge themselves not to rest until they can all share one Ministry.

J. J. Uganda, Chairman of Conference.
R. S. Mombasa,
Charles E. Hurlburt, General Director, Africa Inland Mission.
Reginald T. Worthington for United Methodist Church Missionary Society.
John W. Arthur, Chairman of the Mission Council of the Church of Scotland Mission.
Wm. J. W. Roomé, on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society.
John E. Hamshere, Archdeacon of Mombasa.
H. K. Binns, C.M.S.
K. St. Aubyn Rogers, C.M.S.
Harry Leakey, C.M.S.
Geo. Burns, C.M.S.
Fredk. H. Wright, C.M.S. (Uganda).
Mary Louisa Mason, C.M.S.
Arthur A. Hamilton, C.S.M.
Minnie Watson, C.S.M.
Lee H. Downing, A.I.M.
C. F. Johnston, A.I.M.
Laura N. Collins, A.I.M.
Fred. H. McKenrick, A.I.M.
Geo. E. McCreary, A.I.M.
H. W. Innis, A.I.M.
W. Lewis Hetz, A.I.M.
I. S. Caldwell, A.I.M.
SUPPLEMENTARY RECOMMENDATIONS.

TO THE

ALLIANCE OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN B. E. AFRICA.

CHURCH ORGANISATION.

Parochial Council.—That the Parochial Council consist of the Minister or teacher-in-charge, and lay representatives chosen from the local Church. That its duties be to assist the Minister generally, and especially in the examination of applicants for admission to the Catechumenate and Baptism; in the revision of the Communion roll; in dealing with cases of discipline; and in administering the Parochial funds.

District Council.—That the District Council consist of all Ministers resident in the district and missionaries in charge of Parishes: one lay representative from each local Church numbering up to twenty-five: two from Churches numbering not less than fifty and up to a hundred: and one additional member for each complete hundred thereafter. All in full membership to be entitled to a vote. That its duties be to establish new centres of Mission work in the district, to administer the District funds, and to make provision that the Word of God is preached within its bounds, the Sacraments duly administered, and discipline maintained. Each District Council to meet at least twice a year.

TO FOSTER THE DESIRE FOR UNION.

That the Allied Societies encourage:—

(a.) Similar forms and usages in Public Worship.
(b.) Intervisitation on the part of Church Members.
(c.) Common attitude towards heathen customs.
(d.) Common Church discipline.
(e.) A course of instruction for catechumens and native Ministers common to all without prejudice to such additional course of study as may be prescribed by the authorities of each Mission in its own sphere.
(f.) Systematic Bible study.

MINISTRY.

That for the present anyone recognised as a Minister in his own Church may be welcomed as a visitor to preach in any other Allied Church, with the consent of the responsible authority of the Mission.

That the procedure to the Native Ministry be normally by three stages: Junior Preacher, Senior Preacher, District Preacher. That a candidate become a Junior Preacher by examination if previously recommended by his Parochial Council. That after two years, on further recommendations and examination, he may become a Senior Preacher. That the stage of preparation for District Preacher be also two years: while that for Minister consist of four years. Each of the foregoing stages is to include a period of study and of practical work.
PUBLIC WORSHIP.

1. That a certain amount of form common to all Churches which would be helpful in encouraging an intelligent and hearty worship and would give a sense of unity among the young congregations be adopted. That there be included in the service the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, a Prayer for King and Governor and all in authority, the Chiefs and people, and a Prayer for deliverance from the evil customs of the country.

2. That in Church services the position of kneeling be assumed in Prayer, and of standing during singing.

3. That the following order of Public Worship be used with sufficient frequency to enable the members of all the Churches to become familiar with a common order.

Order of Service suggested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hymn, or Psalm.</td>
<td>(Stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation to Worship.</td>
<td>(Stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer.</td>
<td>(Kneel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Confession, Forgiveness, Lord's Prayer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten Commandments.</td>
<td>(Kneel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymn, or Te Deum.</td>
<td>(Stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading from Scripture.</td>
<td>(Sit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer.</td>
<td>(Kneel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(For Church and State, for Country, for all sorts and conditions of men, General Thanksgiving).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymn.</td>
<td>(Stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sermon.</td>
<td>(Sit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymn.</td>
<td>(Stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benediction.</td>
<td>(Kneel)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MEMBERSHIP.

That the course of instruction and probation for Baptism last generally for two years after the first Public profession.

That no Christian from another District be enrolled as a Church member, without producing a leaving certificate or letter from his former Church.

SACRAMENTS.

That a register of Communicants be kept in each Church, and attendance at Communion be regularly recorded. That members residing temporarily in other districts be supplied with cards on the back of which the Minister of the Church visited shall record attendances at Communion.

MARRIAGE, ETC.

That a common policy be adopted in dealing with all vexed questions with regard to marriage, for example between Christians, catechumens, and heathen, also as regards tribal customs and heathen practices.
APPENDIX VII

Constitution, Policy and Executive Membership of the PROGRESSIVE KIKUTU PARTY
PROGRESSIVE KIKUYU PARTY

3rd April 1928

A. General

1. Purpose of the Party is to organise the progressive elements of the Kikuyu in order to obtain a greater rate of progress and to eliminate the retrogressive elements, which are rapidly becoming predominant.

2. The membership of the Party shall be open to all who will accept the Party declaration of policy as guiding principles for their political and social activities.

3. Members may be requested to wear a blue badge in order to lead others.

4. Branches may be formed with the consent of the Executive, in and part of the country.
   Each branch shall have a Committee of three, to look after its interests.
   This Committee to report to the Executive, all discussions and work done.

5. The General Council of the Party shall consist of the Chairman of each Branch, plus a certain number to be elected by the free vote of the members.

6. The General Council shall elect an Executive to direct action in the various parts. It shall consist of:-
   (1) The Chairman
   (2) The Vice Chairman
   (3) The Secretary
   (4) Assistant Secretary
   (5) Treasurer
   (6) Assistant Treasurer
   and not more than six other members.
   At least seven must be present for a legal meeting of the Executive.

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* PCEA/TT, File: 'Progressive Kikuyu Party'.
7. **Meetings.**

   (1) Executive—When Necessary.
   (2) General Council—Not less than twice a year.
   (3) Branches—When necessary, but at least once a month.

8. The Local Chiefs shall be notified of all meetings and invited to attend meetings, which shall be held only during the day. (6 a.m. to 6 p.m.)

9. All Local Administrative Officers shall be notified of meetings where possible and invited to attend.

10. All accounts shall be audited, preferably by the D.C.

11. No one who is not a Kikuyu shall be present at a meeting without the written consent of the D.C.

12. If desired an Advisory Committee of Europeans may be chosen with the consent of the D.C., but such Europeans shall hold no office in the Party.

**B. Party Policy**

1. The Party pledges itself to loyalty to the King and to work by all legitimate means for the true progress of the Kikuyu peoples.

2. In view of above, the party would ask all its members to perform work of social value, as only through work can the ideals be realised.

3. The Party pledges itself to try, by all means in its power, to obtain a Land Bill for the Reserves, such as will provide for progressive development, e.g., by the Building of permanent Churches, schools, hospitals, shops, etc.

4. The Party pledges itself to try and return at least one of its members at each election, and in each district to the local Kiamas and the Local Native Councils.
5. The Party pledges itself to work for the gradual elimination of drink, circumcision of women, payment of rika goats; The Stabilisation of the dowries (Marriage Price), the purification of Justice, the adequate protection of widows and orphans, the gradual abolition of unpaid communal labour.

6. The Party pledges itself to further in every possible way the spread of the elementary education of both sexes, and to obtain assistance for promising pupils so that poverty may be no bar to their receiving a complete education.

7. The Party pledges itself to seek from Government all the assistance it can give in all Social matters, e.g., Hospitals, dispensaries, schools, veterinary services, public works, etc.

0. Executive Council

Chairman: Chief Gideon Gatero
Vice Chairman: Zakayo Muru wa Kigotha
Secretary: Meshak Duragi
Assistant Secretary: Stanley Kiama
Treasurer: Jason Kibutu
Assistant Treasurer: Arthur Muru wa Njui
Members: Alan Weru, Danieli Wambigi, Zakaria Wathinwa, Paulo Gukuyo.

Two members are still to be elected.