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**Church of Scotland Periodicals and the Shaping of Scottish Opinion Regarding South
African Apartheid and the Central African Federation, c. 1912–c. 1965**

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Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Jeffrey Grant Cannon

ABSTRACT

Using textual and visual material from Scottish Christian periodicals, this thesis examines the role of Christian humanitarianism in influencing Scottish public opinion relative to empire and race between c. 1912 and c. 1965. It focuses on the mediation of the Scottish Christian response to South African racial policy and implementation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The thesis demonstrates that an ambiguous mix of ideologies existed within the Scottish churches and argues that the editor of the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* magazine from 1945 to 1965, Rev. J. W. Stevenson, drew from a tradition of Christian humanitarianism in Scottish Christian periodicals in allying the magazine with the church's liberal-humanitarian wing to oppose apartheid and the Federation. It further argues that despite – or perhaps because of – such alignment, Stevenson and his predecessors demonstrated a persistent paternalism and perpetuated racially inflected tropes regarding Africa and Africans. The tensions between the egalitarian ideals of Christian humanitarianism and this residual paternalism are explored through the treatment of Africa and Africans in church periodicals. Previous studies of Scottish press coverage of these issues focus on secular periodicals and largely ignore the official organs of the national church. Paying particular attention to the use of images addresses another gap in the literature, addressing photographic portrayals of Africans in Christian literature after the First World War. Chapter one examines the formation of the Scottish image of Africa and a textual and visual iconography of Christian humanitarianism. Chapter two considers the debates over the social witness of the Scottish churches and the development of domestic and international networks devoted to a socially conscious theology of the Kingdom of God that transcended national boundaries and governed international and imperial relationships. Chapter three then examines the tensions between the egalitarian ideals of Christian humanitarianism and the

influence of the racial consciousness of the black Atlantic in the person of Stevenson's predecessor W. P. Livingstone. It considers his efforts to infuse the tradition of socially conscious domestic and international concern found in earlier Scottish Christian periodicals back into *Life and Work* following the union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland in 1929. Chapter four explores the same tensions in *Life and Work's* treatment of South African racial policy under Stevenson's editorship in light of the General Assembly's official condemnation of apartheid. Chapter five shows how the debate over the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland opened up ideological fissures in the Kirk, blocking adoption of an official position by the General Assembly, and how Stevenson allied *Life and Work* with the liberal-humanitarians in opposition to the Federation. Acknowledging internal ideological tensions and unrealised ideals apparent in the ongoing use of racially inflected tropes, the thesis demonstrates that Christian photography was used as a critique of the racial attitudes underlying empire and settler colonialism. It deepens understanding of the Church of Scotland's relationship with the British Empire and complicates narratives of the Kirk as unambiguously opposed to British colonialism in the twentieth century.

LAY SUMMARY

Using texts and images from Scottish Christian periodicals, this thesis examines the role of Christian humanitarianism to influence Scottish public opinion relative to empire and race from around 1912 to about 1965. It focuses on how the Scottish Christian response to South African racial policy and implementation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was portrayed in church publications. The thesis demonstrates that different opinions existed within the Scottish churches and argues that the editor of the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* magazine from 1945 to 1965, Rev. J. W. Stevenson, drew from a tradition of Christian humanitarianism in Scottish Christian periodicals in his editorial policy opposing apartheid and the Federation. It further argues that Stevenson and his predecessors demonstrated a persistent paternalism and continued to use images depicting caricatures and stereotypes of Africa and Africans. The tensions between the egalitarian ideals of Christian humanitarianism and this residual paternalism are explored through the treatment of Africa and Africans in church periodicals. The thesis demonstrates that Christian photography was used to critique the racial attitudes underlying empire and white settlement in the colonies. It deepens understanding of the Church of Scotland's relationship with the British Empire and shows that the church was not unambiguously opposed to British colonialism in the twentieth century.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement
ANC	African National Congress
BPC	Bantu Presbyterian Church
CCAP	Church of Central Africa Presbyterian
CNC	Church and Nation Committee
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
EWCG	Edinburgh World Church Group
FMC	Foreign Mission Committee
FMP	Federal Member of Parliament
LMS	London Missionary Society
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan-African Congress
SCAQ	Scottish Council on African Questions
SCM	Student Christian Movement
UFC	United Free Church of Scotland
WAPIF	World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship

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INTRODUCTION

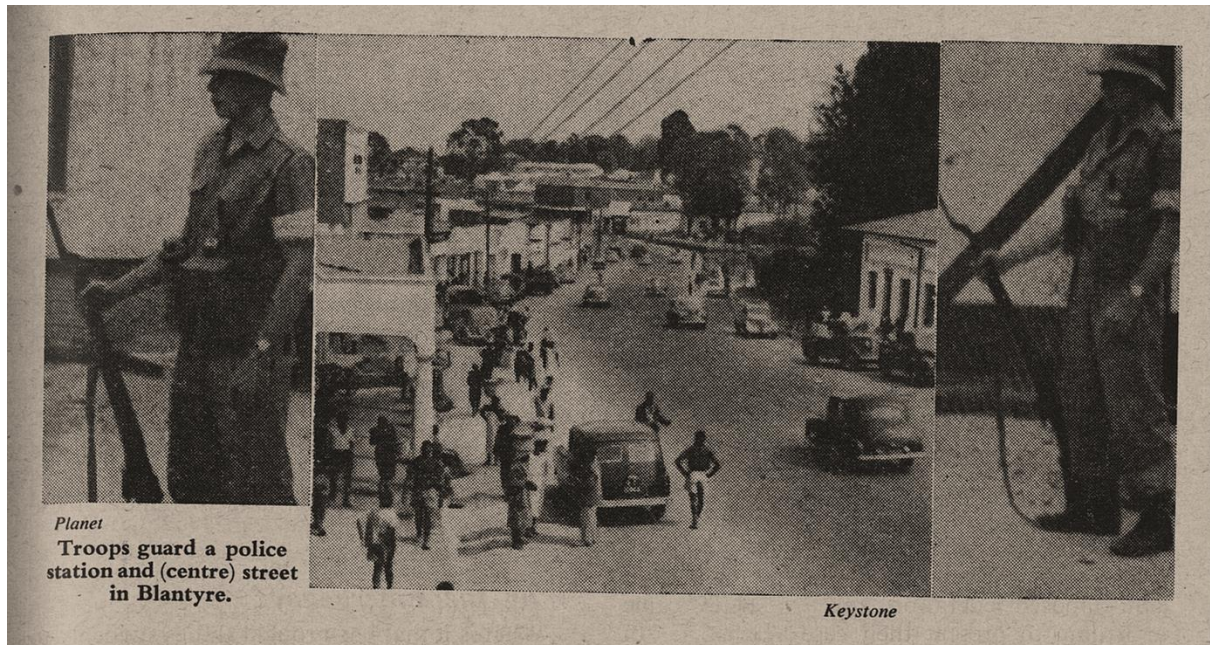


Figure 0.1 'Troops guard a police station and street in Blantyre' (*Life and Work*, May 1959, 105). Photo credit: Keystone.

'Africa is in a dangerous condition', Prime Minister Harold Macmillan wrote in his diary on 24 May 1959. Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell had been in the newly independent Ghana 'making inflammatory speeches there', but Macmillan could expect that from a rival politician. It was the Church of Scotland that worried the Prime Minister. The Kirk's General Assembly was set to convene the next day and although he found them 'more responsible' than Gaitskell, Macmillan feared that 'dangerous and subtle agitators' would negatively influence the Assembly, and the Scots generally, toward his Conservative government and their policies in Africa.² Macmillan was particularly concerned with the growing criticisms of his government's policies toward Britain's African possessions.³ Unrest in Nyasaland (present-day Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) had led the local administrations to declare states of emergency and the Kirk had not only taken note, it seemed to be at the

² Harold Macmillan, *Pointing the Way: 1959–1961* (London: Macmillan, 1972), 136.

³ John Stuart, 'Scottish Missionaries and the End of Empire: The Case of Nyasaland', *Historical Research* 76 (2003): 414.

centre of the troubles, which became known as ‘the Emergency’. The General Assembly’s Committee anent Central Africa published a report in preparation for the Assembly’s meeting arguing that ‘[t]he time has come for a daring and creative transfer of power to the African people.’⁴ In addition, the most recent issue of the church’s magazine, *Life and Work*, whose editor, Rev. John Wright Stevenson, was invited to the committee’s meetings as a non-member observer and was closely allied with its more liberal members, printed two articles on the situation in Africa, including photographs of armed white soldiers standing guard in an otherwise seemingly peaceful Blantyre, Nyasaland (Figure 0.1).⁵

Stevenson’s involvement with the Committee anent Central Africa raises questions about the relationship between the ecclesiastical press and Christian humanitarianism in Scotland. This thesis considers questions of popular engagement with the British Empire. In particular, it examines the role of Christian humanitarianism in informing and shaping Scottish views of empire and race from circa 1912 to about 1965. These years cover Stevenson’s tenure at *Life and Work* as well as that of William Pringle Livingstone as editor of the *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* from 1912 before moving to *Life and Work* after the church union of 1929. T. M. Devine has argued that the period of the 1920s to the 1950s is crucial to understanding the change in Scottish attitudes toward empire.⁶ The central concern of this thesis is to identify and assess the role of Church of Scotland periodicals, through both their text and their visual images, in expressing the tradition of Scottish Christian humanitarianism, particularly in relation to South African apartheid and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (or Central African Federation). By mining Scottish church periodicals, especially the *Life and Work* magazine, I explore a

⁴ ‘Supplementary Report of the General Assembly’s Committee Anent Central Africa,’ *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1959), 682.

⁵ ‘Nyasaland: Did the Missionaries Start the Trouble?’, *Life and Work*, May 1959, 103–04 and ‘Nyasaland: “Plain Man’s Guide” to the Emergency’. *Life and Work*, May 1959, 105–07.

⁶ T.M. Devine, ‘The Break-Up of Britain? Scotland and the End of Empire’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, Vol. 16 (2006): 172.

significant influence on popular Scottish thought concerning empire and race. The thesis considers both the written word and the visual image to unpack editors' messages to their readers relative to two of the most pressing social-justice issues in British colonial Africa at the time.

Understanding Scottish imperial attitudes is necessary to understanding the Empire. As John M. MacKenzie notes, a disproportionately high number of Scots served the British Empire as colonial soldiers, administrators, doctors, scientists, and missionaries.⁷ John H. Proctor writes that the Church of Scotland's relationship to colonialism is 'particularly instructive' in understanding religion and imperialism or church and state in the colonial context.⁸ Scots' opinions were influenced by their religious life as the Church of Scotland held considerable sway in Scottish life well into the middle of the century. According to T. M. Devine, the General Assembly acted as 'a kind of surrogate parliament' in the late 1950s, 'which spoke for the country on matters of contemporary political and social importance'.⁹

Situating the Thesis in the Literature

The thesis sits at the confluence of three streams of literature. The first concerns Scottish Christian humanitarianism. The influential role of the Church of Scotland and other churches in Scottish life was a significant topic of debate throughout the twentieth century. The second tributary is the literature on Scottish views on empire and race. Numerous scholars have pointed to the way in which European ideas of race bolstered both missions and empire to justify their existence and undergird their structures as the civilising mission was meant to

⁷ John M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 221–22.

⁸ John H. Proctor, 'The Church of Scotland and British Colonialism in Africa', *Journal of Church and State* 29 (1987): 475.

⁹ Devine, 'The Break-Up of Britain?', 167. The historian Arthur Bryant expressed a similar sentiment in the July 1958 issue of *Life and Work* (Arthur Bryant, 'Scotland in Assembly: "Our Only National Forum"', *Life and Work*, July 1958, 159–60).

‘advance’ what were considered to be ‘primitive’ races and colonialism supposedly provided protection and modernisation. The third inlet is the literature on visual imagery of empire and race. This literature has tended to condemn colonial and missionary images as a means of domination. Scholars of missionary imagery note that Africans were often stereotyped and portrayed as ‘savage’ or ‘backward’ in order to justify missionary and colonial projects. These bodies of literature are discussed below.

Studies of Scottish Christian humanitarianism have shown that the churches’ role in the social life of the country has been uneven. Johnston McKay demonstrates how differing theologies of the Kingdom of God influenced the churches’ cooperation with the state and public entities in the alleviation of poverty and other humanitarian concerns.¹⁰ A. C. Cheyne showed how the Scottish churches gained a social voice in the late nineteenth century which waned after the First World War.¹¹ Stewart J. Brown has argued that the churches constrained their social action and commentary after the war in order to avoid any offense which would stymie efforts toward the hoped-for union between the Church of Scotland and United Free Church that materialised in 1929.¹² According to Brown, during these years, however, while prominent figures within the Kirk were arguing that the church lacked competence to comment on social issues, they were leading the charge against Irish immigration, revealing a susceptibility to both inconsistency and racist thought.¹³ Cheyne saw a major sea change as having taken place in 1940, with the General Assembly’s appointment of the Commission to Interpret God’s Will in the Present Crisis (*i.e.*, the Second World War). The group, which became known as the Baillie Commission, after its convenor, Rev. Prof. John Baillie,

¹⁰ Johnston McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology, 1830–1929* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

¹¹ A. C. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland’s Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1983), 110–56.

¹² Stewart J. Brown, ‘Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism, c. 1830–1930’, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 44 (1991): 489–517.

¹³ Stewart J. Brown, ‘“Outside the Covenant”: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922–1938’, *Innes Review* 42 (Spring 1991): 19–45.

developed a social theology that Cheyne identified as the pinnacle of Scottish Christian social thought, leading to a ‘seismic shift’ in the social thinking of twentieth-century Scotland.¹⁴ For Stewart J. Brown, the goal of the Baillie Commission was to realise the ideal of the Christian commonwealth in Scotland championed by the nineteenth-century churchman Thomas Chalmers and others.¹⁵

As Christian Scots left their homes for the opportunities opened for them by the British Empire, they brought along their humanitarian ideals. The overlap of imperial and mission frontiers sometimes led to what Norman Etherington has called ‘spectacular collisions’.¹⁶ Not the least of the contentions stemmed from the debate over slavery. Opposition to slavery formed a part of what Alan Lester has called a ‘Christian, humanitarian imperialism as an alternative to the practices prevailing in the settler colonies.’¹⁷ Lester argues that a network of Christian humanitarians formed in opposition to slavery and oppression of indigenous populations within the Empire.¹⁸ He identifies the London Missionary Society director at the Cape, John Philip, as one of the most significant figures on the ground in Africa and a ‘most prolific’ correspondent with the network’s leader Thomas Fowell Buxton.¹⁹

Philip has become a controversial figure in both the history and the historiography of South Africa. Andrew Bank identified Philip’s 1828 *Researches in South Africa* and its narrative of Khoisan dispossession by white settlers as the origin of South African

¹⁴ Alexander C. Cheyne, ‘John and Donald Baillie: Their Churchmanship’, *Studies in Scottish Church History*, ed. Alexander C. Cheyne (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 247 and 251.

¹⁵ Stewart J. Brown, ‘The Social Ideal of the Church of Scotland in the 1930s’, in *God’s Will in a Time of Crisis: A Colloquium Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Baillie Commission*, ed. Andrew R. Morton (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1994), 14–31.

¹⁶ Norman Etherington, ‘Introduction’, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.

¹⁷ Alan Lester, ‘Humanitarians and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64.

¹⁸ Lester uses the examples of the Cape Colony, Australia, and New Zealand (*Ibid.*, 64–85).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

historiography.²⁰ Andrew C. Ross places Philip at the centre of Christian humanitarian efforts in the nineteenth century, popularising the cause of black South Africans for British readers at home through his book, while alienating white settlers at the Cape.²¹ Richard Elphick shares this assessment, giving Philip's commitment, and that of his fellow 'political missionaries', to racial equality, pride of place in the history of racial politics in South Africa.²² Bank, however, criticises such a view of Philip as the originator of a humanitarian tradition in South Africa as undeserved because it was not continuous.²³ Ross saw in David Livingstone a possible successor to John Philip as the leader of the Christian humanitarian foil to settler and colonial treatment of black Africans.²⁴ Livingstone, however, moved his operations north, into Central Africa. The liberal tradition at the Cape died out and Philip's legacy was posthumously reappropriated.²⁵

Livingstone and his legacy continue to produce a steady stream of scholarship. MacKenzie has shown how those who would co-opt Livingstone's legacy for their own purposes have found it relatively plastic.²⁶ Justin D. Livingstone (no relation), examines the different versions of Livingstone's life that have been produced, including those produced by Livingstone himself through the publication of his books, in which he presented himself as a godly campaigner against the evils of slavery. No single version of the man exists.²⁷ Downplaying the sincerity of Christian humanitarians, Joanna Lewis argues that imperialists used the plasticity of Livingstone's legacy to create the myth of a humanitarian empire

²⁰ Andrew Bank, 'The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography', *Journal of African History* 38 (1997): 261–81.

²¹ Andrew C. Ross, *John Philip: Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).

²² Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers: Protestant Missionaries and the Racial Politics of South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

²³ Andrew Bank, 'The Politics of Mythology: The Genealogy of the Philip Myth', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25, no. 3 (1999): 461–77.

²⁴ Ross, *John Philip*, 226–27.

²⁵ Bank, 'The Politics of Mythology'.

²⁶ John M. MacKenzie, 'David Livingstone – Prophet or Patron Saint of Imperialism in Africa: Myths and Misconceptions', *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129 (2013): 277–91.

²⁷ Justin D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

dedicated to abolishing slavery and civilising indigenous peoples, including the introduction of Christianity.²⁸

Despite Livingstone's popularity, scholars have debated the amount of public purchase the Empire received. In 1973 imperial historian James Morris claimed in the very first issue of the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* that 'for most of its time few people found it [the Empire] very interesting'.²⁹ Bernard Porter claims that 'Britain never turned into a genuinely imperialist society' and that the Empire was not 'a "big deal" for the British people as a whole'.³⁰ However, in 1984, John MacKenzie argued that the Empire was an integral part of British life in the middle of the century and that the period after World War II was the high point of popular imperialism. It permeated popular institutions and entertainments, such as the theatre and children's magazines, becoming central to Britons' perceptions of themselves.³¹

Britons are not a monolithic group, nor were their experiences with colonialism universal. Studies of the United Kingdom have traditionally considered it as a single bloc, ignoring the multiple nationalities that made up the country (English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh).³² In 1975 J. G. A. Pocock argued for a 'new subject' which has become the 'four-nations approach', considering the United Kingdom's constituent nations separately.³³ In 2008 John MacKenzie advocated a 'four-nation approach' to imperial history, arguing that

²⁸ Joanna Lewis, *The Death of Livingstone and the Myth of Victorian Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

²⁹ James Morris, 'Popularisation of Imperial History: The Empire on Television', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 1 (1972): 113.

³⁰ Bernard Porter, *Empire and Superempire: Britain, America and the World*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 33 and 136.

³¹ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

³² Richard J. Finlay, 'The Scottish Press and Empire, 1850–1914', in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 62. See, for example, Aled Jones and Bill Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire, c. 1851–1939: An Exploration', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 2, no. 31 (May 2003): 57–81; David Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and the Empire', in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 494–520; and P. Payton, *The Cornish Overseas* (Fowey: Alexander Associates, 1999).

³³ J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975): 601–21.

rather than mitigating the differences in national identities within Britain, the Empire entrenched them.³⁴ His 2013 book, *The Scots in South Africa*, demonstrates the distinctive contribution of one of the four nations to the colonial enterprise in southern Africa, arguing that the Scots in South Africa not only retained their Scottish identity but that their Scottishness influenced their considerable contribution to South African society.³⁵ Simon Potter uses the four-nation approach in his collection of essays on empire and the press.³⁶ MacKenzie's chapter in the book specifically argues for a four-nation analysis of coverage of the Empire in the English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh newspaper press.³⁷ T. M. Devine writes that 'empire was crucial to the Scottish experience during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'³⁸ The Empire was a source of pride and identity for Scots. Richard J. Finlay argued that they took upon themselves the identity of empire builders.³⁹ In this vein, Esther Breitenbach has shown how the Empire's reach into the popular consciousness through popular support of missions in Scotland shaped Scottish identity in particular.⁴⁰

The roles of missionaries and churches in the end of empire have received much less attention than their supposed role in supporting its establishment and continuity.⁴¹ The lack of literature on missions and decolonisation is, in part, due to the paucity of scholarship on

³⁴ MacKenzie, 'Empire and National Identities', 215–31 and 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', *History Compass* 6 (2008): 1244–63.

³⁵ John M. MacKenzie with Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

³⁶ Simon J. Potter, ed., *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004).

³⁷ John M. MacKenzie, 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire', in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, c. 1857–1921*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 37.

³⁸ Devine, 'The Break-Up of Britain?', 168.

³⁹ Richard J. Finlay, *A Partnership for Good? Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), 14–15.

⁴⁰ Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

⁴¹ Norman Etherington, 'Recent Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 2 (June 1996): 208 and Brian Stanley, 'Christianity and the End of Empire', in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 2.

twentieth-century missions in general.⁴² However, several relevant studies have examined the role of churches and missions in decolonisation. Brian Stanley argues that it was through the missionaries' 'diffusion of Christianity and Western education' that '[c]ultural imperialism, the most hated of all forms of imperialism, in fact did more than any other to bring the empire to an end.'⁴³ Proctor argued in 1987 that the Church of Scotland, while not opposed to colonialism as a temporary means, encouraged the Government to take steps toward self-government for the colonies.⁴⁴ John Stuart has shown that an ambiguity existed in the position of the Scottish national church, with different constituencies and individuals arguing for different positions.⁴⁵ Bryan Glass, writing in 2014, argues that the Kirk supported Empire and Central African Federation until May 1959.⁴⁶

As seen above, many of the justifications for empire are based on ideas of race. As the Empire and missions spread across the globe, Britons (and especially many Scots) were exposed to many different peoples in the world. Andrew Walls argues that 'the missionary movement was crucial to the way the Western world learned of the non-Western, because the missionary movement had perforce to engage with cultures of the rest of the world in a more fundamental way than any other part of Western society'.⁴⁷ Robin Derricourt argues that reports of a 'dark continent' with primitive peoples and untouched wildernesses provided justification for colonialism and mission in Africa.⁴⁸ In exploring how Western ideas of race shaped and were shaped by readings of the Bible, Colin Kidd argues that European

⁴² David Maxwell, 'Decolonization', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 290.

⁴³ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 52.

⁴⁴ Proctor, 'The Church of Scotland and British Colonialism in Africa', 475–93.

⁴⁵ Stuart, 'Scottish Missionaries and the End of Empire', 411–30 and *British Missionaries and the End of Empire: East, Central, and Southern Africa, 1939–64* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011).

⁴⁶ Bryan S. Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 222n12.

⁴⁷ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll and Edinburgh: Orbis and T&T Clark, 1996), xviii.

⁴⁸ Robin Derricourt, *Inventing Africa: History, Archaeology and Ideas* (London and New York: Pluto, 2011), x and 18.

intellectuals saw race as a primarily theological issue until the advent of Enlightenment thought and the demotion of biblical accounts as literal history.⁴⁹ He notes that as a social construct, ideas of race have been profoundly influenced by Christianity as one of the most significant cultural factors in the West.⁵⁰ Kidd concludes that whilst there is not a simple correlation between religion and racial attitudes, the discourse on race in the early modern and modern eras was profoundly affected by hermeneutical tradition.⁵¹ Their insistence on a common parentage through the biblical Adam and Eve forced Christians to see racial differences as only surface-deep and precluded racial hierarchies.⁵² However, postcolonial historian Catherine Hall disagrees with Kidd's argument that monogenetic theory precludes racial hierarchies, pointing to social, rather than strictly biological determinants of race.⁵³ With important implications for social, rather than biological determinants of race, Bruce Baum sees politics and power, rather than science, at the root of scientific racism in Europe, arguing that the concept of 'race' was invented to exert power over other groups and that the scientific racism developed in the late nineteenth century bent to these powerful social ideas.⁵⁴ Brian Stanley furthers the discussion of biological and social racial differentiation, showing how mission theorists in the early twentieth century adopted ideas of race determined by what later became known as 'culture' rather than the biological determinants of scientific racism. In the early twentieth century, mission theorists welcomed cultural differences while simultaneously dismissing some of those peoples as culturally inferior.

⁴⁹ Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 26–27.

⁵³ Catherine Hall, "From Greenland's icy mountains ... to Afric's golden sand": Ethnicity, Race, and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender and History* 5 (1993): 212–30.

⁵⁴ Bruce Baum, *The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

Christian progressives' acceptance of the language of racial evolution in the early twentieth century led them to a position approaching current ideas of cultural diversity.⁵⁵

Ideas about empire, mission, and race were widely communicated to interested readers of the nation's newspapers and magazines. John MacKenzie has used the press as a means of gauging the influence of the Empire on popular culture.⁵⁶ James D. Startt examined the treatment of colonial issues in prominent newspapers in the early twentieth century, determining they were a significant force in forming pro-empire opinion in Britain.⁵⁷ Chandrika Kaul also argued that the London press brought the Empire closer to British consciousness and encouraged Indian nationalists through its reporting on India.⁵⁸ According to Richard J. Finlay, Scots read more newspapers per capita than any other group in the nineteenth century, which G. K. Peatling argues had significant influence in shaping British opinion.⁵⁹ Herman and Chomsky argue that the press can be tools of propaganda when exploited by governments and private interests.⁶⁰ Bryan Glass investigates the treatment of the Nyasaland Emergency in the Scottish press but, like the above scholars, works almost entirely from secular sources.⁶¹

Another lacuna in the literature has been identified by John MacKenzie, who writes that more studies need to be done of illustrations in periodicals.⁶² James R. Ryan contends

⁵⁵ Brian Stanley, 'From "the Poor Heathen" to "the Glory and Honour of All Nations": Vocabularies of Race and Custom in Protestant Missions, 1844–1928', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2010): 3–10.

⁵⁶ MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* and 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire'.

⁵⁷ James D. Startt, *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903–1913* (New York: Greenwood, 1991).

⁵⁸ Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c. 1880–1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

⁵⁹ Finlay, 'The Scottish Press and Empire, 1850–1914', in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 64 and G. K. Peatling, *British Opinion and Irish Self-government, 1865–1925: From Unionism to Liberal Commonwealth* (Dublin and Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2001), cited in Potter, 'Empire, Propaganda, and Public Opinion', in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain*, ed. Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 17.

⁶⁰ Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York, 1988), cited in Potter, 'Empire, Propaganda, and Public Opinion', 18.

⁶¹ Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*, 86–114.

⁶² MacKenzie, 'The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire', 25.

that it is necessary to understand MacKenzie's concept of imperialism as 'a pervasive and persistent set of cultural attitudes towards the rest of the world informed to varying degrees by militarism, patriotism, a belief in racial superiority and loyalty to a "civilizing mission"' in order to understand the 'sustenance' photography gave to the colonial enterprise.⁶³ According to Anne Maxwell, photography created and reinforced ideas of Africa in the Victorian era.⁶⁴ These images often produced and reinforced stereotypes of Africans in which, as Paul Jenkins and Christraud Geary argue, anonymous individuals were meant to represent the whole.⁶⁵ T. Jack Thompson writes that 'the missionary photograph became one of the most widespread media for the propagation of western Christian ideas about Africa in other parts of the world'.⁶⁶ The photographs missionaries produced, according to Paul Jenkins, could communicate more nuanced and complex views of Africa than the written word alone, sometimes showing a greater sympathy with local populations than would be allowed in written reports.⁶⁷ Christraud Geary argues that photographs read along with written sources produce a fuller historical picture.⁶⁸

The picture that emerges from these visual sources is one of unequal power relationships between white missionaries and black Africans, though not always. These power disparities arose out of European beliefs that they possessed a higher civilisation than the Africans, who they saw as culturally inferior, 'backward', or even 'savage'.⁶⁹ Thompson showed how images of 'civilised' African converts were juxtaposed with images of others

⁶³ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 12–13.

⁶⁴ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999).

⁶⁵ Paul Jenkins and Christraud Geary, 'Photographs from Africa in the Basel Mission Archive', *African Arts* 18, no. 4 (1985): 56.

⁶⁶ T. Jack Thompson, 'Capturing the Image: African Missionary Photography as Enslavement and Liberation', Day Associates Lecture, 29 June 2007, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, 3.

⁶⁷ Paul Jenkins, 'On Using Historical Missionary Photographs in Modern Discussion', *Le Fait Missionnaire* 10 (2001): 72–73 and 86–87.

⁶⁸ Christraud Geary, 'Photographs as Materials for African History: Some Methodological Considerations', *History in Africa* 13 (1986): 100.

⁶⁹ T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 2.

who had not undergone the transformation facilitated by the missions.⁷⁰ White missionaries, the facilitators of cultural change, often appear in dominant positions, either positioned in the centre of a group – sometimes the only one seated in a chair – or standing while the Africans sit, the missionary towering above them. These images are so common Geary calls them an ‘iconographic convention’, visually establishing and reinforcing the missionaries’ dominance and the Africans’ inferior social rank.⁷¹ For Thompson, photography can be ‘liberating and affirming—allowing its subjects to express their identity and become known beyond their own immediate context’. At its worst, however, ‘photography is an act of violence against the other: an invasion of personal space, and a stealing of identity’. Emblematic is the vocabulary of photography, which betrays its potential for violence. We ‘take pictures’, an act which is in fact often done (especially in Africa) without permission. We also speak of ‘snapshots’, a term associated with game hunting.⁷² Mark Anthony Sealy argues that Western photographs of Africa have been used to bolster colonial regimes.⁷³ In addition, Maxwell has shown how photography has been used to support pseudoscientific studies of race.⁷⁴ While Sealy argues that studies of photography must work to ‘decolonise the camera’, Thompson shows how the camera served to decolonise Africa. As Africans began to understand what the images were used for, they began presenting themselves in ways they wanted to be seen.⁷⁵ Thompson demonstrates how Africans worked with the English missionary Alice Seeley Harris and her husband, John, to document and publish the atrocities committed in King Leopold’s Congo.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Ibid., 144–46.

⁷¹ Christraud Geary, ‘Different Visions?: Postcards from Africa by European and African Photographers and Sponsors’, in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, eds. Christraud Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), 151.

⁷² Thompson, ‘Capturing the Image’, 3–4.

⁷³ Mark Anthony Sealy, ‘Decolonising the Camera: Photography in Racial Time’, Ph. D. thesis, University of Durham, 2016, 1–3.

⁷⁴ A. Maxwell, *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions*, 40–5.

⁷⁵ Christraud Geary, *In and Out of Focus: Images from Central Africa* (London: Philip Wilson, 2003), 20.

⁷⁶ Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 204–48.

Argument and Methods

The studies above leave several questions. (1) How was the Scottish churches' social theology manifest outside Scotland on the colonial and mission fields? (2) How did Christian humanitarian ideals affect Scottish discussions of race and empire as the empire unravelled in the mid-twentieth century? (3) Precisely what was the Church of Scotland's position on empire and did it change? If so, when? (4) How did the ecclesiastical press in Scotland treat race and the end of empire? In search of answers to these questions, this thesis asks how the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* magazine treated South African apartheid and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. While other colonial topics also captured Scottish attention, such as Indian independence and Mau Mau, the connection between *Life and Work*'s editor and the liberal-humanitarian members of the Committee anent Central Africa begs for an investigation into the magazine's treatment of the issues involved. The geographical proximity of the Federation and South Africa as well as the prominence of South African apartheid in the rhetoric around the Federation tie the two issues together, lending them to a combined study. The fourth question considers the influence of the press on Scottish Christians' views toward race and empire. I argue that the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* magazine was used by its editor, Rev. John W. Stevenson, as a tool to present a Christian humanitarian alternative to prevailing systems of race relations and colonialism in South Africa and the Federation.

The primary sources for this thesis are British Christian periodicals, particularly the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* and, to a lesser extent, the *Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland* and the *British Weekly*, which the Church of Scotland acquired in 1957. I examine both the textual and visual content in relation to South Africa and the territories that made up the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. These sources were popular reading material in their time. They formed important

nodes in what Lester calls the '[n]etworks of communication [that] were critical to the construction of the Christian humanitarian world-view that many missionaries shared.'⁷⁷ Throughout the 1950s *Life and Work*'s average monthly circulation was well over 200,000.⁷⁸ Given the limited market of a denominational magazine, its circulation compares favourably to secular Scottish newspapers of the time. Newspapers in the country's two largest cities, the *Scotsman* in Edinburgh and the *Glasgow Herald* were only selling 54,564 and 74,157 daily copies, respectively. The nationwide *Daily Record* sold an average of 381,802 copies per day in 1956.⁷⁹ It is worth noting that circulation figures do not necessarily equate to readership. While some magazines and newspapers may sit unopened on the side table or in the church porch, others may be read multiple times by family members living in the same house or by patrons at a local library.

The visual material from these magazines provides an especially fruitful field in which to work. Photographs were a significant means of creating and perpetuating an imagined Africa for Western consumers.⁸⁰ Western photographs of Africa have, at times, been used to bolster colonial or settler regimes.⁸¹ However, in this thesis, they are examined in the context of criticising those regimes. The creation and use of images at times gave 'a greater freedom' to photographers and editors to present images in support of unpopular or unapproved positions while retaining more orthodox positions in the text of official reports.⁸² This thesis argues that images were used to prosecute an unofficial campaign against apartheid and the Federation. Not only do the images have meaning in themselves, the context in which they are used adds to and sometimes alters that meaning. As Elizabeth

⁷⁷ Lester, 'Humanitarians and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century', 65.

⁷⁸ 'Report of the Committee on Publications', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1961), 625.

⁷⁹ Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*, 87.

⁸⁰ Geary, *In and Out of Focus*.

⁸¹ Sealy, 'Decolonising the Camera', 1–3.

⁸² Jenkins, 'On Using Historical Missionary Photographs in Modern Discussion', 73.

Edwards writes, images have their own ‘social biographies’ in which they are used by editors and others in ways that may not have been intended by their creators.⁸³ This is apparent, for example, in images produced by the Federal Information Department which were used in *Life and Work*’s critical coverage of the Federation.

Structure of the Thesis

To answer the thesis’s central question concerning the role of the Church of Scotland’s periodicals in expressing the tradition of Scottish Christian humanitarianism, I begin with the question of how Scottish views of Africans and the mission and empire projects developed. Chapter 1 examines the humanitarian tradition of Scottish missionaries in Africa, showing that an image of Africans as objects of Scottish Christian humanitarian efforts was well established by the beginning of the twentieth century. An iconography of Christian humanitarianism in Africa developed consisting of both text and visual images. As part of that iconography, in the nineteenth century, a specific and useful motif developed around the legacy of David Livingstone. This chapter examines how the iconography of Africa and Livingstone were employed in books and other media published by and about the Church of Scotland and its missionary endeavours in Africa, leading to the eventual use of Livingstone’s legacy, not to promote empire’s establishment or maintenance, but its end, as seen in later chapters. This broad definition of iconography, including both textual and visual representation, will be used throughout the thesis.

The second question concerns the tradition of Christian humanitarianism within the Church of Scotland’s domestic and international ministry. Chapter 2 explores Scottish Christian thinking on the Kingdom of God and the development of a liberal humanitarianism at home and on the international field with an emerging focus on justice, relief of oppression,

⁸³ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 13.

and the defence of human rights as key components of the Kingdom. The chapter examines the history of ideological currents leading to the creation and work of the Baillie Commission, appointed by the 1940 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to discern the will of God during the Second World War. The Commission's work led to a series of reports presenting an international humanitarian mission for the Kirk. A network of like-minded individuals developed around the Kingdom project in the first half of the twentieth century. Their thinking coalesced in the work of the Baillie Commission and the network later came together in pursuit of the same goal in relation to apartheid and the Federation.

How then was the Christian humanitarianism of the Church of Scotland represented in the church's magazines? In chapter 3 I examine the connection between the liberal-humanitarian tradition in Scottish Christianity and church periodicals. William Pringle Livingstone was appointed editor of the United Free Church of Scotland's *Record* magazine in 1912 and brought his ideas of race, mission, and the Kingdom of God to his new post. Espousing an evolutionary, monogenic theory of race, Livingstone affirmed that Africans were indeed fully human children of the same God while asserting that African culture was less developed and inferior to that of Europeans. He argued in church periodicals for foreign missions as humanitarian projects on par with the home missions that served the poor in Scotland, both necessary to establishing the Kingdom of God.

Having examined the development of racial and humanitarian ideas in the Kirk, Chapter 4 asks how *Life and Work* treated apartheid in South Africa. Even before the advent of formal apartheid after the National Party victory in May 1948, the Church of Scotland sought to implement its ideals of the basic equality of humanity on its South African mission stations while maintaining ideas that black African cultures were inferior. Missionaries thus attempted to effect the social and religious development of black South Africans. Chapter 4 shows how *Life and Work's* editorial policy portrayed black South Africans in the process of

racial development and the injustice of apartheid. Scottish mission stations were portrayed as islands of racial harmony, unaffected by the racial strife elsewhere in the country. The magazine further allied the Kirk with the international anti-apartheid movement, portraying the campaign against apartheid as a Christian imperative in harmony with the Kingdom of God project. Nevertheless, the magazine's treatment of black Africans continued to reveal a stadial, or developmental, conception of race through its racially inflected images and reporting of South Africa.

The final question regards the Kirk's reaction to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. While opinion on apartheid was divided within the Kirk, the General Assembly did produce swift and clear condemnations. The scheme to federate the colony of Southern Rhodesia with the protectorates in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland brought even more division. The General Assembly was unable to produce a clear condemnation until the 'Emergency' of 1959. Nevertheless, chapter 5 examines the already well-known sympathies of *Life and Work's* editor, which were apparent in the magazine's treatment of the Federation. While the editor could not overtly ally the magazine with the liberal-humanitarian wing of the church to oppose the Federation, he nevertheless presented the black population of Nyasaland as civilised, Christian citizens who were capable of making their own political decisions, including the governance of an independent state.

The Scottish people were greatly aware of some of the most prominent issues of empire. This thesis, then, supports John MacKenzie's argument that the Empire was a significant part of the life and thought of those in at least one part of the United Kingdom. The missionary project kept colonial questions before the Scottish public in large part through the medium of the ecclesiastical press. The churches' magazine editors, who accepted and popularised stadial ideas of race, presented foreign missions as a Christian duty on similar footing to that of home missions. In both cases, the church had a duty to build the

Kingdom of God with its attendant features of justice, human rights, and the relief of oppression. The British Empire was portrayed as not inherently malevolent and white rule in Africa could be seen to be working in pursuit of Christian ideals. However, when it ceased to do so, it was to be dispensed with and the socially and politically mature black Africans afforded self-determination.

Chapter One

REPRESENTATIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE: DEVELOPING A TRADITION, 1828–1912

The Church of Scotland's *British Weekly* newspaper for 20 March 1958 carried at the top of its front page an image of Sika Baeta, a young black woman, placing a bouquet of flowers at the base of the David Livingstone statue in Glasgow's George Square (Figure 1.1).⁸⁴ The act was not overtly political but the photograph took on political meaning when the editor, Rev. Denis Duncan, placed it above an article by A. W. Stewart, the director of information at the South African High Commission in London. 'Which

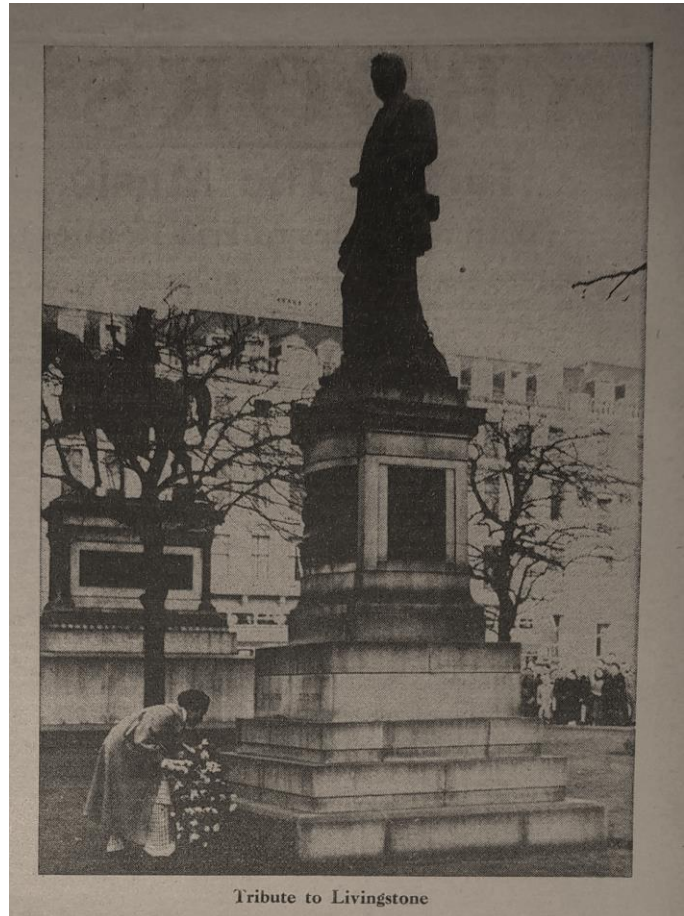


Figure 1.1 Ghanaian student Sika Baeta lays flowers at the base of the Livingstone statue in Glasgow (*British Weekly*, 20 March 1958, 1).

Way In South Africa?', the title asked as Stewart defended South Africa's policy of 'parallel development', or apartheid. 'Christian opinion', he claimed, 'is involved on either side.'⁸⁵

The Church of Scotland's General Assembly, however, had in 1949 officially condemned

⁸⁴ 'Tribute to Livingstone', *British Weekly*, 20 March 1958, 1; 'News Photographs', *British Weekly*, 20 March 1958, 6.

⁸⁵ A. W. Stewart, 'Which Way In South Africa?', *British Weekly*, 20 March 1958, 1 and 12.

apartheid as ‘contrary to the teaching and tenets of the Christian Faith’.⁸⁶ Duncan did not identify Baeta in the caption, making her an anonymous stand-in for all Africans, and by juxtaposing the image with Stewart’s defence of apartheid, he made the act into a symbolic appeal to Livingstone’s legacy and Scotland’s duty to the land the Scottish missionary-explorer claimed to open for ‘civilisation, commerce, and Christianity’ in hopes of ending the African slave trade.⁸⁷

This is not a chapter on Livingstone *per se*, but rather an exploration of the place of southern Africa in the Scottish Presbyterian conscience in which Livingstone and his legacy are situated. It serves as a preliminary survey of themes which are prominent later in the thesis, laying the foundation for the rest of the thesis by examining how and why the Scottish Presbyterian conscience shifted much of its nearly exclusive focus on India to southern Africa and also what the most prominent tropes and motifs of Africa were that appeared in the text and illustrations of Scottish Christian publications between 1829 and 1912. These dates correspond to the publication of the anti-settler, abolitionist book *Researches in South Africa* by London Missionary Society superintendent John Philip in 1829, discussed in this chapter, and the appointment of William Pringle Livingstone as editor of the United Free Church *Record* magazine in 1912. W. P. Livingstone, popular biographer of David Livingstone and of several other Scottish missionaries, will receive some attention in this chapter, but will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3. I argue in this chapter that a textual and visual iconography developed which promoted a Christian humanitarian empire. As noted in the introduction, the word ‘iconography’ will be used in this broader sense to include both textual and visual representations throughout the thesis. I further argue that after

⁸⁶ *Reports of the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, 1949* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1949), 321 (*emphasis added*).

⁸⁷ Baeta was named in the *Glasgow Herald*’s coverage of the event, where she was identified as the daughter of the Presbyterian theologian, Christian G. Baeta of Ghana (‘Sunday Schools’ Procession: David Livingstone Anniversary’, *Glasgow Herald*, 17 March 1958, 3).

the death of David Livingstone, that iconography was successfully deployed to arouse the Scottish Christian conscience to give greater attention to concerns in Southern and Central Africa, indirectly leading to the institution of formal colonial structures and accentuating the tensions between Christian humanitarianism and empire explored in this thesis.

Scottish society in the nineteenth century was in the process of reinventing itself. T. M. Devine writes that Scottish participation in the Empire was a considerable factor in the emerging new Scottish identity.⁸⁸ The writings of Sir Walter Scott had combined the Lowland and Highland cultures into a single Scottish culture that extended across Scotland's social classes.⁸⁹ Yet, the romantic image of the Highlander remained, though somewhat redefined. Less than a century after Culloden, Ewan A. Cameron argues, the Highlander's image had been reformed from a rebellious trouble-maker to builder and defender of the Empire.⁹⁰ Esther Breitenbach has shown that a spate of civil organisations were founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which raised the Scottish consciousness of the Empire and negotiated Scots' place within it. Of all these organisations, it was the foreign missions that had the most significant impact in the formation of Scottish identity, partly by their portrayal of the 'other' through missionary publications. Most prominent of the foreign missions were India and Africa. The churches' support of foreign missions allowed Scots at home to be a part of their work and, in a way, the work of empire.⁹¹ According to Brian Glass, the Scottish identity as empire builders lasted into the 1960s.⁹²

⁸⁸ T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), 353.

⁸⁹ Paul H. Scott, 'The Malachi Episode', in *Walter Scott, The Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*, ed. Paul H. Scott (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1981), xxix; John M. MacKenzie with Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 15–16.

⁹⁰ Ewan A. Cameron, 'Embracing the Past: The Highlands in Nineteenth Century Scotland', in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages*, eds. Dauvit Broun, R. J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), 196.

⁹¹ Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 69.

⁹² Brian Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 19.

The nature of the empire was a central concern. For much of the nineteenth century the British government showed little interest in formal colonialism.⁹³ However, according to Patrick Brantlinger, missionaries, particularly David Livingstone, forced the issue of Britain's responsibility to Africa.⁹⁴ Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* joined with other missionary works, such as Philip's *Researches in South Africa* and Robert Moffat's *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, which Jean and John Comaroff argue were meant to depict 'a historical imperative, a process of intervention through which the wild would be cultivated, the suffering saved'.⁹⁵ Adrian S. Wisnicki suggests that Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* presented an Africa ripe for colonisation.⁹⁶ According to Felix Driver, Livingstone's advocacy of 'legitimate commerce', crucially brought together the interests of trade, exploration, and evangelism in a humanitarian cause to spur the connection between humanitarian and imperial interests.⁹⁷ Justin D. Livingstone observes that the missionary-explorer intentionally cultivated a broad appeal in *Missionary Travels*.⁹⁸ Breitenbach notes that *Missionary Travels* was not alone in its broad appeal. Stories of adventure and scientific information in missionary periodicals and biographies appealed to an audience beyond the missionary-supporting public.⁹⁹ It was after his death, however, that Livingstone became the archetypal missionary and most useful to those who would make him their patron saint. For

⁹³ Tim Jeal, 'David Livingstone: A Brief Biographical Account', in *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 49; Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 7–8.

⁹⁴ Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 180.

⁹⁵ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87 and 88.

⁹⁶ Adrian S. Wisnicki, 'Interstitial Cartographer: David Livingstone and the Invention of South Central Africa', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 37, no. 1 (2009): 255–71.

⁹⁷ Felix Driver, 'Missionary Travels: Livingstone, Africa and the Book', in 'Livingstone Studies: Bicentenary Essays', ed. Justin D. Livingstone, special issue, *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129 (2013): 175.

⁹⁸ Justin D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 21–26. In this, Justin Livingstone is following Adrian S. Wisnicki, who calls David Livingstone's portrayal of himself in *Missionary Travels* 'a strategic creation, one that the missionary carefully cultivated in developing the final narrative' (Wisnicki, 'Interstitial Cartographer', 258).

⁹⁹ Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 152.

John MacKenzie ‘the best patron saint, perhaps the only possible patron saint, is the dead one’. A dead saint, after all, cannot contest any virtues or sentiments attributed to him or her.¹⁰⁰ MacKenzie points to the malleability of the posthumous Livingstone myth for its usefulness, which malleability was not possible while Livingstone was alive. After his death, both mission enthusiasts as well as imperialists could appropriate Livingstone for their own purposes.¹⁰¹ Justin Livingstone makes a similar argument, that ‘Livingstone has been moulded variously by writers emerging from differing socio-cultural locations and with contrasting political purposes’ and insists that any examination of the many representations of Livingstone must ask ‘which hero is being celebrated.’¹⁰² The motivations for that moulding must also be questioned, according to Joanna Lewis, who argues that the Christian humanitarian depictions of Livingstone were emphasised to hide the sins of the Empire.¹⁰³ This chapter accepts the utility of Livingstone’s death for those who would exploit his legacy, but argues that the iconography of a Christian humanitarian empire, which he helped popularise and which was used to steer Scottish attentions from India to Africa after his death, predates his arrival on the mission field.

Early Scottish Involvement in the Missionary Enterprise and the View of Africa

‘The Western world’, according to Andrew Walls, ‘awoke to Africa, and to much of the world, through the voices and writings of missionaries.’¹⁰⁴ Images coming from the missionary enterprise portrayed Africans as savage, backward, and in need of European intervention for their own good. Examples of ‘successful’ missionary interventions were

¹⁰⁰ John M. MacKenzie, ‘David Livingstone – Prophet or Patron Saint of Imperialism in Africa: Myth and Misconceptions’, *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129 (2013): 287.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 277–91.

¹⁰² J. D. Livingstone, *Livingstone’s Lives*, 2 and 71.

¹⁰³ Joanna Lewis, *Empire of Sentiment: The Death of Livingstone and the Myth of Victorian Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁰⁴ Andrew F. Walls, ‘The Legacy of David Livingstone’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 11, no. 3 (July 1987): 128.

published in missionary reports for consumption in Scotland in both text and image.

Civilising Africans was seen as an act of humanitarian benevolence. Particularly urgent in the nineteenth century was the need to end the slave trade in Africa, first in West Africa, and then in East and central southern Africa. These urgent calls to rescue Africans from their own ‘savagery’, enslavement by Europeans and their fellow Africans, and mistreatment by white settlers were communicated to readers in Scotland and the rest of Britain through publications from Christian missionary societies and individual missionaries engaged in these activities.

Significant Scottish support for foreign missions began in the late eighteenth century. Voluntary societies were founded, like the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Scottish Missionary Society, both founded in 1796. The Church of Scotland had no missions of its own before 1824 and at first the Scottish societies simply raised funds for others, especially the non-denominational London Missionary Society (LMS). In time, however, they began fielding their own missionaries.¹⁰⁵ Still, the connection with the LMS was an important one and many Scots helped fill the society’s missionary ranks. Scots accounted for 183 of the 1023 missionaries (17.9 percent) appointed by the LMS between 1795 and 1895.¹⁰⁶

Their participation and support for the foreign missionary enterprise exposed Scots to the developing rhetoric and iconography of Africa. LMS supporters were entitled to the society’s magazine, *Missionary Sketches*, which began publication in April 1818. The magazine proved so popular that second editions of the first issues were called for to meet the demand. Each issue began with a woodcut image of some element of the cultures encountered by missionaries. Hindu ‘idols’ were a frequent feature, but Africa also appeared,

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth G. K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement, 1796–1956: A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland* (London, Edinburgh, Paris, Melbourne, Johannesburg, Toronto, and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), 8–9.

¹⁰⁶ Brian Stanley, ‘Missionary Societies’, *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume II: The Long Eighteenth Century c. 1689-c. 1828*, ed. Andrew Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 255; James M. Calder, *Scotland’s March Past: The Share of Scottish Churches in the London Missionary Society* (London: Livingstone Press, 1945).

beginning with the second issue. The images from Africa show familiar themes of the supposed ignorance and savagery of African peoples before their contact with missionaries and compare those with what were considered by missionaries and their supporters as the Africans' 'civilised' state following conversion. One early issue features four Africans of different groups, a 'Bootchuana' (Tswana), a 'Boscherman' (Bushman or Khoisan), 'Caffre Captain' (Xhosa), and a 'young Caffre Woman'.¹⁰⁷ The Africans' supposed warlike character was illustrated by two

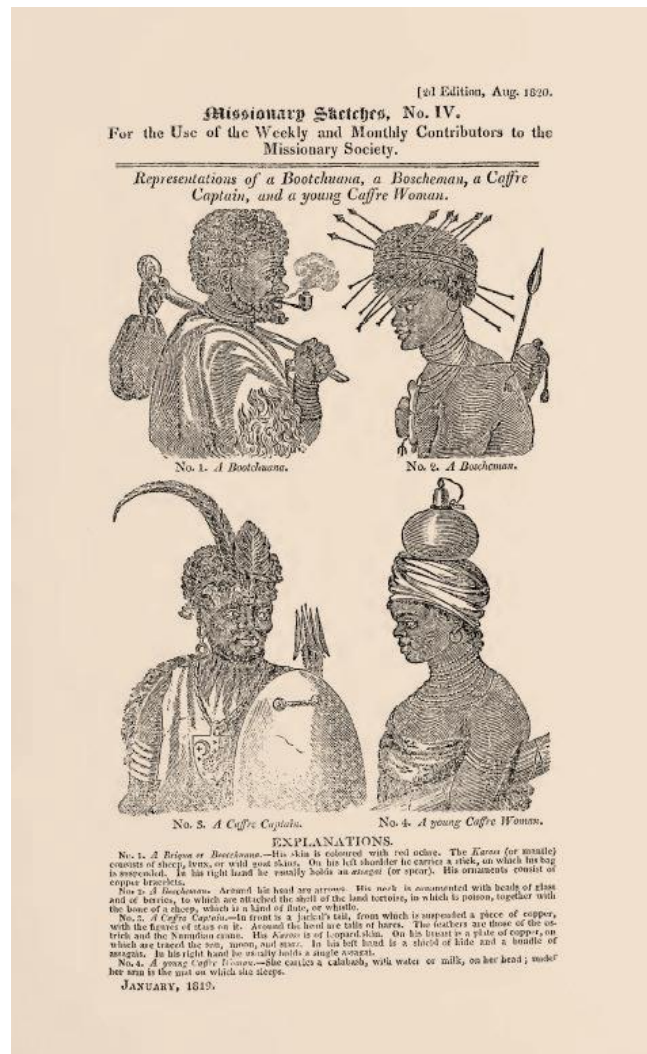


Figure 1.2 Woodcut representation of black South Africans. (*Missionary Sketches 4* (January 1819): 2.)

of the men being portrayed as armed with assegai (spears) and the third man is described in the caption as holding one, though it cannot be seen in the image. None of the Africans is named (if the images were indeed based on real people), showing a propensity identified by Paul Jenkins and Christraud Geary to depict Africans as types rather than individuals.¹⁰⁸ T. Jack Thompson referred to the practice, which is demonstrated in images seen throughout this thesis, as 'anonymous African syndrome'.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ On the development and use of the word 'Caffre', see Jochen S. Arndt, 'What's in a Word? Historicising the Term "Caffre" in European Discourses about Southern African between 1500 and 1800', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 59–75.

¹⁰⁸ Paul Jenkins and Christraud Geary, 'Photographs from Africa in the Basel Mission Archive', *African Arts* 18, no. 4 (1985): 56.

¹⁰⁹ T. Jack Thompson, 'Capturing the Image: African Missionary Photography as Enslavement and Liberation', Day Associates Lecture, 29 June 2007, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, 15.

The article confesses how little was known of Africa in Europe and that ‘knowledge has been chiefly obtained by means of that barbarous traffic in slaves, which has been a disgrace to almost every nation in Europe, and the attempts of benevolent Englishmen to check its prevalence by Christianizing and civilizing the natives.’ The images were included because ‘the religious public have taken a lively interest in the attempts made to diffuse the blessings of Christianity and civilization among those untutored tribes’.¹¹⁰ The mission stations established by the missionaries supplied purported evidence of their success.

Descriptions and images of mission stations had significant political and theological meaning. Images of mission stations often accompanied articles discussing their relative civilisation and prosperity compared with their unconverted neighbours.¹¹¹ These kinds of images were considered important propaganda tools and they make frequent appearances in missionary literature. Brian Stanley calls them ‘a topographical representation of . . . a covenanted and fruitful community of clearly professed believers, bounded by clear lines of demarcation and visibly different from the surrounding barren environment’.¹¹² In a revealing letter in 1839, Duncan Macfarlan of the Glasgow Missionary Society requested a sketch of a mission station from missionary John Ross, writing that ‘[s]omething of this kind is necessary, towards securing for each station, a good hold of the mind. And without this, we [lack? *illegible*] proper access to the heart.’¹¹³ The intended humanitarian character of the missionaries’ work is apparent as the editors of *Missionary Sketches* noted the hoped-for

¹¹⁰ ‘Africa’, *Missionary Sketches* no. 4 (January 1819): 2.

¹¹¹ ‘Sketch of the London Missionary Society’s Station at Theopolis, South Africa’, *Missionary Sketches* no. 16 (January 1822): 1 and ‘Brief Sketch of the Society’s Missionary Station at Theopolis, in South Africa’, *Missionary Sketches* no. 16 (January 1822): 2–3.

¹¹² Brian Stanley, ‘Gardening for the Gospel: Horticulture and Mission in the Life of Robert Moffat of Kuruman’, in *Pathways and Patterns in History: Essays on Baptists, Evangelicals, and the Modern World in Honour of David Bebbington*, eds. Anthony R. Cross, Peter J. Morden and Ian M. Randall (London and Didcot: Spurgeon’s College and the Baptist Historical Society, 2015), 365.

¹¹³ Duncan Macfarlan, letter to John Ross, 19 February 1839, Cory Library (MS 3159), Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, quoted in Natasha Erlank, ‘“Civilizing the African”: The Scottish Mission to the Xhosa, 1821–64’, in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 153.

‘improvement’ of the African condition, which they saw as ‘degraded’ in its natural state, before European intervention.

In several former Sketches we have drawn the attention of our readers to the moral necessities of the poor Africans, both in their own country and in the West Indies; and to some of the means in operation, under the direction of the Society, for the instruction and improvement of some portions of that degraded race.¹¹⁴

As Natasha Erlank and Ian Douglas Maxwell demonstrate, the ‘instruction and improvement’ of Africans and how they were to be accomplished were matters of considerable debate in Scotland.¹¹⁵ The Moderate Party within the Kirk believed some level of ‘civilisation’ was necessary before Christian conversion could take place. The Evangelical Party believed civilisation would follow conversion, stemming from the transformative power of Christianity itself.¹¹⁶ Attainment of the necessary level of civilisation was the pertinent question for the 1796 General Assembly’s debate on sending missionaries to foreign lands. The Assembly decided the necessary standards had not been met and declined to send missionaries.¹¹⁷ When in 1835 the Church of Scotland finally commissioned its own missionaries, the Moderates, who controlled the General Assembly, made sure there was an emphasis on education and civilisation.¹¹⁸ Education became a hallmark of Scottish missionary efforts.¹¹⁹ Alexander Duff’s watershed address on the mission in India gave a prominent voice to the argument for civilisation as a precondition to conversion.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ *Missionary Sketches* 52 (January 1831): 2.

¹¹⁵ Erlank, “‘Civilizing the African’”, 141–68 and Ian Douglas Maxwell, ‘Civilization or Christianity: The Scottish Debate on Mission Methods, 1750–1835’, in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, 123–40.

¹¹⁶ This thesis capitalises ‘Evangelical’ in reference to the Evangelical Party within the Church of Scotland and leaves it lower case in reference to evangelical Christian sympathies.

¹¹⁷ I. D. Maxwell, ‘Civilization or Christianity’, 131–32.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹¹⁹ David S. Forsyth, ‘Empire and Union: Imperial and National Identity in Nineteenth Century Scotland’, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 113, no. 1 (1997): 7 and Brian Stanley, ‘The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement’, in *The History of Scottish Theology, Volume III: The Long Twentieth Century*, eds. David Fergusson and Mark Elliott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 57–60.

¹²⁰ I. D. Maxwell, ‘Civilization or Christianity’, 124.

A central evangelical contention was the idea that the African ‘race’ could be ‘civilised’, educated, and generally brought to a ‘Christian’ standard of life. While frustrated missionaries may have questioned the intellectual potential of resistant populations, the civilising and evangelistic missionary project would be pointless without some underlying conviction that change was possible.¹²¹ The Scottish Enlightenment thought of James Beattie, to which early Scottish evangelical missionaries were heir, held that ‘racial’ difference was a product of historical circumstance rather than innate qualities. Nevertheless, this position began to lose ground as the century progressed.¹²² Erlank argues that the earlier missionaries at the Xhosa missions in South Africa were more sanguine about African intellectual ability than later generations, who were raised on a steady diet of literature recounting the failures and challenges of the African missions.¹²³ Nevertheless, the missions and the mission stations continued to operate in their functional and symbolic capacities.

Demonstrating the confidence of early nineteenth-century missionaries that Africans could be ‘civilised’, John Philip included an image of the LMS mission station at Bethelsdorp in *Researches in South Africa* (Figure 1.3). Philip considered the mission and its image as significant components in his appeal on behalf of the black Africans seeking relief from the policies of the colonial administration and the behaviour of the white settlers of the Cape Colony. Believing that such a show of the residents’ newly acquired ‘civilisation’ would make them more sympathetic to Western eyes, he convinced them to tear down their wattle-and-daub homes and build stone houses along laid-out streets in a more European and supposedly Christian/civilised fashion. He assured them that the LMS was interested in their

¹²¹ Brian Stanley, ‘Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought, 1792–1857’, in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 169–70. According to Richard Elphick, the early failures and reversals of evangelism to the indigenous inhabitants at the Cape hardened the racial ideas of the white settlers: see Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers: Protestant Missionaries and the Racial Politics of South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 13.

¹²² Stanley, ‘Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought’, 171–72.

¹²³ Erlank, “‘Civilizing the African’”, 165–66.

welfare and that rebuilding the mission would better enable the directors ‘to use their influence with the British government to ameliorate their condition’.¹²⁴ Brick and stone construction came to be identified as a defining characteristic of Scottish missions.¹²⁵ The image was given prominence as the frontispiece to Philip’s book.



Figure 1.3 Engraving of Betheldorp, Cape Colony (John Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, frontispiece).

The book and Philip’s work in South Africa contributed significantly to the popular British image of Africa and the humanitarian missionary, upsetting local white settlers by their appeals for humane treatment of African populations. As Richard Elphick writes, ‘the missionaries and their converts, as good Calvinists, felt free to meddle in the affairs of the state as their conscience required.’¹²⁶ Philip arrived in the Cape Colony in 1819 to put in order the affairs of the London Missionary Society there. Two of the Society’s missionaries,

¹²⁴ John Philip, *Researches in South Africa; Illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes: Together with Detailed Accounts of the Progress of the Christian Missions, Exhibiting the Influence of Christianity in Promoting Civilization* (London: James Duncan, 1828), 213.

¹²⁵ MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 102.

¹²⁶ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 22.

Johannes van der Kemp and John Read, had ruffled feathers by blurring the ‘racial’ lines white settlers believed were demarcated by Christianity, supporting Khoisan and slaves in bringing legal charges against their masters, and even marrying African women.¹²⁷ Van der Kemp had died in 1811 and in 1817 Read was accused of fornication with a Khoisan woman and could no longer effectively lead the mission’s operations. When Philip arrived, the mission was on the verge of collapse.¹²⁸

Initially, Philip established cordial relations with the colonial administrators but soon ran afoul of the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, as well as the lieutenant-governor, Sir Rufane Donkin. He joined a group of vocal Scots who were highly critical of the colonial administration and the racial arrangements at the Cape, including John Fairbairn, the liberal newspaper editor who would become Philip’s son-in-law.¹²⁹ Philip became convinced that Read had been maligned and supported his efforts to prosecute abuse by white settlers against Khoisan servants and slaves. His increasing advocacy on behalf of Africans strained his relationship with the white settlers and colonial administrators. By 1826 Philip found it necessary to return to the United Kingdom to defend himself against the attacks from Somerset and to press for a change to the colony’s laws which not only permitted the slavery of native Africans and immigrant labourers but required that all the colony’s residents other than white settlers be either slaves or servants.¹³⁰

Philip believed the system in the Cape Colony was not only unjust, it was economically and spiritually detrimental to white as well as black.¹³¹ Like many of his fellow missionaries, Philip was strongly influenced by the ideas of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers,

¹²⁷ Van der Kemp married a 14-year-old Malagasy girl and Read married a Khoisan woman.

¹²⁸ On the state of the LMS mission at the Cape before Philip’s arrival, see Timothy J. Keegan, *Dr Philip’s Empire: One Man’s Struggle for Justice in Nineteenth-century South Africa* (Johannesburg: Penguin, 2016), 24–29.

¹²⁹ MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 64–89.

¹³⁰ Keegan, *Dr Philip’s Empire*, 70–79.

¹³¹ John Philip, *Researches in South Africa; Illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes: Together with Detailed Accounts of the Progress of the Christian Missions, Exhibiting the Influence of Christianity in Promoting Civilization* (London: James Duncan, 1828), 364–67.

notably Adam Smith.¹³² They believed social and personal advancement was possible through hard work and education. Philip was particularly influenced by Adam Smith's ideas of free labour and commerce as conducive to the formation of virtue.¹³³ This attitude was projected upon Africans, who, the missionaries believed, could also advance through personal responsibility and respectable, 'Christian' living. The uncritical acceptance of Enlightenment economics within Scottish Christian thought will be discussed in chapter 2's discussion of the social gospel. Philip's pursuit of African rights was in aim of achieving the freedom necessary for Africans to pursue those activities which would allow for personal and 'racial' improvement and spiritual salvation.¹³⁴ Echoing the thought of James Beattie, Philip argued that the supposed racial deficiencies of the Khoisan, such as laziness and a lack of hygiene, were products of the environment, largely created by white-settler oppression.¹³⁵ He hoped to make the mission stations places where Africans could live out this ideal, away from the restrictions of the colony's laws.¹³⁶ The image of Bethelsdorp shows the station's residents engaged in various labours. However, the Cape's white settlers and colonial officials saw the missions' success as a threat and offered considerable opposition. Philip saw little choice but to go to London to appeal to the Government there.

Philip's *Researches in South Africa* came about through his associations with the useful political connections he made in London, serving as an apologia for their shared convictions. One of those Philip met in London was Thomas Fowell Buxton, the leader of the Anti-Slavery Society, who convinced him to make his case to the public by writing the

¹³² Keegan, *Dr Philip's Empire*, 5, 115, and 339; Andrew C. Ross, 'Livingstone and Race', in *David Livingstone and Africa: Proceedings of a Seminar Held on the Occasion of the Centenary of the Death of David Livingstone at the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 4th and 5th May 1973* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies, 1973), 71. Brian Stanley shows how Scottish thinking also permeated nonconformist English missionary thought: Stanley, 'Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought, 1792–1857'.

¹³³ Stanley, 'The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement', 59–60.

¹³⁴ Andrew C. Ross, *John Philip (1775–1851): Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), 80–81, 97.

¹³⁵ Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, 375 and 387.

¹³⁶ Ross, *John Philip*, 98–99.

book.¹³⁷ Philip aimed to convince the book's readers that all British subjects were entitled to equal rights: 'We ask nothing for the poor native more than this, that they should have the protection the law affords to the colonists. There is nothing surely in these claims, against which the shadow of an objection can be urged.'¹³⁸ Andrew Ross called it 'passionately Christian and radically egalitarian'.¹³⁹ John MacKenzie described it as 'exhibit[ing] his striking blend of radical evangelicalism, belief in the need for political involvement on the part of clerics and missionaries (which would separate him from many who were not so persuaded), as well as his blend of Smithian *laissez-faire* economics and a profound conviction both in the sanctity of property and in the dignity of labour.'¹⁴⁰ Like many missionaries of his era, he made the usual case for a common humanity.¹⁴¹ The book's reach is hard to determine but it seems to have been effective. The English-born South African historian G. E. Cory wrote that 'probably no book on South African affairs has ever raised such public feeling as this one did. By people in England it was regarded as a faithful and courageous exposure of wanton cruelty and oppression of aborigines by all classes at the Cape.'¹⁴² Nevertheless, William Macmillan offered a more modest assessment of the book's reach, saying it most likely reached those already predisposed to its message.¹⁴³ Still, it went through four editions in the next three years, betokening some level of popularity, and opinions regarding colonial policy in Africa began to change. Buxton made a motion in the Commons on 15 July 1828 and the House 'humbly solicit[ed] His Majesty to cause such

¹³⁷ Philip's passion for abolitionism has been questioned, though, as MacKenzie argues, the place for that debate was London, rather than the Cape, where Philip and his circle could more fruitfully expend their efforts to improve the lot of the Khoisan. Evidence suggests Philip was in contact with abolitionists in London, providing them with intelligence from the Cape (MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 78).

¹³⁸ Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, xxvi.

¹³⁹ Andrew C. Ross, 'The Legacy of John Philip', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 1994): 30.

¹⁴⁰ MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 76.

¹⁴¹ Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, xxxiii–xxxiv.

¹⁴² George W. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 2 vols., (Cape Town: Struik, 1911), vol. 2, 418.

¹⁴³ William M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927), 126.

instructions to be sent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, as shall most effectually secure to all the natives of South Africa, the same freedom and protection as are enjoyed by other free people of that Colony whether English or Dutch.’¹⁴⁴ The ‘instructions’ resulted in the Cape’s governor enacting Ordinance 50, which guaranteed equality before the law and ended compulsory labour for non-whites that was not also required of whites. Philip helped exert further pressure on the Cabinet to make the provisions of the Ordinance legally binding as an Order-in-Council.

When Philip returned to South Africa later in 1829, he found himself deeply unpopular among white settlers. In July 1830, he was convicted of libel stemming from the accusations he made in his book. His supporters in the UK raised money to pay the £1100 fine, demonstrating the difference in support for his cause between Britain and South Africa.¹⁴⁵ When white settlers machinated to subvert the impending freedom of the Colony’s slaves, Philip further attracted their ire when he helped to block their attempts to re-enact forced labour under the guise of eliminating ‘vagrancy’.¹⁴⁶ He continued the fight until his retirement in 1850 at which point his continued setbacks led him to believe he had failed in his efforts to help Africans. Nevertheless, he and his white supporters, including his son-in-law John Fairbairn, who had been one of the founders of the Colony’s first newspaper, the *Commercial Advertiser*, helped establish what has been called the Cape liberal tradition.¹⁴⁷ Of more direct relevance to this thesis is that *Researches in South Africa* made an important contribution to British, and specifically Scottish Christians’ image of Africa and the tradition of humanitarian appeals by missionaries through text and image.

¹⁴⁴ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, N.D. xix, Col. 1693–94.

¹⁴⁵ Keegan, *Dr Philip’s Empire*, 125, 136–40.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 143–44.

¹⁴⁷ Stanley Trapido, ‘Fairbairn, John (1794–1864), newspaper proprietor and politician in Cape Colony’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53751>.

One of Philip's fellow Scots on the South African mission field, Robert Moffat, also began his 1842 book, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, with an image of his



Figure 1.4 Engraving of Kuruman (Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, frontispiece).

mission station at Kuruman, highlighting the differences between the mission station and the pre-Christianised African village (Figure 1.4). Moffat had arrived in South Africa two years before Philip and settled at Kuruman in 1820. Although far less political in his approach while in South Africa, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, was also critical of white settler behaviour toward Africans. Still, that was not Moffat's primary theme as author, which was the civilising, humanitarian, and conversionist mission of the LMS. Moffat began his career as a gardener, and Brian Stanley has argued that 'Moffat saw the daunting task of creating a watered garden in the drought-ridden veldt of the interior of southern Africa as a parable of his spiritual vocation.'¹⁴⁸ Gardens were widely regarded as symbols of modernity and civilisation. John MacKenzie has pointed to Scots' involvement with the development of botanical gardens at the Cape as a manifestation of Enlightenment thought and ambitions for the establishment of a Cape bourgeoisie.¹⁴⁹ The image of Moffat's Kuruman was coloured with verdant hues and was juxtaposed against a black-and-white image of Moffat preaching at an African village (Figure 1.5). The differences are stunning. The mission's white-washed stone buildings are recognisably European (if not specifically Scottish) in design. Scattered

¹⁴⁸ Stanley, 'Gardening for the Gospel', 355.

¹⁴⁹ MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 88.

about the image are Africans engaged in various types of work: one pushes a wheelbarrow, another carries a tool over his shoulder as he heads in the direction of some useful labour.¹⁵⁰ Here the missionary task is presumably done and the Africans are living lives recognisably similar to



Figure 1.5 'Preaching at Mosheu's Village' (Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, title page).

those of Moffat's readers in Britain. The African residents wear European clothing and use European tools. Importantly for Moffat, the men are seemingly willing to do the traditionally female work of gardening.¹⁵¹ On the facing title page, the reader sees the missionary task just beginning among a throng of curious listeners. Moffat stands in his wagon box addressing his impromptu congregation amidst a village composed of round wattle-and-daub structures. The African listeners wear traditional clothing, which bears little resemblance to the clothes of the missionary or those of the Christian Africans shown in the frontispiece. The African audience is positioned in the image so as to place the wagon in full view as a symbol of European technology. The African landscape is nearly virgin, with only the haphazardly placed rondovals to indicate human presence or ingenuity. The trees also bear noticeably less foliage than those near Kuruman.¹⁵² Here are Africa and Africans in their supposedly native state. Like others from this period, the image became part of the iconography of missionaries in

¹⁵⁰ Robert Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (London: John Snow, 1842), frontispiece. In the 1846 edition this image was replaced with an image of Moffat pointing to a map of Africa (Robert Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (London: John Snow, 1846), frontispiece).

¹⁵¹ Stanley, 'Gardening for the Gospel', 364.

¹⁵² Moffat, *Missionary Labours* (1842), title page.

Africa, being reprinted in missionary publications, such as the *Children's Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland* in January 1876.¹⁵³

The before-and-after depiction of the successful missionary enterprise's effects on humans and the landscape is a common theme in missionary iconography of Africa.¹⁵⁴ Here, as elsewhere, it shows what was considered the 'civilising' impact of Christianity which Moffat praised in dedicating his book to Prince Albert, who was a well-known enthusiast for modernisation. Without European intervention, the gardener-turned-missionary wrote, Africa was 'a land of darkness and of terror to the most fearless and enterprising traveller.'¹⁵⁵ Moffat wrote to the Prince that the book would 'demonstrate, that, in every instance where the Gospel has been introduced, it has effected a complete revolution in the character and habits of its people' and 'that the Gospel of Christ is the only instrument which can civilize and save all kindreds and nations of the earth.'¹⁵⁶ Thus, the preaching of the Christian Gospel was the ultimate humanitarian exercise. Moffat expanded on this further in chapter 28, writing that the 'Gospel teaches that all things should be done decently and in order; and the Gospel alone can lead the savage to appreciate the arts of civilized life as well as the blessings of redemption.' Contrasted with this statement is an image of Tswana men and women in their native dress.¹⁵⁷ Like Philip, Moffat believed that the Africans could be 'raised' from their pre-Christian states through personal responsibility and respectable living, which philosophy was essential to the success of the civilising mission. Similar to the way the mission station changed the physical environment from desert to garden, Moffat wrote to a friend of his vision of the mission station as a place of racial transformation: 'We anticipate a new &

¹⁵³ The editors acquired an electrotype of the image from Moffat's publishers, John Snow & Co. ('More Work for the Willing Workers. – Waggon for Africa', *Children's Missionary Record*, January 1876, 184).

¹⁵⁴ T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness?: Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 144–46.

¹⁵⁵ Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, ii.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 502–03.

superior race with a new generation that is among those on & in the vicinity of Missionary stations.¹⁵⁸ His arguments and images reached a large audience, going through several editions in his lifetime in Britain and the United States.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the genre of missionary stories with their recurrent themes of African depravity, settler malfeasance, and missionary benevolence was well developed and the accompanying iconography of Christian humanitarianism had taken shape. Publications like *Missionary Sketches* and Philip's and Moffat's books had broad distribution. The LMS's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* had a circulation of around 100,000 subscribers.¹⁵⁹ Other magazines, such as the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* (discussed in chapter 3), the Church of Scotland's *Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, and the *Children's Missionary Record* gave the missionary enterprise a Scottish voice.¹⁶⁰ Yet, African missions remained a distant second in the attentions of mission-minded Scots. Alexander Duff's address before the Church of Scotland General Assembly in 1835 had created an outpouring of support for missions, but that support was centred on the India mission and largely on Duff personally.¹⁶¹ Through the rest of the 1830s and into the 1840s the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record* consistently devoted more space to accounts of Indian missions than those in Africa.¹⁶² All of that changed in the 1850s. Missionaries in Africa began submitting more reports which found their way into church periodicals. Missionaries labouring in Africa made important connections while in Scotland on

¹⁵⁸ Robert Moffat, letter to William Ellis, 3 February 1835, London Missionary Society, South Africa Incoming Correspondence (Bx 14A fd 2 Jacket F), School of Oriental and African Studies, London, quoted in Stanley, 'Gardening for the Gospel', 367.

¹⁵⁹ For a discussion of the image of Africa presented in the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* see Brian Stanley, 'From "the poor heathen" to "the Glory and Honour of All Nations": Vocabularies of Race and Custom in Protestant Missions, 1844–1928', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2010): 3.

¹⁶⁰ Both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland published magazines called the *Children's Missionary Record* in the nineteenth century, the national church from 1838 to 1890 and the Free Church from 1845 to 1863. On the circulation of Scottish missionary publications, see Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 91–96.

¹⁶¹ Erlank, "'Civilizing the African'", 162.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 160.

furlough.¹⁶³ The novelty of Tiyo Soga, the first black missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, preaching at the John Street Presbyterian Church in Glasgow also raised Scottish interest in the African missions.¹⁶⁴ Soga had been baptised in the church on 7 May 1848 and was ordained there on 23 December 1856.¹⁶⁵ More than anyone else, however, another Scottish missionary was to enter the public consciousness and shift attentions to Africa, redefining the popular image of the missionary and Christian humanitarianism: David Livingstone.¹⁶⁶

David Livingstone as Patron Saint

Thanks to Livingstone, the iconography of Christian humanitarianism in Africa took a giant leap in the 1850s. Reports of his discovery of Lake Ngami brought him to the public's attention, and his 1857 book *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* cemented his fame, which he used to present a new outlook on Africa in service of his vision for the continent. The media frenzy surrounding his disappearance, discovery, and death during his final journey made him something else. He was one of Britain's first celebrities, whose prominence and longevity in the public consciousness ensured that generations of Britons would grow up with Livingstone as an ever-present if unacknowledged figure in their imaginations.¹⁶⁷ For good or ill, he did more for the Western image of Africa than perhaps anyone else. He was not afraid of capitalising on his fame and neither were others who would use it for their own purposes, be they evangelistic, imperial, humanitarian, or commercial.

Despite his reservations about the Empire, Livingstone's promotion of commerce as a means

¹⁶³ Ibid., 162.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 163.

¹⁶⁵ For more on Soga, see Brian Stanley, 'Edinburgh and World Christianity', *Studies in World Christianity* 17, no. 1 (April 2011): 73–77; Joanne Davis, *Tiyo Soga: A Literary History* (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2018).

¹⁶⁶ Jeffrey Cox has noted that Livingstone is an exception to the standard missionary rather than an exemplar (Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 14).

¹⁶⁷ Clare Pettitt, 'Livingstone: From Fame to Celebrity', in *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy*, ed. Sarah Worden (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2012), 93.

of abolishing the slave trade in Africa solidified the link between Christian humanitarianism and colonial intervention. His life and death shifted the Christian focus of Scotland from India to Africa and strengthened the tradition of Christian humanitarianism there, refining and reinforcing its associated iconography.

David Livingstone was conscious of the persona he created but the enduring image is not one he would have chosen. The version of himself he presented in *Missionary Travels* was carefully crafted.¹⁶⁸ He saw himself as a new kind of missionary, which was ‘much more than is implied in the usual picture of a missionary, namely, a man going about with a Bible under his arm.’¹⁶⁹ Instead, he envisioned a missionary who was evangelist, explorer, naturalist, and social critic. Nevertheless, the image most associated with the missionary-explorer is that of him under the paw of an unusually large lion, illustrating Moffat’s description of Africa as a ‘land of darkness and of terror’ to be tamed and converted. Figure 1.6 was published in *Missionary Travels* in 1857 and Livingstone hated it, writing to his publisher that the lion was far too large and begging that he not be made into a caricature.¹⁷⁰ A depiction of the episode has been included in nearly every retelling of his life.¹⁷¹ Iconography, like that surrounding Livingstone, is developed through such parallel and repeated imaging and can thus come to embody specific ideals which are passed on to succeeding generations, building the myth of the hero.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ J. D. Livingstone, *Livingstone’s Lives*, 19–68.

¹⁶⁹ David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa: Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years’ Residence in the Interior of Africa, and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast; Thence Across the Continent, Down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean* (London: John Murray, 1857), 28.

¹⁷⁰ David Livingstone, letter to John Murray, 22 May 1857, Letters of and to David Livingstone Written and Received During Livingstone’s Return to Britain from Africa between 1856 and 1858 (MS 42420), National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (hereafter NLS).

¹⁷¹ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 13 and John M. MacKenzie, ‘The Iconography of the Exemplary Life: The Case of David Livingstone’, in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, eds. Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 94.

¹⁷² MacKenzie, ‘Iconography of the Exemplary Life’, 84 and John M. MacKenzie, ‘Heroic Myths of Empire’, in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950*, ed. John M. MacKenzie, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 124.



Figure 1.6 Depiction of Livingstone’s ordeal with the lion (Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 13).

Livingstone recognised that despite its dangers represented in Figure 1.6, Africa was a continent of great beauty and valuable natural resources. He took the message beyond taming the landscape as a metaphor for spiritual salvation or a means of civilising Africans. For him, the peace and safety of civilisation were to come from Christianity and, importantly, commerce.¹⁷³ He believed that the proper use of the land through what he called ‘legitimate commerce’ was the answer to the slavery issue. ‘Commerce and Christianity’ had a long history among abolitionists. William Wilberforce had advocated commerce as a means of cutting off the slave trade as early as 1789.¹⁷⁴ Thomas Fowell Buxton’s 1841 Niger Expedition was a notable (though failed) example of an attempt to realise the ideal. As Brian Stanley notes, Livingstone’s approach was essentially the same.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ David Livingstone, ‘Lecture I’, in *Dr Livingstone’s Cambridge Lectures*, ed. William Monk (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1858), 21. On the triad of civilisation, commerce, and Christianity in nineteenth-century thought, see Brian Stanley, ‘“Commerce and Christianity”: Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842–1860’, *Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (March 1983): 71–94 and Andrew Porter, ‘“Commerce and Christianity”: The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan’, *Historical Journal* 28, no. 3 (September 1985): 597–621.

¹⁷⁴ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester: Apollon, 1990), 71.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.



GANG OF CAPTIVES MET AT MBAME'S ON THEIR WAY TO TETTE.

Figure 1.7 Captive Africans being brought to slave market. Livingstone and his entourage freed them (Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi*, facing 356).

The issue at the heart of his life's work was illustrated in an image from his second book, depicting a group of Africans bound together on a forced march to the slave market (Figure 1.7). Livingstone explained the purpose of his explorations and his writing to be rousing the 'sympathies of Christendom', 'that the cause of freedom throughout the world will in some measure be promoted.' He believed the best means of promoting freedom was by bringing together African raw materials and British manufacturing, 'that both countries will be eventually benefited.'¹⁷⁶ Less than a year after publishing *Missionary Travels*, he was on his way back to Africa to explore the Zambezi River, an expedition he would describe in his second book, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, published in 1865. By using the Zambezi as a 'natural highway' for transporting goods, Livingstone and his supporters hoped to end African reliance on the sale of slaves in order to acquire European manufactured goods. Unfortunately for the expedition, Livingstone failed to fully

¹⁷⁶ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, vi.

explore the river on his earlier journey and on his return, he found several cataracts and rapids to be impassable. The expedition was recalled and it is largely remembered as a failure. Yet, despite the apparent failure, Livingstone remained popular.

The two images, of the lion and the captured slaves, taken together, show the enduring iconography of Christian humanitarian empire in Africa which Livingstone helped develop. If Figure 1.6 represents the dangers of Africa and the need for intervention by Christian humanitarians from Britain and Europe to tame them, Figure 1.7 represents the danger of unscrupulous incursions into the continent. Livingstone situates the later event on 16 July 1861 after a discussion of the Zambezi expedition's purchase of 300 pounds of 'the very kind of cotton most needed in Lancashire'. He estimated that the area suitable for growing cotton exceeded the cotton fields of the slave-holding United States, thus supplanting American slave-produced cotton with that grown by free Africans in Africa. The horror of slavery was then given form in a party of slavers with a column of their captives passing by Livingstone's expedition. Livingstone and his comrades determined to free the men, women, and children on their way to be sold and approached the party as it came near. Seeing their approach, all but one of the guards fled. Having been caught out in a lie concerning how he acquired his human wares, the remaining slaver soon fled as well, and Livingstone and his companions proceeded to free the would-be slaves.

Livingstone's awareness of the power of images went beyond how he would be perceived. He was particularly concerned with the way Africans were portrayed. 'By selecting the ugliest or the best looking of different races', he wrote in his journal, 'anything may be proved which the writer wishes.'¹⁷⁷ He objected to his publisher, John Murray, when

¹⁷⁷ David Livingstone, *Livingstone's Private Journals, 1851–1853*, ed. Isaac Schapera (London: Chatto & Windus, 1960), 187–88.

proof images of Africans made them look ‘hideous’ or ‘apish’.¹⁷⁸ He took pains to ensure that the images collected on his Zambezi expedition were accurate. The Zambezi expedition afforded Livingstone the resources and the technology to make extensive records of the peoples he encountered and he used the opportunity to counter some of the racist portrayals of Africans he had seen. Livingstone’s expedition was among the first to bring a camera into Africa and he appointed his brother Charles to act as the official photographer. His instructions to Charles are revealing of his feelings toward Africans and their representation by Europeans:

You will endeavour to secure [photographs of] characteristic specimens of the different tribes residing in, or visiting, Tete, for the purposes of Ethnology. Do not choose the ugliest but, (as among ourselves) the better class of natives who are believed to be characteristic of the race . . .¹⁷⁹

Though he was interested in ethnology as a scientific endeavour and included ethnological images in his books, he rejected ‘the heaps of nonsense which have been written about the negro intellect’ and the ‘stupid prejudice against colour’.¹⁸⁰ Convinced that Christianity and European customs were superior to the religion and cultural practices of Africa, he maintained that the differences between Europeans and Africans were a result of history rather than biology and their customs reflected a certain rationality born out of their circumstances.¹⁸¹ He had what he called an ‘intense disgust at heathenism’, yet he recognised a common humanity, which he exhibited to the Africans by showing them his own body ‘in evidence of our all being made of one stock originally, and the children of one Maker’.¹⁸² He

¹⁷⁸ David Livingstone, letters to John Murray, 27 November 1864 and 3 March 1865, Letters of David Livingstone to John Murray III, with a Letter to Robert Cooke, Written at the Time of His Expedition to the Zambesi, and During His Return to Britain from Africa between 1864 and 1865 (MS 42421), NLS.

¹⁷⁹ J. P. R. Wallis, *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, vol. 2* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1956), 431.

¹⁸⁰ David Livingstone and Charles Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries; and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858–1864* (London: John Murray, 1865), 67 and *Missionary Travels*, 371. Specifically ethnological images appear in *Missionary Travels*, 365, 449, 450, 451, and 557.

¹⁸¹ Ross, ‘Livingstone and Race’, 76; J. D. Livingstone, *Livingstone’s Lives*, 54.

¹⁸² Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 226 and 362.

rejected sensationalist and stereotypical images of Africa. However, despite his attempts to alter the image of Africa, stereotypes persisted and were even strengthened by images like that of him with the lion.

Livingstone's views on race placed him at odds with emerging ideas. This is perhaps to be expected because, as Andrew Ross points out, Livingstone was away from Britain and its intellectual fashions for most of his adult life.¹⁸³ However, Wisnicki argues that *Missionary Travels* was a transitional text, demonstrating both the earlier ideas of 'conversionism', in which Africans could be converted and incorporated into European society, and 'trusteeism', in which Africans were irredeemably backward and in need of European superintendence. The latter ideas were closely tied with the developing scientific racism that placed the world's peoples into a racial hierarchy in which white Europeans were predictably at the top.¹⁸⁴ Justin Livingstone notes that Wisnicki neglects the fact that David Livingstone specifically argued against the newer ideas. Instead, Justin Livingstone sees *Missionary Travels* as an intentionally subversive work, aimed at discrediting the scientific racism that was beginning to predominate.¹⁸⁵ Another problem with Wisnicki's argument is that the evidence he attempts to marshal for David Livingstone's belief in an impassable separation between Africans and Europeans is cultural and geographical rather than biological; for example, Livingstone's description of the amaXhosa and Batswana as 'the most godless races of mortals known anywhere.'¹⁸⁶ Instead of suggesting insurmountable biological differences, such evidence rather points more clearly to David Livingstone's missionary conviction that their major differences stem from the Africans' unconverted state.

Livingstone's refusal to see only backwardness and danger in Africa allowed him to present a welcoming continent which would be attractive to the commercial investments that

¹⁸³ Ross, 'Livingstone and Race', 75.

¹⁸⁴ Wisnicki, 'Interstitial Cartographer', 261.

¹⁸⁵ J. D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives*, 56.

¹⁸⁶ Wisnicki, 'Interstitial Cartographer', 261–62. For the Livingstone reference, see *Missionary Travels*, 158–59.

could help stamp out the slave trade. Describing potentially lucrative commercial opportunities provided something more enticing than unprofitable humanitarian projects. References to trade are littered throughout *Missionary Travels*. For example, with reference to the area around Semalembue's village on the Kafue River, he wrote

This part is a favourite one with the Makololo, and probably it would be a good one in which to form a centre of civilization. There is a large flat district of country to the north, said to be peopled by the Bashukulompo and other tribes, who cultivate the ground to a great extent, and raise vast quantities of grain, ground-nuts, sweet potatoes, &c. They also grow sugar-cane. If they were certain of a market, I believe they would not be unwilling to cultivate cotton too, but they have not been accustomed to the peaceful pursuits of commerce. All are fond of trade, but they have been taught none, save that in ivory and slaves.¹⁸⁷

The land and the people, according to Livingstone, were ready for commercial investment.

The continent's natural beauty was an important and recurrent theme for Livingstone. Rather than beginning *Missionary Travels* with an image of a mission station, as Philip and Moffat had done, Livingstone's book began with an engraving of the spectacular Mosi-oa-Tunya, or as he renamed them, the Victoria Falls. He described the falls as 'so lovely [they] must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight' and doubted if anyone 'can imagine the beauty of the view from anything witnessed in England.'¹⁸⁸ His descriptions of a Central African plateau of lakes and waterways helped change British perceptions of it as a useless desert.¹⁸⁹ Instead, he described the interior of Africa as an 'inviting field for the philanthropist'.¹⁹⁰ Lawrence Dritsas argues that one purpose of *Missionary Travels* was 'to make evident the resources of Africa that could be used towards its social and economic development' and also 'to identify the impediments that existed to that development.' These twin motivations were symbolised in the facing pages of the frontispiece image of Mosi-oa-

¹⁸⁷ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 568.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 519.

¹⁸⁹ Lawrence Dritsas, 'Livingstone: Natural Science and Exploration', in *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy*, ed. Sarah Worden (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2012), 54.

¹⁹⁰ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 505.

Tunya and the title page image of a tsetse fly.¹⁹¹ Wisnicki sees Livingstone purposely recasting the continent to make it more inviting to those philanthropists who might be put off by the continent's supposed dangers.¹⁹² The differences between Livingstone's descriptions and those of his contemporaries were noted by one reviewer, who wrote that Livingstone portrayed Africa and Africans 'in a very different light from that in which they have hitherto been presented'.¹⁹³

When David Livingstone lost contact with the Western world in 1869, he irretrievably lost control of the public narrative of his life. Notwithstanding his efforts to present an Africa whose peoples and lands would welcome humanitarian and commercial investment, the persistent image is of Livingstone in the jaws of the lion, revealing an Africa that is anything but inviting. It also reveals something of those who would use that narrative for their own benefit. The journalist and adventurer Henry Morton Stanley capitalised on the image of a dangerous Africa, publishing his account of *How I Found Livingstone* in 1872, followed by *Through the Dark Continent* in 1878 and *In Darkest Africa* in 1890. When Livingstone himself fell victim to Africa, the image of the 'dark continent' was set. His journals were left to be edited by the abolitionist missionary and clergyman Horace Waller, who, like others, had his own stake in how Livingstone was portrayed.¹⁹⁴ Despite his pleas that he not be caricatured, the Free Church *Children's Record* printed an obituary which included an image

¹⁹¹ Dritsas, 'Livingstone: Natural Science and Exploration', 54–55.

¹⁹² Wisnicki, 'Interstitial Cartographer', 256–57.

¹⁹³ G. H. Lewes, 'African Life', *Westminster Review* 1518 (January 1858): 7.

¹⁹⁴ Dorothy O. Helly, *Livingstone's Legacy: Horace Waller and Victorian Mythmaking* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1987).

of the episode with the lion, casting Livingstone as a Christian adventurer and paragon of muscular Christianity (Figure 1.8).¹⁹⁵

Livingstone's death transformed him into the patron saint of the missionary enterprise in Africa, complete with his own iconography. The heroic efforts of his companions James Chuma and Abdullah Susi to bring Livingstone's body to London allowed for the spectacle of his funeral befitting a national hero. Chris Wingfield sees in this act, as well as others, parallel ancient practices of saintly veneration, elevating the



Figure 1.8 Image of David Livingstone being attacked by a lion from the Free Church of Scotland's *Children's Record* magazine, 1 April 1874, 88.

memorialisation of Livingstone beyond the norm.¹⁹⁶ Monuments and memorials began appearing throughout the country, especially in Scotland, where 'an especial right to honour him' was claimed. David Livingstone was, importantly, a Scot, which, as Justin Livingstone notes, is essential to understanding him and how he was remembered in his native land.¹⁹⁷ Fundraising for a statue of Livingstone in Edinburgh began before Livingstone's body arrived in England.¹⁹⁸ Glasgow followed four months later.¹⁹⁹ Scottish Presbyterians were willing to overlook Livingstone's Congregationalism to lay claim to one of Scotland's greatest sons.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ 'David Livingstone', *Children's Record* (1 April 1874): 88–90.

¹⁹⁶ Chris Wingfield, 'Remembering David Livingstone, 1873–1935: From Celebrity to Saintliness', in *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy*, ed. Sarah Worden (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2012), 115–27.

¹⁹⁷ J. D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives*, 178–214.

¹⁹⁸ 'News', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 14 April 1874, 2.

¹⁹⁹ 'Statue to Livingstone at Glasgow', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 21 August 1874, 3.

²⁰⁰ Breitenbach notes a willingness of mission supporters to work across denominational lines and propensity to support church unification (Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 73). Livingstone may have purposely

Death – especially heroic death – was an important part of Victorian mythmaking.²⁰¹ The personality cult that developed around the mill boy from Blantyre was one of the largest and most enduring of an era adept at creating them. Livingstone was the subject of what was perhaps the Empire’s most useful cult.²⁰² According to John Wolffe, the death of a prominent individual like Livingstone can be ‘a prompt to the intensified expression of the shared values and convictions of the group as a whole.’²⁰³ For Victorian mission enthusiasts, that meant African missions. A letter to the editor of the *Scotsman* suggested ‘that the Churches of Scotland should unite in order to found a *Great African Mission* in commemoration of his labours.’²⁰⁴ Brian Stanley has argued that, along with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, it was Livingstone’s death that opened much of Africa to Christian missions.²⁰⁵

Even those not personally fond of Livingstone capitalised on the fervour of the moment. Among these was James Stewart, a missionary at the Free Church’s Lovedale mission in South Africa. Stewart was inspired by Livingstone as a young man and in 1859 he unsuccessfully attempted to convince the Free Church’s Foreign Mission Committee to establish a mission in the areas of Central Africa Livingstone explored.²⁰⁶ Spending time with his hero on the Zambezi Expedition in 1862 and 1863, however, led to disenchantment.²⁰⁷ He

downplayed his denominational leanings in an attempt to curry broader favour, especially from the Anglican establishment; see Timothy Holmes, *Journey to Livingstone: Exploration of an Imperial Myth* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1993), 120–21.

²⁰¹ MacKenzie, ‘Iconography of the Exemplary Life’, 86–89.

²⁰² John M. MacKenzie, ‘David Livingstone and the Worldly After-Life: Imperialism and Nationalism in Africa’, in *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 206 and ‘Introduction’, in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 3.

²⁰³ John Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 280.

²⁰⁴ C., ‘The Livingstone Memorial’, *The Scotsman*, 24 April 1874, 6.

²⁰⁵ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 123.

²⁰⁶ James Wells, *Stewart of Lovedale: The Life of James Stewart, D.D., M.D., Hon. F.R.G.S* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), 21, 34–35. John McCracken notes that at this time the Free Church was spending more than twice what the undivided Kirk had spent on missions before the Disruption and had made good progress in establishing itself after 1843 but could not take on any new projects (John McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 1875–1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 21–22.

²⁰⁷ Sheila Brock, ‘James Stewart and David Livingstone’, in *Livingstone: Man of Africa: Memorial Essays, 1873–1973*, ed. Bridglal Pachai (London: Longman, 1973), 93–100.

took his leave of Livingstone in January 1863, writing in his journal that ‘I part with Dr. L., and have no wish whatsoever to meet him again. Bad [? faith] and insincerity will always come out.’²⁰⁸ He was so disgusted by Livingstone that he threw his once-beloved copy of *Missionary Travels* into the Zambezi River, declining to call it a pack of lies but writing that it would require a great deal of editing to make it true.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, inspired by the show of public adoration apparent at the funeral and after discussions with friends, Stewart decided to revive his idea of a Central African mission, this time in Livingstone’s honour. Stewart, like others described by Joanna Lewis, used the ‘moral and political capital’ of the public excitement over Livingstone’s death to further his own goals in Africa.²¹⁰

The month after the funeral, Stewart appeared before the Free Church General Assembly to propose a mission on the southern bank of Lake Nyasa, which, as noted above, had also been mooted by others. Better than a statue, it would be a true memorial, Stewart argued, embodying Livingstone’s ideals, explicitly invoking civilisation, commerce, and Christianity.²¹¹ Sheila Brock notes that Stewart had been particularly impressed by Livingstone’s emphasis on commerce as an alternative to the slave trade and an impetus toward increased ‘civilisation’.²¹² Livingstone himself had been to the location Stewart had in mind, naming it Cape Maclear in 1859. He declared it an excellent spot to start a mission, writing that

we inferred that the climate was salubrious, and that our countrymen might there enjoy good health, and also be of signal benefit by leading the multitude of industrious inhabitants to cultivate cotton, buaze, sugar, and other valuable produce,

²⁰⁸ James Stewart, journal, 10 January 1863, in *The Zambesi Journals of James Stewart, 1862–1863: With a Selection from His Correspondence*, ed. J. P. R. Wallis (London: Chatto and Windus, 1952), 187.

²⁰⁹ Stewart, journal, 1 February 1863, in *The Zambesi Journals of James Stewart*, 190.

²¹⁰ Lewis, *Empire of Sentiment*, 9.

²¹¹ James Stewart, speech to the General Assembly, 26 May 1874, in *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne & Co., 1874), 97–98.

²¹² Brock, ‘James Stewart and David Livingstone’. 87.

to exchange for goods of European manufacture; at the same time teaching them, by precept and example, the great truths of our holy religion.²¹³

Both the national Kirk and the Free Church sent out missionaries in 1875. The Free Church's Livingstonia mission was established at Cape Maclear with a sailor, Edward Daniel Young, who had been with Livingstone on his Zambezi expedition and who led the expeditionary party to establish the mission; an engineer; a gardener; a blacksmith; a carpenter; and a lone missionary, Robert Laws, who was seconded by the United Presbyterian Church. The Church of Scotland sent a lay missionary, Harry Henderson, who went further into the Shire highlands to found the Blantyre mission, named for the place of Livingstone's birth. A trading company, called the Livingstonia Central Africa Company, with connections to the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church, was incorporated in 1877. It was intended to embody the union of commerce and Christianity to end the Central African traffic in slaves by providing opportunities for alternative, legitimate trade. It was renamed the African Lakes Company the following year.²¹⁴

W. P. Livingstone, the missionary biographer and editor of church magazines featured in chapter 3, saw in the missionaries and artisans who staffed the missions a living legacy to the missionary-explorer. They were part of a generation of Scottish children raised on the stories of David Livingstone.²¹⁵ In his biography of Laws, W. P. Livingstone placed his subject in the humanitarian missionary tradition of David Livingstone.²¹⁶ In fact, W. P. Livingstone not only placed Laws within that tradition, he made him its heir, calling him David Livingstone's successor.²¹⁷ To affiliate a later Scottish missionary with the

²¹³ Livingstone and Livingstone, *Expedition to the Zambesi*, 139–40. Livingstone was wrong about the area's suitability. The site was found to be malarial and the mission was forced to move within a few years.

²¹⁴ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 123.

²¹⁵ W. P. Livingstone, *Laws of Livingstonia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921), iii, 14.

²¹⁶ W. P. Livingstone, *The Story of David Livingstone* (London: Livingstone Press, 1929). The cover of W. P. Livingstone's biography of Laws intended for boys, showing Laws being attacked by a lion, also bears a strong tie to the iconography of David Livingstone (W. P. Livingstone, *The Hero of the Lake: A Life of Robert Laws for Boys* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1933)).

²¹⁷ W. P. Livingstone, *Laws of Livingstonia*, 1–10.

Livingstonian tradition was high praise that the author applied to other notable missionaries, but not one he handed out promiscuously. He also included the noted Calabar missionary Mary Slessor in ‘the order of spirits to which Dr Livingstone belonged.’²¹⁸ Under Laws and his counterparts at the Blantyre mission, the work of bringing civilisation, commerce, and Christianity to Central Africa carried on in the name of David Livingstone, whose legacy was deployed in appeals for the eradication of the slave trade he so loathed. Once the area came under British protection and the slave trade diminished, Livingstone’s legacy retained its humanitarian elements, featuring in stories of the civilising mission and as an element of the triumphalist histories of the missions.

In their first years, the new Central African missions’ supporters were anxious to demonstrate success. In November 1876 the Free Church *Children’s Record* included an image of an African unable to stand, beckoning to someone on the other side of a river (Figure 1.9). The accompanying story begins ‘To put an end, by God’s help, to the horrors of the slave-trade was evidently [*i.e.*, obviously] an uppermost thought in the great heart of David Livingstone’. The young man in the picture had been captured by slavers but could not continue the arduous march to the slave ship or to be sold at market. Contrary to their usual practice, his captors let him go and pointed him toward the mission. Edward Daniel Young, who had led the group to establish a site for



Figure 1.9 Young man released by slavers calls out for help before being taken to the Livingstonia mission station (*Children’s Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, November 1876, 168).

²¹⁸ W. P. Livingstone, *Mary Slessor of Calabar: Pioneer Missionary* (London, New York, and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton: 1916), 55.

Livingstonia, wrote to ‘tell the good people of Scotland who have given their money for this mission that it has not been thrown away’.²¹⁹ The missions founded to honour Livingstone were already claiming some success in their campaign against slavery. While Livingstone was not pictured, his legacy remains an ever present, if invisible, motif in the iconography of Christian humanitarianism in Africa.

Appealing to memories of Livingstone a decade after their founding, the missions could also boast some success in their attempts to ‘civilise’ the Africans of the area. One of the first photographs to appear in the *Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Mission Record* in 1886 showed two boys from the Blantyre mission (Figure 1.10). They were named Nacho and Chesuse, which was shortened to Suse.²²⁰ The author, Blantyre missionary David Clement Scott, reminds the readers of the Page for the Young section that ‘one of Livingstone’s boys was called Suse.’ The young Nacho and Suse of

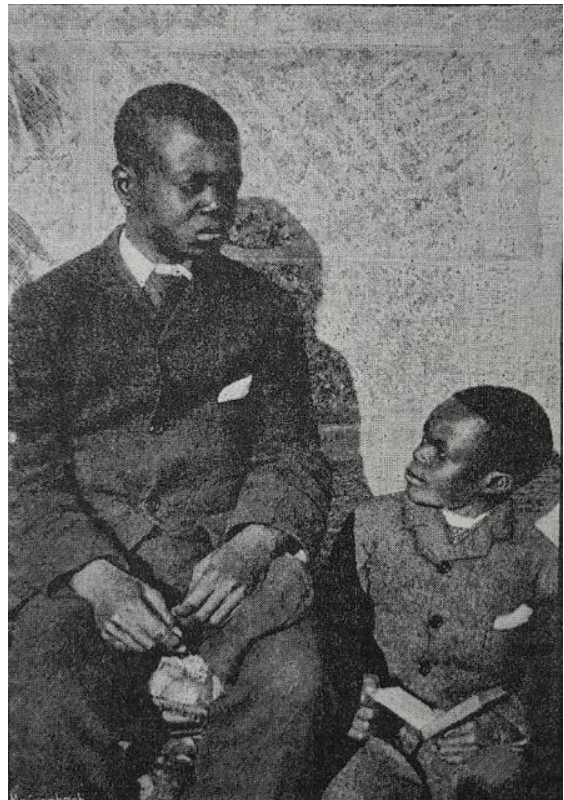


Figure 1.10 Two young men representing the success of the civilising mission at the Blantyre mission (*Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Mission Record*, February 1886, 349).

the author’s acquaintance are dressed very smartly in suits, even sporting white handkerchiefs in their breast pockets.²²¹ They are examples of the mission success stories common to missionary publications. Although the civilising mission was not unique to Scottish missions,

²¹⁹ ‘Left to Die’, *Children’s Record of the Free Church of Scotland* (November 1876): 168–69.

²²⁰ John McCracken noted that these young men were part of a generation of mission-educated youth who ‘emerged from an environment in which [they] had been regularly exposed to cameras, photographs and photographers.’ The younger, Mungo Murray Chisuse, later became a professional photographer with connections to African nationalism. See John McCracken, ‘Mungo Murray Chisuse and the Early History of Photography in Malawi’, *The Society of Malawi Journal* 61, no. 2 (2008): 1–18.

²²¹ David Clement Scott, ‘Page for the Young’, *Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Mission Record*, February 1886, 349.

Scots took a particular pride in their role as civilisers and of Livingstone as its embodiment.²²²

Livingstone's legacy came to be used most prominently in relation to humanitarian concerns, providing moral legitimacy to the extension of empire. The two missions founded in Livingstone's honour became centres of Scottish political involvement in the region with missionaries and mission supporters appealing to Livingstone's legacy. When British naval power was withdrawn in the region, slavers took advantage of what they saw as a capitulation in Britain's fight against slavery. The *Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Mission Record* decried the situation and hoped that 'a Livingstone some day may arise to the help of these distant down-trodden races.'²²³ On the ground, David Clement Scott was vocal in his opposition to Portuguese annexation of the area, which he feared would further entrench the slave trade there. Providing an interesting perspective on the place of Livingstone's legacy (at least in Scott's mind), he wrote 'I believe in our cause; it is not merely a great name – Livingstone; not merely a great object – the slave-trade; not merely a great interest – unknown Africa; it is the cause of God in a way I know no other!'²²⁴ In working toward the end of the slave trade in Africa, Scott saw himself and his fellow missionaries doing the work of God and also that of David Livingstone. Appealing to Livingstone's legacy of Christian humanitarianism, Scottish Christians petitioned the British government to extend its protection against Portuguese slave traders encroaching into the area. In 1887 and 1888 a campaign, including mass meetings in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, culminated in a petition signed by over 11,000 Scottish ministers and elders supplicating the Government to intervene. Scottish Christians were delighted when, finally, British protection was declared in

²²² Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 161–64.

²²³ 'The Arab Invasion of East Central Africa', *Home and Foreign Mission Record*, April 1888, 393–94.

²²⁴ The printed text ends with a question mark rather than an exclamation mark, which is likely a printing error. David Clement Scott, letter to convenor, 1 December 1888, in 'Foreign Missions: Blantyre', *Home and Foreign Mission Record*, March 1889, 55–56.

1889. In January 1890, Prime Minister Lord Salisbury threatened military action if the Portuguese did not withdraw.²²⁵ However, while Salisbury was willing to engage in a little sabre rattling, he was not ready to commit resources for strictly humanitarian reasons in the area for the long term. Cecil John Rhodes's offer to administer the area through his British South Africa Company allowed the Government to run the area on the cheap. As part of the bargain, Rhodes absorbed the African Lakes Company with the support of the Livingstonia missionaries. The Blantyre missionaries, under David Clement Scott, however, were more suspicious of a corporate administration and favoured a partnership between the Colonial Office and local indigenous leaders instead. The arrangement with Rhodes was not totally successful and a full protectorate, with a fully funded British administration, was declared in 1894.²²⁶ After British authority was established in the region and the trade in slaves declined, Livingstone continued to act as the face of the fight against slavery. Twenty years after the mission was founded at Blantyre, the missionary James Reid published *A Glimpse of Mission Work and Scenery in the Sphere Occupied by the Church of Scotland in British Central Africa*. The book contains 24 images of the mission and though none of them is of Livingstone, his legacy is clearly present throughout. The second picture is of the church designed and built under the direction of David Clement Scott. Of this building Reid wrote that 'the prayers of David Livingstone find their answer here.'²²⁷ In a description of the next picture, the author quotes Horace Waller, who said that near that spot, he 'helped Livingstone to wrench the first slave sticks from the necks of a captive gang.'²²⁸ The book's other images include photographs of the mission's buildings and its residents, showing the progress made in building an outpost of 'Christian civilisation' in the African bush. Reflecting the Scottish

²²⁵ John McCracken, *A History of Malawi, 1859–1966* (Woodbridge, England: James Currey and Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), 158.

²²⁶ Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 125–26.

²²⁷ James Reid, *A Glimpse of Mission Work and Scenery in the Sphere Occupied by the Church of Scotland in British Central Africa* (Edinburgh: British Central Africa Mission of the Church of Scotland, 1896), 10.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

emphasis on education, the images show mission residents at work in various classes and workshops in academic and industrial education.

A heftier tome on the history of Livingstonia was published in 1900 titled *Daybreak in Livingstonia* by James W. Jack. It begins with an image of Livingstone and a foreword by the mission's leader, Robert Laws. The mission's namesake is prominent as the first chapter discusses the journeys of Livingstone and his campaign against slavery. He appears so frequently throughout the book that the indexer, after listing sixteen references, simply gave up and wrote 'etc., etc.'²²⁹ Livingstone's name actually appears on 73 different pages, though the book's primary topic is not Livingstone but the work of the mission overcoming the slave trade and educating and training Africans in Western agricultural, medical, and commercial skills.

The humanitarian tradition of Scottish missionaries that began before Livingstone but with which he was so closely associated carried on at the missions founded in his honour. Blantyre's David Clement Scott followed his efforts to establish the British Central Africa Protectorate with a campaign against the imperialist aims of Rhodes's British South Africa Company. Andrew Ross argued that Scott's efforts on behalf of Africans laid the foundation for the independence movement in the 1950s and 1960s that led to an independent Malawi, which will feature in chapter 5.²³⁰ Scott was so disruptive to the plans of white settlers and colonial administrators that the protectorate's governor, Sir Harry Johnston, complained to London, hoping to have him removed from his post.²³¹ The effort was successful and Scott was sacked while in Scotland on furlough in 1898.

²²⁹ James W. Jack, *Daybreak in Livingstonia: The Story of the Livingstonia Mission* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1900), 366.

²³⁰ Andrew C. Ross, *Blantyre Mission and the Making of Modern Malawi* (Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 1996).

²³¹ Bridglal Pachai, 'In the Wake of Livingstone and the British Administration: Some Considerations of Commerce and Christianity in Malawi', *Society of Malawi Journal* 20, no 2 (July 1967): 63 and 63n68. Andrew C. Ross also cites ill health for Scott's departure and resignation (Andrew C. Ross, *Blantyre Mission and the Making of Modern Malawi* (Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 1996), 167).

His successor at Blantyre, Alexander Hetherwick, was also on Sir Harry's list of troublesome missionaries. Like Robert Laws, he was the subject of a biography by W. P. Livingstone and the author also placed him firmly in the humanitarian missionary tradition of David Livingstone.²³² Like the humanitarian missionaries before him, Hetherwick was unflinching in his challenge to colonial authorities on behalf of Africans. Twice he served as a representative for Africans on the protectorate's legislative council, from 1908 to 1913 and from 1922 to 1925. In the wake of the Chilembwe Uprising in 1915, his testimony before the board of inquiry was a shocking insistence on the equality of humanity irrespective of race.²³³ In the early 1920s, along with Laws, he was a driving force in the creation of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, in which control of the church was divested from the mission and placed in local presbyteries composed of both Africans and Europeans. In 1917, Hetherwick insisted 'Nyasaland is a black man's country', echoing David Livingstone's own claims for the black population of South Africa.²³⁴ Claiming it all for the Livingstonian legacy, Hetherwick published his history of the mission, *The Romance of Blantyre: How Livingstone's Dream Came True*.²³⁵ The Scottish missionaries in Nyasaland thus found ways to use Livingstone's legacy to promote their own work of Christian humanitarianism even when he was not always visually represented.

Partially as a result of Livingstone's own self-editing, some of those who would use his legacy were able to do so in ways he may have found unpalatable. Justin Livingstone has noted that David Livingstone's most forceful criticisms of colonialism in the manuscript of *Missionary Travels* were removed before publication.²³⁶ As a result, those who wanted to

²³² W. P. Livingstone, *A Prince of Missionaries: The Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, C.B.E., D.D., M.A., of Blantyre, Central Africa* (London: J. Clarke, 1931).

²³³ John McCracken, ed. *Voices from the Chilembwe Rising: Witness Testimonies Made to the Nyasaland Rising Commission of Inquiry, 1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 372–78.

²³⁴ Alexander Hetherwick, 'Nyasaland To-day and To-morrow', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 17 (1917): 17.

²³⁵ Alexander Hetherwick, *The Romance of Blantyre: How Livingstone's Dream Came True* (London: James Clarke and Company, 1931).

²³⁶ J. D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Lives*, 38–41.

attribute an ardent imperialism to David Livingstone were able to employ his malleable legacy to shape what Breitenbach argues was the developing image Scots had of themselves as empire builders. Proposing that a statue of Livingstone be erected in Edinburgh, the Scottish Episcopal bishop of Edinburgh, Henry Cotterill, called Livingstone ‘a typical Scotchman in his character, in his perseverance, and in his success’.²³⁷ Scottish identity was complex, at once global and local, British and



Figure 1.11 David Livingstone statue in West Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh. Note the lifeless head of the lion at Livingstone’s feet and the Walter Scott Monument beyond. (Photograph by Kim Traynor).

Scottish, imperialist and humanitarian,

scientific and Christian.²³⁸ It was in recognition of the ‘heroic services rendered to science and civilisation’ that the statue in Edinburgh was erected.²³⁹ Once again, the lion motif makes an appearance in the statue of Livingstone unveiled in Edinburgh’s Princes Street Gardens in 1876. The lion is a symbol of Africa and the obstacles it presents to modernisation.²⁴⁰

Livingstone’s wrestle with it is symbolic of his struggle to bring Western civilisation to Africa. In the end, Livingstone defeated the lion, which was graphically represented in the Edinburgh statue by its skin draped behind Livingstone, with its attached head (lifeless, eyes closed) resting at the heel of his boot (Figure 1.11). The image is somewhat ironic given Africa’s eventual defeat of Livingstone, who succumbed to the illness he contracted there.

²³⁷ ‘Proposed Statue to Dr Livingstone’, *The Scotsman*, 15 April 1874, 4.

²³⁸ For a useful review of the literature on Scottish identity formation, see Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 6–22. Breitenbach further discussed perceptions of the missionary enterprise’s contribution to empire outside the churches in chapter 7, pages 152–74.

²³⁹ ‘Proposed Statue to Dr Livingstone’, 4.

²⁴⁰ MacKenzie, ‘Iconography of the Exemplary Life’, 95–97.

There is less irony in the siting of the Edinburgh statue along Princes Street, just west of the towering monument to Sir Walter Scott. Scott defined what it meant to be Scottish in the early nineteenth century and Livingstone's celebrated (if debatable) combination of missionary and imperialist further defined Scottish identity later in the century. At the time of its unveiling, a reporter for the *Edinburgh Evening News* observed that the statue's 'right hand holds out a Bible and his left rests on an axe, as if he was offering Christianity with the one hand and civilisation with the other to the natives of Africa.'²⁴¹

The original siting of Livingstone's Glasgow statue is more overt in its portrayal of the imperialist elements in the Scottish identity of the late nineteenth century. Perhaps revealing something of the increasing discomfort with the ties between religion, empire, and Scottish identity, since 1960 the statue has stood near Glasgow Cathedral but such discomfort was not present in 1879, when it was originally placed on the city's more prominent George Square, in front of the Glasgow City Chambers. Intentionally combining the missionary and imperial elements of Livingstone's legacy, the Livingstonia missionary Robert Laws was a special guest at the unveiling, when Glasgow was in the process of establishing itself as the second city of the Empire. The statues on George Square had an important iconographic purpose. Livingstone's statue was joined by those of other Scots. As in Edinburgh, these included Walter Scott and in addition there was the Scottish poet Robert Burns and the engineer James Watt. Statues of Queen Victoria, William Gladstone, and Robert Peel were also there. Livingstone and the other Scottish worthies represented Scotland's place in the world – or at least Scotland's aspirations for its place in the Empire – and among all these figures is Livingstone, with his Bible in hand. At his feet are the broken chains of a slaver. Below the statue are relief sculptures showing him teaching Africans from that same Bible

²⁴¹ 'Unveiling of the Livingstone Statue', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 16 August 1876, 3.

and saving a woman and her child from a slaver's whip. These activities were part of the justification of empire and its conversion into a Christian humanitarian project.

David Livingstone inherited a textual and visual iconography of Christian humanitarianism in Africa, to which he contributed intentionally during his lifetime and perhaps more dramatically after his death. With a paternalistic conviction that Africans needed European assistance to guide them to heavenly and earthly salvation, he believed the keys to their redemption were Western civilisation, commerce, and Christianity. His explorations were undertaken with an eye to ending the trade in human beings by establishing viable commercial alternatives for Africans and his books invited missionaries and philanthropically minded businessmen to invest in a land that needed them. His death opened the way for others to portray his life and the African continent according to their own interests and Livingstone became the symbol of their ambitions. His significance, however, was more than purely symbolic. The British missionary and commercial presence in Central Africa, largely initiated through his encouragement, led to the implementation of formal imperial institutions.

Conclusion

Since their earliest days in Southern and Central Africa, Scottish missionaries have been associated with a humanitarian concern for Africans, developing a textual and visual iconography including the repeated motif of Africans in need of European assistance. Engravings of captured Africans in slavers' yokes and free Africans on mission stations appeared in books and magazines. The Scottish emphasis on education and the civilising mission is apparent in images showcasing educational activities and featuring mission stations built with brick and stone. Convinced that Africans too were children of God, who differed only in their historical opportunities for racial advancement, Scottish missionaries

fought for African rights in the face of white settlers and colonial administrators, attempting to educate and train them according to Western standards in hopes of providing a better life, and most prominently in fighting against the enslavement of Africans. Philip, Moffat, and others were able to arouse interest in Africa, but domestic Christian attention was still primarily focused on the Scottish missions in India.

Not until David Livingstone's explorations commanded a wider interest was substantial Scottish attention shifted toward Africa. The fame Livingstone achieved allowed him to propagate his ideas to a broad and interested audience. Continuing in the tradition of his predecessors and contemporaries, such as John Philip and Robert Moffat, he published accounts of his experiences in Africa. In doing so, he specifically publicised the humanitarian mission to end the trade in human lives, contributing to the iconography of missionary humanitarianism in Africa. Despite his own objections, some images he popularised also reinforced negative stereotypes of Africa as exotic and dangerous. After his death, his popularity was used to promote different and sometimes opposing causes. Christian missions were established in his name and devoted to the aims he espoused. Using those missions as a focal point, missionaries and others in Scotland and Africa continued to appeal to the iconographic tradition of Christian humanitarianism which was increasingly centred on Livingstone to promote those ideals. Others found in Livingstone an icon of an emerging Scottish identity as empire builders. These sometimes-competing elements of the Livingstonian legacy combined as Christian humanitarians in Scotland and missionaries in Central Africa successfully pressed for the extension of British protection in the area. The connections between Christian humanitarianism and colonial intervention promoted by Philip and Moffat, and more explicitly by Livingstone, were solidified in the years after Livingstone's death, establishing colonial institutions and eventually exposing the tensions between Christian humanitarianism and empire considered in this thesis.

Chapter Two

THE KINGDOM OF GOD, THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, AND THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

When Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, the United Kingdom quickly declared war, bringing the Church of Scotland's sons and daughters into World War II. The General Assembly of 1940 appointed a Commission to Interpret God's Will in the Present Crisis, which became a touchstone in the Church of Scotland's social witness. The church historian A. C. Cheyne called it 'a kind of high-water mark in the social thought of twentieth-century Scottish Christianity.'²⁴² 'There is some reason to think', he wrote, 'that the stance adopted by the Commission helped not a little to bring about the almost seismic shift which took place in the social thinking of the country as the War drew to its close'.²⁴³ In this chapter, I argue that the Commission's social theology, including its views on race and colonialism, was a manifestation of currents within Scottish Christianity leading to increased Christian social action during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From these movements, a network formed of like-minded individuals who would later take up key roles within the Church of Scotland and work together in the campaigns against apartheid and the Central African Federation. Despite the Commission's liberal-humanitarian bent, the presumed lack of effective indigenous political structures in Central and Southern Africa during the war years forced the Commission into a qualified endorsement of church partnership with the colonial state to accomplish the aims of their socially conscious theology of the Kingdom of God.

²⁴² Alexander C. Cheyne, 'John and Donald Baillie: Their Churchmanship', in *Studies in Scottish Church History*, ed. Alexander C. Cheyne (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 247.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 251.

Following on the previous chapter, which explored the development of an iconography of Scottish Christian humanitarianism toward Africa, this chapter examines the intellectual genealogy of the liberal-humanitarian tradition evident in the reports of what came to be called the Baillie Commission, after its convenor John Baillie. Despite its significance, the Baillie Commission has been relatively understudied, partially because no surviving papers of the Commission's meetings and internal discussions are available for researchers. Nevertheless, the University of Edinburgh's Centre for Theology and Public Issues and the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee sponsored a colloquium to discuss the Commission on 21 and 22 January 1994. A collection of the papers edited by Andrew R. Morton was published later that year.²⁴⁴ Although Morton points out the internationalism and ecumenism of the Commission's reports, the colloquium papers focus on the domestic issues. This is perhaps because of a reliance on the reports published by the Student Christian Movement (SCM) Press, which omitted significant portions of the Commission's reports from 1942 and 1943 concerning the international order following the war.²⁴⁵ Other studies have also relied on the incomplete reports from the SCM publication.²⁴⁶ Unlike previous studies, which treat the Commission and its implications in the Scottish domestic context, I use the Commission's full reports printed in the official records of the General Assembly, to consider the international implications of the Commission's social theology of the Kingdom of God, which transcends divisions of ethnicity and nationality, as a forerunner to the General Assembly's rejection of South African apartheid and debates over the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland discussed in later chapters. The Kingdom of God

²⁴⁴ Andrew R. Morton, ed., *God's Will in a Time of Crisis: A Colloquium Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Baillie Commission* (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, The University of Edinburgh, 1994).

²⁴⁵ John Baillie, ed., *God's Will for Church and Nation: Reprinted from the Reports of the Commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis as Presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland During the War Years* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1946), 8.

²⁴⁶ For example, Duncan B. Forrester, 'God's Will in a Time of Crisis: John Baillie as a Social Theologian', in *Christ, Church and Society*, ed. David Fergusson (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 1993), 221–34.

as a focus of Scottish social theology was explored by Johnston McKay in his book *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology, 1830–1929*.²⁴⁷ He follows other studies of Scottish social theology, such as Stewart J. Brown's article 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism, c. 1830–1930'.²⁴⁸ However, these studies do not extend far enough into the twentieth century to include the Baillie Commission's impact on the church's social theology abroad.

This chapter has four sections. In the first I review the appointment of the Baillie Commission and some of the motivations and opposition to its work. Then I consider three themes from the Baillie Commission's reports which are relevant to the situations in South and Central Africa. First are the signs of the Kingdom of God, including justice, relief of oppression, and defence of human rights. Second is the Commission's attempt to call the church to a renewed commitment to realise the Kingdom in civil society in Scotland and also in foreign fields where Scotland exercised considerable interest. This section will introduce the key figure of Rev. John Wright Stevenson, who will figure prominently in chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis. Finally, I examine the different streams of thought concerning the church's efforts to realise the Kingdom in the international order. In this way, I examine the Church of Scotland's relationship (as the national church) with the state in establishing the Kingdom, and argue that in an African context such ideas of church-state partnership propelled even theological progressives toward an endorsement of British colonial objectives. These ideas provide a significant underpinning to the positions taken by the editors of the Kirk's magazines in relation to the issues of Central and Southern Africa.

²⁴⁷ Johnston McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Theology, 1830–1929* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

²⁴⁸ Stewart J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism, c. 1830–1930', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 44, no. 4 (1991): 489–518.

The Origins of the Commission

Within weeks of Britain's entry into the war, the editor of the Kirk's *Life and Work* magazine, Rev. George Carstairs, began October's issue with the words of an interned German pastor. The unnamed cleric took as his text Isaiah 40:31: 'But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles'. He concluded 'There is a power that sustains us, we are borne up by God the Father's everlasting arms; we are supported through the storms, over the abysses, in the Nothingness.'²⁴⁹ The inclusion of a meditation from a pastor from a nation with which Scotland was then at war was an interesting choice, but, casting the war in theological terms, Carstairs explained: 'Our "enemy" is not the German people – against whom indeed we have no enmity – but the doctrine which has been foisted upon them, the worship of Race and the enthronement of Might, the denial of the brotherhood of man and the sovereignty of the God of Mercy and Love.'²⁵⁰ The ascendancy of nationalism and rise of racial ideologies were not, of course, confined to Germany. Afrikaner nationalists in South Africa found inspiration in Nazi race theorists and were emboldened by the political rise of Adolf Hitler. Influential Afrikaners sympathised with the Nazis and pushed for what they called 'organic' national bonds, which derived from Hitler's 'organic principle of homogenous nation-states'.²⁵¹ Carstairs saw the war as a call to 'humble penitence as we seek to explore all the complicated causes that have led up to the present conflict'.²⁵² Richard Elphick has argued that much of Afrikaner nationalist thought was a reaction to 'notions of progress, individualism, liberty, equality, and universalism imported to Africa by British imperialism' and particularly by British missionaries.²⁵³ How complicit was the Church of Scotland in the causes which led to racial

²⁴⁹ 'Waiting upon God', *Life and Work*, October 1939, 401.

²⁵⁰ "'The Enemy'", *Life and Work*, October 1939, 401–02.

²⁵¹ Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers: Protestant Missionaries and the Racial Politics of South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 241–43 and 246–49.

²⁵² "'The Enemy'", *Life and Work*, October 1939, 401–02.

²⁵³ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 177.

strife in countries within its sphere of influence? What was the role of the national church in pursuing any sort of national reconciliation?

Accepting the call to ‘humble penitence’ and exploration, Charles William Gray Taylor, the minister of Edinburgh’s St George’s parish, gave notice on 5 December to Edinburgh’s presbytery that he planned to introduce at their next meeting an overture to the General Assembly.²⁵⁴ With the presbytery’s approval, Taylor stood on the floor of the General Assembly on 24 May 1940 to introduce his overture. In light of the war, he asked the church’s highest court ‘to appoint a Commission to consider prayerfully the situation thus created for the Church, and to seek with God’s guidance, to discover the lessons bearing upon her work and witness and her whole service for the Kingdom of God’. Particularly, he wanted the commission to consider how ‘to bring the whole life of the land more effectively under the truth and power of the Gospel and, in fellowship with the world-wide Church, to minister yet more helpfully in bearing witness to the Lord Jesus Christ in all lands and in seeking the upbuilding of that better international order for which men long’.²⁵⁵ It was a broad-reaching proposal touching on the social ministry of the church, ecumenism, and the international order; all within the context of the Kingdom of God.

There was both a longing for change and a fierce opposition to it in the Kirk. The war sparked a deep introspection in Britain, especially in the churches.²⁵⁶ Taylor’s sentiment had broad support and similar overtures came from the Presbyteries of Aberdeen, Ayr, Glasgow, St Andrews, and Stirling and Dunblane. The move to appoint the Commission was a move

²⁵⁴ *Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Edinburgh, Minute-Book, Vol. III*, new series (Edinburgh: Presbytery of Edinburgh), 431–32 and 444–45. Christian attempts to influence the modern international order date back at least to the early twentieth century (Nils Karlström, ‘Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1910–1925’, in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517–1948*, eds. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1954), 511).

²⁵⁵ *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh May 21 to 27, 1940, with the Minutes of the Proceedings* (Edinburgh: General Administration Committee, 1940), 835.

²⁵⁶ Cheyne, ‘John and Donald Baillie’, 247.

away from established church structures, which upset some within the assembly.²⁵⁷ The commission's remit was to be independent of any of the Kirk's standing committees, particularly the Church and Nation Committee, established in 1919 to monitor political and moral developments in national life.²⁵⁸ A motion was even made that a majority of commissioners be under the age of fifty.²⁵⁹ The motion failed, but, as *Life and Work* reported, diluting the influence of the older generation in such a way would have been a bold move in favour of new thinking.²⁶⁰ Signalling the opposition of a vocal minority, another failed motion called for the overtures to be dismissed entirely.²⁶¹ In the end a significantly compromised overture passed which struck the language that called for 'creating a Christian international order of society', replacing it with language from the St Andrews overture calling for an examination of how the church 'may become more effective in our own land, overseas, and in the international order.'²⁶² There was to be no *new* order created through the agency of the church but there was still an opening for the church as a witness in the realm of Christian humanitarianism and social action at home and abroad.

When the motion to dismiss the overtures failed, the Assembly was faced with the responsibility of staffing the new commission with acceptable candidates. The Selection Committee was tasked with proposing members to constitute the Commission.²⁶³ Three days later, when the committee presented their slate of candidates, it was rejected.²⁶⁴ Unable to stop the commission outright, opponents sought to ensure their position would be represented in the commission's membership. The conservative Rev. James Pitt-Watson was nominated

²⁵⁷ This was a principal objection of Rev. James Pitt-Watson according to Innes Logan's report of the General Assembly for *Life and Work* (Innes Logan, 'An Assembly Impression in Time of War', *Life and Work*, July 1940, 215.

²⁵⁸ McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom*, 106.

²⁵⁹ *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly, 1940*, 835.

²⁶⁰ Logan, 'An Assembly Impression in Time of War', 215.

²⁶¹ *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly, 1940*, 835.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 835 and Church of Scotland, *Assembly Papers: Cases and Overtures, 1940* (Edinburgh: General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1940), 86.

²⁶³ *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1940*, 835.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 852.

from the floor before another motion sent the Selection Committee back to their deliberations. They returned with a nearly identical list, dropping only one name of a nominee who did not wish to serve and not including Pitt-Watson. There was no objection.²⁶⁵ Perhaps the earlier protestations had been merely symbolic.

There was little to suggest that the Commission's convener would be controversial. John Baillie was a respected theologian with an international reputation, but he was not a social theologian and, according to David Fergusson, prior to his appointment as convener, his writing 'can hardly be characterised as overtly political.'²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, he was a keen supporter of the Commission's proposed remit under Taylor's original overture. He had seconded its introduction at the Edinburgh presbytery and had been appointed by the presbytery to appear in support of it at the General Assembly.²⁶⁷

In its first year, the Commission considered the basic questions of organisation and the scope of their inquiry. They proposed six sub-commissions: (1) The Content and Presentation of the Christian Message for our Time, (2) Church Life and Organisation, (3) Marriage and the Family, (4) Education, (5) Social and Industrial Life, and (6) Politics and International Relationships.²⁶⁸ The proposed sub-commissions mirrored closely sub-committees of ecumenical conferences like the Life and Work conference at Stockholm in 1925.²⁶⁹ Citing the uncertainty of the outcome of the war, the sub-commission on politics and

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 852 and 854. Out of sixty-three nominations for six different committees or commissions presented by the Selection Committee, the only objections were to those nominated for the new Commission on the Interpretation of God's Will.

²⁶⁶ Forrester, 'God's Will in a Time of Crisis', 221; David A. S. Fergusson, 'Theology in a Time of War: John Baillie's Political Writings', in *God's Will in a Time of Crisis: A Colloquium Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Baillie Commission*, ed. Andrew R. Morton (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, The University of Edinburgh, 1994), 32.

²⁶⁷ *Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Edinburgh, Minute-Book, Vol. III*, new series, 444.

²⁶⁸ 'Report of the Commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, 1942* (n.p.: Church of Scotland, 1941), 706. Hereafter the reports of the Baillie Commission will be cited as 'Baillie Commission report, [year]: [page]'.

²⁶⁹ The topics of discussion at Stockholm were (1) the general obligation of the church in light of God's plan for the world, (2) the church and economic and industrial problems, (3) the church and social and moral problems, (4) the church and international relations, (5) the Church and education, and (6) ways and means for promoting co-operation between the churches, and for their closer association on federal lines (Karlström, 'Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1910–1925', 541).

international relationships was never constituted. Commissioners had no way of knowing if their suggestions would be rendered superfluous because the issues on which they were to comment would no longer be pertinent after the war. Besides, there were other groups considering similar questions, to which they deferred. The Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility, on which the Kirk was represented, was expected to make a report soon after the commission made theirs.²⁷⁰ Lack of a sub-commission on politics and international relationships did not mean the issues it would have discussed went unconsidered. Rather, they were included in the work of all five of the other sub-commissions to varying degrees.

The proposal to consider such wide-ranging topics raised some objections. Again, the Commission faced opposition from the floor of the General Assembly. Some saw the Commission's proposals as impractical. A motion was made that the Assembly instruct the Commission to 'give more realistic consideration to the Will of God in relation to the immediate crisis.' Once again, however, the General Assembly voted down the naysayers and the Commission continued in their trajectory.²⁷¹ Commissioners were on notice that at least some within the General Assembly would not simply rubber stamp their reports.

Signs of the Kingdom of God

After spending their first year considering how the Commission's work would proceed, commissioners submitted their first report to the General Assembly of 1942. As a basis for their deliberations, they reported '[a]ny ordering of society must in the last resort be governed by some conception of the chief end of man'. Here was the language of the Westminster Shorter Catechism being put to new use. The answer to the Catechism's first question: 'What

²⁷⁰ Baillie Commission report, 1942: 63.

²⁷¹ *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1941*, 109.

is the chief end of Man?’ is that ‘Man’s chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever.’²⁷² To that end, the Baillie Commission argued ‘[t]he message with which our Lord began His preaching must to-day be the first and principal burden of His Church’s preaching: “The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel” (Mark i. 15).’²⁷³ Preparation for the prophesied Kingdom of God was the Commission’s stated purpose. ‘At the root of our social and international maladjustment’, they wrote, was sin.²⁷⁴ That sin was not just personal but systemic. If the Kingdom was to advance, it would need to triumph over the sins at the root of the existing system, including nationalism and racism. The Commission decried the ‘new movements [that] invite and demand a total devotion to the ends of a particular nation, to the blood of a particular race or the traditions of a particular plot of earth.’ Instead, ‘[t]he Church must stand out resolutely both against the cruel and inhuman consequences to which they lead in the ruthless overriding of the rights of other nations and races, and very particularly against the brutal anti-semitism to which they have given rise in so many places’.²⁷⁵ In the Kingdom of God, they wrote, ‘human differences of race and colour and nation are quite irrelevant.’²⁷⁶

New biblical scholarship in the late nineteenth century brought an emphasis on social justice that carried into the twentieth.²⁷⁷ Following the German Albrecht Ritschl, Scottish theologians in particular applied the new ideas to the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, defining it as a social ideal which broke down barriers of race, sex, and class.²⁷⁸ For Ritschl

²⁷² *The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines: Being a Facsimile of the First Edition, which was Ordered to be Printed by the House of Commons, 25th November, 1647. With Historical Account and Bibliography by William Carruthers, F.R.S. (Lately Keeper of Botany, British Museum)*, (London: Presbyterian Church of England, 1897), 1 (*spelling modernised*).

²⁷³ Baillie Commission report, 1942: 553.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 568.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 553.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 554.

²⁷⁷ S. J. Brown, ‘Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction’, 498–99.

²⁷⁸ J. H. W. Stuckenberg, ‘The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl’, *American Journal of Theology* 2, no. 2 (April 1898): 286; McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom*, 30; Marlene Finlayson, ‘Theology and Ecumenism after Edinburgh 1910’, in *The History of Scottish Theology, Volume III: The Long Twentieth Century*, eds. David Fergusson and Mark Elliott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 68.

the work of Christians was to establish the Kingdom through promoting God's glory and human welfare.²⁷⁹ For the Scottish Rev. David Watson the Kingdom of God 'is, and always has been a social ideal'.²⁸⁰ The Highland minister Malcolm MacCallum, of the Church of Scotland, equated the Kingdom of God with a 'Kingdom of Justice', casting Jesus as 'the King of Justice' who would put an end to tyranny and oppression 'to begin a reign of Justice, Freedom, and Brotherhood.'²⁸¹ Deprecating racist ideas, a central concern of the focus on the Kingdom was the common fatherhood of God and its corollary that all were inheritors of the *imago dei* and worthy of respect.²⁸² Ritschl argued that the Kingdom of God 'neutralizes national distinctions', achieving a 'supernatural unity through mutual and social action prompted by love, action which is no longer limited by considerations of family, class, or nationality'.²⁸³ The Rev. Robert Flint argued that the Kingdom of God was defined by the common fatherhood of God and human consanguinity, in which there was no oppression.²⁸⁴ Jesus became 'the Champion of the Oppressed'.²⁸⁵ In his 1889 book *The Kingdom of God; Or, Christ's Teaching According to the Synoptical Gospels*, the Free Church minister Alexander Balmain Bruce attributed to Jesus a racial 'universalism' which 'manifested a disregard for conventional social distinctions, involving a principle of distinctions not merely between classes within the bounds of the chosen people, but between races and nations'.²⁸⁶

For many, the chief indicator and manifestation of oppression in Scotland was poverty. Poverty has always been an issue for Christianity and its abolition became a focus in

²⁷⁹ Stuckenbergh, 'The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl', 288.

²⁸⁰ David Watson, *Social Advance: Its Meaning, Method and Goal* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911), 27. To make this point, Watson, unusually, appealed to Old Testament precedent rather than the teachings of Jesus cited by others (26–29).

²⁸¹ Malcolm MacCallum, *Religion as Social Justice* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1915), 130–31.

²⁸² Finlayson, 'Theology and Ecumenism after Edinburgh 1910', 68.

²⁸³ Albrecht Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, 3rd ed. (Bonn, 1888), 240 and 267, quoted in Johannes Zachhuber, *Theology as Science in Nineteenth-Century Germany: From F. C. Baur to Ernst Troeltsch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 242 and 245.

²⁸⁴ Robert Flint, 'The Nature of the Kingdom of God on Earth', in *Christ's Kingdom Upon Earth: A Series of Discourses*, ed. Robert Flint (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1865), 53–82.

²⁸⁵ S. J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', 503.

²⁸⁶ Alexander Balmain Bruce, *The Kingdom of God; Or, Christ's Teaching According to the Synoptical Gospels* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1889), 54–55.

efforts to build the Kingdom. Progressive Christians abandoned what many believed to be natural laws of economics that dictated there must be both rich and poor. If existing conditions were not the result of God's will, then they could be changed. The progressives came to believe that poverty was not God's will but the result of human failure and the poor inherited their lot not as a consequence of God's judgment upon them but oppression by the rich.²⁸⁷ The Baillie Commission concluded that the alleviation of poverty and oppression along with the quest for justice and overcoming racism inside and outwith Scotland were central to establishing the Kingdom of God.

Realising the Lordship of Christ in Civil Society: Recovering a Fading Vision

Fundamental questions for the Baillie Commission were the propriety of the church's involvement in addressing social issues and its relationship with the state in those efforts. They were old debates within the Kirk and far from settled. Recognising that 'clarity' on the subject was an 'urgent necessity' before proceeding further, Commissioners took up the questions in their first report to the General Assembly.²⁸⁸ The church had been criticised for being too involved by those who thought it ought to confine its efforts to spiritual salvation. On the other hand, there were those who criticised the church for being too concerned with the hereafter at the expense of the here and now.²⁸⁹ In reply, the commissioners argued that biblical teaching is clear, 'that the commandments of God extend to every sphere of human action and that there is no part of our life into which Christ does not desire an entrance.'²⁹⁰ They continued, stating that it was 'the duty of the Church in our day and place to guide the individual, within those limits of her competence which we have already attempted to define [*i.e.*, 'every sphere of human action', including the political], what to do with his vote and in

²⁸⁷ S. J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', 499.

²⁸⁸ Baillie Commission report, 1942: 561.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 561–62.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 563.

what directions to exercise his influence.’²⁹¹ Further, they stated the next year that ‘the Church claims that part of its vocation is to permeate every portion of the community’s life with the Spirit of Christ’.²⁹² Retirement from public engagement was ‘a sinful shirking both of responsibility and of opportunity.’²⁹³

It was a serious indictment of the church’s periodic silences on social issues. The early decades of the twentieth century saw a decline in the Church of Scotland’s social witness as the Kirk focused attention on reunion with the United Free Church (UFC) to the detriment of its prophetic role.²⁹⁴ Influential church figures like two-time moderator of the General Assembly John White, who, according to Stewart J. Brown, ‘defined the social ideal for Scottish Presbyterianism during the 1930s’, argued the church lacked competence to criticise government policy on political and social matters.²⁹⁵ Conceding that the church had, at times, inserted itself when it lacked competence, the Baillie Commission saw the ‘greater harm’ in failing to act at all.²⁹⁶

The Commission’s argument was, in a way, a typically Reformed one to make, that all human activity should come under the lordship of Christ and the purview of the church. John Calvin concluded his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* with a chapter on the civil government, in which he argued that the civil government was subject to divine law.²⁹⁷ The Scottish divine Andrew Melville reportedly told King James VI that the church was the Kingdom of God, in which James was no king but only a subject. Historian Stewart Mechie identifies a tradition dating back to Melville’s time which asserted the right of a Christian

²⁹¹ Ibid., 570.

²⁹² Ibid., 1943: 476–77.

²⁹³ Ibid., 1942: 570.

²⁹⁴ S. J. Brown, ‘Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction’, 489–517.

²⁹⁵ Stewart J. Brown, ‘The Social Ideal of the Church of Scotland in the 1930s’, in *God’s Will in a Time of Crisis: A Colloquium Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Baillie Commission*, ed. Andrew R. Morton (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, The University of Edinburgh, 1994), 14 and 17.

²⁹⁶ Baillie Commission report, 1942: 562.

²⁹⁷ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, IV.20.

minister to ‘comment on public affairs and apply the law of God as he learned it from Scripture to the laws of the land and custom in every sphere of the national life.’²⁹⁸

Despite this article of Reformed faith, the Church of Scotland’s willingness to act as prophetic gadfly fluctuated. The Moderate Party within the church dominated the church courts in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth. Under their leader, George Hill, they were increasingly allied with the Conservative Party, in government for most of this period, and reluctant to criticise them. Poverty and social dysfunction were seen as the natural result of personal sin and the church’s role in combatting social ills was through the preaching of the gospel. Many believed the greatest evils facing society were the related issues of irreligion and poverty, with irreligion at the root.²⁹⁹

Believing poor relief to be the rightful province of the church, many were willing to render unto Caesar that which was Caesar’s and wished the state to leave to God what was God’s. The prominent nineteenth-century churchman Thomas Chalmers convinced the Glasgow city council to exempt the area of his parish from state-funded poor relief. In place of state assistance, he attempted to create a model of what his biographer calls ‘a godly commonwealth of parish communities’, where the local church minister oversaw education, individual and family care through personal visitations, and the distribution of relief to those unable to work.³⁰⁰ While holding a chair at St Andrews, Chalmers influenced a number of future missionaries, including Alexander Duff. His ideas were popular among Scottish missionaries in South Africa, such as John Ross of Lovedale.³⁰¹ Johnston McKay argues that for Chalmers and many of his contemporaries, the Kingdom of God was coterminous with

²⁹⁸ Stewart Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development: 1780–1870* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 118.

²⁹⁹ Alexander C. Cheyne, ‘Thomas Chalmers: Then and Now’, in *Studies in Scottish Church History*, ed. Alexander C. Cheyne (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 87.

³⁰⁰ Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 83.

³⁰¹ John Roxborough, ‘The Legacy of Thomas Chalmers’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (October 1999): 174; Natasha Erlank, ‘“Civilizing the African”: The Scottish Mission to the Xhosa, 1821–64’, in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 147.

the church. It was only through the church that the poor could be elevated out of their squalid conditions and the conditions of the Kingdom of God could be attained. If there were systemic reasons for poverty, they were God-ordained and neither the state nor the church should attempt to change them.³⁰²

In time, Chalmers's ideas began to fade from popularity in Scotland. By 1890, they were nearly extinct.³⁰³ As the nineteenth century proceeded, the state increasingly took responsibility for functions previously administered by the church, although the administration was anything but secular. For almost fifty years, the parochial boards that administered poor relief after 1845 were composed of members elected at the ballot box and others nominated by the local Church of Scotland elders. Church representatives continued to dominate board membership after 1894, when the selection process changed. Solidly Christian candidates were also elected to school boards after the introduction of state-run education in 1873. Town councils dominated by evangelicals similarly sought to maintain a Christian influence.³⁰⁴ Men like Rev. David Watson believed that possession of 'the vote is a sacred trust' with power to enact godly policies and hold the government to account.³⁰⁵

While evangelicals in the Scottish Presbyterian churches were packing town councils and school boards, Scottish missionaries in Central Africa also sought avenues for the exercise of Christian civil influence. However, in pre-colonial Africa the partnership between church and state to build the kingdom of God proved more difficult to achieve. Amidst considerable social upheaval, missionaries could not see in the indigenous polities an effective government with which to partner. Some Scottish missionaries assumed civil powers themselves, enacting and enforcing mission rules as if they carried the status of law. This could lead to occasional abuses, as at Blantyre in 1879, where a group of artisan

³⁰² McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom*, 2.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁰⁴ C. G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, 142–7.

³⁰⁵ David Watson, *The Church at Work* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1926), 125.

missionaries began acting as magistrates, fining or even flogging violators.³⁰⁶ The Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, however, acted promptly to express its disapproval of the missionaries' assumption of civil powers. Following reports of gross excesses at Blantyre, the FMC warned the missionaries that they 'incur[red] grave personal risk by assuming civil jurisdiction' and 'that they were seriously hurting the missionary success of the enterprise'. The FMC 'forbade them to exercise any such jurisdiction in the future.'³⁰⁷ Nevertheless, in 1885, the Free Church missionaries at Livingstonia supported a failed effort to charter the mission-affiliated African Lakes Company to administer the area as a quasi-governmental agency under British authority. Eventually, with Central Africa still lacking another effective, recognised government, Scottish Christians showed little hesitation in accepting British colonial institutions as partners. Under the protection of Rhodes's British South Africa Company and the British government, they continued to operate schools and other institutions as the Kirk had done in Scotland before the state took over those functions.

The question of the churches' relationship with the state in Africa was part of the ongoing debate on church-state cooperation in Scotland. The poverty that afflicted so many was one of the central issues facing the country, especially in the industrial west, around Glasgow. In 1893 the United Presbyterian minister A. Scott Matheson of Dumbarton had called it 'the greatest national question of our time'. He contended it was 'at bottom a religious question, affecting the whole status, spirit, and health of modern society.'³⁰⁸ In words that would find a later echo in the Baillie Commission's reports, he wrote that to 'keep

³⁰⁶ 'Report of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Especially India', *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for the Year 1880* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1880), 141–42; John McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 1875–1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission on the Northern Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 65–70; Kenneth R. Ross, *Malawi and Scotland: Together in the Talking Place Since 1859* (Luwinga: Mzuni, 2013), 34, 36. Peter Hinchliff argued this was the considered policy of the Kirk, predating the origins of the settlement, rather than an *ad hoc* and reluctant decision made of necessity (Peter Hinchliff, 'The Blantyre Scandal, Scottish Missionaries and Colonialism', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 46 (1984): 29–38).

³⁰⁷ 'Report of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts', 139.

³⁰⁸ A. Scott Matheson, *The Church and Social Problems* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1893), 4.

silence is little less than immoral'.³⁰⁹ Many were tired of waiting for an otherworldly and uncertain salvation from their struggles and turned to the promise of socialism and communism.³¹⁰ Some called it a new religion and the churches were losing congregants to the secular faith.³¹¹ The Scottish Labour MP and pioneer of the Labour movement Keir Hardie said the poor were taking their revenge on the church.³¹²

To reach the poor who were becoming increasingly disillusioned with Christianity, progressive Christians in the national Kirk and other Presbyterian churches attempted to Christianise socialism. In 1893, Matheson criticised the church's recalcitrance in the face of widespread disparities of wealth. He lamented that the position of the church 'has been more for distributing charity than for distributing wealth.'³¹³ Malcolm MacCallum proclaimed 'the equal rights of men to the land and wealth of the nation' in his 1915 book, *Religion as Social Justice*.³¹⁴ Cooperation was growing between Protestants and Labour activists who were gaining increasing support.³¹⁵ New theologies developed in which poverty, overcrowded and unsanitary housing, and ill-health in a supposedly advanced and Christian country were viewed not as signs of individual sin but as sins of the community that tolerated them.³¹⁶ In 1896 the Church of Scotland's Commission into the Religious Condition of the People called the vast disparities in wealth 'a symptom of social unrighteousness'.³¹⁷ Ministers wrote for the socialist press, extolling a Christian socialism.³¹⁸

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 2.

³¹⁰ Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London: Methuen, 1987), 169–208.

³¹¹ S. J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', 497.

³¹² Keir Hardie, 'The Church and the Labour Problem', *The Thinker* 3, (1893): 108, quoted in Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 133–34.

³¹³ Matheson, *The Church and Social Problems*, 58.

³¹⁴ MacCallum, *Religion as Social Justice*, 137.

³¹⁵ C. G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*, 137.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 135.

³¹⁷ *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1896), 808 and 814.

³¹⁸ S. J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', 503.

Ministry in one of Glasgow's poorest parishes made a committed socialist of Rev. George MacLeod, who chaired the Baillie Commission's sub-commission on Social and Industrial Life. His socialist leanings can be seen in the Commission's reports. The 1944 report of MacLeod's sub-commission criticised unregulated capitalism, or what they called 'our present "unprincipled" economy', and cited its vicissitudes for the war.³¹⁹ Gone was the uncritical acceptance of the economic theories of the Enlightenment which had featured in John Philip's prescriptions for the Cape (see chapter 1). As the political and economic were inseparable, the Commission saw the only solution to be 'the responsible public control of the means of production. . . Our contention then is that any resolute attempt to bring our national polity into greater accord with the will of God must, at the present point in our social evolution, involve a far greater measure of public control of the country's capital resources and means of production.'³²⁰

It was a bridge too far for John White. He called the Commission's proposals immature and rather than have the Assembly vote on them, he called to have them sent to the presbyteries and kirk sessions for discussion. Stewart Brown writes that the Baillie Commission was in some ways a refutation and reversal of many of White's positions which had held sway in the General Assembly for many years. The Baillie Commission signalled just how rapidly his influence was waning. Despite his many years as convenor of the Church and Nation Committee, White was not invited to join the Commission.³²¹ A heated exchange between White and Baillie on the Assembly floor culminated in White's motion to discharge

³¹⁹ Baillie, *God's Will for Church and Nation*, 163 and 164. Note: Due to the COVID 19 pandemic, John Baillie's republished reports had to be used because the official report from 1944 was not available during the final stages of preparation for submission.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 167–68.

³²¹ S. J. Brown, 'The Social Ideal of the Church of Scotland in the 1930s', 27.

the Commission and put a halt to their work. It failed by a large majority, handing White a humiliating defeat.³²²

An intermittent stream of socialist thought had flowed through the Scottish churches for many years. For Malcolm MacCallum in 1915, '[t]he main function of the Church' is 'to inspire and direct political action towards the eradication of social injustice, and the stamping out of impious national ambitions, rivalries and hatreds.'³²³ The Commission on the War in Relation to its Spiritual, Moral and Social Issues appointed in 1916 declared the First World War to be a divine corrective for the country's selfish individualism. It called the nation to the work of 'securing a drastic and permanent amelioration of social conditions' for 'it is undoubtedly the Church's function to testify to the existence of definite wrongs and abuses, and to insist upon the duty of society to find the remedy, or to bring about the necessary correction'.³²⁴

Official church support for socialism, however, was not to last. After the war, the Church of Scotland and its members committed themselves to a new Christian social order, but the wartime coalition Government gave way to a Tory-dominated cabinet that reneged on commitments to reconstruction of the economic order.³²⁵ This placed the church in an awkward position of supporting the Government and abandoning its own commitments to reform or continuing the push for reform and siding with the Labour opposition. A labour strike in Glasgow on 31 January 1919 saw the red communist flag raised over George Square and confrontations between the police and demonstrators turned into violence. In the wake of the Russian Revolution, middle-class Scots were repulsed and turned away from anything smacking of communism.³²⁶ Under the joint convenorship of John White and the former

³²² *Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1944; *Scotsman*, 27 May 1944, cited in S. J. Brown, 'The Social Ideal of the Church of Scotland in the 1930s', 28.

³²³ MacCallum, *Religion as Social Justice*, 135.

³²⁴ *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1917), 746 and 753.

³²⁵ S. J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', 506.

³²⁶ C. G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*, 140.

Unionist MP Lord Sands, the Church and Nation Committee submitted a statement to the Church of Scotland General Assembly of 1920 stating that '[i]t is not for the Church to advocate particular schemes of industrial organisation, still less to identify herself with any party.'³²⁷ It was a move calculated to offend neither the largely middle-class membership of the church nor the Government, whose assistance they would soon need in passing the legislation enabling the planned union with the UFC. The feelings of the poor were not so well considered. A rebuttal on their behalf was offered the next year by Rev. J. D. Robertson, convenor of the Social Problems Committee, who argued the church should align itself with the Labour Party in search of a more equitable social order. The General Assembly rejected the Social Problems Committee's report piece by piece and Robertson resigned his convenorship the following year.

With a union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church on the horizon, the two churches' leading figures were cautious about upsetting the Government. They needed Parliamentary action to push through the union. More and more, the national Kirk and the UFC confined their efforts to personal morality rather than systemic change. Progressive, socially minded voices were silenced, died, or left domestic church service in Scotland. The price of church union was high indeed.³²⁸

It was too high for many. One of them was Rev. John W. Stevenson. Born a son of the manse in 1903, Stevenson studied English and philosophy at Glasgow and took his divinity course at both St Andrews and Edinburgh. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1929 and became assistant at St Michael's Parish Church, Edinburgh. He was ordained in 1932 and took up the pulpit at Coulter in Lanarkshire. An outspoken social reformer, he briefly edited the *Scots Observer* and from 1945 to 1965 was the editor of *Life and Work* during the early years of South African apartheid and the debates over the Federation of

³²⁷ *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1920), 525.

³²⁸ S. J. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', 508–11, 517.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland discussed in chapters 4 and 5.³²⁹ He argued the church must act in the world to establish the Kingdom of God and warned that the church's past failures to do so had disillusioned many: 'Men's confidence in the Church as a Christian Fellowship, pledged to seek the establishment of a Divine Kingdom here and now, has been shaken by her long and ominous silences in the great crises of the modern world.'³³⁰ 'The Scottish people', he wrote, 'look once more to the Church as Liberator.'³³¹ In 1930 Stevenson became publicity secretary for the Forward Movement, initiated by the Nyasaland missionary Donald Fraser to reinvigorate a sense of mission within the newly-unified church. When the idea was mooted to the General Assembly in May 1930, the proposed remit was expanded to encompass home missions as well as foreign.³³² It quickly took on an ethos of social reform. In introducing the Movement to the church in the *Life and Work* magazine, Fraser called for 'nothing less than to give to our Lord Jesus Christ His Kingdom . . . an effort to reveal a more glorious Saviour, and a grander Kingdom, and a mightier life-giving spirit, than can ever be discovered in a selfish and narrow worship which is careless of a world's need'.³³³ As an ostensibly evangelistic enterprise, the Forward Movement exhibited what Brian Stanley has argued was a Scottish missionary ideal in which all aspects of human life were to be brought under the rule of Christ. While Stanley notes this could be said of all Reformed missionaries, we have seen how attempts to implement this ideal have differed over time in Scotland. On the mission field, it translated into 'a fearless prophetic stance against manifest injustice.'³³⁴ The

³²⁹ S. J. Brown, 'The Social Ideal of the Church of Scotland in the 1930s', 24.

³³⁰ John W. Stevenson, 'The Church's Atonement', in *The Healing of the Nation: The Scottish Church and a Waiting People: A Symposium*, ed. John W. Stevenson (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1930), 9.

³³¹ John W. Stevenson, 'In Scotland Today', in *The Healing of the Nation*, ed. John W. Stevenson (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1930), 8.

³³² George M Reith, ed., *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly, Held at Edinburgh, May 1930* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1930), 100–02. See also Agnes R. Fraser, *Donald Fraser of Livingstonia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), 303.

³³³ Donald Fraser, 'The Forward Movement: A Great Adventure for World Evangelisation', *Life and Work*, June 1930, 258.

³³⁴ Brian Stanley, 'The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement', in *The History of Scottish Theology, Volume III*, 56–57.

amelioration of social ills became an important feature of the Forward Movement's projected work, which was, perhaps, unsurprising of a movement sharing a name with an influential predecessor in English Wesleyan Methodism that was also concerned with social questions.³³⁵

The Forward Movement's reforming agenda raised some concern. Although Fraser remained the convenor of the Scottish Forward Movement's executive committee, Stevenson became a focal point for criticism. The Rev. John McConnachie criticised Stevenson for putting too much stock in secular social science, which McConnachie implied bordered on heresy.³³⁶ A series of public letters and articles from Stevenson, McConnachie, and others were published in the *Scots Observer*.³³⁷ Stevenson criticised McConnachie for his espousal of Karl Barth's theology, which Stevenson believed went too far in separating earthly and heavenly matters.³³⁸ Stevenson, however, doubted that Barth's theology would ever become popular in Scotland and quoted the Anglican canon and Christian socialist Charles Raven: 'There is in Barth an exaggeration of the transcendental so pronounced as to leave no room for human effort, a presentation of religion so one-sided as to justify the claim that it has no ground in fact. No one can doubt either its worth or its inadequacy.'³³⁹ Stevenson wanted no part of a religion that did not minister to the here and now.

³³⁵ See David W. Smith, 'Forward Movement', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 332.

³³⁶ John McConnachie, letter to the editor, *Scots Observer*, 23 April 1931, 10.

³³⁷ John McConnachie, 'Rev. Mr Stevenson and "Forward Movement"', letter to the editor, *Scots Observer*, 7 May 1931, 10; Moderator, 'Minutes of Moment: Forward Movement Critics', *Scots Observer*, 14 May 1931, 8; D. McLean, 'Rev. Mr Stevenson and the Forward Movement', *Scots Observer*, 14 May 1931, 12; John McConnachie, 'A Goal for the Forward Movement', letter to the editor, *Scots Observer*, 21 May 1931, 20; Z. R. C., 'The Forward Movement', letter to the editor, *Scots Observer*, 4 June 1931, 12; F. 'Revival within the Church', letter to the editor, *Scots Observer*, 2 July 1931, 12; John A. Whyte, 'Church, Brotherhood and Forward Movement', letter to the editor, *Scots Observer*, 23 July 1931, 12; R. A. M., 'Dr McConnachie's Articles,' letter to the editor, *Scots Observer*, 1 October 1931, 12.

³³⁸ John W. Stevenson, 'The Need for Social Christianity: A Reply to the Rev. John M'Connachie', *Scots Observer*, 30 April 1931, 16. McConnachie had been an early admirer of Barth and was instrumental in introducing his thought to Scotland (D. Densil Morgan, *Barth Reception in Britain* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 26 and 29–33).

³³⁹ Stevenson, 'The Need for Social Christianity', 16.

In the end, the Forward Movement and the broader reforming agenda failed to gain traction, perhaps when it was needed most. Scotland sunk into the economic depression that spread across the globe in the 1930s and mass demonstrations called for government action. The Church and Nation Committee submitted a deliverance calling for the General Assembly to support government assistance for the unemployed, but a challenge from the floor quashed it. Instead, hearkening back to the social thought of the nineteenth century, the General Assembly resolved that the moral failings of the working class were at fault for the depression and the church should not press for government action.³⁴⁰ Previous treatments of the Forward Movement emphasise the distractions of the Depression and domestic political crises as a cause of its failure. These treatments, however, ignore the opposition to the Movement's reforming agenda apparent in the *Scots Observer* and the opinions held by the majority in the General Assembly.³⁴¹

Opposition to the Forward Movement was part of the broader opposition to the church's social engagement, which was dominant in the church at the time and which the Baillie Commission criticised in their reports. In addition to those nominated by the Selection Committee in 1940, the Baillie Commission added to their numbers by appointing members with known reformist ideologies. Among these was the socialist George MacLeod. J. W. Stevenson was appointed to the Commission in 1944. The appointment of these men pushed the Commission's agenda toward engagement and reform. Another convenor of one of the sub-commissions, Rev. A. S. Kydd, worried that people 'would react violently against some of its propositions, if they realised what they imply'.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ S. J. Brown, 'The Social Ideal of the Church of Scotland in the 1930s', 17, see *Scotsman*, 28 May 1932.

³⁴¹ S. J. Brown, 'The Social Ideal of the Church of Scotland in the 1930s', 17; A. G. Fraser, *Donald Fraser*, 304; McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom*, 118.

³⁴² Alexander S. Kydd, letter to Archie C. Craig, 1 July 1942, Church of Scotland papers (Acc. 7548/c214), NLS.

While MacLeod and others saw socialism as a corrective to an unjust system, their desire to radically alter the social order was not shared by everyone in the Kirk. The Baillie Commission saw the Second World War as another corrective. The church could not confine itself to teaching and pastoral work but must also be involved in the pressing issues of the world.³⁴³ Conceding the primary responsibility for the social order to the state, the Commission stressed the distinctive responsibility of a national church to hold the state to its God-given role. The cost of church union in Scotland had been too high. It was time for the church to return to its role of proclaiming the Kingdom of God in the social sphere.

Realising the Lordship of Christ in the International Order: The Ecumenical Vision

Although a separate sub-commission on politics and international relations was never appointed, the Baillie Commission did not shy away from consideration of the international order. They raised the question of the post-war order in 1942, at the conclusion of their first substantive report. Among the ‘very grave and far-reaching responsibilities’ given to the victorious nations would be ‘a long-term plan for the maintenance of justice and peace among the nations’, requiring ‘a real sacrifice by all the participating nations of some part of their present unlimited sovereignty.’³⁴⁴ The influence of the growing ecumenical movement is apparent in their statements.

A progressive internationalism was increasing in the church in the early twentieth century. While an older generation was stifling the voice of public engagement within the Scottish churches, outside of Scotland and outside official church structures, there was a growing movement to raise a Christian voice in the international order. The worldwide student Christian movement was strong in the UK, with considerable involvement from Scots

³⁴³ Baillie Commission report, 1944: 497.

³⁴⁴ Baillie Commission report, 1942: 609–10.

such as Donald Fraser, John Baillie, and Joseph Houldsworth Oldham. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland, which was founded to encourage volunteers for the mission field, increasingly took on social concerns. In 1900, as the British Army was fighting the descendants of Dutch settlers in South Africa in the Anglo-Boer War, British delegates to the World Student Christian Federation's conference in Versailles came face to face with Dutch Christian students who appealed to the assembled delegates to recognise a Christian duty to 'examine the different questions of our social and political life'.³⁴⁵ The British delegates, including a young C. W. G. Taylor, who would later propose the formation of the Baillie Commission, returned from Versailles convinced of a Christian vocation to establish a holier social and civic order. Soon, the British student movement began publishing study guides on social questions.³⁴⁶ One of the SCM's first forays into commenting on public issues came at their 1921 conference in Glasgow. Precedent for future support of Nyasaland's independence (discussed in chapter 5) and outrage over the Sharpeville Massacre (see pp. 175–77) can be found in a motion passed by the conference expressing sympathy for Indian nationalists seeking independence and condemning the 1919 massacre of Indian civilians by the British Indian Army.³⁴⁷

The internationalism and ecumenism that saw the Student Christian Movement move into a Christian social consciousness was expanding its influence elsewhere as well. The 1910 conference of Protestant missionary societies in Edinburgh did much for Christian unity, but many were disappointed when Christian efforts for peace had come to naught and the world went to war in 1914.³⁴⁸ The war seemed to indicate the need for greater cooperation

³⁴⁵ *Report of the W. S. C. F. Conference, Versailles, France, 71–75*, quoted in Tissington Tatlow, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1933), 340.

³⁴⁶ Tatlow, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement*, 340–41.

³⁴⁷ Robin H. S. Boyd, *The Witness of the Student Christian Movement: 'Church ahead of the Church'* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2007), 22–23.

³⁴⁸ Karlström, 'Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1910–1925', 511.

between states as well as churches. The ecumenical movement gained powerful momentum from this increasing perception. A united church was deemed necessary to solve the world's social problems, including the immediate problem of war.³⁴⁹ A quarter of a century later, the Baillie Commission's reports reflected this same thought, that only a unified, ecumenical church could address the problems facing society.³⁵⁰ The 1925 Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work held at Stockholm formally inaugurated a movement toward worldwide ecumenical social Christianity. Among other things, delegates agreed that churches have an obligation to witness 'in all realms of human life – industrial, social, political and international'.³⁵¹

The ecumenical movement provided an opportunity for John Baillie to continue his decades-old association with J. H. Oldham. Oldham was a central figure in the ecumenical movement, playing prominent roles in the Student Christian Movement and the 1910 missionary conference in Edinburgh as well as its continuation committee. Oldham believed that the mission of the church was not only one of evangelism, to bring people into the church, but to release the power of Christianity into the world through Christian social action.³⁵² Significantly, Oldham saw the struggle for racial equality in Christian terms of the quest for the Kingdom of God. His influential 1924 book, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, was published by the Student Christian Movement Press and received a wide readership. In it, he argued that the Christian duty to build the Kingdom of God required an end to divisions of race and nationality:

[T]he Christian's business is to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. He is dedicated to the service of a God who is overflowingly alive and who has a

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 533.

³⁵⁰ Fergusson, 'Theology in a Time of War', 37.

³⁵¹ Nils Ehrenström, 'Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1925–1948', in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517–1948*, eds. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1954), 547.

³⁵² Keith W. Clements, 'John Baillie and the Moot', in *Christ, Church and Society: Essays on John Baillie and Donald Baillie*, ed. David Fergusson (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 1993), 200.

definite moral purpose for the world. In the light of that commanding, universal purpose of righteousness and love, natural differences which exist among men become insignificant. Moral values are supreme. 'Whosoever shall do the will of God,' Jesus said, 'the same is My brother and sister and mother [Mark 3:35],' thereby making the basis of the society which He founded independent of men's physical origin and natural affinities. God has no favourites. In every nation, as the early Church quickly realized, a man who worships God and orders his life aright is accepted by Him; and what God approves, man dare not reject. The partition wall which separated Jew and Gentile was broken down. On this issue St Paul fought a lifelong battle and would accept no compromise, for in it, as he saw, the whole Christian faith was at stake.³⁵³

Oldham and Baillie's relationship continued through Oldham's group of thinkers on religious and social issues known as the Moot, of which Baillie was a member throughout his time as convenor of the Commission.³⁵⁴ The group met two or three times each year, over a weekend, throughout the war. Before the meeting, papers on various topics of concern were distributed for discussion at the meeting. Although Baillie was not always able to attend in person, his keen interest was demonstrated through his correspondence.³⁵⁵ One of the first papers to be discussed was written by Oldham on the increasing divergence of society from the church. Baillie's response hinted at ideas that would be further articulated in the reports of the commission that bore his name, including the problems arising from a fractured church.³⁵⁶ He was most interested in topics of ethics and society and argued for a society directed by Christian principles.

In a meeting of the Moot in September 1938 Baillie argued for a 'public policy directed by Christian principles', much like what was seen in the Scotland of the earlier twentieth century, when committed Christians dominated civic bodies.³⁵⁷ This idea, which was shared by the Anglicans who dominated the Moot, made its way into the Baillie

³⁵³ Joseph Houldsworth Oldham, *Christianity and the Race Problem* (London: Student Christian Movement Press), 18–19.

³⁵⁴ Keith W. Clements, 'Oldham & Baillie: A Creative Relationship', in *God's Will in a Time of Crisis: A Colloquium Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Baillie Commission*, ed. Andrew R. Morton (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, The University of Edinburgh, 1994), 45–59.

³⁵⁵ Clements, 'John Baillie and the Moot', 204–06.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 203–05.

³⁵⁷ Clement, 'John Baillie and the Moot', 209.

Commission's reports, which suggested numerous public policies directed by Christian principles. They adopted an approach of 'middle axioms', or 'legitimate and necessary applications of the Christian rule of faith and life to the special circumstances in which we now stand.'³⁵⁸ Instead of directives to the state, middle axioms were clear statements of Christian principle in relation to political, social, or economic issues. Keith W. Clements points out that the use of middle axioms, which comes from the social thought of William Temple, is a clear indication of the influence of J. H. Oldham and the Moot upon Baillie and the Commission. Temple, who was Archbishop of York from 1929 to 1942 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1942 to 1944, was also a member of the Moot. While Temple originated the idea, Oldham also made use of it, carrying it beyond Temple's original formulation with greater specificity³⁵⁹

The witness of the ecumenical movement and its supporters took on a pacifist tone. A conference held at Eisenbach, Germany, in 1928 resolved '[w]e believe that war considered as an institution for the settlement of international disputes is incompatible with the mind and method of Christ, and therefore incompatible with the mind and method of His Church.'³⁶⁰ A small but significant pacifist community grew up within the Church of Scotland, including a Scottish Ministers Peace Society. In 1933 J. W. Stevenson, who was then active within the pacifist movement and working as publicity secretary for the Forward Movement, made a motion in the General Assembly committing the Kirk to a pacifist stance. The motion was opposed by James Pitt-Watson and eventually failed.³⁶¹

The Commission's position on colonialism was somewhat ambiguous. Their 1943 report stated that 'God's first demand upon us with regard to our neighbour nations is . . . that

³⁵⁸ Baillie Commission report, 1942: 570.

³⁵⁹ Clements, 'Oldham & Baillie', 47–49.

³⁶⁰ Ehrenström, 'Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1925–1948', 564.

³⁶¹ George M Reith, ed., *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly, Held at Edinburgh, May 1930* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1930), 347–48.

we put in practice in the international sphere the same standards of equity and fair distribution as we have long practised in our own national laws, yielding to all the same rights and liberties, and not using our superior power to gain privileges at the expense of others who are weaker'.³⁶² The 1944 report was not as sanguine toward the equity of class relations in Scotland, criticising, as we have seen, the unequal distribution of wealth as a failure of *laissez-faire* capitalism. Perhaps some of those 'weaker' nations intended by the 1943 report were those then subject to colonial rule. The Commissioners argued that colonialism had brought both 'great advantage' and 'grievous wrongs' to colonised peoples, conceding that the advantages were often 'of a strictly limited kind' and that colonialism had also violated the human rights of the colonised.³⁶³ While attempting to balance the needs of European nations and those of the colonised, 'the rights and welfare of the native populations must, in all cases, be accorded the first consideration'.³⁶⁴

Giving voice to a position that would be prominent in the campaigns against apartheid and the Central African Federation in the church magazines edited by J. W. Stevenson, they wrote that churches in Africa 'have special claims on the attention of the Western Churches' that 'brought them into being'.³⁶⁵ The Scottish churches maintained a considerable interest in Africa because of their long-established missions in South Africa, Nyasaland, and Kenya. According to the 1943 report 'Africa will become more and more the scene of nation-building. Immense social and economic developments are under way in that continent under the influence of enlightened colonial policies, but they are not likely to bring the Kingdom of God nearer to the African people unless the Churches are ready to play a much larger part in

³⁶² Baillie Commission report, 1943: 480.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 487.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 488.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 448.

the educational systems of the colonies, and to show how Christ may be put at the heart of every aspect of the new African communities'.³⁶⁶

Distinct from the United Kingdom's political empire was what has been called a 'benevolent empire' made up of mission-run schools, hospitals, and other services.³⁶⁷ These projects were devoted not only to evangelism but 'civilisation'. Africans were taught to sew, farm, keep house, and construct buildings using Western, supposedly-Christian techniques.³⁶⁸ For all the missionaries' long efforts, their civilising work was not yet done in 1942. Despite the Commission's warning against too long of a military occupation of defeated Axis nations after the war, they were not prepared to withdraw from the colonies anytime soon.³⁶⁹ They concluded 'an immediate and wholesale transference of power' to the peoples of the colonies was unwise because many were 'not yet sufficiently mature politically for such an experiment to be either safe or wise.'³⁷⁰ While calling for a 'more Christian attitude' commissioners unconsciously revealed their own paternalistic stadialism, counting themselves among the world's 'advanced peoples' and calling the colonised 'backward'.³⁷¹ The Commission made no call for an end to colonialism in the international order. The paternalistic humanitarianism of the nineteenth century that was seen in chapter 1 remained a signal feature of the church's relationship with the colonies and their peoples.

John Baillie and the Commission for the Interpretation of God's will interpreted their mandate in terms of the church's duty to the Kingdom of God both in Scotland and in the international order. Influenced by ecumenical and internationalist voices, they saw a global mission for the church that went beyond the evangelistic and civilising missions of previous

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ The phrase 'benevolent empire' is often associated with American social concerns abroad; however, following Richard Elphick, I am using it more broadly in relation to all institutions of social Christianity (see Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 3).

³⁶⁸ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 107–10.

³⁶⁹ Baillie Commission report, 1942: 607.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 1943: 488.

³⁷¹ Ibid..

generations. Neither the church nor its influence should be constrained by national borders. Their theology of the Kingdom of God precluded it. Instead, the church was to expand the Kingdom of justice worldwide. Whilst still accepting the supposed humanitarian benefits of European colonialism, the Commission pressed for a new international order based on ideals of equality and human rights under the Kingship of Christ, prioritising the interests of colonised peoples but still recognising the claims of colonial powers.

Conclusion

The Baillie Commission was appointed during a time of uncertainty. The German army seemed to be marching through Europe with complete impunity. Ideas of race and authoritarianism were spreading to areas of concern to the Scottish church. What was God trying to tell His people? While many were looking for answers in a new direction for the church, others were certain those answers lay in retrenchment and a return to the old ways. Those hoping to find new answers got their way in the appointment of the Commission to Interpret God's Will in the Present Crisis. The Commission called the national church of Scotland to once again find its voice to speak out against sin in the domestic and international social order. The Kingdom of God was more than the church and its establishment on earth required more than evangelism but to play a greater role in restructuring the domestic and international order in anticipation of the Kingdom of God. Unable to do it alone, the church was to partner with civil and governmental institutions. In the African context, that meant partnering with supposedly benevolent colonial agencies and often paternalistic approaches to a stadial advancement of Africans toward a Euro-normative ideal of civilisation. The positions adopted by the Commission had roots in the history of Scottish Christian thought and the ecumenical movement which would grow and flower in the later campaigns against apartheid and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Having considered the theological

trends toward a greater social concern leading to the mid-century social thought of the Church of Scotland in this chapter, the next chapter will consider how those trends were manifest in Scottish Christian periodicals, especially in consideration of the Christian humanitarian orientation toward Africa and the influence of the black Atlantic on ideas of race within the Kirk.

Chapter Three

W. P. LIVINGSTONE, IMPERIAL HUMANITARIANISM, AND THE SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN PRESS



Figure 3.1 ‘An all-night queue at Uburu dispensary waiting for the doctor to appear’ (*Life and Work*, January 1930, 35).

In January 1930, missionary Peter M. Shepherd asked readers of the Church of Scotland’s *Life and Work* magazine ‘Who among us is prepared to take up the Cain-like attitude of saying, “Am I my brother’s keeper?”’ (Genesis 4:9). He carried on, quoting the Apostle Paul, ‘None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself’ (Romans 14:7), and even Jesus, ‘Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required’ (Luke 12:48). Shepherd sought to remind his readers of their Christian duty to others and reassure them that missionaries were needed and wanted in Africa as part of the church’s fulfilment of that duty.

Photographs of Africans queuing outside a mission hospital (Figure 3.1) and their eager faces at the doctor's arrival (Figure 3.2) were meant to show how much the missionaries were wanted. To illustrate the missionaries' success, a photograph was included of missionary John Lennox with three smartly dressed, but anonymous African residents of the Presbyterian Hostel at the South African Native College at Fort Hare (Figure 3.3). Its caption reads in part that '[t]he best answer to recent criticism of Missions in Africa are the results accomplished by Missions.'³⁷² Three black men in Western clothing were presented as the epitome of missionary accomplishment.



Figure 3.2 'The rush of patients forward when the doctor does appear' (*Life and Work*, January 1930, 35).

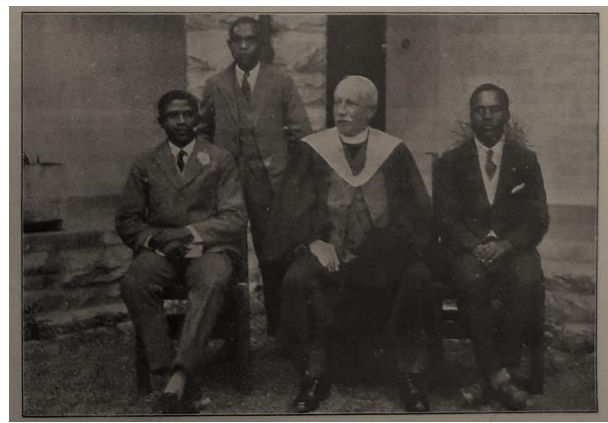


Figure 3.3 Missionary John Lennox and three anonymous residents of the Presbyterian Hostel at the South African Native College, Fort Hare (*Life and Work*, January 1930, 37).

Appeals to support Scottish missions in Africa were nothing new. The novelty represented in this article was in the fact that until the previous year Shepherd and Lennox had been United Free Church missionaries, and *Life and Work* was a Church of Scotland magazine. The 1929 union of the two churches brought together their respective magazines – the *Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland* and *Life and Work* – in a melding of their editorial outlooks in which the United Free Church tradition of social concern dominated under the editorship of the former UFC editor W. P. Livingstone. Livingstone brought a social consciousness and focus on foreign missions

³⁷² P. M. Shepherd, 'The Real African: Facts and Fallacies Regarding Mission Work', *Life and Work*, January 1930, 35–37.

to his work at the *Record* which he continued during his brief tenure as editor of the *Scots Observer* and then *Life and Work* from 1930 to 1934.

This chapter asks how the humanitarian concerns of the Scottish churches discussed in the previous chapter were manifested in adult church periodicals in relation to Scotland and southern Africa. It examines the partnership between liberal-humanitarians and the editors of Scottish Christian periodicals, particularly W. P. Livingstone as editor of the United Free Church *Record*, the independent *Scots Observer*, and the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work*. Recognising Livingstone as an important link between the social outlook of the UFC periodical tradition and that of the united, post-1929 Church of Scotland, I argue that the social witness demonstrated in the most prominent twentieth-century church periodicals in Scotland drew from an evangelical tradition of answering Cain's inquiry about his responsibility for his brother with a resounding but not uncomplicated 'Yes!' With Livingstone's appointment as editor in 1930, *Life and Work* inherited a tradition of Scottish Christian journalism that combined a global missionary interest in social humanitarianism inflected with a persistent stadial conception of race, which nevertheless sought to convert British colonialism in Africa into an adjunct of the socially conscious Kingdom of God project, taking it beyond Scotland onto the foreign mission fields.

The chapter demonstrates the early connection between evangelical humanitarianism and the Christian periodical press in Scotland. It then shows how W. P. Livingstone carried on the tradition of social commentary in the United Free Church *Record* in the early twentieth century, when the editor of the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* was reluctant to do so. Livingstone brought that same editorial policy with him to *Life and Work*, showing a social concern directed toward both Scotland and the African missions. Although Livingstone's views of Africa and Africans would be considered paternalistic, even racist, today, they were influenced by the progressive tradition of his time in which the colonial enterprise was often

seen and portrayed as a humanitarian project. While exhibiting many features of racial paternalism, for Livingstone, that humanitarian project was just as much a part of the church's mandate as was ameliorating the suffering of the poor in Scotland.

W. P. Livingstone took an indirect but formative route to the editorship of the *Record* and eventually *Life and Work*. Born in North Queensferry on 29 October 1864, he initially trained for a career in business, first in the burgh assessor's office in Edinburgh and then in the offices of Messrs Andrew Melrose & Co. While there, he cut his teeth as a journalist on the office newsletter. Deciding that journalism was the career for him, in 1889 he took a post as official reporter to the Legislative Council of Jamaica, the same year a British protectorate was declared in Central Africa. Soon after, he became editor of the *Daily Gleaner*, the largest daily paper in the West Indies. After fourteen years, he left the *Gleaner* to become a correspondent for the London *Times* and for two years travelled throughout the Caribbean, Central America, and the American South. Returning to Britain, he worked on the editorial staff of several papers in London until his appointment as editor of the *Record* in 1912.³⁷³ It was in the racially charged atmosphere of Jamaica that he developed his interest in foreign missions as 'an instrument of social and racial betterment.'³⁷⁴ When he took up the editorship of the *Record*, he had already established a reputation for using the press as a tool for social commentary wielded by the hand of Christian humanitarianism. The Rev. John Lewars of Glasgow wrote in an introduction to the new editor for the magazine's readers that 'one has

³⁷³ R. F. Dunnett, 'The Editor says Good-bye: An Interview with Mr. W. P. Livingstone', *Life and Work*, December 1934, 475–78.

³⁷⁴ W. P. Livingstone, 'How I Became Interested in Foreign Missions', *Other Lands*, October 1934, 3, 4.

only to read some of his articles on religious methods and moral problems to be convinced that here the voice of the journalist harmonised with the cry of the prophet.³⁷⁵

At a time when the United Kingdom's concerns abroad were largely focused on the British Empire, the Church of Scotland's foreign mission fields in many cases coincided with the British colonial map. Their coexistence raises questions about the relationship between the Scottish missions and the Empire in which Scots were so disproportionately represented. John M. MacKenzie has argued that missionaries were important purveyors of colonial rhetoric, including a social Darwinism that provided a rationale for colonialism. MacKenzie argues that the Empire permeated popular culture well into the twentieth century, with popular media, such as theatre, cinema, and radio bringing the faraway colonial project home to Britons. His book *Propaganda and Empire* includes a discussion of children's literature, some of which came from the churches, but largely ignores the widely read church periodicals for adults which regularly reported on the mission stations throughout the Empire.³⁷⁶ Esther Breitenbach's *Empire and Scottish Society* includes a chapter on missionary literature aimed at Scotland's adult Christians focused on the period from 1790 to 1914, largely before the period of this study.³⁷⁷ Beyond propaganda at home, Jean and John Comaroff have argued that missionary efforts on the ground amounted to a form of social control, colonising the minds of indigenous populations.³⁷⁸ However, other scholars such as Andrew Porter and Brian Stanley have complicated the narrative of missionaries as colonial agents, showing how the relationship between missionaries and colonial administrators was

³⁷⁵ John Lewars, 'Our New Editor', *The Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland*, September 1912, 387. Hereafter, this magazine, under its different titles will be cited as 'The Record'.

³⁷⁶ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

³⁷⁷ Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 90–118.

³⁷⁸ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) and *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

not always cooperative.³⁷⁹ Dana L. Robert has argued that missionaries attempted to convert not only colonial peoples but also colonial institutions.³⁸⁰ The conversion of settler colonies, which were often hostile to African interests, into Christian humanitarian alternatives was often inflected with what Stanley calls a ‘soft’ racism. This was based on Euro-normative notions of ‘civilised’ and ‘uncivilised’ peoples in which the ‘uncivilised’ were deemed to be inferior, though capable of change.³⁸¹ Stanley further argues that these ideas of socially- rather than biologically-determined race led Christians to accept modern ideas of cultural pluralism, which were already apparent among mission theorists by the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910.³⁸²

This chapter contributes to the literature in two ways. Firstly, it extends MacKenzie’s and Breitenbach’s work by examining the text and images of Scottish Christian periodicals meant for adult readers and considers how those periodicals served the evangelical purpose to implement a Christian humanitarian imperialism through the interwar period. Secondly, it adds to Stanley’s narrative of changing Christian views on race by showing that outside the circles of mission theorists, stadial conceptions of race persisted within popular Christian thought in Scotland well after 1910 and served as motivation for Christian service in Africa.

Evangelical Origins of Scottish Christian Periodicals

From its beginnings, the Christian periodical press in Scotland was dominated by socially conscious evangelicals. Nineteenth-century Scottish evangelicals turned to the increasingly

³⁷⁹ Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004); Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).

³⁸⁰ Dana L. Robert, ‘Introduction’, in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 4–5.

³⁸¹ Brian Stanley, ‘From “the poor heathen” to “the Glory and Honour of All Nations”’: Vocabularies of Race and Custom in Protestant Missions, 1844–1928’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 2010): 4.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 9.

popular genres of the ecclesiastical magazine and newspaper to unite like-minded Scots.³⁸³

Life and Work was born in 1879 from nineteenth-century social concern within the Church of Scotland and added to its inheritance with the church union of 1929, which saw the magazine united with the *Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland*. The United Free Church was itself the product of the union in 1900 between two socially conscious churches: the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church. Each of these churches published their own magazines, reflecting their own traditions which eventually merged into the national church.

The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* is one early example of the socially conscious evangelical magazine. Founded in 1810, the magazine was the voice of the growing Evangelical Party within the Kirk.³⁸⁴ Its first editor, Rev. Andrew Thomson, allied the magazine with his favourite causes and took an interest in Africa from the first issue. For him and his like-minded readers, abolition of the African slave trade was a shibboleth of true Christianity. A letter to the editor argued that ‘if we are Christians, . . . it is to be expected that we will rather vindicate the oppressed, than act the part of the oppressor.’³⁸⁵ Abolitionism was central to the ‘evangelical conscience’.³⁸⁶ Slavery was an impediment to conversion and so must be eliminated.³⁸⁷ According to David Bebbington, the abolition campaign brought evangelicals into politics and their social concern developed into the social gospel.³⁸⁸ Like abolitionism, the civilising mission ostensibly sought the improvement of

³⁸³ David Alan Currie, ‘The Growth of Evangelicalism in the Church of Scotland, 1793–1843’, (Ph. D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1991), 10.

³⁸⁴ David C. Lachman, ‘Thomson, Andrew Mitchell’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, eds. Nigel M. de S. Cameron, David S. Wight, David C. Lachman, and Donald E. Meek (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 819–20.

³⁸⁵ ‘A Foe to All Slavery’, letter to the editor, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, October 1816, 243.

³⁸⁶ David W. Bebbington, ‘The Evangelical Conscience’, *The Welsh Journal of Religious History* 2 (2007): 27–44.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

³⁸⁸ David W. Bebbington, ‘Evangelicalism’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, eds. Nigel M. de S. Cameron, David S. Wight, David C. Lachman, and Donald E. Meek (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 307.

African lives, raising them from their perceived savagery to accept ‘civilised’ Christian mores. Missionaries reported to the *Instructor*’s readers that African converts were leaving their wattle-and-daub huts and building stone houses as signs that their Christian conversion was leading them to a better life.³⁸⁹ After Thomson’s death in 1831, subsequent editors retained his general editorial positions. The final editor, Rev. Dr Robert Burns, paid tribute to Thomson and his causes of abolition, church extension and missions, anti-patronage, and poor relief.³⁹⁰ These principles were carried over into the more uniformly evangelical Free Church by Burns and many of the magazine’s supporters after the Disruption.³⁹¹ The *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* served as a model for future evangelical and Free Church periodicals.

Other, unofficial magazines allied with the evangelical wing of Scottish Christianity proliferated. The Church of Scotland minister Norman MacLeod founded *Good Words* in 1860. MacLeod’s social concern was apparent in the magazine, but he never advocated a complete change in the social order, believing private charity to be more efficient than public funds.³⁹² The Rev. Donald MacLeod succeeded him as editor in 1872. The younger MacLeod’s tenure saw attempts to alleviate the suffering of the poor from both public and private initiative as examples of progress toward the coming Kingdom of God.³⁹³ The task extended to Africa, where a 1905 article by John Buchan declared the mission of British

³⁸⁹ See, for example, ‘Africa’, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, September 1818, 208.

³⁹⁰ ‘Preface’, *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, new series, vol. 3, 1840, iii–iv.

³⁹¹ Many future Free Church members were among the magazine’s supporters. Benefactors of the new church donated a set of bound copies of the *Instructor*’s first 31 volumes to the library of the ‘Free Protestant Church of Scotland’ seven months after the dissenting commissioners walked out of the 1843 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In addition to the magazine’s text, the bound volumes indicate the ideological sympathies of Thomson and his associates as well as the Free Church which received them. Bound with the magazine were a tribute to Thomson by later Free Church minister Charles Watson, the sermon preached at Thomson’s funeral by the future Free Church luminary Thomas Chalmers, and a speech by Thomson delivered at the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society on 19 October 1830 (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, vol. 1, New College Library, University of Edinburgh). Other insertions include items related to patronage and abolition – topics which also appeared in the magazine (*Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, vols. 27, 28, and 29, New College Library, University of Edinburgh).

³⁹² Johnstone McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom: A Century of Tension in Scottish Social Theology, 1830–1929* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2012), 22.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 50–51.

imperialism was ‘to make out of our wide domain and heterogeneous peoples prosperous, humane, and mentally helpful nations.’³⁹⁴ Buchan, the son of a Free Church minister and himself recently returned from colonial service in the Cape Colony, would later achieve renown as a British war propagandist, imperial advocate, and novelist.³⁹⁵ His 1903 book *The African Colony* recounts his experiences in Africa.³⁹⁶ Published a year after this article, his 1906 novel *A Lodge in the Wilderness* uses the occasion of a fictitious conference on colonialism to consider the benefits of empire.³⁹⁷ While Britain had exploited the riches of the continent and would continue to do so, Buchan delivered the optimistic judgment in *Good Words* that the British mission was ‘the relief of her [Africa’s] people, making a country out of chaos and asking no reward.’³⁹⁸ In contrast, he held up the humanitarian atrocities of the Belgian Congo as an example of what not to do in the continent; Britain’s colonial administrators must be held responsible for the ‘peace and well-being’ of their African charges.³⁹⁹

The Church of Scotland struggled to produce a popular magazine under the authority of the General Assembly. A spate of magazines affiliated with the national Kirk came and went, but not until January 1879 did its signature and most enduring magazine go on sale.⁴⁰⁰ *Life and Work* was started by Rev. Archibald Hamilton Charteris, convenor of the Kirk’s Committee on Christian Life and Work. Charteris was an ardent advocate of the church’s

³⁹⁴ John Buchan, ‘The Vantage Grounds of Africa’, *Good Words*, December 1905, 42.

³⁹⁵ H. C. G. Matthew, ‘Buchan, John, first Baron Tweedsmuir (1875–1940)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/32145>.

³⁹⁶ John Buchan, *The African Colony: Studies in the Reconstruction* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1903).

³⁹⁷ John Buchan, *A Lodge in the Wilderness* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1906).

³⁹⁸ John Buchan, ‘The Vantage Grounds of Africa’, 42.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42 and 45.

⁴⁰⁰ Many of these magazines were for children and youth. There was the *Children’s Missionary Record* (1839–1848), the *Juvenile Missionary Record and Sabbath Scholar’s Magazine in Connection with the Church of Scotland* (1851–1859), and the *Sabbath Scholar’s Treasury and Juvenile Missionary Record in Connexion with the Church of Scotland* (1860–1869), which were published along the same lines as children’s missionary magazines from other churches.

social mission.⁴⁰¹ The Scotland of *Life and Work*'s first years knew much poverty and, if one is to believe the editor, a great deal of vice: prostitution, drinking, and profligate spending, to name a few. All of these were dealt with in the social ministry of the magazine's pages.⁴⁰²

Into a New Century

While the nineteenth century brought division in the Scottish churches, the twentieth century saw the Scottish Presbyterian churches move more steadily toward regaining a united Christian voice internationally as well as in Scotland. After the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church came together as the United Free Church in 1900, the UFC and the Church of Scotland joined with each other in the union of 1929. The union of the churches was a deliberate process, recognising their differences in theology and practice, over long negotiations, lasting years. The practicalities of uniting the churches' magazines received less public attention and has garnered less scholarship.⁴⁰³ This section considers the position of the twentieth-century magazines of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church, which came together in 1930. It demonstrates how the social consciousness of the Free and United Presbyterian churches was infused into the national church's magazine through the editorship of W. P. Livingstone.

The magazines of the enlarged United Free Church formed in 1900 sought to expand the church's social ministry beyond what either of its smaller constituent bodies had been able to do. Social commentary as well as home and foreign mission work were equally a part of the church's portfolio. Beginning publication in January 1901, the official *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* was jointly edited by Norman L. Walker and

⁴⁰¹ Stewart J. Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 78 (1992): 75.

⁴⁰² R. D. Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work: A Scottish View of God's World through Life and Work, 1879–1979* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1979), 22–26.

⁴⁰³ R. D. Kernohan briefly treats the union of the magazines in his history of *Life and Work* (Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 117–31).

George Robson, who had edited the respective magazines of the two churches that formed the UFC. Their ‘aim’, they wrote, was ‘to keep our readers acquainted with what the Church is doing at home and abroad’.⁴⁰⁴ From its first issue, it published news and photographs of the church’s missions in Africa and elsewhere.⁴⁰⁵ There was also space set aside for news of domestic church work in Scotland and commentary on current events and their effect on the work of the church.⁴⁰⁶ The lead article in April 1901, by Rev. George L. Carstairs, noted the increased opportunities of the united church to take part in ‘evangelistic and ameliorative operations’ in the home missions, which focused on the poor working classes.⁴⁰⁷ In 1915 the name of the magazine was changed to the *Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland* to reflect the integration of home and foreign mission in the ministry of the church.

The change in title came three years after the UFC General Assembly elected W. P. Livingstone editor of the magazine, which election would be consequential for decades. Livingstone would continue as editor of the *Record* until the union of 1929 and thereafter as editor of *Life and Work* until his retirement in 1934. During his tenure the magazines took a pronounced interest in social matters in Scotland and on the mission field. The editor demonstrated interest in the church’s missions in Africa, writing a series of popular biographies of Scottish missionaries to Africa, including those on David Livingstone (to whom he was not related) and Nyasaland missionaries Robert Laws and Alexander Hetherwick, mentioned in chapter 2.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁴ Norman L. Walker and George Robson, ‘The New “Record”’, *The Record*, January 1901, 24.

⁴⁰⁵ ‘Our Foreign Missions’, *The Record*, January 1901, 12–22.

⁴⁰⁶ ‘Our Home Work’, *The Record*, January 1901, 9–10; ‘The Outlook’, *The Record*, January 1901, 24–27.

⁴⁰⁷ George L. Carstairs, ‘The Church’s Opportunity’, *The Record*, April 1901, 151–52. Carstairs’s son would later succeed W. P. Livingstone as editor of *Life and Work* from 1935–1945.

⁴⁰⁸ W. P. Livingstone’s missionary biographies include *Mary Slessor of Calabar: Pioneer Missionary* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), *Christina Forsyth of Fingoland: The Story of the Loneliest Woman in Africa* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918), *Laws of Livingstonia: A Narrative of Missionary Adventure and Achievement* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921), *The Story of David Livingstone* (London: Livingstone Press, 1929), and *A Prince of Missionaries: The Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, C.B.E., D.D., M.A., of Blantyre, Central Africa* (London: J. Clarke, 1931).

At the time of his appointment, W. P. Livingstone's counterpart at the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* was Rev. Robert Fisher, who had been appointed editor in 1902. His appointment then, only two years after the General Assembly decided to close down the Kirk's *Home and Foreign Mission Record*, meant that Fisher was left with the unfinished task of folding its dry, functional reports of donations and subscriptions into *Life and Work* as the Kirk's only official magazine for adults.⁴⁰⁹ Fisher was given very little leeway as a committee of twenty-three readers passed judgment on each issue before it was published with the church's imprimatur.⁴¹⁰ Fisher was himself a keen advocate of reunion and at a time when the church was less inclined to exercise its prophetic voice in its efforts to bring the churches together, *Life and Work* had little to say for fear of driving away those they were trying to draw in.⁴¹¹ Hot topics, such as politics, women's suffrage, factory working conditions, and socialism were studiously avoided.⁴¹²

The war that ripped across Europe in 1914 could not be ignored, however, and Livingstone's and Fisher's responses demonstrate their very different editorial outlooks. In the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work*, there is a sense that is missing in the *UFC Record* in which the church and nation were one and that the fighting forces were not only the King's, but the Kirk's. Histories of Highland regiments at the front appeared in *Life and Work* throughout 1915.⁴¹³ The official organ of the Scottish national church declared Germans had been overcome by a perverse nationalism and an excessive pride. Britain, however, was faultless, her cause was just and war was justified.⁴¹⁴ Similar articles were absent from the *Record*. Livingstone distanced the church and even Christianity from the war. While there

⁴⁰⁹ Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 73; *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for the Year 1900* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), 1153–60.

⁴¹⁰ Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 75.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 75–76.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 82–83.

⁴¹³ Lauchlan MacLean Watt, 'Famous Highland Regiments at the Front', *Life and Work*, February 1915, 38–39; March 1915, 70–71; April 1915, 102–03; June 1915, 180–81; July 1915, 200–01; August 1915, 247–48.

⁴¹⁴ 'Reflections in Time of War', *Life and Work*, February 1915, 52.

was a connection with individuals serving from UFC congregations – using language such as ‘our soldiers’ and ‘our sailors’ – even articles by UFC chaplains on active service maintained more of a separation between their church and the King’s forces.⁴¹⁵ While Fisher lamented that Christians were fighting against each other, Livingstone was less sanguine about the religious loyalties of so-called ‘Christendom’. For him, it was not a war between Christians because underneath the veneer of Christianity was ‘a tremendous mass of paganism.’ He wondered how much blame the churches should bear, owing to their inability or unwillingness to stop the war or resolve the conditions facing the world: ‘the unredeemed millions, the racial antagonism, the appalling social evils, the cruelty, the misery and degradation that abound, the self-will, hypocrisy, and ignorance that enter so much into our lives.’⁴¹⁶

Both editors found a place for the ecumenism and internationalism that gained support throughout the war. The Great War allowed Fisher to highlight the need for unity within the world church as well as in Scotland.⁴¹⁷ A twelve-part serial in *Life and Work* told the story of two lovers, which served as an extended metaphor for Scottish church union. The young woman was raised in a Church of Scotland manse and her beau was a soldier born to a Free Church minister and his wife.⁴¹⁸ When the war was over, Fisher gave space to an article on the Student Christian Movement by Rev. Prof. George Simpson Duncan of St Andrews University and a future member of the Baillie Commission. Duncan wrote of the SCM’s ability to bring together Christians of differing denominations and unite them in the cause of building the Kingdom of God. ‘Here High Anglicans and Quakers, Church of Scotland men

⁴¹⁵ W. Ewing, ‘The Chaplain: His Work among the Troops at Home’, *The Record*, January 1915, 6–7; ‘When Our Young Men Come Home: Should the Church Make a Special Effort to Meet the Situation?’, *The Record*, June 1916, 159–61; and A. M. Sutherland, ‘Our Interned Soldiers in Switzerland: Touching Stories of their Courage and Sufferings in Germany’, *The Record*, August 1916, 206–08.

⁴¹⁶ ‘The Shame of Christendom’, *The Record*, December 1914, 521–22.

⁴¹⁷ Kernohan, *Scotland’s Life and Work*, 105, see also 100.

⁴¹⁸ William Swan, ‘The Two Manses,’ *Life and Work*, January 1917, 8–9; February 1917, 24–25; March 1917, 40–41; April 1917, 56–57; May 1917, 72–73; June 1917, 88–89; July 1917, 104–05; August 1917, 120–21; September 1917, 136–37; October 1917, 152–53; November 1917, 168–69; December 1917, 184–85.

and English Free Churchmen readily come to understand and appreciate one another; and it is the most potent factor in the country in producing that unity of spirit which prepares the way for ecclesiastical union.’⁴¹⁹ Livingstone gave a page to another future member of the Baillie Commission, Rev. David Smith Cairns, who wrote of the work of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship (WAPIF), which was part of the international Life and Work Movement.⁴²⁰ Cairns was a proponent of international and interreligious dialogue. He worked with the Young Men’s Christian Association during World War I and was a supporter of the Student Christian Movement.⁴²¹ As convenor of Commission IV at Edinburgh 1910, he was instrumental in the conference’s endorsement of fulfilment theory in relation to Christian approaches to Hinduism.⁴²² He not only commended the work of the WAPIF but encouraged Christian support of the proposed League of Nations.⁴²³ The League also found support in an article by the UFC moderator, Robert J. Drummond, in an article published in 1918.⁴²⁴

As discussed in chapter 2, a central issue in the churches’ social mission in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was poverty, to which the Church of Scotland’s and United Free Church’s magazines took different approaches. In February 1921, two years after labour demonstrators raised the communist flag over Glasgow’s George Square (see p. 79), the Kirk and the UFC jointly convened a congress to discuss the relationship between the church and the labour movement. Ministers, elders, and churchwomen addressed the congress on various topics. *Life and Work*’s coverage was matter of fact, with summaries of addresses, noting that ‘[m]any of the younger men who spoke expressed the hope that the fruits of the Congress would be conserved in some practical way.’ Maintaining the magazine’s largely

⁴¹⁹ G. S. Duncan, ‘A World-wide Christian Federation’, *Life and Work*, February 1920, 27.

⁴²⁰ David S. Cairns, ‘The Need for International Friendship’, *The Record*, November 1921, 325.

⁴²¹ Marlene Finlayson, ‘Intellectual Biography of David Smith Cairns (1862–1946)’, Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2014, 132–38, and 160–62.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 126–28 and Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 214–27.

⁴²³ Cairns, ‘The Need for International Friendship’, 325.

⁴²⁴ The Moderator [Robert J. Drummond], ‘A League of Nations,’ *The Record*, August 1918, 119.

apolitical stance, there was no mention of what those fruits were nor did the unnamed author betray any personal opinions or the position of the Kirk.⁴²⁵ The *Record*'s report of the same conference, however, left little question about the position of the author, Oliver Russell. He concluded that 'perhaps enough has been written for those who can read between the lines to show that the objects of the Congress were abundantly realized – to demonstrate that the Church is in sympathy with efforts for social reform, and to suggest lines of action which will enable the Church to help in the social and religious regeneration of the people.'⁴²⁶

Livingstone personally supported church involvement in reform and alleviating conditions for the poor. In 1924–1925, he toured central Scotland to observe conditions of the working classes and their views of the church. The series highlighted a specific region each month. The last area to be featured was Glasgow and the west, of which Livingstone wrote 'one district is the duplicate of the other; all present the same wilderness of mean streets, the same masses of desolate-looking human nature, the same variety of religious attitudes. There are small knots of people who are frankly hostile to the Church and are working against it; a large number who are indifferent, and a not insignificant proportion who are attached and loyal. Among the last one comes across the usual mild criticism, provokingly indefinite, and, when definite, generally personal.'⁴²⁷ In the end, he concluded there was a need and a duty for Christian social service.⁴²⁸ It was a conclusion he had made years before, when, during the war, he had warned the church was losing the younger generation because of its timidity in fighting for social reform.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ 'The Church Congress in Glasgow', *Life and Work*, March 1921, 35.

⁴²⁶ Oliver Russell, 'Religion, Labour, and Social Reform: Notes on the Church Congress in Glasgow', *The Record*, March 1921, 77–78.

⁴²⁷ W. P. Livingstone, 'Through the Industrial Area: VIII. Glasgow and the West', *The Record*, March 1925, 105.

⁴²⁸ W. P. Livingstone, 'The Church and the People: An Informal Survey of the Present Position', *The Record*, April 1925, 151–56.

⁴²⁹ [W. P. Livingstone], 'A Movement for Reform', *The Record*, March 1917, 47–48.

The Record and *Life and Work* had notably different characters. W. P. Livingstone's *Record* bore the marks of his years as a journalist covering the events of the world. The magazine was topical and timely. It showed the concerns of its editor and its sponsoring church, with its emphasis on disarmament, the temperance movement, and especially mission – both home and foreign.⁴³⁰ The *Record*'s social concern reflected an agreement made at the 1909 negotiations for union with the Church of Scotland. Concerned that union with the national church would restrict their freedom to speak out on social issues, it was agreed that the UFC could carry on its ministry of social criticism. The Church of Scotland would also continue to exercise its social ministry through practical social work.⁴³¹ *Life and Work* was less critical, more literary, and slower to acknowledge secular events and offered little in the way of social commentary that might be considered political.

In 1926 a new publication entered the mix which would raise a new voice for a social Christianity in Scotland. The *Scots Observer*'s first issue was published on 2 October. It was to be an independent weekly newspaper reporting news from a Christian perspective and its first issue left no doubt that the editor, William Power, saw a Christian vocation to social commentary and improvement. The front page carried articles titled 'The Church and the Slums' and 'The Church and the People: Obligations and their Fulfilment'.⁴³² The former UFC moderator and notable Old Testament scholar, George Adam Smith, contributed an article to the May issue putting forward the Old Testament prophets as a model for Christian engagement with the state for social reform.⁴³³

With the newspaper gaining a reputation for Christian social consciousness and the *Record*'s publication coming to an end with the UFC's upcoming union with the Church of

⁴³⁰ Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 120.

⁴³¹ McKay, *The Kirk and the Kingdom*, 65.

⁴³² 'The Church and the Slums', *Scots Observer*, 2 October 1926, 1 and James Brown, 'The Church and the People: Obligations and their Fulfilment', *Scots Observer*, 2 October 1926, 1–2.

⁴³³ George Adam Smith, 'The Re-Discovery of the Bible: The Prophets and Social Reform', *Scots Observer*, 4 May 1929, 12.

Scotland, W. P. Livingstone accepted the editorship of the *Scots Observer* in June 1929. One of his two associate editors was a young J. W. Stevenson, whose editorship of *Life and Work* during the early years of South African apartheid and the Central African Federation is discussed in chapters 4 and 5.⁴³⁴ However, Livingstone and Stevenson worked together for only a short time as Livingstone left the *Scots Observer* in 1930, when his appointment as co-editor of the united Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* became a sole editorship when Harry Smith, who had been the editor since 1924, retired due to ill health.⁴³⁵ Stevenson then became editor of the *Scots Observer*, carrying on the socially conscious editorial outlook of the paper. He published an article by the well-known Anglican Christian socialist R. H. Tawney in April 1930 urging Christians to take greater social responsibility.⁴³⁶ Stevenson, though, left the paper as well the following month and took up his appointment with the Forward Movement in February 1931.⁴³⁷

As editor of the combined churches' magazines, Livingstone brought with him the socially conscious editorial position of the United Free Church into the reunited national church. Under Livingstone, *Life and Work*, like many other aspects of the Kirk, was influenced by the traditions of the previously dissenting churches.⁴³⁸ The *Record*, which was both more journalistic and self-consciously mission focused, was integrated into *Life and Work*. The newly combined magazine, under the amended title of *Life and Work: The Record of the Church of Scotland*, also took on the *Record*'s missionary supplement, *Other Lands*, which Livingstone had started in 1921.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁴ *Scots Observer*, 20 June 1929, 8.

⁴³⁵ *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Convened at Edinburgh, May 20th to 29th 1930 with the Minutes of the Proceedings* (Edinburgh: Turnbull & Spears, 1930), 294.

⁴³⁶ R. H. Tawney, 'The Abdication of the Churches: Will They Bring Christ's Power Into Society?: Mild Dose of Piety Will Not Do', *Scots Observer*, 3 April 1930, 5.

⁴³⁷ 'Rev. J. W. Stevenson: The Retiring Editor', *Scots Observer*, 29 May 1930, 2; 'Forward Movement Appointments', *Life and Work*, February 1931, 65.

⁴³⁸ Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 129. Some of these traditions, in turn, began with the Relief Church (Andrew T. N. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity: The Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560–1960* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 78).

⁴³⁹ [W. P. Livingstone], 'To our Readers', *Other Lands*, January 1930, 41.

The new *Life and Work* began showing its interest in the church's social ministry almost immediately. Beginning with the same January 1930 issue in which Peter Shepherd asked 'Who among us is prepared to take up the Cain-like attitude of saying, "Am I my brother's keeper?"', the magazine ran a series of unsigned articles on different social work projects of the Kirk. Livingstone called such social ministry a 'modern evangelism', which was just as relevant in Scotland as it was in Africa.

The special need for this missionary evangelism in these new days is being urgently impressed on church and social workers. The world in the streets and lanes of our cities and villages, as well as in the wide war-devastated tracts of the Continent, and the restless lands of Africa and the East, is at a loose end, and nothing can save it from moral declension save Jesus Christ and His ideals.⁴⁴⁰

The article quoted Rev. Dr David Watson of Glasgow, saying 'We have only to read the record of our Lord's earthly life to see that His work was largely social and philanthropic.' Otherwise the church stands in danger of reproach 'because it seems to be more of a worshipping society than an agent for ameliorating social ills.'⁴⁴¹ In January, the magazine began a series of articles on the Kirk's welfare projects, beginning with Cornton Vale Farm, where working-class men and boys from Edinburgh and Glasgow who could not find work were trained to work on farms and then sent to the dominions to build new lives. Photographs show the tidy buildings (Figure 3.4) and the men and boys engaged in their work (Figure 3.5).⁴⁴² There were also articles on homes for boys, girls, working women, and the aged.⁴⁴³ Other projects included the work of George MacLeod's Govan Old Parish. There,

⁴⁴⁰ [W. P. Livingstone], 'Modern Evangelism', *The Record*, January 1924, 1.

⁴⁴¹ 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 1. – Cornton Vale Farm', *Life and Work*, January 1930, 24.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 24–27.

⁴⁴³ 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 2. – Our Lads' Homes', *Life and Work*, February 1930, 69–71; 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 3. – Work amongst Girls', *Life and Work*, March 1930, 115–18; 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 4. – Hostels for Business Girls', *Life and Work*, April 1930, 161–63; 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 5. – The Eventide Home', *Life and Work*, May 1930, 212–13; 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 6. – The Labour Homes for Men', *Life and Work*, June 1930, 256–57; 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 7. – Women's Employment Offices', *Life and Work*, July 1930, 325–26; 'The Social Ministry of the Church, No. 8. – Seaside Holiday Homes', *Life and Work*, August 1930, 361–63. The captions in these articles identify staff and dignitaries but not 'inmates', showing that 'anonymous African syndrome' is

out-of-work labourers were trained in new trades, like tailoring (Figure 3.6) and weaving (Figure 3.7).⁴⁴⁴ Photographs of these projects are reminiscent of similar training given Africans in mission-run schools (see Figure 3.13).



Figure 3.4 Buildings at Cornton Farm (*Life and Work*, January 1930, 24).



Figure 3.5 Men and boys working on Cornton Farm (*Life and Work*, January 1930, 25).



Figure 3.6 Tailoring class at Govan Old Parish (*Life and Work*, March 1934, 93).



Figure 3.7 Weaving class at Govan Old Parish (*Life and Work*, March 1934, 93).

As the Great Depression continued through the 1930s, Livingstone continued to use *Life and Work* to champion a social mission for the church. The March 1933 issue began with an article titled ‘The Church and Social Questions’. The church had ‘been forced by the pressure of circumstances to reconsider its relation to the social and economic order.’ The unnamed author (presumably Livingstone) lamented that some held on to the belief that the church’s mission was ‘purely spiritual’, to which he responded that there was ‘a growing

not necessarily strictly racist, but possibly classist as well. Also, one of the elderly residents of the church’s Eventide Home, ‘Mr. MacFarlane’ is identified. This suggests a certain respect is given to him as an elderly man rather than a child, teenager, or young adult. However, even the adult men working on the farm were not identified, perhaps because they were not old enough. The elderly pictured in the August 1930 article about seaside homes are not identified, suggesting identification is largely a matter of numbers and the ability/advisability of identifying every person in the picture.

⁴⁴⁴ ‘How It Works in Govan: The Old Parish Church and the Peace Institute’, *Life and Work*, March 1934, 92–96.

realisation of the spiritual character of all human life.’ The church had a duty, at the very least, to influence public opinion toward a change in the social order.⁴⁴⁵ It was an argument echoed by the Baillie Commission a decade later.

W. P. Livingstone’s Africa

W. P. Livingstone’s social concern was not limited to the Kingdom of God in Scotland. His fourteen years in Jamaica, where white estimation of African capacity had hardened significantly in the wake of the Morant Bay rising of 1865 and the controversy over the response of Governor Edward John Eyre, had already convinced him that only the church had the capacity to effect lasting change in the brutalised African race.⁴⁴⁶ Foreign missions were a necessary part of the broader social ministry of the church and the Kingdom project. However fraught with problematic racial assumptions, Livingstone’s views of Africa and Africans, which are apparent in church magazines and his books, demonstrate his wider social consciousness and belief in Christianity and, to a lesser extent, the Empire, as forces for change.

His immersion in the polarised racial politics of Jamaica made Africans and the peoples who descended from them a special concern for Livingstone. He wrote two books focusing on racial questions, which grew out of his experiences in Jamaica and in the Americas. Examining these two books provides a baseline for Livingstone’s racial thought at the commencement of his editorship of the United Free Church *Record*. Using the books

⁴⁴⁵ [W. P. Livingstone], ‘The Church and Social Questions’, *Life and Work*, March 1933, 89–90.

⁴⁴⁶ On the hardening of white opinion of Africans and African-descended peoples, see Douglas Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978), 178–200. Livingstone offered his own interpretation of the events surrounding the Morant Bay rising in *Black Jamaica*, in which, despite his use of phrases like ‘lower races’, he places blame for the tragedy with the Government (W. P. Livingstone, *Black Jamaica: A Study in Evolution* (London: S. Low, Marston, 1899), 58–82).

rather than the product of his editorial and journalistic pursuits provides a window into Livingstone's racial ideas.

After a decade on the island, in 1899 he published *Black Jamaica: A Study in Evolution*, describing the 'evolution' of black Africans in Jamaica to become Christianised and Westernised.⁴⁴⁷ His central thesis was that, as a race, black Africans were less advanced than other races but they could be elevated by Christian influence and education to a supposedly 'higher' level of social achievement. Recognising a common origin for all humanity, he cited a 'presumption . . . that when man, as we know him, appeared on the earth, he was a denizen of the tropics and a negro.' Livingstone seems unaware of the climatic and geographical diversity of Africa, claiming that, being in a relatively fecund climate similar to that of Jamaica, Africans had little motivation to advance, while other races, who developed from those who spread to less hospitable climates like Europe, did. Those races advanced who found themselves in temperate climates 'where the strenuous process of evolution has gone on, and is still going on, in its highest and most energetic form'.⁴⁴⁸ By the time of his writing, Livingstone concluded that '[a]s we glance back over the history of the colony [Jamaica] for the past sixty years we perceive a people gradually struggling up from a basis of barbarism to the plane of an orderly and intelligent civilization.'⁴⁴⁹

Livingstone's racial ideas were caught in tension between the racialised environment of Jamaica and the United States and his Christian humanitarianism. Possibly describing something of his own experience he wrote that after their arrival in Jamaica, white colonists eventually 'discover that colour and race are the most powerful influences regulating the destiny of the colony. Gradually assimilating the ideas of those around them, they too,

⁴⁴⁷ Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8–9.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 284.

eventually come to regard the existence of the blacks as an evil, and a problem'.⁴⁵⁰ Douglas Lorimer has shown how white ideas about race were calcifying, becoming increasingly sceptical about the potential for African advancement, instead assigning them to a perpetual childhood under the guardianship of white societies.⁴⁵¹ Nevertheless, Livingstone described a positive, if slow, progression through gradations of racial advancement. He continued to belong to the category Brian Stanley describes as 'the great majority of Anglophone evangelical philanthropy [which] continued to subscribe to the ideal of a single humanity capable of being raised by the Gospel and propelled toward a single goal of Christian civilization.'⁴⁵²

Black Jamaica contained three photographs which demonstrate Livingstone's ideas of race. Livingstone acquired the images, which he claimed 'illustrate three great stages in the history of the negro race', from James Johnston, a free-lance Scottish medical missionary in Jamaica. Inspired by the books of Robert Moffat and David Livingstone, Johnston had traversed south Central Africa from present-day Angola to the mouth of the Zambezi, taking photographs along the way.⁴⁵³ The first photograph in the book was of a group of men whom

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 165.

⁴⁵¹ Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, 147–49 and 200.

⁴⁵² Stanley, 'From "the poor heathen"', 4.

⁴⁵³ Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, viii; James Johnston, *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa: Being an Account of a Journal Across the Continent from Benguella on the West through Bishe, Ganguella, Barotse, the Kalihari Desert, Mashonaland, Manica, Gorongoza, Nyasa, the Shire Highlands, to the Mouth of the Zambesi on the East Coast* (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1893), 17. Johnston was a keen supporter of the British Empire whose stated ambition in going to Africa was 'to see for myself the actual condition of the African, that I might be the better qualified to plead his cause among English-speaking people, who have, particularly during this century, proven themselves above all other nations the pioneers of civilization, Christianity, and humane government' (17–18). However, despite his altruistic motive toward Africans, he apparently saw the usefulness of black Jamaicans in Africa as limited to manual labour and 'by such services (could their natural lack of "stick-at-it-iveness" and backbone be overcome) they might relieve the white man of manual toil, permitting him to devote his time to the translation and teaching of the native languages' (18–19).



Figure 3.8 ‘Group of Ganguellian hunters’ (*Black Jamaica*, between 16 and 17; photo credit: James Johnston).



Figure 3.9 ‘Group of Ex-slaves, Jamaica’ (*Black Jamaica*, between 92 and 93; photo credit: James Johnston).

the caption identifies as ‘Ganguellian hunters’ (Figure 3.8), who represented what Livingstone called ‘the masses’, or Africans in Africa without Western influence.⁴⁵⁴ He drew attention to their lack of Western clothing, but attributed this lack to an absence of trading opportunities rather than to any intrinsic barbarism.⁴⁵⁵ The second photograph showed ex-slaves in Jamaica (Figure 3.9). Livingstone called this group ‘a considerable proportion who have risen above the common level.’⁴⁵⁶ Their adoption of Western standards of dress



Figure 3.10 ‘Sergt. W. J. Gordon, West India Regiment’ (*Black Jamaica*, between 230 and 231).

was apparently meant to evidence their elevation above the men in the first image. Finally, Figure 3.10 shows Sergeant William James Gordon, of the West Indian Regiment, who in

⁴⁵⁴ Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 227. Johnston reached ‘Ganguella country’ 2 October 1891 and described his time amongst them favourably (Johnston, *Reality versus Romance*, 88–108).

⁴⁵⁵ Among his first impressions, Johnston noted the Ganguellians’ clothing to be ‘confined to a bit of leopard or antelope skin’ because, owing to a lack of travel or trade, ‘their supply of cloth is very, very scanty’ (Johnston, *Reality versus Romance*, 96–97).

⁴⁵⁶ Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 227.

1892 became the only Jamaican to be awarded the Victoria Cross for throwing himself in front of a bullet meant for a white officer during the Second Gambia Campaign.⁴⁵⁷ In Livingstone's view he represented 'the few [black Jamaicans] who have arrived at the highest stage of development.'⁴⁵⁸

While Livingstone credited evangelical Christian benevolence for the advancement of black Jamaicans, he was not blind to the injustices they suffered at European hands. 'It was Christianity, not civilization, that stepped in and disestablished the slave system. Civilization then and for long afterwards cared nothing for the negro. And it was the evangelical section of the Christian community which accomplished the work.'⁴⁵⁹ He accused white planters of trying to stop the missionaries' work and increasing race tensions.⁴⁶⁰ He also blamed the government for failing to educate an entire generation since the end of slavery on the island.⁴⁶¹

After moving to London, Livingstone continued publishing his ideas on race, demonstrating both his ongoing paternalistic humanitarian concern for African peoples and his belief in their evolutionary immaturity as a race. He published *The Race Conflict: A Study of Conditions in America* in 1911, the year before his appointment as editor of the *Record*. The book was based on his study 'as an outside investigator' whose work as a reporter had brought him to the United States on several occasions.⁴⁶² 'The problem involved in the relations of the white and black races', he wrote, 'is, perhaps, the most difficult which lies before the world. There is no question so important in its bearing on the happiness of millions of human beings.'⁴⁶³ He advocated a solution 'along the lines of natural law, and in

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 227; *The Gazette*, issue 26352, 9 December 1892 and 'Sergeant William Gordon', *The Star*, 6 June 2012, https://www.thestar.com/life/travel/jamaica50/2012/06/06/3_sergeant_william_gordon.html.

⁴⁵⁸ Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 227.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 56.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 77.

⁴⁶² W. P. Livingstone, *The Race Conflict: A Study of Conditions in America* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1911), 5 and [J. W. Stevenson], 'W. P. Livingstone' *Life and Work*, October 1950, 228.

⁴⁶³ W. P. Livingstone, *The Race Conflict*, 7.

accordance with the principles of justice.’⁴⁶⁴ The image of Africa created during the nineteenth century was a counterpoint to British ideas of modernity, civilisation, and morality – a ‘dark continent’ (see chapter 1).⁴⁶⁵ Though Livingstone did not accept the idea that Africans were irredeemably inferior to Europeans, he believed their lower level of advancement as a race caused the friction between the two groups. ‘The basis of a satisfactory settlement’, he believed, ‘lies in recognition of the fact that the race as a whole is still in an elementary stage of development, and therefore inferior, as a whole, in racial and social status to the whites.’⁴⁶⁶ He saw no problem with denying Africans equality, so long as they were to ‘be treated as men – as men in the making – and be granted all the rights belonging to such a position.’⁴⁶⁷ Unlike some ‘liberal’ theorists in South Africa, who advocated racial separation in the belief that Africans would never be treated fairly by whites there, Livingstone saw a necessity for continued racial interaction to facilitate a sort of cultural apprenticeship for Africans.⁴⁶⁸ Notwithstanding, he saw the inequity of the racial order in Jamaica as well as South Africa even before apartheid and showed a willingness to clash with white settler interests.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 170.

⁴⁶⁵ Tom Cunningham, ‘A Muscular Christianity: The Church of Scotland Mission, Gikuyu, and the Question of the Body in Colonial Kenya, c1906–c1938’, Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2018, 16; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 1*; V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988).

⁴⁶⁶ Livingstone, *The Race Conflict*, 172.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 173.

⁴⁶⁸ Brian Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century: A World History* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 247–48.

⁴⁶⁹ Kernohan, *Scotland’s Life and Work*, 120.

One of *Race Conflict*'s two illustrations demonstrates the impact on his racial ideas of Livingstone's time in the West Indies and the Americas and also of pseudo-scientific theory. The book's frontispiece depicted, according to the title, four 'types of American negroes' (Figure 3.11).⁴⁷⁰ The image is reminiscent of Figure 1.2 (p. 26), published in the London Missionary Society's *Missionary Sketches* in 1819. It came from the American newspaper publisher and industrialist Daniel Augustus Tompkins's

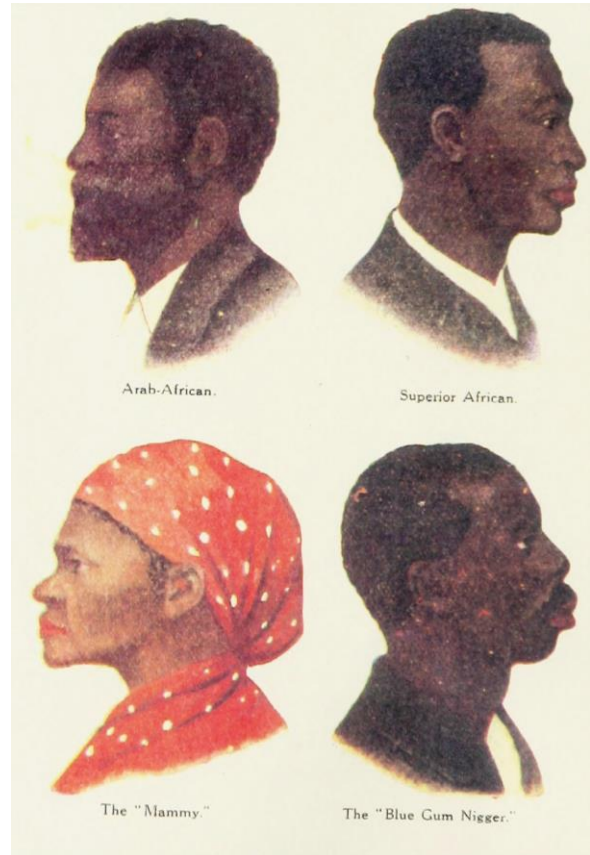


Figure 3.11 'Types of American Negroes' (*The Race Conflict*, frontispiece).

1901 book *Cotton and Cotton Oil*, which is heavily illustrated with images of machinery and livestock.⁴⁷¹ Livingstone borrowed the images as well as many of his ideas about African Americans from Tompkins. His description of different 'varieties' of African Americans and their origins through mixing with 'higher races' followed very closely those of Tompkins.⁴⁷² By the beginning of the twentieth century, the taxonomy that placed the world's peoples on a hierarchy of race was widely accepted as 'scientific' fact.⁴⁷³ Adopting Tompkins's ideas as well as those of others, Livingstone accepted at least some of the rhetoric of race in early twentieth-century America.

⁴⁷⁰ The book's other image was a map titled 'Distribution of Negroes in the United States' and showed Americans of African descent as a proportion of the population across the country (Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 187).

⁴⁷¹ Daniel Augustus Tompkins, *Cotton and Cotton Oil* (Charlotte, North Carolina: by the author, 1901). The inclusion of these four African Americans seems to imply their status as farm equipment or livestock themselves. There are no white men or women involved in the production of cotton depicted in the images.

⁴⁷² Compare Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 47–49 with Tompkins, *Cotton and Cotton Oil*, 48–49 and the captions to the unpaginated images between 48 and 49 and between 50 and 51.

⁴⁷³ Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 2.

Unlike those who would consign Africans to perpetual servitude, however, for Livingstone, the Africans' social condition meant Europeans had a special obligation to 'civilise' them and bring them out of their immaturity. 'World-wide experience', he wrote, no doubt with the Caribbean and the segregated American South in mind, 'demonstrates that their [Africans'] progress in civilisation is conditioned on contact with the higher race. For them to be isolated from its influence means stagnation and degradation.'⁴⁷⁴ 'The worst condition for men in life, as in nature,' Livingstone wrote in 1915, 'is stagnation.'⁴⁷⁵ The Christian mission in Africa was an integral part of the church's duty to build up the Kingdom of God. Livingstone saw the British Empire as a protection for Africans and African-descended peoples, which provided a safe atmosphere in which to develop, but he rejected the idea of the Empire as a civilising force in itself. He described British colonialism as 'a great empire founded and governed on principles of justice and peace' and asserted that there was in place 'a policy which regards the uplifting of the negro as an imperial duty.'⁴⁷⁶ However, he believed that 'to give responsible government to the primitive communities within the equatorial area of the Empire' 'would be the greatest mistake of all'.⁴⁷⁷ While the Empire provided stability, Livingstone denied the ability of the Crown to affect any real progress for Africans as a race. Instead, he wrote that the church was 'the main influence engaged in the work of elevating the negroes.'

The history of modern civilization in its best sense has been the history of evangelization. It is the missionary who civilizes a country. He creates the conditions that make advancement possible; he supplied the fundamental ideas and principles upon which are built loyalty and obedience and peace. It is upon these again that the State operates.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁴ Livingstone, *The Race Conflict*, 172.

⁴⁷⁵ [W. P. Livingstone], 'A Wider Outlook', *The Record*, January 1915, 1.

⁴⁷⁶ W. P. Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 123; W. P. Livingstone, *The Race Conflict*, 20.

⁴⁷⁷ W. P. Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 249.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 166.

John MacKenzie sees such racial ideas as an important part of the propaganda of empire.⁴⁷⁹ School textbooks of the early twentieth century portrayed suffering Africans, whose only hope was the benevolence of the British Empire, even if arrived at through decidedly unbenevolent means. Even war could be justified because its end would be the ‘civilisation’ of conquered peoples.⁴⁸⁰ Despite the unsavoury details, missionaries and mission supporters like Livingstone were able to see a potential to which colonialism could be ‘converted’, as Dana Robert has written.⁴⁸¹ For Livingstone only the church could give a sense of morality to the colonial project and make possible the state’s job of governing Africans in its colonies. As editor of church periodicals, he presented black Africans as juvenile and in need of the church’s intervention. In March 1925, he included in the *Record* a script for a short play intended to curry support for missions. It opens with the residents of an African village participating in a traditional witch-hunting ceremony. They are interrupted by the arrival of a missionary, wearing a pith helmet and travelling by automobile. The missionary chastises the chief, who spent two years in a mission school before leaving to take his place as chief upon the death of his father – he should know better, the missionary tells him. The chief replies that his people insisted on the ceremony and that he alone was powerless to resist. Despite their pleas for a school, they have been told that there was no money to pay for one. The missionary, however, has brought good news. He tells the chief that an unnamed benefactor in Scotland was sending money for a school and teachers. Six months later, the missionary returns and the villagers ask him to send their letter of thanks to Scotland.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁹ MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 2, 6, and 7.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 184–85 and 207.

⁴⁸¹ Dana L. Robert, ‘Introduction’, in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 4–5.

⁴⁸² ‘In African Wilds’, *The Record*, March 1925, 118–19.

The script contains highly symbolic images. The pith helmet, which is conspicuously noted in the script, is an unmistakable symbol of European domination and separation in Africa, though it was sometimes adopted by Africans with Western educations as a symbol of European inculturation and civilisation. It was worn by soldiers in conquering territory and suppressing revolt (Figure 0.1, p. 1) and explorers who feared the African sun would drive them mad. The automobile conveys the message of superior European technology. Perhaps more striking is the relationship between the chief and the missionary, who scolds him like a child. Finally, the villagers' letter of thanks betokens their newfound literacy and indebtedness to their Scottish benefactor.

The underlying condescension toward Africans made social positions supported by the domestic churches in Scotland appear paternalistic at best when applied to an African context. The temperance movement had been a major focus of evangelical Christians in Scotland since the late 1880s.⁴⁸³ When carried over into areas of Scottish concern in Africa, it acquired racially inflected undertones. Livingstone and both the church magazines he edited were strongly aligned with the domestic temperance movement, publishing articles on the evils of drink in Scotland.⁴⁸⁴ While alcohol's effects were decried in Scotland, there was little mention of race. However, in South Africa, 'where civilized, semi-civilized, and uncivilized men live all together it makes prohibitionists even of drinkers.' The temperance of Africans was argued to be a safety issue for whites. 'They have found it desirable, for the safety of white men and women, to prohibit the use of alcohol by the black.' No mention is made in the article of the negative effects of white drinking.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸³ Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1701* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 142–47.

⁴⁸⁴ Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 120. See, for example W. McAdam Eccles, 'Total Abstinence from Alcoholic Beverages: A Defence', *The Record*, February 1925, 59; Duncan MacLennan, 'The Drink Evil To-Day: Review of the Position in Scotland: A Traffic £26,000,000 Bill', *Life and Work*, February 1931, 47–49.

⁴⁸⁵ George P. Philips, 'The South African Temperance Fight', *The Record*, March 1925, 111–12.

In contradistinction to the dangers of drink and the outside world, Livingstone perpetuated the long-used symbol of the mission station as a refuge. He published an account from Nyasaland missionary Alexander Gillon MacAlpine describing a journey through his ‘parish’ of Livingstonia, in which he echoed descriptions of the ‘dark continent’ from the nineteenth century, calling the area outside the mission ‘terrifyingly dangerous’.⁴⁸⁶ MacAlpine described a large ford in a river and hinted at the ‘evil tradition’ of spirits at top and bottom: ‘The heathenism that bestrode our path that beautiful, sunny morning was too gross for your pages.’⁴⁸⁷ The untamed Africa outside the refuge of the mission was dangerous both physically and spiritually. It was also foreign. As an accomplished Chitonga linguist, MacAlpine included several words in the vernacular of the area, which further exoticised the continent for readers: marambo=the plains, ulendo=journey, and mazu=the words.⁴⁸⁸ Including local dialects interspersed with English gave the reader a sense of the foreign and was a popular device in Scottish literature from the late nineteenth century until well into the twentieth.⁴⁸⁹ In addition, by not naming the ‘Central African River’ in the article’s photograph, the editor or author perpetuates the image of Africa as an unknown blank spot on the map.⁴⁹⁰

In contrast, Livingstone described the abundance of the manicured mission gardens. After a visit to Nyasaland in 1921 he wrote of the missionaries’ transformation of the landscape and the people. His report gives the impression that without the missionaries’ know-how the Africans would starve in ‘a raw wilderness without productions of any kind save scraggy woodland and bush’. However, the missionaries had almost made for

⁴⁸⁶ A. Gillon MacAlpine, ‘Wayside Experiences in Central Africa’, *The Record*, February 1925, 68.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 68–69. MacAlpine’s papers housed at the University of Edinburgh include several boxes of materials relating to his work as a translator (Alexander Gillon MacAlpine papers (MSS 3086–MSS 3090), Centre for the Study of World Christianity, University of Edinburgh).

⁴⁸⁹ See Justin D. Livingstone, *Livingstone’s ‘Lives’: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 200–01 for how this device was used to emphasise the otherness of Scotland.

⁴⁹⁰ MacAlpine, ‘Wayside Experiences in Central Africa’, 69.

themselves a comfortable middle-class lifestyle in which they could boast that strawberries from their gardens and cream from their cows were so ubiquitous that the children complained for want of something else.⁴⁹¹ This sort of depiction follows in line with John MacKenzie’s argument that the garden was a metaphor for modernity and Brian Stanley’s that conversion of the land was an analogy for conversion of the soul. Both argue that the garden’s value lay beyond just the production of food, but in its symbolism.⁴⁹²

Livingstone’s articles on the Nyasaland mission portrayed life on the mission station to be the key to success in the civilising project. While he saw Africans as a ‘race’ to be socially immature, he was able to respect the accomplishments of individual Africans where the goal of social elevation seemed to have been realised. An earlier report from A. G. MacAlpine describes a ‘red-letter day’ in 1914, when the first African men were ordained to the ‘native pastorate’. The photograph appearing with the article shows the three ordinands

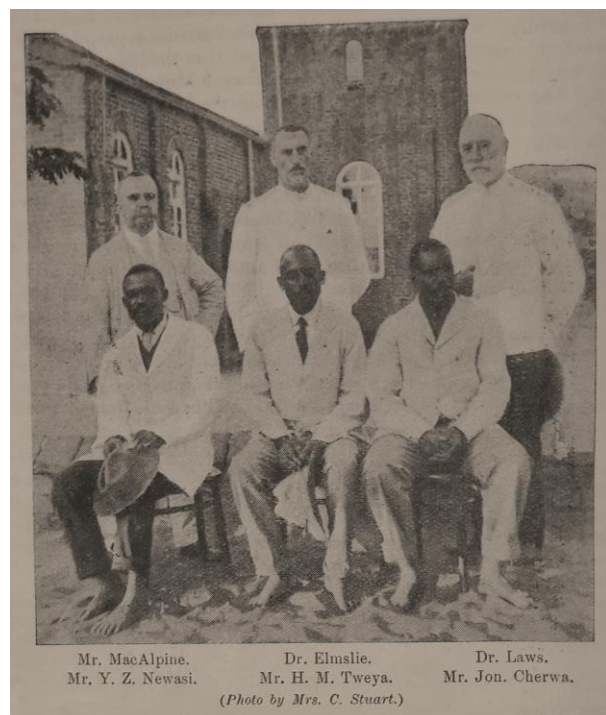


Figure 3.12 Y. Z. Mwasi, H. M. Tweya, and Jonathan Chirwa pictured at their ordination. Standing behind them are missionaries A. G. MacAlpine, W. A. Elmslie, and R. Laws (*The Record*, February 1921, 56; photo credit: Margaret McCallum Stuart). Note: Mwasi’s and Chirwa’s names are spelled incorrectly in the original caption.

seated on chairs with three white missionaries standing behind (Figure 3.12). All six men are named and dressed in Western clothing, but the black men are not wearing shoes. As noted in

⁴⁹¹ W. P. Livingstone, ‘Loudon – A Miracle: Pictures of Life on an African Station’, *The Record*, February 1921, 56.

⁴⁹² John M. MacKenzie, ‘Missionaries, Science, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century Africa’, in *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914*, ed. Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 109–10 and Brian Stanley, ‘Gardening for the Gospel: Horticulture and Mission in the Life of Robert Moffat of Kuruman’, in *Pathways and Patterns in History: Essays on Baptists, Evangelicals, and the Modern World in Honour of David Bebbington*, eds. Anthony R. Cross, Peter J. Morden and Ian M. Randall (London and Didcot: Spurgeon’s College and the Baptist Historical Society, 2015), 354–68.

previous chapters, naming both the white missionaries and the black ministers in the caption was an infrequent occurrence in mission literature. Their inclusion here perhaps demonstrates the event's importance and the distinguished place these men held in the history of mission Christianity in Nyasaland. The ordination of black Africans was seen as the pinnacle of mission efforts toward black Africans' religious and social formation. The day was hailed as 'the beginning of a new and greater epoch in the story of Christ's Coming Kingdom in Western Nyasaland' and the photograph was reproduced in at least two series of slides produced to illustrate the successes of the Livingstonia mission to audiences in Scotland and elsewhere.⁴⁹³

By the end of his editorial career, Livingstone's outlook had changed somewhat. In his editorial introduction to the June 1934 issue of *Life and Work* he wrote of the general change in attitude toward both those who had been called 'heathens' and the 'lower classes'. Gone were the days when one class or race was clearly differentiated from another. What remained – what must remain – was a sense of divine love. 'Men cannot win men except by placing themselves alongside of them as brothers, with simple friendliness, understanding, and sympathy. Self has to be crucified and prejudices sacrificed.'⁴⁹⁴ In this he agreed with the convenor of the Foreign Mission Committee, C. W. G. Taylor, who wrote in *Other Lands* earlier that year that the 'life-giving stream is flowing, enriching all who are one in Christ Jesus. Slowly it may be, yet surely, prejudices, hatreds, enmities are broken down as men and women become one in Him.'⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ Alexander Gillon MacAlpine, 'A Red-Letter Day: The First Ordinations to the Native Pastorate in Livingstonia', *The Record*, November 1914, 502–03. The caption indicates the photograph was taken by 'Mrs C Stuart', who was Margaret McCallum Stuart, the wife of missionary, Rev. Charles Stuart (John A. Lamb, ed., *The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1900–1929, Volume 2* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), 564. The slides appear in 'Elmslie of the Wild Engoni' (CSWC47/LS/1/1) and 'Laws of Livingstonia' (CSWC47/LS/1/51), Church of Scotland Slide and Visual Collection, Centre for the Study of World Christianity, University of Edinburgh).

⁴⁹⁴ [W. P. Livingstone], 'Not Servants but Friends', *Life and Work*, June 1934, 228–29.

⁴⁹⁵ C. W. G. Taylor, "'All One in Christ Jesus'", *Other Lands*, January 1934, 42–43.

By the 1930s a belief in the underlying unity of humanity was once again becoming increasingly popular in both the Anglophone scientific and Christian communities. The biological determinism of scientific racism lost credibility as the twentieth century progressed and the accepted taxonomies of race failed to hold up to scrutiny.⁴⁹⁶ Psychologists, for example, began discrediting the notion of inherently differing mental capacities between the ‘races’ in the 1920s.⁴⁹⁷ Instead, fluid differences in culture became the paramount demarcations.⁴⁹⁸ In 1924 J. H. Oldham’s book *Christianity and the Race Problem* argued that inequality was a fact but there was no way it could be indisputably attributed to race.⁴⁹⁹ The book was published by the Student Christian Movement Press, which gave it wide distribution. A second edition was published within two months. The SCM even produced a series of study guides to assist students’ group study of Oldham’s ideas.⁵⁰⁰ Oldham questioned the nineteenth-century justifications of empire, that strong nations had always conquered weaker ones.⁵⁰¹ Instead, he considered there were only two justifications for colonialism: the more efficient exploitation of natural resources and the protection and (as W. P. Livingstone had argued in his books) tutelage of less advanced peoples toward ‘a real independence.’⁵⁰² Tutelage requires the enactment of positive measures, the creation of modern infrastructure, education, the development of industry and agriculture, and the promotion of health. ‘Above all’, Oldham wrote, ‘it must aim at providing the people with capable, well trained and trustworthy leaders of their own race.’⁵⁰³

By the next year, Livingstone was willing to give voice to those in Africa who wanted leaders of their own race. There was a movement for both political as well as ecclesiastical

⁴⁹⁶ Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ J. H. Oldham, *Christianity and the Race Problem* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1924).

⁵⁰⁰ Frederick Arthur Cockin, *The Problem of Race: Being Outline Studies Based on Christianity and the Race Problem by J. H. Oldham* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1924).

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 94–95.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 97–98.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 104–05.

autonomy in Africa. The nationalism and talk of self-determination aroused by the war had penetrated the African psyche. An unsigned article printed in the *Record* called it ‘a natural and inevitable process’ that the missionaries and colonial functionaries had ‘liberated spiritual forces far greater than was realized.’ It was, however, a surprise to the missionaries, who had not considered the outcome. ‘No one stopped to inquire, “How is it going to end?”’ The same attitude characterised the civil administration of British-controlled territories. The *if* was not in question, only the *when*. ‘It has to be realized that men cannot be set free and yet held in check or kept in subjection’.⁵⁰⁴ By publishing the article in the church’s magazine, Livingstone was giving the independence movement a powerful platform within the church. Importantly, the article was printed in the *Record* rather than *Other Lands*, placing it before the general membership rather than the smaller subset of internationally minded readers who took the missionary supplement.

Livingstone’s support for the eventual independence of African churches had longstanding precedent in policy, despite a wavering history in practice. The self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating ideal had long been the goal of Christian missions in Africa and elsewhere.⁵⁰⁵ The Free Church’s Foreign Mission Committee made it official policy in 1866.⁵⁰⁶ However, Graham A. Duncan argues that after spending years establishing missions and building up congregations, some missionaries were reluctant to step aside.⁵⁰⁷ Further, Stanley sees the growing influence of social Darwinism of the 1870s and the apparent failure of Samuel Adjai Crowther’s episcopate on the Niger as significant factors in

⁵⁰⁴ ‘The New Mission Situation’, *The Record*, March 1925, 98.

⁵⁰⁵ C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-governing Church: A Study of Victorian Missionary Strategy* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1990).

⁵⁰⁶ Graham A. Duncan, ‘The Role of Mission Councils in the Scottish Mission in South Africa: 1864–1923’, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 38, no. 1 (2012): 220.

⁵⁰⁷ Graham A. Duncan, ‘From Mission to Church: The Formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa’, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 49, no. 3 (2016): 332–33.

the reluctance to transfer church governance to a native pastorate and presbytery.⁵⁰⁸ Still, the ideal remained if only reluctantly realised.

The conversionist and civilising mission was always seen as a humanitarian act by mission supporters. Tying together Christian social service on the mission field and at home in Scotland, in the April 1930 issue of *Other Lands*, Livingstone argued for both as complementary components of Christianity. There was a long-growing sense of social consciousness among missionaries, he wrote. In the beginnings of foreign missions, missionaries ‘carried a single message, and their mission was restricted to proclaiming it.’ Soon, however, ‘their work expanded and came to embrace many lines of service.’ This was as it should be, for, according to him, such a ‘broad conception of the scope of missionary work is of the essence of the Gospel. Jesus devoted Himself to social service. In the larger sense He “went about doing good,” attending to the bodies of people as well as their souls. Social service is the Gospel in action.’ Livingstone chastened the domestic church for its tardiness in accepting this idea: ‘The Home Church has not always recognized that a main element in the Gospel is social service – if it had, the world would be a different place to-day. But it is beginning to realize that the range of its service is as wide as human life. Having long pressed the claims of Christ as saviour of the individual, it is now, in addition, devoting increasing direct attention to the social aspects of the kingdom.’ The missionaries were not following in the steps of social ministries in Scotland, they were leading them. ‘The foreign missionary has turned the non-Christian world upside down. It may well be the case that the home worker, if animated by the same broad spirit, will revolutionize the spiritual and social conditions in Scotland.’⁵⁰⁹

Reports in the Church’s periodicals on missions in Africa looked much like reports on the Kirk’s social service projects in Scotland, emphasising their similarities. In language

⁵⁰⁸ Stanley, ‘From the “poor heathen”’, 4.

⁵⁰⁹ [W. P. Livingstone], ‘The Wide Scope of the Gospel’, *Other Lands*, April 1930, 81.

recalling the early efforts at social reform in Scotland, the schools at Livingstonia were described as being ‘like Sunday schools and day schools rolled into one.’ A photograph of boys learning a trade as



stone cutters (Figure 3.13) looks very much like the images of Scottish men at Govan Old Parish learning new trades (see Figures 3.6 and 3.7).⁵¹⁰ However, while Livingstone and others had rejected a biological hierarchy of race, they still held to a hierarchy of culture. Four months after rejecting terms like ‘heathen’ and ‘lower classes’, Livingstone wrote of foreign missionaries ‘imparting not only a knowledge of spiritual truths, but the practical arts of civilization.’⁵¹¹ It is clear he meant white civilisation. The year before, he printed a report from missionary W. C. Galbraith describing a programme of ‘housecraft training’ at Lovedale to teach South African girls how to keep a ‘civilised’ home.⁵¹² Esther Breitenbach has noted that working-class women and girls in Scotland were also taught a similar domestic ideal. She argued that the civilisation in question was not only white but middle class.⁵¹³ Descriptions of working-class living conditions around Glasgow were sometimes compared to Africa, and the streets, as mentioned above, were likened to a ‘wilderness’.⁵¹⁴ Scottish and African boys were recruited into the Boys Brigade and the Boy Scouts and sport was incorporated into an educational regime on the mission stations befitting the ‘muscular Christianity’ of a middle-class Scottish day school.⁵¹⁵

Figure 3.13 Men and boys learning the stone cutting trade (*Other Lands*, April 1933, 93).

⁵¹⁰ W. C. Galbraith, ‘Re-making Africans: Training in the Livingstonia Area’, *Other Lands*, April 1933, 92–93.

⁵¹¹ Livingstone, ‘How I Became Interested in Foreign Missions’, 5.

⁵¹² Galbraith, ‘Re-making Africans’, 92–93.

⁵¹³ Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 106, 111, and 116–17.

⁵¹⁴ Livingstone, ‘Through the Industrial Area: VIII. Glasgow and the West’, 105.

⁵¹⁵ Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*, 111.

W. P. Livingstone saw Africans and African-descended peoples in terms of racial and evolutionary development, and Christianity as the indispensable agent of that development. At the turn of the twentieth century, he saw Africans as less developed and therefore in need of European assistance. Although he had clearly been deeply influenced by the racial pessimism of white Jamaican society, biological determinism as such had never been a significant feature of his racial thought. He continued to believe that Africans could advance and Scottish Christians had a duty to assist them as strong as their duty to assist the disadvantaged in Scotland. He saw Africans' advancement, symbolised in such things as the ordination of black men to the native pastorate as the natural result of the missional project. By 1925 he was willing to accept and publish calls for political and ecclesial independence. In some ways, Livingstone's attitude toward Africans mirrored that of his feelings toward the poor of his own country, born of paternalist Christian social concern rather than biologically determined racial superiority. Livingstone maintained the belief that assistance to Africans and the Scottish working class must include not only evangelistic mission and social aid, but also tutelage in the middle-class Western culture he saw as the height of human civilisation.

Conclusion

By the time of his retirement in 1934, W. P. Livingstone had edited Scottish church magazines for more than twenty years. During that time he carried out the social ministry of the United Free Church's *Record*, advocating social action in Scotland and the humanitarian work of missions in Africa and elsewhere when the editors of the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* preferred to remain silent. Livingstone then infused that same concern and commentary into *Life and Work* upon his appointment as editor in 1930. He thus used the magazines as an organ of the Kingdom of God project discussed in chapter 2. His experience on both sides of the Atlantic was formative of a paternalistic Christian humanitarianism

inflected with the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment that was in tension with the influence of the racially fraught attitudes in the West Indies and the Americas. His employment of the iconography of Christian humanitarianism in both Africa and Scotland demonstrates the tension between his egalitarian ideals and the racial and class attitudes that surrounded him. In that way, he was representative of many within the larger Scottish Christian community with humanitarian inclinations who maintained connections across the black Atlantic in Africa, America, and Britain.

The Publications Committee that appointed W. P. Livingstone's successors may have intended to carry on his legacy of domestic and international humanitarian concern in *Life and Work* and *Other Lands*. He was succeeded by another Free Churchman, Rev. George Carstairs. The new editor was a former missionary in India.⁵¹⁶ R. D. Kernohan writes that he was possibly *Life and Work's* 'most internationally-minded editor', who was possessed of a 'cautious liberalism'.⁵¹⁷ The year after his appointment as editor, he printed the manifesto of the Church of Scotland Ministers' Peace Society signed by eleven ministers, two of whom would later serve on the Baillie Commission.⁵¹⁸ The same issue carried Carstairs's own strongly worded denunciation of the Abyssinian war, decrying 'the futility and stupidity and wickedness of war' but taking some hope in the work of the League of Nations.⁵¹⁹ Pacifists were a vocal minority in the Kirk and the General Assembly had already rejected J. W. Stevenson's motion to renounce war. The country entered World War II in 1939 and Carstairs may have felt the need to curtail his pacifist and other political sympathies within the magazine. Such content was perhaps among the 'wealth of material' which Stevenson, as Carstairs's immediate successor, regretted was no longer printed after the war forced a

⁵¹⁶ Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 136.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁵¹⁸ A. C. Craig, R. Dollar, O. Dryer, W. C. Hay, J. A. Hall, J. L. Kent, G. H. C. Macgregor, J. E. M'Intyre, D. C. Mitchell, J. O. Ritchie, J. O. Westwater, 'Church of Scotland Ministers' Peace Society: A Manifesto, *Life and Work*, November 1935, 446.

⁵¹⁹ 'Notes and Comments: War', *Life and Work*, November 1935, 418.

reduction of the magazine's size. The fighting lasted for half of Carstairs's tenure and could be expected to take up a good deal of the publication. However, war coverage was surprisingly scant. News, especially war news, was increasingly reported in radio broadcasts rather than a monthly church periodical.⁵²⁰ Any article on the war, then, was about a specific point the editor was trying to make, rather than up-to-date reporting. Instead of war coverage, Carstairs seemed more interested in writing prayers and meditations like that of the unnamed German pastor included in the beginning of chapter 2.⁵²¹

J. W. Stevenson was a known quantity when he came to the editorship in 1945. He had already made a name for himself as a pacifist and a social reformer. Writing about his predecessor after taking over, Stevenson lamented Carstairs's self-editing, holding back too much of himself from the magazine.⁵²² As editor of *Life and Work* at the time of W. P. Livingstone's death in 1950, it fell to Stevenson to write his obituary, which he concluded with the assessment that his predecessor: 'was, in fact, a passionate man, impatient to the degree with the lesser things in which even the Church so often rests, and aflame with the vision of the Kingdom.'⁵²³

W. P. Livingstone forms an important link between the socially conscious evangelical magazines of the nineteenth century and the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work* in the mid-twentieth century under the editorship of J. W. Stevenson. While the voice of social commentary was largely silenced within the Church of Scotland in the early twentieth century, it was maintained in the United Free Church and its *Record* magazine under Livingstone's editorship. For him, the domestic and foreign work of the church were part of the greatest humanitarian enterprise imaginable. He believed Christianity's doctrines saved

⁵²⁰ Kernohan, *Scotland's Life and Work*, 156.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁵²² J. W. Stevenson, 'Dr. George Carstairs', *Life and Work*, November 1945, 162.

⁵²³ [J. W. Stevenson], 'W. P. Livingstone', *Life and Work*, October 1950, 228.

African as well as Scottish souls from eternal torment and its culture saved bodies from temporal hell. He wrote in 1932:

For Christianity always produces a new order of society. Through the transformation of personality it transforms communities and peoples. By its influence national and racial exclusiveness and antipathy wane and disappear. . . . The missionaries of the Gospel have already done much to change the soul of the world. They have leavened whole countries with the ideals of justice and true freedom, and softened the asperities that prevail between races: they are educating all classes in the principles that make for happiness and peace.⁵²⁴

W. P. Livingstone used Christian periodicals to promote a social concern in both Scotland and Africa in similar ways. Livingstone's brand of Christian humanitarianism accepted the colonial enterprise as an overall good that was ultimately incapable of affecting the necessary elevation of African peoples to his ideal of Western Christian civilisation, a goal which could only be accomplished by the church. The remainder of this thesis further investigates the ambiguous relationship between racial consciousness and Christian humanitarianism in the context of two highly charged political situations in Africa: South African apartheid and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

⁵²⁴ [W. P. Livingstone], 'Solving the World's Problems', *Other Lands*, October 1932, 1.

Chapter Four

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PERIODICALS AND RACIAL POLITICS IN POST-WAR SOUTH AFRICA

In February 1949 the word ‘apartheid’ appeared in *Life and Work* for the first time. Robert Aitken, a medical missionary at the Kirk’s Donald Fraser Hospital at Gooldville, South Africa reminded readers of the racial tensions in the country where there were long-established Scottish connections, introduced them to the various options being presented to resolve the tensions, and placed the situation within a Christian frame of reference. South Africa’s policy, he wrote, ‘is, and always has been, “segregation,” or as the Nationalists now call it, “apartheid” (separation).’⁵²⁵ The article, which is discussed in more detail below, established an ongoing

visual and textual argument against apartheid in the Kirk’s publications. A recent article by Justin W. Taylor and Graham A. Duncan argued that there was no discernible policy toward

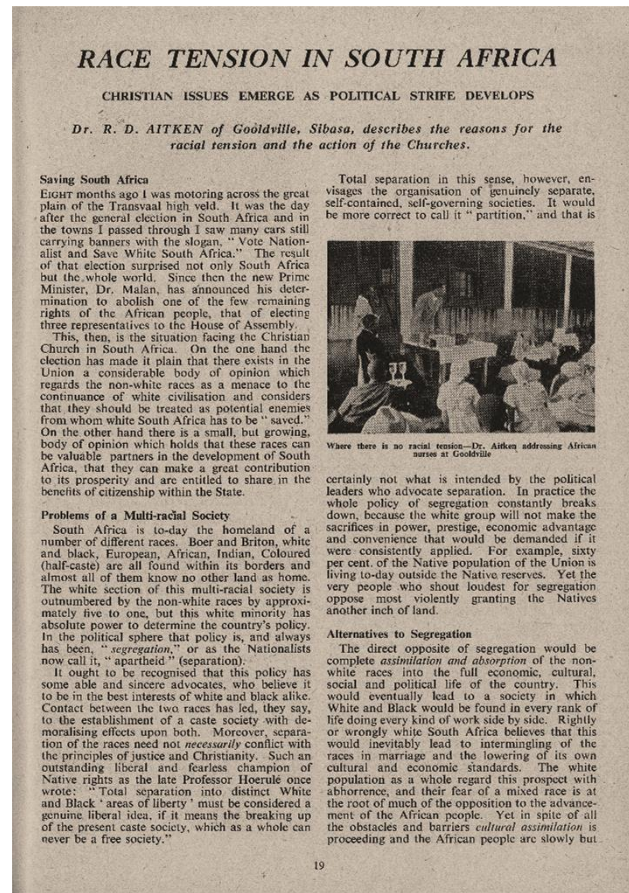


Figure 1 First page of ‘Race Tension in South Africa’ by Robert D. Aitken, including image captioned ‘Where there is no racial tension – Dr. Aitken addressing African nurses at Gooldville (*Life and Work*, February 1949, 19).

⁵²⁵ R. D. Aitken, ‘Race Tension in South Africa: Christian Issues Emerge as Political Strife Develops’, *Life and Work*, February 1949, 19.

apartheid in *Life and Work* prior to 1975.⁵²⁶ This chapter, however, argues that editor J. W. Stevenson carried on the more egalitarian, yet somewhat ambiguous, tradition of paternalistic humanitarianism in Scottish Christian periodicals toward Africa exhibited by W. P. Livingstone and others, as analysed in previous chapters. I shall show that Stevenson employed images (particularly photographs) coupled with text to critique the South African racial order in the period immediately following the Second World War and the more stringent system of apartheid as early as 1949. Stevenson portrayed the Church of Scotland's missions in contradistinction to the racial strife elsewhere in the country, declaring there was 'no colour bar here'. In addition, I argue that, amidst a range of opinion within the Church of Scotland, Stevenson allied the Kirk's magazines with the international anti-apartheid movement, portraying the campaign against apartheid as an indispensable Christian responsibility to the Kingdom of God.

Two broad categories of image emerge. Both are underlaid with a paternalistic humanitarianism that stood in ambiguous relationship with the more egalitarian strains of Scottish Presbyterian thought, but united in opposition to South Africa's racial policies. Following a century of photographic practice in Africa, the first category comprises images meant to garner support for the church's missions. These images relied on paternalistic depictions of Africans as objects of pity, transformed by missionary success in grooming them into 'civilised' Christians through the work of the missions. These success stories were possible but hampered by difficulties raised by operating within South Africa's tightening racial order. The egalitarian strain in Stevenson's humanitarianism presented South Africa's systemic racism as an obstacle to the church's Great Commission to disciple the nations – a departure from long-established conventions within mission photography in which African

⁵²⁶ Justin W. Taylor and Graham A. Duncan, 'The Life and Work of the Anti-apartheid Movement within the Church of Scotland from 1975 to 1985', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 74 no. 1, (2018): a4864, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i1.4864>.

‘savagery’ and Africa itself had often been portrayed as the chief antagonists toward missionary success. In the second category are political images, responding to events in the country and directly highlighting and criticising the injustices of apartheid. Both categories of images conscientiously rejected overt, government-sponsored racism; revealed the horrors of apartheid; and sought to prick the hearts of their audience in Scotland and elsewhere.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first looks at how photographs were used in the presentation of a critical position on race relations in South Africa before the introduction of formal apartheid. The second section examines efforts to portray Scottish mission institutions as islands of racial harmony. Finally, the third section discusses the use of photography in direct, political responses and critiques of apartheid as a Christian humanitarian issue in light of such events as the shooting at Sharpeville.

While J. W. Stevenson presented opposition to apartheid as a Christian duty, apartheid’s roots lay in South African missions. A series of evangelical revivals in the nineteenth century brought an influx of black converts into the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), which provoked some resistance from white congregants. In 1857 the DRC synod declared that, ‘because of the weakness of some’, separate institutions could be established to accommodate black and white congregations.⁵²⁷ Subsequently, a separate Dutch Reformed Mission Church was founded for coloured Christians in 1881, while black Christians evangelised by DRC missionaries remained in separate congregations within the DRC. By remaining separate, some mission theorists argued, the different churches could develop more fully according to their cultural needs. This proto-apartheid within the DRC allowed it to be both a missionary church and the *volkskerk* (people’s church) of the Afrikaner people.⁵²⁸ In the sense it was later deployed by Afrikaner nationalists, the word ‘apartheid’ (apartness) was

⁵²⁷ The ‘weakness’ referred to was the failure of white congregants to welcome black Christians into their midst.

⁵²⁸ Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers: Protestant Missionaries and the Racial Politics of South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 3.

first used in missionary circles within the Afrikaner-dominated Dutch Reformed churches as early as 1929.⁵²⁹ For the DRC minister Jan Christoffel du Plessis, apartheid was a means of self-preservation both for black Africans and white Afrikaners.⁵³⁰

Similar ideas and structures developed among mission theorists outside the DRC. The Englishman Henry Venn and the American Rufus Anderson became convinced that separation was the only way to allow indigenous leadership to develop. A prominent example of the philosophy's implementation is the Anglican Native Pastorate in Sierra Leone.⁵³¹ Despite the United Free Church of Scotland's policy of developing black leadership within the church, missionaries grew reluctant to ordain new African clergy in the 1880s and existing black ministers and congregants left to form new churches. In the attempts to reunite the churches, it was generally agreed that a single, multi-racial church was the Christian ideal.⁵³² However, differences among the missionaries emerged over an egalitarian or paternalistic emphasis to their mutual Christian humanitarianism. Egalitarians feared that paternalist and/or racist attitudes would prevent the ascendancy of black leaders within a united church and rob Africans of the opportunity to create an indigenous expression of Christianity.⁵³³ Paternalists feared that giving Africans responsibility too early was setting them up for failure.⁵³⁴ James Stewart believed white trusteeship would be necessary for the next 50 to 100 years.⁵³⁵ Opinion within the mission was thus divided between the more egalitarian supporters of segregation in the form of an independent, indigenous church and

⁵²⁹ The 'Dutch Reformed churches' in South Africa include the Nederduitse Gerformeerde Kerk (NGK), Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHK), and the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK), all of which translate to (Dutch) Reformed Church in English and provided varying degrees of support for apartheid. The NGK was by far the largest and is what is generally meant by the designation Dutch Reformed Church or DRC hereafter.

⁵³⁰ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 229.

⁵³¹ Jehu Hanciles, *Euthanasia of a Mission: African Church Autonomy in a Colonial Context* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2002). Hanciles argues that in the case of Sierra Leone, early considerations of this policy had more to do with economic necessity than ideology (14–16).

⁵³² Graham A. Duncan, 'From Mission to Church: The Formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 49, no. 3 (2016): 338.

⁵³³ D. E. Burchell, 'The Origins of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 9, no. 1 (1997): 45.

⁵³⁴ Duncan, 'From Mission to Church', 338.

⁵³⁵ Burchell, 'The Origins of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa', 44.

paternalist integrationists. Many black ministers wanted their own church in order to be free from white domination.⁵³⁶ The Bantu Presbyterian Church (BPC), governed by mostly-black presbyteries, was founded in 1923. As the new church required significant financial assistance from the UFC, mission councils of mostly white missionaries controlled both finances and missionary personnel.⁵³⁷ Even within a separate church, vestiges of white paternalism remained.

For Afrikaner mission theorists, ecclesial separation was rooted in the idea of the *eie*, or what is one's own. The *volkseie*, what is intrinsic by divine ordinance to the *volk*, or people, held particular importance for Afrikaners. Each of South Africa's black groups, such as the AmaZulu, BaSotho, and VhaVenda, had its own *eie* to be preserved as well. Separation within the church was meant to allow black and white Christians to maintain their 'character, nature and nationality', their *volkseie*.⁵³⁸ By the middle of the twentieth century a neo-Calvinism had percolated through the Dutch Reformed churches to provide theological justifications which allowed the DRC to fulfil its Christian vocation to mission while maintaining its status as a *volkskerk*. A particular reading of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, allowed Afrikaner Christians to argue for a divine mandate for the segregation of peoples.⁵³⁹ Elphick observes that this peculiar theologising may have given some comfort to pious Afrikaners who worried about Christian critiques of apartheid at home and abroad.⁵⁴⁰

Among those critical of apartheid on theological grounds was the Church of Scotland. Despite the two churches' natural affinities – both following Reformed confessions and Presbyterian polities – the Scottish Kirk's prevailing theology of the Kingdom of God, as evident in the Baillie Commission's reports discussed in chapter 2, extolled the essential unity

⁵³⁶ John de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle: 25th Anniversary Edition* (London: Student Christian Movement Press,) 2004, 44–45 and Duncan, 'From Mission to Church', 353.

⁵³⁷ Duncan, 'The Role of Mission Councils', 232.

⁵³⁸ Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: C. Hurst, 2003), 454.

⁵³⁹ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 222–57.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 257.

of humanity in contrast to the separation advocated by the DRC. The Church of Scotland's General Assembly of 1949 condemned apartheid as 'contrary to the teaching and tenets of the Christian Faith'.⁵⁴¹ While South Africa's government and the Dutch Reformed churches withdrew from the international political and ecumenical Christian communities, the Church of Scotland's social theology led it to encourage a more robust international community and human rights regime in the form of the United Nations and its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, hoping to make the Declaration a 'legally binding covenant'.⁵⁴² Elphick suggests that at the root of this disparity were the differing attitudes toward the Enlightenment, which Scotland embraced and Dutch-speaking South Africa rejected in equal measure.⁵⁴³

Following the rise of racial theory in Germany in previous decades, the language of apartheid gained political currency in South Africa in the 1940s. As a political ideology, it called for the total separation of the races to ensure the maintenance of the distinctive *volkseie* of each of South Africa's supposedly distinct racial groups. It was not merely another word for segregation, which South Africa had long practiced even before the election of 1948 that brought the Afrikaner-dominated National Party (NP) to power. The nationalist Afrikaans-language newspaper designated apartheid as 'the accepted Afrikaner viewpoint' in 1943 but it was not until the next year that party leader Daniel Francois Malan used the word for the first time in Parliament. It was also in 1944 that Malan explained that apartheid was not simply segregation but a means to 'give the various races the opportunity of uplifting themselves on the basis of what is their own' (that is, their *eie*).⁵⁴⁴ For all its altruistic trappings, however, it cannot be doubted that for many, apartheid was about white

⁵⁴¹ 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1949), 321.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 353.

⁵⁴³ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 177–78.

⁵⁴⁴ Hermann Giliomee, 'The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929–1948', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 2 (2003): 373–74.

supremacy. Richard Elphick has argued that widespread fear among Afrikaners of *gelykstelling*, or social levelling, lay behind apartheid.⁵⁴⁵ Such a thing was out of the question for some. Future prime minister Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom had no patience for those who questioned what was meant by the NP's platform of apartheid. He told Parliament

Either you are *baas* [boss], the equal, or the inferior, one of the three. If you are not baas, you must be a man's equal . . . It is so clear and logical. If you say that you do not want to dominate the Native it simply means that you stand for a policy of equality.⁵⁴⁶

Strijdom did not stand for equality. He was an ardent supporter of white 'baasskap' (boss-hood) vowing that 'the white man will shed his last drop of blood to remain master in South Africa'.⁵⁴⁷

On 26 May 1948, South Africa's voters went to the polls and gave a shocking victory to the National Party. The new government moved swiftly to put in place its programme of 'separate development', or apartheid. Notices reading 'Europeans only' were put up on trains and elsewhere. Government departments more strictly controlled black urbanisation and restricted the training and unionisation of black labour. Signalling the importance the Nationalists placed on maintaining a genetic as well as a cultural *ei*, one of the first pieces of apartheid legislation was the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, forbidding interracial marriage. Theories of biologically and theologically determined race put apartheid's proponents further at odds with the Scots missionaries who saw race as being culturally defined and evolving. The Mixed Marriages Act was facilitated the next year by the Population Registration Act requiring all South Africans to have their race officially defined and registered. That year would see the promulgation of some of the most notorious items of apartheid legislation. The Group Areas Act created separate residential areas for the different racially defined groups

⁵⁴⁵ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*.

⁵⁴⁶ Alan Paton, *Hofmeyr* (London, Toronto, and Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1964), 471.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 408 and 425.

and the Suppression of Communism Act employed a definition of communism so broad that it effectively suppressed not only the Communist Party but any group or individual calling for radical change to the country's social order. The government could essentially shut down any social movement dedicated to ending apartheid by declaring it to be 'communist'.⁵⁴⁸ By identifying anti-apartheid pressure groups with communism, the government was also able to bolster its position internationally at the beginning of the Cold War by demonising its opponents and setting itself up as a bulwark against threats to a peaceful international order.⁵⁴⁹

With anti-apartheid pressure groups proscribed, among the few organisations capable of rallying and sustaining an organised protest were the churches. The literature on Christian opposition to apartheid has tended toward highlighting the Anglican tradition. Figures like the Anglican priests Trevor Huddleston, Ambrose Reeves, and Michael Scott have become icons of the Christian anti-apartheid campaign. Huddleston's description of his ministry in Sophiatown in his book *Naught for your Comfort* became an instant classic and helped to establish a moral foundation for the anti-apartheid movement in Britain.⁵⁵⁰ Adrian Hastings notes that while these men 'represent a distinguished line of Anglican protest', they were not representative of the whole.⁵⁵¹ Even within the Anglican tradition, opinions varied on how to deal with apartheid. Michael Worsnip's history of the struggle over apartheid within the Anglican church, pits the liberal but pragmatic and cautious Archbishop of Cape Town Geoffrey Clayton against the more radical figures of Huddleston, Reeves, and Scott.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁸ Håkan Thörn defines a social movement as 'a form of collective action that ultimately aims at transforming a social order' (Håkan Thörn, *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 11).

⁵⁴⁹ Thörn, *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society*, 12.

⁵⁵⁰ Saul Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948–1994* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 52.

⁵⁵¹ Adrian Hastings, *African Christianity* (New York: Seabury, 1976), 83.

⁵⁵² Michael E. Worsnip, *Between the Two Fires: The Anglican Church and Apartheid, 1948–1957* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1991).

The churches' warnings and protests against apartheid were not confined to a few Anglicans, however. Protestants, Catholics, and African Independent Churches all had their own ways of protesting apartheid.⁵⁵³ John de Gruchy notes that all of the so-called English-speaking churches condemned apartheid to a different degree. Those with larger black memberships (Anglicans, Catholics, Congregationalists, and Methodists) spoke out more. Those with fewer black members (Baptists and Presbyterians) spoke out less. The ecumenical Christian Council of South Africa condemned apartheid at a conference in 1949.⁵⁵⁴ The Cape and Transvaal synods of the Dutch Reformed Church, as the only two DRC synods to join at the Council's founding in 1936, had already withdrawn in 1941 over a perceived preference for the English language and a fundamental disagreement over racial policy.⁵⁵⁵ Like other churches operating in South Africa, the Church of Scotland was forced to adapt to apartheid in the years after 1948. The Scottish Kirk offered an alternative within the range of options represented at one end by the Dutch Reformed churches, which provided theological justifications for apartheid, and at the other end by the radical dissent often associated with the Anglicans.

Before Apartheid

In March 1947 King George VI, his wife Elizabeth, and their two daughters toured South Africa at the invitation of Prime Minister Jan Smuts. The premier feared that a rising

⁵⁵³ Garth Abraham, *The Catholic Church and Apartheid: The Response of the Catholic Church in South Africa to the First Decade of Nationalist Rule, 1948–1957* (Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1989); Deborah Gaitskell, 'South Africa and Beyond: Seth Mokitimi and the "Kingdom without Barriers", 1939–1964', in 'Religious Biography', ed. Achim von Oppen and Silke Strickrodt, special issue, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39, no. 3 (2012): 469–90; Frederick Hale, 'Adapting to Apartheid: The Church of Sweden Mission on the Witwatersrand in the 1950s', *Journal of Church and State* 50, no. 3 (2008): 451–74; Paddy Kearney, *Guardian of the Light: Denis Hurley: Renewing the Church, Opposing Apartheid* (New York and London: Continuum, 2009); Matthew Schoffeleers, 'Ritual Healing and Political Acquiescence: The Case of the Zionist Churches in Southern Africa', *Journal of the International African Institute* 61, no. 1 (1991): 1–25.

⁵⁵⁴ John de Gruchy, 'Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English-speaking Churches under Imperialism and Apartheid', in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, ed. Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 160.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

Afrikaner nationalism represented by the National Party threatened to unseat his government and sever the country's connections to the British Crown.⁵⁵⁶ Placing the highly publicised and much photographed trip within its colonial context, Graham Viney has described the underlying tensions in which the photographs took on contested meanings as the same images were used by both the government's critics and its supporters to illustrate opposing points of view.⁵⁵⁷ The Royals' itinerary included a visit to the Lovedale Missionary Institution founded by Scottish missionaries in 1824.⁵⁵⁸ Lovedale was a citadel in the network of missionary schools and hospitals that formed part of the 'benevolent empire'.⁵⁵⁹ Welcoming the king (if not the benevolent emperor) to the mission bolstered Lovedale's status and legitimised its work. With a heavy dose of flag-waving imperialism, J. W. Stevenson used coverage of the king's visit in *Life and Work* to highlight the work of the mission and critique South Africa's treatment of its black population in three separate reports, whose text and images reveal the paternalistic humanitarianism that animated the Scottish missionary project in South Africa.

For the first of these articles, Stevenson asked missionary William A. Macartney 'to ascertain the details of the Royal Visit and to describe what the Royal Party saw'.⁵⁶⁰ In doing so, Macartney exposed not only his disapproval of the situation in South Africa but something of the missions' paternalism. Employing a long-used trope of missionary descriptions of Africa, Macartney began by describing what he called the 'drab' autumn landscape in contrast to the lush, irrigated land around the mission. He also described the distinctively Scottish architecture of Lovedale's buildings, interestingly contrasting them with

⁵⁵⁶ Hilary Sapire, 'African Loyalism and Its Discontents: The Royal Tour of South Africa, 1947', *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 1, 2011: 222.

⁵⁵⁷ Graham Viney, *The Last Hurrah: South Africa and the Royal Tour of 1947* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: John Ball, 2018), chapter 5.

⁵⁵⁸ The Church of Scotland acquired it in 1929 when the United Free Church, which had administered it since 1900, joined with the national Kirk.

⁵⁵⁹ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 3. On the Scottish contribution to education in South Africa, see John M. MacKenzie with Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 183–96.

⁵⁶⁰ W. A. Macartney, 'What the King and Queen Saw: The Visit to Lovedale – An Achievement of the Scottish Church', *Life and Work*, March 1947, 51.

the Cape Dutch style of the Afrikaners rather than the usual comparison with stereotypical wattle-and-daub African buildings. John MacKenzie notes that nineteenth-century photographs show the development of Lovedale's well-kept gardens and tidy buildings through its educational programme, which emphasised the physical labour of mission students.⁵⁶¹ Images of students at work are reminiscent of the figures of black men in the drawing of Robert Moffat's Kuruman (Figure 1.4, p. 35). One area of interest Macartney highlighted was the Lovedale Oval, which hosted the ceremony honouring the royals' visit. It was ordinarily used for rugby, football, and athletics as a part of the schools' physical training programmes.⁵⁶² The article's emphasis is on the mission itself, especially Lovedale's education and hospital work, rather than the actual visit. The lengthy process of bringing an article to press meant that Macartney's article was probably written before the event occurred. 'Lovedale', he wrote of its educational function, 'is for eight million natives a symbol of enlightenment, of training for leadership and of a Christian Africa. Lovedale for the upward-struggling native is a symbol of hope.'⁵⁶³ He singled out the Lovedale press and identified it as the most 'influential friend' of South Africa's black population 'struggling to free [themselves] from the harshness of the wrong kind of White domination'.⁵⁶⁴ Macartney's phrase 'wrong kind of White domination' implies there was, in fact, a 'right' kind, raising questions of what that might be.

⁵⁶¹ MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 110.

⁵⁶² Tom Cunningham has discussed the importance of sport to the Scottish missionary programme in Kenya (Tom Cunningham, 'A Muscular Christianity: The Church of Scotland Mission, Gikuyu, and the Question of the Body in Colonial Kenya, c1906–c1938', Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2018). MacKenzie also observes that photographs of the mission reveal the gendered nature of the physical programme at Lovedale, in which girl pupils were taught domestic arts rather than the industrial arts taught to the boys. MacKenzie considered this a 'projection' of the (middle-class) mores of missionary wives and female teachers (MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 113). These activities formed part of the general programme of creating black Scotsmen and Scotswomen (Ibid., 123).

⁵⁶³ Macartney, 'What the King and Queen Saw', 52.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 51–52. The Lovedale Press had been known to issue British imperial propaganda during the Anglo-Boer War and James Stewart insisted in the paper that whites must rule in South Africa (MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 112 and 124).

The article's accompanying photographs provide a hint of what Macartney meant. The first shows a class of black pupils under the tutelage of a black teacher outside a brick building of Western design. The South African landscape can be seen in the background (Figure 4.2). The other image shows Lovedale's main



Figure 4.2 'An out-of-doors lesson, Lovedale' (*Life and Work*, March 1947, 51).

education building with its manicured gardens (Figure 4.3). The images, however, are not from the royal visit and are reprinted from other sources, which are themselves important to understanding the images. Figure 4.2, of the teacher with her class, was used in a small booklet published by the Kirk's Foreign Mission Committee that same year, written by Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd.⁵⁶⁵ Figure 4.3, of the main building and gardens, was used repeatedly, including in a 1937 report from the mission and Shepherd's 1940 book, *Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century, 1841–1941*, both published by the Lovedale Press, of which Shepherd was director before his appointment as principal in 1942.⁵⁶⁶

Shepherd's relationship with South Africa's black population was not uncomplicated, representing a more paternalistic orientation in his Christian humanitarianism, with an ambiguous relationship to South Africa's racial order. He was born in Scotland in 1888 and ordained for foreign missionary service by the United Free Church presbytery of Dundee in 1918. In 1927 he became chaplain at Lovedale and was appointed director of publications in 1932. His poverty-stricken childhood has been credited for giving him sympathy for the

⁵⁶⁵ R. H. W. Shepherd, *South Africa: Sketches of the Fields*, no. 6, revised edition (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, 1947), frontispiece.

⁵⁶⁶ *Lovedale Missionary Institution, Report for 1937: Being the Institution's Ninety-Sixth Year* (Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1938), 1 and R. H. W. Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century, 1841–1941* (Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1940), ii.

plight of poor black South Africans.⁵⁶⁷ Others have argued that his literary tastes were largely formed from conservative authors' works given as Sunday-school prizes and later by others he read while studying at New College in Edinburgh.⁵⁶⁸

He transformed the Lovedale Press by expanding its publications to include novels and other creative works, providing an outlet for African authors, though this was somewhat constrained by Shepherd's firm editorial hand. Shepherd signed a contract to publish the black nationalist novel *Mhudi*, written by Sol T. Plaatje, the secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC).⁵⁶⁹ However, the manuscript was heavily edited to remove its more anti-imperial passages.⁵⁷⁰ As Stephen Gray put it, it was 'emasculated' in a sort of 'psychological war' between author and editor.⁵⁷¹ Shepherd's selection and editing of African manuscripts ensured they remained within his approved ideological parameters.⁵⁷² He declined, for example, to publish a biography of the Xhosa leader Rubasana by S. E. K. Mqhayi because, as he wrote, 'we cannot allow ourselves to become involved in political controversy'.⁵⁷³ 'Controversy' and 'politics', though, seem to have been subjective, applying to positions Shepherd did not share, as other political works were printed. He claimed for the mission's newspaper, the *South African Outlook*, a position '[w]ith no political bias but fearless in its comments on inter-racial affairs, it seeks to place before its readers, European and African, the latest facts concerning the inter-racial situation and to suggest measures for the advancement of all races in the land.'⁵⁷⁴ His guiding philosophy was publication for the

⁵⁶⁷ Tim White, 'The Lovedale Press during the Directorship of R. H. W. Shepherd, 1930–1955', *English in Africa* 19, no. 2 (1992): 78.

⁵⁶⁸ Henry Peter Midgley, 'Author, Ideology and Publisher: A Symbiotic Relationship', MA dissertation, Rhodes University, 1993, 84–85.

⁵⁶⁹ White, 'The Lovedale Press', 70.

⁵⁷⁰ Midgley, 'Author, Ideology and Publisher', 105.

⁵⁷¹ Stephen Gray, *Southern African Literature: An Introduction* (Cape Town: D. Philip, 1979), 177–78.

⁵⁷² Graham A. Duncan, 'Coercive Agency in Mission Education at Lovedale Missionary Institution', *HTS Theological Studies* 60, no. 3 (2004): 440–41.

⁵⁷³ R. H. W. Shepherd, letter to S. E. K. Mqhayi, April 1940, Cory Library, Grahamstown, South Africa, MS 16321; cited in Midgley, 'Author, Ideology and Publisher', 101.

⁵⁷⁴ R. H. W. Shepherd, *Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu: A Brief History and a Forecast* (Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1945), 13.

benefit of the mission, at least, not to harm it. He wrote to C. J. Uys that the Lovedale Press would ‘not publish any matter which we consider harmful to the missionary cause’.⁵⁷⁵ His advice for African authors was to restrict their topics to their own life experience and ‘racial heritage’. ‘It is through seeing life with his own eyes, plumbing the depths of his own spirit, and giving his own characteristic expression to what he sees and feels that the Bantu will best prove himself a contributor to the world’s artistic, cultural and spiritual values.’⁵⁷⁶ Such advice was characteristic of Shepherd’s paternalistic stadialism, in which he viewed black South Africans as ‘adolescent’ and missionaries and other whites as their ‘guardians and guides.’⁵⁷⁷ In it can also be heard the echo of the cultural separatism at the heart of apartheid.

Shepherd’s paternalism also took on an element of benevolent protectionism. His 1947 booklet published by the Foreign Mission Committee, in which Figure 4.2 was published previously, complicates the picture of his philosophy toward Africans. It also corroborates Macartney’s view about the ‘right’ kind of white domination and racial policy in South Africa as representative of one strain within the Church of Scotland in the years immediately preceding the advent of apartheid. Shepherd was critical of the racial order in South Africa even before the election of 1948 but claimed in 1953 that some Africans had benefitted from apartheid’s more paternalistic elements.⁵⁷⁸ His booklet noted the colour-bar, pass laws, poll tax, and restrictions on black voting and representation in Parliament.⁵⁷⁹ He was theoretically supportive of African rights but not of their right to assert them in print.⁵⁸⁰ It was he who ran the Lovedale Press Macartney identified as the Africans’ friend, simultaneously fostering and curtailing African literature and publishing as well as African

⁵⁷⁵ R. H. W. Shepherd, letter to C. J. Uys, 1 December 1933, Cory Library, Grahamstown, South Africa, MS 16398; cited in Midgley, ‘Author, Ideology and Publisher’, 102.

⁵⁷⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu*, 96.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 74–75.

⁵⁷⁸ Robert H. W. Shepherd, ‘Black and White in South Africa: How the Churches Regard Racial Policies’, *Other Lands*, October 1953, 58.

⁵⁷⁹ Shepherd, *South Africa*, 3–5.

⁵⁸⁰ Duncan, ‘Coercive Agency in Mission Education’, 978.

nationalism.⁵⁸¹ Nevertheless, despite his criticism of the racial order, he continued to portray black South Africans as primitive and superstitious.⁵⁸²

Lovedale and other mission institutions were built to guide black South Africans out of their supposed primitivity and ‘superstition’ through Western education and Christianity. It was not just the fact that these schools were built that mattered; how they were built was important too. Including



Figure 4.3 ‘Main Building, Lovedale’ (*Life and Work*, March 1947, 52).

photographs of the two buildings in Macartney’s article showed the modernity of the mission – brick and stone buildings rather than wattle-and-daub.⁵⁸³ The importance of building construction and horticulture to the symbolic meaning of missions was discussed in Chapters 1 and 3. The iconography of mission is especially apparent in Figure 4.3, in which the main educational building is shown surrounded by a well-groomed garden of distinctly African flora. The image shows the effects of modernisation (*i.e.*, Westernisation) in a clearly African context through the construction of a ‘modern’, that is Western-style, building for taming the African mind and the taming of Africa itself through Western methods of construction and gardening.

Graham Duncan describes the radical reshaping of the African landscape and African minds at Lovedale under Shepherd as a ‘brutalised form’ of what the Sufi philosopher Idries Shah called ‘coercive agency’.⁵⁸⁴ Coercive agency takes many forms. For Shah, it was the usually unnoticed influences that subconsciously shaped thought and action. ‘Thoughts,

⁵⁸¹ White, ‘The Lovedale Press’, 69–84.

⁵⁸² Shepherd, *South Africa*, 7–12.

⁵⁸³ Emphasising their Scottish architecture in contrast to the Cape Dutch vernacular was an interesting and important modification to the missionary discourse in South Africa.

⁵⁸⁴ Duncan, ‘Coercive Agency in Mission Education’, 430.

circumstances, the social milieu, a hundred and one things, can provide as powerful coercive agencies as anything that the human being can point to as a “despotism”, or “tyranny.”⁵⁸⁵ In relation to Lovedale, Duncan defines it as an educational programme in which students were taught not only academic subjects but an emphasis was also placed on character formation in which ‘students were “moulded” in such a way that the effect was difficult to reverse.’⁵⁸⁶ Such was the educational programme at Lovedale.

In addition to Christianity itself, many of the ideas presented to students at Lovedale and other missionary institutions arose from Christian strands of the Enlightenment. Reflecting the Enlightenment foundations of Scottish missionary practices going back to nineteenth-century missionaries such as Philip and Moffat, Shepherd’s presentation of Africans as primitive and superstitious implied they should be both spiritually and temporally redeemed through the educational programme at Lovedale.⁵⁸⁷ He admitted the work of the missions had been disruptive for the Africans but claimed it had been carried out in their best interests.⁵⁸⁸ For Shah, the ‘tyranny of ideas or practices is far subtler and more effective than the avowed repressive institution’.⁵⁸⁹ The empire was benevolent in that it did not enforce its rule militarily but through agencies like Lovedale that created a coercive (if ‘enlightened’) worldview in the minds of their students.

The ‘coercive agency’ of the ‘benevolent empire’ symbolised by the visit of the Royal Family was further on display for the readers of the April 1947 issue of *Other Lands*, the missionary supplement to *Life and Work*. Again, the article, titled ‘Royal Visit to Lovedale’,

⁵⁸⁵ Idries Shah, *Caravan of Dreams* (London: Quartet Books, 1973), 218–20.

⁵⁸⁶ Graham A. Duncan, ‘Coercive Agency: Lovedale Missionary Institution under Principals Arthur Wilkie and RHW Shepherd’, *Missionalia* 38, no. 3 (November 2010): 430.

⁵⁸⁷ Brian Stanley, ‘Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation’, in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 8.

⁵⁸⁸ Shepherd, *South Africa*, 12–13.

⁵⁸⁹ Shah, *Caravan of Ideas*, 219.



Figure 4.4 ‘Lovedale – Top: MacVicar Tuberculosis Hospital, built by Africans to Scottish plans, Below: A Girls’ Classroom’ (*Other Lands*, April 1947, 61)

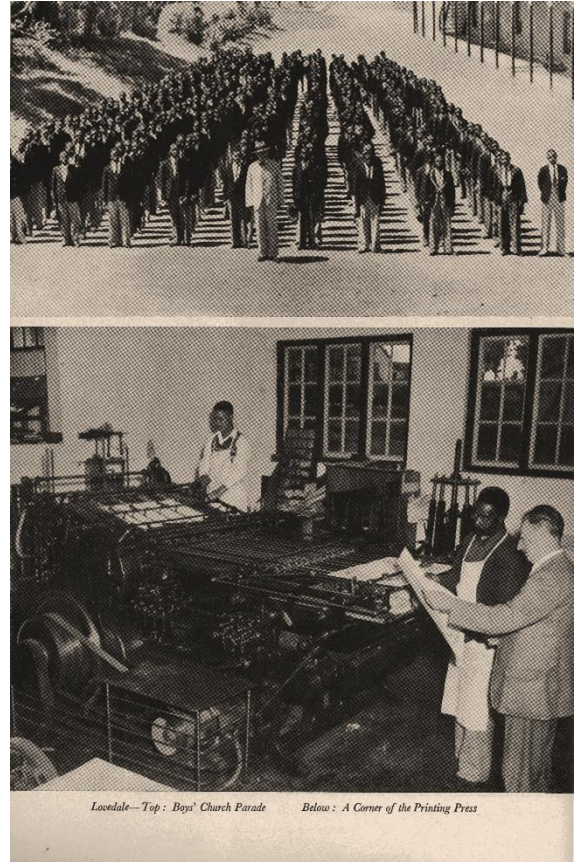


Figure 4.5 ‘Lovedale – Top: Boys’ Church Parade, Below: A Corner of the Printing Press’ (*Other Lands*, April 1947, 62)

gave little information about the actual visit and did not include any photographs of the event itself. Instead the photographs were again stock images, but although they may not have been created for this particular article, the editor’s reasons for selecting these images and their effect are both germane to the present thesis. The unnamed author (possibly Stevenson or Macartney) again called Lovedale the ‘symbol of African hopes’ and guessed ‘that Their Majesties would be tantalized by their visit’ and ‘must have suspected that here was a focal point of the native life of the future’. The author further boasted that ‘Scotland has given Africa one of its most precious gifts in Lovedale.’⁵⁹⁰ It was a rosy picture of life on the mission station.

Mission life was not always so lovely, however. Elphick calls illustrations of peaceful mission stations ‘misleading’. He writes that ‘mission stations were sites of intense struggle,

⁵⁹⁰ ‘Royal Visit to Lovedale’, *Other Lands*, April 1947, 60.

even of violence. They were not, in many respects, what missionaries had intended when they left their homelands. Rather, they were shaped in South Africa by contradictory impulses from white and African societies and by the missionaries' urgent need to control them.'⁵⁹¹ John MacKenzie calls the missions 'petty principalities in which they [the missionaries] themselves exercised significant degrees of temporal power'.⁵⁹² The reports of the Royal Family's visit, however, were not the place to discuss those issues. No mention is made of the disruption caused by student protests the year before, in which 150 male students at Lovedale rioted, breaking some 600 panes of glass.⁵⁹³ An internal investigation found that the riot was a rebellion against authority and that the students identified the white staff at the school as part of the broader racist machinery of the country. Liz Stanley has concluded that the students were motivated by frustration over the disconnect between Lovedale's liberal ideals and an increasingly authoritarian reality under Principal Shepherd after World War II.⁵⁹⁴ Instead of the riot, readers saw in Figures 4.4 and 4.5 the opposite of disorder in the girls seated at their desks and boys standing in parade formation. The place of white leadership is particularly apparent in the form of the white man, Major William Louis Geddes, at the head of the parade, as well as another white man (possibly Shepherd) looking over the work of the black printers. A photograph of a hospital 'built by Africans to Scottish plans' completes the quadriptych of mission iconography.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 21.

⁵⁹² MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 122.

⁵⁹³ Deborah Gaitskell, 'Race, Gender and Imperialism: A Century of Black Girls' Education in South Africa', in *Benefits Bestowed?: Education and British Imperialism*, ed. J. A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 166.

⁵⁹⁴ Liz Stanley, 'Protest and the Lovedale Riot of 1946: "Largely a Rebellion against Authority"?'', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 44, no. 6, 2018: 1047–48.

⁵⁹⁵ William Louis Geddes was born at Lovedale to Mr and Mrs Alexander Geddes, the boarding master and mistress, respectively. Upon his father's death, William was invited to take up his father's post as boarding master at Lovedale. A resolution by the Lovedale Governing Council describes his life's work as 'connected in one way or another with the welfare of the Bantu'. As boarding master, Geddes 'was strict, but a strictness that was touched with kindness and understanding' (Governing Council, Lovedale Missionary Institution, 'The Late Major W. L. Geddes, O.B.E., Resolution Adopted by the Governing Council in November 1941', in Lovedale Missionary Institution, *Report for 1941: Being the Institution's One Hundredth Year* (Alice, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1941), 15–18).

Presiding over this empire was King George VI, pictures of whose visit finally appeared in the Kirk's magazines in May, showing an obvious excitement among those who were there. The king is seen to address the crowd assembled at the Oval and both he and the queen inspect rows of students as



Figure 4.6 'Royal Visit to Lovedale', Top right: 'the Royal party on the platform at the Lovedale Oval', Bottom left: 'the King is seen on a tour of inspection, accompanied by the Principal, Dr. Shepherd', Bottom right: 'the Queen follows, accompanied by the Native Commissioner' (*Life and Work*, May 1947, 95).

though they were reviewing their troops (Figure 4.6). Missionary schools like Lovedale were overwhelmingly successful in producing what Deborah Gaitskell called a 'standard liberal pro-British and anti-Afrikaner stance' among their students.⁵⁹⁶ With the excitement exhibited for the royal visit in 1947, it is not difficult to see a sense of British patriotism in the administration of the mission and its school which would have been part of the ethos inculcated in the students. Although South Africa's racist legislation was enacted in the name of the monarch, British institutions symbolised by the king were sometimes seen to counter white supremacist and Afrikaner ambitions. Such may have been the hope of many black South Africans who went to see the king and his family, holding to a tradition of the Crown as a symbol of hope against the oppression of racist institutions and legislation going back to Philip, Moffat, and David Livingstone.⁵⁹⁷ An unnamed author wrote in the *South African Outlook*, published at Lovedale, that '[w]e felt we were in a new South Africa as we

⁵⁹⁶ Gaitskell, 'Race, Gender and Imperialism', 166.

⁵⁹⁷ Sapire, 'African Loyalty and Its Discontents', 216-17. See also Elphick, *Equality of Believers*, 116.

suppressed a few tears of emotional reminiscence. For a time we forgot our social sullenness and political depression. We wished the Royal Family could stay with us for good in order to continue their benign and healing influence.’⁵⁹⁸

Their visit was insufficient to heal all the ills that served as the subtext for the images published in the Kirk’s magazines. Many Afrikaner nationalists, for example, either ignored the royal visit or treated it with outright contempt.⁵⁹⁹ They had long held republican sentiments to which the royal visit was anathema. For them, the king represented repression rather than freedom. As mechanising farmers needed fewer labourers and the manufacturing and service industries needed more, young Afrikaners left the farming lives their families had known for generations to find work in towns, where English speakers dominated the commercial scene. Many of them poorly educated, Afrikaners increasingly found themselves competing for jobs with coloured, Indian, and the majority black job seekers who were flocking to the towns as well. By 1946 there were more black South Africans than whites in the country’s towns. A plethora of Afrikaner cultural and political organisations came together to mobilise Afrikaner ethnic unity and power. In this changing economic climate the National Party led by D. F. Malan capitalised on Afrikaner grudges, fears, and insecurities. They pointed to reformist measures by Jan Smuts’s United Party government regarding black trade unions, easing the pass laws, and improving social welfare and educational programmes for the black majority to raise Afrikaner fears for the end of white supremacy. Malan and his associates had learned that the cry of ‘*swart gevaar*’ (black danger) and ‘*bloedvermenging*’ (miscegenation) won elections.⁶⁰⁰ The answer to Afrikaner fears and grievances, according to Malan’s NP, lay in ‘apartheid’.

⁵⁹⁸ *South African Outlook*, 1 April 1947, quoted in Sapire, ‘African Loyalty and Its Discontents’, 231.

⁵⁹⁹ Ronald Hyam and Peter Henshaw, *The Lion and the Springbok: Britain and South Africa since the Boer War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 280–81.

⁶⁰⁰ Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948–1994*, 7–9; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 479–82.

The threat posed by apartheid to African interests concerned the Church of Scotland, raising a significant discussion at the next year's General Assembly which sheds some light on the tensions and ambiguities between the egalitarian and paternalistic orientations within Scottish Christian humanitarianism. While the General Assembly met in Edinburgh in 1948, South Africa's politicians were on the campaign trail. The Church and Nation Committee's report noted the forthcoming election would be 'watched with grave anxiety' as its effects would be felt beyond South Africa.⁶⁰¹ Nevertheless, according to the Committee, the rights of black Africans were not unqualified. Instead, the rights of citizenship had to be earned. Hinting at ideas of property ownership deriving from John Locke, the Committee claimed that the white population had 'after all, achieved much of the prosperity and development of these territories'.⁶⁰² It was 'the wise policy of His Majesty's Government to institute long-term systems of economic planning in each Colony, for, in the last resort, it is by the attainment of social and economic freedom that the African will most readily achieve his rights as a citizen.' Further, the report stated '[a]s a Christian Church, we are not unmindful that these rights find their highest and truest expression in the Christian Faith.'⁶⁰³ While this became the official position of the General Assembly, disagreement continued to arise.

Although Scottish Christians largely rejected the overt, government-sponsored racism in South Africa, some of them continued to believe there was a need for a trusteeship of whites over black Africans. For these Scots, black Africans were entitled to rights through the adoption of Euro-normative mores, often conflating them with Christianity and Western education. Thus, the paternalistic humanitarianism of Duncan's 'coercive agency' over black South Africans' Christian faith, Westernised behaviour, and even the environment, as

⁶⁰¹ 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1948), 297.

⁶⁰² John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government* (London: Whitmore & Fenn and C. Brown, 1821), Book II, section 45.

⁶⁰³ 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1948), 297.

revealed in the images J. W. Stevenson used to illustrate the reports of the royal visit to Lovedale, seems to be what is meant by the 'right' kind of white domination in the years before apartheid. Like W. P. Livingstone, Stevenson was interested in portraying the ideal of racial transformation on the missions as well as their practical success. The photographs of stone buildings, Western clothing, and well-behaved pupils respectfully standing in rows before the king and queen were all evidence of African attainment through the paternalistic humanitarianism of the Scottish missions. The missionaries had successfully transformed their pupils from black Africans into 'black Scots'.⁶⁰⁴

Islands of Racial Harmony

While the mission station had long been a symbol of refuge from the wilds of Africa, J. W. Stevenson presented the mid-twentieth-century mission station in South Africa as a refuge from apartheid and racial strife as well. Recognising that not everyone in Scotland understood the significance of what was happening in South Africa, Stevenson sought to arouse a Christian concern. This second section of the chapter addresses his efforts to draw attention to the situation in South Africa and portray the Scottish missions there as islands of racial harmony, or what Liz Stanley called 'places out of place'.⁶⁰⁵ In this way, he publicised the work of the missions and their primary purpose of evangelism while assuring their potential supporters that the Kirk's missions were set apart from South Africa's objectionable racial order.

The Aitken article was Stevenson's first volley in his campaign against apartheid in South Africa. Robert Aitken was well acquainted with South Africa's problems. He was born on St Helena in 1900, when thousands of Boer prisoners of war were held on the island. He

⁶⁰⁴ MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 123.

⁶⁰⁵ L. Stanley, 'Protest and the Lovedale Riot of 1946', 1051.

was raised in Durban and earned a DSc in botany from Natal College in 1924. The next year he left to train as a medical doctor in Edinburgh, returning in 1930. After three years at a Methodist mission in the Transkei, he arrived at the Church of Scotland's Gooldiville mission, where he founded the Donald Fraser Hospital in the northern extremity of the country. Suggesting that he knew some of his readers might not see the significance or dismiss the situation as a political rather than religious concern, Stevenson's subtitle, 'Christian issues emerge as political strife develops', seems almost self-conscious.⁶⁰⁶ Aitken, who was in Scotland on furlough, also wanted to incite Scottish concern. He wrote that 'it should be realised here in Scotland that great issues are at stake in South Africa and that our sympathy and prayers should support those Christian forces which are seeking to promote justice and fair dealing between the various races in that land.'⁶⁰⁷ He and Stevenson sought to present the Kirk's missions as places of precisely such just and fair dealing – 'godly commonwealths' in Africa, worthy of Scottish Christian admiration and funding in contrast to what was happening elsewhere in the country.

Aitken outlines the different alternatives in racial policy being proposed in South Africa and situates the Church of Scotland amongst political thinkers and other churches active there. He listed the options as apartheid (which he equated with segregation), assimilation and absorption, parallelism, and integration. He did not align himself with support for any of the positions but he does seem to have preferred parallelism as it is the only option whose origins and/or justifications he did not attribute directly to someone else. He wrote

Intermediate between segregation and assimilation are various other proposed policies, such as *parallelism*, or the development of separate, but equal, institutions for white and black races, and trusteeship, which would recognise the present backwardness of the African people and claim for the white man the position of trustee, with a duty to stimulate the development and neutralise the handicaps of the

⁶⁰⁶ Aitken, 'Race Tension in South Africa', 19.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

black man, and to make provision for the ward to grow up and the trusteeship to end.⁶⁰⁸

As an example of this option, he identified the creation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church by the United Free Church of Scotland. Creation of the BPC, he argued, was an application of parallelism rather than the segregation practiced by the Dutch Reformed Church because the BPC could theoretically unite with the Presbyterian Church of South Africa whereas the DRC's racially constituted churches could not. He noted that Anglicans and Methodists had formed separate congregations within their churches.⁶⁰⁹

Akin to parallelism was integration, which was another partial measure and was favoured by what Aitken called 'the small group of liberal and progressive thinkers in South Africa.'⁶¹⁰ In the twenty-first century, however, the idea seems hardly liberal or progressive. The so-called integration was only integration of the races into a common labour market while seeking to 'protect and develop western civilisation' through the establishment of parallel institutions and segregated residential areas. The country's non-white populations would be encouraged to assimilate culturally while remaining separate in residential locations. The cultural assimilation that would be promoted under integration, Aitken asserted, had already begun. Revealing his own stadial view of Africans, he wrote they were 'slowly but steadily discarding the standards and values of their primitive culture and adopting those of modern industrial and technical civilisation.'⁶¹¹ This model rejected the preservation of the *ei* so important to apartheid ideology and sought to make western civilisation universal. However, 'racial' differences remained. A key difference between parallelism and integration was that (confusingly) the parallelism Aitken described anticipated an end to segregation while the 'integration' of the 'liberal and progressive

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

thinkers' did not. Incorporating Enlightenment distinctions of modernity verses savagery rather than distinctions of biological race, parallelism's supporters saw the differences in South Africa's peoples as primarily social, while both those supporting apartheid and those Aitken identified as 'liberals', who supported integration, saw them as biological.⁶¹²

The message of the two photographs J. W. Stevenson printed with the article was that the Church of Scotland's missions were peaceful oases of racial cooperation as well as African advancement. The first showed Aitken standing to address a group of African nurses at Gooldville (Figure 4.1). The composition places him in front, in a clear position of power. However, he is joined at the front of the group by two black men, one standing and the other sitting, somewhat breaking usual iconographic conventions, nevertheless leaving no question of who was in charge. The image communicates a clear disparity in power, but apparently one based on gender rather than race.⁶¹³ Importantly, the caption shares a phrase with Figure 4.7 presenting the mission hospital as a place 'where there is no racial tension'.⁶¹⁴

Figure 4.7 is perhaps the more interesting and more egalitarian of the two images, showing the Scottish educationalist Alexander Kerr with the well-known black South African activist Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu. On the surface, it may seem out of place because the image was taken at the University College of Fort Hare, near Lovedale, rather than Aitken's Gooldville



Figure 4.7 'Where there is no racial tension – at Fort Hare College. Professor [D. D. T.] Jabavu (1915–1945) and Dr. Alex. Kerr (1915–1948) at the 1948 Graduation (*Life and Work*, February 1949, 20).

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ For an example of gender dynamics on the South African mission field among white Anglican women missionaries during this period, see Deborah Gaitskell, 'Gender, Power and Voice in South African Anglicanism: The Society of Women Missionaries' *Journal*, 1913–1955', *South African Historical Journal* 61, no. 2 (2009): 254–77.

⁶¹⁴ Aitken, 'Race Tension in South Africa', 19.

mission, more than 700 miles away. Fort Hare was the jewel in the crown of Scottish efforts at black education in South Africa and its location near Lovedale was significant. Its foundation was the result of pressure from a coalition including Scottish missionaries and black African nationalists, among whom were Lovedale principal James Stewart and Jabavu's father, the newspaper editor Tengo Jabavu. Kerr was its first principal.⁶¹⁵ Like the stock images used in the articles about the royal visit in 1947, the selection of this image can still illuminate what the editor was trying to communicate. The primary message is once again seen in the caption 'where there is no racial tension'.⁶¹⁶ The traditional Scottish commitment to democratic education crossing class lines in Scotland was extended to cross racial lines in Africa.

Beyond that message was what the two men in the image represented. Jabavu was well known in South Africa. The historian Margery Perham described him as 'perhaps the most famous living South African native' when she met him in 1929.⁶¹⁷ He became even more famous as the leader of the All-African Convention, a moderate protest organisation founded to campaign against the end of the franchise for qualified black voters in the Cape and racial restrictions on property ownership. The struggle led to a revival of the relationship between the mission churches and moderate black leaders.⁶¹⁸ Jabavu and Kerr were emblematic of that relationship. As principal, Kerr allowed Jabavu not only to pursue his political activities but also to use the college as a venue to speak out against the proposed legislation in October 1935 and March 1936.⁶¹⁹ It was Kerr who nominated Jabavu to receive his honorary Ph. D. from Rhodes University in 1952. When university officials initially

⁶¹⁵ MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 195–56.

⁶¹⁶ Aitken, 'Race Tension in South Africa', 20.

⁶¹⁷ Margery Perham, *African Apprenticeship: An Autobiographical Journey in Southern Africa 1929* (London: Faber, 1974), 53–54.

⁶¹⁸ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 5.

⁶¹⁹ Catherine Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality: The Public Lives of D. D. T. Jabavu of South Africa, 1885–1959* (Athens, Ohio: The Ohio University Press, 1997), 47. On the differences of opinion among Scottish missionaries on the black franchise, see Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 207–10.

declined because of the then state of the country in the midst of the Defiance Campaign that encouraged mass civil disobedience on the part of the country's black majority, Kerr argued that Jabavu was a symbol of political moderation.⁶²⁰ Jabavu's proclivity toward moderate tactics, however, lost him favour within the anti-apartheid movement and he and the All-African Convention he headed were eclipsed by the more radical African National Congress. By including the image of Jabavu in an article on apartheid, Stevenson was publicly associating the Church of Scotland with a man known for his vocal, yet moderate, advocacy of African rights and opposition to government-sponsored racism.

The presentation of Scottish institutions in South Africa as places set apart from the racial strife elsewhere continued in other articles and particularly photographs. One of these articles came from Scottish Kirk minister Peter Innes, who arrived in South Africa the month after the fateful election of May 1948. His description in *Other Lands* of his time pastoring a Presbyterian congregation in Naauwpoort (now Noupoot) begins with a description of his landing in Cape Town and his journey to his new charge. It ends with a condemnation of the colour bar in terms reminiscent of the Kingdom of God theology of the late nineteenth century. '[T]he genius of the Christian faith is that all its members are brethren, irrespective of race or colour', he wrote. 'South Africa needs the Christian Gospel, not only for its native peoples but also for its bilingual European population' – meaning both English and Afrikaans speakers.⁶²¹

⁶²⁰ Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality*, 153.

⁶²¹ Peter Innes, 'South African Contrasts: A Scot Finds Colourful Life – and Colour Bar', *Other Lands*, July 1949, 91–92.

Adjacent to this article are two seemingly unrelated images from South Africa which Stevenson seems to have appended to the article for a critical effect. The first image shows a hostel at the University College of Fort Hare, which is more than 150 miles from Naauwpoort (Figure 4.8). While it could be argued that



Figure 4.8 ‘The Hostel, Fort Hare College, where Africans find no “colour bar”’ (*Other Lands*, July 1949, 93).

including the stock image simply filled unused space in the magazine or added some interesting visual content, its caption, which reads ‘The Hostel, Fort Hare College, where Africans find no “colour bar”’ made its inclusion less innocuous.

The refrain of ‘no colour bar’ was repeated in 1955 when Stevenson used the death announcement of Scottish missionary in South Africa, Robert Kilgour, as an occasion for another photographic critique of apartheid. The article was brief – only five sentences – but Stevenson introduced the subject of apartheid into the text, noting that Kilgour had ‘guide[d] the African Church [BPC] during years of uncertainty and racial tension.’⁶²² Appended to the article were two photographs (Figure 4.9) almost wholly unrelated to Kilgour’s actual work in South Africa, having been taken at a hospital where he never worked, but which were useful for Stevenson’s anti-apartheid message. Their seeming lack of connection to Kilgour makes their inclusion all the more remarkable. The title of ‘No Colour Bar Here’ is supplemented by the caption which identifies the McCord Hospital in Durban, where the photographs were taken, as ‘typical of mission hospitals in South Africa: all races are at home.’

⁶²² ‘The Rev. R. L. Kilgour of Umtata’, *Other Lands*, May 1955, 56.

The intended message is one of racial harmony with a subtext of black competence. In the upper image, a white doctor and black nurse work together to attend to a black mother and her newborn child. The focus of the image is the patient in her bed. The white doctor and black nurse are standing to either side and race is of little consequence. The title and caption make the editor's intent clearer. Subtly, the black nurse, dressed smartly in her uniform, is the picture of capability, apparently jotting down notes about the patients' care. She is literate and skilled, likely the product of mission



Figure 4.9 'No Colour Bar Here: The McCord Hospital, Durban, is typical of mission hospitals in South Africa: all races are at home' (*Other Lands*, May 1955, 57).

education. All are unnamed, including the white doctor, making them all types of racially benevolent Christians in a Christian hospital. Below, three other women tend to children elsewhere in the hospital, also competent in their duties.

While the Church of Scotland's magazines touted the missions as havens from the brutal race tensions of apartheid, they were not places of complete racial egalitarianism. Scottish missionaries largely rejected the racial assumptions at the heart of apartheid but carried on in their own paternalism born of the persistent stadial conceptions of an evolutionary racial hierarchy, as seen in W. P. Livingstone's treatment of Africa in chapter 3.

Robert Aitken's article discussing apartheid in the February 1949 issue of *Life and Work* exuded paternalism in his attitude toward black South Africans. The same was true of an article in *Other Lands* two months later. There, the doctor wrote disparagingly of traditional medical practices of the Venda people with whom he worked. In an interesting contrast to W. P. Livingstone and A. Gillon MacAlpine's use of the Chitonga vernacular seen in chapter 3 (p. 122), here, either Stevenson or Aitken dismissively used quotation marks around English words like 'medicine', 'doctor', and 'diagnosis' in reference to their traditional equivalents. Then, using words like 'superstition' and 'witchcraft', Aitken described painful treatments for malaria, pneumonia, ear infections, and toothache, and then wrote of establishing the Donald Fraser Hospital in 1933. In 1949 the hospital was expanding and in need of more nursing staff to bring Western medical practices to the surrounding people.⁶²³ Aitken's *Other Lands* article follows classic tropes of the genre of missionary reports in church publications. He begins with a depiction of Africans as primitive, describes the work of the mission, and highlights the mission's success. This progression is then followed by a predictable appeal for monetary or other support. The two photographs from the article illustrate the before-and-after convention of missionary photography, beginning with the image of the 'Venda dancer' (Figure 4.10) and ending with a white nursing matron and black trainee nurses standing above their patients, all wearing Western clothing (Figure 4.11).

⁶²³ Robert D. Aitken, 'This is African "Medicine": The Missionary Doctor Saves Them from Fear', *Other Lands*, April 1949, 47-49.



Figure 4.10 (left) ‘Venda dancer’ (*Other Lands*, April 1949, 47) and **Figure 4.11** (above) ‘Matron, probationers, and patients, Gooldville’ (*Other Lands*, April 1949, 48).

The hospitals operated by Scottish and other missions were a crucial element in the ‘benevolent empire’ but they were not an undisputed good. Post-colonial historians question the benevolence of missionary medicine. Roy MacLeod has argued that European medicine was ‘an instrument of empire, as well as an imperializing cultural force in itself.’⁶²⁴ David Arnold has similarly argued that medicine was both a part of empire’s ideology as well as a means of accomplishing it, serving ‘as a way of winning support from a newly subject population’.⁶²⁵ These ideas have become so ingrained in post-colonial circles that by 1999 Nancy Rose Hunt could state that her study of medical missions in the Congo ‘lies at the juncture of . . . colonial violence, medical research, and bodies in Africa’ and that just as ‘medicalization became a form of colony building’ it also ‘became a medium of church building’. That colonial medicine was a source of violence against Africans serves as the

⁶²⁴ Roy MacLeod, ‘Preface’, in *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, eds. Roy MacLeod and Milton Lewis (London: Routledge, 1988), x.

⁶²⁵ David Arnold, ‘Introduction: Disease, Medicine, and Empire’, in *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, ed. David Arnold (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 16.

underlying assumption of her book rather than its argument.⁶²⁶ Megan Vaughan, on the other hand, warns against a too hasty condemnation of colonial medicine as nothing more than a tool of colonialism. It can, in fact, be beneficial to the receiving population.⁶²⁷ Spencer H. Brown concludes that in Nigeria the benefits of colonial medicine exceeded its shortcomings.⁶²⁸ Whether or not colonial medicine was good for Africans, its introduction by missionaries and colonial officials evidences a sense of superiority – that Western medicine and the culture that developed it were better, or more advanced, as can be seen in the articles published in the Kirk's magazines.

If it could be said that the Scottish missions were islands of racial harmony, it would seem they were only tidal islands, whose protection receded, leaving them vulnerable. In 1953 the National Party government introduced the Bantu Education Act, which would take the brunt of responsibility for black African education from the missions and bring it under the administration of the Union government's Department of Native Affairs. Along with the new arrangement came a curriculum of industrial education designed to produce a reliable black labour force that did not threaten white rule. Mission schools would gradually lose their state funding if they refused to hand over their operations.⁶²⁹ The Christian churches and missions active in South Africa reacted in different ways.⁶³⁰ The convenor of the Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee told the Commission of the General Assembly in November 1954 that running the schools without state support was not financially

⁶²⁶ Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 2, 9–10, 11.

⁶²⁷ Megan Vaughan, 'Healing and Curing: Issues in the Social History and Anthropology of Medicine in Africa', *Social History of Medicine* 7 (1994): 288.

⁶²⁸ Spencer H. Brown, 'A Tool of Empire: The British Medical Establishment in Lagos, 1861–1905', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 37, no. 2 (2004): 343.

⁶²⁹ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 280–81, 286–87.

⁶³⁰ For a comparison of the reactions to the Bantu Education Act from the Church of Scotland, Anglicans, Catholics, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, see Neil Overy, "'These Difficult Days": Mission Church Reactions to Bantu Education in South Africa, 1949–56', Ph. D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2002.

sustainable.⁶³¹ The Kirk was already struggling to provide adequate facilities for many of its mission schools.⁶³² Refusing to cooperate would likely result in the government commandeering the schools anyway, which would be ‘unfair to the teachers who would be thrown out of work and unfair to the Bantu themselves’. Cooperation was the best of the bad options available to them.⁶³³ In the end, the Kirk leased their school buildings to the state, retaining control of other mission buildings and functions. Congregationalists, Methodists, and the Anglican dioceses reached similar agreements, but two Anglican orders acting outside the diocesan structure chose to shut down their schools rather than turn them over to the state. The Catholics chose to eschew state support and find other sources of funding.⁶³⁴

Lovedale’s principal, R. H. W. Shepherd, and some of the other Scottish missionaries in South Africa, carved out a place for themselves at odds with Scottish opinion at home and particularly with J. W. Stevenson. The FMC pressured the missionaries to avoid collaborating with the NP government and to join with missionaries of other denominations to present a united Christian front opposed to the Bantu Education Act.⁶³⁵ In a move he may have regretted, Stevenson asked Shepherd to comment on the situation in an article that was published in *Other Lands* in October 1953. Noting that ‘[w]hile this state of affairs prevails [in South Africa,] there must be to many a thoughtful Christian twinges of conscience’, Shepherd was nevertheless ill-disposed to make any significant criticism of the NP’s racial policy. Instead, his article included several justifications of apartheid from South African church ministers.⁶³⁶ Writing in the *South African Outlook*, published by the Lovedale Press under his control, he encouraged readers to hold off prejudgement of the Bantu Education

⁶³¹ ‘Bantu Education Act: Church of Scotland’s Policy’, *Life and Work*, January 1955, 6.

⁶³² Overy, “‘These Difficult Days’”, 126–27.

⁶³³ ‘Bantu Education Act: Church of Scotland’s Policy’, *Life and Work*, January 1955, 6.

⁶³⁴ Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 288–89

⁶³⁵ Overy, “‘These Difficult Days’”, 133–39.

⁶³⁶ Shepherd, ‘Black and White in South Africa’, 58.

Act and found ‘much to commend it’.⁶³⁷ Less sanguine than Shepherd, another Scottish missionary in South Africa, Rev. Michael Bogle, wrote in *Other Lands* that the NP’s claims that the Bantu Education Act was intended to make education more efficient were misleading and that the true motivations lay in ‘Nationalist racial theory.’ He described the Act as an attack on mission education.⁶³⁸ Without mentioning Shepherd by name, an unsigned article in *Life and Work* expressed the ‘deep concern’ over the Act from churches and mission agencies in South Africa and wondered if Lovedale, which ‘has stood in the eyes of Africans for being set free, for unlimited horizons’ would ‘stand now for containment and “being kept in their place”?’⁶³⁹

J. W. Stevenson highlighted the Kirk’s mission work in South Africa as a counter to the increasingly rigid racial system there. Stevenson took the opportunity presented by articles about apartheid and even those with only tangential relevance to insert images and captions portraying the missions as places where there was ‘no colour bar’. The images not only showed the missions as places without a colour bar but places where black African capacity was cultivated. Evidence of missionary paternalism persisted and tropes of the missionary photography genre were perpetuated in Kirk publications. Paternalist concern for black South Africans, however, was not incompatible with opposition to apartheid. Rather, in the case of J. W. Stevenson, opposition to apartheid was a manifestation of that concern.

⁶³⁷ [Robert H. W. Shepherd], ‘The Bantu Education Act’, *South African Outlook*, 1 May 1954, 68–69; [Robert H. W. Shepherd], ‘The Bantu Education Act: Parliamentary Debate’, *South African Outlook*, 1 July 1954, 100–01; [Robert H. W. Shepherd], ‘Bantu Education Act: The First Syllabus’, *South African Outlook*, 1 February 1955, 18.

⁶³⁸ Michael Bogle, ‘Racial Policy in South Africa: The Bantu Education Act on Missions’, *Other Lands*, January 1955, 11–13.

⁶³⁹ “‘Containment’ of the African: The Aims of South African Policy’, *Life and Work*, December 1954, 316.

Overt Moral Censure of Apartheid

The Church of Scotland's witness against apartheid went beyond showing the way of life on its own missions as a positive alternative or criticising the government's intrusion into African education, which had been a relatively autonomous preserve of missionary influence. Early on, the Kirk levelled direct criticism of South Africa's racial policy. Following the caution expressed by the 1948 General Assembly, the next year's assembly declared apartheid to be 'contrary to the teaching and tenets of the Christian Faith'.⁶⁴⁰ J. W. Stevenson used church publications to carry on the argument that apartheid was an unchristian ideology and remind readers of the Kirk's official position. Drawing from the tradition of ecumenism and of inviting other bodies into the work of building the Kingdom of God discussed in chapter 2, his treatment of the anti-apartheid lobby portrayed it as an essentially Christian movement.

With support from the General Assembly, Stevenson had good reason to believe his position held a majority within the Church of Scotland, but opinion varied. He saw in the churches a potential 'to be the liberating force, in the Biblical sense, proclaiming the essential Christian liberty, with all its implications to those who are politically and economically bound'. He argued that the churches had to separate themselves from the actions of white governments in Africa.⁶⁴¹ Some within the church, though, while disapproving of racism in general, remained uninterested or even opposed to the position of the Assembly on apartheid and perhaps it was for them that *Life and Work* began 1950 with an article by James W. C. Dougall, the secretary to the church's Foreign Mission Committee and a former member of the Baillie Commission who had extensive experience in Africa. Kenneth Ross notes that he had been 'greatly influenced by the Student Christian Movement' and enjoyed a broad

⁶⁴⁰ 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1949), 321.

⁶⁴¹ 'A Liberating Church in Africa? The Effects of African Politics on the Church', *Other Lands*, October 1953, 49–50.

network of contacts, including a close friendship with J. H. Oldham and his wife, Mary.⁶⁴² Dougall, in turn, left a significant imprint on the foreign mission policy of the Kirk.⁶⁴³ Again, like Robert Aitken's 'Race Tension in South Africa' article in February 1949, Dougall's article appeared in *Life and Work*, signalling a desire to reach the broader church, rather than the mission enthusiasts already prone to interest in events elsewhere who read *Other Lands*. Dougall answered some of those who questioned the need for so much of the church's attention being directed toward South Africa. 'Isn't it because South African policy is an offence to the Christian conscience?' he asked. He invoked the words 'social justice' and Kingdom standards of 'truth and justice and liberty', reminding his readers that the General Assembly had condemned apartheid as unchristian and dangerous to international stability. The problem was not so much that South African society merely 'falls short of Christian ideals (every society does that)'. The problem was that apartheid was 'a doctrine of man which goes clean contrary to the Gospel'.⁶⁴⁴ It is telling that Dougall made no mention of the Church of Scotland's shared Reformed heritage with South Africa's Dutch Reformed Church. Instead, he noted the DRC's withdrawal from the Christian community in their own country and he joined with the General Assembly in rejecting apartheid as wholly unchristian, regardless of any claims to a Reformed *bona fides*.

Dougall's article appeared with a drawing of a dejected-looking African man sitting on an old suitcase in the foreground (Figure 4.12). On the other side of the picture, two white men stand conversing while a white woman walks in the background. Separating the black man from the others is a low fence with a sign emblazoned with large capital letters reading

⁶⁴² Kenneth R. Ross, 'The Legacy of James Dougall', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 32, no. 4 (2008): 206.

⁶⁴³ Kenneth R. Ross, 'James Dougall, 1896–1980: Architect of the Post-War Scottish Foreign Mission Policy', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 37 (2007): 183–206.

⁶⁴⁴ James W. C. Dougall, 'That Closed Door in South Africa', *Life and Work*, January 1950, 3–4.

‘EUROPEANS ONLY’. There is nothing in the picture that would signal any personal animosity or major difference. No one is armed or threatening violence. In many ways they are even dressed similarly. The black man wears Western-style clothing and though he has removed his coat and his hat – items that would be expected of a properly-dressed man in 1950 – he has them both. In some ways, this may have only exacerbated the

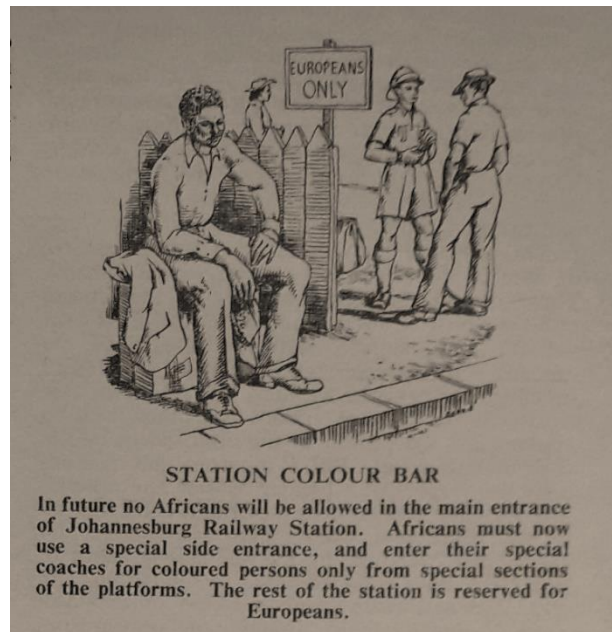


Figure 4.12 ‘Station Colour Bar’ (*Life and Work*, January 1950, 3).

problem. While missionary publications often include photographs of black Africans wearing European clothing to demonstrate the transformative power of Christianity, some European settlers saw the adoption of European manners by Africans as an affront to their assumptions of European superiority. Particularly galling to some settlers in Nyasaland was the wearing of hats by Africans.⁶⁴⁵ Dressed in European clothing, the black man here is not meant to be a stereotype of the African savage. Instead, he is a type of the anonymous, downtrodden black South African. The two white men and the woman, who are also types, appear much more stylish. All three wear hats. One of the men wears a pith helmet, which may indicate he is either a soldier or a policeman. Interestingly, while the black man is dressed for town, the white man in the pith helmet is dressed for the bush. The overall message concerning the Africans’ plight is apparent: his only offense is that he is black. Notwithstanding his apparent acceptance of Western cultural mores, he cannot change the colour of his skin and so could never be accepted as an equal in apartheid South Africa.

⁶⁴⁵ John McCracken, ‘Mungo Murray Chisuse and the Early History of Photography in Malawi’, *The Society of Malawi Journal* 61, no. 2 (2008): 11. Settler animosity to mission-educated Africans was rife in South Africa (Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 163 and 177).

The editors' caption further explains the visual indicators.

STATION COLOUR BAR

In future no Africans will be allowed in the main entrance of Johannesburg Railway Station. Africans must now use a special side entrance and enter their special coaches for coloured persons only from special sections of the platforms. The rest of the station is reserved for Europeans.

Note the editor's use of the word 'special' three times in the same sentence, calling attention to the Africans' segregated facilities.

Not only decrying regulations already in place, articles like one in the January 1951 issue of *Other Lands* spoke out against proposed legislation as well. South Africa's National Party government was determined to carry on with the country's former policies of segregation and expand them under the more systematic apartheid. The qualified franchise of coloured voters in the Cape – equivalent to that which had been taken from black voters in 1936 – became an early target for the NP government. The Rev. Dr William Cossar, who was a Scottish minister serving as a senior lecturer in Rhodes University College, began the article telling of his experience preaching in a coloured congregation. He noted that the service was in almost every way identical to the service in a Scottish parish. Yet, despite the coloured Christians' every semblance of what might be considered 'civilisation', the government was proposing to strip coloured voters of their franchise, directly opposing the statement of the Christian Council from 1949 that all who met the qualifications of higher (*i.e.*, Western) civilisation should be allowed to vote. Under apartheid, black South Africans would have their own areas where they would theoretically be able to enjoy the benefits of self-rule eventually. Coloured South Africans were given no such promise, earning them the moniker 'the step-children of South Africa'. They would be forever second class.

The government's aim was not only political – coloured voters tended to vote for the opposition United Party and could sway elections in some districts – they were also

motivated by ideas of race fundamentally at odds with the Church of Scotland's views, which were derived in part from Christian strands of the Scottish Enlightenment. The proposed law arose from what Jonathan Hyslop calls 'Hitlerian paranoid fantasies' about the demise of the Afrikaner race.⁶⁴⁶ Interior Minister T. E. Dönges told the House of Assembly that the bill introduced in 1951 was intended to 'perpetuate the white race in South Africa'. If South Africa's black population was a threat to white rule and racial purity, the coloured population was a reminder that the Afrikaner's 'racial purity' was itself a fantasy. The Dutch, French, and German migrants to South Africa who formed the bulk of Afrikaner ancestry had intermingled sexually with the native populations almost from the beginning of white settlement, giving rise to the coloured population. The lighter skinned offspring of these unions and their descendants were able to pass for white and join the white community.⁶⁴⁷ The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Amendment Act and Population Registration Act of 1950 were all passed out of fear of race mixing and hopes to limit it in future.

To illustrate the disenfranchisement of a million coloured South Africans, the editor used an image from the London Missionary Society, rekindling the association of Scottish humanitarianism with the agency that sent Philip, Moffat, David Livingstone, and other Scots missionaries to South Africa in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, the LMS's racial ideology was seen in commissioned works like Harold Copping's 'The Hope of the World', depicting Jesus at the centre of a multi-ethnic Christian utopia.⁶⁴⁸ The images

⁶⁴⁶ Jonathan Hyslop, 'White Working-class Women and the Invention of Apartheid: "Purified" Afrikaner Nationalist Agitation for Legislation Against "Mixed" Marriages, 1934–9', *The Journal of African History* 36, no. 1 (1995): 58; D. M. Scher, "'The Court of Errors' – A Study of the High Court of Parliament Crisis of 1952', *Kronos* 13 (1988): 23.

⁶⁴⁷ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 18–19. On the development of coloured identity in South Africa, see Mohamed Adhikari, 'Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in White Supremacist South Africa, 1910–1994', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, no. 3 (September 2006): 467–87.

⁶⁴⁸ Sandy Brewer, 'From Darkest England to the Hope of the World: Protestant Pedagogy and the Visual Culture of the London Missionary Society', *The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 1, no. 1 (2005): 98–123.

provided by the LMS to *Other Lands* show a small white boy in short trousers, sitting on a bench labelled in English and Afrikaans ‘EUROPEANS ONLY’/‘SLEGS BLANKES’ (only whites) and a lush landscape behind (Figure 4.13). On the facing page is an image of two black men on a similar bench reading ‘NATIVES ONLY’. Behind them is a much bleaker plain brick wall (Figure 4.14).⁶⁴⁹ There was to be no place for coloured South Africans in this racial dichotomy.



Figure 4.13 Young boy sitting on a bench designated for whites in South Africa (*Other Lands*, January 1951, 4; photo credit: London Missionary Society).



Figure 4.14 Two black men sitting on a bench designated for black South Africans (*Other Lands*, January 1951, 5; photo credit: London Missionary Society).

In addition to borrowing images from the London Missionary Society, J. W. Stevenson used his editorial powers to associate the Church of Scotland with the broader anti-apartheid movement and one of the paragons of Christian protest against apartheid, the Anglican priest Michael Scott. A photograph of Scott appeared in the August 1949 issue of *Life and Work* beside an excerpt from his statement to a magistrate’s court in Durban following his arrest for participation in a protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act in 1946. It was an appeal to the non-racial ideal of the Kingdom of God. ‘[M]y religion knows no colour bar’, he proclaimed. ‘It recognises no artificial barriers of race or class, indeed it must challenge any conception of racial inferiority, for there cannot be “Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman and freeman, but Christ is

⁶⁴⁹ William Cosser, ‘The “Bar” on the Coloureds: The Step-children of South Africa’, *Other Lands*, January 1951, 3–6.

all in all.”⁶⁵⁰ Scott was again arrested and declared that the condition of black South Africans ‘constitutes a challenge not only to the state but the Church as well.’ According to the author, David D. Carmichael of the Colonial Office, Scott represented ‘the vanguard of Christian witness in South Africa and deserves our prayers and our sympathy.’⁶⁵¹

Scott’s image, including his ministerial collar, returned to the pages of *Life and Work* in January 1959, when Kenneth Mackenzie reviewed his book, *A Time to Speak* (Figure 4.15). Scott was well known by then for his anti-apartheid activism and his picture would have turned the reader’s attention to the article, which spoke favourably of the Anglican priest. Picturing Scott in his collar, as he usually was, identified him not only as an activist but a Christian activist. The book, according to Mackenzie, was ‘about the struggle between

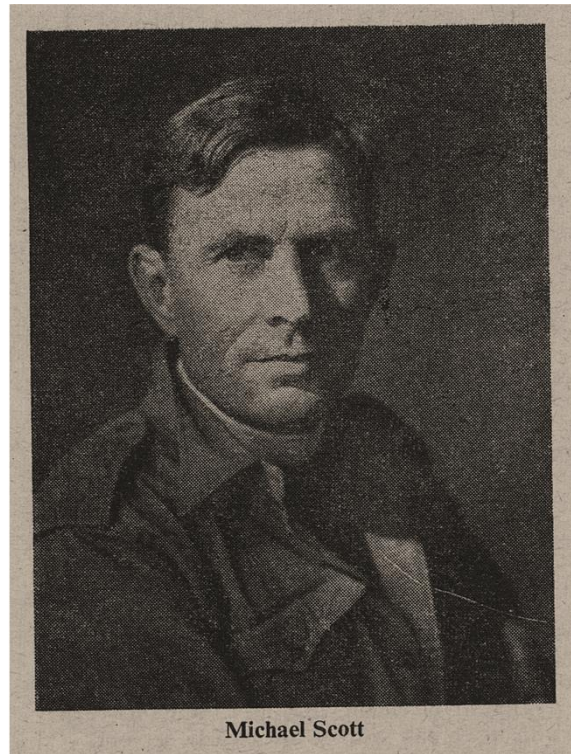


Figure 4.15 ‘Michael Scott’ (*Life and Work*, January 1959, 59).

two kinds of Christianity’ – that represented by Scott versus what Scott called ‘the religion which was the divine sanction of the status quo’. Mackenzie concluded

It [the book] is about the impact of non-violent people on tyranny. It is about the uphill journey towards inter-racial fellowship. It is a call to the Church not to be content ‘with defining attitudes, preaching sermons and framing resolutions.’ It is about the vision of the City of God wherein dwelleth righteousness. Why then do we in Scotland so often dissipate our great resources on lesser things and narrower causes?⁶⁵²

⁶⁵⁰ Scott is quoting from 1 Corinthians 3:11.

⁶⁵¹ David D. Carmichael, ‘He Made Himself One of Them: How One Man Raised the Racial Issue in South Africa’, *Life and Work*, August 1949, 128–29.

⁶⁵² Kenneth Mackenzie, ‘Voice of the Voiceless: Michael Scott and the “Liberation War”’, *Life and Work*, January 1959, 9–10.

Mackenzie presented Scott as an inspiration to Scottish Christians to take a stand against apartheid.

As the years passed and apartheid's effects became more apparent, opposition became more pronounced, more international, and more organised. On 5 December 1956 South African police arrested 140 anti-apartheid activists under the guise of the Suppression of Communism Act. In all, 156 defendants stood charged in what came to be called the Treason Trial, which lasted more than four years, concluding with a decision of not guilty, pronounced on 29 March 1961. As the trial dragged on, readers of the Kirk's publications were made aware of it and were not allowed to forget. The March 1957 issue of *Life and Work* reported that Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, a graduate of Lovedale and acting principal of the nearby University College at Fort Hare, was among the defendants.⁶⁵³

Matthews had taken over as head of the African studies department upon the retirement of D. D. T. Jabavu. Like his predecessor, Matthews was active in opposing South Africa's racist laws but was more radical, joining the African National Congress rather than Jabavu's more moderate All-African Convention. At the time of his arrest in 1956, Matthews was provincial president of the ANC for the Cape. In November 1957, a short article in *Life and Work* chided readers: 'Our memories of news are short.' It reminded them of the trial and that one of the defendants (Matthews) had been acting principal of Fort Hare, though it did not name him. The defendants were not rabble or 'savages' but 'distinguished scholars and administrators', the best fruits of missionary education. Stevenson was openly, but cautiously, associating the Kirk with Matthews and the more radical anti-apartheid struggle. The Foreign Mission Committee had endorsed the Scottish Council for African Questions's fund for assisting the defendants.⁶⁵⁴ Anglican Canon John Collins of St Paul's Cathedral, London set up the Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa to pay legal expenses and

⁶⁵³ 'University College Principal Arrested', *Life and Work*, March 1957, 65.

⁶⁵⁴ 'South African Trials', *Life and Work*, November 1957, 276.

support the defendants' families. Appeals for the fund appeared in the Church of Scotland's *British Weekly* newspaper above the names of Collins, Scott, Huddleston, and future moderator of the Church of Scotland's General Assembly George MacLeod. Other signatories included more Anglican priests, Methodist clerics, artists, scientists, and MPs, including future UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson.⁶⁵⁵ In addition, readers were informed, the Scottish Kirk had itself committed to civil disobedience to apartheid legislation, stating it would not abide by the regulations of the so-called 'church clause' in the Native Laws Amendment Act giving power to the Minister of Native Affairs to decide whether black South Africans could attend church services in designated white areas.⁶⁵⁶

Life and Work's coverage of the tragic outcome of the 21 March 1960 protest against the pass laws that regulated black South Africans' presence in white areas exposed the horror that many felt around the world. The newly formed Pan-African Congress (PAC) staged a protest against the pass laws, encouraging black South Africans to present themselves for arrest at the country's police stations without their passes. Hundreds of residents in the township of Sharpeville, thirty miles south of Johannesburg, gathered around the police station. Tensions mounted throughout the day as the numbers of both police and protesters grew. Shots were fired around one o'clock and in less than a minute, police fired more than 700 rounds, killing 67 protestors and injuring more than 180. At least 150 rounds were fired into the backs of their victims as they fled. International condemnation was swift. The *British Weekly* called it a 'massacre' and *Life and Work* published Figure 4.16 in an article titled 'South Africa Past the Cross-Roads'. The armed policeman and armoured vehicles pictured represent the South African government's response to a situation in which, at worst,

⁶⁵⁵ 'The Tragedy of Apartheid', *British Weekly*, 7 May 1959, 7.

⁶⁵⁶ 'South African Apartheid Law for the Church', *Life and Work*, October 1957, 244.

protesters were reported to have thrown stones at the officers. Next to the image was written ‘If ever the phrase “sowing the wind and reaping the whirlwind” were true it is being demonstrated in South Africa today.’

The title was a reference to a report commissioned by the South African

government on the feasibility of its plans for the total separation of the races. The

Tomlinson Commission, as it was called, wrote in 1954 that ‘[t]his, indeed, is the crossroads to which the people of South Africa have come; a clear-cut and definite choice is inevitable...the only solution is the separate development of European and Bantu.’ The unnamed author of *Life and Work*’s report ridiculed the argument that apartheid was meant to improve conditions for black South Africans and argued no one could rationally believe that the government had black interests in mind for the future when the present was ‘accompanied by so much plain human contempt on the part of many Europeans.’⁶⁵⁷

South Africa was indeed at a crossroads. Elsewhere in Africa, independence and decolonisation were accelerating and gaining international support. The previous month, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan addressed South Africa’s parliament declaring that a ‘wind of change is blowing through the continent’. He avoided direct mention of apartheid but told his audience that the United Kingdom would no longer support minority white governments or stand in the way of decolonisation.⁶⁵⁸ Sharpeville is often identified as a ‘turning point’ for the international anti-apartheid movement.⁶⁵⁹ Roger Fieldhouse identifies



Figure 4.16 Police in South Africa (*Life and Work*, May 1960, 105; photo credit: Keystone).

⁶⁵⁷ ‘South Africa Past the Crossroads’, *Life and Work*, May 1960, 105–06.

⁶⁵⁸ Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948–1994*, 74–75.

⁶⁵⁹ Thörn, *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society*, xiii.

the reaction to Sharpeville as the birth of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in Britain.⁶⁶⁰

While he may be correct in reference to the organisation which expanded its methods and changed its name from the Boycott Movement after the massacre, the AAM's founding followed anti-apartheid sentiment in the churches by more than a decade. As a social movement, Håkan Thörn argues, from this time until apartheid's end in the 1990s, the international anti-apartheid movement was increasingly well organised, uniting a community of activists capable of collective action against South Africa.⁶⁶¹

As the situation in South Africa deteriorated, J. W. Stevenson brought the Kirk's publications into the worldwide collective action, showing the machinations of the South African government as a clear indicator of white South African contempt for black Africans in the country. Leaders of both the ANC and PAC lost control of their movements after Sharpeville as disciplined nonviolence gave way to violence and 'hooliganism'. White civilians began buying firearms to protect themselves. On 30 March the government employed powers given it in the Public Safety Act of 1953, declaring a state of emergency which allowed them to suspend certain civil protections. More than 18,000 people were detained without trial. Under the Unlawful Organisations Act passed in April, the ANC and PAC were banned and their leaders effectively sent into exile.⁶⁶² Stevenson focused on the brutality of police crackdowns rather than the antisocial (if understandable) behaviour they were cracking down on. While Stevenson printed images of armoured vehicles and intimated that South Africa's white government was reaping the just rewards of its policies, editors of Scotland's secular papers reporting on Sharpeville, for example, focused on supposed black malfeasance calling the protest before the shooting a 'riot'.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶⁰ Roger Fieldhouse, *Anti-Apartheid: A History of the Movement in Britain: A Study in Pressure Group Politics* (London: Merlin, 2005), 20.

⁶⁶¹ Thörn, *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society*, xiv.

⁶⁶² Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 315.

⁶⁶³ '63 Africans Killed in Rioting', *Glasgow Herald*, 22 March 1960, 1; '63 Africans Die in Riots', *The Scotsman*, 22 March 1960, 1.

Not only did the actions of South Africa's government raise Stevenson's ire for their humanitarian abuses, he also condemned apartheid for the negative spiritual consequences it incurred. Apartheid was seen as a barrier to Christian mission and, like evangelicals of the nineteenth century who saw slavery and other issues as similar obstacles to conversion, it needed to be opposed as a Christian imperative.⁶⁶⁴ No small part of apartheid's problematic relationship to Christianity was that its advocates claimed it as a *Christian* solution to South Africa's problems. D. F. Malan, who led the National Party to victory in 1948 and immediately went to work passing apartheid legislation, was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church before entering politics and credited the will of God for his party's ascension to government. Apartheid stood in the way of bringing Africans from their natural state into the life of a Christian, Stevenson wrote. This was a change from earlier identifications of African cultures as barriers to conversion and was graphically portrayed in an article from *Overseas* in June 1960, as South Africa was still reeling from the events at Sharpeville (Figure 4.17). Alluding to reports of political riots in Africa, Stevenson titled the article 'Africa: A Riot in the Soul'. He wrote of what he repeatedly called the 'bewilderment' faced by many Africans who saw competing ideas of Christianity around them, among them Christians preoccupied by materialism and nationalism: 'Young African Christians have to learn a Christian way of life, the Christian ethic, in the harsh realities of that situation . . . in bewildered communities when the national "line" or the racial "line" seems paramount and loyalty to one's people seems to over-ride everything else.'⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶⁴ David W. Bebbington, 'The Evangelical Conscience', *The Welsh Journal of Religious History* 2 (2007): 33.

⁶⁶⁵ J. W. Stevenson, 'Africa: A Riot in the Soul', *Overseas*, June 1960, 31.



Figure 4.17 Two-page spread depicting apartheid as an obstacle to conversion (*Overseas*, June 1960, 30–31).

In representation of this, Stevenson printed two extremes on either side of the page: the traditionally-dressed African on the left and, on the right, the African Christian, holding a bible and wearing his ministerial cassock. In between them is a white policeman taking his baton to protesting Africans in South Africa.⁶⁶⁶ Apartheid is thus iconographically portrayed as literally coming between Africans and Christianity. A century before, church magazines may have pictured African warriors with shields and spears as missionaries' antagonists; here was featured a supposedly Christian white police officer as the enemy of a Christian South Africa.

When the Church of Scotland's General Assembly met in May 1960, *Life and Work* reported that 'darkening clouds of racial strife in South Africa' cast their shadow over the proceedings.⁶⁶⁷ The Church and Nation Committee submitted a supplement to its earlier report and deliverance which the General Assembly passed, stating that they 'deplore[d] the

⁶⁶⁶ Stevenson, 'Africa: A Riot in the Soul', 30–31.

⁶⁶⁷ 'For Such a Time as This . . .', *Life and Work*, June 1960, 127.

situation of violence, repression, and enmity in South Africa' and there could be 'no justification' for a belief in racial superiority or racial segregation.⁶⁶⁸ Still there were some within the Kirk who argued that the Assembly was not competent to pronounce on the morality of apartheid.⁶⁶⁹ Some, including R. H. W. Shepherd, had argued that black South Africans had even benefited from apartheid.⁶⁷⁰ The majority defied them, deciding any supposed benefits 'did not outweigh the social degradation and political deprivation of the Bantu.' Apartheid was, after all, a moral issue.⁶⁷¹



Figure 4.18 'Race segregation at a South African sports meeting' (*Overseas*, December 1961, 77).

Even at its most peaceful, apartheid was abhorrent to J. W. Stevenson. Images like Figure 4.18 showed its manifestly unfair, even ridiculous, nature. The image comes from the

⁶⁶⁸ 'Supplementary Report of the Committee on Church and Nation to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1960), 418.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Moral Issue in South Africa', *Life and Work*, June 1960, 139.

⁶⁷⁰ Shepherd, 'Black and White in South Africa', *Other Lands*, October 1953, 55–58.

⁶⁷¹ 'Moral Issue in South Africa', *Life and Work*, June 1960, 139.

December 1961 issue of *Overseas*, showing relatively few white spectators at a sporting event sitting in the shade. On the opposite side of a low fence like the one in Figure 4.12 many more non-white – possibly Indian – attendees are crammed into a space which is much too small and where there is no chance for many of them to find any respite from the sun.

The article is titled, ‘Apartheid Challenges Us’. The challenges were several, according to the missionary author who had presumably chosen to remain anonymous to avoid repercussions from the South African government. He or she identified racism, nationalism, a desire for power, and economics as a few of the challenges. All of which had been identified by the Baillie Commission as impediments to the Kingdom of God. The article’s author focused on economics. According to the South African government, average spending per white pupil was over £60 per year while for black pupils that number was £4 10s. To equalise that number would provide a lower standard of education for white pupils, something white South African parents were not likely to accept and likely something with which Scottish parents could sympathise. The solution, then was for Scottish readers to make up the difference in funding by donating to the support of black schools in South Africa, which, under the Bantu Education Act, were to be funded separately from white schools. Otherwise, there was little hope the tax base in the black areas could sufficiently support the schools.

The article calls on two elements of its readers’ Christianity. The first is orthodoxy and the second charity. The author begins by discussing apartheid in terms of a ‘doctrine’, albeit a false one. The General Assembly of 1949 had, after all, declared apartheid to be ‘contrary to the teachings and tenets of the Christian faith’. Those who ascribed to the false teachings of apartheid must be rescued. The article was written to ‘help them’ in a way similar to articles in church publications about unorthodox groups like the Watchtower and

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.⁶⁷² Appealing to the readers' Christian charity and longstanding tropes, the author presents South Africa's black population as being in need of the Scottish Christians' help, particularly their financial support of black schools in South Africa and elsewhere. That was the challenge: not only to be upset by the clear injustices of the apartheid system but to do something tangible about it.⁶⁷³

According to the Church of Scotland's General Assembly, apartheid was not only unjust, it was unchristian. The church had a moral and Christian duty to oppose it. J. W. Stevenson used the church's publications to give a voice to the Kirk's declared opposition, speaking out for the increasingly voiceless. Readers were encouraged to raise their voices and contribute their funds in support of the anti-apartheid movement as *Life and Work* celebrated the work of those at the forefront of anti-apartheid activism and portrayed their work as a Christian campaign in which Scottish Christians should take part.

Conclusion

The Church of Scotland's publications under the editorship of J. W. Stevenson expressed opposition to South Africa's long history of racial oppression as early as 1947. The Kirk and its missionaries had long opposed the racial policies in South Africa, though their record was somewhat ambiguous, with missionaries expressing and enacting different philosophies toward South Africa's black population. An ideal of racial harmony was stymied by the realities of life in South Africa – both on and off the mission stations. Mission schools and the formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church arose from a perception by some within the Scottish church that separate institutions were necessary to protect African interests and foster development. The Dutch Reformed Church also created its own racially constituted

⁶⁷² John Birkbeck, "“They Hate All Religions!”: An Enquiry into Jehovah's Witnesses', *Life and Work*, March 1960, 59–60; Jean Hay, "“They Don't Know They are Wrong”", *Life and Work*, October 1963, 297.

⁶⁷³ 'Apartheid Challenges Us', *Overseas*, December 1961, 77–78.

churches. However, when the apartheid system, ostensibly intended to allow for ‘separate development’ became government policy, some within the Scottish Kirk, including J. W. Stevenson, objected, seeing something more sinister at the heart of it. Opinions still differed in the Church of Scotland after World War II, but the Kingdom of God ideals of the Baillie Commission predominated. Despite apartheid’s missiological origins and theological justifications from the Dutch Reformed Church as well as a Reformed heritage shared between the DRC and the Church of Scotland, the Kirk rejected apartheid as unchristian.

Stevenson, who exhibited significant ideological similarities to his predecessor W. P. Livingstone and the social justice principles of the Baillie Commission, published material employing long-established conventions of mission reports in church periodicals with important modifications adapted to the evolving situation in South Africa. Mission stations, for example, remained places of refuge from the dangers of Africa but Stevenson expanded the list of dangers outside the mission to include South Africa’s systemic racism. Like the nineteenth-century missionaries who campaigned for African rights and the abolition of slavery, Stevenson saw apartheid as an obstacle to conversion and used the printed word and image to criticise South Africa’s racial order. Stevenson presented Scottish missions as racially harmonious alternatives to life under apartheid – godly commonwealths in miniature, where a Christian witness could be proclaimed and lived with no colour bar. As the realities of the apartheid system became more apparent and opposition grew, church magazines became a vehicle for expressing opposition, portraying the anti-apartheid movement to Scottish readers as a moral campaign and allying the Kirk with other Christians in solidarity against apartheid, though not engaging in the more radical protest associated with the Anglican tradition.

The use of photographs and other images was central to Stevenson’s anti-apartheid editorial policy but also complicated the magazines’ message. The pictures illustrated the

ideals of racial harmony and racial development on Scottish mission stations in contrast to the conflict elsewhere in the country. However, these images also demonstrate the enduring stadialism of Scottish missionaries and the coercive agency of the regimented mission programmes to mould Africans into 'black Scots'. At the same time, they are testimony to the egalitarian ideal of inherent human unity and the capacity of Africans, though that capacity was believed to be realised only through the adoption of Euro-normative ideas of modernity and civilisation thought to be inherent in Christianity. The images often perpetuated racially inflected and paternalistic iconographic conventions, portraying Africans as primitive or white missionaries as dominant. In the context of post-war South Africa, however, the images are important critiques of the apartheid system, which denied black Africans basic human rights and a genuine chance of personal and group development. Some images were direct critiques of the South African racial order. Articles that were critical of apartheid were illustrated with images and captions that were equally critical. In addition, articles with little or no relation to apartheid were sometimes accompanied by photographs and captions critical of apartheid. Inserting images with explanatory captions into such articles foregrounded apartheid and allowed the editor to comment directly on topics like the colour bar and other racial tensions, keeping the issues in front of Scottish readers. As in the previous chapter, which demonstrated how W. P. Livingstone's Christian humanitarianism arose from the tension between the twin Enlightenment ideals of egalitarianism and civilisational development, J. W. Stevenson's editorial policy toward apartheid shows that the tension between Scots' egalitarian ideals and their more paternalistic, stadial conceptions of race continued beyond the Second World War. Stevenson's use of images and text, which drew on the iconography of Scots' Christian humanitarianism in Africa, shows how that orientation compelled them to oppose the racial order in South Africa. While there were differences of opinion over apartheid within the Kirk, they were relatively circumscribed by the General

Assembly's swift condemnation. The more open discussion of the church's involvement with the debate over the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

LIFE AND WORK AND THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

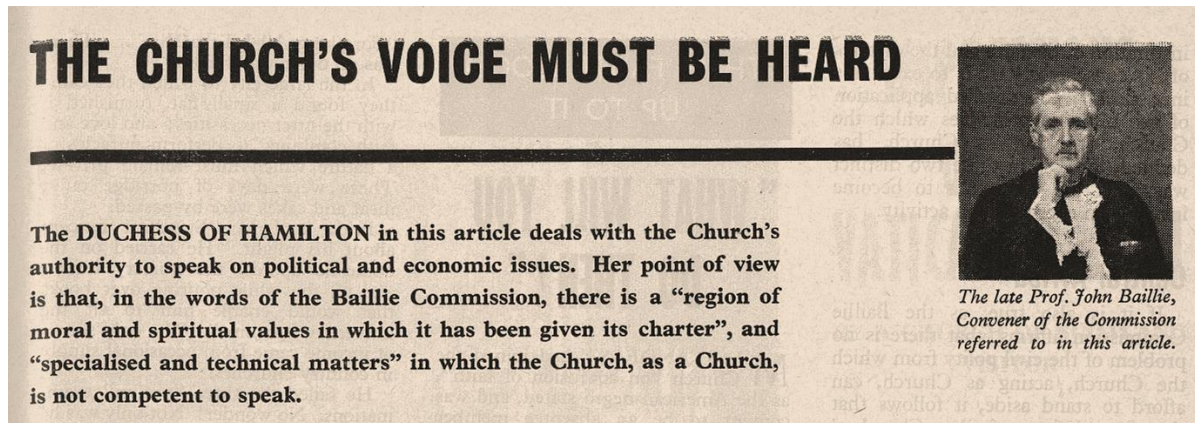


Figure 5.1 Headline and image from essay by the Duchess of Hamilton arguing against the Church of Scotland's involvement in political issues (*Life and Work*, January 1963, 11).

In January 1963 the Duchess of Hamilton took to the pages of *Life and Work* to argue her position on the Kirk's dealings in political matters. The daughter of the right-wing Conservative publisher and controversialist, the eighth Duke of Northumberland, she married the heir to Scotland's premier dukedom, who was also politically involved, serving as a Conservative MP from 1930 until he succeeded to his father's title as Duke of Hamilton in 1940.⁶⁷⁴ She supported the arts and applied herself to community and church life, where she exhibited her own conservative views.⁶⁷⁵ She cited the Baillie Commission's division of 'knowledge of moral and spiritual principles' and 'departmental knowledge in a particular and specified field' in which 'the Church as such is not competent to provide direct

⁶⁷⁴ James Douglas-Hamilton, 'Hamilton, Douglas, Douglas-, Fourteenth Duke of Hamilton and Eleventh Duke of Brandon (1903–1973), Boxer, Aviator, and Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/58670>; Philip Williamson, 'Percy, Alan Ian, Eighth Duke of Northumberland (1880–1930), politician and propagandist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/35472>.

⁶⁷⁵ 'Duchess of Hamilton', *The Herald*, 17 September 2008, <https://www.heraldsotland.com/news/12369726.duchess-of-hamilton/>.

guidance'. J. W. Stevenson, as the magazine's editor, printed a summary of her argument below the title making this point. However, the title chosen was a paraphrase of six words from the Duchess's article which implied the opposite of what she intended, particularly regarding the Central African Federation: 'Wherever ultimate issues concerning faith and morals are involved, *the Church's voice ought to be heard*, "for this is the very region in which it has been given its charter".' She was, in fact, arguing that while individuals may assert Christian principles in their political and economic arguments, the church should remain silent.⁶⁷⁶ Including the photograph of Baillie further confused the article's message as he had been a prominent figure in the anti-federation campaign before his death in 1960. The conflict apparent in the article's publication is indicative of the struggle within the Church of Scotland over the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the latter protectorate being seen by some as 'Scotland's own'.⁶⁷⁷ *Life and Work* carried articles arguing for differing sides of the federation issue. The Duchess's article included an editorial note informing readers that '[a]n article on this subject from another point of view will be printed in our next issue.'⁶⁷⁸ However, Stevenson's treatment of the articles on both sides reflected his own editorial position of opposition to the Federation as a moral issue on which 'the Church's voice ought to be heard'.⁶⁷⁹

This chapter examines the role of *Life and Work* in the debate which laid bare ideological differences within the Church of Scotland. To a lesser extent, the chapter also examines the sympathetic role of the *British Weekly* newspaper after its acquisition by the Church of Scotland in 1957. John H. Proctor noted that 'internal divisions prevented the kirk

⁶⁷⁶ Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, 'The Church's Voice Must be Heard', *Life and Work*, January 1963, 11–12 (emphasis added).

⁶⁷⁷ Douglas Benzies, 'A Nation built in Two Generations: Scotland's Own Protectorate in Africa', *Other Lands*, April 1948, 173–76.

⁶⁷⁸ Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, 'The Church's Voice Must be Heard', 2.

⁶⁷⁹ NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY: I use the word 'federation' in two ways in this chapter. When referring to the concept of joining the three territories of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, it is not capitalised. When referring to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is capitalised.

from speaking as forthrightly and acting as vigorously as some would have liked'.⁶⁸⁰ The Kirk's internal divisions over the Federation contrasted with its response to South Africa's racial policies, when a majority (but certainly not unanimous) position within the church, led to official pronouncements by the General Assembly unambiguously condemning apartheid. As discussed in the previous chapter, J. W. Stevenson was able to refer to those pronouncements in his efforts to raise awareness and opposition to conditions in South Africa. In the case of the Federation, the General Assembly's pronouncements were more ambiguous, leaving both sides without a strong official position to point to. Nevertheless, federation's opponents found a useful ally in Stevenson, who mediated the issues for the broader Church of Scotland community and provided an important forum for ongoing discussion outside the annual General Assembly. This chapter focuses on the cooperation between the liberal-humanitarian faction and Stevenson to oppose federation. I argue that Stevenson supported the anti-federation campaign by presenting an argument for a particular Scottish responsibility for Nyasaland's people and portraying its black population as civilised Christian citizens who were capable of making their own political decisions, eventually through self-governance. The images he published largely supported those arguments by incorporating the iconography of Christian humanitarianism developed in the nineteenth century which was discussed in chapter 1. However, at the same time they betrayed the ongoing tensions between the egalitarian elements of that humanitarianism and long-held racially inflected attitudes about Africa and the Empire.

This chapter has two sections. The first examines the network of relationships that developed among federation's opponents and their interaction with J. W. Stevenson. In the second section, I examine how those relationships were mobilised to present three key arguments against federation in the pages of *Life and Work*. The first of these was the special

⁶⁸⁰ John H. Proctor, 'The Church of Scotland and British Colonialism in Africa', *Journal of Church and State*, no. 475 (1987): 492.

relationship between Scotland and Nyasaland, which was highlighted to prompt Scottish sympathies for African opposition to the Federation and encourage vocal opposition. The second argument was the trope of Africans portrayed as ‘civilised’ Christians used in contrast to its antithesis of the African ‘savage’. Finally, in opposition to arguments that Africans lacked the ability to govern their own country or fully share in its administration, I examine how differing camps portrayed Africans relative to their capacity for self-government, which was closely tied to arguments for Africans’ attainment of Western ideas of ‘civilisation’.

Missionaries had a long record of opposition to federation schemes in Central Africa. White settlers in the Rhodesias wanted the political autonomy granted to the Union of South Africa as a dominion rather than the more limited political rights granted a colony (as in Southern Rhodesia) or protectorate (Northern Rhodesia). They believed that a larger white population in a single political unit formed from the amalgamation of the three territories had a greater likelihood of achieving that goal. The British government appointed commissions to investigate the advisability of the schemes in 1928 and 1938. Each time, missionaries from the Church of Scotland and the Universities’ Mission in Central Africa notably objected to the plans and Whitehall refused to allow amalgamation. Undeterred, settlers hoped a looser union in federation would give them success where amalgamation had failed.

The political climate changed drastically in 1948 with the election of D. F. Malan’s National Party (NP) in South Africa. Southern Rhodesia’s Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, had played on British fears of Afrikaner expansion for years. Both South African premiers Jan Smuts and J. B. M. Hertzog had tried and failed during their tenures to get the government in London to allow them to incorporate Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland into the Union.⁶⁸¹ Smuts came closer to success with Southern Rhodesia, where, in 1922, forty percent of white settlers voted to accept his terms for becoming a part of the

⁶⁸¹ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 161.

Union of South Africa rather than accept London's offer of responsible government. South Africa's expansionist attempts worried Britons and allowed federation supporters to stoke fears of Afrikaner-led South African expansion if Rhodesia's settlers were not placated in some way. Sir Godfrey saw the NP victory in South Africa as his chance to move for a closer association between the Rhodesias.

In February 1949, Huggins convened an unofficial conference of representatives at Victoria Falls, along the border of the two Rhodesias. Attendees came away with a new proposal for federation.⁶⁸² Resistance to the plan came almost immediately as Nyasaland's Hastings Banda and Northern Rhodesia's Harry Nkumbula, both in London at the time, published a pamphlet opposing federation and calling instead for an amalgamation between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as a unified black colonial state.⁶⁸³ Nevertheless, negotiations for federation continued in November 1950, and in March 1951 a conference of British civil servants and representatives from the three territories convened in London. The Government released a white paper in June, bringing more public comment. For its part, however, the Church of Scotland and its missionaries in the region took little notice of the negotiations, being preoccupied by other matters, including the expulsion of missionaries from China by Chinese nationalists.⁶⁸⁴ John Stuart suggests that previous plans for closer union had not materialised and so the latest plan raised little interest from missionaries.⁶⁸⁵ That changed as plans approached fruition and finally implementation.

The Federation period in the history of Central Africa is well documented. Perhaps no other colonial issue attracted more attention in the 1950s.⁶⁸⁶ In the complex relationship

⁶⁸² John Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire: East, Central, and Southern Africa, 1939–64* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2011), 75.

⁶⁸³ See Hastings K. Banda and Harry Nkumbula, *Federation in Central Africa* (London: the authors, 1949).

⁶⁸⁴ John Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 77.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁶⁸⁶ Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918–1964* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 196.

between mission and colonialism throughout the British Empire, Brian Stanley has shown how the Scottish missionaries in Central Africa played a special role in bringing the area under British protection.⁶⁸⁷ The missionaries' role in severing that relationship has been of special interest for historians. John McCracken contended that understanding the missions' cultural influence, especially that of Livingstonia, is necessary to understanding the politics of Nyasaland/Malawi.⁶⁸⁸ McCracken and Andrew Ross have shown, as John Stuart writes, that 'Scottish mission attitudes both to empire and to African rights might be radical yet also ambiguous.'⁶⁸⁹

That ambiguity features throughout this thesis. Previous chapters have demonstrated a spectrum of humanitarian thought within the Kirk and that colonial administration in Central Africa was created out of paternalistic concern, notably the abolition of the slave trade. Some believed that the aims of the Kingdom of God could only be accomplished in Africa through a partnership between the church and the colonial state. Even the most significant Scottish Christian voices opposed to the Federation were not committed anti-colonialists but rejected the Federation scheme out of concern for its imposition on a people who did not want it. Conversely, the Federation's supporters claimed it would serve as a barrier to South African expansion. This chapter will demonstrate how that ambiguity played out, as the more radical humanitarian elements within the Church of Scotland were held back by more conservative elements within the Kirk and how they pushed the General Assembly and the church at large for more political engagement, only to be rebuffed eventually by the more conservative wing of the church.

⁶⁸⁷ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 121–27.

⁶⁸⁸ John McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 1875–1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), vii–viii; *A History of Malawi, 1859–1966* (Woodbridge, England: James Currey and Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), 342–45.

⁶⁸⁹ Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 87; see also Andrew C. Ross, *Blantyre Mission and the Making of Modern Malawi* (Blantyre, Malawi: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 1996); McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 1875–1940*.

Existing scholarship disagrees as to the roles and relative importance of those involved. In the early years after the collapse of the Federation in December 1963, scholars such as Robert I. Rotberg focused on the rise of African nationalists in Central Africa and abroad.⁶⁹⁰ Contemporary popular opinion, however, assigned responsibility for the issues that led to the Federation's breakup to the Church of Scotland's missionaries, who were accused of inciting African nationalisms.⁶⁹¹ John Proctor agrees, seeing the Church of Scotland's education of African nationalists in mission schools as aiding the emerging African nationalism.⁶⁹² David Maxwell argues that it was the missionaries who successfully lobbied the Kirk to oppose the Federation on behalf of their African nationalist associates.⁶⁹³ However, McCracken points out that the ideological pendulum quickly swung the other way as more conservative elements led by Lovedale's R. H. W. Shepherd effectively silenced the more radical voices in concert with the missionaries.⁶⁹⁴ One of those missionaries, Andrew Ross, drew on his experience in Nyasaland to provide something of an insider's perspective to the Church of Scotland's involvement in Nyasaland politics in the mid-twentieth century.⁶⁹⁵ Brian Glass argues that the Baillie Commission's George MacLeod is the 'key to understanding the Church of Scotland's position', though Glass concedes that the missionaries formed their own opinions regarding the Federation.⁶⁹⁶ While highlighting the role of the Scottish secular press in mediating the issues surrounding the Federation, Glass,

⁶⁹⁰ Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873–1964* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966).

⁶⁹¹ John M. MacKenzie, 'David Livingstone, the Scottish Cultural and Political Revival and the End of Empire in Africa', in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 191. For a contemporary example, see 'Future of Rhodesian Federation: "Opposition in Scotland"' *The Scotsman*, 30 January 1959, 7.

⁶⁹² John H. Proctor, 'The Church of Scotland and British Colonialism in Africa', 477.

⁶⁹³ David Maxwell, 'Decolonization', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 290.

⁶⁹⁴ John McCracken, 'Church and State in Malawi: The Scottish Presbyterian Missions, 1875–1965', in *Christian Missionaries and the State in the Third World*, eds. Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle (Oxford: James Currey and Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2002), 187–88.

⁶⁹⁵ Andrew C. Ross, *Colonialism to Cabinet Crisis: A Political History of Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2009).

⁶⁹⁶ Brian S. Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 47, 48.

like other scholars of the Kirk's involvement with the Federation, pays scant attention to the efforts of the anti-federalists in the church's own publications. This chapter seeks to address that gap in the literature by exploring the relationship between J. W. Stevenson, as editor of *Life and Work*, and the anti-federalist faction.

As with apartheid, the British churches' responses to federation varied. Many African congregations were decidedly against federation while many white missionaries and ministers struggled to understand or sympathise with African feeling.⁶⁹⁷ Most missionaries believed federation should be given 'a fair trial'. Some tried to ignore it. The general secretary of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Gerald Broomfield, tried to distance the society from politics.⁶⁹⁸ Personally, however, he favoured the federation proposals and thought delay was capitulation to African nationalists, a prospect which, coming so soon after the expulsion of missionaries from China, frightened churches and missionary agencies working in Africa. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, went further in his support, calling federation 'a great though risky experiment', believing it could form 'a bulwark against the very doctrine of Apartheid.'⁶⁹⁹ He also believed federation would benefit Africans economically and politically and worked to gain support in Britain.⁷⁰⁰ The Anglican bishop in Nyasaland, Frank Thorne, was 'suspicious' of the plan but did not think it was inherently wrong and thus opposed the civil disobedience as a form of protest advocated by Anglican missionary Michael Scott.⁷⁰¹ Their fellow Anglican, Canon Max Warren, the general secretary of the Church Missionary Society, feared that resentment among white Christians toward African nationalism might harden into conservatism and negatively affect missionary

⁶⁹⁷ Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 83.

⁶⁹⁸ Stuart, "'Speaking for the Unvoiced?'" *British Missionaries and Aspects of African Nationalism, 1949–1959*, in *Missions, Nationalism and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 186.

⁶⁹⁹ Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 83, 98.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 99.

efforts.⁷⁰² Other churches' leaders were less sanguine about federation proposals, notably the Church of Scotland, which often takes a special place in the literature, but was not alone in its stance. LMS officials in Central Africa tried to get their society and Congregational churches in the UK to publicly question plans for federation.⁷⁰³ British Methodists and the Society of Friends were also publicly opposed to federation because of African opposition.⁷⁰⁴

Networks of Action

Widespread African opposition to federation plans was the central issue for anti-federalists within the Church of Scotland. Although there was little concern about plans for federation after the initial meeting in 1949, that changed by the conclusion of the 1951 meetings. As federation became a likelihood, longstanding friendship networks within the Kirk went into action to raise awareness and opposition while others came into being for the same purposes. Under the proposed scheme, the balance of power would be in Southern Rhodesia, with its larger white population and more stringent colour bar. Africans in the three territories were mostly against it, but federation supporters and the Government in Whitehall gave them very little heed, emphasising instead the predicted economic benefits of the scheme. The web of federation's opponents worked to make the Government care about African opinion.⁷⁰⁵ Those who supported federation also turned to their own networks – both old and new – including contacts in Whitehall and the administration of the eventual Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The debates played out not only in the political sphere but notably within the Kirk

⁷⁰² Stuart, “Speaking for the Unvoiced”, 187.

⁷⁰³ Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 94.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 80–83, 91, 94, 98–99 and Stuart, “Speaking for the Unvoiced”, 186–88.

⁷⁰⁵ The first point of the ‘Delay Federation’ manifesto from the Church of Scotland Mission Council reads ‘1. The Council regards it as a first principle that the achievement of racial harmony outweighs the economic advantages that might be gained from Federation’ (‘Federation: Church of Scotland Mission Council View’, *Nyasaland Times*, 9 October 1952, typescript in Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/701), NLS).

as ideological positions were set against one another. This section examines those networks, especially their connections to J. W. Stevenson as the editor of *Life and Work*.

An article in the October 1951 issue of *Life and Work* demonstrates how those who were concerned about the already-apparent detrimental effects of the Federation turned at an early date to their friendship networks, including the Kirk's magazine editor. The article was written by Neil C. Bernard, the Foreign Mission Committee's regional secretary for Central Africa. He was not a prolific writer or frequent contributor to *Life and Work* but felt the impending federation needed comment, and he wrote to his friend Stevenson on 15 August to make sure some note was made in the Kirk's magazine. The friendly and familiar tone indicate a longstanding relationship. 'Dear Jack,' Bernard wrote, acknowledging that '[w]riting is not my line,' but the situation called for some acknowledgement, so he enclosed 'a statement of the position as I see it'. He left it to his friend to 'use it (in whole or part) or assist salvage by placing it in the wastepaper basket.'⁷⁰⁶ Stevenson printed it in its entirety. Including it in *Life and Work*, rather than *Other Lands*, signalled the importance the editor assigned to it, beyond the missionary discussions in the supplement. Bernard reported a 'unanimity of opposition' from Nyasaland's black population. Having seen the attitudes of South Africans and Southern Rhodesians, 'their main fear is simply that the group which at present would control any Federal Parliament show an attitude which in reality is not different in kind from that which they have experienced in the Union of South Africa.' 'What is all important at this juncture', Bernard concluded, 'is the development of racial co-operation and the nurture of goodwill. Though one regrets to say it, one cannot see this scheme, as it stands, helping that end.' According to him, the African in Nyasaland 'still trusts the Colonial Office to protect him according to the charter of the Protectorate', believing the 'colonial policy until now has been to train them politically to take a full share

⁷⁰⁶ Neil C. Bernard to John W. Stevenson, 13 August 1951, Papers of Neil C. Bernard, Centre for the Study of World Christianity, University of Edinburgh.

in the administration of their land.’⁷⁰⁷ The issue of independence was not yet central to the debate as Africans and their supporters worked to maintain the paternalistic status quo of British ‘protection’ and tutelage of the African. Not until 1959 did the anti-federationists submit a deliverance to the General Assembly calling for self-government.⁷⁰⁸

Missionaries in Nyasaland tried influencing the church in Scotland but to little effect. In February 1952, the Blantyre mission council in Nyasaland debated the anticipated effects of federation and what actions it could take. Missionary Andrew Doig argued that Scotland had an historic commitment to Nyasaland. The council called on the General Assembly in Scotland to oppose federation in light of African opposition. The Blantyre deliverance was referred to the Church and Nation Committee (CNC), where some members were concerned not to encourage African nationalists and turned to the Colonial Office for advice. The missionaries also asked the more sympathetic Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) to lobby for a strongly worded statement from the General Assembly.⁷⁰⁹ The FMC had already gone on record opposing any federation established over the objection of the African population, sending a message to that effect to delegates at the meeting negotiating federation the previous month.⁷¹⁰ In the end, the CNC’s report and the resulting statement from the General Assembly leading up to federation were mild. Rather than condemning the scheme outright, commissioners would only express concerns with the proposals being made and ‘urge that full consideration be given to African opinion and that no scheme should be adopted without the consent and co-operation of the Africans.’⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁷ Neil C. Bernard, “‘British Central Africa’”, *Life and Work*, October 1951, 203–04.

⁷⁰⁸ ‘Supplementary Report of the General Assembly’s Committee anent Central Africa,’ *Reports to the General Assembly* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1959), 683.

⁷⁰⁹ Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 87–88.

⁷¹⁰ Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee, minutes, 15 April 1952, 281, Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee (Dep. 298), NLS; Kenneth Mackenzie, ‘End of the Federation: The Church of Scotland’s “Watch”’, *Life and Work*, December 1963, 383.

⁷¹¹ ‘Report of the Committee on Church and Nation to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland’, *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1952), 331.

The Assembly's urging, however, was ignored and the scheme went forward without seeking the consent of the Africans involved. A year later, as the Federation approached implementation, the Foreign Mission Committee, noting the deteriorating race relations, hoped to influence the Church and Nation Committee to call for a delay.⁷¹² The CNC's deliverance approved by the 1953 General Assembly noted their perennial 'concern' for 'the deterioration of race relationships in Central Africa resulting from the proposals for Federation and express[ed] their sympathy with missionaries and African leaders who have to work in an atmosphere of political tension.'⁷¹³ Recognising the inevitability of the Federation, and 'deploring that the consent of the Africans has not been obtained', the Assembly nevertheless encouraged everyone to give Federation 'a fair trial' and committed the Church of Scotland to 'constant watchfulness and sense of obligation to do all in its power to secure the removal of disabilities affecting Africans and the recognition of the rights of the African in his own land.'⁷¹⁴

A split in the Kirk was becoming increasingly apparent. In May 1952 the director of Information Services at the Colonial Office described 'something of a rift in Church of Scotland circles' regarding the Federation. He noted that the Church and Nation Committee were 'cautious & realistic & have no desire to create trouble for the Govt.' The FMC, on the other hand, had been taken over by 'a gang of wild young clerics many of whose ideas were fixed in the Pink Decade [a pejorative term for the 1930s, when Marxist ideals gained some popularity] when there was considerable overlap between the Student Christian Movement, the Fabian Society and the Popular Front', the latter being an unofficial coalition of left and

⁷¹² Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee, minutes, 21 April 1953, 272–73, Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee (Dep. 298), NLS.

⁷¹³ 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1953), 365.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*

centre-left parties opposed to the Conservative government of Neville Chamberlain.⁷¹⁵ As noted in chapter 2, there was considerable support for the Student Christian Movement within the Church of Scotland and its concern for social justice and the Kingdom of God.

The General Assembly's moderation was disappointing to the missionaries, many of whom had long ties and ideological sympathies connecting them with each other and Kirk officers in Scotland, like J. W. C. Dougall of the Foreign Mission Committee, who wrote so forcefully against apartheid in *Life and Work* in 1950 (see pp. 167–70). In Africa, missionaries Richard Baxter and Thomas Colvin, for example, knew each other from their days in the Student Christian Movement, whose overseas secretary noted the group's objection to implementing federation without African consent in a letter to the editor of the *Scotsman*.⁷¹⁶ Baxter had been the Scottish Secretary of the SCM while Colvin was Travelling Secretary in Manchester. Baxter even performed Colvin's wedding ceremony.⁷¹⁷ Colvin arrived in Nyasaland in 1954 and was, like fellow missionaries Albert McAdam and Andrew Ross, a member of the Iona Community. His presence further galvanised anti-federation sentiment in the mission.⁷¹⁸ The Iona Community had been founded by George MacLeod, who was convenor of the Baillie Commission's sub-commission on Social and Industrial Life. It arose out of MacLeod's work with unemployed labourers in his impoverished Govan parish near Glasgow during the Depression and grew into a radical, socially conscious group within the Church of Scotland, including several prominent pacifists and socialists.⁷¹⁹ 'I thank God I'm a member of the Community', Colvin wrote to George MacLeod in 1957.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁵ C. Y. Carstairs, letter to J. E. Marham, 28 May 1952, PRO CO 1015/777 in McCracken, 'Church and State in Malawi', 184.

⁷¹⁶ Frances A. Paton, letter to the editor, *The Scotsman*, 2 January 1953, 6.

⁷¹⁷ Richard Baxter, letter to George Gilchrist, 15 September 1955, Richard Baxter Papers (CSWC 35 Box 1), Centre for the Study of World Christianity, University of Edinburgh.

⁷¹⁸ McCracken, 'Church and State in Malawi', 185; Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 107.

⁷¹⁹ Ron Ferguson, *Chasing the Wild Goose: The Story of the Iona Community*, revised edition (Glasgow: Wild Goose Publications, 1998).

⁷²⁰ Thomas Colvin, letter to George F. MacLeod, 8 March 1957, Macleod of Fuinary and the Iona Community (Acc. 9084/87), NLS.

‘Membership thereof means a tremendous amount to me, as you well know’, he wrote later that same year.⁷²¹ He explicitly sought to recruit Iona men to work in the Blantyre mission.⁷²² Organisations such as the Student Christian Movement and the Iona Community thus provided ready contacts for the anti-federation cause, both on the mission field and in Scotland.⁷²³

A group of students and others associated with the University of Edinburgh calling themselves the Edinburgh World Church Group (EWCG) included African nationalists Hastings Banda of Nyasaland and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. They coordinated a letter writing campaign organised by Kenneth Little, an anthropologist studying race relations at the University of Edinburgh, and the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee’s Africa secretary, Kenneth Mackenzie. They also organised a meeting on 29 February 1952 in the General Assembly Hall in Edinburgh. Speakers included the EWCG’s founder and Edinburgh University chaplain to overseas students, Rev. William Cattanach, Kenneth Mackenzie, John Hatch, and both Banda and Nyerere.⁷²⁴ More than 1,100 attended. The next day, the Iona Community sponsored a conference on the Federation scheme in Glasgow. A unanimous resolution was passed against federating without African support. It was forwarded to the Prime Minister and Scottish Members of Parliament among others.⁷²⁵

These organisations, however, were not exclusively devoted to African issues and some felt such a body was required. On 6 December, Nevile Davidson, the vice-convenor of the Kirk’s Church and Nation Committee, announced the formation of the Scottish Council for African Questions (SCAQ). The radical Anglican priest Michael Scott, known for his

⁷²¹ Thomas Colvin, letter to George F. MacLeod, 13 November 1957, Macleod of Fuinary and the Iona Community (Acc. 9084/87), NLS.

⁷²² Colvin, letter to MacLeod, 8 March 1957.

⁷²³ Gavin A. Ross, ‘European Support for the Opposition to Closer Union of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, with Special Reference to the Period from 1945–1953’, M. Litt. thesis, University of Edinburgh 1988, 314–15.

⁷²⁴ On Nyerere’s involvement with the Edinburgh World Churches Group and the anti-federation movement, see Paul Bjerck, *Building a Peaceful Nation: Julius Nyerere and the Establishment of Sovereignty in Tanzania, 1960–1964* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 30–31.

⁷²⁵ Ross, ‘European Support for the Opposition to Closer Union of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland’, 310.

anti-apartheid activism, had established a similar body, the Africa Bureau, in England with the intent of raising opposition to the proposed Federation earlier in the year.⁷²⁶ Recognising the ‘clearly-stated opposition of the Africans, who have with great restraint used every constitutional means available to them’, the SCAQ’s first bulletin, published in March 1953 concluded

The final responsibility still rests with the British public, and there is no doubt that, particularly in Scotland, large sections of the British public are very concerned about this betrayal of their trust towards the Africans. . . . The responsibility of every British citizen could not be clearer, and if we believe in democracy we shall, between now and June, use every endeavour through meetings, through our organisations, and through letters to our Members of Parliament to inform our representatives of their duty towards the Africans, to maintain Britain’s reputation for justice, and to uphold the faith of the African in the British people.⁷²⁷

Although it was not an ecclesiastical or religious body, many of the SCAQ’s officers came from church circles, including its chairman Rev. William C. Galbraith and vice-chair Kenneth Little of the Edinburgh World Church Group. Among its honorary vice-presidents were the Scottish Episcopal bishop of Edinburgh, Kenneth C. H. Warner, and John Baillie, the former Moderator of the General Assembly and convenor of the eponymous Baillie Commission.⁷²⁸ Indeed, the SCAQ’s bulletin included ideas such as those above which were similar to those expressed in the Baillie Commission’s reports. Baillie was also an honorary president of the Africa Bureau.⁷²⁹

The opposition to federation seemingly came to nought when, on 1 August 1953, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland officially came into being. The black African majority was still unconvinced that federation was in their best interests and they maintained their

⁷²⁶ ‘Central African Federation’, *British Weekly*, 5 March 1953, 9.

⁷²⁷ The Scottish Council for African Questions, Bulletin 1, March 1953, 4, Kenneth Mackenzie Papers (Coll. 64 Bx 8), Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh (hereafter CRC).

⁷²⁸ The Scottish Council for African Questions, leaflet, Kenneth Mackenzie Papers (Coll. 64 Bx 8), CRC.

⁷²⁹ Lorna Richmond, letter to George F. MacLeod, 19 February 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

opposition to it. Two points of significant agitation came from changes made to the federal constitution, changing qualifications for the franchise and lessening African representation in the Federal Assembly. The African Affairs Board, an official body set up to review legislation for possibly detrimental effects to black Africans, declared the bills unacceptable and they were referred to Westminster for review, where the Commons passed them despite significant public protest. A review of the Federation's success was scheduled for 1960 and supporters not only pushed for Federation's continuance, they wanted dominion status, which would allow the white government nearly complete autonomy from the Westminster Parliament, including on questions of the franchise and the colour bar. Opposition continued to mount.

Already a critic of federation, in early 1958 George MacLeod, then Moderator of the General Assembly, made the unusual move of touring Africa on a fact-finding mission.⁷³⁰ Though an official invitation would come from the mission council through the Foreign Mission Committee, MacLeod's friend and fellow member of the Iona Community, Tom Colvin, told him of the impending invitation to visit Nyasaland in a personal letter.⁷³¹ Colvin acted as MacLeod's guide and 'aide-de-camp' for most of the trip. MacLeod also met and dined with other missionaries from Scotland.⁷³² At some of the meals, Africans were invited to join them.⁷³³ Missionary Neil Bernard was anxious that MacLeod 'should have as much time as possible to speak to Europeans, and to listen to Africans.'⁷³⁴

George MacLeod was afforded several opportunities to listen to Africans. Among those who welcomed him to Blantyre on 15 January was Thamar Dillon Thomas Banda,

⁷³⁰ MacLeod was an early opponent of the Federation, chairing a protest meeting with approximately 1000 attendees in Glasgow on 13 March 1953 ('African Federation: Scottish Petition to the Queen Inaugurated', *The Scotsman*, 14 March 1953, 4).

⁷³¹ Colvin, letter to MacLeod, 8 March 1957.

⁷³² George F. MacLeod, journal, 18, 19, 21, 22, and 24 January 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 18, 22 January 1958.

⁷³⁴ Neil C. Bernard, letter to George F. MacLeod, 5 December 1957, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/87), NLS.

president-general of the nationalist Nyasaland African Congress. Banda told the moderator that ‘the African people of Nyasaland are now entering the most critical stage of political arena in the history of Central Africa.’ In a welcome address delivered on MacLeod’s arrival in Blantyre, he reminded the moderator of the Church of Scotland’s ‘extraordinary Christian responsibility to this country’ and continued: ‘all human souls throughout the country want FREEDOM at any cost.’⁷³⁵ The minutes of the Ekwendeni and Bandawe Presbytery record that at a public meeting on 27 January, MacLeod was asked by one of the Africans present ‘if he would speak against Federation in the General Assembly. Dr. MacLeod said he was prepared to do so provided he was officially approached in the matter by the C.C.A.P.’, the indigenous Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, formed in 1924 from the synods growing out of the former Free Church of Scotland mission at Livingstonia and Church of Scotland mission at Blantyre.⁷³⁶

MacLeod was true to his word. Upon his return, he enlisted Stevenson’s help at *Life and Work*. He returned from Africa at a momentous time. The Constitutional Amendment Act (1957) and the Electoral Bill (1958) had both passed the Federal Assembly and despite objections from the African Affairs Board, which referred the legislation to Westminster, they received royal assent. Both the Blantyre and Livingstonia Synods in Nyasaland made official statements of protest and sent them on to MacLeod.⁷³⁷ He, in turn, wrote two articles published in the magazine, pleading for the Kirk to intervene in the upcoming review of the Federation (see pp. 225–28).⁷³⁸ They were strategically published in April and May, just before the commissioners met for the General Assembly in late May.

⁷³⁵ Tamar Dillon Thomas Banda, welcome speech, 15 January 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁷³⁶ Ekwendeni and Bandawe Presbytery, 25–27 January 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁷³⁷ P. C. Mzembe, letter to George F. MacLeod, 3 April 1958; Thomas Colvin, letter to George F. MacLeod, March 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁷³⁸ George F. MacLeod, ‘Last Chance in Nyasaland?’, *Life and Work*, April 1958, 83–84; ‘Churches Must Move Now: Last Chance in Nyasaland’, *Life and Work*, May 1958, 111–12.

Unable to convince the General Assembly to condemn federation, MacLeod succeeded in convincing them to establish a committee on Central Africa with him as convenor and Kenneth Mackenzie as secretary. Of the committee's original eleven members, four had been members of the Baillie Commission.⁷³⁹ MacLeod seemed especially pleased that Nevile Davidson and James Dougall were on the committee, calling out their names in a letter to Tom Colvin.⁷⁴⁰ Although he was never a member of the committee, MacLeod also invited J. W. Stevenson to the committee's meetings as an observer, which gave him access to all of the materials circulated amongst the committee's members and allowed him to participate in their discussions but not vote.⁷⁴¹ MacLeod also invited Denis Duncan, the liberal-minded editor of the Kirk's recently acquired weekly newspaper, the *British Weekly*, to attend.⁷⁴² There were accusations the committee's initial membership was intentionally weighted toward anti-federationist views and the convenor admitted they had a 'left of centre' bias.⁷⁴³

As a committee, they were unapologetic in their opposition to the Federation, raising the hackles of their own opponents. When rumours of an impending uprising led the governors of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to declare states of emergency in early 1959, MacLeod issued a statement on behalf of the committee condemning the actions of the Federal and territorial governments in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for their part in provoking the state of emergency.⁷⁴⁴ The committee's report, printed in advance of the

⁷³⁹ These were A. Nevile Davidson, James W. C. Dougall, John L. Kent, and George F. MacLeod.

⁷⁴⁰ George F. MacLeod, letter to Thomas Colvin, 16 July 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁷⁴¹ Stevenson was also a member of the Baillie Commission in 1944.

⁷⁴² MacLeod first broached the subject of the editors serving as observers in a letter to the committee's members dated 25 August 1958 (George F. MacLeod, letter to members of Special Committee anent Central Africa, 25 August 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS). He explained the duties and benefits of the observers in a letter to Bernard Fergusson and Melville Dinwiddie inviting them to also become observers (George F. MacLeod, letter to Bernard Fergusson and Melville Dinwiddie, 18 September 1959, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS).

⁷⁴³ George F. MacLeod, letter to Kenneth MacKenzie, 6 April 1960, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/69), NLS and Special Committee anent Central Africa, minutes, 7 November 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/67), NLS, 1.

⁷⁴⁴ Stuart, *British Missionaries and the End of Empire*, 114.

General Assembly that year, argued that '[t]he time has passed for working with nicely balanced arrangements relating the Colonial Government, the European inhabitants, and the African population. The time has come for a daring and creative transfer of power to the African people.'⁷⁴⁵ In response, the Federation's high commissioner in London and Kirk elder Sir Gilbert Rennie published a pamphlet attacking the committee's conclusions, titled 'Why Not be Fair?' When the General Assembly met in May, one of the commissioners, Brigadier Bernard Fergusson, moved the committee be disbanded and its work transferred to the Church and Nation Committee. Nevertheless, after two hours of debate, the committee's deliverance was accepted with only a smattering of negative votes.⁷⁴⁶ While failing to call for complete independence, the General Assembly approved a deliverance pressing for 'a radical revision of the Territorial Constitution for Nyasaland' and 'earnestly recommend[ed] to Her Majesty's Government that effective power be given to the African community in that land, which admits the possibility of an African majority in the Legislative Council.'⁷⁴⁷ It was, in effect, a call for majority black rule in Nyasaland.

Rather than lick their wounds, MacLeod's opponents maneuvered through the Kirk's institutions, which worried the committee's existing members. R. H. W. Shepherd, who was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1959, worked to pack the committee on Central Africa with members who would oppose the more radical leanings of the committee's first members. Kenneth MacKenzie wrote to MacLeod of their fear that if they did not try suggesting their own candidates, others would, which would result in 'packing our Committee with men of the "establishment" approach and producing a dangerous imbalance in their favour.'⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁵ 'Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1959), 682.

⁷⁴⁶ *The Scottish Daily Mail*, 26 May 1959.

⁷⁴⁷ 'Supplementary Report of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa,' *Reports to the General Assembly* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1959), 683.

⁷⁴⁸ Kenneth MacKenzie, letter to George F. MacLeod, 17 February 1960, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/69), NLS.

MacKenzie's use of the word 'establishment' is telling of the mentality in the committee. Despite being a baronet, a chaplain to the Queen, and a former Moderator, MacLeod never identified with the establishment, nor did he ever represent the majority of opinion within the Kirk.⁷⁴⁹ His election as Moderator was the first to be opposed by a commissioner to the General Assembly since the Union of 1929.⁷⁵⁰

Membership more than trebled to thirty-six, changing the committee's ideological bent and opening up discussions of its purpose.⁷⁵¹ One of the new members was Brig. Fergusson and another the Duchess of Hamilton. Foreshadowing the argument she would make in her 1963 essay in *Life and Work*, the Duchess wrote to MacLeod in October 1960 arguing 'we should not indicate detailed solutions unless we do so (a) in terms that relate them to a clearly defined moral principle, and (b) which are moreover sufficiently tentative to make it apparent that we are neither claiming to be political experts, or attempting to equate political wisdom with theological truth.'⁷⁵² MacLeod's response rang with echoes of the Baillie Commission: 'I feel bound to say that the whole purpose of the Committee is "an attempt to equate political wisdom with theological truth"!' ⁷⁵³ Despite his position as convener, however, the committee had changed too much; MacLeod's ideological compatriots and years-long friends were no longer in the majority and he could not steer the committee toward recommendations he fully supported. Although he claimed he agreed with the conclusions in the deliverance of 1961, they did not go far enough. He resigned as

⁷⁴⁹ Hendrikson, 'Critics of Empire in Scotland', 35.

⁷⁵⁰ Ron Ferguson, *George MacLeod: Founder of the Iona Community* (London: Collings, 1990), 283.

⁷⁵¹ The committee's deliverance suggested increasing the number of members to 24 but a counter-motion raised the number to 36, further diluting MacLeod's influence (*The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Convened at Edinburgh May 24 to June 1960, with the Minutes of the Proceedings* (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, 1960), 771–72).

⁷⁵² Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, letter to George F. MacLeod, 26 October 1960, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/67), NLS.

⁷⁵³ George F. MacLeod, letter to Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, 2 November 1960, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/67), NLS.

convenor just as the General Assembly began, allowing him to submit a more radical motion regarding Central Africa.⁷⁵⁴

Meanwhile, anti-federation groups like the Africa Bureau and the Scottish Council for African Questions continued to send their bulletins and other materials throughout Scotland and, notably, to the editors of the Kirk's publications. In early 1959, in the midst of the 'Emergency' in Central Africa, Kenneth Mackenzie wrote to Denis Duncan at the *British Weekly*, asking if he was receiving the Africa Bureau's materials, to which Duncan replied in the affirmative.⁷⁵⁵ Duncan may have received the material solely out of a journalistic obligation to collect materials from all sides. He had requested comment on the Emergency from individuals with a variety of opinions regarding federation, including Gilbert Rennie.⁷⁵⁶ Their responses were printed in the *British Weekly* on 5 March.⁷⁵⁷ However, Duncan's reply to Mackenzie revealed an ideological kinship between the two men and Duncan's frustration over the slow pace of comment necessitated by the Kirk's polity. In addition, it shows his connections with other opponents of federation and a willingness to use the *British Weekly* as an instrument of protest against the Federation:

I think one of the things needed is an official declaration by the church – but of course nothing can be done till the Assembly. This is a desperate weakness. Is there value in getting a number of Church leaders together & making a declaration along the lines of your suggestion? G.F.M. [George Fielden Macleod] is due back any day. Nevile D. [Davidson] (for Church & Nation) would surely play etc. If you feel the time comes when something of that kind is called for, let me know.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁴ George F. MacLeod, *A Communication from the Late Convener of the Committee anent Central Africa including an Addendum to the Deliverance of the Supplementary Report of that Committee which he Hopes to Move, as a Commissioner, to the General Assembly* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1961).

⁷⁵⁵ Denis Duncan, letter to Kenneth Mackenzie, 6 March 1959, Kenneth Mackenzie Papers (Coll. 64 Bx 8), CRC.

⁷⁵⁶ Denis Duncan, letter to Kenneth Mackenzie, 26 February 1959, Kenneth Mackenzie Papers (Coll. 64 Bx 8), CRC.

⁷⁵⁷ *British Weekly*, 5 March 1959, 1, 16.

⁷⁵⁸ Denis Duncan, letter to Kenneth Mackenzie, 6 March 1959, Kenneth Mackenzie Papers (Coll. 64 Bx 8), CRC.

He gave his frustrations a more public airing in an editorial published in the *British Weekly* later that same month. Referring to the Nyasaland issue as symptomatic of a larger problem, Duncan wrote that ‘history moves too quickly’ for the Kirk’s system in which official statements can only be made at the annual General Assembly, which, he argued, robs the church of its voice. However, ‘we can be grateful for individual Christians who, conscious of this void, speak out – without “authority,” “ill-informed” in the eyes of many, but biblically, in the prophetic line.’⁷⁵⁹ It was a perennial complaint. Similar frustrations were expressed five years earlier in an unsigned article in *Life and Work*, under Stevenson’s editorship.⁷⁶⁰ The Committee anent Central Africa also asked for a revision of rules allowing the church to comment on public issues in a timelier way.⁷⁶¹

To counter the efforts by the Africa Bureau and the SCAQ, supporters of federation created their own organisations. Seeing opposition to their plans for federation rising, Roy Welensky and others founded the London Committee of the United Central Africa Association in 1952. The Scottish Study Group for Rhodesia and Nyasaland was similarly founded in Scotland. They claimed to be independent and impartial in their attempts to ‘disseminate in Scotland factual and unbiased information on the situation in Central Africa.’⁷⁶² Gilbert Rennie was ostensibly not affiliated with the group. However, a letter from Edinburgh businessman and founding member of the group William Thyne, in Neil Bernard’s papers notes that the group was ‘formed as a result of a discussion between Sir Gilbert Rennie, High Commissioner for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Dr. Melville Dinwiddie and myself [Thyne] on the 8th of April.’⁷⁶³ That the conversation happened so

⁷⁵⁹ ‘The Voiceless Church’, *British Weekly*, 12 March 1959, 6.

⁷⁶⁰ ‘Commission’s “No Can Do”: Central Africa Comes Back on the Church for Help in Making Federation Work’, *Life and Work*, January 1954, 4.

⁷⁶¹ “‘Frustration’ over Assembly Procedure’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 6 May 1959.

⁷⁶² William Thyne, letter to unknown correspondent, 20 June 1960, 1, typescript in Neil C. Bernard Papers (CSWC 46 9/1), CRC.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*

soon after the publication of MacLeod's first article on Nyasaland in *Life and Work*, is likely not coincidental. Demonstrating the perceived importance of Scottish Christian opinion, the organisation specifically included presenting to church groups as part of its activities.⁷⁶⁴ Six months after its founding, the group held a press conference at the Balmoral Hotel in Edinburgh. The *Glasgow Herald* noted the presence of Rennie, the Duke of Hamilton, and Bernard Fergusson, who had recently been appointed to the Committee anent Central Africa. Fergusson told the paper 'that the Church of Scotland had been pronouncing on the subject with a voice which had been briefed from the anti-federation lobby until the last Assembly.' He intended to learn more from the Study Group.⁷⁶⁵ Both Fergusson and Melville Dinwiddie, who left a Church of Scotland pulpit to take up a position with the BBC from 1933 to 1957, had declined invitations from George MacLeod the year before to attend meetings of the Committee anent Central Africa as observers.⁷⁶⁶ Instead, they opted to join the Scottish Study Group. When the Committee anent Central Africa's membership was expanded to alter its ideological balance in 1960, they were both appointed full members.⁷⁶⁷

The networks of friends and allies that existed and formed on both sides of the debate over federation reveal the ideological differences apparent within the Church of Scotland at the time which prevented the passage of an unambiguous position relative to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland until the state of emergency moved opinion within the Kirk decisively against the Federation in 1959. These groups worked to disseminate information between them and across continents to rally Scottish Christian support. The anti-federation

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁷⁶⁵ 'Finding the Truth about Federation', *Glasgow Herald*, 7 Oct 1960, 10.

⁷⁶⁶ George F. MacLeod, letter to Bernard Fergusson and Melville Dinwiddie, 18 September 1959, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/67), NLS and Committee anent Central Africa, minutes, 2 November 1959, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/67), NLS.

⁷⁶⁷ *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Convened at Edinburgh May 24 to June 1960, with the Minutes of the Proceedings* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland), 850.

wing in the church had an important ally in J. W. Stevenson, who, as will be seen below, was positioned to give their arguments greater distribution.

The Anti-federation Message in *Life and Work*

As editor of the Kirk's official magazine, J. W. Stevenson could not overtly adopt an editorial policy that went further in condemning the Federation than the position declared by the General Assembly. He printed articles and essays advocating differing positions as a record of the 'life and work' of the church.⁷⁶⁸ However, the reader can detect his biases in his treatment of the differing positions. Three themes dominated the anti-federation message: (1) the special relationship between Scotland and Central Africa (especially Nyasaland), (2) Africans were civilised, and (3) Africans were capable of making their own decisions and governing their own countries. These messages were communicated through the printed word as well as photographs selected from images provided by missionaries, press photographers, and government sources. Through them and the captions provided by Stevenson and his staff, the Kirk's official magazine became a somewhat covert and unofficial organ of anti-federation sentiment. This section examines these messages and how they were communicated to the magazine's readership.

A Special Relationship

As with South African apartheid, anti-federationists needed to convince their fellow Scots of a humanitarian duty to take note and oppose the Federation's implementation and later its continuation. The Scottish connection to Nyasaland was well established. Justifications for political action often relied on romanticised accounts of Scotland's involvement in the process by which Nyasaland became a British protectorate and the ongoing role of

⁷⁶⁸ 'Controversial Issues in Life and Work', *Life and Work*, May 1957, 115.

missionaries. This included the role of David Livingstone and others, like David Clement Scott, whose humanitarianism brought him into conflict with both colonial and Kirk officials.⁷⁶⁹

Early missionaries in the area developed a sense of responsibility for the people akin to the paternalism asserted to be the ‘right kind’ of white domination that was present in South Africa (see chapter 4). An unnamed author in the *Life and Work, Blantyre Mission Supplement* in November 1888 wrote ‘We hope to see in this land native power established in thorough sympathy with superior civilization and permeated by it’.⁷⁷⁰ In October 1896, the Supplement’s successor, *Life and Work in British Central Africa*, advocated the church would act as voice for Africans in advising the government.⁷⁷¹ Another unsigned article in November 1895 stated ‘Central Africa is for the Africans . . . guided, ruled and educated by the hand of a stronger and older civilization, which will be neither Arab nor Hindoo but English.’⁷⁷² This followed a statement in the paper from January 1895: ‘Only a Christian man can govern Africa’ and that ‘Providence has entrusted [Nyasaland] to our discipline and training.’ Further, the unnamed author wrote that “‘Africa for the Africans’” has been our policy from the first, and we believe that God has given this country into our hands that we may train its peoples how to develop [sic] its marvellous resources themselves.’⁷⁷³

Scottish missionary paternalism continued well into the twentieth century. In April 1948, before federation became an issue, Stevenson printed an article in *Life and Work’s* supplement, *Other Lands*, calling Nyasaland ‘Scotland’s own protectorate in Africa’. The author, Douglas Benzie, was Neil Bernard’s predecessor as regional secretary of the Foreign

⁷⁶⁹ McCracken, ‘Church and State in Malawi’, 179.

⁷⁷⁰ *Life and Work, Blantyre Mission Supplement*, November 1888, 2.

⁷⁷¹ *Life and Work in British Central Africa* (hereafter *LWBCA*), October 1896, 2.

⁷⁷² *LWBCA*, November 1895, 3.

⁷⁷³ *LWBCA*, January 1895, 3.

Missions Committee for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.⁷⁷⁴ Appealing to the Livingstone motif in the textual iconography of missionary humanitarianism and empire in Africa, Benzies reminded his readers that it was in a petition ‘almost as widely supported as the Solemn League and Covenant itself’ that Scottish churchmen in 1889 had asked the prime minister, Lord Salisbury, to extend British protection over Nyasaland in the face of expansion by ‘Livingstone’s old opponents’, the Portuguese. Several Scottish worthies were mentioned in the article, but it was Livingstone’s name that Benzies invoked repeatedly. Likewise, the special relationship between Scotland and Nyasaland was cited over and over again throughout the federation period, with Livingstone’s legacy as a central motif.

The article’s three images are important touchstones establishing the Scottish Christian view of Central Africa in the years leading up to federation. They demonstrate several continuing motifs within the Scottish iconography of mission, including education and modernity, which demonstrate the Scottish Christian humanitarian belief in African capacity for advancement toward Euro-normative ideals of civilisation. The images are also notable for their perpetuation of racially inflected conventions of missionary photography. The first image shows missionary Robert Ross giving school prizes at Blantyre (Figure 5.2). The scene is a common one, repeated in thousands of schools each year. Ross and an unidentified white missionary stand before a group of black pupils in a scene reminiscent of many nineteenth-century missionary images in which white missionaries tower over black pupils. Not only do the students sit, they sit outside, on the ground, while the white missionaries stand in front of them. These young scholars are the Africans ‘guided, ruled and educated’ by British missionaries as the mission newspaper envisioned in November 1895.

⁷⁷⁴ Benzies arrived in Central Africa in 1947 and died after surgery in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, soon after this article was written (‘Missionary’s Death’, *The Scotsman*, 14 July 1948, 3).

Its use as the main image for the article describing Nyasaland's progress is indicative of the emphasis placed on Scottish mission education for African advancement.

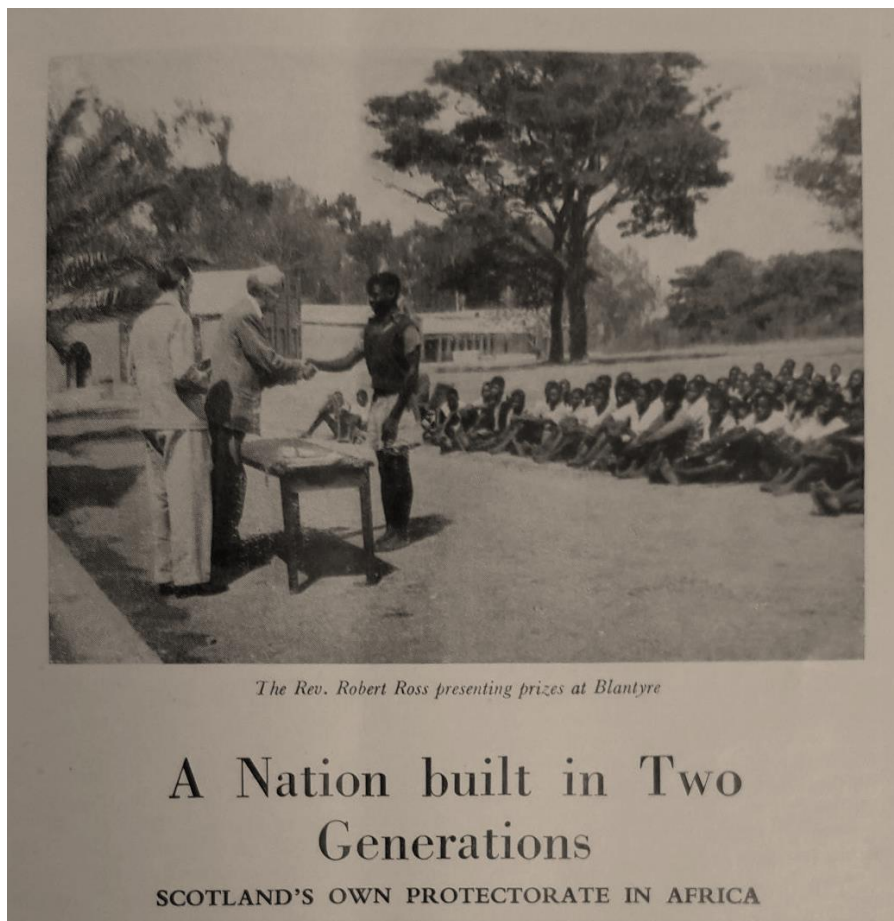


Figure 5.2 'The Rev. Robert Ross presenting prizes at Blantyre' (*Other Lands*, April 1948, 173).

This is further demonstrated in the juxtaposition of the other two images, published one above the other (Figure 5.3). The first shows a congregation in the northern village of Karonga. Wearing traditional clothing, they are pictured in a thatched-roof shelter without walls, presumably where they meet for worship. In the foreground are several raised mounds of dirt, which may be graves decorated with flowers. Below is an image of the church at Blantyre designed by missionary David Clement Scott and built by African students learning the brick-making and brick-laying trades. Despite its construction by African labourers and its housing of a largely African congregation, not one African appears in the photograph, as if

the building's portrayal of modernity and civilisation depended on the lack of Africans in the image.⁷⁷⁵

Surrounding it are well-kept lawns and trees, reflecting the emphasis on horticulture at Scottish mission stations. The building was well known, with similar photographs of it (sans Africans) appearing, among other places, in James Reid's 1896 photographic essay on the mission and Alexander Hetherwick's 1931 *The Romance of Blantyre*, appropriately subtitled 'How Livingstone's Dream Came True.'⁷⁷⁶

All on the mission station at Blantyre seems peaceful, verdant, and full of life. *Life and Work* included an image of the building in March 1913 under the title 'Blantyre: The Church of Scotland's Memorial to David Livingstone'.⁷⁷⁷

Life and Work again appealed to the memory of Livingstone in May 1953. It was the month of the General Assembly, giving the magazine's contents special import as they would



Figure 5.3 Above: 'Karonga village congregation'; Below: 'Blantyre Church from the old manse' (*Other Lands*, April 1948, 175).

⁷⁷⁵ Douglas Benzies, 'A Nation Built in Two Generations: Scotland's Own Protectorate in Africa', *Other Lands*, April 1948, 173–76.

⁷⁷⁶ James Reid, ed., *A Glimpse of Mission Work and Scenery in the Sphere Occupied by the Church of Scotland in British Central Africa* (Edinburgh: British Central Africa Mission of the Church of Scotland, 1896), 4 and Alexander Hetherwick, *The Romance of Blantyre: How Livingstone's Dream Came True* (London: James Clarke and Company, 1931), frontispiece.

⁷⁷⁷ 'Blantyre: The Church of Scotland's Memorial to David Livingstone', *Life and Work*, March 1913, 89.

be the last word from the editors before the commissioners met before the Federation came into being. Stevenson, who, as we have seen, was in contact with missionaries in Central Africa and the anti-federation lobby within the Kirk, chose that issue to print a report on the January visit to Scotland by four of Nyasaland's chiefs. It was titled 'Appeal to the Country of Livingstone' and it reminded readers that Livingstone and the other Scottish missionaries were inextricably part of bringing Nyasaland under British protection. Though Livingstone's role in this was only indirect and posthumous, his legacy was important to the relationship between Scotland and Nyasaland (see chapter 1). The chiefs' message was an important one with significant nuance. 'We are not a conquered people', the Nyasa delegates said. 'We were brought under protection by the missionaries. Scottish missionaries could testify that we were conquered by the Bible, not by the sword'.⁷⁷⁸ There was an important distinction between protection and conquest and while the relationship was not one of conqueror and conquered, neither was it a relationship of equals. Nyasaland's chiefs accepted British protection willingly in the nineteenth century and it was to that promised protection their successors appealed in 1953. However, instead of the Portuguese and Swahili slavers of the nineteenth century, the chiefs and their people wanted protection from the white settlers within the Empire who were pushing for federation. A statement from the Livingstonia Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) cited a 'general distrust of those who, under the Federal Scheme, would hold power'.⁷⁷⁹ The chiefs went to Scotland to remind the Scots of their obligation to them in a land they claimed as Scotland's own protectorate. 'We are a protected people', Chief Maganga said. 'You are our protectors.'⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁸ 'Appeal to the Country of Livingstone: Nyasaland Peoples and the Pledges Given to Them by Scots', *Life and Work*, May 1953, 57.

⁷⁷⁹ Synod of Livingstonia, Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, 'Statement on Federation', Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁷⁸⁰ 'We Do Not Want Federation: Nyasaland Chiefs' Protest', *British Weekly*, 15 January 1953, 6–7.

Above the title of the article in *Life and Work* was an image of the Nyasaland delegates from Scottish press photographer George M. Cowie (Figure 5.4). In the middle was future Malawian president Hastings Banda, flanked by two chiefs on either side. All five wear business suits. In addition to publishing the article in *Life and Work* rather than *Other Lands*, with its smaller readership, the fact that Stevenson chose to include a photograph and purchased one

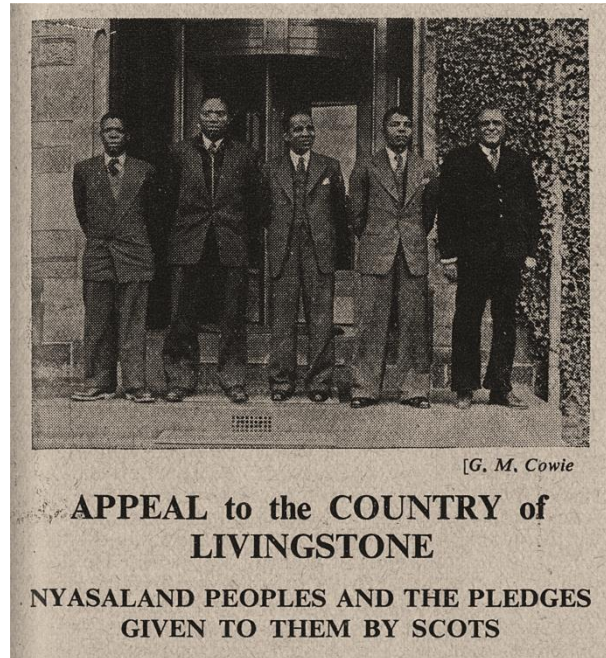


Figure 5.4 Nyasaland delegation including Hastings Banda, Chief Maganga, Acting-Paramount Chief Gomani, and Chief Somba in the United Kingdom to lobby against the Federation (*Life and Work*, May 1953, 57: photo credit: G. M. Cowie).

from a freelance photographer indicates he was trying to attract as much attention as possible to the article and the issues it raised.⁷⁸¹ Using Livingstone's name in the title was also a method of attracting readers interested in one of Scotland's favourite sons. By including the photograph he chose – of five men in suits – Stevenson gave his readers an image of Westernised men who came to Scotland to participate in the established political process. Although Somba was said to be the leader, Banda's place in the middle of the composition is telling. Following the longstanding convention of anonymising Africans in photographs, *Life and Work* did not identify any of them by name. Instead, the names of white Scots who were involved appear in the article: Lord Hemingford, John Dugdale, and John Baillie. The *British Weekly*, which was not yet owned by the Church of Scotland in 1953, provides four of the delegates' names, including Hastings Banda.⁷⁸² The three others named were Chief Maganga,

⁷⁸¹ On George Cowie see David W. Lyle, *Shadows of St. Andrews Past* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1989), 88–93.

⁷⁸² Five years before the *British Weekly* came under the ownership of the Church of Scotland, its editors committed the newspaper to an anti-federation stance and 'promise[d] its Scottish readers that no matter what form they take, attempts to silence it on Federation will not succeed so long as the work of Scotland's

Acting-Paramount Chief Gomani, and Chief Somba.⁷⁸³ In January Baillie presided at a meeting of around 1,800 people in the Church of Scotland's General Assembly Hall in Edinburgh, at which Hemingford and Dugdale presented the case against federation.⁷⁸⁴

Life and Work also invoked Livingstone's legacy the month before, entitling a report 'Livingstone's Society on African Federation: London Missionary Society Asks for Delay'.⁷⁸⁵ The LMS's Africa Committee had issued a statement noting it was 'gravely disturbed by the evidences of deterioration in inter-racial relationships and of the growth of mistrust in the Central African territories.' They suggested five years' delay for alternatives to be developed and considered. The Society's primary concern was the deteriorating relationship between the races, which it argued needed to be repaired before federation went into effect. 'More fundamental and more urgent than any decision on Federation is the need to restore confidence and trust between the European and African communities, without which any economic and political plans will inevitably fail.'⁷⁸⁶

When federation did come into effect in defiance to African objections, Church of Scotland missionary Andrew Doig felt he was perhaps uniquely situated to serve as a white representative of African interests in the Federal Assembly. In December 1955, Doig's picture appeared in *Life and Work* with an interview titled 'Scot Who Represents Two Million Africans: How Central African Federation is Working' (Figure 5.5). The introduction

missionaries is menaced by this plan' ('Central African Federation: Scottish Council Formed', *British Weekly*, 12 March 1953, 10).

⁷⁸³ 'We Do Not Want Federation: Nyasaland Chiefs' Protest', *British Weekly*, 15 January 1953, 6–7.

⁷⁸⁴ 'Appeal to the Country of Livingstone: Nyasaland Peoples and the Pledges Given to Them by Scots', *Life and Work*, May 1953, 57.

⁷⁸⁵ 'Livingstone's Society on African Federation: London Missionary Society Asks for Delay', *Life and Work*, April 1953, 73.

⁷⁸⁶ 'The Africa Committee of the London Missionary Society has Issued the Following Statement on: Central African Federation', *British Weekly*, 19 February 1953, 9.

notes that Doig ‘was granted “leave” from his missionary duties’ to take up his post in the Federal Assembly. The quotation marks suggest that Doig’s legislative duties on behalf of Nyasaland’s black residents were not in fact a departure from his missionary vocation, but an important component of it. The official portrait of Doig, provided by Southern Rhodesia Public Relations, shows him wearing his ministerial collar, further suggesting he was not on leave but

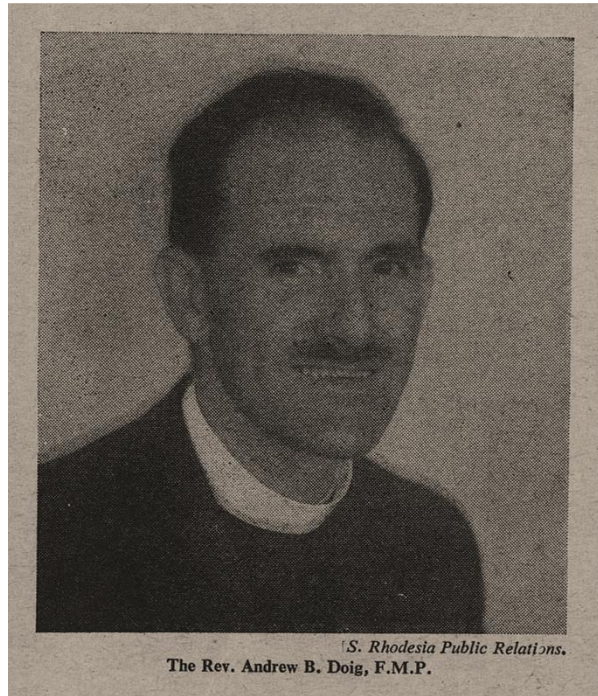


Figure 5.5 ‘The Rev. Andrew B. Doig, F. M. P.’ (*Life and Work*, December 1955, 307; photo credit: Southern Rhodesia Public Relations).

continuing his ministry in the Federal Assembly. The caption combined two elements of his ministry calling him ‘the Rev. Andrew B. Doig, F.M.P.’, recognising both his status as an ordained minister and a member of the Federal Assembly. Pre-empting objections like those of the Duchess of Hamilton, to the effect that federation was a political issue on which the Kirk had no standing, the article cited Doig’s belief that the problems faced in the Federation were ‘fundamentally religious issues. . . . They compel[led] answers to the questions “Has God made of one blood all nations of the earth?” and “Who then is my neighbour?”’ There was ‘no doubt’ that the Scottish Kirk had a special role to play.⁷⁸⁷ It was a frustrating ministry and Doig reported that the impact he and the other representatives of African interests had made on policy had been ‘disappointing’. He resigned from the Federal Assembly in June 1958 after the Constitutional Amendment Act and Electoral Act had passed through the Westminster Parliament, despite objections from Doig and the African Affairs Board.

⁷⁸⁷ ‘Scot Who Represents Two Million Africans: How Central African Federation is Working’, *Life and Work*, December 1955, 307–08.

Although he tried to represent African interests, he lost the respect of many Africans who saw his service in the Federal Assembly as complicity in an illegitimate system.

One of Doig's colleagues in representing African interests to the Federal Assembly was Sir John Moffat, whose moral authority in speaking on behalf of black Africans was sometimes linked more to his relationship to David Livingstone than his political position (Figure 5.6). Moffat was the grandson of John Smith Moffat, the son of Livingstone's father-in-law, Robert Moffat, the LMS missionary at Kuruman and Molepolole. When Doig mentioned him in the interview published in December 1955, he

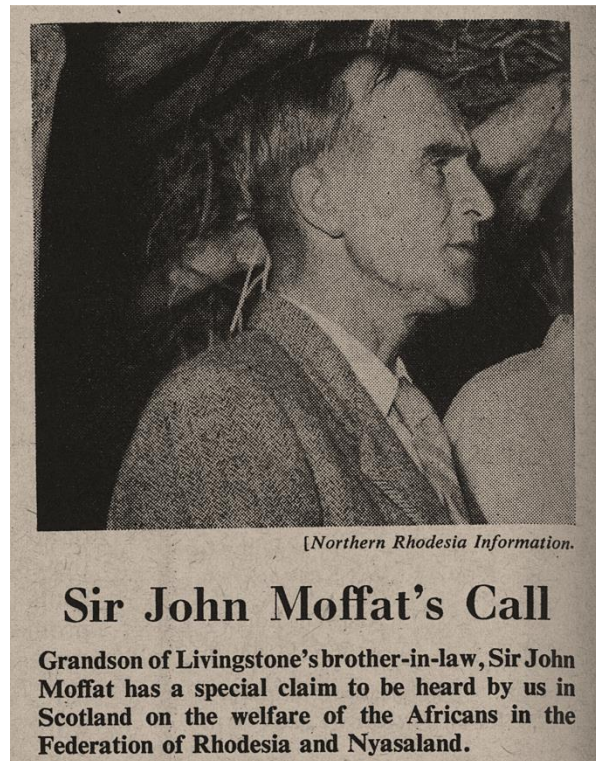


Figure 5.6 Sir John Moffat (*Life and Work*, May 1958, 106; photo credit Northern Rhodesia Information).

said 'His arrival on the Federal scene this year has greatly strengthened the team representing African interests. As you know, he is of the famous missionary family'.⁷⁸⁸ When in May 1958 *Life and Work* printed part of his statement to the Federal Assembly opposing the Electoral Bill that further limited the representation of black Africans in the Federation, his picture was captioned stating that as a '[g]randson of Livingstone's brother-in-law, Sir John Moffat has a special claim to be heard by us in Scotland on the welfare of Africans in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.'

The opponents of Federation wanted Scots to recognise a special connection to Nyasaland and invoked one of the most powerful motifs in the iconography of Christian humanitarianism. That connection arose from the historical ties to David Livingstone as one

⁷⁸⁸ 'Scot Who Represents Two Million Africans: How Central African Federation is Working', *Life and Work*, December 1955, 307.

of Scotland's most revered figures. By citing the relationship to Livingstone and the conditions under which Nyasaland entered British protection, opponents of federation hoped to convince Scots that the relationship required action on their part to convince Members of Parliament in Westminster and the Government in Whitehall to abandon the federation scheme so unwanted by Nyasaland's people.

Civilised Christian Citizens

Early missionaries and many of their successors envisioned white missionaries and colonial officials guiding Africans toward civilisation. By the middle of the twentieth century, opponents of federation schemes pointed to a job well done. Images published in church periodicals with stories about Africa portray just such a thing. The image of the 'new African man' was a longstanding trope of mission photography. In this case, however, it is deployed differently as its rationale was not to solicit support for the missionary enterprise but to oppose the federation experiment, whose supporters argued that Africans were 'superstitious' and 'backward'.

The beginning of 1953 brought a rush of publications urging delay in implementing the Federation, which was due to happen later that year. In January, an article from anthropologist and former Livingstonia missionary T. Cullen Young recounted the early days of Donald Fraser as a medical missionary at Loudon. But, instead of the typical 'before' image one might expect, showing Africans before Fraser arrived to 'civilise' them, there appeared what might be considered the 'after' image, or the end result of Scottish mission education in Central Africa, twenty years after Fraser's death. Editor Stevenson included an image of an African family that appear to be the very picture of the Christian domestic ideal

(Figure 5.7). The father wears a jacket and tie and though the mother's clothing is distinctly 'African' and all are barefoot, they are 'modestly' dressed according to European standards of the time. In the image, which was acquired from the British and Foreign Bible Society, father, mother, and two children are gathered around a book. The picture is captioned 'Africa: the family Bible', as if the picture represented Africa as a whole. Not only is this well-dressed family reading but their choice of literature is the Bible itself, demonstrating



Figure 5.7 'Africa: the family Bible', unidentified African family (*Life and Work*, January 1953, 5; photo credit: British and Foreign Bible Society).

their civilisation, education, and Christian piety. They were not an African 'other' but very much like *Life and Work's* Scottish readers saw themselves – as civilised, educated, and pious Christians. Young had been active in the Student Volunteer Movement with connections to other Nyasaland missionaries and was a long-time acquaintance of Hastings Banda.⁷⁸⁹ In his article in *Life and Work*, he decried what he called 'the culpably ill-informed picture painted for the Press and the British . . . of "illiterate or semi-literate peoples ill-guided by a handful of unbalanced, semi-educated trouble-makers." As I write now', he continued, 'I am thinking of African men – yes; and African women also – who at any time these last 20 years have been complete disproof of all such belittlement of African quality.'⁷⁹⁰ No doubt one of those men of 'African quality' was his friend Hastings Banda, with whom he

⁷⁸⁹ Peter G. Forster, *T. Cullen Young: Missionary and Anthropologist* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1989), 9, 34, 66, 157.

⁷⁹⁰ T. Cullen Young, 'The Other Africa: A Commentary upon Present Disparagement', *Life and Work*, January 1953, 5–6.

collaborated on a translation of three Chichewa essays describing and celebrating the Chewa culture in Nyasaland.⁷⁹¹ The image of Africans presented in opposition to federation here and elsewhere stood in contrast to traditional stereotypes of spear-wielding men and women with bare breasts or the Venda dancer pictured in Aitken's article about African medicine in chapter 4 (Figure 4.12, p. 169). Instead, the mid-century African was shown as the successful product of mission education, rather than the raw material of the civilising mission.

The Scottish missions in Central Africa had been in place for many years when the Federation went into effect. The Kirk was proud of what it had accomplished there. In October 1955 *Life and Work* published an article celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the Blantyre mission's being granted status as a municipality. The article reviewed key events, like Livingstone's 'discovery' of Lake Nyasa, the founding of



Figure 5.8 'A street in Blantyre to-day' (*Life and Work*, October 1955, 250; photo credit: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federal Information Department).

the Universities' Mission of Central Africa, and Henry Henderson's selection of a site in the Shire Highlands. 'Trade followed the Bible', the article stated, and 'Livingstone had always preached that commerce was a means of civilising Africa.' Consequently, the Livingstonia Central Africa Company was established to promote 'legitimate trade' as an alternative to the slave trade. Sixty years later, as a result of the successful trade in the area, there was, it was reported, a construction boom in Blantyre. As evidence of the 'civilisation' in Blantyre, the editor included a photograph (Figure 5.8). In it are broad streets, tidy white buildings, and automobiles. Less apparent, but still visible, are telephone lines. The fact that the image was

⁷⁹¹ John Kambalame, E. P. Chidzalo, and J. W. M. Chadangalara, *Our African Way of Life*, trans. Cullen Young and Hastings Banda (London: Lutterworth, 1946).

provided by the Federal Information Department begs the question of why it was taken but the reason for its inclusion in *Life and Work* seems apparent. The city seems modern in every way. The man walking down the street wearing Western clothing is another example of the modern, civilised African.⁷⁹² He is reminiscent of the Africans depicted in the images of Bethelsdorp (Figure 1.3, p. 30) and Kuruman (Figure 1.4, p. 35) seen in chapter 1.

The ‘civilised’ streets of Blantyre welcomed a special guest in July 1957: Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother. During her brief visit, she opened the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Blantyre, which *Life and Work’s* report points out was for all races.

She also attended a garden

party, met 135 chiefs, presented new colours to the 1st Battalion King’s African Rifles, and visited the church in Blantyre designed by David Clement Scott. It was there that the picture was taken of her greeting black ministers of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (Figure 5.9). These men, though lacking the academic hood indicating the university degree possessed by their white colleague, seen in the image, were nonetheless dressed as one would expect a Presbyterian minister of any race to dress. They even wore medals, possibly indicating service in British imperial forces during World War II. The men were not only

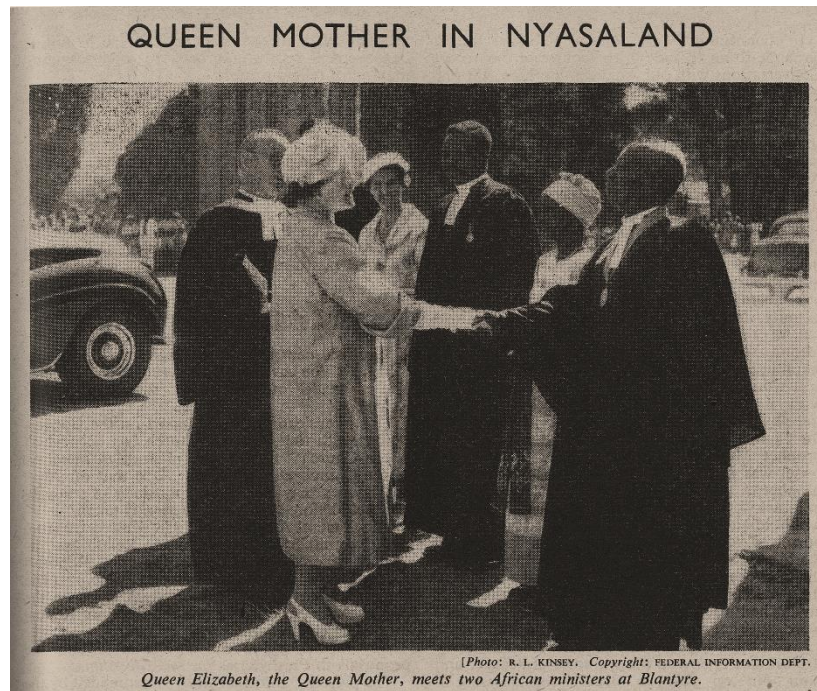


Figure 5.9 ‘Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, meets two African ministers at Blantyre’ (*Life and Work*, October 1957, 247; photo credit: R. L. Kinsey, copyright: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federal Information Department).

⁷⁹² ‘Blantyre’s 60 Years: Founded by a Scots Missionary’, *Life and Work*, October 1955, 250.

Christian and civilised but loyal subjects, despite the vocal opposition by their church to Federation.⁷⁹³

After years of Africans having been portrayed in church and secular media as ‘savages’ and ‘heathens’, J. W. Stevenson used *Life and Work* to portray them as civilised Christians who were loyal to the Empire, notwithstanding their opposition to Federation. Africans wore Western clothing. They read the Bible and were even church ministers. They served in the King’s forces and paid respect to the Queen Mother. These images, of course, imply a Euro-normative standard of civilisation but one that the Africans had met.

African Capability

It could be argued that even loyal, civilised, Christian citizens may not be sufficiently capable of taking control of a modern state or deciding they do not want to be a part of a federation with two other white-controlled territories. The black population of Nyasaland believed that as citizens of a protectorate, they were being trained to eventually take on the responsibilities of government in their own land, according to the stadialism that was sometimes used to justify the colonial enterprise in Africa. Federation’s supporters claimed black Central Africans were not yet ready but many of the scheme’s most ardent opponents in Scotland disagreed. Eschewing images of black Africans as simple or backward, Kirk publications portrayed them first as capable of making an informed decision to reject the Federation and, by 1959, ready for self-government, although the apparent implication is that capability was contingent upon adopting Western behaviours.

The question of Africans’ capacity to understand what it was they were rejecting in the federation proposals was an early issue. Neil Bernard noted the political astuteness of

⁷⁹³ ‘Queen Mother in Nyasaland: A Report of her Recent Tour from the Blantyre Mission’, *Life and Work*, October 1957, 247.

black Africans in his October 1951 article in *Life and Work*. Missionaries and former missionaries continued to challenge the assertion that Africans were not ready to govern themselves. In May 1953, Cullen Young published another article in *Other Lands*, facetiously titled ‘Those African “Barbarians”!’ The issue of federation,



Figure 5.10 Four unidentified African men (*Other Lands*, May 1953, 27).

according to the editorial note heading the article, was the ‘likelihood or unlikelihood of Africans being fit in future years to share in government and administration’. Young argued against ideas of Africans being ‘barbarians’, ‘immature’, or not ready to govern themselves. Recognising that few Africans possessed academic degrees, Young argued that the experience and collective wisdom passed down through generations gave them an education no less useful. The idea that Africans were not capable because they were not ‘educated’ or Westernised, Young wrote, was both a ‘libel’ and a ‘lie’ which ‘persist[s] equally in Whitehall and in African centres of Government.’ There was as well an irony in these arguments for Young, who wrote that the Africans were not ‘oblivious to the economic advantages presumed to lie in the larger unit which federation envisages.’ However, ‘not one of the leaders of White opinion . . . has any intimate knowledge whatever of the Africans about whom he is speaking in conference, in the press, and on the air.’ Nevertheless, it was the Africans who were considered to be ignorant of the political realities surrounding them. An image of four African men all dressed in Western clothing is appended to the article (Figure 5.10).⁷⁹⁴ The image appeals to popular motifs in the iconography of mission conflating capacity with Westernisation.

⁷⁹⁴ Cullen Young, ‘Those African “Barbarians”’: What is Maturity? – The Danger of Over-emphasis on Book-learning’, *Other Lands*, May 1953, 27–29. Photographs of mission stations often show that Africans tried to

Capability equated with Western education and so images of Africans in Western schools are a staple of missionary photography which took on new, contested meanings in the context of the Federation. During

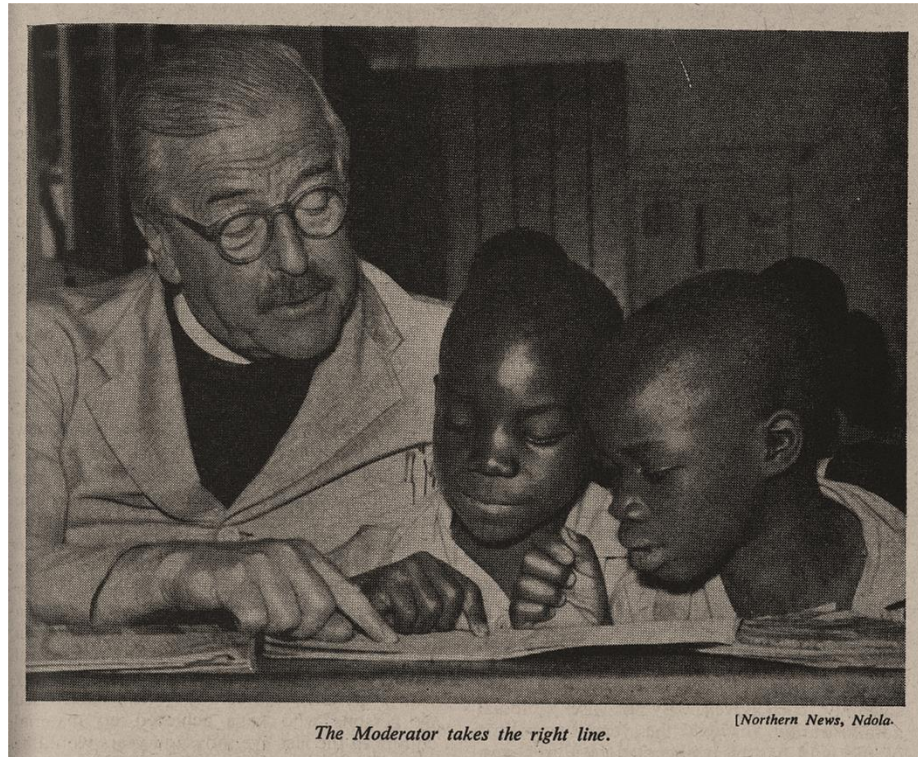


Figure 5.11 'The Moderator takes the right line.' George MacLeod reads with Northern Rhodesian school children (*Life and Work*, April 1958, 83; photo credit: *Northern News*, Ndola).

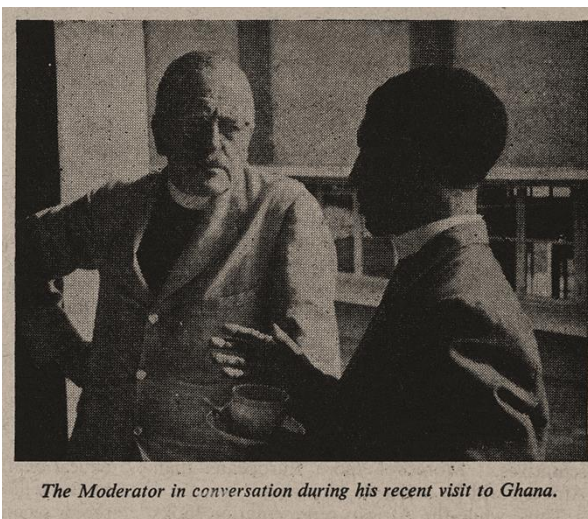
George MacLeod's tour of Africa in early 1958, he was photographed in a school, reading with two young pupils (Figure 5.11). At first glance, it appears to be an iteration of the common trope of the white missionary imparting his knowledge to African students who yearn for what he had to teach them. The caption, however, complicates the conventional reading: 'The Moderator takes the right line.'⁷⁹⁵ The 'line' in question being the opinions expressed in MacLeod's articles, with which the editor is expressing agreement. The caption thus reverses the roles from the norm and the white man becomes the student in the context of MacLeod's fact-finding tour in which he went to Africa to learn from the Africans. This sort of double meaning in captions was a favourite device used in *Life and Work*,

outdo the Europeans in regard to their clothing, wearing jackets and ties while the white missionaries wore short trousers and open-collared shirts (Thomas Stevenson Colvin Papers (CSWC Bx 4 fd 4), CRC).

⁷⁹⁵ George F. MacLeod, 'Last Chance in Nyasaland?', *Life and Work*, April 1958, 83.

commenting on some action portrayed in the image, which established the intent of the article and an editorial opinion regarding it.⁷⁹⁶

MacLeod's first article on his return from Africa was followed by a second the following month as Stevenson gave the Moderator the unusual privilege of space in back-to-back issues in *Life and Work*. Well timed, it appeared in May, as commissioners were again getting ready for the General Assembly. The accompanying image shows MacLeod in conversation with a black man



The Moderator in conversation during his recent visit to Ghana.

Figure 5.12 'The Moderator in conversation during his recent visit to Ghana.' George MacLeod speaks with an anonymous Ghanaian church minister (*Life and Work*, May 1958, 111).

in Ghana wearing a ministerial collar (Figure 5.12). Importantly, the black minister is talking and MacLeod is listening, as Neil Bernard arranged for him to do in Nyasaland.⁷⁹⁷ This was unusual there, as the nationalist leader T. D. T. Banda complained that 'Europeans here . . . do not want to listen to what Africans have to say at any time.'⁷⁹⁸

MacLeod heard mixed messages from Nyasaland and his advocacy on their behalf was not unambiguous. Brian Glass notes that MacLeod was not yet an anti-colonialist arguing for Nyasaland's independence in 1958.⁷⁹⁹ The statement from the Blantyre Synod claimed that 'There can be no possible doubt about the view of the majority of people in this land – they want Protectorate status to continue at the present time.'⁸⁰⁰ Tom Colvin, however,

⁷⁹⁶ See, for example, an article in *Life and Work* later that year, describing the modernising influence of Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, in which the Queen's husband is seen pointing and the title reads 'The Duke Points the Way' ('The Duke Points the Way', *Life and Work*, November 1958, 269).

⁷⁹⁷ George F. MacLeod, 'Churches Must Move Now: Last Chance in Nyasaland', *Life and Work*, May 1958, 111–12.

⁷⁹⁸ Thamar Dillon Thomas Banda, letter to George F. MacLeod, 9 January 1959, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁷⁹⁹ Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*, 55–56.

⁸⁰⁰ Synod of Blantyre, Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, 'Statement of the Synod of Blantyre of the C.C.A.P. Concerning the Present State of Unrest in Nyasaland', Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS (emphasis in original).

admitted that as convenor of the committee drafting the statement, he ‘had a hard battle to make it as moderate as it is.’⁸⁰¹ ‘The statement was by no means strong enough, for Congress liking’ but he had ‘not the slightest doubt that the Statement reflects the mind of Synod’.⁸⁰² Perhaps more representative of African sentiment was the memorandum from the nationalist leader T. D. T. Banda, in which he stated ‘what we want is Self-Government – a government by the people, for the people and of the people.’⁸⁰³ T. D. T. Banda was not as radical as some and he was forced out of his position as head of the Nyasaland African Congress because of his moderation. Colvin told MacLeod in an undated letter, probably written in early 1958, that the Nyasaland African Congress would likely become more extreme after Banda’s departure.⁸⁰⁴

While MacLeod may have afforded the Ghanaian minister the privilege of a conversation held as equals, the editor failed to identify him, once again following the longstanding convention of mission photography.⁸⁰⁵ Stevenson apparently included the image to demonstrate white Scots listening to what Africans had to say. In that sense, the black man was a type and a useful prop, as was MacLeod, though MacLeod was afforded the dignity of being identified in the image. MacLeod’s example of listening to Africans was a stark contrast to the situation in Central Africa, where federation was imposed on the black majority without consulting them and their years of lobbying had fallen on deaf ears and sparked cries of ‘nationalism’ and ‘extremism’ unworthy of consideration.

⁸⁰¹ Thomas S. Colvin, letter to George F. MacLeod, no date (probably early 1958), Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁸⁰² Thomas Colvin, letter to John W. Stevenson, 30 July 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁸⁰³ Thamar Dillon Thomas Banda, ‘Memorandum Presented during Interview with the Right Reverend George F. MacLeod, M.C., D.D., Chaplain to the Queen, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 15 January 1958’, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁸⁰⁴ Thomas S. Colvin, letter to George F. MacLeod, no date (probably early 1958), Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁸⁰⁵ MacLeod, ‘Churches Must Move Now’, 111–12.

MacLeod's articles drew praise from his supporters and criticism from his detractors. A favourable summary was printed in the *Nyasaland Times* in January 1959, to which T. D. T. Banda replied directly to MacLeod, asking for more copies so he could distribute them locally.⁸⁰⁶ In contrast, MacLeod wrote to Tom Colvin, informing him that 'I at least have drawn the fire from Sir Gilbert Rennie, to whom I shall reply in the September *Life and Work*.'⁸⁰⁷ While J. W. Stevenson arranged to give MacLeod the last word, he gave Sir Gilbert a chance to comment on MacLeod's articles in the July issue of *Life and Work*. In his article, titled 'Ambition Outstrips Capacity', Rennie argued that the Africans were not yet ready for self-government. Attempting to use MacLeod's own words against him, Rennie cited one of the Moderator's speeches in Nyasaland earlier that year in which MacLeod made the stadial argument that a nation, like a human being, must pass through three stages of development: childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Referencing the governor of Nyasaland, Rennie wrote that 'before a country is able to stand on its own feet it must not only be viable economically but it must also have in its people the necessary supporting skill, training, experience, and education.' The necessary experience had thus far not been gained because the upper and middle echelons of the civil service, commerce, and other sectors had been held by others. For that reason, Rennie doubted black Central Africans' capacity to govern themselves, favouring a continuation of white trusteeship and concluding that the future of Central Africa depended upon the success of the Federation.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁶ Thamar Dillon Thomas Banda, letter to George F. MacLeod, 9 January 1959, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁸⁰⁷ George F. MacLeod, letter to Thomas Colvin, 16 July 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

⁸⁰⁸ Gilbert Rennie, "'Ambition Outstrips Capacity": A Reply on African Federation', *Life and Work*, July 1958, 167–68.

Although Stevenson claimed a commitment to presenting all sides of the debate as a true record of the ‘life and work’ of the Kirk, he apparently did not feel the need to present all sides equally or without at least subtle editorial comment.⁸⁰⁹ While the editor included images and favourably captioned them to support arguments he agreed with, if he included images in articles he opposed, the images and captions served to undermine

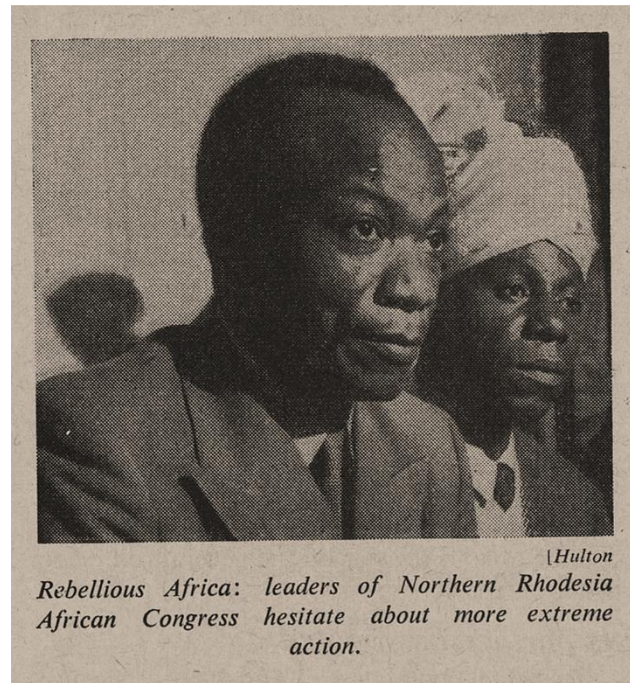


Figure 5.13 ‘Rebellious Africa.’ Northern Rhodesian nationalist Harry Nkumbula and an unidentified man (*Life and Work*, July 1958, 167; Photo credit: Hulton).

the stated arguments. The picture accompanying Sir Gilbert’s negative assessment of African capacity was an image of Harry Nkumbula (left), who was president of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress (Figure 5.13). Nkumbula embodied the antithesis of Rennie’s argument. Far from uneducated, he was a trained teacher, having attended Makerere University College; the Institute of Education, University of London; and the London School of Economics. His involvement in politics dated back to the Second World War. While in London, he met and collaborated with Hastings Banda on a pamphlet opposing federation and calling for an amalgamation between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as a black colonial state.⁸¹⁰ This, however, was lost on those who did not recognise or know the history of Nkumbula, who was not identified in the caption. Still, those uninitiated readers would have seen in Nkumbula and his unidentified companion two men in the Western

⁸⁰⁹ ‘Controversial Issues in Life and Work’, *Life and Work*, May 1957, 115.

⁸¹⁰ Hugh Macmillan, ‘Nkumbula, Harry Mwaanga (1917?–1983), African Nationalist Leader in Northern Rhodesia’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/75930>.

clothing so often associated with images of Africans who had been ‘civilised’ and ‘educated’ according to Western standards.

Continuing Stevenson’s editorial rebuttal of Rennie’s article, he placed two others after it. As if in conversation with Rennie, Stevenson titled the first article after Sir Gilbert’s ‘Then Why this Appeal from the Synod of Blantyre Nyasaland?’, asking Rennie and other federation supporters to respond to the overwhelming objection to the Federation by the region’s black inhabitants. At least in part, Stevenson’s question seems to challenge Rennie’s belief in Africans’ incapacity by presenting the articulate statement by the synod. In Nyasaland, the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian’s Synod of Livingstonia made a statement in March and the Synod of Blantyre followed in May, both criticising the Federation. The appeal from Blantyre printed in July was in addition to the earlier statements. Stevenson printed the final paragraph in bold type: ‘This Synod appeals to the people of Scotland through the Church of Scotland to remember their ancient links with the people of this land and consider their political responsibilities towards us as exercised by the United Kingdom Government.’⁸¹¹ After the first synodical statement from Blantyre in May, Stevenson wrote to Tom Colvin in Blantyre for more information. Colvin responded in late July, after the appeal had been printed, giving Stevenson ‘Many thanks for being so involved on our behalf.’ Colvin apparently saw Stevenson as supporting the Africans’ cause and sent a copy to George MacLeod, indicating their mutual collaboration.⁸¹²

Sandwiched between two different sections of the Blantyre Synod’s statement was an interview with Rev. J. S. Howie, regarding ‘the subject of the African’s ability to share in the management of the country’. Howie, who was a former Church of Scotland missionary at Chitambo, Northern Rhodesia, where David Livingstone died, was satisfied that Africans

⁸¹¹ ‘Then Why This Appeal from the Synod of Blantyre in Nyasaland?’, *Life and Work*, July 1958, 168 and 170.

⁸¹² Thomas Colvin, letter to John W. Stevenson, 30 July 1958, Macleod of Fuinary and Iona Community (Acc. 9084/68), NLS.

could govern themselves. He recalled that in his experience, ‘They did the right thing without hesitation’. If they had some money, for example, ‘first it was for the good of the whole community; next for the children; and then for the weak and aged.’ The article concludes ‘The spirit of Livingstone still lives in that area’.⁸¹³

George MacLeod had planned to reply to Gilbert Rennie in the September issue of *Life and Work* but it was Andrew Doig whose reply was printed. Doig had resigned his seat in the Federal Assembly in protest over the ineffectuality of the African Affairs Board on which he served and became an even more outspoken critic of the Federation. He pointed to the Africans’ savvy in recognising the repeated failure of the Federation scheme’s measures supposedly set up to protect their interests. The former representative praised the statements from the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods as ‘moderate and balanced statements on the cause of the unrest in Nyasaland, examining the political situation and pleading for conciliatory action before it is too late.’⁸¹⁴

While Doig and others saw the synods’ statements as ‘moderate and balanced’, the Federation’s supporters disagreed. In the same September issue in which Doig’s article appeared, Stevenson printed a letter to the editor from L. F. G. Anthony, the information attaché at the Federation’s High Commission in London. Anthony not only criticised the statement but also *Life and Work* for its handling of it. Anthony claimed the synod’s statement was ‘inaccurate and misleading’ and that it had ‘deeply shocked many Christians, not excepting members of the Church of Scotland itself.’⁸¹⁵ Some of those members of the Church of Scotland who may have agreed with Anthony’s statement and disagreed with the Synod of Blantyre were the elders of the white Zomba congregation in southern Nyasaland. Zomba had declined to join with the black churches in Nyasaland to form the Church of

⁸¹³ ‘Africans Have Their Own Insights’, *Life and Work*, July 1958, 170.

⁸¹⁴ Andrew Doig, ‘Central African Testing Time’, *Life and Work*, September 1958, 231–32.

⁸¹⁵ L. F. G. Anthony, ‘What’s the Truth in Nyasaland’, *Life and Work*, September 1958, 225–26.

Central Africa Presbyterian and continued as a Church of Scotland congregation in the Overseas Presbytery of Blantyre. Their letter to the editor of *Life and Work* was printed in October 1958, protesting against MacLeod's articles, which they found misleading, ill-informed, and naïve.⁸¹⁶ They sent a copy of the letter directly to MacLeod, to which he replied in the same issue of the magazine, thanks to the cooperation of the editor. In response to their accusations of MacLeod's naivety and reliance on the prejudiced opinions of the CCAP, he questioned the Christian *bona fides* of the Europeans whom the elders suggested he should have spoken with during his visit to Nyasaland.⁸¹⁷

Opponents of the Federation tried to portray Africans as capable, politically savvy, and ready to take on the governance of their own lands. Their efforts were sometimes successful. However, their representations of African capability sometimes suffered from Western assumptions, perpetuated racially inflected photographic conventions, and were largely tied to Africans' adoption of Western mores, apparent in their clothing. Cullen Young is a notable exception to those equating Westernisation with capability, arguing that Africans were capable without the benefits of Western education. The image accompanying his essay highlights a tendency on the part of editors to make that equation or possibly an awareness that their readers might do so themselves. The image of George MacLeod reading with young African pupils could be misinterpreted because of the longstanding assumptions Western readers often make about photographs of Africa, but Stevenson's caption upended the usual reading. MacLeod went to Africa to meet with Africans, confident he could learn from them. Stevenson's portrayal of MacLeod learning from Africans is notable. However, his repeated failure to identify even prominent black figures, following conventions of using unidentified Africans as types for the whole, raises questions. Like W. P. Livingstone, perhaps

⁸¹⁶ A. Downie, M. S. Garson, R. Mason, W. O. Lunn, and H. Robertson, 'Unity . . . the Hard Way', *Life and Work*, October 1958, 251.

⁸¹⁷ George F. MacLeod, 'Dr. MacLeod's Reply', *Life and Work*, October 1958, 251.

Stevenson's radicalism suffered from the same tensions between his humanitarianism and his conditioning, or perhaps, knowing his readers, he was playing to a century of photographic convention in Africa. Western audiences were accustomed to seeing Africans in Western clothing as evidence of conversion and modernity.⁸¹⁸ To be effective, the editor of *Life and Work* had to communicate in the language of his readers.

Conclusion

In May 1959 British Central Africa was in crisis and the Federation appeared on the brink of failure. Once again just as the commissioners for the General Assembly prepared to meet, J. W. Stevenson used the pages of *Life and Work* to confront them with the issues surrounding the Federation. The first article, titled 'Nyasaland: "Plain Man's Guide" to the Emergency' attempted to lay out the facts for the magazine's readership. Notably, the 'Plain Man's Guide' includes several photographs that seem to refute images in the

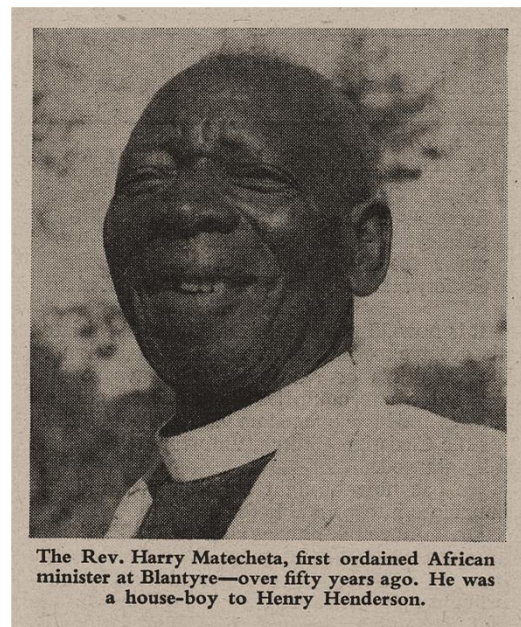


Figure 5.14 'The Rev. Harry Matecheta, first ordained minister at Blantyre – over fifty years ago. He was a house-boy to Henry Henderson (*Life and Work*, May 1959, 107).

British press of what was happening in Nyasaland. Instead of rioting Africans threatening white settlers, the images show armed white soldiers juxtaposed against a peaceful street scene in Blantyre (Figure 0.1, p. 1) and a smiling Harry Matecheta (Figure 5.14) wearing his ministerial collar. The editor's use of these images in this way is a striking departure from the conventions of decades of missionary photographs in Africa and is illustrative of

⁸¹⁸ David Maxwell, 'Photography and the Religious Encounter: Ambiguity and Aesthetics in Missionary Representations of the Luba of South East Belgian Congo', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53, no. 1 (January 2011): 69.

photography's use throughout the Federation period by those within the Kirk who opposed the federation scheme imposed against an overwhelming opposition from the African majority. As we saw with Stevenson's treatment of apartheid in chapter 4 (Figure 4.17, p. 179), the traditional portrayal of Africans as savage warriors and Europeans as benevolent missionaries is reversed: the black Africans (represented by Harry Matecheta) are the Christians and the Europeans (represented by the white soldiers) are the warriors.

This chapter has examined the relationships and ideological divisions within the Church of Scotland and how the liberal-humanitarian wing of the church argued against federation and eventually in favour of self-government in Central Africa. Those opposed to federation included a substantial and influential number from the Student Christian Movement, the Iona Community, and, in the case of George MacLeod, a former member of the Baillie Commission, all groups devoted to a Christian humanitarian vision of the Kingdom of God. Aided by the editor of the Kirk's official magazine, *Federation's* opponents used words and images to establish the historical obligation of the Kirk to protect the rights of Africans in Central Africa, at times reinterpreting the standard iconography of Christian humanitarianism in Africa. They frequently appealed to the legacy of David Livingstone. While arguing against stereotypes of Africans as uncivilised, uneducated, and incapable to rule themselves, arguments and images sometimes deployed common tropes in their attempts to portray them as loyal Christian citizens of the Empire. Finally, the textual and visual arguments employed during this period present Africans as capable of governing their own country.

Strikingly absent from the arguments against implementation and maintenance of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is an African 'voice'. A few instances of Africans speaking at anti-federation rallies have been seen in this chapter, but their actual words form only a small part of the articles, which focus more on white agency. This reflects an

observation by Andrew Ross of missionaries' propensity 'to do good for, rather than work with, Africans'.⁸¹⁹ The articles are, for the most part, written by white, Scottish Christians for white, Scottish Christians and reflect a larger battle within the Kirk as much as the particulars of the fight over federation waged on the battlefield of Kirk publications. Even those opposed to the Federation did not reject colonialism outright but, through the lens of their paternalistic Christian humanitarianism, continued to see both mission and the Empire as benevolent tools of African advancement. Only when the situation became untenable in the Emergency of 1959 did Scottish Christians move toward support for self-government for the African majority in Nyasaland. In the absence of a definite statement regarding the Federation before May 1959, this case study demonstrates the tensions within the Kirk and the ambiguous tradition of Christian humanitarianism in Scotland.

⁸¹⁹ Andrew C. Ross, 'The Blantyre Mission and the Problems of Land and Labour, 1891–1915', in *From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in Colonial History*, ed. Roderick J. Macdonald (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971), 105.

CONCLUSION

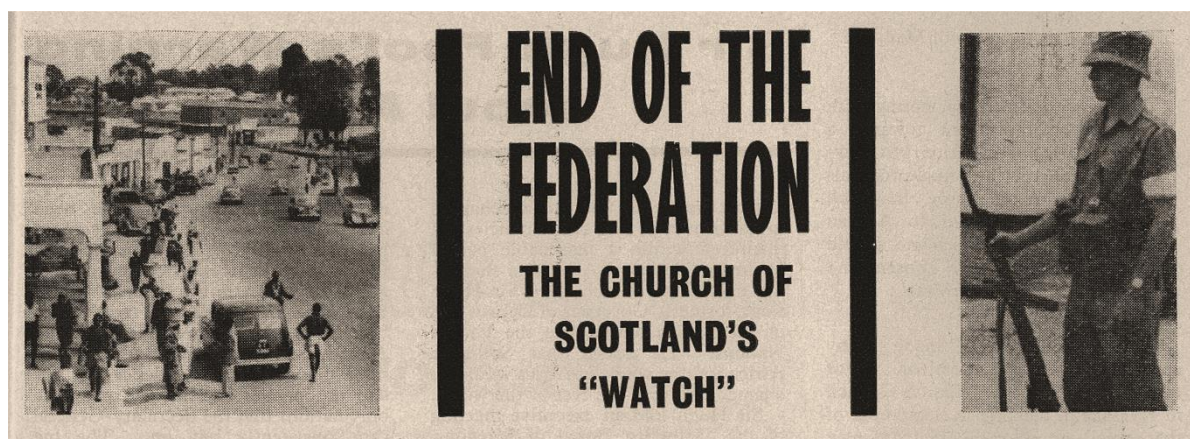


Figure 6.1 Headline and image from ‘End of the Federation: The Church of Scotland’s “Watch”’ (*Life and Work*, December 1963, 383).

An article by Kenneth Mackenzie in the December 1963 issue of *Life and Work* noted that the Federation would be dissolved at the end of that month.⁸²⁰ After the people of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had finally been permitted racially open elections, their elected representatives chose to withdraw from the Federation, which was consequently terminated. Nyasaland gained independence as Malawi on 6 July 1964 and Northern Rhodesia became independent Zambia on 24 October. Alarmed by the pace of decolonisation and majority rule in Africa, the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia unilaterally declared independence on 11 November 1965. After a decade and a half of what was called the Rhodesian Bush War, the Second Chimurenga,⁸²¹ or the Zimbabwe Liberation War, the minority government accepted a return to colonial status in December 1979 and independence was achieved as the majority black-ruled Zimbabwe in April 1980. South Africa began dismantling the apartheid system in 1990 and a new constitution guaranteeing majority rule went into effect with the first universal elections held 27 April 1994.

⁸²⁰ Kenneth Mackenzie, ‘End of the Federation: The Church of Scotland’s “Watch”’, *Life and Work*, December 1963, 383–84.

⁸²¹ ‘Chimurenga’ is a chiShona word meaning ‘uprising’ or ‘revolt’.

In his article, which was printed below images reused from the magazine's May 1959 article 'Nyasaland: "Plain Man's Guide" to the Emergency', Mackenzie recounted the history of the federation idea, placing racial tensions at its core. 'The idea of federation', he wrote, 'grew in power amongst the whites and met increasing opposition amongst Africans.'⁸²² As secretary of the General Assembly's Committee anent Central Africa, Mackenzie sought to locate the Kirk in the history of the Federation. He noted the 'considerable Christian comment, especially during the critical year, 1952', citing objections from the Foreign Mission Committee, concern from the General Assembly, and recommendations from the Blantyre Mission Council in Nyasaland.⁸²³ However, he ignored the debate within the Kirk and the prominent critics of church intervention in the federation debate, such as the Duchess of Hamilton, Bernard Fergusson, and R. H. W. Shepherd. It was a beginning to the selective memory of the Church of Scotland as a unified, vocal opponent to Federation and colonialism. It was also a continuation of the magazine's editorial policy, insofar as possible, to privilege the Kirk's anti-apartheid and anti-federation contingencies to the exclusion of their opponents.

This thesis has shown that multiple opinions existed within the Church of Scotland relative to imperial and racial policy in Central and Southern Africa and that the editors of the church's magazines allied their publications with the more egalitarian ideals within Scottish Christian humanitarianism. Previous studies of Scottish Christianity and empire have not focused on the role of the Christian periodical press in influencing public opinion. These magazines were a significant voice within the Scottish Christian community, enjoying a large readership and the imprimatur of one of Scotland's largest and most influential civic organisations. In 1959, the Committee on Publications reported that *Life and Work* had an

⁸²² Mackenzie, 'End of the Federation', 383.

⁸²³ Ibid., 383–84.

average monthly circulation of 217,819 copies the previous year.⁸²⁴ It is unsurprising, then, that Harold Macmillan should be concerned about Scottish Christian opinion when the Kirk's periodicals were so decidedly set against his policies in Africa (see pp. 1–2). By focusing on these sources, this study has been able to illustrate the ambiguities within Scottish Christian humanitarianism and the differences of opinion that existed within Scottish Christianity regarding policy toward empire and race in Africa. On the one hand, this study complicates post-colonial narratives that depict mission as the handmaiden of empire, but on the other hand it subverts the still popular rhetoric of the Church of Scotland as an unconditional critic of empire and settler colonialism, particularly South African apartheid and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Scottish Christian humanitarianism did not lead all Scottish Christians to the same conclusions. Through the middle of the twentieth century, there was general agreement within the Church of Scotland on the paternalistic humanitarian ideals of European protection and tutelage through a process of stadial development that was used to justify colonialism. The General Assembly's deliverances accepted the principle that the political rights of subject peoples within the British Empire were contingent upon their adoption of Euro-normative mores as proof of their 'civilisation' and 'maturity'. Missionaries worked to instil and cultivate these values through the civilising mission, largely carried out through mission schools, where students were taught how to speak English, how to dress, how to behave, and how to believe. The paternalism latent within Scottish Christian humanitarianism existed in tension with the tradition's egalitarianism, which tension was at the core of the debates about African capacity to be fully integrated into South African life and decide their political fate in Central Africa. That tension was manifest through text and images in the Kirk's periodicals under the editorships of W. P. Livingstone and J. W. Stevenson.

⁸²⁴ 'Report of the Committee on Publications', *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1959), 582.

Livingstone and Stevenson drew from a textual and visual iconography of Christian humanitarianism in Africa to mediate Scottish missions within different colonial contexts for their readers in Scotland. The tensions between the egalitarian and paternalistic strains were apparent in the words and images they used. Livingstone, influenced by the racial tensions of his experiences across the black Atlantic, exhibited a greater paternalism in his thought, which softened but persisted in later years. Stevenson, while perhaps more egalitarian, still demonstrated the stadial conceptions of racial development intrinsic in the iconography of Christian humanitarianism in Africa, even while using that iconography to argue against South Africa's racial order and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The ambiguities of the iconography of Christian humanitarianism are a proxy for the ambiguities of the tradition itself. Like the foreign missionary movement, it began to take shape in the early years of the nineteenth century, benefiting from the important and fungible motif of David Livingstone as his celebrity rose with his explorations and eventual death. The Church of Scotland had shown little interest in foreign missions in the early years of the foreign missionary movement due in part to a widely held belief that unchristian peoples lacked the civilisational development to comprehend and embrace Christianity, yet socially conscious evangelical Scots had been quick to embrace foreign missions through voluntary missionary societies such as the Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London Missionary Societies. Rather than waiting for foreign peoples to develop sufficiently to accept Christianity, evangelicals believed that Christianity itself would elevate the people to the level of civilisation they believed to be a by-product of the faith. While insisting on foreign peoples' equality before God, they did not dispute the idea that they were less advanced and in need of racial uplift. Magazines, such as the London Missionary Society's *Missionary Sketches*, appeared in Scotland, with images showing 'savage' Africans with spears, few clothes, and exotic hairstyles, beginning with some of its earliest issues in 1818. Indigenous religions

were labelled superstitions. Evangelical Scottish magazines, the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, for example, included missionary reports of African converts already beginning to don European clothes, build brick and stone houses, and smash the paraphernalia, or ‘fetishes’, of their former religions that same year. When in 1824 the Church of Scotland finally capitulated to the growing enthusiasm for foreign missions, a focus on education became a signal feature of Scottish missions. Yet, for all their abhorrence of what they considered Africans’ cultural deficiencies, the missionaries were similarly outraged by the treatment Africans received from settlers and colonial administrators. Narrative and sometimes illustrated reports of their evangelistic and civilising efforts included descriptions of settler and administrative abuses, developing the textual and visual iconography of Christian humanitarianism. These stories from Africa, though, were not as popular as those from India, where the missionaries hoped for greater success amongst peoples of a supposedly higher level of civilisation.

Beginning with his so-called discovery of Lake Ngami in 1849, the stories and images of David Livingstone’s exploits, traveling to places previously unseen by Europeans in the hopes of establishing alternative industries to the African slave trade, turned popular attention to Africa. Livingstone consciously sought to develop a more sympathetic, if not totally egalitarian, image of Africans, working with photographers and artists to produce more accurate representations of them. While convinced of the superiority of Christianity and European culture, he deplored caricatures of Africans and exaggerations of Africa’s dangers. Through his books and lectures while at home in the UK, he invited Britons to bring civilisation, commerce, and Christianity to Africa to instil an abolitionist morality and provide alternatives to the financial incentives of the trade in slaves. The difficulty that scholars and others find in reaching an agreed definition of his legacy is emblematic of the ambiguities of Christian humanitarianism. His legacy became part of the iconography of

Christian humanitarianism, to which Christians appealed in establishing missions and calling for colonial control in Central Africa, both in the name of humanitarian concern for Africans. While there were doubtless some who, as Joanna Lewis argues, pressed for the extension of empire for personal gain and used Livingstone's legacy to give humanitarian cover to their ambitions, this thesis has shown that the popular Christian rhetoric about Livingstone as a symbol of empire and mission promoted them as closely related humanitarian endeavours.⁸²⁵ Scots' view of Africans and themselves developed in tandem. Africans were portrayed as pathetic creatures in need of their help and Scots were the benevolent Christians ready to step in on their behalf. The identity Esther Breitenbach described, which was largely formed by civil society organisations, and especially the churches, was an identity not only of empire builders, but specifically of Christian humanitarian empire builders.⁸²⁶ This identity shaped and was shaped by the iconography of Christian humanitarianism.

Scottish Christian humanitarianism took on new emphases and new forms beginning in the later years of the nineteenth century as biblical scholarship focused on the theme of the Kingdom of God, which informed Scottish Christian relations with the rest of the world. Kingdom ideals included a commitment to the fundamental unity and equality of humanity. Scottish Christians began questioning the supposedly natural, or divine, laws of economics which posited the inevitability of vast differences in wealth and that poverty was evidence of God's disfavour in response to individual sin. Instead, widespread poverty came to be seen by some as evidence of a structurally sinful society which did not provide for the basic needs of its most vulnerable members. In addition, they reconsidered the relationship of the national church to the state and the possibility of a partnership between the two in ameliorating the conditions of the poor. While these issues have previously been considered primarily in their

⁸²⁵ Joanna Lewis, *Empire of Sentiment: The Death of Livingstone and the Myth of Victorian Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 4, 9.

⁸²⁶ Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

domestic context, this thesis has examined the domestic debates in the context of Scottish Presbyterian interactions in international and colonial contexts. These debates and developments continued into the twentieth century, when a second world war brought the Baillie Commission to develop a Christian humanitarianism in relationship to a Kingdom of God realised domestically and internationally, transcending political boundaries. The Kingdom that commissioners envisioned entailed a partnership between an ecumenically oriented church and a benevolent state which existed in harmony with other states. Despite their Kingdom ideals of individual equality before God, the Commission regarded non-European cultures, specifically African cultures, as less advanced. Motivated by a paternalistic concern, they sought to help those cultures advance under tutelage facilitated by European empire. The General Assembly's acceptance of the Baillie Commission's reports signalled a rejection of the silence in social and political matters that the Church of Scotland had adopted since the early twentieth century and committed the Kirk to a new kind of ministry in Scotland and the world.

The Baillie Commission represented a coming together of ideals as well as individuals. The personal networks of individual members, such as those of John Baillie and George MacLeod, allowed the Commission to incorporate and disseminate ideas of an ideology embracing internationalism, ecumenicalism, and socially conscious liberal-humanitarianism with an emphasis on the Kingdom of God ideal. These networks were later mobilised in the anti-apartheid and anti-federation efforts of egalitarian liberal-humanitarians within the Kirk, notably through their contacts with the editors of the church's periodicals and specifically fellow Baillie Commission member J. W. Stevenson. Their liberal-humanitarian orientation was able to command a sufficient majority in the General Assembly for their reports to gain approval, but they did not represent a unified consensus. Ideological

objections were raised in the Assembly which became more pronounced in the later debates over apartheid and especially the Federation.

Mission enthusiasts and advocates of a social ministry for the church in Scotland had important allies in the Christian periodical press. Evangelical publications such as the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* served as early messengers of internationally and socially conscious Christian humanitarianism. Scotland's Christian periodical press was an important forum where differing opinions could be discussed. The patronage issue that split the mass of evangelicals from the national church to form the Free Church of Scotland in 1843 was a popular topic, as were foreign missions and the abolition of the slave trade. When W. P. Livingstone took over as editor of the United Free Church's *Record* magazine in 1912, the iconography of Christian humanitarianism had already been established and he, as a former journalist in the West Indies and the Americas, had ample experience of the racial problems in Jamaica and the United States which shaped his approach to racial issues in Africa. Livingstone applied his social concern to the *Record*, including his enthusiasm for foreign mission, which he believed was the only force capable of making lasting change in what he saw as less advanced peoples, including Africans as well as working-class Scots. He published important commentary on social issues in Scotland, especially concerning the poor, and established *Other Lands* as a mission supplement to the regular magazine to give greater emphasis and publicity to the work of foreign missions. At the same time, the Church of Scotland's *Life and Work*, like the church itself, was more reluctant to take a public stand on social issues. Appointed as co-editor and finally sole editor of *Life and Work* after the church union of 1929, Livingstone brought his vocal social concern to the post-union magazine, employing the iconography of Christian humanitarianism inflected with a paternalistic stadialism that was not unique to him.

Tension between the egalitarian and paternalistic elements in Christian humanitarianism was apparent in Livingstone's editorial treatment of issues in Scotland and Africa. Demonstrating an international and domestic humanitarian concern, he showed his paternalism in relation to both race and class; it was directed toward black Africans and working-class Scots alike. The editor included text and images showing both being trained to assume Euro-normative and middle-class ways, including trades and housekeeping. In this way he demonstrated a belief that black African and working-class ways were inferior to the dominant white, middle-class culture of the Church of Scotland. He also demonstrated the Kirk's commitment to help others develop what they considered the skills and habits necessary to a proper Christian life. Some of the tropes which have been identified by scholars of mission photography, such as Geary, Jenkins, and Thompson, were apparent in images Livingstone published of Africans and poor Scots, indicating that those tropes were not necessarily racist but more broadly paternalistic.

J. W. Stevenson was appointed editor of *Life and Work* in 1945 as the Church of Scotland was entering the new era of social ministry outlined by the Baillie Commission. As editor he used the magazine to direct the Kirk's social ministry toward political affairs in Africa. As we saw in chapter 4, Stevenson's early coverage of Africa was at times conspicuous in its support for the political Empire and what has been called the 'benevolent empire' of mission stations and mission schools and hospitals. Stevenson presented the supposed benevolence of the missions in distinction to South Africa's racial order even before the more systematic racism of apartheid was implemented. After the election of 1948 and the implementation of apartheid, Stevenson adopted an anti-apartheid stance for the magazine, bolstered by the declaration of the General Assembly in 1949 that apartheid was 'unchristian'. He employed a modified iconography of Christian humanitarianism to portray apartheid as an obstacle to the realisation of the Kingdom of God. White South African

policemen, for example, were portrayed as impediments to Christian mission, taking the place previously occupied by images of African warriors. Mustering the Kingdom ideologies of equality and justice, Stevenson deployed the iconography of Christian humanitarianism to portray the international anti-apartheid movement as a Christian cause.

Stevenson had to navigate the tensions in Scottish Christian humanitarianism as well. The paternalistic rhetoric of apartheid supporters, who claimed it was a means of preserving African identity and opportunity, had parallels in the history of Scottish missionary paternalism, notably the formation of a separate Bantu Presbyterian Church in 1923. While the paternalistic elements in line with some aspects of apartheid remained within the Kirk, armed with the General Assembly's declaration, Stevenson could exclude most defences of apartheid from the pages of *Life and Work* as heretical. However, while describing Scottish missions and picturing them as islands of racial harmony set apart from the South African racial order, Stevenson included images approvingly depicting the civilising mission and its fundamentally paternalistic stadialism. Lovedale, which served as the showpiece of Scottish missions for the royal visit of 1947, was an exemplar of that paternalistic stadialism, which Stevenson portrayed as superior to the South African racial order in place outside the mission. Old tropes, such as descriptions of African 'barbarism' and the before-and-after images that juxtaposed Africans before conversion in native dress with images of Christian Africans in Western clothing, trained at mission schools as evidence of mission successes, continued to appear in the magazine. Stevenson printed articles from missionaries such as W. A. Macartney, who decried the 'wrong kind of white domination' and showed the coercive agency of the mission under Principal R. H. W. Shepherd in pictures showing young boys lined up in military formations. Shepherd insisted on ongoing and rigid paternalistic tutelage of Africans, going so far as to claim that some aspects of apartheid had benefited them. His commitment to paternalism carried into his role in the Kirk's debates over the Federation.

The lack of a clearly stated position from the General Assembly regarding the Federation left J. W. Stevenson without the backing he had received for his anti-apartheid stance in *Life and Work*. Opinion within the Church of Scotland was divided. Some of Nyasaland's missionaries who were opposed to the Federation turned to their long-established networks and reached out to Stevenson as an ideological ally. He could not make definite statements that went beyond the Assembly's ambiguous pronouncements regarding the Federation. However, Stevenson's editorial practice subtly reveals his objections to the Federation. He gave the anti-federationists disproportionate space within *Life and Work* and *Other Lands* to make their case. Using the iconography of Christian humanitarianism, they reminded readers of the special relationship between Scotland and Nyasaland dating back to David Livingstone, whose legacy was exploited to become an important motif in the iconographic argument against the Federation. They also endeavoured to rebut the arguments of those who claimed Africans were not ready to either make their own decisions regarding the Federation or for self-government. Stevenson maintained an editorial policy depicting Africans as both civilised and capable. When he found himself having to publish articles that he disagreed with, such as those of the Duchess of Hamilton and Gilbert Rennie, he found ways to signal his objections.

Depictions of African civilisation and capability for self-determination, however, were not based on an ideology of inherent human rights but rather by appeal to Euro-normative standards which Stevenson demonstrated had been attained by the African majority through missionary tutelage. Opposition to the Federation was not opposition to the Empire or its inherent inequalities. In fact, the early anti-Federation rhetoric in 1951–53 most prominently employing the Livingstone motif, was clearly in favour of retaining protectorate status within the colonial order. Only after the imposition of the Federation in August 1953 and the Westminster Parliament's failure in 1957 and 1958 to provide meaningful protection

from white settlers in the Federal Parliament who were determined to strip the African population of the few statutory rights they possessed, did the conversation shift to what the Committee anent Central Africa called ‘a daring and creative transfer of power to the African people.’⁸²⁷ Still, the General Assembly’s position, voted on in the deliverances of the Committee, was not a universal condemnation of colonialism but rather a strictly limited denunciation of the Federation.

It is clear from this study, as John M. MacKenzie has argued, that the Empire was a significant part of popular Scottish life at the middle of the twentieth century.⁸²⁸ It thus extends into that century T. M. Devine’s contention of the central place of empire in Scottish life during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸²⁹ Contrary to Bernard Porter’s claim, the Empire was a ‘big deal’, at least in Scotland, where it was a frequent topic in the widely circulated magazine of one of the country’s largest civil organisations, namely, the Church of Scotland.⁸³⁰ In addition, Empire coverage in *Life and Work* accentuated the particular Scottish contribution to empire, especially in relation to Nyasaland, supporting another argument by MacKenzie, that the Empire reinforced Scottish identity.⁸³¹ The limitation of this study to Scottish church periodicals, however, precludes wider application to post-war Christian attitudes to empire in the rest of the United Kingdom. It then leaves important questions for further research on the treatment of empire in twentieth-century Christian periodicals from England, Northern Ireland, and Wales.

⁸²⁷ ‘Supplementary Report of the General Assembly’s Committee anent Central Africa,’ *Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1959), 682.

⁸²⁸ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

⁸²⁹ T. M. Devine, ‘The Break-Up of Britain? Scotland and the End of Empire’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, Vol. 16 (2006): 168.

⁸³⁰ Bernard Porter, *Empire and Superempire: Britain, America and the World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 33 and 136.

⁸³¹ John M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 215–31 and ‘Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire’, *History Compass* 6 (2008): 1244–63.

This study has similarly supported the conclusions of previous studies of missionary and Christian images of Africa, extending their scope up to the period of decolonisation in the mid to late twentieth century. While Christraud Geary and Paul Jenkins argue that missionary photographs, read alongside written reports, allow for a fuller picture and greater nuance, revealing more about Africa than written missionary records alone can provide, this thesis has demonstrated how those images also provide greater nuance to our understanding of the missionaries themselves.⁸³² As we have seen, there was a significant amount of ambiguity in the use of photographs and other images of Africans by Scottish missionaries and editors which demonstrated a sense of paternalism amongst Scottish Christians while simultaneously attempting to achieve egalitarian aims. Images often communicated multiple messages and, as Elizabeth Edwards has argued, they could be reused in different ways to accentuate alternate readings.⁸³³ W. P. Livingstone and J. W. Stevenson both used images that conformed to common tropes, such as those identified by Geary, that placed Africans in subordinate positions.⁸³⁴ There is no doubt that photographs were used to bolster colonial regimes.⁸³⁵ However, I have shown that photographs were also used to critique colonialism and its institutions in the mid-twentieth century, as Jack Thompson demonstrated in his study of Alice Seeley Harris's Congo photographs.⁸³⁶ Studies of other denominational magazines from elsewhere in the United Kingdom would provide additional context to the images examined in this study.

⁸³² Christraud Geary, 'Photographs as Materials for African History: Some Methodological Considerations', *History in Africa* 13 (1986): 100; Paul Jenkins, 'On Using Historical Missionary Photographs in Modern Discussion', 72–73 and 86–87.

⁸³³ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 13.

⁸³⁴ Christraud Geary, 'Different Visions?: Postcards from Africa by European and African Photographers and Sponsors', in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, eds. Christraud Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), 151.

⁸³⁵ Mark Anthony Sealy, 'Decolonising the Camera: Photography in Racial Time', Ph. D. thesis, University of Durham, 2016, 1–3.

⁸³⁶ T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 204–48.

The consistency in the thought of Scottish Christians regarding empire and race during this period is in the ambiguity of their humanitarianism. There was a continuous tension between the egalitarianism and paternalism of the tradition, yet to identify two definitive and ideologically pure camps would be simplistic. Both impulses arose out of Christian concern for others and both have been seen to exist in figures such as W. P. Livingstone, R. H. W. Shepherd, and J. W. Stevenson. All three criticised racism and yet all three demonstrated stadial conceptions of race in which Africans were considered to occupy a less advanced stage of development than Europeans. In addition, all three supported some supposedly humanitarian elements of empire yet believed Christianity was the essential force that would benefit Africans most. The iconography of Scottish Christian humanitarianism in Africa reflected not only the ambiguities in the thought of these three men but in Scottish Presbyterianism more generally.

While Christian missionaries cannot be said to have been uniformly at the beck and call of colonial administrators, Europe's predominant religions – Catholic and Protestant Christianity – nonetheless, made an indelible mark on the European colonial enterprise. Religion, and particularly Christianity, was indispensable to shaping and regulating European colonialism. Mission Christianity played a major role, as did indigenous beliefs and the new Christian theologies and practices that developed as Africans made Christianity their own.⁸³⁷ The process of decolonisation was shaped by Christian ideas instilled by missionaries and developed by African Christians.⁸³⁸ Many African nationalists were educated in missionary institutions, which instilled Christian elements into nationalist rhetoric.⁸³⁹ This thesis has

⁸³⁷ Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Religion in the British Empire', in *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives*, ed. Sarah Stockwell (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 131–56.

⁸³⁸ David Maxwell, David. 'Decolonization', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 285–306.

⁸³⁹ Elbourne, 'Religion in the British Empire', 151; D. Maxwell, 'Decolonization', 285–86.

focused on the tradition of Scottish Christian humanitarianism as one element of the religious landscape within the larger colonial experience in the run-up to decolonisation.

A central concern of this thesis has been the ambiguous relationship between Scottish Christians' attitudes toward colonial policy in Africa and their ideas of race. Scottish Christians rejected notions of unalterable, biologically-determined race as well as a racial hierarchy which assigned non-white – especially African – peoples to its lowest rungs. Nevertheless, Scottish Christians did see African cultures as less developed, which activated their humanitarianism in an attempt to elevate African peoples through the civilising mission, which many believed was facilitated by a benevolent British Empire and even by the more humane varieties of settler colonialism. However, almost all Scottish Christians saw South African apartheid and many saw the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as antithetical to the egalitarian ideals of the Christian humanitarianism which they believed justified British imperialism.

Racial strife has been identified as a conspicuous feature of the twentieth century in the face of which Christianity repeatedly failed to exercise decisive leadership.⁸⁴⁰ Colin Kidd has demonstrated that Christianity has long had an ambiguous relationship with race, being used to field arguments of racial equality and unity as well as disparity and separation.⁸⁴¹ This thesis has highlighted examples of that ambiguity within mid-twentieth century Scottish Christianity which are apparent in the Kirk's periodicals. It has highlighted the tensions between egalitarian ideals and paternalistic altruism. Despite Christianity's ambiguous relationship with race, Kidd concludes that it 'played a significant role in the ideological assault upon racism.'⁸⁴² Motivated by a basic belief in the fundamental unity of humanity,

⁸⁴⁰ Brian Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century: A World History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 150–71.

⁸⁴¹ Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, 275.

Scottish Christians made their own contribution to that assault. As a record of the Church of Scotland's life and work, including its mission work overseas, the Kirk's magazines played a significant role in disseminating a Christian vision of issues of race and empire.

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