

**WALKING THE RIFT:
ALFRED ROBERT TUCKER IN EAST AFRICA
IDEALISM AND IMPERIALISM
1890 – 1911**

by

JOAN PLUBELL MATTIA

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Abstract

With stereotypes of imperial complicity and idealistic fantasy firmly in place, tentative assumptions as to the motives of early missionaries often prove less than satisfactory. The need for new master narratives which move beyond the old paradigms of Western expansion and African victimization are being called for by scholars of both North and South; narratives which allow room for strong archival evidence of an egalitarian joint endeavor and African cultural vitality without avoiding the investment in imperialism practiced by colonial personnel. Based on extensive archival research this study advocates an alternative proposal; missionaries caught in the grinding of contradictory opposites. Alfred Robert Tucker, as a professional artist, captured this tug-of-war on canvas but similar dichotomies are found in his approach, as a bishop and Church Missionary Society Director, to marriage contracts, slavery, mission and church organizational structure, alliance with the colonial government and African partnership. Tucker, neither a consistent imperialist nor a complete egalitarian idealist, operated in both spheres without creating a third. This thesis is a piece of revisionist historiography of the Victorian encounter with Africa – a specific micro-narrative questioning the old consensus and calling for a wider discussion and a shift in perspective.

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Lingering over a fine dinner in Florida, my friend and owner of the local book store, Russ Ward asked: “If you could do anything in the world without thought of money or time what would it be?” My answer (read for a PhD, go to Africa and teach) was the beginning of this project. Within a year the second part of my answer had become reality and in due course, while lingering over another fine dinner, this one in Dar es Salaam while the candidates for “Miss Tanzania” glided through the dining room, my friend and Headmaster of the Mvumi Girls School, Richard Morris, asked another question in regard to post graduate work: “What’s stopping you?” These two questions, and the two people who asked them, have played a significant role in the initiation of this work, and I thank them both.

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Herndon, Virginia

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

While meeting at the University of Durham in 1981, The International Commission for Comparative Church History produced a series of papers on the early missionary endeavour of the modern period. In the introduction to this work, Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison write that the “nineteenth century missionary is still an ‘invisible man’ – or, even more, invisible woman – in the histories of most Western and non-Western societies.”¹ Whether the missionaries were from the Global North or the Global South, the picture is equally dark.

In a popular undergraduate textbook for African Studies at universities in the United States the motivations and attitudes for a complex panoply of missionaries spanning several decades are generalized into a few pages containing un-detailed remarks such as the following:

Few Christian missionaries were directly active agents of European imperialism. But they were an essential ingredient of the increasingly assertive European presence which was a forerunner of imperial control. In a number of cases Christian missionaries played a significant role in promoting and shaping the advent of European colonialism.²

If Shillington is correct that “few” were agents of imperialism and only “a number” promoted colonialism, then what attitude would categorize the remaining majority? Admittedly, it is impossible to categorize individuals in great detail in a survey intended to present the macro-picture; still at least some recognition of differences and groups

¹ Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchinson, Eds., Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880 – 1920 (Aarhus, Denmark: Aros, 1982), 5.

² Kevin Shillington, History of Africa (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), p. 292.

could be attempted. With the exception of Ajayi Crowther and David Livingstone, who are specifically named, there is no attempt made to draw attention to pivotal figures, complexity, differences in opinion or approaches to indigenous cultures. The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity does acknowledge the diversity, as does Adrian Hastings, but very few specific examples are employed.³ Twenty years after the statement made at Durham, in spite of thousands of small popular missionary publications, hagiographies, pious stories, martyrologies, etc., invisibility still haunts the missionary figures of the nineteenth century.⁴

Perhaps the missions themselves contributed to this invisibility by the production of mission fund raising propaganda. By glossing over some facts and presenting others over optimistically, they have created an extremely durable mythology. Derek Peterson and Jean Allman, historians at Cambridge University and the University of Illinois respectively, acknowledge this image to be not only durable but also incomplete.⁵ Created by the eighteenth and nineteenth century missionaries themselves, the image of the heroic, self-sacrificing missionary bringing light to darkest Africa was later uncritically adopted in the 1960's by post-colonial scholarship, but with the values reversed. An earlier echo of this incomplete rendering is articulated by Eric J. Sharpe,

³ John McManners, Ed., The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) and Adrian Hastings, The Church in Africa, 1450 – 1950 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

⁴ The Yale Divinity School Library (also known as the Day Mission Library) has more than 100,000 mission publications, 2800 linear feet of archival and manuscript material, 300 linear feet of pamphlets and “extensive holdings” on microfilm according to their June 2003 web site. There are currently 1,583 publications on Christian mission published per month and if the areas of missiology, mission history, missionaries, and mission organization are combined there have been 193,063 titles published in total from statistics found in the International Bulletin of Missionary Research 27, 1 (2003) 24. And these statistics do not even include the Vatican holdings on mission which, according to the World Christian Encyclopedia, 2002, are the largest in the world.

⁵ Derek Peterson and Jean Allman, “New Directions in the History of Missions in Africa,” Journal of Religious History, 23, No.1 (February 1999), p.1.

“But however it might appear to the anti-colonialists ... it was by no means certain that the record of the missionary past was as uniformly bad as some in the 1960’s were disposed to believe However, stereotypes having once been created seem almost impossible to dislodge.”⁶

Despite the stereotyping, this mythology has lately begun to show signs of wear when scrutinized by some historians including Andrew Walls and Lamin Sanneh. Both give an alternative interpretation of “the missionary” by placing emphasis on the transmission and translation of the message itself, and less on the agents who handed it on – including their cultural packaging.⁷ Peterson and Allman also question the past understanding of missionaries. Calling for new directions in research, they report a reexamination of the missionary enterprise in Africa, sparked by University of Chicago anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff’s study of the means used to impose European hegemony among the Tswana (i.e. looking glasses, orderly arrangements and ploughs). The fresh examination entitled, “Africans Meeting Missionaries: Rethinking Colonial Encounters,” was initiated at the University of Minnesota in 1997 and published a collection of papers which places more emphasis on mutuality, calling the colonial encounter “the long and mutually informing debate out of which missionaries were as much changed as were their African adherents.”⁸

⁶ Eric J. Sharpe, “Reflections on Missionary Historiography,” International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 3, No. 2, (1989), pp. 78 and 81.

⁷ Andrew Walls, The Missionary Movement in Christian History (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996) and Lamin Sanneh, Translating the Message (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1989).

⁸ Peterson and Allman, *ibid.*, p. 4.

Although Peterson claims the study of missionary narratives is a strong growth area, the seeming reluctance of the academic community to engage the mission literature may continue to sustain invisibility. Calls for engagement appear and some studies are accomplished but the words of Alan Tippet, an American missiologist, still capture a prevalent prospective: “The tendency has been to dismiss mission documents as biased. Of course they are. So is every other documentary source. The art of using documents is to discover the bias, allow for it and distinguish between the bias and recorded facts.”⁹ The knowledge of the existence of mission documents outside of a small circle of missiologists, and the willingness to engage them, is only just beginning to come into frame.

Dick Kooiman, writing for the *Indian Church History Review*, comments further on the invisibility of nineteenth-century missionaries: “Studies of the missionaries themselves, however, are conspicuous by their absence ... [There is a] remarkable lack in our knowledge ...”¹⁰ Jean and John Comaroff agree, adding their own observations,

We persist in treating the evangelists not as individuals possessed of socially conditioned biographies that make a difference but as a taken for granted, faceless presence on the colonial stage. And this in spite of being well aware that their actions and interactions are – and always were – deeply influenced by their backgrounds, their cultures, and their ideologies.¹¹

⁹ Calls for engagement are found in C. S. Mohanavelu, “Mission Sources as Objects of Interdisciplinary Research Linguistics, medicine and other Natural Sciences.” In Missionsgeschichte Kirchengeschichte Weltgeschichte, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden. Vol. 2. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996. Alan Tippet, Introduction to Missiology (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1987), p. 404.

¹⁰ Dick Kooiman, “Social and Economic Backgrounds of 19th Century London Missionaries in Southern Travancore,” *Indian Church History Review* 19, No. 2 (December 1985), p. 99.

¹¹ Jean and John Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 54.

Lack of knowledge sometimes leads to popular presentations of missionary work, such as those contained in The Cottonwood Bible or The Color Purple, that are rather lacking in documentation. As Jeffrey Cox, Professor of British Social, Imperial, and Religious History at the University of Iowa, points out (and a read through the Church Missionary Society archives would confirm) most missionaries were institution builders; creating hospitals, schools, churches, and oversight structures, rather than wandering preachers or explorers.¹² Cox also discovered a negative attitude toward missionaries in general which hindered a comprehensive portrayal; not a new attitude as this study will show. For example, Gerald Portal, the first Special Commissioner to Uganda arriving in Zanzibar in 1889 observed about the missionaries: “They are energetic, it is true, -- theirs is the energy of fanaticism ...”¹³

However, in the study of missionaries and missionary narratives the hurdle that contributes overwhelmingly to the invisibility phenomenon goes far beyond negativity or bias. Correctly identified by Jeffrey Cox, the most difficult obstruction to a complete portrayal of Victorian missionaries is the master narrative used by scholars as a backdrop to studies in this area.¹⁴ Using the term master narrative to mean simply the big story which makes smaller stories intelligible, he writes: “The presumption of marginality is difficult to circumvent, and often resistant to simple assertions that ‘missionaries were important,’ in part because it is imbedded in a master narrative of imperial and western expansion that leaves little room for religion, much less for missionaries.”¹⁵ As an illustration of this omission he calls attention to recent studies by Mark Harrison and

¹² Jeffrey Cox, Imperial Fault Lines (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 7.

¹³ Portal to Lady Portal, May 29, 1889, Rhodes House Archives, Mss. Africa, S 112/73.

¹⁴ Jeffrey Cox, *ibid.*, pp. 1-19.

¹⁵ Jeffrey Cox, *ibid.*, p.8.

David Arnold on public health in India. Mission hospitals and doctors, although at one time making up a large part of the Indian medical community, are completely absent in their study, along with the Indians who encountered western medicine through these channels. The constantly repeated refrain within this master narrative of western expansion, one that has become stale to the point of meaninglessness, is missionary initiative and indigenous response.

In a very helpful categorization, Cox breaks down the western expansion master narrative into basically four sub-categories while including groups of scholars within the categories who characterize each stream of thought. The first group, the celebratory master narrative, portrays the missionaries (both African and European) in a very positive light. Into this category Cox would place mission history scholars of the 1940's and 1950's such as Kenneth Scott Latourette or C.P. Groves. It is possible to include many others as well, such as Eugene Stock, Jocelyn Murphy, Stephen Neil or African writers such as Watson Omulokoli.¹⁶ Certainly many of the offerings sent home for publication by the missionaries would fall into this group. For example, Tucker writes of Mr. J.C. Price, one of the pioneer missionaries to Mpwapwa:

The world has heard little of J.C. Price, but a truer hero never lived. At the time of Bushiri's troubles he refused to listen to the suggestion of the Consular authorities, that he should leave his post and seek the safety that was offered to him in Zanzibar. He preferred to share the fate of his people. When his house was burnt down by the rebels and all his clothes and stores destroyed, he simply said, 'Well, there is the less to worry about,' and set himself to repair the ruined house...I pleaded that for the work's sake, if not for his own, he should seek a change. Twelve months at home would build him up...It was of no use... Nothing I could say would move him in the very least. He promised

¹⁶ The works of these scholars are listed in the Bibliography.

me that as soon as the famine was over he would take his furlough. Alas! In the very midst of the deepest distress that Ugogo has ever known—only eight or nine weeks later – he was struck down with black water fever, and in a few short hours passed to his rest and his reward.¹⁷

Ironically, nationalist history writers continued the celebratory theme in the second category, except those being celebrated were the indigenous heroes responding to imperial aggression. This second grouping, a nationalist approach, was a derivative of the very scholarship which was being rejected, with the roles of missionary and indigenous hearer reversed.¹⁸ Peterson and Allman point out the weaknesses of this approach:

By the 1960's and '70's, nationalists, liberal social scientists, and functionalist anthropologists, more critical of the "fruits" of Christianization in colonial Africa, adopted missionaries' heroic presentation of their work but reversed its value: Christianity, in this account, was either about "cultural imperialism" (the nationalist account) or about "modernization" (the liberal/functionalist account). Neither account took African religious or political initiatives seriously: Africans seemed to be sealed within a comprehensive but brittle cultural system which allowed them little creativity in the face of powerful European cultural brokers.¹⁹

In this view Africans either accepted the evangelism together with the European worldview, rejected it altogether in favor of a traditional African worldview or adopted a dual practice, with seen and unseen realities.²⁰ Scholars in this vein would include Nosipho Majeke, Friday Mbon or Augustine Okwu.²¹ The fluid, adaptive and durable

¹⁷ Alfred Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), p. 151.

¹⁸ Cox cites Partha Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse (London: Zed Books, 1986) but Peterson and Allman also articulate this shift.

¹⁹ Derek Peterson and Jean Allman, *ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁰ The creation of dual practice was caused by the inability of the missionaries to address key issues in African culture according to Hildegard H. Fast, "In At One Ear and Out At the Other: African Response to the Wesleyan Message in Xhosaland 1825 – 1835," Journal of Religion in Africa, XXIII, No. 2 (1993) pp. 147 – 174.

²¹ Nosipho Majeke, The Role of Missionaries in Conquest (Johannesburg: Society of Young Africa, 1952); Friday Mbon, "Response to Christianity in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Africa: Some Ulterior Motives,"

cultural system of Africa is not acknowledged, neither is the extremely important place held by the missionaries in the African communities which hosted them. A vestige of this position still manifests itself in the names of places or institutions; such as Binns Primary School (Mombasa), McKay House (Dodoma, Tanzania), Willis Road (Kampala), or Bishop Tucker Theological College (Mukono).

Overlapping somewhat with the nationalist's point of view is a third which Cox calls the Saidian point of view, named after Edward Said, an Arab Protestant scholar, for many years at Columbia University in New York. The Comaroffs as well would be included in this category. In this narrative, studies seek to unmask the missionaries as complicit with the imperial agenda. Often the identification is so complete that no unmasking is felt to be needed. It is assumed that missionaries were an arm of the imperial efforts of Britain to such an extent that conversion statistics are used as a measure of imperial conquest.²² For example, T.O. Beidelman writes: "Christian missions represent the most naïve and ethnocentric ... facet of colonial life ... Missionaries aimed at overall changes in the beliefs and actions of native peoples, a colonization of the heart and mind as well as body ... demonstrating a more radical and morally intense commitment to rule than political administrators or businessmen."²³ Missionaries, lumped together in one undistinguished mass, were simply imperialists in a different form. It is very easy to arrive at this viewpoint by perusing through the archives; the quotes that back-up imperial attitudes voiced by the missionaries are many. At the same time there are many who do not fall

Mission Studies, 4 No.1 (1987) pp. 42-54; Augustine Okwu, "The Weak Foundations of Missionary Evangelization," Missiology, 8 (January 1980) pp. 31-49.

²² Joseph Esherick, The Origins of the Boxer Uprising (Berkeley: University of California press, 1987), p. 91, as cited by Cox, *ibid.*, p. 10.

²³ T.O. Beidelman, Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), as quoted by Cox, *ibid.* p. 10.

into this category. Neither group is explained within the context of Victorian culture. Jonathan Bonk, director of the Overseas Ministries Study Centre in New Haven, Connecticut, and editor of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research, reminds the scholarly community that missionaries who were imperialists were not alone; the attitude was prevalent among leading clergy, politicians, and scientists.²⁴ At the same time the unmasking narrative ignores the diversity and the subtlety of Victorian missionary opinion.

The fourth category of master narrative summarized by Cox is one in which missionaries are presented in a more sympathetic manner and is often held by historians in the field of mission studies. Termed the providentialist point of view, this narrative insists that God is present and involved in moving history forward to create a multiracial Christian community (the Kingdom of God). With this concept involved it is not surprising that their scholarship remains almost invisible in the fields of imperial history, nationalist history, and western post-colonial studies despite “high standards of fairness, documentation, scholarly distance...and a sustained attempt to promote history from a non-western point of view.”²⁵ Andrew Walls, Brian Stanley, or Lamin Sanneh would be included in this school. Cox’s critique of the providentialist school is that it fails to face completely the accusations of Said. The most subtle response asserts that the missionary motives for involvement in the imperial enterprise were different from colonial administrators; the least effective response asserts that the majority of missionaries were

²⁴ Jonathan Bonk, “‘All things to All Persons’ – The Missionary as a Racist-Imperialist, 1860 –1918,” Missiology, July 1980, p. 291.

²⁵ Cox, *ibid.*, p. 11.

never in favour of colonialism.²⁶ Although Cox believes that a distinction in motives between colonial administrators and missionaries is correct, the integration of ideas and personnel between these two groups makes such distinctions hard to maintain. The later argument forgets that, if the classic definition of colonialism is used, the mission stations were mini-colonies in and of themselves.²⁷

Within the category of providentialist Cox gives special mention to Lamin Sanneh, professor of Missions and World Christianity at Yale Divinity School, whose work has become well known in Mission Studies.²⁸ Sanneh argues that Christianity is very transferable into other cultures, more than any other of the major world religions. This is due to the mutable and much translated character of its sacred text. As the ideas of the Bible were translated into African societies a distinct form of Christianity was created. Missionaries were involved in the introduction but they were only a small part of a much larger expansion of Christianity that was powered by indigenous and non-western agents. (Tucker documents this phenomenon again and again in his letters to his sending agency, the Church Missionary Society.) Sanneh acknowledges the master narrative of European expansion, but the old and worn model of missionary initiative and non-western response is checked on the shores of Africa when the missionaries encounter African languages.²⁹

²⁶ Brian Stanley, The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester: Apollos, 1990) and R.E. Frykenberg, "India," in A World History of Christianity, ed. Adrian Hastings (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) p. 183.

²⁷ Colony: "A body of emigrants or their descendants living in a land apart from, but under the control of, the parent country." From The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopedic Dictionary (Pleasantville, NY: The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1966).

²⁸ Lamin Sanneh, Translating the Message (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989) and Encountering the West (London: Marshall Pickering, 1993).

²⁹ Sanneh, Translating, p.159.

At this point the missionaries were only part of a much larger process of religious change that in many cases was beyond their control, or even their knowledge.³⁰

However, Cox points out that as Sanneh chooses to emphasize the African agents in the spread of Christianity, inevitably the role of the European missionaries is confused. At times they are portrayed as outside agents of westernized ideas which were then integrated by the Africans, other times they are co-workers (“stimulators” and “revitalizers” are Sanneh’s words) with the African translators in a context of reciprocity.³¹ Since Christianity does not become authentic until it is made African by the Africans, the missionaries’ part is secondary. This writer believes that Sanneh’s perspective offers a needed corrective to the portrayal of victimization but at the same time the first generation of converts begin to appear merely as intermediaries under European control who bring in the belief system to the second generation as it gradually becomes legitimate.³² Adding to Cox’s observations, due to the emphasis of his study, Sanneh’s insights regarding the reciprocity between European missionaries and Africans does not extend outside of the language translation project. Since language translation involved a small number, the remainder of the missionaries continues in shadow, still caught in the old paradigm of European initiative and African response.

Cox proposes to expand the concept of reciprocity put forward by Sanneh to include, not only the translators, but all of the missionaries and converts. He proposes a master

³⁰ This thought would be in line with Nakanyike Musisi, “Morality as Identity: the Missionary Moral Agenda in Buganda, 1877 – 1945,” The Journal of Religious History, Vol. 23, No. 1. (February, 1999), pp. 51-74.

³¹ “Missionaries as vernacular agents thus helped Africans to become modernizing agents,” Sanneh, Translating, pp. 160, 167 and 173.

³² Jeffrey Cox, Imperial Fault Lines, *ibid.*, p.13.

narrative which recognizes the imperial involvement of the missionaries but at the same time gives voice to the multiple stories contained in the archives detailing how missionaries and indigenous peoples were engaged in a joint endeavour, “creating something new...simultaneously indigenous, foreign, and hybrid.”³³ In this joint endeavour there was mutual respect and admiration (if not frustration), but there was also an essential contradiction between the realities of western imperialism and the missionary’s aspiration to create a multiracial Christian commonwealth (“of missionary fantasy” as the Comaroffs write).³⁴ Cox uses the image of “tectonic plates” to describe the position of the missionaries, straddling two opposing forces: the concept of universal Christian religious values, such as brotherhood and equality, and the imperial context of those values in which one group was subjugated to another.³⁵ The essential question for Cox asked by the missionaries and their converts was: “Can we participate in a shared faith, on the basis of spiritual equality, in an imperial setting?”³⁶ Although other scholars have attempted to move beyond polarities with concepts such as hybrid Christianity, and transculturation, Cox’s contention is that there remains within these explanations a dominant group and a subordinate group, the missionaries always in the former, without the partnership and mutuality which the archive reveals.³⁷ Many Europeans were as much changed by the encounter as the Africans. P.J. Marshall observes:

³³ Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, *ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁴ Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 32.

³⁵ “The fundamental egalitarianism of much in the Christian message was no more lost in colonial African or India than it had been a century before when West Indian slave owners did everything they could to restrict missionary activity.” P.J. Marshall, *Cambridge Illustrated History of British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 206.

³⁶ Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, *ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁷ New attempts to look again at the Victorian missionary are emerging parallel to and following Cox’s observations. One is a recent essay by Werner Ustorf, “Missionarsreligion und saekulare Religion bei Jakob Spieth (1856—1914),” in *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte*, 117/1 (2006), 63 – 84. Ustorf presents the ambiguity of Spieth, the Director of the Bremen Mission in Togo//Ghana, by distinguishing between

The history of the British Empire should not be seen as resulting in either the spread of western “civilization” and enlightenment on the one hand, or the imposition of alien customs to the wholesale detriment of indigenous cultures on the other. It involves both these processes. Imperialists and colonized were each capable of openness and insularity, of giving and taking...³⁸

Without dodging the racist, imperialist, and ethnocentric tendencies of the pioneer missionaries, Cox seeks to put forward a paradigm to explain that at the same time the record is full of expressions of respect, friendship, partnership and the recognition of wisdom. Although Cox concentrates on the dynamics in India the same can be found in the letters and reports from the CMS missionaries in East Africa. For example, in the discussions regarding the constitution for the Ugandan church Tucker reported in disgust that Mr. Rowling “wanted to know what special arrangements would be made for safeguarding the positions and rights of the ‘superior race’.”³⁹ On the other hand, J.C. Price, the pioneer missionary in Ugogo, Tanzania writes: “The Chief of Mpwapwa said, ‘If God wants to take you [that is, if you are to be killed] let Him come and find you here!’ Not a very heathenish suggestion, after all, thought I.”⁴⁰ Or as Pilkington, the primary language specialist for East Africa noted: “I wish I could send you in full Henry’s [Duta’s] sermons; logical, forcible, interesting, scriptural explanations of the work of Christ for sinners. He is a very able man; he would be above the average in Europe. I doubt that he has his equal in Africa ... his sermons are compositions, not rambling discourse and are delivered admirably.”⁴¹ Along with appreciation there is also

secular religion and mission religion thus opening new vistas in the encounter between missionaries and African Christians.

³⁸ P.J. Marshall, *ibid.*, p. 186.

³⁹ Tucker to Baylis, January 7, 1907 (sic) 1908, CMS Archives, G3 A7 O / 70.

⁴⁰ J.C. Price in CMS Annual Report, 1890, p. 52.

⁴¹ Pilkington to CMS, Annual Report, 1892, CMS Archives, University of Birmingham.

the curious juxtaposition of egalitarian belief and subtle dominance -- sometimes in the same letter. For example, Miss Harvey, the head of the girls school in Freretown writes of the daughter of the African pastor at Freretown: “[She is] my dear friend, who is perfectly competent to take charge of the school in my absence, [emphasis mine] one to whom I can turn for advice and help... [the students have] wonderful intellects ...”⁴² As Cox observes: “Many of the missionaries managed to be racist and anti-racist simultaneously.”⁴³

This study takes seriously Jeffrey Cox’s views regarding master narratives as summarized above, but also his observation that there are many untold micro-narratives which are contained within the alternative master narrative he proposes. If these micro-narratives are examined, would they prove or disprove Cox’s proposal? The extensive Church Missionary Society Archive, housed at the University of Birmingham in Britain, contains many of these smaller stories and is one of the primary sources for this study. In addition to the financial and internal meeting records kept at the Salisbury Square headquarters in London (called “The House”), every missionary in the field wrote business letters to the head office filed in chronological order by date received. Every response from headquarters was copied and kept in letter books, also in chronological order. A précis book was kept with a synopsis of each incoming letter, the action taken in response by the Parent Committee, and a summary of the reply letter together with the date it was written. There are regular yearly reports from each missionary and many absorbing enclosures as well; such as, maps, blueprints for missionary buildings, newspaper clippings about the work, copies of letters to the Foreign Office or the British Consul-General in Zanzibar

⁴² Harvey to CMS, Annual Report, 1891, pp. 47 and 48, *ibid.*

⁴³ Cox, Imperial Fault Lines, *ibid.*

and their replies, grammar notes and questions about scripture translation, speeches, newsletters, diaries, journals, assignments of missionaries, financial and church attendance records, photos and minutes. In addition to the business records of this organization, Birmingham has a significant collection of acquisitions from family and friends of missionaries. Although this study is not an exhaustive portrayal of all the CMS missionaries in East Africa, some of the information contained in their letters will be used to offer comparisons and contrasts.

Some African voices exist in the CMS archive as well, but very few; and due to the deteriorating and disappearing nature of the sources in Africa the African view point is faint, but not totally extinct. Just as Athanasius' counter arguments somewhat enlighten our understanding of Gnostics beliefs, so also African personalities, opinions and activities are reflected in the missionary letters, some of which are written directly to African individuals. These augment the primary African sources; but it is a twilight rendering and must be acknowledged as such. These sources will be drawn upon as they relate to the main subject of this study.

This study will focus on a representative missionary in one of the most important missionary societies in East Africa, as he struggled with the conflict between universal Christian values and the imperial context of his efforts. It is not intended to be a broad presentation of the history of missionary work in East Africa, or even of Tucker's life. It will explore one micro-narrative topically and attempt to test the alternative master narrative proposed by Cox: that the missionaries operated in the tension between two opposing ideas, one with a premium on equality and one which subjugated one group of

people to another. It will look into the invisible ranks of the nineteenth century missionaries and focus on major tensions encountered by the Church Missionary Society project in East Africa using the prism of one of the leading figures of that effort – Alfred Robert Tucker (1849 – 1914).

Travelling extensively and holding simultaneously the position of Director of the Mission and Bishop of an indigenous church allowed a view point which encompassed a broader breadth of information than a single missionary stationed in one location. As the third Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa for seven years (1890 – 1897) until the diocese was divided, he was the primary overseer for a large area covering present day Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya, interacting with numerous missionaries and colonial administrators. After the division he then remained the Bishop of Uganda until 1911. In effect he was the initiator of long-term episcopal ministry in the diocese as the first bishop, James Hannington, was killed en route to the interior and the second, H.P. Parker, died of fever on the southern shores of Lake Victorian Nyanza – both after only one year in residence. Because Tucker maintained a “vigorous episcopate of twenty-one years” his long tenure affords a broad swath of insight into the imperial period stretching from 1890 to 1914.⁴⁴

A brief and initial survey of the Tucker archive reveals hints that Cox’s proposed paradigm may have some validity. For example, the Bishop’s imperial leanings are evidenced by his very successful fund-raising for the continuing administration of the Imperial British East Africa Company in Uganda. At the same time, later in his career, he was critical of the colonial administration especially on the policy of forced labour on the

⁴⁴ Dictionary of National Biography, Part II, 1901 – 1921, Eds. H.W.C. Davis and J.R.H. Weaver (London: Oxford University Press, 1927).

cotton plantations in Uganda, seeing it as a hindrance to the development of an indigenous economy. Tucker ordained forty-seven African clergy and wrote a constitution for the Ugandan Church integrating the European missionaries equally with their African counterparts, yet at the same time was very instrumental in lobbying for the Uganda protectorate, making him a figure of paradox and some controversy. This controversy is indirectly evidenced by the fact that the Ugandan college named after him, Bishop Tucker Theological College, has now been enveloped by Uganda Christian University. These contradictions are illustrative of the tension proposed in Cox's master narrative, a larger picture with its swirling eddies of opposing ideals.

Tucker was one of only a small number of missionaries (only 17%) with a university degree – his from Oxford.⁴⁵ Before his ordination at the age of thirty-three, he was a professional artist, the son of two itinerant landscape artists who settled in the Lake District in Britain. Immersed in the evangelical wing of the church while at Oxford (1880–1882), he had a passion for the conversion of souls and for the underprivileged, an iron will and a cast-iron constitution all wrapped up in the velvet glove of an artistic temperament. After serving two parishes in England as a curate he volunteered with the Church Missionary Society and was immediately nominated to replace Parker in East Africa. He departed for Africa on the day of his consecration. Leaving his wife and small son behind in England for the duration of his twenty-one year episcopate, he itinerated over his vast diocese, travelling over 22,000 miles. Known as “The Uganda Express” or “The Squire,” his letters and autobiography from East Africa contain

⁴⁵ This percentage has been calculated from the listing of missionaries in the East African field in the year of Tucker's arrival from the Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy: 1804 – 1904, Part 1, CMS Archives, University of Birmingham.

countless observation from the period of initial encounters.⁴⁶ Beginning with a small following of Christians clustered on the coast, in Uganda, and along the caravan trail in Tanzania; his tenure concluded with over 100,000 Christian adherents in Uganda alone. Estimated at roughly 4,500 letters, it is possible to follow the progression of British influence from a scattering of advisory personnel to a full blown Protectorate in Uganda and Kenya. They are also intriguing in their record of the technology of communication and travel; from runners along the caravan trails to railroads, telegraphs, bicycles, steamers and the first cars.

A. N. Wilson remarks that the 1890's was a time when "the arts flourished" and "writers and artists of the period lived hectically and recklessly."⁴⁷ Although it could be argued that Tucker's tenure in East Africa was indeed an illustration of a hectic and reckless lifestyle, Wilson's observation can more clearly be seen in the life of another artist and contemporary of Tucker, Vincent Van Gogh (1850 – 1890). Van Gogh, like Tucker, began by following in the footsteps of his father who was an ordained Dutch Reformed pastor. Like Tucker he sought the ordained ministry and missionary service but later finally turned to art. Whereas Van Gogh was a missionary turned artist, Tucker was an artist turned missionary. Yet Anton Wessels argues that Van Gogh did not completely give up missionary work but continued through his art to present the Gospel, albeit in a different form.⁴⁸ In the same way Tucker did not completely give up being an artist but used his gift continuously for documentation, fund-raising, and personal income throughout his career.

⁴⁶ Mss. Af., Rhodes House, Oxford University.

⁴⁷ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002), pp. 410 and 552.

⁴⁸ Anton Wessels, *A Kind of Bible: Vincent Van Gogh As Evangelist* (London: SCM Press, 2000).

Through their talents artists are creators of images and have the capacity to create worlds; whether on canvas, on stage, or through words. The period of Tucker's life closely coincides with the late Victorian period – a time of rapid technological, social and philosophical change. Stress associated with rapid change can cause many to hold tenaciously to the status quo, to recreate the past or retreat into an imagined world of yesteryear. Tucker certainly had the power to create with paintings and words. His letters and writings had great force to bring about realities and he was appreciated as a gifted platform speaker.⁴⁹ But did he also seek through his decisions to create a world in East Africa; one that was passing away in England, with landed gentry, squires, village vicars, and aristocratic Bishops? Or will an examination of the evidence point to a different type of creation, one tailored for an African setting, but engineered none the less. Possibly his present faded image is the just reward for one who imposed an image on others. Perhaps not; perhaps the broad brush strokes of others have painted over an original.

Teddy Roosevelt, who visited in 1909, called the work of Tucker and his missionaries, “one of the most interesting chapters in all recent missionary history.”⁵⁰ But it does not then follow that Tucker is well known. Although he wrote an autobiography in 1911, shadows and ambiguities remain due to his highly stylized writing style. At the time of publication many of the figures included were still active in public ministry possibly leading to a reluctance of revelation. Even if deceased, some had living relatives still

⁴⁹ There are innumerable invitations and references in the CMS Archives to his many preaching/speaking engagements, comments throughout on the numbers he attracted, great applause and appreciation recorded in the Lambeth speeches, and descriptions in most of the writings of co-workers.

⁵⁰ Teddy Roosevelt, CMS Annual Report, 1911, p.63.

producing powerful images, such as Sir Gerald Portal. Yet comparisons of Tucker's autobiography with private letters, such as the ones contained in the Carus-Wilson collection at the Billy Graham Center in Wheaton, Illinois, reveal his unguarded opinions.⁵¹

Fifteen years after Tucker's death in 1914, A. P. Shepherd added a biography, but little revelation, again due to the heroic style popular in the "high imperial age."⁵² Both of these works are interesting for what they tell us about what portrayal was important to present to the English public, but are only slightly revealing of Tucker's character or motives and hardly analytical of his actions and their outcomes.

Holger Hansen wrote extensively about Uganda and the intertwining forces at work in Mission, Church, and State in a Colonial Setting.⁵³ Tucker is mentioned prominently in regards to his role in the issues of forced labour, forced cultivation of cotton, and the land re-distribution of 1900. But the section of the study that mentions Tucker concentrates only on these issues.

Also, Tudor Griffiths offers his unpublished dissertation focusing on the evangelical principles of Henry Venn as seen in Tucker's work.⁵⁴ This study focuses only on

⁵¹ Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois, USA, Box 135/1 and Box 135/2.

⁵² Andrew Walls, "The British: Missions in the Imperialist Era, 1880 – 1920," International Bulletin of Missionary Research (April 1982), 60 – 64. Also A.N. Wilson, The Victorians (London: Hutchinson, 2002), p. 259.

⁵³ Holger Hansen, Mission, Church, and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890 – 1925 (London: Heinemann, 1984).

⁵⁴ Tudor Griffiths, "Bishop A.R. Tucker of Uganda and the Implementation of an Evangelical Tradition of Mission," Diss. University of Leeds, 1998.

Tucker's spirituality and theological beliefs in comparison to Venn and, by Griffiths' own admission, does not attempt to be an historical study.

Both Hansen and Griffiths focus only on Tucker's work in Uganda. However, taking into account that out of his first seven years in East Africa Tucker spent only fifteen months in Uganda, much of his total African experience has been unexplored. It is not possible to dismiss the other venues of his ministry without investigation and still present a complete picture. This study will focus attention on Tucker's activity in Mombassa and the other parts of his diocese.

Christopher Byaruhanga, of Uganda Christian University, is the only Ugandan to focus on Tucker.⁵⁵ Once again, Mombasa and the coast are not included in this study. Although his work includes a heavy concentration on the cultural practices of his home area in Uganda and the educational practices of the mission schools, he comes close to Cox's observations. Written five years prior to Cox's 2002 study and two years before Peterson and Allman, he also calls for a new approach to the familiar view of missionary aggression and African victimization. He challenges the celebratory view (which he calls the traditional view) that missionaries held exemplary motives. At the same time he also challenges the post-colonial, revisionist approach that missionaries were racists and imperialists. Instead he proposes that Tucker did not completely fit into either of these two categories but into a third category which he does not name. Cox, on the other hand, believes that the Victorian missionaries fit both categories simultaneously. Unfortunately, Byaruhanga's work did not include an exploration into the primary

⁵⁵ Christopher Byaruhanga, "Bishop Alfred Robert Tucker, 1849 – 1914: His Role and Significance in the Creation of a Native Anglican Church in Uganda." ThD. Diss., General Theological Seminary, 1997.

sources; focusing instead exclusively on Tucker's published autobiography. The weakness of this autobiography, lacking in candid opinion, has already been addressed, intended as it was only for public consumption. Therefore Byaruhanga has been unable to draw out his very original observations with convincing evidence.

Tucker's candid image of himself was somewhat that of an Occidental patriarch, going forth to an unknown land, part of God's overriding plan of salvation for the chosen African people touched by his administration. Older than most of his European colleagues, he did not shrink from a strong paternal approach, as seen in a letter to Semler, the African pastor at Freretown, "...as you appeal to me as a father I desire to advise you as one."⁵⁶ A similar approach is found toward the European clergy. To Leakey he writes, "And now let me give you a little fatherly advice. When next you write to your Bishop, do not charge him with 'unjust and unfair treatment.' It is unbecoming, unseemly and unworthy of you. I may be obliged to receive such letters but there is no obligation resting upon me to reply to them."⁵⁷ He definitely had a fondness for emphasizing his episcopal authority and leadership role. He wrote to W. A. Crabtree, a CMS missionary and priest, "As a matter of fact, I have a RIGHT to require that no adult be baptized without a reference to me...[emphasis his]. In this diocese I am the interpreter of church laws in this matter."⁵⁸ But this strong imperial flavour also had an opposite side. Dr. J. H. Cook writes, "His touch was tender as that of a woman on such occasions [of trouble], as all could testify – whether European or native – who

⁵⁶ Tucker to Semler, September 25, 1898, CMS Archives, G3 A5 O / 191.

⁵⁷ Tucker to Leakey, November 25, 1904, CMS Archives, G3 A7 O / 249.

⁵⁸ Tucker to Crabtree, May 29, 1899, CMS Archives, Acc. 27/ F1/2.

experienced it.”⁵⁹ While acknowledging that the members of the diocese may have been developmentally behind Europe, he reasoned that this was due only to a lack of knowledge of the transforming work of the Christian Gospel. In his view, civilization followed Christian belief and not the other way around; and the development manifested in Africa as a result may not look exactly like what the Gospel had produced in Europe.

If the missionaries were caught between opposing ideals, Tucker’s fellow workers were definitely caught between opposing impressions of the Bishop. In his journal E. E. Nickisson expresses appreciation, “The Bishop gave us a grand Bible reading from Ephesians 2:18 – 24.”⁶⁰ Another positive impression comes from A. B. Fisher, an ordained CMS missionary: “He was of commanding appearance, with long mustache, heavy eye brows, abundant dark hair, determination, common sense, patience, and a great sense of humor.”⁶¹ But E. E. Nickisson also gives a slightly exasperated account.

We saw a large herd of zebras at some distance but the Bishop would not allow me to go after them lest I should overtire myself!...I told the escari (sic) to save me the skin and to give the meat to the men, a portion to our boys. When I got back I found the Bishop had already given the carcass in my name to Mr. Heath with the same injunctions practically...The Bishop went ahead as usual.⁶²

And finally: “The Bishop had several shots at various animals but without success. Fisher said to me that he had never known anyone so fond of shooting such a bad shot.”⁶³ Although the well-known tension between the evangelical, reformed theology of the CMS and the seemingly unreformed holdover concept of Anglican bishops may have been a

⁵⁹ J.H. Cook, “Tucker of Uganda,” *C.M.S. Home Gazette* (November, 1929), p. 167.

⁶⁰ E. E. Nickisson, “From Mombasa to Mengo,” CMS Archives, Acc. 109, p. 27.

⁶¹ A. B. Fisher, “A. B. Fisher of Uganda,” CMS Archives, Acc. 84, Book I, 1890 – 1892, p. 134.

⁶² Nickisson, *ibid.*, pp. 51 and 54.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

factor in such interactions, there is an element of respect as well as resentment, tinged with ridicule.

There were differences in response to the over-sight ministry of Tucker between Uganda and Mombasa. Mombasa missionaries were unresponsive to Tucker's leadership and due to these differences he did not find the work on the coast to be satisfactory.⁶⁴ When the diocese was divided, the CMS was surprised that he chose Uganda as his see; possibly due to the fact that he had already invested four years in Mombasa and environs. But Uganda had a very high profile in England and to be the Bishop of this area certainly boosted his profile. Tucker did not seem to find this aspect a burden.

The African response to Tucker contains similar contrasts. Immense crowds greeted him warmly in trips around the diocese. Baskerville, CMS missionary and priest, recollects: "The natives adored him. He was, they said, their best friend, their father. No one was too small or too humble to be received by him and he would take infinite pains to understand the words of each one then to help them as far as he was able."⁶⁵ At the same time Baskerville recalls: "He had an imperial mind and his grasp of native politics was marked."⁶⁶ The contrast between open humility and political astuteness may account for the variety of reactions Tucker received. At various times the African teachers in the coastal part of the mission did not hesitate to threaten resignation when they felt their pay was too low; as did the teachers in the Uganda mission.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See Chapter Five, p. 119.

⁶⁵ Baskerville recollections, Billy Graham Center Archives, 135, Box 1 folder 5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Tucker to Fox, May 29, 1905, CMS Archives, G3 A7 O / 137.

The colonial government had its own views of Tucker. These were not always complimentary, as Tucker was often combative towards colonial objectives; such as forced labour, land distribution, taxes, marriage laws, and immigration policies. This pattern of criticizing the colonial administration was to change with the tenure of the next Bishop of Uganda, John Willis.

This study is based on the belief that the missionary movement of the nineteenth century, following hard on the imperialist urge of the same period and embedded in the social mind-sets of the time, still was not a steam-roller flattening all individuality before it.⁶⁸ At the same time, the individual missionaries were not solitary figures painted on a stark canvas without reference to structures, events and ideas around them. An interaction between these opposite views exists. Using Cox's master narrative of 'tectonic plates' this study will attempt to increase the understanding of the interaction between the setting of Victorian mission and the ideals as contained in a micro-narrative of one of the agents of Christian mission. It will examine the primary sources for evidence that may prove or disprove that the missionaries were ground between two opposing ideas: firstly, a mutual egalitarian vision and secondly, an imperial context. Invisibility has been the point of departure for this research to seek an answer to the question of why the nineteenth century missionary community continues to be in shadow. Through the prism or lens of Tucker, it will use Jeffrey Cox's methodology with an individual in the foreground to address issues of major historiographic importance. Using the theories of Cox, it will attempt to examine the micro-narrative of one of the leading figures in the Victorian East

⁶⁸ "...attention has not been paid in southern Africa to the consciousness and intentionality of those identified as 'agents of domination.' Quite the reverse: their actions continue to be seen largely as a reflex of political and economic processes." Jean and John Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 9.

African encounter in an attempt to re-examine or reframe an inadequate understanding of the dynamics involved in the initial phases of interaction.

The records of the Church Missionary Society at the University of Birmingham have been a major source for this study; their extensiveness has already been described. The archives at Rhodes House, Oxford have also been helpful as they include the diaries and papers of early individuals in East Africa. In addition to written sources there are three-dimensional artefacts in this archive. Selwyn College, Cambridge has the chalice from Namirembe Cathedral with Tucker's episcopal ring and his wife's wedding ring on the base. A trip to Durham uncovered the original sketches of Tucker found at the County Records Office and the Cathedral and University Libraries also have significant material, including one of Tucker's copes and the only photo to date of Josephine Tucker and their son Hathaway. His grave is outside the north door of Durham Cathedral. The Public Records Office was very helpful in the study of the slavery debate, especially the role of Hardinge. The Churchill archive at Cambridge also has a Tucker letter on this subject with Churchill's scribbled reply in the margins. The Theodore Roosevelt Collection at Harvard has photos of official gatherings during Roosevelt's African safari which include Tucker. Lambeth Palace Library contributes the speeches of Tucker at the Pan-Anglican conferences and the negotiations for his retirement position at Durham Cathedral but no trace of the original painting "Homeless," which was donated after Tucker's death. The Billy Graham Center at Wheaton, Illinois is the home-away-from-home of a small collection of personal letters to Mrs. Ashley (Mary Louisa) Carus-Wilson, journalist, author and long-term Tucker correspondent, which show more of Tucker's personality

than the official letters to CMS.⁶⁹ Despite much searching only one Tucker painting was found, and even so it is only a black and white study of Ripon Falls; it is reproduced in Tucker's autobiography (page 104) and the original hangs above the secretary's desk at Uganda Christian University, Mukono, Uganda.

The archives relating to Tucker in Africa were in a sad state of disintegration and displacement. The Walker letter books at Makerere University are now faded beyond readability. Although the original Luganda transcript of Miti's Ugandan history is in the stacks, the English translation by G. K. Rock is missing. Many of the articles listed in the Universities holdings, provided to this researcher by Griffiths, are not to be found. Even the listing has disappeared. Sadly, Bishop Tucker Theological College at Uganda Christian University does not have a single letter written by Tucker in its holdings, which at the time of this researcher's visit were scattered in piles in an overseas container in no discernable order. Except for the original records of the Imperial British East African Company, The Kenya National Archives could not locate any of the archives requested and the CMS records are copies of those in England. An exception is the Provincial office of the Anglican Church of Kenya which is making a valiant effort to collect and store systematically scattered archives, while also maintaining a very fascinating museum in the old school house on the grounds of the original mission station at Rabai.

While exploring the primary sources, areas of discussion and conflict began to surface. These themes, repeatedly and energetically delineated, gradually evolved to become the chapters in this dissertation. They are roughly presented in chronological order. An

⁶⁹ www.putts.emory.edu/ARCHIVES/text/mss018.html contains a complete biography. Aug. 2006.

exception to this methodology would be Tucker's art which was never a subject of contention and which will be considered for the first time in this study.

The discussion of Tucker's painting is presented first and appropriately in Chapter Two, as this was his initial profession and one that stayed with him till the end of his life. It was while rushing back from viewing one of his paintings hung at the Royal Academy, to attend a Faith and Order conference at Westminster, that he suffered a fatal heart attack.⁷⁰ Using the theories of Bruno Latour and Beth Fowkes Tobin, Tucker's original artwork will be examined to determine its usefulness in the imperial endeavour and the forces at play during the period of initial contact between Africans and Europeans. Also examined will be any traces of tension possibly displayed in Tucker's work between an imperial world-view and an egalitarian message from an African setting.

Tucker's initial problem in the diocese of Eastern Equatorial African in the first phases of ministry revolved around the unorthodox style of initiating and terminating marriages at the mission village for rescued slaves, Freretown near Mombasa. The problem of the institution of marriage will be examined in Chapter Three with special attention to the clash between missionary vision and imperial environment.

On the verge of leaving the coast to take up his duties as the Bishop of Uganda, Tucker invested precious time to argue for the implementation of a foreign idea on the shores of Africa – the abolition of slavery. Chapter Four will explore the case of a young, female slave, Keri Karibu as Tucker took up the role as her Solicitor. Constrained by duty to

⁷⁰ "Monreale Cathedral, Sicily" was hanging at the Summer Exhibition of 1914.

follow a path opposite of his conscience, investigation will be made into the options open to a missionary seeking to “obey the existing authorities.” The resulting tensions are unexpected in light of the missionary-as- imperialist paradigm.

Chapter Five focuses on internal tensions within the Church Missionary Society as it attempted to initiate the creation of an indigenous church. As the CMS was an independent and rather anti-establishment organization, attempting to set up a traditional institution was a challenge. Cox comments that Venn and the CMS “failed to explain how a voluntary society like the CMS could foster the growth of an episcopal church; he and other missionary theorists never provided a practical institution model that would facilitate the development of an independent non-western church of any ecclesiastical variety...”⁷¹ However, possibly this observation was written prior to a knowledge of Venn’s proposals in “On Nationality” and “The Native Church” which give a reasonable outline.⁷² The challenge of distance, differing opinions, an unfamiliar location, cultural setting and the pioneer dynamic of the endeavour surfaced many lines of tension which will be examined using Tucker’s correspondence.

The interaction of Tucker with the colonial personnel and policies of the Imperial British East Africa Company and later with the administration of the various protectorates which his diocese spanned will be analyzed in Chapter Six. While highlighting particularly how this relationship evolved over time into different phases to correspond with different

⁷¹ Jeffrey Cox, “The Missionary Movement,” in Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions, Ed. D.G. Paz (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995) p. 217.

⁷² Henry Venn, “On Nationality,” in The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, Ed., William Knight (London: Longmans Green, 1880) p. 282; and “The Native Church”, CMS Archives, G / AZ / 1/ 1. Both are summarized in Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley, The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799 – 1999 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) pp. 157, 165 – 167.

political contexts, one characteristic remained constant. Tucker found himself negotiating the requirements and expectations of his tripartite position: Director of the mission, Bishop of an independent indigenous church, and Bishop of an English, established church. The tangle of loyalties and obligations is illustrative of the complex world inhabited by Victorian missionaries.

Finally, Chapter Seven sifts through the various references to interaction between the European missionaries and the Africans. The interactions will be categorized in order to illustrate the differing types of joint decisions or lack of joint decisions taking place during the initial period of Christianity's introduction. Evidence of the mutuality proposed by Cox to build a joint endeavour will be examined to determine if elements of an unbalanced partnership might have a possible egalitarian counterweight.

The concept of the invisibility of missionaries has become an important one in the discourse of the present day, as the Comaroffs observe: "There has been a neglect of colonial history due to much interest in traditional African culture; except for social historians who have long concerned themselves with, even been fascinated by, Christian evangelists."⁷³ Addressing the practice of writing the missionaries out of history, by scholars in both North and South, is a topic whose time has come. The nineteenth century missionaries are invisible because they are either "sainted" or "villain-ized," leaving obscured and unexplored a more realistic, if ambiguous picture. But pictures which contain shades of grey actually present a clearer understanding. It is one of the intentions of this study to examine the various colour tones, the ambiguities and contradictions, in

⁷³ Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 7.

the micro-narrative of Tucker that would enable us to see him in a more realistic way and therefore to re-think the all pervasive nineteenth century missionary myth. As Wilbert Shenk states: “The nineteenth century story is riddled with contradictions with regard to missionaries and their attitudes toward other peoples and their cultures. But why this viewpoint is so understated in academic circles remains a question.”⁷⁴

There is no doubt that a legacy has been left by the pioneer missionaries in East Africa. Human, political, philosophical, and institutional factors involved have caused this legacy to be a mixed blessing for all concerned. It is possible to experience this legacy first hand while living and working in the East African setting. Even after one hundred and fifty years, a mixed response to overseas personnel is still noticeable and sometimes baffling.

One response may be to exclude western personnel entirely from governing and decision-making bodies, regardless of qualifications. This approach places overseas workers (even members of the same religious denomination) not as members of the same organization, but as a separate entity. The second response places overseas workers in charge of everything, regardless of qualifications or experience. The second may have the same underlying assumption as the first. These separate responses have their genesis partly in the philosophy, implementation and personnel of the pioneer mission organizations, together with the cultural Petri dish into which they were placed. Co-workers from the North and South may find it difficult to interact with one objective without unravelling or at least understanding the dynamics that continue to produce repercussions.

⁷⁴ Wilbert R. Shenk, “Reflections on the Modern Missionary Movement: 1792 – 1992,” Mission Studies, 9, no. 1 (1992), p. 62.

The ability to act in a unified fashion is sometimes hindered by a hurtful past which causes multinational organizations (such as the church, but others as well) to enact “dismemberment” – the tendency of the regional scholars or groups to write their histories separately without regard for integration with the whole.⁷⁵ Observing such tendencies, Jack Thompson, Senior Lecturer, World Christianity at the University of Edinburgh, calls for a “re-membering” through remembering. The process involves going back and looking again at the history of encounters from a multiple of perspectives, acknowledging the presence of each viewpoint. This could be a painful experience as past hurts and injustices are revisited but without such a process, however uncomfortable, clarity and understanding cannot be pursued. Arun Jones eloquently elaborates:

Perhaps one of the features of a Christian body is that it bears on itself the marks of a foreign imposition of the gospel...[These foreign marks] impress upon a Christian body that it is wedded to other culturally alien people of God, to the translation and re-translation of God among other times and places and peoples. This is one way to view the catholicity of the church: that Christian bodies are not meant merely to coexist peacefully, to cooperate with each other and enrich each other's lives, but to leave their marks – wounds which can be and have been healed – on one another's Christianity.⁷⁶

But at the same time fresh approaches must be employed to examine the interaction of cultures in a colonial setting; approaches which give voice to the archives, acknowledge

⁷⁵ Wilson Niwagila gives examples from African church history of shutting off the connection with the wider world, “Even though [Coptic and Ethiopian] churches survived the forces which wiped out Christianity from within and without, their situation crippled them from not moving out of their own cultural territorium. They feared letting themselves exposed to other cultures and for that reason lost sight of their great responsibility of being participant in the *Missio Dei* by crossing their own borders.” From “African Church History and mission History,” in *Missionsgeschichte, Kirchengeschichte, Weltgeschichte*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996). An opposite response but one which illustrates the same understanding of the wider community comes from African speakers at the Centenary celebrations of the CMS in Uganda, “Europeans lay down their lives for us. God tells them to do it, they must do it, They are compelled to do it in order to preach the Gospel to us. There is still a little bit left to witness in. What is our share in it?” *The Centenary Volume*, CMS Archives, University of Birmingham, p. 498.

⁷⁶ Arun W. Jones, *Christian Missions in the American Empire* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), p. 255.

the involvement of western agents and the resourcefulness of non-western participants. Sanneh writes: “The old categories of antagonism and alienation by which we have assessed the missionary impact are insufficient to take account of this factor of reciprocity.”⁷⁷ By addressing and exploring the concept of the invisibility of pioneer missionaries using fresh concepts and categories, this study hopes to advance the ongoing discourse in this area of debate and make a helpful contribution.

⁷⁷ Lamin Sanneh, Translating, *ibid.*, p. 173.

CHAPTER TWO

ART AS THE HANDMAIDEN OF EMPIRE

Professional artists were quite frequently essential personnel during the early Victorian voyages of discovery in East Africa. Art was flourishing in Britain in the late 1800's and David Livingstone's 1857 Zambezi expedition included a professional artist, Mr. Thomas Baines, to record ethnographic studies, geographical features, and botanical specimens of interest. Painters, unlike photographers, had the ability to recreate fast moving events. For example "Elephant in the Shallows of the Shire River, the steam launch firing" by Thomas Baines, 1859, depicting an elephant charge was painted at a later date from a description given by George Rae. The artist himself was not present at the event.¹ Mr. Baines showed his belief in the superiority of paint to photography by painting himself, painting the landscape, in the bottom left of one of his pictures as if asking the question; "Can a photographer do this?"² The emphasis that Victorians placed on popular science and the beliefs and teaching of John Ruskin, that art should reflect accurate and informative geographical and anthropological records, helped to carry artists into unknown places. Victorians had a compelling curiosity for foreign, unknown and exotic scenes. Some artists, such as Turner, Lear, Lewis, and Phillip, travelled widely painting such scenes to satisfy the domestic Victorian appetite.³ The recording of the unknown was not limited to professionals by any means, and the diaries and journals of government officials, explorers, businessmen, and tourists often included maps and sketches; as

¹ T. Jeal, ed., David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter With Africa (Great Britain: National Portrait Gallery, 1996) p.41.

² Thomas Baines. "Shibadda," 1859, in Jeal, p.185.

³ Scott Wilcox and Christopher Newall. Victorian Landscape Watercolours (New York: Hudson Hills, 1992), p. 58. Also Julian Treuherz, Victorian Painting (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993), p.65.

documentation, to remind the traveller of the adventure, or to show those at home the destination – much as photographs would be used today.

Missionaries, as well, included sketches in their diaries, journals, and letters home. Some of these tracings, such as landscape scenes in the diary of J. P. Nickisson of the Church Missionary Society in Nassa, were private and untrained in nature, while others, such as those of Archdeacon Walker in Uganda, showed more ability. Still others, such as those sent to the Church Missionary Society from Mr. Burt, the missionary in Jilore, had a map-like quality and were sent home to the mission oversight committee to illustrate building plans or mission station lay-outs.⁴

It is evident from the above illustrations that art was used for a number of purposes, with professional artists, such as Baines, often producing works for public exhibition; and private individuals and missionaries, such as Nickisson, producing illustrations for private uses. However, in the person of Alfred Robert Tucker (who also painted under the name of Alfred Maile) there is a rare opportunity to examine the collection of a missionary and a professional artist whose art was used for both private and public purposes. A. R. Tucker came from a family of artists; his father, mother, and four brothers all practiced the same profession. As there is no record that he attended any formal schooling it is likely that he was educated at home, as were many middle and upper class children.⁵ Tucker was trained in art at an early age by his father, who felt that, of all his sons, Alfred

⁴ Enclosure in Tucker to Lang, April 11, 1892, CMS Archives, G3/A5/O/1892/163.

⁵ “In 1868 about a tenth of Oxford and Cambridge entrants had been tutored privately, and about the same proportion thirty years later.” Colin Ford and Brian Harrison, A Hundred Years Ago: Britain in the 1880's in Words and Photographs (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Allen Lane/Penguin Books, 1983), p. 22.

had the most potential to be a successful artist.⁶ Selling his first painting at the age of fourteen, his career as an itinerate landscape artist was a full-time occupation from 1863 until 1880 when he entered Oxford as an undergraduate. While studying and during his early career as a curate (at St. Andrew's, Clifton, 1882 – 1885 and St. Nicholas, Durham, 1885 – 1890) he continued to paint, exhibiting nine paintings in all at the Royal Academy and two at the Grosvenor. Tucker speaks of John Ruskin as “my old teacher.”⁷ Both were at Oxford in the same time period and both lived in family homes in the Lake District; Tucker at Woodlands in Langdale, Ambleside and Ruskin at Brantwood on Coniston Water. He was appointed Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1890.

The Tucker archive comes from six different sources:

- 1.) The nine Royal Academy paintings: “Homeless” (1874), “Christchurch, Oxford” (1885), “The Cathedral, Bayeux” (1888), “The Interior of St. Maclou, Rouen” (1888), “Dinan, A Showery Day” (1889), “The Victoria Nyanza” (1894), “Goldinesdahl, Innsbrook” (1907), “A Wet Night, Nismes” (1913), “Monreale Cathedral, Sicily” (1914)
- 2.) Two watercolours exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery on New Bond Street: “September – Melbrake, Cumberland” (1881) and “The Church of St. Laurent, Rouen” (1881).⁸
- 3.) One-hundred-and-thirty-one sketches deposited at the Durham County Record Office illustrating Tucker's confirmation journeys and episcopal visitations during his twenty-one years in Africa. Some of these have been reprinted in Church Missionary Society newsletters.
- 4.) A few sketches and watercolours given to individuals: “Raymond Portal's Grave” given to his mother, “Ripon Falls” hanging at Uganda Christian University, and “Galilee Chapel” given to Durham Cathedral.⁹

⁶ Arthur P. Shepherd. Tucker of Uganda: Artist and Apostle, 1849 – 1914 (London: Student Christian Movement, 1929), Preface.

⁷ Uganda Notes, May 1909, Vol. X, No. 5, CMS Archives, G3/A7/O/193.

⁸ Paintings in number one and two are listed in Algernon Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts Exhibitors, 1905 – 1970 (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1973). And “Goldinesdahl” in Tucker to Carus Wilson, June 5, 1907, BGC Archives, 135 / 1 / 3.

⁹ “Portal's Grave” is mentioned in Sir Gerald H. Portal, The British Mission to Uganda in 1893 (London: Edward Arnold, 1894), p. 241; “Ripon Falls” was found at Uganda Christian University by the writer, Aug. 2004; and “Galilee Chapel” is listed in the Tucker file at Durham Cathedral Library on a list of gifts given by the family but is currently missing.

5.) Reference to his artwork in the diaries of contemporaries, in newsletters and newspapers.¹⁰

6.) Illustrations in Bishop Tucker's autobiography.

Even though the paintings in categories one and two are presently lost, it is possible to trace Tucker's painting itineraries in France and Italy through the titles and dates of the works. But the more important collection for this study is found in the Durham deposit. The subject matter and the number of times each subject is sketched give a clear indication of what Tucker considered important to record, but also an indication of the tension between the ideals of empire and those of the Christian missionary enterprise are clearly seen. Sometimes it is possible even to see this tension within the same sketch.

In analyzing the sketches of Bishop Tucker the theories of Bruno Latour, a sociologist and historian of science, have been utilized. Also used has been the work of Beth Fowkes Tobin, an historian of art, as she builds upon Latour's theories and applies them to the field of art history. Bruno Latour studies the acceptance of universal knowledge and the rejection of local knowledge during voyages of discovery using a process he calls "abstracting" which Tobin summarizes in chapter seven of Picturing Imperial Power. Abstracting is a mechanism by which local knowledge at the periphery of empire becomes a sub-set of European knowledge. Both Latour and Tobin explain and outline the process whereby a drawing, a map, or a report was used to carry traces from the peripheries to the center of the empire, "where a particular kind of power, crucial to

¹⁰ For example, the diary of H. H. Hensen, Dean of Durham Cathedral during Tucker's tenure as sixth Canon and also H. E. Fox in The Record, 19 June 1914, and Intelligencer, January 1903.

colonialism was consolidated, a power of possessing the ability ‘to act at a distance on unfamiliar events, places, and people.’ ”¹¹ Tobin argues “the ability to visualize without actually seeing a place or its’ people, plants and resources is a critical step in gaining global dominance which relies on the gathering of sketches, notes, specimens, measurements, etc.”¹² All knowledge is local but one local begins to dominate others and creates a universal. The process by which this occurs used technology, economics, military might and idealism to dominate other locals and establish predominance. Latour uses the example of the gradual accumulation of the knowledge necessary for map-making to illustrate the process. European knowledge contains devices or elements which enable it to extract knowledge from far places and make it a subset of its own knowledge. These devices include inscription (drawings, measurements, charts, observations of tides and weather), networks, centers of calculation (universities or societies), and a material base (ships, navigational equipment, military protection). Inscription is the most necessary of all of these devices as without it discovery barely leaves a trace, such as the voyages of discovery of the Norsemen to North America. Art is one of the types of inscription; whether landscapes, botanical drawings, or ethnographic drawings. It is a carrier of the images of distant places made familiar in a “cycle of accumulation” (repeated voyages of discovery) through which Europeans gained knowledge of places they had never seen. Using art (or inscription), knowledge, which has been selected by the artist, is lifted out of a particular context and placed into another context – it has been

¹¹ Beth Fowkes Tobin. Picturing imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth Century British Painting (London: Duke University Press, 1999), p.25; and Bruno Latour. Science in Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 243 and 220.

¹² Tobin, p. 213.

“translated from one visual register to another.”¹³ This, Latour believes, is the beginning of the process of abstraction. This process was made possible by the stable nature of inscriptions, including art, along with their mobility and their ability to be combined with other knowledge. Tucker’s sketches had all of these qualities. They were able to be transported, unaltered and combined with descriptions of situations, people, or events to enable the Church Missionary Society and others to give directions effecting people they had never met and places they had never visited. Each extraction creates a layer that accumulates and recombines with additional information to mobilize further action that eventually reverses the balance of power. It allows people to “act at a distance on unfamiliar events, places, and people.”¹⁴

For example, Tucker drew a sketch of the dormitories at Freretown and wrote a report about conditions. Both were sent back to the CMS Corresponding Secretary. The Corresponding Secretary attended a meeting of the General Committee and communicated the sketch and the report (which was already second or third hand knowledge) to the Committee which is a “centre of calculation,” who analyzed and extracted details from Tucker’s offerings, creating lists, minutes, and agendas (or abstractions). They then combined the information with the reports of other missionaries and government officials. Using all this information the Committee was able to discuss problems, devise solutions, and send instructions, all without ever seeing Freretown. The collection of inscriptions allows those at the centre to represent the world “in its absence,”

¹³ Tobin, p. 214. The artists’ selection of subject matter is quite subjective and illustrates the ability of the artist to filter information for the audience and create a world. Wilson suggests this happened in response to “the dark godless universe suggested by Victorian science.” A. N. Wilson. *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002), p. 557.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

to localize distant places and take action.¹⁵ This elevated the committee from a local authority to that of a universal authority. As a centre of calculation, they had the ability to re-arrange temporal and spatial relationships, becoming universal, and to relegate the local knowledge found in the peripheries to local influence only.

Tucker's sketches and paintings were part of the process of abstraction, which helped to contribute to the presence and operation of the Victorian Empire in East Africa, making East African knowledge a sub-set of European knowledge.¹⁶ His art was stable, mobile, combinable, and enabled the CMS committee to then integrate various inscriptions and to act as a decision-making agent, never having set foot in Africa. A further example would be his sketches of the mission stations that allowed the committee to see for themselves the type of housing that the missionaries lived in and worked out of. As the pioneer period moved into a more permanent situation, the missionaries requested sturdier, more durable, European style houses, believing that living in the reed and mud house style of the indigenous people was a source of ill-health. After reviewing the problem using all the information available to them –from medical sources, letters, reports, suggested house plans from missionaries in the field, and Tucker's sketches – the General Committee of the CMS decided to send funds for European style houses. The European style house became a mark of status, taking precedence over the local building style for the missionaries and the Ugandan government officials as well. Yet Tucker himself continued to live in an indigenous style house, built for him by the Ugandans, until his retirement in 1911.

¹⁵ Latour, pp.246-7.

¹⁶ Colin Matthew, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.151, briefly acknowledges the concept of cycles of accumulation and the corresponding control that it made possible.

Although Tucker was involved in this empire building activity, at the same time he was also influenced, and his opinion mitigated, by a second nucleus, that of Christian idealism. Henry Elliott Fox, Tucker's rector at Durham, his commissary and later General Secretary of the CMS, writes of these idealistic motivating factors which led Tucker to take a position in East Africa:

Twenty five years ago a young artist was engaged in painting a picture, which he hoped would find a place in the Academy. It was the figure of a lonely woman struggling up a street in a wild, stormy night, the sleet driven by the wind into her face, a little baby at her bosom. And doors and windows were shut in her face. The picture was called 'Homeless.' As the man painted it and the artist's imagination filled his soul, it seemed to come to him as a living reality, and he put his brush down and said, 'God help me! Why don't I go to lost people themselves instead of painting pictures of them?'...I heard of him and asked him to come and work with me. Never had a man a better brother-worker than I had for five years in him. But the first thing he said when he came was: 'I am not going to stop with you very long. I want to go to that part of the world where men seem to be most lost. I have come to the conclusion that East Africa is the place where I am most wanted.'¹⁷

Fuelled by the abolitionists and aided by Livingstone's call to replace the slave trade with legitimate trade and industry, missionary candidates flooded to East Africa from the 1850's to the beginning of the twentieth century. Their informal motto was the much-repeated phrase, "Christianity, Commerce and Civilization." Embedded in this idealism shared by government and church alike was a range of belief – that the European way of life, culture, and government was, at the most, somewhat superior to that of the Africans and at the least, somewhat necessary. There is nothing in the teachings of Christianity that prohibits commerce. These two ideas can co-habit. Also, there is nothing in Western

¹⁷ HE Fox. The Gleaner, January 1903, p. 14.

civilization which frowns upon commerce, so commerce and civilization can partner as well. But Christianity and western civilization are sometimes at odds. Like a cell with two nuclei, the slogan was destined to split into two parts.

The first nucleus is that of empire with the perceived destiny of Britain to liberate and tutor the world. The second nucleus of Christian idealism derives its force from the teachings of Paul: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.”¹⁸ All of those who became Christians were perceived to be on equal footing, brothers and sisters in Christ. Samwili Mukasa of Mulengo reflects this mind-set in a letter to Tucker in which he writes: “And we beg you very much to consent to come in here to the house on Mulengo, of your brother, your kinsman, for there is no difference because Christ has made us all kinsman in His blood, which thus joins us.”¹⁹

Although the exclusive claims of Christianity folded in nicely with those who felt that England was uniquely gifted to bring the world forward into the light of Western civilization, the second nucleus was ever present eventually growing into a competing world view and a pulling apart into separateness. The tension caused by this pulling apart, can be seen clearly in Tucker’s letter to the CMS Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Lang, as they debate the location of one of the hallmarks of western civilization, an expensive church building:

First let me ask what is our ideal with respect to Freretown?
The objects at which we aim (or rather ought to aim) is so

¹⁸ Galatians 3:28, The New Oxford Annotated Bible, Revised Standard Version, (New York: Oxford University Press, 977), p. 1413.

¹⁹ Samwili Mukasa to Tucker, CMS Annual Report, 1896, p. 95.

to carry on our work so that gradually one European missionary after another, as the native church becomes stronger, may be withdrawn until at last she stands alone, strong in the Lord and in the power of his might. Is that granted by the Committee of the CMS? If not, I can go no further. We part company here. For this is my ideal if not that of the Committee...How are these people (when left to themselves as we long and hope and pray they may by God's grace be some day) how I ask are they to maintain such a fabric?²⁰

The decision of where to build the church was being made at CMS headquarters in London, in the mindset of empire, yet it directly affected the indigenous Christians in Mombasa. At the same time, Tucker's deep belief in the eventual independence of the African church is evident. As will be shown below, Tucker's paintings, like his letters, reflect the peculiar position in which the missionaries found themselves; a position that Jeffrey Cox describes as holding to an ideal of equality, but wrapped within the packaging of an empire in which one people were subjugated to another.²¹

In the Durham collection there are, as mentioned above, one-hundred-and-thirty-one original sketches. These are organized into seven folders. Each folder contains a hand written list, in Tucker's own handwriting, of the name of each sketch and the date it was executed. All are in numerical order with the corresponding number from the list written in pencil on the back of each sketch. Therefore it is possible to see which sketches are missing, as they are listed in Tucker's inventory but not found in the folder. These missing sketches are sometimes found published in The Gleaner or in other CMS publications. The titles of the missing twenty sketches have been added in order to complete the numerical subject analysis.

²⁰ Tucker to Lang, April 5, 1892, CMS Archives, G3/A5/O/161.

²¹ Jeffrey Cox. Imperial Fault Lines (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp.6 and 13.

It may be possible that other sketches of the African period exist but most likely the bulk of Tucker's work from Africa is in the Durham deposit. The sketches begin in 1890 and continue until 1895. However the inventory lists are dated 1908 just three years before Tucker's retirement and the same year he published his autobiography – a time when the Bishop seemed to be bringing matters in his diocese to completion. For example, the constitution for the Church of Uganda was finally passed in 1909 after an eleven-year negotiation process. Secondly, the Durham deposit seems to be complete with no indication of any missing folders. The family notation of gifts given to the Cathedral Library and St. Nicholas Church in Durham where he retired and occupied a final home, indicate the places where sketches are now found.²² Thirdly, a thorough search of museums, collections, sale lists, dictionaries, and places connected with the Tucker family have yielded no other sketches or paintings. Therefore, it is quite likely that the Durham deposit represents the sum of Tucker's African sketches.

The most prevalent region depicted by Tucker is the interior of what is now Kenya – thirty of his sketches are of a trip from Mombasa to Mochi [now spelled Moshi], just over the border of what is now Tanzania; and thirty-two are scenes along the northern caravan route to Uganda, which is the present day railroad line in Kenya. The next most sketched region was the Kenyan coast: Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Sadaani [now spelled Sadani] having nineteen contributions. This is followed by the southern caravan route to Uganda through present day central Tanzania which has fifteen. Uganda, in and around Mengo, has only eight in this collection and five are taken from the southern shore of Lake Victoria, Usambiro. The smallest number is from the Lake itself, having only four.

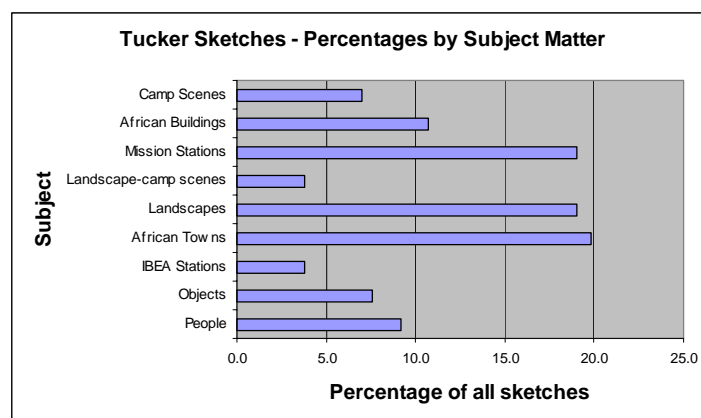
²² Tucker file, Durham Cathedral Library, Durham and County Records Office, Durham.

Analysis showed that twenty-six of the sketches are of African towns, twenty-five are of landscapes, and nine are of camp scenes while five are of a landscape with a very small camp scene included. Twenty-five are of mission stations, fourteen of African buildings, twelve of people, ten are objects such as a banana tree, a boat, or a “native” bridge. Lastly, only five are of Imperial British East Africa Company stations or depots. If these numbers are calculated into percentages and arranged into a chart they would yield the following:

SUBJECT	PERCENTAGE
People	9.2
Objects	7.6
IBEA Stations	3.8
African Towns	19.8
Landscapes	19.0
Landscapes/Camp	3.8
Mission Stations	19.0
African Buildings	10.7
Camp Scenes	7.0

A bar chart gives an even clearer visual picture of the subject matter produced by Tucker during his African journeys:

(Fig. 1)



In the Dictionary of British Artists, 1880 – 1940, Tucker is listed as a “landscape and architectural painter” so perhaps it is not surprising that the landscape sketches, the landscape/camp scenes, and the sketches of African towns added together make up 42.6% of the Durham deposit.²³ When the architectural sketches (IBEA stations, Mission stations, and African buildings) are added together they make up 33.5% of the deposit. Therefore, the landscape and architectural subjects together are an overwhelming 76.1% of Tucker’s work in this particular deposit. The remaining 23.8% is comprised of camp scenes (7%), objects (7.6%), and people (9.2%).

Tucker’s sketches are referred to in a review of the Bishop’s autobiography, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa, as “watercolour sketches” and an article in Uganda Notes uses the phrase, “sketches in water colours.”²⁴ At the same time, two of the sketches have been worked up into watercolour studies in black and white – the interior of the mission house, Mahoo, Taveta and Ripon Falls [now called Jinja]. Landscape watercolour sketches or studies would be a good category to describe Tucker’s work in this case.

William Pyne, a nineteenth-century writer and landscape painter, referred to watercolour painting as “a new art, originating with the English, and perfected within the age whence it began – that English school, as it now stands recorded, the admiration of all nations.”²⁵ A strange nationalistic flavour clings to this thought and dovetails with the empire-

²³ J. Johnson and A. Greutzner. Dictionary of British Artists, 1880 – 1940 (Woodbridge: Antique Collector’s Club, 1980) Listed under Maile and Tucker.

²⁴ “A List of CMS Missionary Books, 1882 – 1932.” Uganda Christian University Archives, 02BP/230/29 and Uganda Notes, July 1909, Vol. 10, No. 7, G3/A7/O/252.

²⁵ Wilcox and Newall, p. 13.

building mind-set found throughout the nineteenth century. To be a landscape painter or a watercolour artist was to be English, an admired designation.

Tobin agrees, acknowledging that there are quintessentially English forms of painting such as watercolour and the country house portrait. Tucker's watercolour style of art, his art training, his association with the Royal Academy and his experience as an itinerate landscape painter placed him firmly into an essentially English mind-set and genre. Tucker's words to Stock are an illustration of this outlook, "I am now not very far away from Kilimanjaro, in the midst of those who of God's creations seem to be the farther removed from light and liberty. And yet only a few weeks ago I was in London in all the turmoil and rush of civilization's great centre. The contrast is almost indescribable."²⁶ Yet the superior quality captured in this and the Pyne quote is in tension, in Tucker's case, with two things. Firstly, Tucker's obvious admiration of the African landscape, architecture, and people, as seen in his sketches such as "A Headwind: Victoria Nyanza" (see Fig. 2) which later became the subject of an 1894 Academy painting. Secondly, both are in contrast to Tucker's thoughts found consistently recorded in his letters and sermons.

THE TENSION IN TUCKER'S ART

Looking closely and individually at Tucker's sketches in the Durham deposit the interaction of empire thinking and egalitarian ideals seems captured on the page, an illustration of an internal and possibly unconscious tension. For example, in a sketch of an African porter (see Fig. 3) the subject is named, "Dan Kiongosi" (leader in Swahili)

²⁶ Tucker to Stock, Feb. 3, 1892, CMS Archives, G3/A5/O/94.

Fig. 2



A Headwind: Victoria Nyanza, (Feb. 9, 1891)

Fig. 3



Dan Kiongozi, (Feb. 27, 1891)

and is not presented as a specimen or an unknown, un-named example. He sits upon a load that would be carried by two porters at each end of the pole; but he is not one of these. In his hand is the drum which, as a leader, he uses to beat the pace for the caravan – the mark of his position. Caravan porters and leaders were not slaves or serfs, but employees with wages regulated by supply and demand and reinforced by the Imperial British East Africa Company and later by the Colonial government. Dan Kiongozi wears his traditional clothing yet he has a Christian first name, his tribal first name has been unwritten or replaced with a Westernized or Christian one.²⁷ The tension between Empire mind-set and Christian idealism can be seen overlapping in the same sketch.

At the same time Tucker's sermon at the division of the diocese illustrates in his own words the opposing ideals balancing the empire mind-set in Tucker's expressions.

I come now to the question of control. Naturally the European missionary thinks that he can do things much better than any Native. He therefore attempts to do everything himself. In this (in my opinion) he commits a grievous blunder, and unless turned from his purpose will mar the development of any Native Church with which he may have to do. The fact is, the Native can do many things much better than the European, and should be used from the very beginning. The missionary should do nothing that the Native can do.²⁸

Again we see an illustration of empire and Christian ideals, rubbing against each other in the work of Bishop Alfred Tucker. The fact that Tucker was a landscape watercolour artist, with all the accompanying associations, illustrates the influence of imperial thought

²⁷ Bishop Tucker felt that Africans should not be forced to wear Western clothing in order to avoid alienating them from their families and clans. Tucker to Baylis, March 4, 1895, CMS Archives, G3 /A5 / O / 102.

²⁸ Alfred Tucker. "A Charge on The Occasion of the Division of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa, 1897," Kenya National Archives, Pam. 62, 266.02341067 Tuc. Reprinted in the *Intelligencer*, February 1898, p. 89.

patterns in Tucker's life. Yet his words and sketches also show the attitude of humility, brotherhood, and equality, even admiration – the Christian ideals. Tucker seemed to walk between these two influences or adhere to both simultaneously.

Given that landscape watercolour was a particularly English form of art, what happens when this English form is exported to the peripheries of the empire? It is possible to see this movement as merely one of technology; that the English form of watercolour landscape painting was the only technique or technology available to Tucker to record his surroundings and so he used it – much like we would use photography today. Yet Tobin puts forth the idea that wherever English forms of painting, such as landscape watercolour, are transported to the outskirts of the empire, a very subtle “generic and ideological shift [occurs] when quintessential English genres incorporated alien subject matter.”²⁹ She explains that a painting of an English gentleman under an Oak tree, for example, is a specifically English genre; representing not only national identity, independence, vigilance and integrity but also a link with property and power. Yet when the Oak is replaced by a Banyan tree the formula breaks down. The formula becomes too evident leading to a questioning of its ideological foundations – a questioning of the casual link between land and power.

In Tucker's watercolour sketches of the mission stations, a link between land and power is somehow implied. The link may not be one of complete ownership, but possibly one of duty and influence. In the sketch of the Mochi Mission Station (Fig.4) the landscape sweeps away into the vast distance and includes Mt. Meru. The flag, in the foreground,

²⁹ Tobin, pp. 20 and 21.

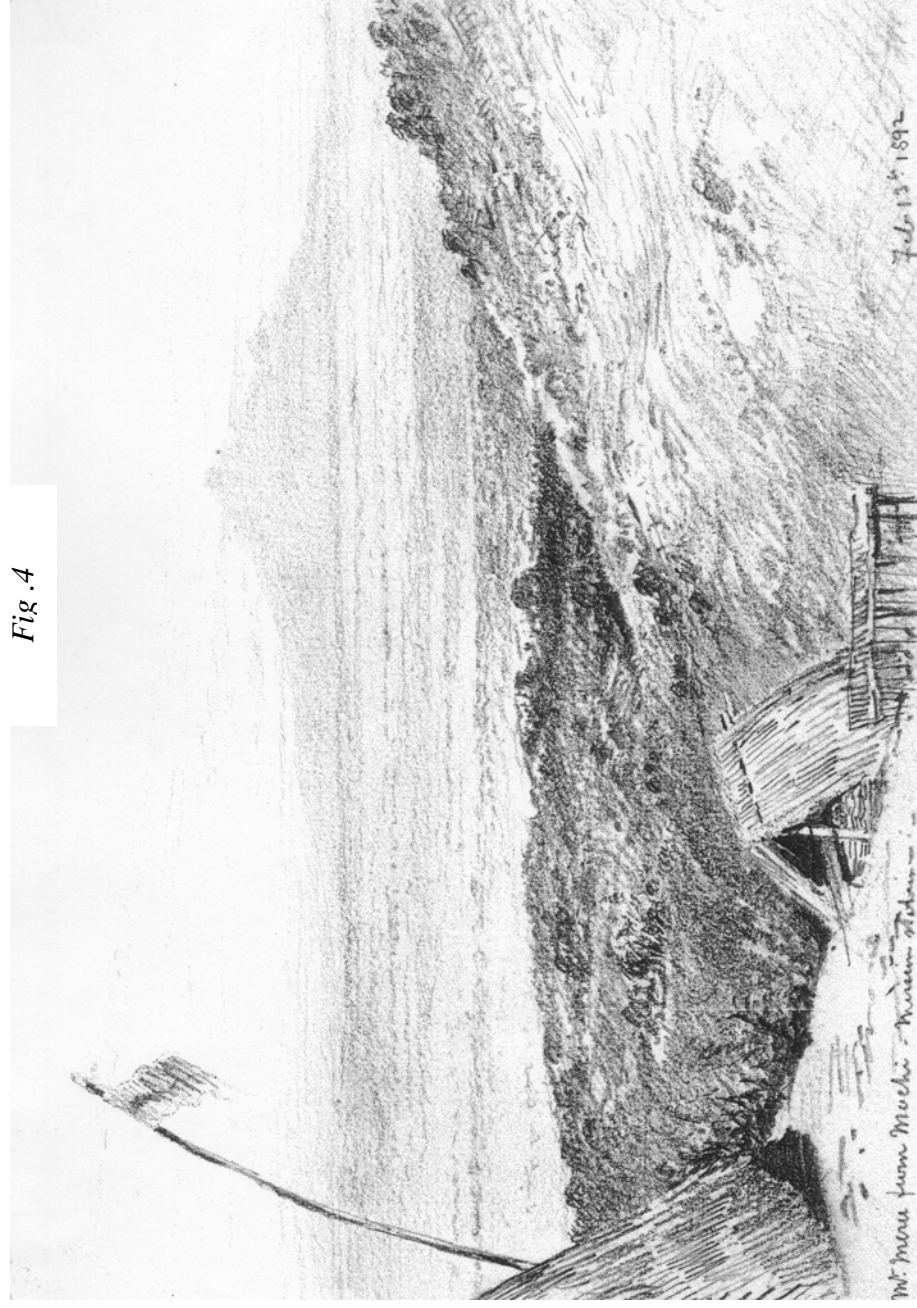


Fig. 4

Mt. Meru from Mochi Mission Station, (Feb. 13, 1892)

higher than Mt. Meru, was used by the CMS missionaries to denote their presence in the station; it flies over the entire scene, almost in the attitude of staking claim on the vast expanse before the viewer. This sketch could be interpreted as reflecting or mimicking an attitude of empire. Yet the flag is not the Union Jack but the Cross of St. George, possibly implying a territory to be influenced not with temporal government powers but with those of a spiritual nature.³⁰ Tucker spells out this association in a letter to Carus-Wilson, a long-term correspondent: “We are ready to take possession of the country in the name of the Lord...”³¹ Here again a tension between, or overlapping of, empire mind-set and Christian idealism can be seen.

Contained in all the categories of the Durham collection is a tendency in Tucker’s art toward recording anthropological or ethnographic scenes. Tobin and Latour include this type of art as a further type of inscription along with botanical art.³² Ethnographic art would include sketches of porters or servants, the recording of customs, clothing, manners, or huts. These types of sketches are peppered throughout the Tucker deposit. Two examples can be viewed in illustrations Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

Sketches of this type gave people and their culture the status of objects of natural history inquiry. Ethnographic art collects inscriptions from the periphery to send to the centre of

³⁰ In the minutes of a small regional conference of the Usagara missionaries with Tucker (Précis Book 3, Oct. 28, 1890) it was agreed not to fly flags of a national character as the Usagara mission was in the German sphere of influence. CMS wrote back for clarification “...we shall be glad to learn with regard to the question of flying flags, whether the Germans object to the use of ordinary (not national) flags such as the flag which the CMS vessels always carry...we should like to know what reason there is...that the Germans would disapprove of our using (should it be for any reason desired) our own mission flag.” Lang to Tucker, Nov. 10, 1890, CMS Archives G3/A5/L6/42. Tucker responded that only the German flag was permitted so he instructed the stations to fly no flags. Tucker to Lang, Feb. 20, 1891, G3/A5/O/114.

³¹ Tucker to Carus-Wilson, September 20, 1903, BGC Archives, 135 / 1 / 2.

³² Tobin, p. 214.

Fig. 5



The National "Shauri" Tree, Taveta, (Feb. 10, 1892)

Fig. 6



Rope Bridge at Taveta, (Feb. 10, 1892)

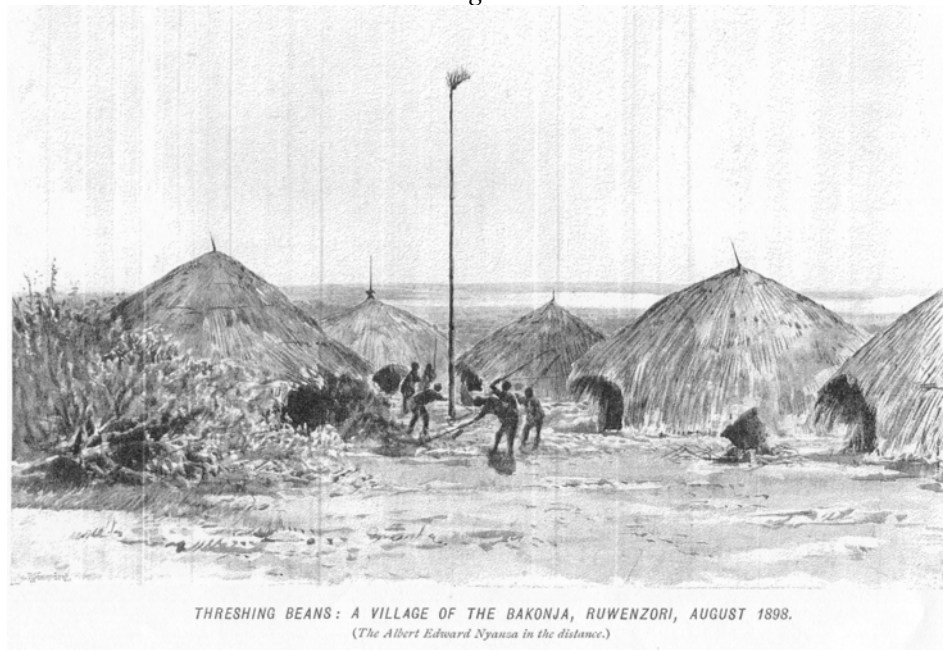
calculation for analysis and categorization helping to shift the balance of power as explained above. But also the collection, categorization, and analysis became a type of encyclopaedic enterprise. Jean Michel Massing of Kings College, Cambridge explains an impetus on the part of missionaries and explorers to record these scenes out of appreciation before they completely disappeared in the wake of outside influences.³³

Ethnographic art could also be used to assess the abilities of the people as agriculturists, builders or entrepreneurs in order to appropriate these skills in a future colonial partnership that could involve domination. The sketch from Ruwenzori, “Threshing Beans” (Fig. 7) could have been used for this purpose. At the same time Tucker’s encyclopaedic and ethnographic recordings illustrate his obvious admiration and fascination with the people; as in the recording of the seemingly pleasant and peaceful village in Kavirondo (Fig. 8).

Another example of the tension between two view-points in Tucker’s art can be found in the two sketches of the “sleeping bwanas” (Fig. 9 and Fig. 10). In both sketches the African subject takes the centre of attention while the European is off to one side. This positioning might be interpreted in several different ways. The European sleeping in the presence of the Katikiro of Toro (Prime Minister) could be seen as dismissive; or that Europeans could take their ease while Africans do the hard work. On the other hand, Tucker may be presenting the European presence as being on the periphery (sleeping on the side) of the true centre of African life, which is the African him/herself.

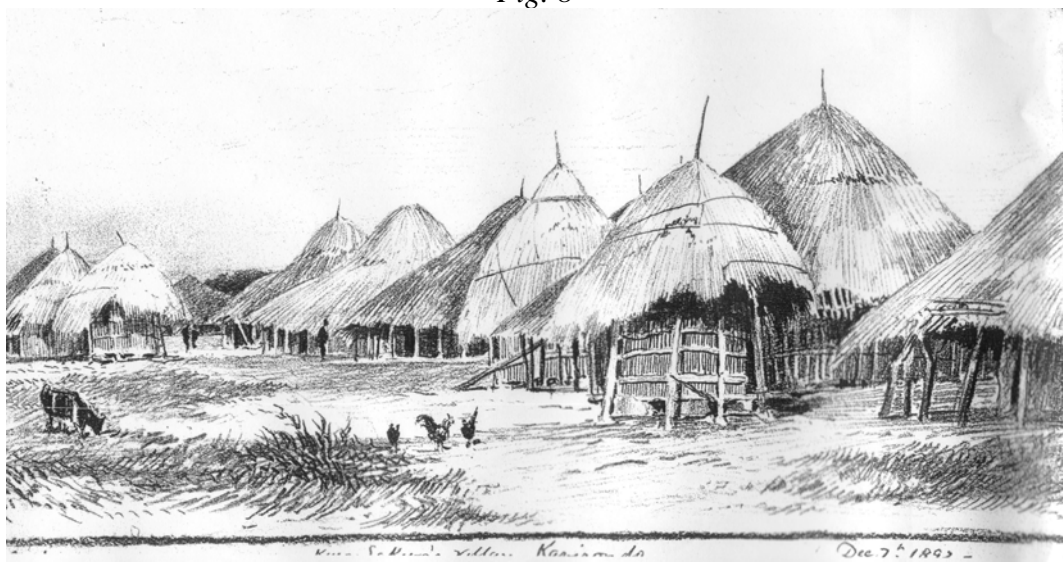
³³ Interview, June 3, 2004

Fig. 7



"Threshing Beans:" A Village of the Bakonja Ruwenzori, (Aug. 1898)

Fig. 8



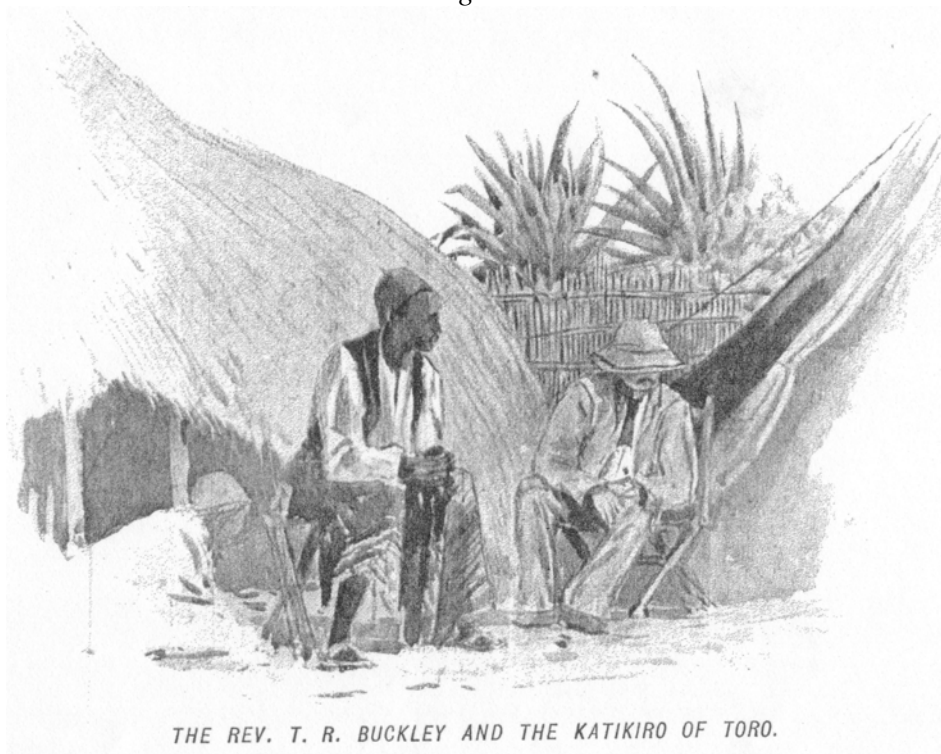
Kwa Sakwa's Village, Kavirondo, (Dec. 7, 1892)

Fig. 9



The Camp Taveta, (Jan. 29, 1892)

Fig. 10



THE REV. T. R. BUCKLEY AND THE KATIKIRO OF TORO.
The Rev. T. R. Buckley and the Katikiro of Toro, (July 7, 1898)

Consciously or unconsciously Tucker was collecting ethnographic information for the centres of power back home. At the same time he objected strongly in his letters to appropriating African labour in any kind of plantation system owed by foreign investors. His position on the type of economy required in East Africa was quite different from that of the colonial government in the outward structure. Corresponding to his view of the future church, he believed that the existing African economy must be recognized and not hindered from continuing to be independent, free from any subordination or dependence on an outside economy. The economy he preferred was built on production being in the hands of small African landholders for a domestic market. The colonial government favoured the development of a plantation economy tied to the needs of the wider world market. Tucker's views are spelled out clearly in his letters to the Acting Governor: "Forced cultivation of cotton is wrong. The feudal system is being run for all it is worth in the matter of labour and the cultivation of cotton is no exception to the rule. Economically unsound."³⁴ And three days later he writes: "The industry may suffer for a while, if the compulsory cultivation of cotton be abolished, but it is, I think, better that it should be so than that the people for whose sakes the land is being governed should suffer."³⁵

J. S. Reynolds points out that although Tucker was an Anglican bishop he was from a Quaker background.³⁶ The fact that Tucker was not baptized until 1878 at the age of twenty-nine (at St. Aldates's by Canon Christopher) would give evidence to this

³⁴ Tucker to Boyle, Dec. 20, 1909, G3/A7/O/38. Holger Hensen writes convincingly of Tucker's position in "Mission and Colonialism in Uganda," *Mission Ideologies*, Christensen, Torben and Hutchinson, eds., Aarhus, Denmark: Aros, 1982.

³⁵ Tucker to Boyle, Dec. 23, 1909, G3/A7/O/46.

³⁶ RS Reynolds. *The Evangelicals at Oxford* (Oxford: Marcham Manor press, 1975), p.15.

statement, as Quaker families would not baptize their children and Anglicans are baptized in infancy. Possibly his close association with H. E. Fox could also be related to a Quaker background. Given a Quaker background, with the emphasis this sect placed on the equality of all people regardless of race, class, or gender; Tucker's views on Ugandan abilities seem very much more comprehensible and understandable, as would his adamant anti-slavery views.

On the issue of forced labour he pointed out to Baylis, then corresponding secretary of the CMS, the constant tension that he felt to "keep on the best terms with the Government and at the same time...guard carefully the interests of the natives."³⁷ This statement could be categorized as one that, in keeping with his contemporaries, belies an attitude of empire – or at the least, paternalism. At the same time the role of a bishop ideally includes guarding the interest of his followers, especially those who are disadvantaged. Was he expressing an empire mind-set, or one related to Christian ideals? Either way it clearly shows the pulling apart of the two positions as time progressed, with the missionaries caught between.

Additional sketches of the mission stations offer further glimpses into the interaction in Tucker's art of imperial impulse with the Christian ideals of love, appreciation and an equal place in the world. For example, the sketches of the view from Tucker's room (Fig. 11) and the interior of the Taveta mission station (Fig. 12) both use a framing technique. Although the Taveta scene has progressed beyond the sketch stage and into a black and white study the similarities are evident. In both cases the beautiful landscape is framed

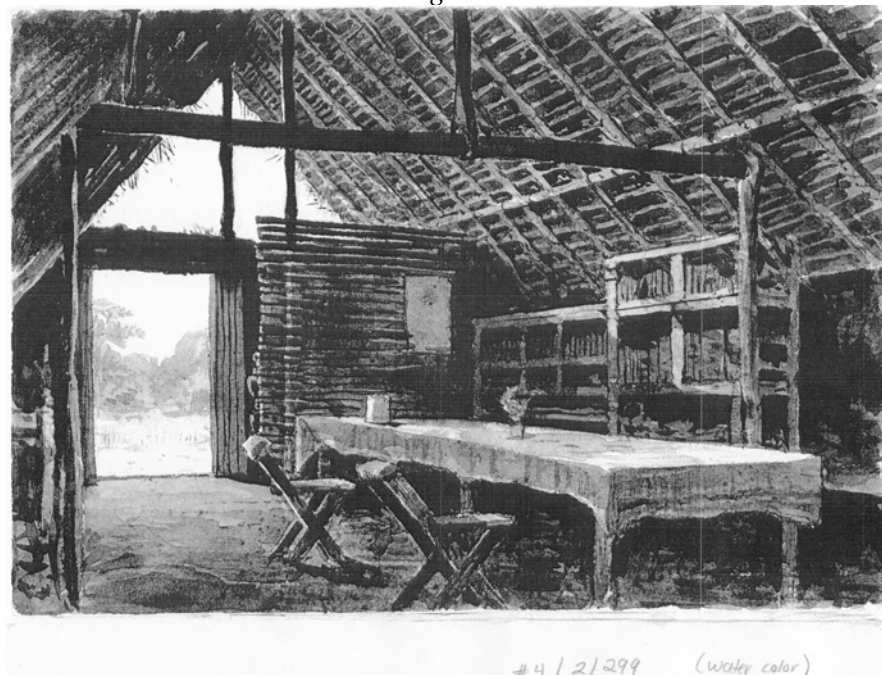
³⁷ Tucker to Baylis, May 31 1909, G3/A7/O/219.

Fig. 11



View from my room – Baganda, (March 10, 1893)

Fig. 12

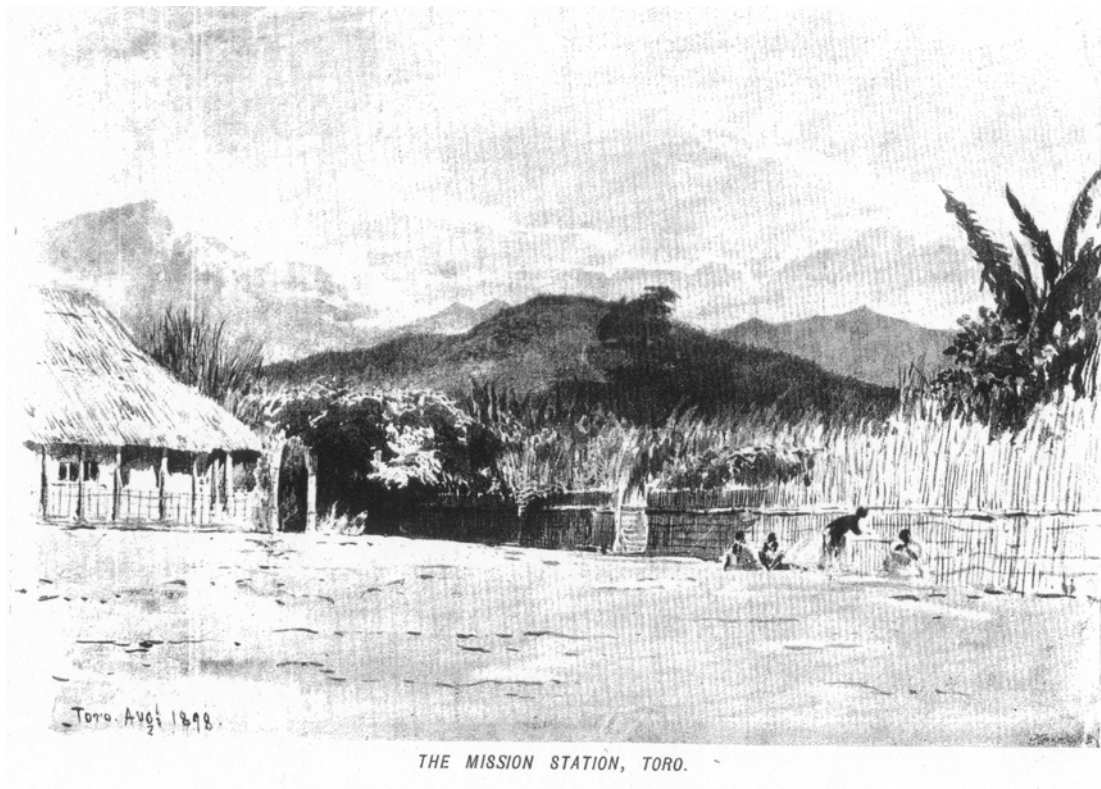


Taveta Mission, (March 1895)

and surrounded by a European style house. In order to see Africa one must look through the European structure into the scene beyond. Africa is contained by a European viewpoint. And yet the structures are not entirely European; they are a combination of traditional African building styles (the reed walls) and traditional English ones (the lattice work of the roof). Tucker appreciates the beauty of the African world, placing it in a prime position on the canvas where the attention is drawn to it, but it is seen as if through a telescope, a lens with a familiar order of home, dominating and bringing comfort in the wilds of Africa.

Another example from the mission station category is the two views of the Toro mission station. The first sketch looks outward from the station to the rugged mountains beyond (Fig. 13). A European style house sits on the left surrounded by a fence complete with an archway into the bush. Inside the courtyard the African bush has been subdued, there is order and safety. Outside the boundaries of the fence the grass and shrubby grow tall and wild and the mountain looms darkly. A few Africans have been placed inside the fence sitting on the right and balancing the European structure. They appear to be performing various functions; maintaining the fence, preparing food, and sitting around a reading sheet. Again the theme of Europeans bringing order to chaos and inviting Africans to participate is discernable yet this theme is also augmented by the archway – an invitation to walk beyond. The second look at Toro (Fig. 14) is from the opposite viewpoint, from the mountain looking down on the mission station with a storm pressing in. The mission station is surrounded and dwarfed by the vast African landscape and the power of the storm is evident. The station appears only as a small wisp of smoke, dominated by the African setting leading the viewer to speculate whether the storm will wash it away or,

Fig. 13



Mission Station, Toro, (Aug. 1898)

like a tiny seed watered by the powerful equatorial rain, it will grow and take root. The contrast between the two viewpoints is engaging; presenting Africa first from the mission's perspective, and secondly the mission from the vastness of Africa, but the interconnectedness is unmistakable.

One final illustration of the rubbing together of imperial perspective and universal Christian ideals can be seen in the landscape/camp scene category of Tucker's work. On the way to his second stay in Uganda Tucker captures a scene from the caravan trail at Nzoi through present day Kenya (see Fig. 15). Again, the viewer is struck by the rugged grandeur of the African landscape which fills the canvas. Clinging to the side of the mountainous terrain are the tents of the European caravan, alien and temporary in nature. The camp is reminiscent of an army bivouac – the “soldiers of Christ” as it were, on mission in Africa subduing the heathen in imperial fashion and bringing light to the nations. But curiously the figures in the camp are indistinguishable, it is impossible to tell which might be European and which might be African, representing in an artistic way the egalitarian nature of the Christian endeavour. All can participate equally in this joint effort and move together to accomplish the task.

The above illustrations are representative of Tucker's work though not exhaustive. The artistic abilities of Tucker capture not only his own perspective but some of the mind-set of the time in which he lived. Through these artistic glimpses it is possible to uncover in a unique way the unwritten tensions involved when the idealistic mission project in East African unfolded in an imperial setting.

Fig. 14



A STORM : BETHLEHEM (MISSION STATION), TORO.
(The Mission is where the small wreath of smoke is seen in the middle distance.)

A Storm: Bethlehem (Mission Station), Toro, (Aug. 1898)

Fig. 15



Nzoï, (October 20, 1892)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Artists played an important role in the Victorian Empire voyages of discovery in East Africa. Unlike Thomas Baines, who was attached to Livingstone's Zambezi Mission, Alfred Tucker was a professional painter who was also the director of the Church Missionary Society's efforts in East Africa and at the same time the Bishop of the emerging church. Through his art we have a unique opportunity to examine the forces in play during the period when initial contact was made between East Africans and Europeans.

Placing Tucker's micro-narrative, including his art, within the context of the macro-narrative proposed by Jeffery Cox it is possible to give evidence to the theory that missionaries were often caught between two opposing forces; those of the empire in which they were completely immersed, and those of the ideals of their Christian faith. Bruno Latour's theory of cycles of accumulation and abstraction amplified and made applicable to art by Tobin, have been used in this chapter to illustrate the sphere of empire present in Tucker's life and artistic expression. At the same time, Tucker's Christian ideals were illustrated through his letters, speeches and his sketches, and an attempt was made to show the tension which existed due to these opposing forces. The Durham deposit of Tucker's sketches has been the most comprehensive source of Tucker's art.

The nationalistic nature of English watercolour; Tucker's training, associations, and experience all reinforced the influences of empire thinking. However, when the essentially English genre of landscape watercolour met the African continent and culture

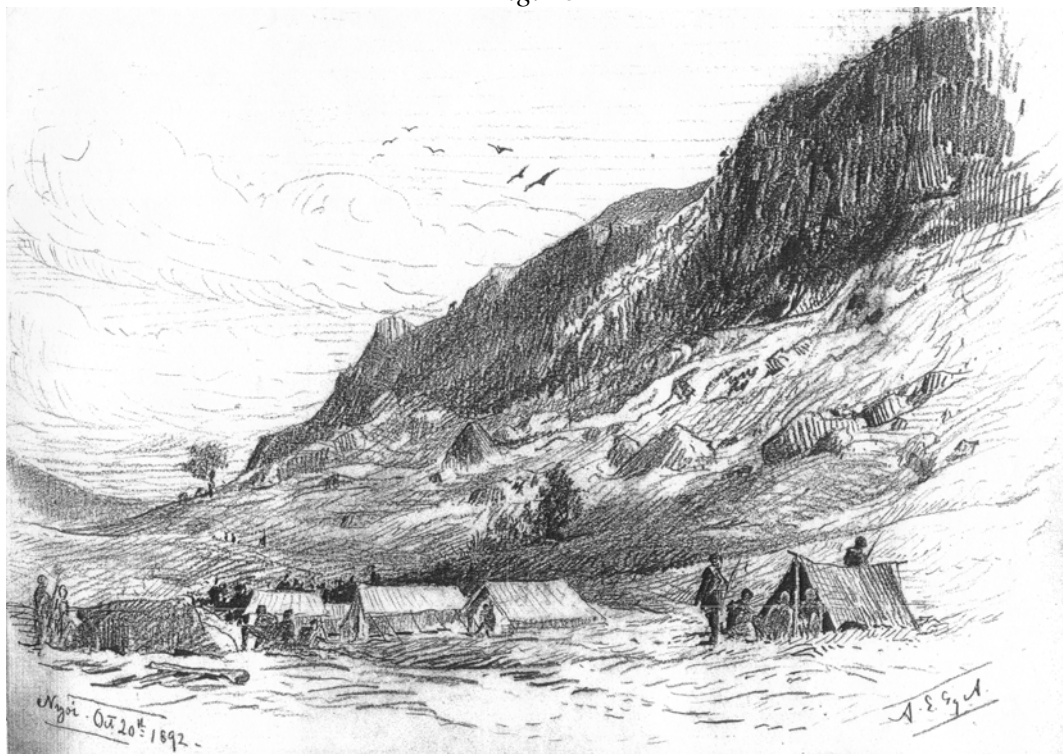
Fig. 14



A STORM : BETHLEHEM (MISSION STATION), TORO.
(The Mission is where the small wreath of smoke is seen in the middle distance.)

A Storm: Bethlehem (Mission Station), Toro, (Aug. 1898)

Fig. 15



Nzoï, (October 20, 1892)

in the hands of a Christian idealist, the jarring juxtaposition gives us a glimpse into the tension of being an English missionary.

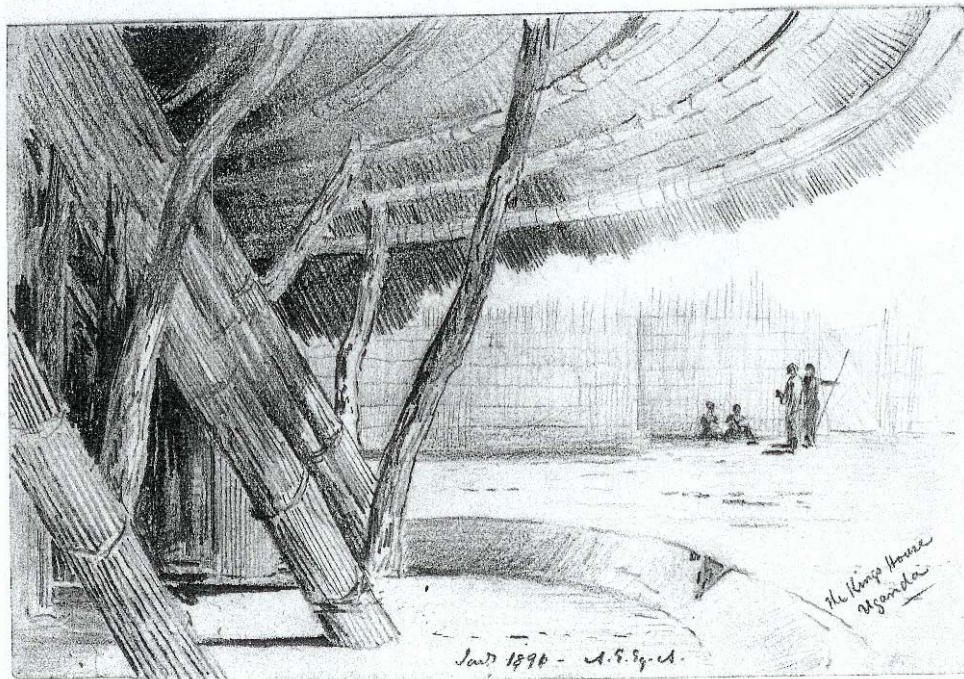
EXAMPLES OF CATEGORIES IN DURHAM DEPOSIT

Fig. 16



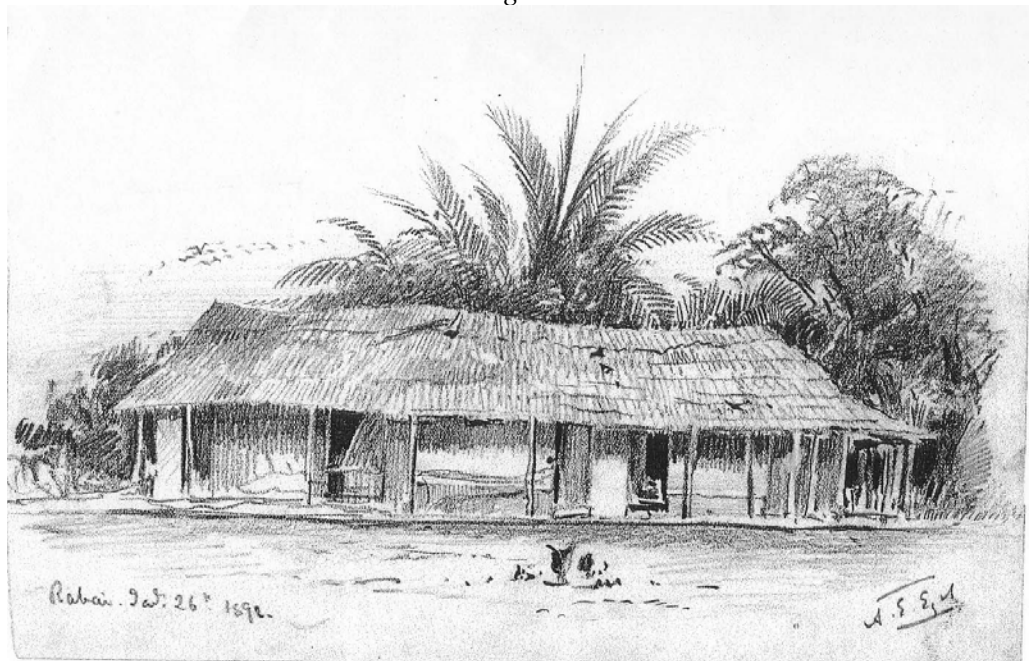
Example of Camp Scenes – In the Camp at Unyanguira, (Sept. 9, 1890)

Fig. 17



Example of African Buildings – The King's House, (Jan. 1880)

Fig. 18



Example of Mission Station – Rabai, (Jan. 26, 1892)

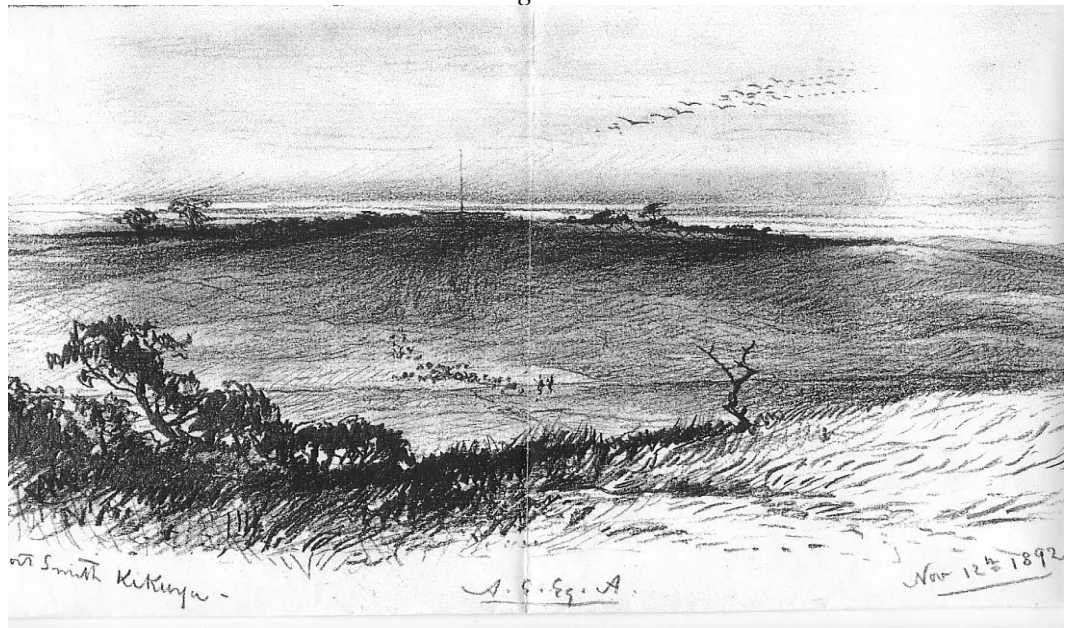
Fig. 19



Example of Landscape Camp Scenes – In Ugogo, (Aug. 29, 1890)

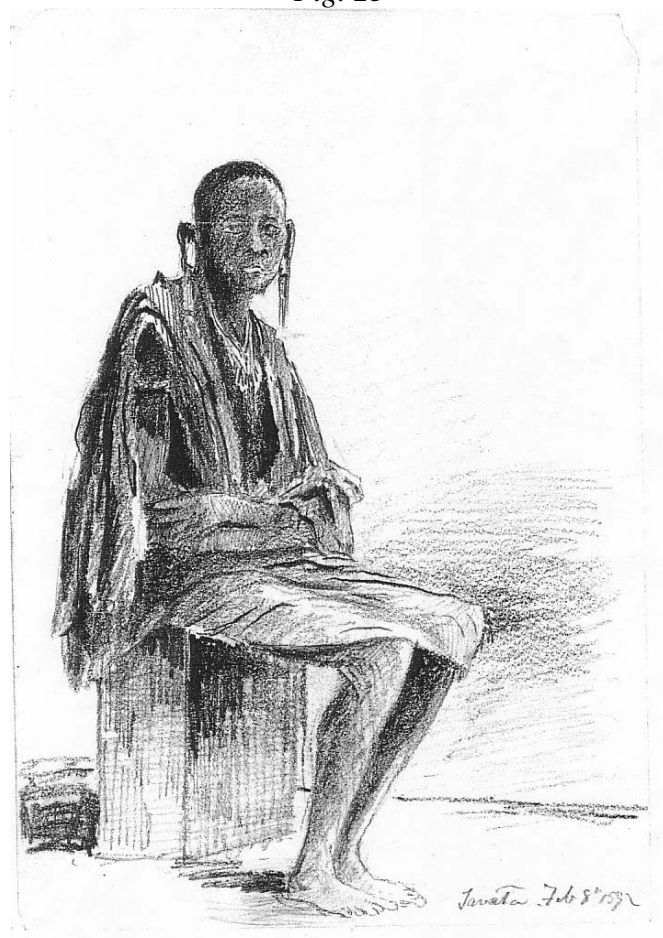
Fig. 20*Example of Landscape – Saadani, (July 18, 1890)**Fig. 21**Example of African Towns – Zanzibar*

Fig. 22



Example of IBEA Station – Fort Smith, Kikuyu, (Nov. 12, 1892)

Fig. 23



Example of People – Taveta, (Feb. 8, 1892)