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but we may also rest assured that we shall not fail to find that it is Jesus of Nazareth of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write.

STANLEY LEATHES.

ART. III.—UGANDA.

Nought shall make us rue,
If England to herself do rest but true.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE subject of the evacuation of Uganda has now been for some weeks fully and clearly before the mind of the English nation. It was at first but dimly understood; but it has recently been discussed at so many various gatherings, so many letters on it have been published in the daily and weekly papers, and so many allusions have been made to it from the pulpit and the platform, that it evidently holds a different position in the public feeling than it did when the deputation from the Church Missionary Society waited on the Foreign Minister to urge it on his attention. This subject has had the advantage, in the lull after the General Election, of being the only matter of first-rate political importance. It may well be assumed to be so, because the honour and political integrity of the nation is involved in the final decision, which ever way it may go. Having said this, we do not propose to treat it as a subject connected with party politics, and if in anything we may say we should seem to any reader to transgress this rule even to a hair's breadth, we hope that he will forthwith mentally erase the phrase. The question is by far too important to be smirched by the breath of party. It does, however, clearly belong to the domain of imperial politics. Foreign nations are eagerly watching the course which England will take. Much in her future colonial policy will depend upon it. Should Uganda be retained, and should the retention entail upon this country another costly and unprofitable campaign like those in Abyssinia and the Soudan, the effect on the future of Colonial Africa would be most disastrous. On the other hand, if Uganda is abandoned, and if the result should bring even a greater strain upon England than the above, the future colonial policy would be still more seriously affected. The importance of the subject cannot well be over-rated. So much has recently been written about it by those who thoroughly understand it, that the evidence regarding the matter seems to us pretty clear.

Uganda is one of the most promising countries. It has appropriately been called by Stanley "The Pearl of Africa."

It is a beautiful and fertile land, with a rolling, undulating landscape, thickly planted with bananas; and, being between 3,000 and 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, it is comparatively cool and pleasant and healthy, considering that it is under the equator. Situated on the north and north-western shores of the lovely Victoria Nyanza, and near the upper waters of the Nile, it is in an admirable position for commerce and trade. The people are some of the most civilized and intelligent of all the African tribes. They evidently belong to a conquering race, for the dominion of the late King, or rather Emperor, M'tesa extended over several of the neighbouring provinces. Now this beautiful country, about whose commercial capabilities we hope to say more a little further on, is peculiarly indebted to England. Thirty-two years ago it was unknown to Europe. There were then vague rumours about a vast inland sea. Missionaries belonging to an English society first announced its existence, and thus gave a direct impetus to East African geographical research. English explorers, Speke and Grant, first discovered the Victoria Nyanza, and unveiled the kingdom of Uganda. An English missionary society first sent messengers of the Gospel thither on the urgent request of Mr. Stanley, whose well-known letter, appealing to England for a Christian Mission, appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of November 15, 1875. It is now situated within the English sphere of influence, having been awarded to this country. English missionaries have been labouring there since the first party arrived on the last day of June, 1877, with the exception of the time when they were driven out by the revolution. The language of the people has been reduced to writing, and numbers have been taught to read, and they have proved such intelligent and diligent students, that their aptitude in learning has rarely been surpassed. A flourishing African church has been founded, and, best of all, the whole of the New Testament has been translated into the language of Uganda, and has been printed, or is being printed, by an English institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society. We thus see what a peculiar claim Uganda has on England.

Just a brief sketch of the history of that country up to 1890 will suffice. On the arrival of the first mission band in the summer of 1877, King M'tesa welcomed them cordially, and at first professed himself a Christian; but this seems to have been from insincere and interested motives. It is certain that he showed the keenest anxiety to obtain as much as he could from the missionaries in the way of secular and mechanical advantages, and he was most eager to get anything from the white man which might raise him in the

estimation of his people, or even to improve their fighting power. Whatever favour he might show to the C.M.S missionaries, however, it was counterbalanced by the Muhammadan traders, who often exercised great influence over him. In the spring of 1879 a band of French Roman Catholic missionaries arrived, and they have ever since been a potent factor in the politics of Uganda. Certain envoys from M'tesa were sent to England in 1880, and were presented to the Queen, and during the next four years there was a time of comparative quietness and prosperity. There was much secular work done for the people and the king, and at one time the only two missionaries who were there described themselves as builders, carpenters, smiths, and farmers; but better things were also progressing. The first five converts were admitted into the visible church on March 18, 1882, and these were the forerunners of many more, so that in these ten years very many have been baptized. It may once for all be said with regard to these, as it can be said with regard to nominal Christian communities throughout the world, that, to use the words of the Rev. Cyril Gordon, "There are many, very many, who have only got a knowledge of the Saviour in their understanding, and whose hearts are not changed. Yet God's Holy Spirit is working here. There are many who know Christ as a personal Saviour, who daily fight against Satan, sin, and self, and who overcome." King M'tesa died October 10, 1884, and then the scene completely changed. At first the influence of the preachers of Christian righteousness was so felt as to avert the usual barbarous massacre of the brothers of the new king, who, though his father's youngest son, was chosen by the great chieftains of the land. He was of a jealous and suspicious temper, but, as Captain Lugard describes him, of considerable ability and shrewdness. He had not been on the throne many months when a terrible persecution broke out. In January, 1885, three poor youths were roasted to death. In October of the same year Bishop Hannington, who had journeyed from Frere Town to Usoga through the country of the Masai, by the direct, but then difficult, route from the coast, was put to death by order of the king, this being done on political, rather than on religious, grounds, because the bishop had come through "the back-door" of his kingdom. Then followed a time of terrible persecution. Many of the converts proved themselves faithful to Christ even unto death. African martyrs were added to the roll of the saints and heroes of the Christian Church. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants bravely endured this fiery trial.

The tyranny exercised by King M'wanga at length became intolerable. In 1888 all parties combined against him, and he

was exiled and dethroned, one of his elder brothers, named Kiwewe, being placed on the throne in his stead. This new king did not retain his position long. He was murdered by the Arabs, and another brother, named Kalema, was made king in his place. Meanwhile, the Arab or Muhammadan faction rose against the Christians, and drove them out of the country. After great privations, the missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, with several of their adherents, fled across the lake. Just one year afterwards M'wanga was restored by the efforts of the combined army of Roman Catholics and Protestants. He had first applied for assistance to Mr. Mackay, the well-known and devoted missionary—"that Christian Bayard," as Lord Rosebery called him—who had more experience than the other missionaries; but he had declined to render him any help. He had then turned to the French priests, by whom he was baptized, and who gave him very considerable assistance. The Protestant party, who had sent messengers to Mackay to obtain his advice, joined them before receiving it. After some severe fighting and many vicissitudes, M'wanga was once more king. The country became nominally Christian, and the chief offices of state were divided between the two great victorious parties, the office of Katikiro, or prime minister, being given to the principal Protestant chief. The Europeans having left Uganda, and the whole country having been so terribly torn by civil strife, no news reached England concerning these events for several months. When the full intelligence did reach us, it seemed more like reading a few leaves from one of the weird African tales of Mr. Rider Haggard than a sober historical statement.

Hitherto there had been no interference from without. We now come to the time when the great European Powers took a decided and prominent part in the political affairs of Eastern Equatorial Africa. The two events which first exercised the strongest influence over the fortunes of Uganda were the acquisition of territory on the east coast by Germany, and the establishment of the Imperial British East Africa Company. In 1884 German colonization began by Dr. Peters and his companions forming treaties with several chiefs in the interior beyond the coast opposite Zanzibar. The Seyyid of Zanzibar, who had for many years been in close alliance with England, claimed all the Hinterland as far as the great lakes, if not further, and naturally his officers soon came into collision with the Germans. This led to a blockade of the coast, and a treaty was signed in December, 1885, by the English and German and the Seyyid's authorities, whereby a partition of the country was determined on, a line defining the limitation of what was called the English and German "spheres of influence." The

morality of this we will not here discuss. European nations were eagerly coveting and grasping territory all round Africa, and both Germany and England joined in what was very appropriately called "the scramble for Africa." From a Christian point of view it appears to us neither dignified nor just. We merely relate the facts. The part of the country which was considered to be within the British sphere of influence was ceded in 1887 to Mr., now Sir William, Mackinnon, as the president of an African association, and in the following year a company was formed, called the Imperial British East Africa Company, which applied for and received a royal charter. This charter empowered the Company to retain the full benefit of all concessions that had been made and held under the British sphere of influence, and all authority necessary for the purposes of government, preservation of public order, and of protection in those territories which had been granted or ceded to them by the Seyyid of Zanzibar. The Company thus became a governing and administrative body, like the Honourable East India Company before it. Three stipulations in the charter should be noticed. Every effort was to be made by the Company to abolish by degrees any system of slave trade or domestic servitude in its territories. Its officers were not to interfere with the religion of any class of people, and perfect religious liberty was to be exercised. In the administration of justice careful regard should always be had to the customs and laws of the tribes to which the parties belonged, especially with respect to rights of property. The whole course of government was to be under the direct control and guidance of one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, who is at present the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

A vast increase of power was bestowed on the Company two years subsequently by the Anglo-German Agreement, which was signed July 1, 1890. A fresh line of demarcation between the spheres of influence assigned respectively to Italy, Germany, and England was drawn. We have now to deal only with that part of it which was to separate the north and north-eastern boundary of the German sphere from the south-western and southern boundary of the English sphere. The English nation at the time took the greatest interest in the subject of the agreement. Public opinion was decidedly in favour of obtaining as much of the influence, or rather of the territory that was to be apportioned, as possible. The then Prime Minister was considered to have done a very good stroke of business in exchanging Heligoland, for which the English people cared very little, for power over Zanzibar, for which they cared very much. The line of demarcation was so drawn, amidst universal approval, as to reserve Uganda and the

northern portion of the lake for England. Beyond were the beautiful equatorial Alpine ranges of Ruwenzori with their snowy peaks, which had recently been discovered by Stanley.

Meanwhile, a party under Messrs. Jackson and Gedge had traversed Masailand, and in May, 1890, reached Uganda. The British East Africa Company had thus asserted their claim to the country which was so soon to be awarded to them. Mr. Jackson was just in time. The German explorer, Dr. Peters, had indeed been there before him, and had induced M'wanga to hoist the German flag, but the British ensign soon took its place, and Dr. Peters, on his return to the coast, learned that his exertions had all been in vain, for Uganda had, by an agreement which he could not gainsay, been included in the English sphere of interest. The arrival of Mr. Jackson very naturally created a sensation in Uganda. The king, then under Roman Catholic influence, was anything but pleased at the turn events had taken. The Roman Catholic party were diametrically opposed to the Company. The Protestants were as much in favour of it, for they were persuaded that the British occupation meant peace. Towards the end of the year, Captain Lugard, who had done good service elsewhere in Nyassaland, and whose services had been lent to the Company by Her Majesty's Government, arrived in Uganda, and a treaty was concluded with the king, by which the country was formally placed under the protection of England. Captain Lugard, after erecting, near the capital, a fort called Kampala, and after effecting something approaching to good and orderly government, proceeded farther inland, and returned with several of the soldiers who had been left behind by Emin Pasha with their camp followers. He had then a respectable force at Kampala.

The community in Uganda was divided into three distinct parties—the Muhammadans, who had been defeated and had withdrawn from the neighbourhood of the capital; the Protestants, who were enthusiastically in favour of the Company; and the Roman Catholics, who had most power over the king. The two latter were bitterly opposed to each other, and both feared and hated the first. We may here state our great regret and sorrow that such terms as express the long-standing religious feud of Europe should have been introduced into the new Christian State of Central Africa. They were almost inevitably used in religious teaching when the Jesuit missionaries intruded into a field already occupied by others; but it is peculiarly lamentable that they should be employed to express party feeling, which has nothing whatever to do with the inculcation of Christianity. It must be remembered that native Christianity in Uganda is only ten years old. It

is most important to bear in mind that the feuds, which subsequently led to civil war, had nothing whatever to do with religious differences, but related entirely to questions about the occupation of the land and the possession of power. It must also be borne in mind that it is the policy of Roman Catholic missionaries in such lands as Uganda to mix themselves up with local politics; and we may further say that it is distinctly against the rules and regulations of the Church Missionary Society for their agents to adopt such a line of action. We feel certain that, as a rule, they carefully abstain from any such interference. The nationality of the two bodies of missionaries must likewise be remembered, and it will be seen how readily terms like French and English can be taken into the mouths of the people of Uganda.

The directors of the British East Africa Company, towards last summer, came to the decision that, on financial grounds, they must withdraw from Uganda because their finances were not able to bear the strain of continued occupation. This withdrawal was postponed in consequence of the liberal contributions of many who were deeply interested in the matter, more particularly the contributions of friends of the Church Missionary Society. News of the contemplated withdrawal, when it reached Uganda, was most disastrous, and it is necessary to remember this at the present time, when a similar announcement of withdrawal is hanging over that country. It precipitated a most terrible civil war. This is not the place to relate the narrative of this lamentable strife. It will be sufficient to state that Captain Lugard, as British Commissioner, acted with the greatest tact and judgment, and for a long time was successful in averting hostilities by his impartial administration. When, however, intelligence of the threatened evacuation induced the French party to attack his fort, he extended his protection to the other side. The king and his adherents were routed, and order was re-established by the Company's forces. The despatches of Captain Lugard, which have been published in the papers, give a clear soldier-like statement of the course of events, both during the war and since. Order has been fully restored. The country has been divided between the Roman Catholics, the Muhammadans, and the Protestants, the Muhammadans being wedged in between the Roman Catholics in the west, and the Protestants in the east. The latest accounts inform us that the country is recovering from the effects of the war. The ordinary peaceful avocations are being pursued, and mission work is progressing.

After this brief and rapid survey of the history of the past, we come to the consideration of the present situation. When the decision of the directors of the British East Africa Company

to withdraw from Uganda was averted, it was announced that this postponement of withdrawal was only temporary. The directors consequently stated this spring, or in the early summer, that they must positively evacuate the country by the last day of this year. The matter was taken up by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, who are so deeply interested in that land, and in the infant church there. They waited on Lord Rosebery, now Minister for Foreign Affairs, and laid before him the facts of the case, and earnestly urged that the attention of the Government might be drawn to the gravity of the situation. The Society is, however, a purely religious society, and does not intermeddle with politics. The deputation, therefore, purposely refrained from stating what course the Government ought, in their opinion, to pursue. If they had done so, they would at once have stepped out of their own immediate province on to political ground. The Committee's interest in Uganda is not, however, only spiritual, for they cannot forget the moral and material advantages which even a nominal acceptance of Christianity confers upon a nation. They have, therefore, in a resolution, which has been widely circulated in the papers, endeavoured forcibly to draw the attention of the English people to their strong moral responsibility towards the people of Uganda. But there the Committee's province ceases, and it is not for them to point out what ought to be done. A few days after the reception of this deputation, Lord Rosebery, in a letter to the directors of the British East Africa Company, informed them that the Cabinet, after consideration of the matter, had decided to undertake the payment of the expense of the Company's remaining in Uganda for three months longer; but, as we read the letter, he gave no hope of the Government's assuming full and complete responsibility after the end of March next. "The Government," he wrote, "accept the principle of evacuation." No words could be more explicit, and the time of grace thus afforded the Company is intended only to avert the danger that might arise from immediate or hasty withdrawal. The directors accepted the offer of the Government, and the question now is, whether the people of England will rest content with this position, and will permit a fair region like Uganda to be abandoned to the anarchy and bloodshed which must inevitably follow evacuation.

We will divide our observations on this question into the three heads which Captain Lugard mentions in his admirable and temperate letter to the *Times*, only altering their order. These heads are political, commercial, and philanthropic. By political we, of course, mean, as we have already stated, what appertains to imperial, not to party, politics.

1. *Political*.—In the first place we will consider what

seems to us the inevitable consequence of evacuation. We cannot do better than give Captain Lugard's opinion, written in a despatch from the spot on January 4, and supplement it by his last utterance on the subject, so many important events having intervened between the two statements. This will show how little his opinion has changed. "The immediate result of our withdrawal," he wrote in January, "would have been anarchy, and the rehabilitation of the Muhammadan Raj, accompanied by a terrible amount of bloodshed. Further, our withdrawal from Southern Unyoro and Toru would mean the wholesale massacre of all those people who, relying on our pledges of protection, have sided with us." Writing in October, after the experience of the civil war, and the subsequent political history of the country, he says: "Supposing evacuation were carried out, the Protestant political faction would either leave the country, in which case they must fight and kill the natives of the country in which they propose to settle, or they would remain behind. In the latter case they would be compelled to unite with the Muhammadans, and these two factions, being both bitterly hostile to the Catholics, would immediately prepare to exterminate them. Finally, it is absolutely certain they would quarrel between themselves, and what the ultimate result of the ensuing anarchy and chaos would be it is hard to determine." This is, indeed, a terrible picture, drawn by the hand of one who ought to know what he is writing about; and it seems to us that it would be imperative, if such a catastrophe were to occur, for the English Government at once to step back, in order to restore order and stay bloodshed. Lord Rosebery, in his verbal reply to the C.M.S. deputation, alluded to the possibility of another Soudan campaign; but to us it appears much more likely that evacuation would lead to another Abyssinian or Soudan campaign, than that remaining in the country would; and that the expense, for his lordship referred to the British taxpayer, would be infinitely greater in the event of such calamities following evacuation, than the cost of immediate occupation, which Captain Lugard puts at the comparatively moderate sum of from £40,000 to £20,000 a year.

We freely confess, however, that the strongest political consideration that weighs with us is, the forfeiture of national honour which would be entailed on the nation by withdrawal. The British Commissioner has clearly and distinctly stated that he entered into treaty with the King of Uganda in as solemn and binding a manner as could well be imagined. He uses the following strong terms in his report to the directors of the Company: "We are pledged to remain here by all the binding force of a treaty, to maintain a Resident in this

country, and to protect the king. Both by treaty and by repeated verbal pledges that we should infallibly remain, I have at once involved both the Company's honour and my own, and also that of the British nation, since these people are aware that I am an officer holding the Queen's Commission, and, being unable to discriminate between the Imperial Government and Chartered Companies, they look on me as sent by the Queen, and on my pledge as emanating from her Most Gracious Majesty herself." Since his return to England he has repeated this assertion in quite as clear, though not in such emphatic, language. "I, as the accredited agent of a Chartered Company," he wrote to the *Times*, "acting within my instructions, gave pledges—and my action in this matter has never been criticised or even discussed—pledges which I am naturally anxious to see fulfilled for the honour of the Company in whose name I made them, and of the nation whom that Company represented." This contains the kernel of the whole case. The British Commissioner at Mengo, whether rightly or wrongly, pledged the honour of the British nation to remain in Uganda, and to exercise authority. There may be the greatest diversity of opinions as to whether he was justified in his action, but the bare, hard fact remains that he has thus acted. Can the British Government set this action aside without deeply and seriously compromising the honour of the nation, the Government, and the Queen? This is not the way in which the splendid Imperial authority of England has been won. There is a wonderful similarity between the youthful British East Africa Company, and the grand old East India Company. It seems to us simply marvellous that, after the abolition of the latter as a governing power, the nation having thereby solemnly declared that the affairs of a dependency like India can be better administered directly by the Queen's Government than through a Chartered Company, a similar Company, possessing political authority and the power of life and death, should deliberately be permitted. But such a Company has been established, and a just comparison can be made between the two. Let us endeavour to realize what would have been the state of the case, upwards of seventy years ago, during the great Mahratta War in India. If the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone at Poonah, or Mr. Jenkins at Nagpore, had pledged the honour of his king and country at these Mahratta Courts, would this nation have failed to fulfil the pledge thus made? We firmly believe that the Government is bound by their charter and by treaties, such as that executed at Berlin in 1890, to uphold all treaties and engagements made by the Company. If they do not, then English authority throughout East Africa will be

weakened, and the evil influence will be felt on the Niger, and in other places where Companies are established; the national tenure of Egypt will be relaxed; and the fair fame of England throughout the Dark Continent will be tarnished.

2. *Commercial*.—We believe that the advantages which would be obtained by this nation in bravely taking on itself the responsibility of remaining in Uganda, occupy a secondary position to the political advantages. They will, however, be very great. Uganda is, as we have already stated, a fertile country; but it seems to be less fertile than Unyoro, and other neighbouring and dependent provinces. It is swampy, and better adapted for pasturage than for extensive agricultural operations. According to Mr. Stanley, however, the coffee-plant and sugar-cane are both indigenous in the Uganda territory, while the tea-plant could easily be cultivated. There is an abundance of banana and plantain groves; but the great hope of commercial enterprise is in the character of the people, who are highly intelligent, and are ready and eager to avail themselves of every form of commercial advantage. They will themselves be excellent traders, and, as they have hitherto made their influence felt all round the Victoria Nyanza and to the north, they are likely to be as active in their commercial, as well as in their political, instincts. The last request of the Katikiro, the chief political authority under the king, to Captain Lugard, is almost comic in its earnest simplicity. It was that he should send up white donkeys and opera-glasses, for which they would pay any price, while stationery and utensils would be eagerly bought. The chief articles of commerce would be ivory and salt, of which there appears to be an illimitable supply in the regions to the west. The capabilities of the country, including all the dependent provinces, seem great and expansive; but the one main desideratum is a railway and good roads to the lake from the coast. There is no doubt from the report of the officers, who were lent by the Government to the Company for the purpose of making a survey for a line of railway, that not only are there no insuperable obstacles to the construction of a line, but that the making one would be a comparatively simple and easy task. It appears from all accounts that the commercial prospects are fully as bright as the political.

3. *Philanthropic and Religious*.—We have left the philanthropic and religious aspects of the question until the last, because they are infinitely the most important. There can scarcely be a doubt that, should Uganda be abandoned, and war and anarchy ensue, there will be a terrible increase of the slave trade, which has lately been vigorously kept in check by the action of the British East Africa Company. To give the

directors their due, it must be acknowledged that one of their main objects is to keep down this infamous traffic. It has been effectually subdued by the inferior position of the Arabs in Uganda, and we may take it for granted that, even if that country be not situated on one of the great lines of the slave caravans, as some assert, there must be a vast increase of slavery, owing to the custom of Africans to sell into slavery their captives in war. A firm, capable, and just administration established by England in Uganda, would be a far more effectual means of checking the slave trade than all her armaments on the coast. This thought seems to have weighed more with Lord Rosebery, when he received an influential deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, than anything else. He very naturally fastened on Mr. Bosworth Smith's happy phrase, "the continuity of England's moral policy." We should have preferred to have put it, the continuity of England's Christian policy. The Foreign Minister's eloquent enlargement on this phrase is a cheering augury that those who desire the retention of Uganda have in him a sincere ally and friend. In considering this aspect of the question, we must not for a moment forget the provisions of the Act of the Conference, signed at Berlin on July 2nd, 1890. In that agreement the Powers of Europe solemnly stated that the best mode of suppressing the slave trade was for certain of the Powers to throw their protecting shield over the African states, and gradually to establish in the interior strongly occupied stations, in such a way as to make their protective action effectually felt. It is expressly stipulated that, in case of the delegation of their authority to chartered Companies, these Powers "remain, nevertheless, directly responsible for the engagements which they contract, and guarantee the execution thereof." This is obviously applicable to the case of Uganda.

The strongest claim, however, is on England, as a Christian nation. We have shown that a flourishing Christian Church has sprung up there, which exhibits every promise, in the event of a continuation of peace and order and good government, of expansion and of growth. Ten years ago there was not a solitary Christian there. Now "Uganda," as the Archbishop of Canterbury recently said, "is a land which has drunk the blood of martyrs," and he recorded "the emphatic prayer that our country's course may be so shaped that Christian converts may not be abandoned to imminent destruction." It must be remembered that the missionaries of the C.M.S. went on their perilous enterprise at their own risk and on their own responsibility. During the early years of the mission, the Committee sought no protection for them from

England or from other sources, even in times of trouble and persecution. No external aid was demanded when converts were tortured and burnt. No cry for vengeance rose when Bishop Hannington was murdered. But the whole position has been changed by political events, over which neither the Committee nor their missionaries had any control. They cannot revert to the condition which they once willingly and joyfully occupied. Uganda itself cannot return to the position it was in before it came under British influence. Even the French missionaries demand continued British protection. The impossibility of returning to the *status ante quo*, and the difference between the former position of the missionaries and the present state of affairs, has been admirably put by both Bishop Smythies and Bishop Tucker. We quote one passage from a letter written by the latter to Sir Gerald Portal, the Consul-General of Zanzibar. "I deprecate," he says, "in the very strongest terms, the idea that missionaries, in penetrating into savage and uncivilized countries, should expect aid and protection from their home Government. But, if the missionaries have no right to compromise the home Government, on the other hand the home Government, I maintain, has no right to compromise the missionaries. And this, I submit, is what her Majesty's Government has done with respect to Uganda."

All parties unite in the request that, on the retirement of the Company from Uganda, her Majesty's Government would be pleased to take that country under their immediate protection. King M'wanga, who very well knows what he is about, has written a letter to the Queen, with the petition that she would assume the Government of his land. But to us the most touching of all is the letter which the Christians of Uganda addressed to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, whom they call their "friends," their "fathers in the Gospel," "the elders of the Church who sent those who have come to teach us the Gospel of Jesus Christ." "Our friends," they write, "we tell you the truth, we shall undoubtedly fight among ourselves if the English authorities leave. We have now made peace through the intervention of the Company; so, if the Company leave Uganda, the whole country will become a wilderness."

We are fully persuaded that the right course for the Government is to guarantee the interest on capital to be subscribed for the construction of a railway, and to take full possession of Uganda, at all events, until the British East Africa Company is in a position to return, and to establish there under a duly authorized British Commissioner a stable and orderly administration. This is the only safe and honourable course of action, and it is the right one politically, because the word of the

nation is pledged, and to forfeit that understanding would weaken the influence in Egypt, on the Niger, and throughout Africa; because it will prevent France, Germany, or Belgium occupying the land; because it will avert anarchy and bloodshed; because all parties in that country demand it. It is the right one commercially, because Uganda is an admirable centre and outlet for new enterprises of trade and civilization. It is the right course from a philanthropic and Christian point of view, because it will tend considerably to put down the slave-trade, and because the position of all who trusted English honour—Soudanese, English missionaries, and native converts—would be hopelessly compromised by abandonment, and the continuity of our Christian policy would be roughly and rudely broken. The question now before the people of England is very clear, Shall the light of civilization which necessarily follows the introduction of Christianity be withdrawn from Uganda, and that country plunged once more into the darkness of anarchy and desolation, and become, as the people themselves pathetically say, a wilderness?

HENRY MORRIS.

ART. IV.—THE TEACHING OF TENNYSON.

I. BY THE DEAN OF SALISBURY.

IN the glowing and characteristic sermon preached by the Master of Trinity on the 16th of October, Dr. Butler—fit successor of Whewell and Thompson—spoke to the men of Trinity of the sense in which Tennyson “was a religious teacher, speaking to our hearts and minds some authentic word of God.” The preacher then recalled his hearers to the time when Julius Hare wrote, in the dedication of “*Guesses at Truth*,” of the glorious gift God bestowed on a nation when he gave them a poet—that poet being Wordsworth—whose praises and title to honour John Keble a few years afterwards so truly recounted in the dedication of his Oxford lectures. To the Master of Trinity there must have been a mournful satisfaction in writing the following sentence: “As it was said of Chatham, that no officer ever entered his room without coming out a braver man, so might it be said of our Trinity poet, that no man ever had the privilege of a walk or a talk with Tennyson without a deepening within him of the conviction how vast a part of all religion is the soul’s truth with its God.” Many years ago, Mr. Moultrie, himself a poet, the friend of Praed and Derwent Coleridge, in a poem called “*The Three Minstrels*,”