Militant Scottish Missionaries in Malawi — 1953-1963

African nationalists have never forgiven Christian missionaries for their role in the partition of Africa. That missionaries were willing collaborators with imperialists has been too well documented to be disputed. The facts of missionary deceptions in the name of Christianity and civilization when elaborated by African nationalists, make sad reading. I have here in mind a poem dedicated to Christians by a South African poet, James Mathews. The second verse reads:

Christians
with pious right they sit and plot
dividing God’s beaches and his land
ensuring that the fairest go to them
the little that is left
shared out among the many
who have no say and forced to
accept the desperation of their plight.

This paper proposes to show that the Scottish missionaries in Malawi were an exception to the rule, that they did not stand in the way of African aspirations, and that during the period of 1953-63 they were instrumental in the achievement of these aims. It is not intended to delve into the motivation factor in this paper, but it appears that unlike other missionaries elsewhere in Africa who sporadically raised a cry over some colonial atrocity or other by way of soothing their own consciences, the Scots in Malawi were persistent and consistent in their identification with nationalist aspirations. This is what makes Malawi a special case study in the history of African missiology.

From the beginning they were motivated by the view that in the long run, what was not in African interests was by the same token not in the best interests of Christian missions. Another peculiarity of the Scottish missionaries in Malawi was the organized resistance which they were able to bring to bear on the colonial officials where necessary. The weakness of the Christian conscience elsewhere in Africa was not that it was non-existent, but that it was expressed by rustic old missionaries who represented no official body of opinion but themselves.

The Scottish missionaries on the other hand, and wherever possible, aired their grievances through the official organs in the colony or through the Foreign Missions Committee in Edinburgh. In this way, their views could not be bypassed in official circles. They were also not shy to join political pressure groups and in matters which affected adversely their African congregations, they went out of their way to show opposition to the colonial measures.

What brought the Scottish missionaries on a collision path with the colonial office was the issue of federation in Central Africa. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was imposed by the British Government on the three territories at the request of a European minority government in Southern Rhodesia. The Church of Scotland missionaries in Nyasaland were opposed to the venture.

Federation, which would be dominated by Southern Rhodesia, would bring the spirit of white racial theories nearer to Nyasaland. The treatment of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia was based on the theory of racial discrimination as in South Africa. There were no African representatives in Parliament at all, and it was Sir Godfrey Huggins’ insistence that the same practice be applied to the Federal Government that had held back federal negotiations in 1952. Huggins, at the advice of the British Government, had promised to give his racial policies the new name of “racial partnership” for the benefit of British public opinion. Furthermore, the Scottish missionaries were agreed with the Nyasaland African National Congress that the intervention of a powerful European government in Nyasaland affairs, as opposed to the remote colonial office influence would delay the movement towards African majority rule. The new theory of racial partnership, coming from Southern Rhodesia, was seen as a camouflage for European supremacy.
The missionaries were dissatisfied with many aspects of Federal policy, the most important of which was revenue sharing. For instance, the Federal Government had spent £1,000,000 over a secondary school for a few hundred European children in Lusaka. In that same year, 1953, a cenotaph had been erected in Zomba for £30,000. One of the missionary journals pointed out that the sum spent on one school for whites was equivalent to a quarter of the annual budget for Nyasaland.³

The ultra-modern hospital in Zomba had been built at a cost of £2,000,000 by the Federal Government. The missionaries were not impressed by this monumental achievement. The hospital and its equipment were not accessible to Africans and the implication was that all that money had been spent for the benefit of 6,730 Europeans and 8,490 Asians. The Federal Government argued that since coming to power, it had tripled the grants available for missionary hospitals. The Church of Scotland was nevertheless forced to close down three of its hospitals for lack of funds, including the one at Chitambo, where Livingstone had died.⁴

The younger missionaries took part in direct political activity under the umbrella of the African Congress. Among these were Michael Scott, Andrew Ross, and Tom Colvin. Scott, for instance, agreed to address a mammoth rally organized by Congress and the paramount chief, Philip Gomani of Southern Ngoni in May of 1953. Mr. Phillip Chinyama, President of Congress, was one of the chief speakers. Non-violent opposition to Federation was the theme. The meeting was proscribed by the magistrates but it was held all the same. Chief Gomani was deposed and exiled. Gomani would not change his position on Federation, nor would his people allow the Police Commissioner to carry out the Governor’s orders. Scott, in the company of Congress militants, kept watch over the chief, who was encamped in a bush hide-out. Scott adds that, apart from saying their prayers, the Congress militants sang Christian hymns and Zulu war songs. Scott noted in his diary one particular “song which has come down to them from the days when they were a great warrior people, descended from the Zulu conquerors of Shaka, Inkosi Dinda Shawa.”⁵

Tom Colvin was one of those Scottish missionaries who considered it a matter of conscience to oppose Federation. He went out of his way to help the organizational and propaganda work of the Nyasaland African Congress. He was largely successful in his contacts among the African intelligentsia, the teachers, church elders and local shopkeepers. Since education in Nyasaland was wholly in missionary hands, there was ample time and opportunity for the exchange of ideas between missionaries and teachers. Teachers in the Church of Scotland mission schools were, therefore, encouraged to take an active part in the social and political life of the community. Colvin’s stay in Nyasaland was cut short (1954–1958) when he was prevented from returning after a trip abroad.⁶

Colvin’s purpose in Britain was twofold. He had gone to attend the 1958 Church of Scotland synod where he seconded the resolution condemning Federation. It was after moving this resolution that he was asked by the Federal High Commissioner not to return to Nyasaland.⁷ The second part of his mission was to canvass for support among the Labour Party members of Parliament in London. In a secret memorandum to Labour members of Parliament, Colvin says that “many teachers especially in the North, occupy positions of leadership in Congress branches. The political activity specifically referred to concerned Federation.⁸

Under the influence of such men, the Church of Scotland policy of democratic control of Church affairs was made to look as a requisite to political control of the nation. The fact that whatever appointments and policy changes were made in the Church, they were done in such a way as to depict the unprogressive nature of Federation. As long as Nyasas remained in a political association with Southern Rhodesia the tutelage the Church had given them in local affairs would be in vain because Federation would stand in the way of national self-government.

Colvin himself says that “very considerable affairs of the Church are being controlled and furthered by committees with strong African majorities and in many cases Africans have been appointed to take over work previously done by Europeans. This is all in line with our policy of tutelage towards independence.” He also saw the political repercussions. Africans insisted that the same pattern be followed by the Government. The Federal Government in particular saw the missionary centres as breeding grounds of sedition.⁹

The Anti-Federation feeling engendered at missionary schools was brought to the attention of the Governor in 1958. While on an official visit to Livingstonia Mission he was jeered by students who shouted anti-Federation slogans at him. The incident brought such ill feeling between the government and the Scottish missionaries, that in the ensuing acrimony the Reverend Fergus Macpherson of Livingstonia sought the support of the Foreign Mis-
MILITANT SCOTTISH MISSIONARIES

sions Committee in Edinburgh. What made the exchanges between government and the missionaries bitter was the association between Livingstonia Mission and Dr Hastings Banda, leader of the African Congress. Dr Banda had been educated there. Furthermore, the Reverend Fergus Macpherson’s father was the minister in charge of the Edinburgh Church where Dr Banda was an elder. Whether the Governor judged rightly or wrongly, he had reasonable cause to believe that Dr Banda’s cause was championed at Livingstonia.

An observation made by the Nyasaland Information Committee on the role of the Scottish missionaries is revealing.

Ministers do not hesitate to preach African nationalism from the pulpit and they have allowed and encouraged Congressmen to initiate political discussions after their services on Sunday. Many African children undoubtedly receive their first indoctrination of nationalist sentiment at Church of Scotland schools ... as future Tories do at Eton and those of other political faiths at the London School of Economics ... while at Livingstonia the mission authorities believed ... and perhaps still do ... that Congress should be allowed to use mission buildings for meetings because they had no suitable buildings of their own.11

The Committee adds in desperation that the Scottish missionaries are obsessed with one goal, “that of delivering Africans from European oppressors, and of setting African feet firmly on a way to political independence.”12

The missionary representative in the Federal parliament was the Reverend Dr Andrew Doig. Dr Doig was a sworn enemy of the Federation on both personal and philosophical grounds. He had served as Chaplain to the Nyasaland King’s African Rifles during the Second World War, and had developed a romantic attachment to the Nyasas. After the war, he had travelled extensively in the southern United States, and had some experience in the black universities of Tuskegee, and Hampton. While there, he became friends with an African presbyterian minister from South Africa, the Reverend John Molife. It was from him that he developed his dislike of white supremacy in South Africa. On coming to Malawi, therefore, in 1949, he was appointed to the Legislative Council as a missionary representative. He saw the Federation as representing or helping to bring about South African influence to Nyasaland, to which he was opposed. Philosophically, he believed that legitimate African aspirations should be met and accommodated without the need for Congress to resort to violence. The Federation, by standing in the way of African aspirations, was, therefore, responsible for the demise of moderate African leadership and its replacement by extremists.13

The agreement between the Federal prime minister, Sir Roy Welensky, and the British Government in April 1957 confirmed his worst fears. The agreement can be summarized as follows. The United Kingdom would no longer use its right to suspend Federal legislation in future except at the request of that government. Colonial Office civil servants would be absorbed into the local federal service. The Federal constitutional conference scheduled for 1960 would consider the attainment of independence.14

The loss of the crown prerogative to suspend legislation differential to Africans at a time when the Federal Government was dominated by a European minority in Southern Rhodesia meant that the logical conclusion for Nyasaland was to achieve African majority rule immediately or break away from the Federation.

The passing of the Constitutional Bill in November of 1957 and the Electoral Bill in the following year, two Bills which were considered by the watchdog African Affairs Board differential and prejudicial to African interests, served as the last straw for Dr Doig. These two Bills had the effect of raising European representation from 24 to 44 while African representation rose from 9 to 15. Furthermore the six additional African seats would be elected by common role voters, of whom 98 percent were Europeans.

Dr Doig and Tom Colvin consulted with the Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee with a view to getting the two Bills suspended by the British Government. The Committee was told by “Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, (that) the United Kingdom Government would not support” the recommendation of the African Affairs Board. The Church Committee, in its report to the Commission of the Church of Scotland recalled that Africans in Nyasaland had said, as long ago as 1953, that no amount of reserved powers on the part of Britain would safeguard African interests. “Subsequent developments have proved them, unfortunately, to have been true prophets.”15 Another attempt was made through a joint inter-denominational deputation organized by the British Council of Churches without success.16 In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, the British Council of Churches said that “from our continued close contact
MILITANT SCOTTISH MISSIONARIES

with those in the Federation we must conclude that all that has been done to win African trust and co-operation is as yet insufficient to convince Africans that Federation is of real benefit to them.\(^17\)

The reaction and course of action taken by the Scottish missionaries is unprecedented in the history of African nationalism. On resigning from the Federal Assembly, Dr Doig joined with members of the Congress Executive which was calling for new leadership. It was believed that this leadership could be supplied by Dr Hastings Banda, at the time practising medicine in Edinburgh. That Dr Banda came back in July of 1958 with the blessings of the Church of Scotland cannot be doubted. A farewell party was arranged for him in Edinburgh, at which the Reverend Lord Macleod, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and other clergy attended. It has been suggested that it was in the church hall of Reverend Fergus Macpherson’s church that the party was held.\(^18\)

In addition, the Edinburgh Synod, after an impassioned appeal from Lord Macleod had set up a watchdog Committee Annent Central Africa, with powers to act and speak on behalf of the Church of Scotland while the synod was adjourned.\(^19\)

The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian took up the matter simultaneously with the home church at its synod in 1958. In its statement in May, the Blantyre Synod issued a press statement to the effect that they were unanimously agreed that:

Federation has produced a deep and widespread feeling of unrest. Fears for future security and political stability have increased and in many cases are proving to be well founded... all their fears expressed in former years against Federation being instituted are being realized... the old boast that Nyasaland is a land without a colour bar is no longer true.\(^20\)

In a reference to the Constitutional and Electoral Bills, the synod concluded that Nyasas “see their country becoming a Native Reserve on the South African pattern... It is now widely felt that Nyasaland has been betrayed by the United Kingdom... the Synod therefore feels it urgently necessary to say that it is unanimously opposed to Federation.”\(^21\)

In April, Governor Sir Robert Armitage, felt that the general hostility engendered by Congress and the churches demanded immediate counter-measures. He also believed that Congress had planned a revolution which would be precipitated by the murder of District and Provincial Commissioners, District Officers and other Europeans, including missionaries.... In the townships Europeans and Asians were to be killed including women and children.\(^12\)

On the other hand, he was under pressure from the Federal Government which felt that the increasing success of Congress among the rank and file Nyasas would have to be checked if the constitutional review conference in 1960 were not to be dominated by the Nyasas cry for secession. The emergency measures included the banning of the African Congress as a political organization and the arrest of 1500 of its national and branch leaders, including Dr Banda. With political activity in Nyasaland out of the question, the militant Scottish missionaries took the campaign to Scotland where they hoped to rouse such national feelings which the British politicians would have to reckon with. The absence of the African voice, so argued the Scottish clergy, placed an imperative on the Church of Scotland to speak on behalf of the Nyasas. Apart from the Special Committee formed in 1958, the Scottish Council on African Questions, a body dominated by the Scottish clergy and directed from the Church of Scotland Headquarters by the Reverend Kenneth MacKenzie, offered its services as a wing of the synodical committee.

The effect of the arrest of African leaders in Nyasaland therefore was to push the Church of Scotland missionaries into a beligerent position. If they were to influence a political decision against the Federal Government, they had to rouse the Scottish national feeling to such a level as would be taken into account by politicians.

One of the methods used extensively in reaching the man in the street was that of pamphlets. These pamphlets were made available from all newspaper vendors as well as from every Kirk in Scotland. There is reason to believe that these pamphlets actually found their way to every parish in Scotland because they were distributed from 121 George Street, the Headquarters of the Church of Scotland. One such pamphlet which was released in April was entitled, *Our Brothers in Revolt.*\(^23\)

The pamphlet argued that Federation, set up largely to solve economic difficulties at the expense of human dignity was fundamentally unethical.

We (the Church of Scotland) believe that God created all men in his image ... and that the Church is a fellowship which should not know the distinctions of bond or free, Jew or
MILITANT SCOTTISH MISSIONARIES

Greek.24

Federation, which did not support Christian fellowship between the races was in error. Readers were asked to write to their local Members of Parliament as well as to the Commonwealth Office in London expressing these views.

Soon after the emergency a circular was sent out to all the newspapers in Scotland. This circular was meant to rouse the Scottish sentimental attachment to the memory of Livingstone. The legend of Livingstone was strongest in the rural parishes. To these the appeal was greatest:

We remind your readers that David Livingstone discovered Lake Nyasa in 1859 and that the first band of Scottish missionaries began work there in 1875. In 1891 Nyasaland was taken over as a Protectorate by the British Crown ‘with the consent and desire of the chiefs and the people’. This was done on the recommendation of the Scottish missionaries.25

Federation had been a breach of trust on the part of the United Kingdom Government in that it had been imposed ‘without the consent and desire of the chiefs and the people’ and against the advice of the missionaries. The sacred pledge could be redeemed at the forthcoming conference in 1960. ‘Nyasaland should be given a Territorial Constitution with an absolute African majority in the Legislative Council.’ Furthermore, functions formerly transferred to the Federal Government should be returned ‘even to the point of permitting Nyasaland to develop outside the federal structure if her people so desire.’26

Some documents were prepared for select groups. Such was the purpose of a secret memorandum prepared by the Reverend Tom Colvin. It was meant to circulate only among Labour Members of Parliament. It argued that Federation was standing in the way of African advancement, an argument which appealed to the Labour Party then in opposition. The Church of Scotland was opposed to Federation because of its policy on African advancement. ‘The very considerable affairs of the Church are being controlled and furthered by Committees with strong African majorities and in many cases have been appointed to take over work previously done by Europeans. This is in line with our policy of the tutelage of Africans towards independence. This doctrine interpreted politically means in Nyasaland government with the approval of those governed leading forward to responsible government.’27

In April, Kenneth Mackenzie interviewed the Duke of Montrose, a white supremacist from Southern Rhodesia on British Television Services. Mackenzie tried to show the Scottish viewers that whereas in Southern Rhodesia public policy was based on white supremacy, in Nyasaland an attempt towards racial equality had been made. He also tried to show the nature of racial prejudices Federation had brought into Nyasaland.28

The election fervour of September 1959 gave the Scottish Council an opportunity to bring the Nyasaland question into the list of priorities that would face politicians who came to power. The British Weekly ran a feature entitled Dear Government dealing with topical issues. A few such articles were entirely devoted to Nyasaland.29

Meetings were called at the Chaplaincy Centre in the University of Edinburgh where Mackenzie and the Reverend Dr William Cattanagh often shared the platform. More often still, militant clerics and students attended election campaign meetings and embarrased unwary politicians with questions on Nyasaland and Livingstone’s pledge to the chiefs and people there.

Attempts were made to put pressure on the Scottish Secretary of State at St Andrew’s House in Edinburgh. The Secretary listened courteously but was not of much use. The Council then arranged for an audience with Lord Home, Commonwealth Secretary in the presence of the Scottish Secretary. This was found to be more satisfactory. Other meetings between the Scottish Council and Lord Home soon followed.30

The Scottish Council could not have had significant impact on Scottish public opinion, largely because it did not have the means of bringing together the different voices in favour of Nyasaland political advancement into one single and corporate voice. The Special Committee of the Church of Scotland Annent Central Africa therefore played a supplemental but crucial role in making the Nyasaland question a national issue in Scotland. The General Assembly which is held in May and the Edinburgh Tattoo which is held in August are the two major annual events in any Scottish calendar. Both these events are national and international in that they draw their audience from all parts of Scotland as well as representatives from south of the border and from abroad. The General Assembly, in the absence of a local Scottish Parliament, is a barometer with which to measure the temperature in certain
areas of Scottish public opinion. The fact that it is by nature a sacred body lends weight to its deliberations.

Lord Macleod, then Moderator took maximum advantage of this fact. Pious men did not make a habit of pronouncing judgement on secular affairs but when they did, it was worthwhile for those men in whom the nation had laid its trust to pay heed. The anti-Federation campaign reached its climax with Lord Macleod's Deliverance to the Assembly in May 1959.31

Lord Macleod argued along the following lines. He pointed out at the beginning that the Special Committee Annent Central Africa was not composed of militants and starry-eyed politicians but by sober God-fearing men.32 The position in Nyasaland was such that:

It was no good in the face of that - 'Healing the hurt of the daughter of my people lightly crying, PEACE, PEACE, when there is no peace.' What we say, for the time being is someone must speak for the Africans. We do not say it to be difficult. We say it as the only realistic way to peace. And that someone will be the Church of Scotland.33

The position in Nyasaland as he saw it was that of a false partnership. In Nyasaland 6,000 Europeans have 6 seats, 2,500,000 Africans ... have 5 seats' in the Legislative Council. 'Thus and thus muffled, what, if you were an African in the Protectorate (s) do you see looming up before your eyes at the 1960 conference?'34

He then moved to show how Africans in Nyasaland were perfectly justified to use any method in resisting Federation, including sedition. Quoting Lord Malvern, who had told European students in Bulawayo 'not to care two hoots what is said in the House of Commons' with reference to the African political status in the Federation, Lord Macleod told the Assembly:

I charitably suppose he (Malvern) was havering. But I really thought that those student parliamentarians were seriously taking in his words, and if I were an African in Nyasaland, I would rather risk sedition than allow myself to be further merged with the white minority in Southern Rhodesia.35

In response to the Deliverance the Second Report reads:

The General Assembly, recognizing that the time has come for a radical revision of the Territorial Constitution for Nyasaland, earnestly recommend to Her Majesty's Government that effective power be given to the African Community in Nyasaland.36

....

A very clear commitment on the part of the Church of Scotland to absolute and immediate African majority rule can be said to have become unmistakable after the Nyasaland emergency of 1959. This aspect deserves detailed attention.

The conviction was strengthened by the report of the Devlin Commission in 1959. The Church of Scotland regretted that the British Government had not listened to its advice in 1952. In that year, the Church had warned, 'Only move towards Federation with the consent of the Africans.' The British Government had replied, 'No. We will proceed ... without African consent because we feel sure that when the economic and other benefits are apparent and a review takes place the African people will have been brought to see the benefits of Federation.'37 The Church of Scotland was convinced that if the same mistake were to be avoided an immediate African majority in the Nyasaland Assembly was called for.

Its first disagreement with the British Government came over the Lennox-Boyd reforms of the 22nd of July 1959. Lennox-Boyd proposed that the number of African seats in the Legislative Council would be increased immediately from five to seven while of these two Africans would be admitted to the executive council. The Church of Scotland saw this as a constitutional trick.

According to Article 99 of the Federal Constitution, delegates to the forthcoming Federal Constitutional Conference would be appointed by their respective governments. In the case of Nyasaland, these representatives would be nominated by the Government (ie the Governor) from an Assembly in which there were 7 Africans (four of whom would have been nominated by the Governor), 6 European representatives and 14 officials. The Committee Annent Central Africa was therefore instructed by the Commission of Assembly to forward its objections to the governments concerned. It therefore wrote that the 'Special Committee draws attention to the fact that these changes fall far short of what the General Assembly pressed for. There is no African majority in the Legislative Council.'38

The Church suggested that Dr Banda and other 'genuine
spokesmen of their fellows' be released from detention and that only after popular elections are held in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, should the Federal Constitution be reviewed.  

A question put to the representatives of the Church of Scotland by the Monckton Commission also sheds some light on their commitment to majority rule. The representatives were asked if they subscribed to violence as a political instrument in Nyasaland. The Reverend K. Mackenzie said that if a 'detested suggested constitution is imposed upon' an unwilling society violent reaction was a natural consequence.  

Government without the consent of the governed was seen as the root cause of the unrest in Nyasaland. To blame the Nyasaland Congress for it was idle talk. The Church of Scotland wanted the Monckton Commission to place on record the fact that were the situation in Nyasaland to deteriorate further the Church would be 'averse to any interpretation that it (was) caused by subversive elements or racial excesses.'  

In its suggestion that it should be made absolutely clear to Nyasas that they would be free to leave if public opinion remained unreconciled to Federation the Church was supported by the British Council of Churches.  

The greater part of the Nyasa struggle against Federation can be said to have been won at the Constitutional Conference in August 1960. At this conference, it was agreed that out of 32 seats in the proposed new legislature, 28 of these would be elective on a two-tier system. The lower roll, mainly African, would elect 20 members while the upper roll, mainly European, would elect 8 members. Two members would be ex-officio while two others would be nominated. In a cabinet of 10 members, 5 of these would be unofficial members chosen by the Governor at the advice of the majority leader. Since all the 20 lower roll seats were subsequently won by Congress, it became obvious that the case for Federation in Nyasaland had become untenable. This became even more so when Northern Rhodesia also had gained an African majority in its Legislature in 1962. The Church of Scotland remarked, 'as for Southern Rhodesia it is improbable that the United Federal Party or the Dominion Party would be willing to remain in a Federation along with two governments under African control.'  

What is of interest is why the Church of Scotland gradually shifted its support from the idea of racial partnership to that of black majority rule. Our suggestion is that the detailed studies carried out by the Special Committee showed more clearly than ever before that the policy of racial partnership was a fraud intended to keep public opinion abroad amenable to Federation. In its detailed examination of nine pre-requisites for good government in a multi-racial society it found that in Central Africa that concept was used to mean government without the consent of the African majority. Good government the Committee found could not be such without the cooperation of the majority. In a section entitled, 'The Acceptance of Obligation in a Law-abiding Society', the Committee found that disrespect to law in the African society was due to 'the imposition of institutions on those who find them unacceptable because they have no share in the shaping of them.' A section that examines the theory of partnership says that 'this word has suffered from its association with Federation in Central Africa where it has been much quoted but insufficiently practiced.'  

An examination of the educational statistics left the Committee in no doubt as to the fraudulent use of the the word racial equality in the Federation. It used the following figures to arrive at this conclusion that 'Government spends much, if not more, on the education of the comparatively small number of (Europeans) as it does on the total African population.' The concept of partnership under these circumstances in which 'one race is educationally and culturally at so great a disadvantage to the other, such a policy, if non-racial in theory, is clearly far from non-racial in effect.'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African Population</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rhodesia &amp; Nyasaland</td>
<td>7,980,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European Population</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rhodesia &amp; Nyasaland</td>
<td>347,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The official viewpoint of the Church of Scotland on the economic benefits of Federation since 1953 had been that these benefits of Federation since 1953 had been that these were undisputed. In that respect, the Church had seen these benefits as the only fun-

*N.B. 1959-60. Included in last expenditure were 16 African students in the University. European education included Asians and Coloureds.
damental reason for keeping the federal structure intact.\footnote{48}

Even in this area of economics, the Committee, on a closer examination came to two adverse conclusions. On the whole, there was a ‘fantastic difference between European wages and African wages ... between ten to twenty times as much as is paid to Europeans as Africans.... That race has been and remains a major factor in the level of wages paid to the two committees...’\footnote{49} If this were so, then whatever monetary advantages accrued to Africans was accidental. This aspect of economic benefits was closely examined in conjunction with the benefits of increased employment in Nyasaland. Federation had witnessed impressive expansion of secondary industries in Southern Rhodesia under the protection of the Federal tariff laws. No such expansion had been witnessed in Nyasaland, though prices of commodities had risen due to the closure of outside competitors. The question arose whether Nyasaland’s own development had not been sacrificed to that of European interests in Rhodesia. The Church of Scotland came to the view that a better arrangement would be for Britain to subsidize Nyasaland at £3½ million annually until she became economically viable.\footnote{49}

Having reached these conclusions by the end of 1961, the Committee faced the full implications of these conclusions. The Report of 1961 is largely devoted to a theoretical exposition of the significance of these conclusions. If the Federal Government remained the champion of a racial minority it must follow then that in a revised structure, that government should lose most of its vital functions such as land, education, law and order and immigration to the democratically elected majorities of the territorial assemblies.

If, however, the two aspects on which Federation was morally based, those of economic viability and racial partnership had been proved to have been illusory, theoretical conclusion was to dissolve the Federation. That European interests in the Federation were closely associated with British economic interests did not escape the Committee. ‘The wealth of our own country, our ability to support our own health services, indeed our ability to maintain the work of the Church at home and overseas — all these have roots which stem from the economic prosperity, and in part the exploitation, of past decades.’ This was sufficient cause to demand that the future be not built on the errors of the past. The force of nationalism was a force for social justice. Unless social justice was seen to be done, there would be no peace in Central Africa.\footnote{50}

Another inescapable conclusion reached by the Committee was that the time when European minorities could not live in foreign lands without dominion over the inhabitants was no more. ‘It is on value to the community that we must all our rest our safety. This has been proved true in a number of countries where white minorities live without being dominant.’\footnote{51}

In the Committee’s last report, two things deserved special attention. A date for Nyasaland independence and secession had been agreed to. The second issue was a reflection of the Committee’s past political role. A need was felt to justify this past meddling in politics. The Committee looked at two volumes, prepared by the Church of Scotland in 1941 and 1945 respectively. Their titles were ‘The Commission for the Interpretation of God’s Will in the Present Crisis’ and ‘The Nature and Extent of the Church’s Concern in the Civil Order’.\footnote{52}

\footnotesize{University of West Indies}
MILITANT SCOTTISH MISSIONARIES

Cond 815 para 24 c (2).
14 Ibid., p. 3.
15 Circular to Newspapers in Scotland. 12/3/1959. pp. 1-2. (Mackenzie Papers Vol. 19 Gen. 1871.) See also list of 74 Scottish newspapers. This list covers all the newspapers in Scotland at the time.
16 Ibid., p. 2.
17 Colvin, T., op. cit., pp. 2-3.
18 British Broadcasting Corporation (Scotland) Perspective. 3/4/1959, 7:30-8:00 p.m. (Mackenzie Papers, Folio 5. Vol. 19 Gen. 1871.) Montrose, who was a Cabinet Minister during the rebellion of 1655, on his part, tried to show the Scottish viewers that missionaries were mistaken in trusting 'natives' with responsibility so early.
19 Duncan, D., Editor of British Weekly to Kenneth Mackenzie 30/9/1959. Article is attached to letter. (Mackenzie Papers, Folio 5 Gen. 1871.)
22 These were Lord Macleod, Convenor, Kenneth Mackenzie, Secretary, Lecturer in Theology at Colms Divinity College, Sir Gordon Leith, formerly Governor of Guyana and the Reverend Dr Andrew Doig of Nyasaland as adviser. Ibid., p. 3.
33 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
34 Ibid.
35 The Deliverance of the Church of Scotland General Assembly ... May 1959, p. 2.
36 Ibid., p. 4.
37 Evidence presented by Church of Scotland before Monckton Commission, 1960. Section III, para. 7.
38 Ibid., Section III, paras 12 (1) and 13.
39 The General Assembly's Special Committee Annex Central Africa. October 1959, pp. 4-5.
40 Oral Evidence of the Church of Scotland before Monckton Commission 1960, p. 179.
41 Ibid., Section III, para. 9.
42 Ibid., Section III, para. 9.
43 Ibid., Appendix para. (b), p. 119.
See also Report of Nyasaland Constitutional Conference 1960. (Zomba).
47 Ibid., p. 637. See also Table on same page.
52 Ibid., 1961. p. 3.

The Development of the Tourist Industry of the Highlands and Islands in the 19th Century

The Tourist Industry of the Highlands and Islands, unlike that of some other parts of Britain, is relatively recent in development. The earliest tourists to the area of which there are many records are the 18th Century writers such as Martin and Penant, whose travels followed similar patterns to those of many present day tourists. Probably the most well known of these authors is Samuel Johnson, whose "Tour to the Hebrides" did more to make the area known throughout British than any other single publication of that period. It was not until the 19th century however, that visitors in any numbers began to travel to the Highlands and Islands. It must be remembered that as late as 1745 the population of this area had risen in the last rebellion seen in Britain, and that the reputation of the area for travellers at that time and in subsequent decades was not an enviable one.

The forfeiture of many of the Jacobite estates and the selling of these, often to English landlords, most of whom still continued to reside in England, was a major factor in the elimination of the feudal clan system in this area. The pattern of summer visits to their estates by these absentee landlords in the 19th century began to set the pattern for the first stage in the development of the tourist industry of the area. These landowners would visit their often vast estates for a few weeks of the year to hunt and fish, transporting servants and belongings from their English estates for the vacation period, and closing their houses when they returned to the south.

The growing interest in the Highlands and Islands received two