Europe as the Other: External Perspectives on European Christianity

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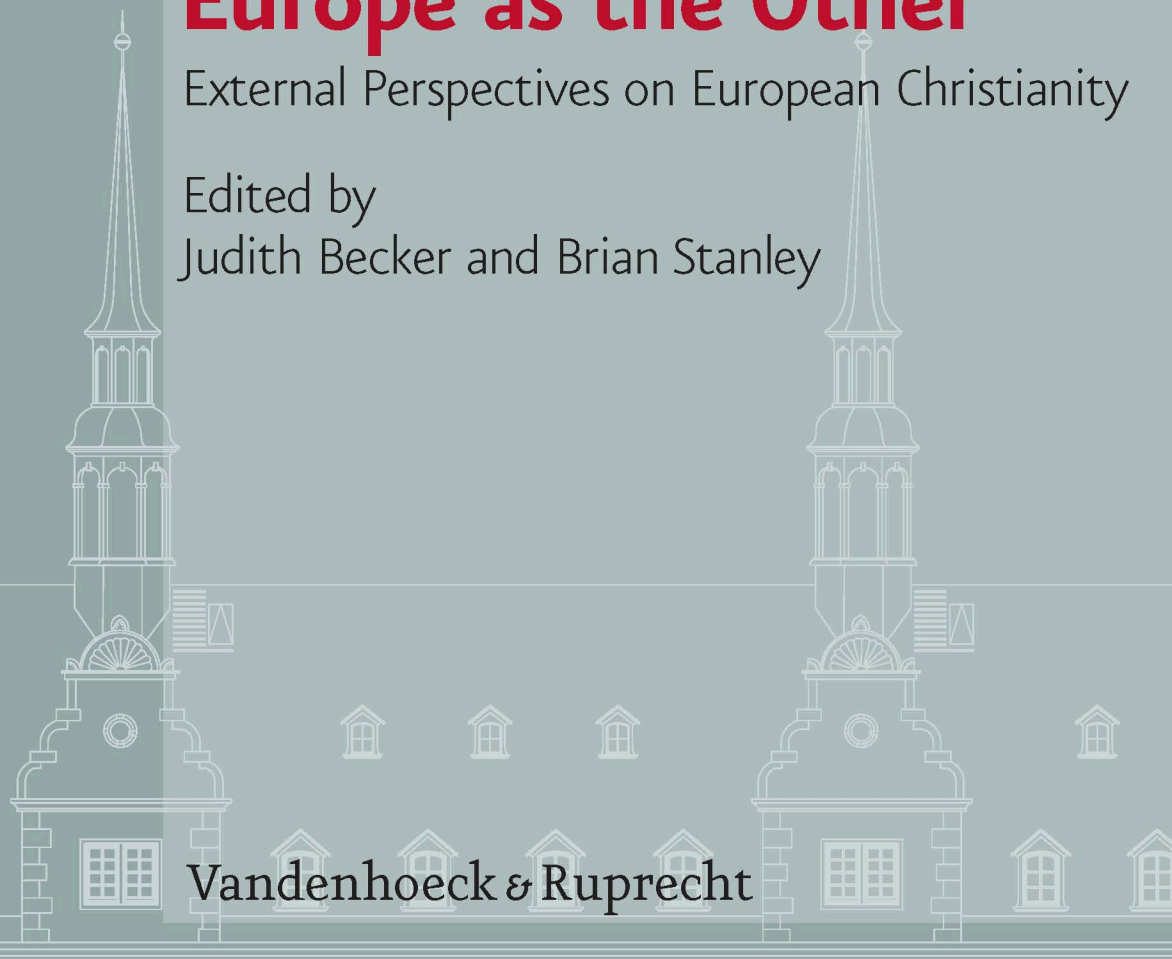
Edited by
Judith Becker and Brian Stanley



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Contents

Judith Becker and Brian Stanley

Introduction

Europe as the Other: External Perspectives on European Christianity

Over the last three centuries, the processes of exchange between European and non-European Christians have been diverse and complex. Europeans went abroad as traders and settlers, built colonial or imperial systems and integrated an increasing number of countries into their empires. But not all of the Europeans who went to work in foreign countries were driven by the lust for wealth and power. Others went in order to educate or to missionize, or to bestow the advantages of civilisation, as they saw it, – European civilisation – to the ›uncivilised‹ world. In so doing they all conveyed a certain image of Europe, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, to the non-European world. These images of Europe were inextricably intertwined with Christianity, since Europe was seen as a Christian continent. Whether Europeans openly advertised their Christian faith as did the missionaries, or worked in professions which did not have any obvious link to Christianity, they were all regarded as Europeans (or at least as foreigners from the West) and *therefore* as Christians. All Europeans working in Africa or Asia up to the end of the nineteenth century were assumed by indigenous observers to be Christians, and few repudiated the ascription. Even at the end of the nineteenth century they were perceived as Christians or had to make a clear distinction between themselves and European Christians. The pictures these Europeans conveyed of European Christianity, however, could differ widely.

At the same time, the expansion of European empires brought growing numbers of Africans and Asians to Europe, initially often as slaves but subsequently as traders, members of political or diplomatic missions, university students, or candidates for training for Christian ministry or priesthood. These African and Asian visitors to ›Christian Europe‹ often found the reality of the continent to be at odds with the impressions they had previously formed. Some of these visitors recorded their experiences of European religion or irreligion and transmitted their accounts to their compatriots. Others also tried to influence the European public by publishing books or tracts on Europe and on their own situation. The interchange of people between Europe and other continents but also the exchange of publications, ideas, cultural attitudes, and communication and the experience of living within a dif-

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ferent culture were manifest in all centuries. Nevertheless, such encounters became more common and visible from the nineteenth century.

These encounters have been commented upon extensively by Europeans, both at the time in (travel) reports and scientific volumes as well as pamphlets, and nowadays in political and academic debates. This conference volume aims to add an external and wider perspective to the contemporary academic and public debate on the nature of European identity and its relationship to the historical phenomenon of European Christendom. It seeks to answer the question: What view, or views, did external observers form and hold of ›European Christianity‹?

As several of the chapters will show, ›external‹ observers were not necessarily non-Europeans, just as ›internal‹ commentators were not necessarily Europeans. The line between ›external‹ and ›internal‹ was not identical to the ascription of ›European‹ and ›non-European‹. The topic was much more complex and histories were entangled. However, those who commented on Europe and European Christendom from a distant viewpoint had usually at least had the experience of living outside of Europe for some time. The volume therefore also includes, in spite of its focus on African and Asian observers, examples of European-born people who distanced themselves from their origins in one way or the other and thus adopted external perspectives.

The very language which scholars habitually use to denominate the encounters between Europeans and Asians or Africans, and to characterise the independent initiatives taken by the latter in response to European political and cultural hegemony, tends to accord Europe a logical and historical priority. The default setting remains ›the West‹, a notion that was originally defined in strictly European terms in opposition to the encircling Islamic forces of the Ottoman empire, but which particularly since the Cold War has been understood in a looser and more ideological sense in which the United States takes the lead as the defender of western civilisation and broadly Christian values. What is ›non-western‹ is defined precisely by the fact that it is not ›the West‹, rather than, for example, Asians choosing to define themselves as ›non-African‹ or ›non-southern‹, or Africans choosing to label themselves as ›non-Asian‹ or ›non-eastern‹ (usage that may perhaps one day come into currency as Chinese economic hegemony in Africa grows apace). Even Latin America, a continent that had to be excluded from the scope of this volume (just as it was excluded from consideration at the seminal World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910)[1] still finds itself regularly co-opted

1 Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009), 49–72, 303–7.

in defiance of geographical logic into honorary membership of the ›non-western world‹ and it continues to bear a label that inescapably relates its identity to its historic colonisers from Latin Europe.

Throughout the chapters which follow issues surface regarding the scarcity and possibly unrepresentative nature of the extant written sources that record observations of Christian Europe by outsiders. As we have already noted, most of these sources originated by definition from educated minority elites, many of whom were as a result of their education cultural hybrids, with all the creativity and ambiguity that this status often implied. The indigenous voices in the conversations between various African or Asian communities and ›Europeanness‹ which this volume records were few and not necessarily typical of their host societies. Caution is therefore appropriate in making any attempt to draw generalised conclusions from the perspectives of those who by literacy or favoured proximity to Europeans found themselves in the unusual position of being able to leave written observations of their experience of European countries or Europeans working as missionaries or in other capacities in their own countries.

Some of the earlier indigenous voices who are cited in this collection had no firm basis for categorising as European those whom we know as Europeans. They were more likely to denominate them simply as ›foreigners‹. Thus for centuries Europeans were known in India and in other parts of the East as *Farangi*, *Parangi*, or *Pfarangi.* This was a term taken originally from the Muslim designation for the Franks with whom they had contested control of Palestine and the Iberian Peninsula in the era of the crusades. By extension it became the label attached by Urdu- or Tamil-speaking people to the Portuguese in India after 1498 and eventually became a synonym for Catholic Christians and indeed for Europeans as a whole.[2] The conceptual and linguistic legacy of such usage has been enduring, and for Christianity singularly unfortunate: the term endures in Hindi and Urdu as a derogatory term for ›foreigner‹. Since ›Europe‹ as a geographical and cultural concept was for many African or Asian peoples either unknown or only vaguely understood, the descriptive categories available for use were general and often polemical, such as ›foreign demons‹, ›western barbarians‹, ›people from far away‹, or simply ›white people‹. Alternatively, the particular national identity of whichever group of foreigners, such as ›Portuguese‹, happened to arrive first or in greatest numbers was taken to refer to Europeans, and indeed to Christians as a whole.

2 Robert Eric Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 119–41.

Europeans have long been accustomed to thinking of themselves as occupying the centre of the global stage, with non-Europeans occupying the periphery of vision on the East and the West. Similar patterns of thinking can, of course, be observed among other cultures, notably among the Chinese, whose historic name for China was *Zhōngguó* (the Middle Kingdom). However, Europeans have been more successful than any other cultural entity in persuading (at least for a time) much of the rest of the world that this is not just a matter of perception, but an empirical description of how things really are. Such ways of thinking die hard, as any glance at a modern western atlas confirms. Conventional categories of historiographical periodisation and classification perpetuate the trend. What we term the medieval period takes its meaning from classic boundary markers in European history such as the collapse of the Roman Empire or the Italian Renaissance or the Protestant Reformation. The so-called modern age similarly derives its meaning from transformative European episodes such as the Enlightenment or the Industrial Revolution. Much the same can be said about ›postmodernity‹ or ›postcolonialism‹, both of which are fashionable concepts that in retrospect unconsciously privilege those historical varieties of modernity or empire initiated by European nations over similar processes of modernisation or imperial expansion initiated by non-western peoples. The concept of postcolonialism makes admirable sense to those, such as Indians or Nigerians, who have been liberated within recent memory from European colonial rule but very little sense to those, such as Tibetans, who remain subject to colonial rule from outside Europe, or indeed to those, such as members of the First Nations in North America, for whom European conquest is absolute and seemingly beyond contestation.

In a book on the external view of Europe, two perspectives have to be employed and two main questions asked. One perspective is on the external side and asks: What did Europe mean to the ›Other‹? This leads to approaches that draw on postcolonial methodology. The other perspective looks at Europe and asks: What is (or was) Europe? Here, theories of European studies enter the debate. This volume will focus on African and Asian encounters with Europeans. Oceania was represented at the conference, but the paper presented was regrettably not available for inclusion in this volume. In order to include South America, the focus of research would have had to begin much earlier than it is now, with the inception of Catholic missions to America in the sixteenth century. North America offers its own set of complicated issues. In the late eighteenth century, it was already largely dominated by (former) Europeans and when it entered the world stage as an active power, it was white and not indigenous people who exercised that power. Indeed, the question here would be what differences are discernible between European and North American missions or colonialism and also between the African/

Asian perceptions of these two forms of a Western presence. This question is tackled in several chapters in this volume. In many instances, North American and European missionaries or colonialists seemed very much alike and they were often viewed from the outside simply as ›Westerners‹ without any distinction between their continents of origin (see Klein, Kim).

Research has been conducted on how far Europe can be distinguished from other Western countries, and in particular from North America, and is indeed quite prominent in European studies. Scholars discuss the external, North American view of Europe and the extent to which Europeans became aware of the differences and became critical of the home continent once they migrated to America.[3] They find commonalities as well as marked differences, and this kind of research expands our knowledge of what ›Europe‹ might mean. However, as seen from other, non-Western continents, Europe and North America often look very much alike and many people in Africa or Asia did not differentiate when they encountered white Western people. Therefore, much, though not all, of what is said in this volume could be applied to North America as well. Some of the papers deal specifically with European (as opposed to Western) countries and encounters. This is true of the three papers which focus on non-Europeans in Europe (Frederiks, Azamede, Killingray). Their results cannot be transferred to North America because the domestic political situation was very different at the time. Becker's results, too, could not be applied to North America. She deals with Europeans outside Europe looking back at their home countries.

The chapters in this volume as well as other literature on the subject suggest that both the differentiation between Europe and North America and that between Europe as a whole and single European countries may have been uneven and ambiguous: sometimes one term was used synonymously with the other and sometimes distinctions were deliberately made. Yet, it would be difficult to adopt a single and universally applicable definition of the differences and commonalities, particularly with an external perspective in view. This volume helps us to see the variety of perspectives on and definitions of

3 See e.g. Hartmut Kaelble, *Europäer über Europa. Die Entstehung des europäischen Selbstverständnisses im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus 2001); Adelheid von Saldern, »›North Atlantic Civilization‹ – Konzeptioneller Aufbruch zu einem neuen Verhältnis zwischen den USA und Europa in den 1920er Jahren«, in *Unterwegs in Europa. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Christina Benninghaus et al. (Frankfurt, New York: Campus, 2008), 271–300; id., »Identitätsbildung durch Abgrenzung. Europa und die USA in amerikanischen Gesellschaftsdiskursen des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts«, in *Europabilder im 20. Jahrhundert. Entstehung an der Peripherie*, ed. Frank Bösch et al. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012), 119–142; Jan Logeman, with Andreas Joch, Corinna Ludwig, Ashley Narayan, and Barbara Reiterer, »Transatlantic Perspectives: Europe in the Eyes of European Immigrants to the United States, 1930–1980«, *GHI Bulletin* 48 (Spring 2011), 85–99.

what might constitute European identity rather than attempting to tie them to certain characteristics – an attempt which would immediately and rightly be contested.

Literature on the concept of Europe is abundant. Scholars try to define its boundaries or its ›spirit‹, some adopting an historical perspective, while others are more interested in contemporary Europe and its political identity.[4] In historical research on Europe, two opposing approaches have been developed: Scholars following discourse theory insist that ›Europe‹ is only manifest in the realm of discourse and find their objects of research in historical debates on the idea of Europe.[5] Others start from the assumption that there are certain characteristics common to European peoples and then show that these have been important in European history.[6] A third group tries to mediate between the two and agrees with the preponderance of discourse but finds material sources of European identity or better said, material manifestations of European history and Europeans.[7] The discourse of racial differences between Europeans and Africans manifested itself, for instance, in the building of separate church buildings in African locations, one for Europeans and the other for African indigenous people.[8] All in all, however, these groups of interpreters differ from one another less than might be initially apparent because those with a more normative approach like their counterparts also rely on historical discourse and those who start from discourse may often return to an analysis of material manifestations.[9]

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4 One of the many overviews can be found in Lutz Niethammer, »A European Identity?«, in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. B. Stråth (Brüssel et al.: Peter Lang, 2000), 87–111.

5 See e.g. Logemann et al., »Transatlantic Perspectives«, 85–99.

6 See e.g. Heinz Duchhardt, »Was heißt und zu welchem Ende betreibt man – Europäische Geschichte?«, in *›Europäische Geschichte‹ als historiographisches Problem*, ed. A. Kunz (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997), 191–202 or the volume by Joas/Wiegand on European values and esp. Joas' introduction: Hans Joas and Klaus Wiegandt, ed., *Die kulturellen Werte Europas* (Frankfurt: Fischer, ^{5}2010), 11–39. In both cases, however, the ascription of materialism would be false.

7 On the problematic see also Hayden White, »The Discourse of Europe and the Search for a European Identity«, in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. B. Stråth (Brüssel et al.: Peter Lang, 2000), 67–86.

8 Sometimes, this followed a period of communal use of one church, see Fritz Hasselhorn, »›Warum sollen wir nicht mehr in dem Gotteshause da oben feiern?‹ Die Trennung der Gemeinden in Hermannsburg (Natal)«, in *Deutsche evangelische Kirche im kolonialen südlichen Afrika. Die Rolle der Auslandsarbeit von den Anfängen bis in die 1920er Jahre*, ed. Hans Lessing et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 497–509; Rudolf Hinz, »›An die Freunde der Colonie und des Reiches Gottes in der Heimath‹. Missionsgemeinde für ›Farbige‹ und Kirchengemeinde für ›Weiße‹ – von den Anfängen in Windhoeck«, in *ibid.*, 367–391.

9 See the example of Gothic architecture by Ulrike von Hirschhausen and Kiran Klaus Patel, »Europäisierung«, Version 1.0, in *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 29.11.2010, http://docupedia.de/zg/Europ%C3%A4isierung. Access date: 8 May 2012.

This example leads us to an important finding of contemporary research on Europe: Europe has often defined itself by reference to an ›Other‹. It was seen as being civilised in contrast to other regions where people were considered uncivilised. It was assumed to have a history as opposed to Africa or North America which existed without such an account in the eyes of many Europeans. A long list of dichotomies such as these could be assembled. Positive descriptions of what Europe might be, independent of any discriminations, are rare. Those few that exist are often criticised as being essentialist, normative, contingent, and, above all, being constructed in order to support a certain political or social position.

In many discourses, Europe was that which was not Asian, not African, not Islamic, etc. Most of the positive descriptions and definitions of Europe had their negative counterpart applied to non-European countries or cultures implicitly and oftentimes explicitly in the same argumentation. Europe could not be thought of by Europeans, without the non-European as its contrary. But, then, this is not entirely surprising or only a characteristic of European discourses of Europe. Many, perhaps most, cultures define themselves in opposition to an ›Other‹. But is, or was, Europe in any sense one cultural entity? Did Europe have, or does it have, a single culture?

These questions lead us back to the choice between defining Europe as a discursive concept or as a materially existing entity. How can European ›culture‹ be defined if it exists only as a discourse? In the discourse on Europe, Christianity has repeatedly been named as one of its major cultural features.[10] Although Christianity is no longer dominant in all European countries and much has been written about secularisation, it cannot be denied that Christianity in its different forms has shaped all of the countries today belonging to the European Union. And indeed, Christianity is used as one of the arguments in the debates over which nations should or should not be admitted to the Union.

However, the issue of Christianity and its connection to Europe has also been contested in recent decades. On the one hand, politicians evoke Europe's Christian past and claim Europe as a Christian (or possibly Judeo-Christian) continent. On the other hand, theories of secularisation have been developed from a predominantly European perspective, and the end of Christianity as a factor in European culture and politics has been proclaimed.[11] Both assumptions have been proved wrong but continue to be discussed. They lead us to

10 See e.g. Duchhardt, »Was heißt«, 195; Mary Anne Perkins, *Christendom and European Identity: The Legacy of Grand Narrative since 1789* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2004). See also the famous foundation for the identification of Christianity and Europe: Friedrich von Hardenberg (Novalis), *Die Christenheit oder Europa. Mit einem Nachwort von Arthur Henkel* (Krefeld: Scherpe-Verl., 1947).

11 See out of an immense amount of literature only José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern*

ask: What were the links between Christianity and Europe? Why and how was Europe perceived as a Christian continent – if it was perceived as Christian at all?

In this book, we want to offer a ›reverse-perspective‹ in which we seek to shift the focus from Europeans defining Europe and the world to how those considered to be the ›Other‹ conceived of Europe. The contributors do not, of course, hope or intend to arrive at a final definition of Europe, but we do want to add another piece to the puzzle of what Europe is or could be.

While European studies have often focused only on the European viewpoint, studies of imperialism and the Christian missionary movement after the publication in 1978 of the epoch-making study *Orientalism* by Edward Said have frequently focused on the perception and representation of non-Europeans and their suppression by Europeans. Only in more recent years has the interaction between Europeans and non-Europeans become a focus of research and discussion. Coming from a background of linguistics and history, Mary Louise Pratt has pointed out the ›contact zones‹ in which Europeans and non-Europeans lived in foreign countries. She has shown how their interaction could shape a new ›contact culture‹.[12] Homi K. Bhabha, in examining cultural encounters with reference to historical events and contemporary voluntary or involuntary migration, has analysed the meaning of ›third spaces‹ in history as well as contemporary culture.[13] Since all cases of cultural encounters and more specifically of long-term mutual habitations between Europeans and non-Europeans were the basis on which the external perspective on Europe was founded, the approaches of Pratt and Bhabha are highly relevant to the studies in this volume. Europeans and non-Europeans, missionaries and indigenous Christians lived together and developed a new culture; in the case of Christians, this new community formed a missionary culture. Traditionally, such cultures were seen as almost exclusively shaped by European attitudes and wishes. Newer research, however, indicates that non-European attitudes and perspectives came into play as well and contributed to the forms these cultures took.

The focus on perception and representation also leads to another consideration: Perception and representation have always been two-way processes in the encounters between East and West, South and North. This general point has particular validity when we apply it to the perceptions and representations which African or Asian Christians have had of Europe and its Christian heritage, for indigenous converts to Christianity have been among the most

World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); José Casanova and Hans Joas, ed., *Religion und die umstrittene Moderne* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010).

12 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), 4–7.

13 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994).

educated and literate members of their own societies, frequently more inclined and better able than others to write about European Christians and in some cases to travel to Europe and describe what they have seen. Part of the benefit of reversing the gaze is that we may be able to form a judgment about the extent to which Asians or Africans, whether Christians or not, themselves succumbed to blanket objectifications of what European Christians or Christianity were like, or, conversely, the extent to which they noticed and emphasised difference and ambiguity. Insofar as they indulged in their own stereotyping, that will serve as a healthy reminder that cultural stereotyping is not confined to dominant groups but is in fact a normal human mechanism for coping with difference.

Following a subaltern studies approach, Dipesh Chakrabarty makes an important point that has to be taken into consideration: Europeans consistently saw non-Europeans as ›not yet‹ ready to enter a state of real equality[14] – even though some of these same Europeans claimed to want some form of equality, as seen, for instance, in the expectations of many missionary societies to have indigenous peoples lead their own churches. Henry Venn, the long-serving secretary of the CMS, is only the best-known of several nineteenth-century missionary theorists who framed a plan to establish self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches led by indigenous Christians.[15] However, in the colonial period the missionaries never saw the indigenous Christians as having actually achieved a European level of competency: they remained ›not yet‹ ready to lead their own lives. One of the questions answered by the contributors to this volume is, to what extent non-Europeans adopted this viewpoint and when and how they challenged it.

From the early 1990s onwards, in line with trends in imperial history as a whole, several scholars of the missionary movement have demanded that postcolonial studies place different and often contradictory stories side by side in order to present a multi-perspective narrative of the deeply ambiguous relationship of missions to colonialism: the work of Andrew Porter, Jeffrey Cox, and Brian Stanley in this regard is particularly important.[16] From this type of approach we gain invaluable insight not only about the mission areas (or the European perception of them) but also about Europe itself.

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14 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 250.

15 See Peter Williams, »›Not Transplanting‹: Henry Venn's Strategic Vision«, in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999*, ed. Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000, 147–172; Andrew N. Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 167–169.

16 See in particular Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?*; Jeffrey Cox, *The British Protestant Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008); Brian Stanley,

The postcolonial approach also contributes to the question of how European culture and Christianity were linked. To be sure, this is not the main object of most postcolonial studies, but postcolonial concerns figure prominently in the majority of studies of Christianity and its (European) history by non-Europeans. Thus the Gambian, Lamin Sanneh, in his eminent study *Translating the message* demonstrates the long history of translation in Christianity, from its very beginnings in the apostolic age to its widespread reception in Africa and Asia.[17] While European historians of Christianity focus predominantly on European Christian history, non-European historiography tends to broaden the focus and to underline the non-European influences on Christianity as well as non-European Christian history, for Christianity has never been entirely and solely a European religion. While the impact of Europe on Christianity from the Middle Ages to the modern period is not denied, these studies expose the fault lines that weaken any simple identification of Europeanness and Christianity.

The volume explores the answers to such questions as: What was the contribution of the indigenous people? How much influence did they have, and how did they use it? How did indigenous Christians or non-Christians perceive the Europeans who visited or lived in their countries? Did the indigenous people use mimicry as a strategy for their own ends, and if so, how? Which side did indigenous Christians normally take in conflicts between Europeans and indigenous peoples?

One of the main fields in which European Christianity and colonialism intersected was Christian missionary activity. Therefore, mission history offers a unique field of analysis which can be tackled from the perspective of postcolonial studies and also European studies. Its examination can contribute to both fields of research. It is therefore no wonder that most of the chapters in this volume focus on mission or missionaries. From an outside perspective, this focus is the result of the obvious: Those Europeans who went abroad to live in close contact with non-Europeans and who explicitly went as Christians were mostly missionaries. On the European side, however, it demands a bit more reflection: What was the connection between European Christianity and mission? Mission is one of the fundamental manifestations of Christian belief and one of the tasks of Christian churches. It has always been present in the history of Christianity. Nevertheless, looking at the whole sweep of church history, the times when foreign mission was both highly visible and influential in the ›home‹ countries were rare. One of these periods

The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).

17 Lamin O. Sanneh, *Translating the Message. The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, ²2001).

was the second half of the nineteenth century when denominational missionary societies founded at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries attained their greatest popularity, attracting vast crowds to their anniversary meetings, publishing widely read periodicals and tracts, and sometimes even exercising significant political influence (in all its ambiguity).[18] The history of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) that bears the Church [of England] in its name shows the ambiguity of the relationship between missionary enthusiasm and the life of the church at home: the CMS had been founded in 1799 in order to provide a distinctively Anglican form of an evangelical missionary endeavour, but it took several decades before it gained recognition from most of the Anglican bishops.[19]

Nevertheless, even in its heyday in the late nineteenth century, the number of members and supporters of the CMS was small in comparison to the size of the Anglican church-going community. The same is true for all other mission societies. Even the Basel Mission with its strong support base in Württemberg could only interest the evangelical elite of Württemberg's Christians. However, the Basel missionaries were influential, both through the broad distribution of their publications and in the ways that they were recognised by many (although not by all!) as the avant-garde of pious European Christians. The lives of these missionaries represented how ›true‹, evangelical Christians were meant to live, and they acted in the ways that all Christians were meant to act. As such, they served as role models to at least part of European Christianity, and what was said about them applied as much to other European Christians. Furthermore, what non-Europeans learnt about the ideal form of Christianity they learnt from the missionaries, and this later became an ideal with which to contrast their experiences of European Christianity as it actually was. This becomes particularly obvious in the contributions of Azamede, Frederiks and Walls to this volume.

When this volume investigates what views non-Europeans held of ›European Christianity‹ it focuses on such topics as their non-European understandings of Christianity, the descriptive terminology they employed and the nature of the contact they had with European Christians. It asks if Europe and Christianity were identified or how distinctions were drawn, how non-Europeans or external observers spoke about Europe and Christianity. Which terms were employed, when and why? It also asks what forms the contact

18 The references to the involvement of leaders of the mission movement in the abolition movement is one of the positive examples, the struggle for German imperialism by Rhenish Missionary Society director Friedrich Fabri in the last decades of the 19th century a counter-example.

19 Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society. Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, vol. I (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 382–403.

between non-Europeans and Europeans took and if the external perspective differed, depending on the country or the social level the person or group came from.

The volume begins with Judith Becker's analysis of the European formation of nineteenth-century Christianity and the meaning that Europe as the communal home continent had for evangelical missionaries from societies that cooperated internationally. She demonstrates that by their mutual cooperation the missionaries and the societies formed a European consciousness. In their periodicals, Europe was more often referred to than the home countries, partly simply for practical reasons. However, this continuous citation of Europe brought about a consciousness of communal Europeanness. Furthermore, the confrontation with non-Europeans led to comparisons being drawn with Europeans. These were not always favourable for the Europeans, but again, they resulted in a consciousness of commonalities. European history, too, was prominent within the mission project. The missionaries used examples drawn from European history in support of their argumentation for the necessity of mission. Moreover, historically, the shape of the Christianity the missionaries wanted to convey was formed by European culture, experiences and even climate (think of clothing!) as well. Before they left, the missionaries had only been partly aware of this. In their encounter with people shaped by foreign cultures and religions, however, they began to realize that what they considered as a ›Christian culture‹ was often a ›European Christian culture‹. Thus, from the outside, a consciousness of the Europeanness of Christianity arose. At the same time, the first fault-lines became visible, indicating how Christianity and Europeanness could be distinguished.

Werner Ustorf strengthens the point that ›internal‹ and ›external‹ are not identical with ›European‹ and ›non-European‹ when analysing the criticisms of European Christianity in the early twentieth century by Europeans and non-Europeans alike and drawing conclusions as to their communalities and differences. ›Inside‹ and ›outside‹ in his case were not synonymous with ›European‹ and ›non-European‹ because Europeans could develop an ›external‹ view and non-Europeans had become so well acquainted with Europe and had adopted its perspective that their viewpoint became more or less ›internal‹. His examples range from Africa via Australia to European countries and from leading figures of a Christian mission and unity movement (J. H. Oldham) to those who wanted to substantially transform or even supplant Christianity (J. W. Hauer). The Ewe Christian, Hermann Yoyo, criticised European Christians – missionaries and those he had met during his three-year-stay in Germany – of non-Christian conduct; he claimed to be treated and listened to as a Christian with the same level of equality as Europeans, and he postulated a diversity of interpretations of Christianity, which for example allowed African polygamy. Simon Kimbangu from Congo was

the founder of a large African independent church. He criticised Western Christianity for its lack of spirituality. But he also saw himself as standing on solid biblical ground and constitutes an example of indigenous African Christianity criticising the West. Moses Tjalkabota from Australia linked aboriginal culture and Christian belief without criticising European Christianity but at the same time sought to inculturate Christianity. Hauer, a former Basel missionary, eventually questioned European Christianity and advocated neo-paganism as a means of making room for the raw primal religiosity which he believed to be natural in all human experience; he felt that Christianity had grown apart, not only from modern culture but also from natural religious experience. Oldham searched for a programme of renewal for Europe, and saw Europe as being as much in need of mission as non-European countries. As did several of the other protagonists, he discovered a lack of spirituality in Europe. Summing up, Ustorf finds three common critiques: the problem of a direct access to the sacred, the relation between Gospel and culture and the conflict between a multilateral and a unilateral understanding of Christianity (pp. 71 et seq.). It becomes evident that there were many ways of forming an ›external‹ view.

The Korean perspective on Catholic Christianity is discussed by Sebastian Kim. Kim relates the story of Catholicism in Korea from its beginnings when it was welcomed as a herald of new ideas in the sixteenth century to the persecutions of Catholics in the second half of the nineteenth century. During this period, the history of Catholicism was intermingled with the history of politics and of Korean dependence or independence. At the turn of the seventeenth century Korean envoys to China came into contact with Catholicism and ›Western learning‹ as transmitted by Matteo Ricci in Beijing. They did not differentiate between Catholic faith and Western science and philosophy. Both seemed to further Korea's modernisation. Shortly after the inauguration of the Catholic Church in Korea in 1784, however, disputes about the Catholic prohibition of ancestor veneration, which was seen as a fundamental part of Korean culture and identity, arose. First persecutions of Catholics ensued. The association of Catholicism and Western influence – mostly, Koreans did not distinguish between Europe and North America – became fatal in the nineteenth century when the Korean government, which was far from stable, tried to fend off Western imperialism. Korean Catholics sided with Western powers; a German adventurer, supported by Korean Catholics, defiled the tomb of the king's family. The Korean authorities came to perceive Catholicism as national treason because of its links with the West. For Korean Catholics, too, their faith remained seen as connected to Europe. Kim suggests that their main goal, however, was liberation and that European Catholicism was seen as a means to this end.

R. G. Tiedemann gives an overview of Chinese perceptions of European Christianity from the late sixteenth century.[20] Anti-Christian polemics began early in China, mostly launched by Buddhist monks, but also by the ruling class. Christianity seemed to threaten not only orthodox belief but also the Chinese moral and social order. Christian theology also remained alien to them. Nevertheless, Chinese people converted to Christianity and formed congregations which even survived persecution. However, these congregations did not always conform to European expectations. After 1860, anti-Christian propaganda was intensified and even became a kind of ›folklore‹ that had great success among the people. As opposed to other countries analysed in this volume, China was still convinced of its own superiority by the end of the nineteenth century – as were, as a matter of fact, the European missionaries. Tiedemann also recounts the struggles Chinese Christians had in finding their way between the New Culture Movement's reaction against traditional Confucianism and the anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement of 1919, which led them to develop a new form of inculturated Christianity. Any survey of the four centuries of modern Christian history in China shows the lingering fear and suspicion of Christianity as the ›Other‹.

Thoralf Klein approaches Chinese-Christian history from a different angle. He looks at anti-missionary propaganda. The Chinese did not distinguish between European and other Western missionaries. Therefore, the results of Klein's analysis pertain to all Western missionaries. Missionaries and all Western people were called ›foreign devils‹ or ›demons‹, a word that indicated danger (although not necessarily evil). However, the concept behind the term or rather the use of the term changed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A characteristic of Chinese propaganda was its representativeness. For instance, because the word ›foreign‹ and the word ›goat‹ were pronounced in the same way, foreigners were often represented as goats. God – the Lord of Heaven – thus became ›the heavenly pig‹ (p. 127). Thus there were ample opportunities for play on words. More seriously, Klein recounts common allegations against Christians which ranged from sexual libertinism to poisoning. With the dissemination of these accusations in pamphlets and depictions, the masses became afraid of Christianity. This was later re-used by the Boxers, turning not only on foreign missionaries but also on Chinese Christians. In anti-imperialist propaganda, Chinese Christians also were connected to imperialism and linked to foreign cultures and powers on a lin-

20 Europeans presented themselves to the Chinese only as people from the »Western Country/ies« or as coming from »Europe«, thus producing a knowledge of European identity rather than diversity. The Pomeranian missionary Karl Gützlaff in the 1830s and 1840s was one of the first to try to improve Chinese knowledge of Europe by publications, something which became important after China had to take the West into account. As to Christianity, the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism seemed to puzzle the Chinese.

guistic basis: being described as ›running dogs of the foreign imperialists‹ (p. 143). Klein demonstrates on a linguistic level what Tiedemann has shown in a cultural-political analysis: that China in the first decades of the twentieth century sought to illustrate its superiority. Anti-Christian Chinese propaganda was transformed into an anti-imperialist counter-discourse.

Jeffrey Cox takes a side approach to the topic, demonstrating how intermingled European and Indian Christianity were in Punjab. Starting from a survey of the main master narratives in mission history he tries to overcome the Western vs. indigenous divide by relating the history of the joint creation of a Punjabi Psalter. Cox calls the two main master narratives that have influenced the perception of mission the »Saidian master narrative« and the »Vennite point of view« (p. 151). The latter strengthens the agency of the missionised people and the indigenisation of Christianity. Both were anti-imperialist, Said from a secular, and Venn from a Christian point of view. Cox, however, found that European and indigenous influences and agencies could not be distinguished so easily. Sure enough, Psalm singing was introduced into Punjab by American Presbyterians who continued the tradition of Psalm singing from the Genevan Reformation. This seems to point to an indisputable European influence or even the imposition of an entirely European tradition. However, the Psalms were translated by a Punjabi pastor and poet, I. D. Shahbaz, and set to tunes by him and a group of missionaries and Punjabis alike. Furthermore, they seem to have been eagerly accepted by Punjabis of all kinds. Cox in his narrative intertwines the history of the creation and use of the Genevan Psalter and its use in nineteenth century America with that of the Punjabi Psalter, drawing parallels and pointing out differences and thus mirroring the inseparable history of European and Punjabi Christianity in his own historiography.

In a far-reaching survey, David Killingray recounts the history of Africans who were sent to Britain for training by missionary societies. The primary goal of the missionary societies was to train indigenous agents who could preach the Gospel for lower wages and with less risk to their health than Europeans and who could, as the missionaries thought, reach their compatriots better than Europeans. At the same time, these African agents were to become well acquainted with European Christianity from experience in Europe and imbibe some kind of European mind-set. Killingray delineates the history of the successes and failures of the different missionary societies in the nineteenth century one after the other. The reader thus gains an insight into the different approaches and their results. Depending on the missionary society, most or only few pupils returned to Africa and became ministers afterwards, one of the most famous being Samuel Crowther, later the Bishop of Niger, who was the first African student at the CMS Institution in Islington. Some of the students later worked in professions other than the church,

others died in Britain or entirely withdrew from the church. Thus, this training scheme was not a complete success although it was followed by most missionary societies at a certain point in time. What is remarkable is that not only male but also female African children were sent to Britain to study On the views of most of the Africans on Europe little is known. Particularly in the early decades most letters that survived contained comments about their school or the weather. However, it is notable – and contrasts with Azamede's findings – that the Africans complained relatively rarely about racial prejudices. Killingray found several examples of Africans who considered themselves as belonging to the British Empire and thus represented some kind of ›insiders‹.

Kokou Azamede focuses on young Ewe men who were brought to Germany for missionary education. He draws extensively on archival records and highlights the discrepancies between the official statements of these young Africans about European Christianity and their stay in Germany – mostly positive – and their personal letters in which they harshly criticised European Christianity. In this chapter, Hermann Yoyo again appears prominently. In their official reports, the Ewe Christians seemed to appreciate European Christianity and appeared willing to transfer it to Africa. They seemed pleased with what they learnt and who they learnt it from. Unofficially, they reported on severe racism and on double standards of mission and missionaries as well as other European Christians. Isaak Kwandzo wrote a long poem on the obstacles of the Mission that leaves no doubt about his criticisms: duplicity, lust for money, for flattery, etc. Hermann Yoyo's attempts to accommodate Christianity to African culture by allowing polygamy (for himself as for others) are described in detail. Another problem Ewe Christians had regarding the European approach to Christianity was Europeans' non-belief in ›spiritual power‹, as seen in miraculous healings. This chapter demonstrates (1) the great discrepancies between European and African attitudes towards Christianity, (2) the differences between official and unofficial statements of Africans about European Christianity and (3) Africans' general and strong criticism of European Christianity.

Ottobah Cugoano stands at the centre of Martha Th. Frederiks' contribution. Having been enslaved in his early youth, he worked as a slave for a time in the West Indies and then came to London where he became one of the most outspoken critics of the slave trade and slavery and of the involvement of Christianity in it. Being a Christian, Cugoano praised Christianity and saw physical and spiritual enslavement, and physical and spiritual liberation, as connected, as did many of the slave-narratives. In order to strengthen his point, he also constructed new biblical verses, sentences that sounded biblical but were either modifications of biblical verses or inventions of his

own in biblical style. He used a particular interpretation of Bible episodes, references to well-known Bible stories, and new and inverted interpretations of legends or wordplays to serve his end. The use of the term ›Europe‹ was often interchangeable with ›Great Britain‹ or ›England‹, terms which occupied a central place in the book, even though other European countries were mentioned as well. Europe was opposed to Africa and in this case was identified with Christianity and with advancement/civilisation and yet, at the same time, with barbarity and perfidy. Europeans could even be depicted as cannibals: here, slavery was put on a level with cannibalism. Cugoano's evaluation of European Christianity was based on the Methodist concept of holiness. He only knew of two holy Christians, and both were freed blacks. All others were criticised for different reasons, European Christians mostly for their involvement in slavery. His writings remind one of modern postcolonial approaches. Although, as Frederiks points out, it would be an absurd anachronism to call Cugoano a postcolonial author – and thus to impose on him yet another external label.

The volume is concluded by Andrew Walls' study of two leading figures, one from Asia and one from Africa, who crossed cultures. Both were well rooted in their original cultures but knew European Christianity from personal experience. Walls shows how they differentiated between those aspects of European Christianity that should be kept and those that should be rejected – and how they did the same with their original cultures. Rev Tiyo Soga had been educated partly in South Africa and partly in Scotland. He married a Scottish woman, became a preacher of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and was sent as a missionary to his own land of South Africa. He preached Christianity and education to the Africans but criticised Europeans for not behaving according to Christian doctrine. Soga appealed to his Xhosa compatriots to discriminate between things to be adapted from Europe and things to be rejected. The same should be done with their traditional culture. The basis of his evaluation was his experiences with Europeans and black and white Africans. Rev Behari Lal Singh from India was the only participant from a non-Western country at the 1860 Liverpool Conference on Missions. Being a missionary himself, Singh at the same time represented the countries that were objects of European missions. He voiced his opinion openly at the conference. Besides criticisms of mission strategies he also criticised the export of European denominationalism. Still, he supported British rule in India and Christian mission and hoped for modernization. Walls underlines that both actors were fully at home in the religious and social discussions of their time as well as in those on civilisation and appropriated whatever seemed good to them. They were, at the same time, both insiders and outsiders with regard to European Christianity.

This volume in itself could perhaps be regarded as evidence that Europeans are belatedly forcing themselves to ask questions about how those ›at the margins‹ have viewed those ›at the centre‹, rather than as evidence of the more fundamental mental revolution that may yet be required by the slowly increasing marginalisation of Europe in both religious geography and global affairs. One important aspect of the theme which is not covered in the essays which follow is the maps of the western world drawn by non-European people, notably Chinese and Islamic peoples, and what place, if any, the religion and holy cities of Europe occupy in such maps.

The nature of these representations from afar of Europe and its religion changed fundamentally once travel to Europe by Asians and Africans, and longer-term residence within Europe became more common. The number in the nineteenth century was larger than is often supposed, as David Killingray's essay emphasises. The steadily increasing number of those sent to Europe for education was of particular significance. After the Second World War the steady stream of Africans and Asians coming to Europe became a flood, first owing to the expansion of university education and government programmes for training colonial elites, and then from the 1960s as migration flows driven by the lure of economic opportunity or political freedom gathered in strength.

In religious terms such travel and residence in Europe afforded some greater opportunity than had been available in the homeland to espouse Christianity for themselves. In the nineteenth century those who converted to Christianity while in Europe tended to espouse European cultural identity as part of the conversion process. Others came to Europe, especially in the twentieth century, having already become Christians, or, at least, having received a mission education up to secondary level, and were then shocked or disillusioned by what they experienced of European spirituality or secularity. For some of these, residence in Europe marked a significant stage in their development away from mission Christianity. Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of independent Kenya, had been baptised and educated in the Church of Scotland Kikuyu mission, but spent the years from 1931 to 1946 studying and learning his political apprenticeship in Britain, and, more briefly, in the Soviet Union. By the time of his return to Kenya, Kenyatta had moved some distance from orthodox Christianity, though he never lost his fascination with the message and symbolism of the Bible.[21] Many more, especially in the cases of Indian or Chinese visitors to Europe, had little first-hand contact with Christianity when they arrived, and frequently returned still knowing or having experienced very little of Europe's historic faith. For a significant

21 See the article on Kenyatta by Bruce Berman in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31305?docPos=1. Access date: 14 September 2012.

minority of the educated elite, however, postgraduate study in Europe (or, perhaps more often, in the United States) did mark the beginning of Christian commitment, often made as a result of the hospitality and evangelistic zeal of Christian witness in the universities. For the leadership cadres of Communist China in the twenty-first century, the implications of such conversions are substantial, and are yet to be fully revealed. To that extent, the questions raised by this work of religious and cultural history remain of key significance for today.

Judith Becker

What was European about Christianity?

Early Nineteenth-Century Missionaries' Perceptions

> And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world,
> and preach the gospel to every creature.[1]

The Christian faith, as evangelical missionaries perceived it in the early nineteenth century and as most people will interpret it today, was not a strictly ›European‹ faith. Christianity was not in and of itself a ›European‹ religion, shaped by Europe, confined to Europe, to be adhered to only by Europeans. That is why missionaries in the nineteenth century felt compelled to go into the world and preach the gospel and evangelize. In their view, Christianity was meant to be a universal religion, a, *the*, religion for the entire world, and they thought it should in fact be so. However, at the time when the big and influential Protestant missionary societies went out to conquer the world for their religion, Christianity had a distinctly European face. It is this face, and the missionaries' perception of it, that I would like to investigate in this chapter.

I will first seek the answer to the questions: Why was it a European and not a British, or German, or Dutch face? What role did ›Europe‹ play for the missionaries? In some respects, ›Europe‹ became more important for them than their own nation. This was reflected in their writing about Europe and in their teaching of Christianity. A second major aspect in the Europeanness of Christianity is its European history. Its meaning for the missionary movement will be discussed in the second section of this chapter. Finally, the European contents of the missionaries' Christian teaching have to be determined. At which points were European conceptions and European values – consciously or unconsciously – transported along with Christian teaching? When did Christianity come in European clothing? Where did Christianity and ›Europe‹ coincide and how did they differ? (How) did the missionaries become aware of the difference?

1 Mark 16:15.

In contemporary literature, ›Europe‹ is often defined as a space within discourse. Most authors deny that there is an entity one could call ›Europe‹. And indeed, there is not an objective definition of ›Europe‹. It is often defined in contrast to the Other, by juxtaposing it with the non-European (which somehow seems easier to define). Scholars of the ›normative approach‹, on the other hand, find a European essence and use this as a starting point for their analysis. In the present analysis, the missionaries' use of the word ›Europe‹ and its implied meanings are examined, but implicit references to ›European values‹ must be included, too, since the missionaries did not always distinguish between ›European‹ and ›Christian‹. There was no real discourse about ›Europe‹ among the missionaries because it was not their intention to develop a concept or a definition of ›Europe‹, but they used the term nevertheless and added importance and meaning to it. It is this meaning that I want to elaborate in this analysis. ›Europe‹ is set in inverted commas when the (implicit) concept is in the focus, it is set without inverted commas, when used in a rather naive way.[2]

In this chapter, I will seek to shed light on one decade of missionary labour, the 1830s. I will focus on a German-speaking international missionary society, the Basel Mission, and on an English organisation, the Church Missionary Society. These are two societies that cooperated – in Europe more than on the mission field – but that had distinct British and Continental characteristics, respectively. At the same time, these were two of the biggest missionary societies of that time and they were both pretty influential, mostly in their countries of origin, but also beyond.[3] The Church Missionary Soci-

2 The literature on Europe is vast. On Europe and religion see e.g. Ulrike von Hirschhausen and Kiran Klaus Patel, »Europäisierung«, Version: 1.0, *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 29 November 2010, URL: http://docupedia.de/zg/Europäisierung. Access date: 8 May 2012; Lutz Niethammer, »A European Identity«, in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. Bo Stråth (Brüssel et al.: Peter Lang, 2000), 87–111; Hayden White, »The Discourse of Europe and the Search for a European Identity«, in *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, ed. Bo Stråth (Brüssel et al.: Peter Lang, 2000), 67–86; Mary Anne Perkins, *Christendom and European Identity: The Legacy of Grand Narrative since 1789* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2004); Ute Frevert, *Eurovisionen. Ansichten guter Europäer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003); Hartmut Kaelble, *Europäer über Europa. Die Entstehung des europäischen Selbstverständnisses im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Campus, 2001); Wolfgang Schmale, »Europa: kulturelle Referenz – Zitatensystem – Wertesystem«, *Europäische Geschichte Online* (EGO), 2010-12-03, URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010-de URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20100921657. Access date: 8 May 2012. Heinz Duchhardt, »Was heisst und zu welchem Ende betreibt man – Europäische Geschichte?«, in: *'Europäische Geschichte' als historiographisches Problem*, ed. id. and Andreas Kunz (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997), 191–202, finds eight points that constitute »Europe« as a coherent community of values and experiences and names the first point »Christianity and its norms« (195).

3 The history of the societies has been recorded on the occasion of their 100th anniversaries: Wilhelm Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815–1915. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ungedruckten Quellen*, 3 vols. (Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1916);

ety (CMS) was founded in 1799, the Basel Mission in 1815. As the CMS did not have enough candidates of their own, they sent out Germans over the first decades of their existence and even had a cooperation contract with Basel, by which they agreed to take over several Basel-trained missionaries each year (the numbers varied). Thus, there were Basel-trained – and that means Basel-socialised – missionaries sent out by the CMS. The first four (German) missionaries were sent by the CMS to West Africa in 1804; in 1809 the New Zealand mission began; in 1811 the mission in Malta; in 1813 one in India. CMS missions spread across Africa, Australia and New Zealand, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Mediterranean. North, Middle, and South America were less in focus. Basel initiated its first mission to West Africa in 1827 and to India in 1834. However, Basel Mission men had already been out via the CMS and other societies for much longer. By the 1830s, the mission programme was well on its way, but not yet conclusively established. It functioned, the procedures were clear, and the first mistakes had been made and amended. The mission had, however, not yet settled for one sole mode of procedure.

At that time, the missionary societies began to intensify their publication programmes in Europe. The Basel *Evangelischer Heidenbote*, a monthly journal for Basel supporters of all social levels, was founded in 1828. The CMS counterpart, the *Church Missionary Record*, was published from 1830 onwards. Both journals published edited and shortened reports from the missionaries as well as general comments and, particularly in the case of the *Heidenbote*, essays about the state of the world or about the state of mission. In some instances, reports by Basel Mission men sent out by the CMS were published in both journals.

These journals constitute the main source for this chapter. In them we find the missionaries' opinions as well as the attitudes of the missionary societies and of the journals' editors. To be sure, the missionaries' reports and diaries were subject to editing before they were published. In the case of Basel, it has been demonstrated that this editing work did sometimes alter the style, syntax, and grammar of what the missionary had originally written to a considerable extent. The editor even sometimes inserted important key words which had not been there in the original. However, he did not change the content of what the missionaries had written: The keywords could usually be found in the missionary's letter, just not in this particular sentence or paragraph.[4] We

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Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society. Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, 4 vols. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899–1916). The history of the cooperation – and also of its problems – is related in detail by Schlatter; Stock is much more reticent on this subject.

4 See e.g. Christian Leonhard Greiner, letter from 31/3/1835, C – 1.2 Gebietsakten Indien. Canara. 1834–1841, Archives, m21/BM, Basel, compared with *Evangelischer Heidenbote* 1835,

can therefore rely on the publication, if not for a verbatim reproduction of the missionaries' words, at least with regard to the content of what they said and the concepts that they relayed. The original manuscript sources have been consulted when a particular formulation is important for the evaluation of a missionary's statement. The journals are complemented by other mission publications and archival material.

Although the Basel Mission and the CMS cannot, of course, represent all missionary societies of the early nineteenth century, my research corroborates what I read in the sources of other societies of the same group: evangelical mission societies which were linked with or maintained cordial relations with societies from other countries with a similar perception of Christianity.[5]

The goal of these societies was to evangelise, not to develop and spread theories, particularly with regard to their European supporters, for whom *Heidenbote* and *Church Missionary Record* were published. Their perceptions of ›Europe‹ and of Christianity must, therefore, be inferred from individual remarks and references. The number of these was, however, high. In both journals of the 1830s, there are hardly ever ten pages without a reference to Europe; more often there are ten pages in which the term ›Europe‹ can be found on nearly every page. ›Europe‹ was, therefore, an important concept for the mission. It became even more important when the missionaries were confronted with the Other, when they got to know non-European peoples and cultures through personal contact.

90–94. The text has been edited but the main subjects and keywords are found, if not in the original of the published parts at least in the omitted sections of the letter. In general, we can summarize that the main editing modifications (apart from omissions of difficult subjects) were related to lack of hope and trust on the part of the missionaries. The relationship with the indigenous people could be depicted, as both better and worse than the missionaries had described it, in different ways. A thorough research on the publication strategy of the Basel Mission has not yet been undertaken. The case of the China Mission in the beginning of the 20th century was analysed by Willy Rüegg, *Die Chinesische Revolution in der Berichterstattung der Basler Mission* (Zürich: ADAG, 1988). Jon Miller, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control. Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828–1917* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), describes the institutional structure of the Basel Mission and, therewith, the organisation of its publications.

5 My main sources for this comparison have been the London Missionary Society in England and the Rhenisch Missionary Society in Germany. The Rhenisch Missionary Society published the Journal *Das Missionsblatt* (Barmer Missionsblatt) from 1826. For the historiography of the societies see Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895*, 2 vols. (London: Frowde, 1899); Gustav Menzel, *Die Rheinische Mission: Aus 150 Jahren Missionsgeschichte* (Wuppertal: Verlag der Vereinigten Evangelische Mission, 1978).

Christian mission and the emergence of European consciousness

Why was Europe so important for the missionaries and their societies? The first answer to this question is quite simple: Because it was the region from which the missionaries came. This answer is not as trivial as it might seem: Many scholarly publications underline the impact of the concept and politics of the nation on the missionaries – and the meaning of the missionaries for the nation's politics and nationalism in general.[6] The importance of Europe is less well researched and has been noted only lately. Yet, in the sources and during the period I have examined, Europe was as significant to the missionaries studied as Britain to the British and even more significant than Germany or Switzerland to the German/Swiss.[7]

Indeed, the missionaries usually did not explicitly differentiate between Europe and their home country and they did not problematize the difference, but all of them used the term ›Europe‹ even more often than referring to their countries of origin – often employing the term and the names of their countries of origin as if they were synonymous – and thus made the importance of Europe clear. That this importance was not only formal, but that it also alluded to perceived substantive aspects of European culture and worldview, shall be shown in this chapter.

The publications referred to Europe in very different contexts. One context was simply geographical: When missionaries came home to recover their health or for a once-in-a-decade furlough they often referred to their home as ›Europe‹, not as England or Germany/Switzerland. When they wrote home, they wrote to ›Europe‹, they left ›Europe‹ and looked back at ›Europe‹ from abroad.[8] This is particularly true for those Basel men who had been sent out

6 See with an emphasis on the English case Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag. Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990); Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester et al.: Manchester Univ. Press, 2004). See for a description of German mission and nationalism: Thorsten Altena, *»Ein Häuflein Christen mitten in der Heidenwelt des dunklen Erdteils«. Zum Selbst- und Fremdverständnis protestantischer Missionare im kolonialen Afrika 1884–1918* (Münster: Waxmann, 2003).

7 For instance, in 1830, the *Heidenbote* mentioned Europe 30 times and Germany/Switzerland 13 times; the *Church Missionary Record* mentioned Europe 36 times and England or English 25 times – and some of these references only referred to English services or to teaching English. The meaning of Europe to missions changed over the course of the nineteenth century as ideas of the nation and nationalism became more and more important, but in the early decades of the century the missionary societies that are examined here referred to Europe more often than to their home countries.

8 See *Evangelischer Heidenbote* (1828): 8: »Erholungsreise nach Europa«; ibid.: 32: »Briefe nach Europa«; ibid. (1829): 55: »das später seine Rückkehr nach Europa nöthig machte«, *Church Missionary Record* (1833): 83: »on his way to Europe«. Innumerable further quotations could be given.

by the CMS, but it can also be found in the writings of other missionaries. ›Europe‹ here is simply an abbreviation of ›England and Switzerland and Germany‹.[9] It is easier to refer to Europe than to enumerate the different countries.

In addition, from the distance of Africa or Asia and in the face of the Other, the different European countries looked very much alike. Their similarities became more important than their differences. From the perspective of a European living among people who were entirely different from Europeans, English and Germans and Swiss all seemed similar.

This is true not only with reference to looking back to Europe, but also with reference to life in the foreign country. When the missionaries described the foreign, white population in India (or wherever else) they often subsumed them as ›Europeans‹.[10] Only when differences between the Europeans were important for their reports or when none but, e.g., English lived in that town, were distinctions made.[11] But even in the latter case missionaries often used the term ›Europeans‹.[12] In this way, a consciousness of European homogeneity developed among the missionaries.[13] In the mission areas, there were two kinds of people: Europeans and indigenous people, and it did not matter which country the Europeans came from – as long as they were Protestants. The European similarities were more important than the differences. This led to the first beginnings of a consciousness of Europeanness.

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9 See e.g. ibid. (1831): 234 seq.: »for the benefit of his health; [...] a voyage to Europe became absolutely necessary [...] it was deemed advisable [...] that he should spend the winter in a more genial climate than that of England. He has therefore proceeded to the Continent, with the view of taking up his residence, for the present, at Bâsle«. Heidenbote (1830): 51: »auf seinem Rückwege von London nach Malta uns einen Besuch zu machen«. All translations in this article are Judith Becker's.

10 See e.g. *Church Missionary Record* (1830): 42: »the European Congregation bore witness to it«; ibid.: 217: »The European Christians residing here amount at present to 31«; *Heidenbote* (1832): 62: »Ihr Tauschhandel mit Europäern und Amerikanern besteht größtentheils in Gold, Elfenbein, Farbenholz, Gummi und besonders Sklaven; wofür sie hauptsächlich Schießpulver, Schießgewehre, Tabak und geistige Getränke erhalten«.

11 See e.g. *Church Missionary Record* (1833): 52: »he preached farewell Sermons to the English, Portuguese, and Tamul Congregations, and administered the Lord's Supper to about 36 of the English and Portuguese, and 25 Tamulians«. *Heidenbote* (1830): 9: »Neben den Russen, Armeniern, Georgiern, Persern, Griechen, Tartaren, Kalmucken und Indiern wandeln auch Engländer, Franzosen, Italiener, Schweden und Hunderte von Deutschen, meist des Handels halben, auf ihren Straßen umher«.

12 See e.g. *Church Missionary Record* (1833): 26: »My European Congregation shows an increasing interest for our course; and wherever it is required, we receive their liberal support and assistance. It is on that account that I like to carry on my English Ministry, as it has a tendency to unite our English community in the bond of the love of Christ, and, by their countenance and support, to put additional strength and energy into our proceedings among the Heathen«.

13 See e.g. *Heidenbote* (1828): 9: »Etwas Aehnliches glaubt im Grunde jedes Volk von sich, nur sagen wir Europäer es nicht so plump heraus«.

Another factor in the emergence of a European consciousness was cooperation. This was true for the mission field, where missionaries from different nations worked closely with one another, sometimes (seldom) in one station, but often in immediate proximity. Missionaries from different European countries and different mission societies assisted and encouraged one another:

> in order not to follow my own ideas I wrote to the two experienced mission brothers Rhenius [a German, but not from Basel, working for CMS, J.B.] & Campbell in Bangalore. Just at this time the sad things about which I will write later happened to brother Rhenius and he did not answer. In lieu of brother Campbell, who works for the LMS in Mysore the even older dear brother John Hands answered who has his station in Bellary in Mysore district, too, and in the same society.[14]

Rivalry appeared more often between missionaries of different religious convictions than between missionaries of different nations – although that happened, too, of course. Such national rivalries grew during the course of the nineteenth century – in Europe as abroad – as political concepts changed and the nation became more important at all levels of society. Nevertheless, the main goal of the missionaries remained the (Pietist) evangelisation of the indigenous population. National differences took a back seat. The missionary societies, too, when cooperating, had to and did overcome nationalist attitudes.[15] Cooperation was thus one of the reasons for developing a European consciousness in Europe as well.

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14 Samuel Hebich, letter from 24 July 1835, C – 1,2 Gebietsakten Indien. Mangalur 1835, Archives, m21/Basel Mission, Basel no. 3, 2v: »um in dieser Sache nicht in meinen [eig-]nen Gedanken zu laufen, schrieb ich dieserhalb an die erfahrnen 2. Mission[s Brü-]der Rhenius, & Campbell in Bangalore. Bruder Rhenius kam in der Zeit ge[rad] in seine Betrübniß, wie ich Ihnen unten schreiben werde, und antwortete nicht darauf. Anstatt aber Bruder Campbell, der in der London M[issionary] S[ociety] im Mysore-[lande] arbeitet, antwortete mir der noch ältere theure Bruder John Hands, der seine Station in Bellary auch im Mysore-lande hat u[nd] in derselben Gesellschaft« (emphasis in original). Rhenius had to leave the CMS at that time because of disputes about the establishment of Anglican structures in India. See Carl Theophil Ewald Rhenius, *A Review of a work entitled The Church; her daughters and handmaidens,* etc. (London, 1835); id., *Reply to the statement of the Madras Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society respecting the Tinnevelly Mission ... To which is appended a narrative of occurrences which led to his return and renewed settlement in Tinnevelly, 1835* (Madras: Athenæum Press, 1836); George Pettitt and Carl Theophil Ewald Rhenius, *Narrative of affairs in the Tinnevelly Mission, connected with the return of the Rev. C. Rhenius* (Madras: Church Mission Press, s.l.? 1836); Anon., *Memoirs of the Right Rev. Daniel Corrie, LL.D. First Bishop of Madras, compiled chiefly from his own letters and journals by his brothers* (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1847), esp. 581–595. On Rhenius see Werner Raupp, »Rhenius, Carl Gottlieb (Theophil) Ewald«, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. Friedrich-Wilhelm Bautz, vol. 8 (Herzberg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1994), 142–145. There are more details about collaboration in this report by Hebich.

15 See the relation between the CMS and Basel and the problems they had due to misunderstand-

›Europe‹, then, was used when the missionaries described a foreign landscape. It served as an object of comparison, to enable the readers to imagine Asian or African countryside.[16] When describing the culture, behaviour,

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ings which were often based on nationalist imputations. For instance, in 1827, the CMS mistrusted the Basel mission on account of their teaching. Missionaries who were educated in Basel seemed to teach an apocatastasis pantoon, and the CMS wanted Basel to apologise in a written statement and further on to examine all Basel candidates who came to England. Basel refused but offered to draft a confession of faith. The differences proved reconcilable when two delegates from London travelled to Basel. It seems that part of the problem was the German candidates not being able to discuss difficult theological problems in English. The more important matter, however, lurked in the background: a general mistrust of the English church with regard to German theology of the time: The delegates admitted that they had been distrustful »because of the general apostasy of the German Protestant Church which was well known in England«, Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, 77. This distrust swung the other way about ten years later when the Basel Mission suspected the CMS of Catholic tendencies due to the power of the Oxford Movement in England. Karl Ostertag, teacher at the Basel Mission Seminary, visited England for several weeks and reported home that the leaders of the CMS were still undoubtedly evangelical, see ibid., 81.
The *Evangelischer Heidenbote* in particular reported many times on official and unofficial cooperations, see e.g. (1838): 58: »[...] verließen bald nach unserm letzten Jahresfeste unsere Missionsschule, um in London ihre Vorbereitungsstudien weiter fortzusetzen, und unter der Leitung der verehrten englisch-bischöflichen Missionsgesellschaft ihr Tagewerk in der Heidenwelt zu treiben. Ihnen folgten am 5. April d. J. *fünf* andere unserer geliebten Zöglinge dorthin nach, welche von unserer Missionskommittee die Weisung erhalten haben, ein paar Monate lang sich im fertigen Gebrauch der englischen Sprache in London zu üben, und sodann nach Gottes Wohlgefallen, im Sommer dieses Jahres die nächste Schiffsgelegenheit zu benützen, um im Dienste unserer Missionsgesellschaft ihren Brüdern auf der canaresischen Küste des westlichen Indiens als Gehülfen zuzueilen«. *Heidenbote* (1835): 56 reported on the arrival of the first Basel missionaries in India, »wo sie von dem dortigen englischen Beamten, Herrn Nelson, mit wahrhaft christlicher Bruderliebe aufgenommen wurden. Mit seinen Empfehlungen zogen sie bald darauf die Küste hinauf bis nach *Mangalore*, um sich dort in der Nähe des brittischen Collectors, Herrn Anderson, auf einige Zeit niederzulassen«. There had been a meeting with a CMS delegation in Paris: »bewog unsere Committee, eine brüderliche Conferenz mit einigen geschäftsführenden Mitgliedern der verehrten englisch-bischöflichen Gesellschaft zu veranlassen, welche auch im Laufe des verflossenen Aprilmonates zu Paris statt fand. Die Hauptgegenstände wechselseitiger Berathung betrafen die Feststellung der innern und äußern Verhältnisse unserer deutschen Mission in Indien, und die sichersten Erleuchtungs- und Förderungsmittel derselben; die spezielle Berathung unserer im Dienste dieser verehrten Gesellschaft arbeitenden Brüder, deren Zahl sich bereits auf fünf und dreißig beläuft; die möglichste Vereinfachung des gesammten Missionswesens beider Gesellschaften; die wechselseitige Mittheilung ihrer probehaltigen Erfahrungen im Missionsgeschäfte [...]. Ein reicher Segen Gottes ruhte auf diesen wechselseitigen, offenen christlich-brüderlichen Mittheilungen«. Another point was the support of German missionaries by English residents in foreign countries, see e.g. *Heidenbote* (1839): 64: »Einladung englischer Missionsfreunde, die sich zur Unterhaltung einiger deutscher Missionarien in Bengalen erboten«.

16 See e.g. ibid. (1828): 63: »Wenn Sie im Geist auf diese Gefilde blicken, so denken Sie sich keine Schweiz mit Bergen und Thälern, mit angebauten Aeckern, Gärten und Wiesen, sondern eine, nach und nach ins Innre sich erhebende, unübersehbare Fläche, die mit ungeheuern Bäumen und undurchdringlichem Gebüsch verwachsen ist«. The comparison of nature could also be used to explain biblical texts to European readers, see *Church Missionary Record* (1832): 78 about Isaiah 40,6.7: »The very affecting images of Scripture, which compare the short-lived existence of man to the decay of the vegetable creation, are scarcely understood in this country.

morality or intelligence of African or Asian people the missionaries could also refer to Europe and Europeans – in a positive and in a negative way. Sometimes the foreign people were described as inferior to Europeans, but sometimes they were characterised as superior in all respects. Europe could be the entity from which Africans and Asians should learn, but Europeans could also be the ones who needed to imitate non-Europeans in behaviour, Christian conviction or morality. Europeans could even be surpassed by non-Europeans in intelligence:

> Formerly there had been much dispute as to whether or not the negro had the same faculties as white people. However, following the abolition of slavery, since so many praiseworthy efforts have been undertaken among the negroes, it has been shown sufficiently that the negro has the same faculties as the European. I have even experienced many children in my schools to be equal to the Europeans in all respects. Their intellectual ability is in some respects even quicker and superior than that of the others.[17]

All kinds of relations between Europeans and non-Europeans or between Europe and non-European countries were possible and were indeed engaged in by the missionaries and the societies that published their reports. The comparisons served different purposes: They were either meant to liken Europe with non-European peoples, countries, and cultures or they served the opposite goal: to highlight differences, either in order to urge Europeans to support missions or to motivate them to become even better and more zealous Christians – and not be surpassed by non-Europeans.[18]

The verdure is perpetual in England. It is difficult to discover a time when it can be said, *The grass withereth*. But let the traveller visit the beautiful Plain of Smyrna, or any other part of the East, in the month of May, and revisit it toward the end of June, and he will perceive the force and beauty of these allusions«.

17 See e.g. *Heidenbote* (1840): 89: »Es wurde früher viel gestritten, ob der Neger dieselbe Fähigkeit besitze, wie der Weiße. Allein seit der Abschaffung der Sclaverey, seitdem so viele lobenswürdige Versuche gemacht wurden unter den Negern, seitdem hat es sich auch hinlänglich bewiesen, daß der Neger dieselbe Fähigkeit besitze, wie der Europäer. Ja ich selber hatte die Erfahrung gemacht mit den vielen Kindern in meinen Schulen, daß sie in allen Dingen den Europäern gleich sind; ihr Fassungsvermögen ist in manchen Sachen schneller und größer, als das der Andern«. *Church Missionary Record* (1831): 264: »the Yatra, which is precisely the same as a Fair in England [...]. To the shame of those who call themselves Christians, this Fair far excelled any English Fair in good order and sobriety«; ibid. (1832): 236: »their speeches would do credit to Europeans«.

18 The context of the above quotation is a description of Africans which is not in reality trying to tell the European readers something about themselves – except that slavery was an abominable institution and that Europe had done the Africans much wrong. That they prove to be very intelligent increases the wrong. There are other examples, however, when the missionaries told a story about an indigenous person but, openly or covertly, actually told Europeans a story about themselves. Indigenous people could be used as an example of generosity to encourage the readers to higher donations. For example, this was the case with a widow who gave all her money to the mission, see *Barmer Missionsblatt* (1826): 84 where the reader is strongly remind-

I have only enumerated a few of the reference frames in which the term ›Europe‹ was most often used. They demonstrate why Europe was fundamental to the missionaries' publications and why Europe rather than their own nations became a point of reference to them. This had consequences for their perception of Christianity, too. They regarded Christianity as something European. And, therefore, it was not so much German-style Christianity that Basel missionaries from Württemberg wanted to convey, but European-style Christianity.

European history and Christianity

Still, Europe was not only important because of the cooperation taking place between missionaries and because of its use as a point of reference for comparisons. It was also important because the European missionaries shared a common history with regard to the peoples to whom they went . Indeed, Britain had much more of a colonial history than either Germany or Switzerland and the British missionaries felt this more strongly than their Basel colleagues. However, to all of them, European colonial history gave rise to a moral obligation. They all argued on the basis of this colonial history when they had to explain why and how they wanted to bring Christianity to Africans and Asians. They had a common European historical consciousness.

In Africa, it was the iniquities of slavery that had to be righted, outwardly by abolition, and inwardly by preaching the liberating message of the gospel – and culturally by educating the people. On the first page of its first volume, the *Church Missionary Record* said of its mission to West Africa:

> This Mission was commenced in 1804. The spiritual darkness of the inhabitants of Africa, the wrongs which this country had inflicted on them by its participation in the inhuman Slave-Trade, the guilt contracted by that nefarious traffic, and the duty of attempting something towards a reparation of the injuries which we had heaped on them, were powerful and constraining reasons why the Society should direct its first efforts to this part of the world.[19]

ed of Matth. 12, 41–44. They could also be used as an example of really Christian behaviour. The *Barmer Missionsblatt* began its first volume in 1829 with a description of Christianity in Berbice (Guyana) and the hope: »Ich hoffe das, was wir da [...] sehen und hören, wird uns zur beschämenden und erweckenden Erbauung gereichen«, *Barmer Missionsblatt* (1829): 1.

19 *Church Missionary Record* (1830): 1. The *Heidenbote* brought this argument on page 2 of its first volume: »West-Afrika. Dort wohnen die schwarzen Neger, welche als Sklaven verkauft und in Schiffen fortgeführt werden. Wenn wir Christen diesen armen Heiden zu Hülfe kommen, so zahlen wir nur eine alte Schuld ab. Denn durch sogenannte Christen ist unter jene Völker das unbeschreibliche Elend gekommen, daß sie nicht nur ohne Gott, und in großer Furcht vor allerlei bösen Geistern ihr Leben verbringen, sondern daß sie auch nie sicher sind, und

Regardless of whether or not they came from a country where slaves were being or had been held on a large scale, and which had a powerful trading company, the missionaries referred to this deplorable history as a reason for their duty to evangelise.

In Asia, it was the wrongs of the trading companies that, while bringing trade and European customs, sometimes even European science, nevertheless had, as the missionaries saw it, neglected the souls, because they had not brought the most important part of what Europe had to share: Christianity.[20] Here, too, the saving message of the gospel had to be taught in order to let the people partake of Europe's most vital – because pertaining to life and death – advantage. Christianity was seen as the most important idea Europa had to convey because only true Christians would go to heaven and therefore live in eternal life and joy.

However, an even more important aspect of European history, as a motivating factor for the missionaries, was European religious history. Here, too, in spite of all national differences and accentuations, when facing the Other, the missionaries partook of a common European historical consciousness.[21] From time to time, the missionary societies published short overviews of the history of Christianity, the history of mission, or European church history in their journals.[22] European religious history from the first Christian missions to Europe up to the present was often quoted in order to underline the necessity of present missions. The missionary societies collected their arguments from the earliest time on.[23] What would have become of Europe had it not been evangelised? This evangelisation, which took place centuries ago, placed an obligation upon the missionaries in the nineteenth century. Europe should have begun the evangelisation of the world, it should have shared the gospel long ago. Now there were no more excuses. Europe had to evangelise the world.

The other proof derived from history was that the history of Christianity's victories had also always been a history of external crises.[24] The *Heidenbote* underlined that Western Europe and Northern Europe had been evangelised

immer fürchten müssen in Ketten fortgeschleppt, und mit einer Grausamkeit behandelt zu werden, welche zu groß wäre auch nur gegen Thiere«. *Heidenbote* (1828): 2.

20 The missionary societies strongly criticized the trade company's policy of not interfering with religion, a policy which factually led them to support indigenous religions and prohibit or at least disfavour Christian mission, see e.g. *Church Missionary Record* (1830): 34 et seq.; ibid. (1831): 93. On religious conversion policies in India see Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold. Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).

21 An overview can be found in *Heidenbote* (1836): 1–4. The accentuation of the course of history and the interpretation of certain events could differ.

22 See e.g. ibid. (1829): 35 et seq.

23 See e.g. ibid. (1830): 40.

24 See ibid. (1833): 4 et seq.

in the fifth and tenth centuries, respectively, at a time of great wars and destruction in Europe. As the present was a time of turmoil again, this was interpreted as a proof that it was also a time for mission and evangelisation.

When looking at the whole of European church history, the missionary societies found that true Christianity won through in Europe in waves.[25] The Reformation, for instance, was one of the high points at which the Christian truth became manifest in Europe. With Protestant Orthodoxy and the rigid systematisation of theological concepts and, even more, with the lack of interest many Europeans showed for Christianity in the last decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, truth once again became blurred. However, the awakening movements in countries all over Europe and in North America brought truth to light again. Christians at present understood the Great Commission and had to obey it. The time for mission had come, argued the mission publications.

The historical argumentation for mission by the missionary societies was nearly always European. Arguments pertaining to only one country were rare. This applies to secular historical arguments as well as religious historical argumentations. Both based the motivation for mission on European history. In this respect, the meaning of Europe for Christianity was made explicit and conscious.

In addition, there was an implicit meaning, one of which even many missionaries were probably unconscious: The variant of Christianity that the missionaries conveyed in the nineteenth century was shaped by the history of Christianity in Europe. The missionaries saw and acknowledged the origins of Christianity in Africa and Asia and again and again emphasised that they hoped that those countries where Christianity's origins lay would become ›truly Christian‹ again.[26]

They also were aware that Christianity for many centuries had mostly been a European religion. What they did not realise was that many European conceptions, even pre-Christian European conceptions, had shaped Christianity over the centuries. This is not only true for the outward face of Christ-

25 See the description of the history of Christianity in the first volume of the Basel *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der protestantischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* (1816). After a short introduction there follows a copy of: Hugh Pearson, *Kurzer historischer Umriß der Fortschritte des Evangeliums unter den verschiedenen Völkern sei der ersten Bekanntmachung desselben, bis zur Stiftung der neuesten protestantischen Missionen*, 1–152. Here, the connection between Christianity and civilisation is emphasised by means of the evangelisation of Europe: »Jedoch wurden nach und nach diese wilden Eroberer durch ihren Verkehr mit christlichen Völkern zivilisirt, und allmählig dahin gebracht, die Religion des Evangeliums anzunehmen«. (ibid., 40).

26 See e.g. *Heidenbote* (1840): 55: »Wenn Gott fortfährt mit Seinem Segen die Arbeiten der Missionarien zu begleiten, so wird bald Afrika wieder werden, was es in den Tagen der Vorzeit war, da es die Kirche Europa's mit Lehrern und Bischöfen versah, und Tausende seiner Märtyrer in den Flammen starben, um mit ihrem Tode den Namen Jesu zu preisen«.

ianity, but also for its doctrine. But most of the missionaries were oblivious to the fact that Christianity had thus been shaped by its European context. To take only one example: the impact of Germanic notions of justice on the evolution of the Christian understanding of God's justice and Jesus' expiatory death has only been understood in the late twentieth century.[27] Many European influences on theological concepts could not be known to the missionaries because they had not yet been analysed. Furthermore, the missionaries were convinced that they taught the real truth and not a culturally shaped truth. They rejected most scientific efforts in the historical-critical scrutiny of the Christian religion.[28] They were obviously unaware of the specifically European shape of their brand of Christianity. Still, it is not only in spite of this, but even because of this, that their Christian teaching was intrinsically European. It is precisely because the missionaries did not acknowledge the specifically European shape of their particular brand of Christianity that they could not differentiate between European religious perceptions and Christianity as such, and conveyed both together. Only the contact with foreign cultures made them see the differences, but that was a slow process which would take several decades.

European piety and culture and the missionaries' perceptions of Christianity

Many of the ideas and concepts that the missionaries conveyed were European, albeit mostly implicitly and unconsciously. This pertained to the whole understanding of Christianity as mentioned above. It also pertained to the missionaries' piety and to the Christian culture that they taught. These are the focus of this section.

What the missionaries mostly wanted to convey (at least in the first decades of the nineteenth century) was not so much European culture as Christian values.[29] The missionaries usually did not explicitly differentiate

27 See *Anselm von Canterbury, Cur Deus homo? – Warum Gott Mensch geworden. Lateinisch und deutsch*, ed. Franc Salesius Schmitt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960); Gisbert Greshake, »Erlösung und Freiheit. Zur Neuinterpretation der Erlösungslehre Anselms von Canterbury«, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 153 (1973): 323–345.

28 See as an example of a moderate adaptation of historical-critical exegesis Hermann Gundert, *Aus Dr. Hermann Gundert's Briefnachlaß. Als Manuskript gedruckt* (Stuttgart: Vereins-Druckerei, 1900), 295–306.

29 For a definition of values see Hans Joas, *Die Entstehung der Werte* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999); id., *Braucht der Mensch Religion? Über Erfahrungen der Selbsttranszendenz* (Freiburg et al.: Herder, ²2004), 44; Clyde Kluckhohn, »Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action. An Exploration in Definition and Classification«, in *Toward a General Theory of Action*, ed. Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 388–433; Karl-Heinz Hillmann, *Wertwandel. Ursachen, Tendenzen, Folgen*

between Christian and European values – or even Christian and European culture. This is one of the reasons why the terms ›Christian‹ and ›European‹ were extremely rarely used together in the missionaries' writings. Christian values appeared in the guise of European culture.

The fact that missionaries linked specific values and a particular behaviour to Christianity becomes evident if we analyse the conversion reports that they sent home. An inward conversion to Christianity had to be accompanied by a particular form of behaviour and usually by good knowledge about Christianity as well. Only when knowledge, persuasion and behaviour corroborated were the missionaries convinced and were they able to convince their readership that the person was really converted.[30] Only then could a person be baptised and received as a member in the Christian communion. Conversion always had to be spiritual as well as moral.[31]

Whoever wanted to become a Christian had to »walk consistently« or show a »consistent conduct«. Christians were meant to »adorn the doctrine of the Gospel by a consistent Christian conduct«.[32] The missionaries usually did not explain this further. They assumed that their readers knew what they meant. And indeed, »consistent walk« was a very popular evangelical expression in the nineteenth century. These expressions could be linked to the letter to Ephesians with its catalogues of vices and virtues, or to similar biblical references, as an explanation of what »consistent walk« and »Christian conduct«[33] meant.[34] Evangelicals, themselves familiar with the reference to »consistent walk« and »Christian conduct« in non-missionary contexts, were, therefore, aware of what the missionaries had in mind.

(Würzburg: Carolus Verlag, 2003). For values and Europe see Hans Joas and Klaus Wiegand, ed., *Die kulturellen Werte Europas* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, [5]2010), Moritz Csáky and Johannes Feichtinger, ed., *Europa – geeint durch Werte? Die europäische Wertedebatte auf dem Prüfstand der Geschichte* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007).

30 See e.g. *Church Missionary Record* (1831): 159: »[...] individuals have given proof, by holy and consistent conduct, that they have embraced the Truth of the Gospel, not in profession merely, but in heartfelt sincerity«. Ibid.: 229: »[...] they had improved in knowledge of the Gospel; and I trust that their conduct is at least outwardly regular«. Some missionaries considered knowledge indispensable, c.f. Issak Theoph. Schaffter: »Let us not, therefore, slacken our efforts to instruct the rising generation. Christian Knowledge is always the foundation of Christian Conversion«. (ibid.: 226).

31 This was underlined many times. In this way, the missions also defended themselves against accusations, see e.g. *Church Missionary Record* (1831): 252: »This must [...] be a convincing proof of their moral improvement. It also exhibits the egregious mistake of those who have often affirmed that the doctrines which we preach are not calculated to reform the inhabitants, and to inculcate principles of sound Morality and Religion: this change for the better has certainly been brought about by the doctrines we preach«.

32 Ibid.: 224.

33 Ibid. (1832): 49, 62.

34 See Charles Simeon, *Horae homileticae: Or Discourses (Principally in the Form of Skeletons) Now First Digested into One Continued Series and Forming a Commentary upon Every Book of the Old and New Testament*, vol. 17 (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1833), 378.

Still, one could object that these values were not European, but – as the missionaries saw them – really and purely Christian values because they were derived from the Bible. Yet, two arguments speak against this assumption. Firstly, these values had become European values through the European Christian interpretation of them. They had even become independent of Christianity. Fornication or filthiness or insubordination, all mentioned in Ephesians 5, had become vices even to those who did not consider themselves devoted Christians. Their opposite, chastity, cleanliness, subordination were the derived virtues, recognised by Europeans of all persuasions. Uncleanliness, for instance, was a common accusation against all non-Europeans. The Europeans considered themselves leading a clean life, as opposed to most non-Europeans.[35] Cleanliness had become a European value. At the same time, it was considered a Christian value, too, on the one hand because it could be found in the Bible, on the other hand because it was considered part of a decent Christian way of life.

Secondly, there are so many values, so many different attitudes towards life and towards morals in the Bible, that there was no need to choose this particular pseudo-Pauline letter (and others) as a model. The missionaries could also have referred to other biblical books, had they wanted to convey different values. Ephesians and similar scriptures were chosen because they fitted in well with the missionaries' attitudes – indeed, with the attitudes of evangelicals in general. Of course, the use of domestic codes or ›Haustafeln‹ was nothing new in the tradition of Christian ethics and the emphases on these values were not unique to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, the ranking within the group of values could and did differ between different periods in the history of European Christianity, as did the particular definition of the values.[36]

General references to the Christian way of life of newly converted indigenous people other than to »consistent« or »Christian« conduct were much rarer. Sometimes, the missionaries only stated that someone behaved »with great propriety«.[37] »Good« or »proper« conduct, too, were possible expressions.[38] In by far most of the cases, however, »consistent« or »Christian« formed part of the expression when a general evaluation was given. In every case conversion to Christianity changed people's behaviour: »Their Scrip-

35 See e.g. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 175.

36 In matters of the hierarchy of values see, with a particular reference to the work by Ronald Inglehart and Helmut Klages and on the topic of Europe, Helmut Thome, »Wertewandel in Europa aus der Sicht der empirischen Sozialforschung«, in *Die kulturellen Werte Europas*, ed. Hans Joas and Klaus Wiegandt (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, ^{5}2010), 386–443.

37 *Church Missionary Record* (1832): 88.

38 Ibid.: 127, 132.

tural Knowledge gradually increases, and a corresponding change seems to take place in their opinions and feelings«, wrote Charles Pinhorn Farrar from West India in 1832.[39]

Additionally, the missionaries sometimes described the behaviour of the newly converted persons. This indicates further and more specifically than Ephesians and other biblical references what the missionaries expected of their converts, what a Christian way of life looked like in their view and which European values and cultural attitudes they wanted to convey. These values could be illustrated in positive descriptions of what people did after their conversion, but they could also be brought out in depictions of how heathen people acted and what Christians should certainly not do. Both methods can be found in the missionaries' writings, the positive more often than the negative one. Both could also be used with reference to Europeans, but usually the indigenous people were the focus of the missionaries' descriptions.

I will now first give short lists of the main values and vices as they were perceived by the missionaries, and then ask where Christian values and European culture had merged and how distinctions were made. The values that were most often mentioned are humility, patience, perseverance, earnestness, simplicity, zeal, diligence, love, serving, obedience. Joy and peace also belong to this enumeration. Then there were values which referred more to life in the world: proper behaviour, cleanliness, peaceableness and friendliness, and morality in general. Attendance to religious duties, observance of Sundays and regular attendance of church services were a matter of course. Reports of conversion usually emphasised both the internal and the external conversion, spiritual and secular life.

The negative list consisted of lying, stealing, cheating, laziness, alcoholism, quarrels and fights, fornication, and, of course, idolatry as the main vices. There were two contexts in which they appeared: in descriptions of not-yet converted indigenous people and in conversion reports.[40] Vices were mentioned in the characterisation of »uncivilized« indigenous peoples. The very use of the word »uncivilized« (as opposed to »barbarous«)[41] shows that the missionaries were convinced that these attitudes and behaviours could and would eventually be overcome by proper preaching and teaching of Christianity. When the indigenous adhered to Christianity (real Christianity,

39 Ibid.: 281.

40 In contrast to Dipesh Chakrabarty's thesis on the use of »not yet« in Western thought the missions usually did expect non-Christian people to be able to convert completely and also found »real conversions« among the indigenous. The term is used without ideological emphasis. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000).

41 The distinction between »uncivilized« and »barbarous« as well as its use in nineteenth-century argumentation is analysed by Perkins, *Christendom and European Identity*, 238–254.

of course – not nominal Christianity) they would let go of their vices and embrace Christian values. These anti-values therefore always formed a kind of black screen on which to depict the real Christian values in an even better light. At the same time the conversion thus became even more spectacular and the vices were associated with the indigenous culture rather than the essence of indigenous people.

Furthermore, the vices were often mentioned as having been overcome. People had been liars before their conversion, now they always told the truth. They had been lazy, but now were always diligent in Christian learning and behaviour. Vices were what Christians left behind, the real converts adhered to Christian virtues. One woman is quoted as saying during her baptism ceremony: »Formerly [...] I used to tell falsehoods, to steal, and to transgress, without fear, all the Holy Commandments of God; but afterward I was very much troubled about this, and was afraid I should go to Hell. I prayed much to God, who heard my prayers, gave me *peace in believing* in the meritorious death and sufferings of my Saviour, and also strength to leave off sin and to serve Him.«[42]

In converting to Christianity in faith and practice, the indigenous became similar to the Europeans. One missionary spoke of a »gradual approximation of habits and manners, among the Natives, to our own«.[43] Christianity made the converted indigenous person more European.

This was not only assumed by Europeans but also by indigenous Christians themselves.[44] In 1831 W. Williams was asked by his converted indigenous servant: »Will it be correct for the Baptized Natives to have a meeting to themselves on the night of your Prayer Meeting? Because [...] there is one of us who says it will be wrong, because it will be making ourselves like the Europeans.«[45] The problem of mimicry[46] lurks here in the background. The

42 *Church Missionary Record* (1832): 224 (emphasis in original).

43 Ibid.: 46.

44 And, of course, for many indigenous people, Christianity or Christian schools served as containers for attaining European skills. They did not intend to adopt the Christian faith along with European education and their relationship to Europeans. The missionaries, however, thought that their wish to learn European skills was so great that they would be content to learn things about Christianity, too, if that was the precondition for the schools. See e.g. *Heidenbote* (1830): 37.

45 *Church Missionary Record* (1832): 55 et seq. In this case, it is very probable that the story the missionary reported had taken place in this or a very similar way because there would be no reason to quote the indigenous youth unfaithfully – the report does not depict the missionary's work in a very positive way. The outcome had not been what he had intended. The general line of the story was to show that indigenous people began to have their own prayer meetings. There are other reports in the missionary journals which suggest in a much stronger way that the missionaries edited what they reported of what the indigenous said.

46 See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 121–131.

missionary would not have been amused that the indigenous had got the idea that praying could make them European and that that would be objectionable. The missionaries certainly wanted the converted indigenous to behave as they did regarding piety. On the other hand, the indigenous youth had observed very well that the missionaries did not want them to become entirely European. This unsolved conflict accompanied all missionary efforts. The indigenous converts were expected to behave like good, sometimes even like model, Christians and thereby to fulfil European rules. They were, however, never expected to become Europeans.[47]

However, when newly converted people were compared to or even used as a model for Europeans, this also affected Europe: On the one hand, Europeans will not have liked being compared to non-Europeans, either by being lumped together with them or by having non-Europeans even exhibited as models to them. On the other hand, Europe suddenly became something like an ›Other‹ to true Christianity. A small gap opened between the perception of true Christianity and its European shape. Indeed, this did not change the fact that the missionaries' perception of real Christian behaviour was shaped along European cultural lines. By virtue of the contrast with non-European non-Christian behaviour, positive – Christian – values became even more European, that is, their European appearance was emphasised; but the unconscious identification of Christian and European received its first fault lines.

The values and moral standards that began in the perception of the missionaries as purely Christian values turned into European – or at least consciously European – values through being contrasted with the Other. Christian European values were illustrated and made conscious by depictions of the abominations of other cultures. For instance, many missionaries depicted the heathen Indians as notorious liars. Converted Indians, however, turned vera-

47 The difference between Europeans and indigenous people in matters of Christianity was discussed in relation to mission strategies. There was no doubt in these missionary societies that eventually indigenous churches should be led by indigenous people because they were better fitted to that task than Europeans (see Stock on Henry Venn's labour for this development: Stock, *History of CMS*, vol. II, 411–426). The societies only saw them not yet fit to do it. (Here, Chakrabarty's observation is correct, see Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*). The theory of the hierarchy of civilisations had already been developed and, of course, the mission leaders and certainly some of the missionaries knew Hegel's *Philosophy of History* even if they usually refused it and all other non-evangelical scholarship. See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, ed. Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel, *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel Werke*, vol. 12 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970). Still, in their view, this theory was always surpassed by Christianity. A ›real Christian‹ indigenous was certainly to be rated higher than a ›nominal Christian' European – although he or she would never attain the position of a ›real Christian‹ European, at least not in their own generation.

cious. They thereby assimilated to Christian Europeans. Thus, truthfulness, a Christian value, was perceived as a European virtue in contradistinction to the Indian vice of dishonesty.[48]

By ascribing non-Christian vices to indigenous peoples and by underlining the assimilation of converts to Europeans, the missionary movement turned values which had been assumedly simply Christian into European Christian values. By emphasising and repeating them in every issue of their journals, the societies helped to establish them as European Christian standards among their readers. However, the association of specific values and vices with Europeans/Non-Europeans or Christians/Non-Christians was not uniform. The situation was more complex. The missionaries themselves could be accused of certain vices, and virtues could be contested because of the mission.

The complexity of the attribution of virtues and values can be shown by an example: the dichotomy of luxury and simplicity, of pride and modesty. Simplicity and modesty were some of the core values of evangelical Christians in the early nineteenth century.[49] Again and again, they were underlined in the missionaries' reports. Luxury and pride, on the other hand, were always condemned. They were associated with ›heathen‹ behaviour, either of the indigenous people themselves or of ›so-called Christians‹ of Europe who were not really converted and did not behave as Christians, in the mission's view, were meant to do. However, if Europeans were negatively depicted in relation to luxury at all, they were usually depicted as seducers of the indigenous people; their own luxury was seldom referred to.[50]

In contrast, simplicity and modesty were ascribed to truly converted people. However, this did not always work out well: In 1832, the *Church Missionary Record* published the conversion report of a young New Zealander and his request for baptism:

> From Ngapuhi, a Boy living with Mr. Yate. Sir, Father, Mr. Yate – My ink is not good, my paper is dirty, and I am altogether ashamed. Do you remember, when you came to New Zealand, I was a little boy just like you were twenty years ago; and I was living in Mr. Clarke's house; but Mr. Clarke said, ›Go Ngapuhi and live with Mr. Yate;‹ and you said, ›Come Ngaphui, and live with me;‹ and I said, ›Aye;‹ and then Henry Kemp said so. You called me a dirty child, a dirty New-Zealand boy, and gave me a piece of soap, and lent me Flora's comb; and when I was clean washed in the Kerikeri, you gave me clothes, European clothes, which I put on and was proud. I was never proud before.

48 This is, of course, what the missionaries implied, not even what they said, and it certainly must not be read as a description of Indian (or European) reality.

49 Interestingly, their biblical foundation is rather weak.

50 After all, Europeans were not the key object of the mission reports. That is at least one of the main reasons that their vices were often only mentioned in passing.

And when I heard you say, in the House of Prayer, that it was very bad to be proud, and that God was angry with the proud every day, I sold my white-man's clothes for a Native mat, and dirted (!) my hands and my face, and made myself a not-proud New-Zealand boy again.[51]

This story demonstrates several aspects of the complex story of pride and modesty, European and indigenous behaviour. Ngaphui had done what the missionaries expected of him: He had assimilated his behaviour to European standards and European clothing formed part of these standards.[52] Yet, this ›Europeanisation‹ was accompanied by the emergence of a non-Christian attitude: pride. This had certainly not been intended by the missionaries, as they always disapproved of pride. And indeed, Christianity was even seen as a stronghold against pride. Secular education, removed from Christianity, would contain the vice of pride.[53] Still, they could hardly approve of Ngapuhi's solution – becoming a dirty New Zealander again – since cleanliness was one of the values they wanted to convey. What appeared simply essential for a decent life to the missionaries was luxury to the indigenous.

However, the missionaries associated luxury – and pride even more so – rather with non-converted indigenous people than with themselves, and they certainly did not associate it with Christian faith. In most of the cases where luxury or pride were discussed, they were illustrated with a story about Africans or Asians. In the case of Asia, luxury was not mentioned very often, presumably because the missionaries hardly ever worked among those social stratums of indigenous people where they could have met with much luxury. Pride, however, could well be found in descriptions of Asians. When the missionaries met Brahmins, it played an important role. In 1840, the *Heidenbote* reported about a Hindu who was only restrained by »caste pride« and »the impure wish to become the head of a heathen-Christian sect of his own« (besides fear of his family and some other motives) from becoming Christian.[54] And of course, it was a man richly adorned with gold who interrupted the missionaries' preaching to Indians in 1830.[55] In addition, luxury was found in the descriptions of Hindu rituals and of their dealings with their

51 *Church Missionary Record* (1832): 88 et seq.

52 See e.g. ibid. (1831): 12: »the Natives assembling together for Divine Worship, clean, orderly, and decently dressed, most of them in European Clothing«.

53 See ibid. (1833): 26: »They perceive that secular knowledge does not civilize, as they supposed; but adds to the native blindness of the mind the most insufferable pride. Men become *puffeth up in their fleshly mind*. This is the general state, assuredly, of the Educated Natives in India«. (Emphasis in original).

54 *Heidenbote* (1840): 42.

55 See *Church Missionary Record* (1830): 131.

Gods. Thereby, luxury got a religious meaning, too. It was associated with the Hindu rites of adorning Gods made by men, something that the missionaries could always wonder about and look down on.

When the missionaries gave reports of African kings, they were usually interested in emphasising their support for the missionary efforts more than their faults. That foreign regents might have had European education more in mind than European religion when they supported the establishment of schools or sent their own children to missionary schools sometimes offended the missionaries, but more often they tried to see the good in it and hope for the evangelising effect of their teaching: »Some Moslems would, according to what we heard, like to send their children to a school in which they would be taught English, Geography, Arithmetic etc., even if the teachers were Christians.«[56] Even if the missionaries knew very well that the indigenous people sent their children to their schools for material and social reasons, they happily seized the opportunity to teach them Christian doctrine and European – Christian – behaviour.

In Africa, luxury was not a topic as such. Phenomena that were reported, and associated with African culture, were interest in worldly possessions, and the display of wealth. These were often associated with other kinds of behaviour which, in Europe, were regarded as examples of vice. In 1832, Georg Adam Kißling, who had been in West Africa since 1827, reported at the Basel Mission's annual meeting that the African understanding of wealth was demonstrated in polygamy: the richer a man was, the more wives he had. In the same speech Kißling said that some African fathers sold their children »perhaps only for one bottle of liquor.«[57] In 1830, his colleague Jakob Friedrich Sessing quoted Bassa-Chief Joseph: »I do not like to sell my people; I do know that they are children of the God up there like me. But I need tobacco,

56 *Heidenbote* (1830): 72: »Mehrere Muhamedaner würden, nachdem was wir gehört haben, ihre Kinder gerne in eine Schule schicken, in der sie im Englischen, in der Geographie, Arithmetick etc. unterrichtet würden, wenn auch schon die Lehrer Christen wären; vielleicht würde es auch ausführbar seyn, gleich von Anfang christliche Schulbücher einzuführen, und die Schüler mit dem Inhalt des Alten und Neuen Testaments bekannt zu machen«. See likewise e.g. ibid.: 37: »der Landes-Regent, *Abbas Mirza*, [...] selbst einige seiner Prinzen zur Schule schicken würde, wenn in derselben die Kenntnisse der civilisierten Europäerwelt gelehrt würden«. (emphasis in original). The surmises of the missionaries were sometimes extremely negative, see ibid.: 20: »Noch muß ich Ihnen melden, daß uns die Häuptlinge des Bassavolkes stets einladen, zu ihnen zu kommen, um ihrem Volke das Evangelium zu verkündigen. [...] Auch vom Kap Mount (nördlich der Kolonie am St. Paulsfluß) her, kommen der Einladungen viele; doch traue ich diesen noch nicht recht, weil ich fürchte, die dortigen Häuptlinge möchten den Zweck haben, ihre Leute durch Unterricht für den Sklavenhandel desto verkäuflicher zu machen«.

57 Ibid. (1832): 62: »vielleicht nur für ein geistiges Getränk«. – In the same speech, Kißling criticized Europeans very explicitly. On Kißling see Karl Rennstich, »Kissling, Georg Adam«, in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. Friedrich-Wilhelm Bautz, vol. 3 (Herzberg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1992), 1540–1542.

pipes, guns, powder, cloth etc., if I can get these things in a different manner, I will not sell my people anymore, because I like them.«[58] Sessing concluded that this interest in worldly possession could only be broken by the »power of the Gospel« and simultaneous »civilisation (education)«. In 1832, Missionary Haensel complained that West-Africans became »fond of fine clothes, conceited and stubborn«[59] instead of assimilating their behaviour to Christian standards. Christian converts should wear decent clothing as Europeans did, and as Ngapuhi had done, but they should not become proud or fond of it. The line between the right mimicry of Europeanness and condemnable exaggeration was very fine.

Thus, pride and worldly interest were associated with African and Asian non-Christian culture even if luxury itself remained more of a European vice. The missionaries themselves complicated things as they caused rumours about luxury and had to defend themselves against accusations from Europe that they lived in luxury and pomposity in Africa or Asia. These accusations could come from within evangelical circles, but were also widespread outside of them and constituted a popular accusation against non-popular evangelicals in Europe.

From time to time, the missionary journals published explanations by the missionaries as to why they needed things that would be considered luxury in Europe, but that were simply necessary for surviving in a tropical climate.[60] In 1840, Johann Jakob Weitbrecht[61] wrote from India in response to a general accusation levelled against the missionaries[62] in his region: »Furthermore, every honest visitor will willingly admit that the European is not able to carry out all those domestic duties which are easily done in the cool home country and that some things might be necessary here in Bengal which in Germany do belong in the category of luxury.«[63]

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58 *Heidenbote* (1830): 55: »Ich verkaufe meine Leute nicht gerne; ich weiß wohl, daß auch sie Kinder des Gottes da oben sind, wie ich selbst. Aber ich brauche Tabak, Pfeifen, Flinten, Pulver, Tuch u. s. w., wenn ich diese Gegenstände auf anderm Wege erhalten kann, so werde ich meine Leute nicht mehr verkaufen, denn sie sind mir lieb«. On Sessing see Karl Friedrich Ledderhose, »Sessing, Jakob Friedrich«, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 34 (1892): 42–44 [Online version]; URL: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd138425566.html. Access date: 11 May 2012.

59 *Church Missionary Record* (1832): 123.

60 On the other hand, there were obverse reports, too: John Knight wrote from Sri Lanka: The missionary »is obliged here – more perhaps than in any other part of the world – especially if unmarried, to attend to little affairs, which in England he would consider beneath his notice, and which consume much of his time that ought to be better employed«. Ibid.: 156.

61 He was sent out in 1828, see *Heidenbote* (1828): 97.

62 See Paul Jenkins, »The Church Missionary Society and the Basel Mission: An Early Experiment in Inter-European Cooperation«, in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999*, ed. Kevin Ward und Brian Stanley (Studies in the history of Christian missions) (Grand Rapids, Mich., Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans, 2000), 43–65.

63 »Ueberdieß wird jeder redliche Beobachter gerne zugeben, daß der Europäer in diesem indi-

And indeed, many missionaries who tried to live like the indigenous died soon after their arrival in the foreign country, many even before they had time to adapt to the climate.[64] On the other hand, missionaries had to be »ready to suffer hunger in evil times, and, of course, to exchange some of the European conveniences for a greater abundance of the peace of God.«[65]

The attribution of luxury and pride was not unambiguous; the definition of simplicity and modesty was even less so. For Europeans, ›modest‹ European clothes were proper Christian clothing, but for the indigenous they could become a source of pride and haughtiness. Disagreements between indigenous and Europeans were the result. At the same time, what was considered luxury in Europe was perceived as necessity abroad and could lead to disagreements between Europeans themselves. In the long run, the association between Christianity and Europeanness had to be negotiated anew, as had the definition of certain values and the position of the values in relation to each other. The background of this negotiation was formed by the ›third place‹[66] in which missionaries and converts lived.

Résumé

Europe became an important figure for the missionaries, as, from the geographical distance and in the encounter with the Other, they discovered the commonalities between different European nations and cultures and ›Europe‹ became a synonym for their home, the region of their origin. This was even strengthened by their cooperation on the mission field when missionaries with similar perceptions of Christianity collaborated. In this process, they began to develop a European Christian consciousness.

The European Christian consciousness was intensified by a common European historical consciousness. History was an important argument in

schen Klima nicht gerade alle die häuslichen Geschäfte verrichten kann, welche in der kühlen Heimath leicht von der Hand gehen, und daß möglicherweise einige Dinge hier in Bengalen Bedürfnisse seyn mögen, welche in Deutschland in das Verzeichniß des Luxus gehören«. He continues: »[...] Auch freute ich mich, als ich die Gattinnen von zwei Missionarien den Tisch decken, das Essen hereintragen und anordnen sah. Indessen wird es kein Missionsfreund meiner l. Gattin verdenken, wenn sie statt dessen eine Anzahl von Waisenmädchen unterrichtet und jene Geschäfte durch zwei derselben, die sie selber dazu abgerichtet hat, versehen läßt«. *Heidenbote* (1840): 80. Similarly see *Church Missionary Record* (1830): 30.

64 See e.g.: »he attempted more than the climate allows Europeans to perform with safety« on Henry Brooks who arrived in Sierra Leone on 2 February 1825 and died on 3 May of the same year. *Church Missionary Record* (1832): 267.

65 Ibid.: 28 (Samuel Gobat).

66 See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1–28. Mary Louis Pratt calls this »contact zones«: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), 6.

missionary debates and European colonial history as well as European religious history constituted the main points of reference. Particularly in the case of colonial history, European commonalities were perceived as more important than differences. The wrongs of European history had to be amended by Christianity. In view of the Other, European homogeneity was underscored.

The European imprint of early nineteenth-century evangelical Christianity became visible when confronted with other cultures and religions. The missionaries and their readers by and by became conscious of the fact that Christianity, in its nineteenth-century manifestation, was partly European. At the same time, when non-Christian behaviour was associated with non-Europeans and Christian faith with European behaviour, the link between Europe and Christianity became even stronger.

To a certain extent, the missionary encounter with the Other made Christianity ›European‹. Gradually, this uncovered the particularity of the European evangelical version of Christianity and thus turned European Christianity into something that could be regarded as the ›Other‹.

Werner Ustorf

Disentangling the Christian and the European (1890s to the 1930s)

Five Voices from the Margin

This paper starts from the assumption that, in this historical period, the internal Christian discussion was about to become a world-wide conversation and external and internal voices began to influence one another. ›Internal‹ and ›external‹ do not necessarily denote a geographical distinction, as some insiders of the European debate had substantial ecumenical experience and were clearly expressing ›external‹ concerns, i.e. a view from the margin or the outside. Outsiders to the European context, on the other hand, were sometimes capable of holding on to views that authentically chimed with the European discussion. Hence, the voices selected here are European and non-European, but all of them were in various degrees of tension with and, at the time, still marginal to much of the European Christian discourse. They have been arranged in broadly chronological order and come from West Africa (H. Yoyo), Central Africa (S. Kimbangu), Central Australia (M. Tjalkabota), Germany (J. W. Hauer), and from Britain (J. H. Oldham). These men, though having significantly different cultural, social and educational backgrounds (Hauer, for example, moved from Christianity to non-Christianity), were competent and influential in their own contexts and all went through some form of cross-cultural experience, even though some (Kimbangu, Tjalkabota) never left their home country.

All of them, explicitly or implicitly, commented on the state of health of European Christianity. Their contributions hardly represent in full the Christian debate that took place over these years across these three continents, but these outsider voices certainly painted a picture of European Christianity and Europe that is no longer marginal in today's global Christian conversation. This analysis will show that the unease about ›European‹ Christianity has a longer ecumenical history than is sometimes suggested, that its substance matter is to a large extent the relationship of Christianity in Europe to aspects of modern Western culture, and that this unease is to some degree shared across the divide between Europe and the non-western world.

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Hermann Yoyo

Yoyo (1869–?), a second-generation Christian, was a teacher-evangelist of the emerging church among the Ewe in what is now the border region of Ghana and Togo. From 1884–87, the Bremen Mission had sent him to Württemberg/Germany (as one of the first of, in total, twenty African students) for further studies. Many of these young men, all of them fluent in at least three languages, would later become church leaders and play a role in the struggle for ecclesiological (and political) independence, but Yoyo was the only one of these who, already in the nineteenth century, would dare to contradict publicly the Mission Board in Bremen and ask for an African ›reformation‹ of the faith. Though severely ostracised by the European mission agency, Yoyo must be counted among the forerunners of an African theology.[1]

For centuries the West African coast had been the location not just of the slave trade, but of international trade in general and, in the second part of the nineteenth century, was a place of migration, multi-cultural encounter, and missionary competition. The African intellectual climate in the coastal settlements was leaning towards liberal and tolerant attitudes. In Accra, for example, the black elite edited newspapers such as the *Gold Coast Times* which, on 23 February 1875, was discussing Darwin's theory of evolution. The Bremen Mission was not amused and, faced with the pluralist climate on the coast, tried to stick with the population further inland. Considering how quickly Africans generally were accused by the Bremen missionaries of lying or sinfulness, pupils of cheek and defiance, and above all African evangelists and teachers – Yoyo in particular – of presumptuousness or insubordination, and taking into account the fact that missionaries tried to censor and withhold African letters and reports, and how again African co-workers were repeatedly subjected to the ritual of ›interrogations‹ and ›apologizing‹, and of keeping in mind that severe ›punishments‹ (such as the reduction of salary, cessation of pension payments or even full dismissal) were at the disposal of the missionaries – and reflecting upon the matter-of-fact way in which the

1 Yoyo left missionary service in 1897 and, in 1898, was readmitted to the congregation (later excluded again). Azamede (see below) thinks that he was later re-admitted to missionary service, but, firstly, there is no paper trail for this and, secondly, it is clear that Azamede is mixing up *Entlassung/Wiederanstellung* (being made redundant/re-employed) with *Ausschluss/Wiederaufnahme* (exclusion from/readmission) to the congregation. After 1897, Yoyo worked for a while for the German Colonial administration in Lomé. Plenty of international trade took place along the coast and it may be that he later found employment there. The fact that his full biographical data are still unknown throws a light on the general state of research. I had come across Yoyo's contribution when working in the State Archives, Bremen (abbr. as StAB) in the 1980s; see Werner Ustorf, *Bremen Missionaries in Togo and Ghana: 1847–1900* (Accra: Asempa, 2002), 374–83. In the meantime, several authors have dealt with Yoyo, and the most recent and comprehensive study is Kokou Azamede's *Transkulturationen: Ewe-Christen zwischen Deutschland und Westafrika, 1884–1939* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010), 135–49.

Europeans related Israel's forty years' wandering in the desert to mission-work »in the midst of the desert of African heathendom«[2] – we can see how a missionary's moral lapses could become a weapon with which the African mission workers could attack duplicity and demand equal status with their European colleagues.

There had been a situation of this kind in 1891, when allegations of intimate relations with African women by a European mission agent came to light (i.e. they could not be hushed up). According to the records, this is the first occasion on which Yoyo used a written complaint, sent directly to the Board in Bremen, to accuse the missionaries of inadequate knowledge of the Ewe culture, and he combined it with a demand for the Africanisation of mission-work. It is interesting that Yoyo did not seek united action by all of the black mission workers, but addressed himself individually to the white mission authorities – demanding a black and white talk about God on equal terms. The response of the Board was detailed, but ignored Yoyo's arguments completely, asked for his subordination and, moreover, claimed that, »temporarily« (and ordained by God), the missionaries were »the givers, the teachers«, whereas the African assistants were »the receivers, the pupils«.[3] Thus, the existence of a first class Christianity and a second class one was authoritatively sanctioned.[4] However, to Yoyo – in fact, to any thinking person – it was clear that the grand fetishes of European ›civilization‹ and ›God-given‹ superiority did not protect the missionaries from precisely the sort of behaviour for which they were continually reproaching the Africans, and that they were in fact cast in the same mould as their black colleagues. Consequently, the principal ideological justification for the inequality practised in the field was swept away. It was only a matter of time before Yoyo would attack again.

The next occasion was the debate of 1896 about the entrance requirements for baptism. From his position as a teacher at the mission school of Keta (Quittah), he confronted the Mission Board with a detailed theological and cultural inquiry into the compatibility of African social traditions and Christ-

2 J. A. Spieth, Annual Report of Ho Station 1894, Ho 1895, *StAB* 7, 1025–10/7. Spieth was Bremen's most important missionary. An analysis of his work can be found in Werner Ustorf, *Robinson Crusoe Tries Again. Missiology and European Constructions of »Self« and »Other« in a Global World 1789–2010* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 86–99. Translations by Werner Ustorf.

3 The relevant letters from Yoyo were not to be found, and therefore the explanation here relies on what F. M. Zahn, the Mission's Director, reproduced: Zahn to the African Assistants, 15.9.1891, *StAB* 7, 1025–85/4.

4 There could scarcely be clearer confirmation of the justice of this than the African Assistants' complaint addressed to the missionaries in 1883: »You count us for nothing, you count us as children«. Minutes of the Conference of the Native Assistants, Ho, 19 July 1883, *StAB* 7, 1025–24/2.

ianity, particularly with reference to the issue of polygamy.[5] Arguing biblically, he was able to show that the Old Testament was often supportive of polygamy, whereas the New Testament did not expressly reject it. Arguing cross-culturally, he made the point that the marriage and sexual traditions of Europe and Africa were rather different – for instance, the problem that in Ewe society sexual intercourse was traditionally tabooed for at least a year and a half after a birth. The effects of this in the Church, with its principle of monogamy, were that it led to »many misdemeanours, and every year the number of people excluded is increasing.«[6] African wives did not accept working for their husbands and being subject to them, as European wives did. Therefore, what social tradition was the African Christian to adopt, »the European or the African«? Did Christ come – he continued – to introduce monogamy?[7] In a second missile, he added, »there are many kinds of cross and many a cross is only a yoke for people […] and that is not Christ's kind of cross«.[8]

The Mission Board reacted in mainly the same way it had in 1891: though a defence of monogamy was made, the general tone was paternalistic and superiority was claimed in every sense.[9] Yoyo was told he would be moved to a small school inland. He left the Mission the following year and, in 1901, was able to get his study on polygamy printed in Europe, which then went on sale in Lomé.[10] In his view, just as Paul had rejected the Jewish-Christian call for circumcision, so too the injunction already prohibiting polygamy before baptism was something like a work of faith – a special condition for accepting ›heathen Christians‹, and had to be rejected on theological grounds. He

5 There is a lot of debate in the literature about Yoyo's quest for ›carnal freedom‹. Justified or not as this may be, it has nothing to do with the issues here at stake. ›Polygamy‹ stands for a real problem of inculturation that would not go away. In 1938, it was back on the agenda when delegates of the Ewe Church tried to push the subject at the world mission conference of Tambaram (without much success); see Frieder Ludwig, *Zwischen Kolonialismuskritik und Kirchenkampf. Interaktionen afrikanischer, indischer und europäischer Christen während der Weltmissionskonferenz Tambaram 1938* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

6 The available statistical material does not go far enough for us to establish the facts exactly. But in the 1880s and 1890s the exclusion rate varied greatly (between 8% and 31%).

7 Yoyo to Spieth, 3 September 1896, *StAB* 7, 1025–19/5.

8 Yoyo to Spieth, 12 September 1896; ibid.

9 »For the present, and probably still for a long time, not you but the Committee has to decide how these matters are to be handled. You can be at ease about this: we shall have to answer to God for it«. Zahn to Yoyo, 4 December 1896, *StAB* 7, 1025–19/5.

10 Azamede, *Transkulturationen*, 143. Azamede, however, does not quote or reference this publication and I have not seen it either. Further, Azamede (144 et seq.) has found out that in 1902 it was Yoyo, very likely, who sent four further pieces of criticism to the Mission Board under the pseudonym of Kwadzo Outlooker. These contain accusations such as treating Africans as slaves, ignoring the black mission elite, refusal to offer higher education, missionary racism, and the Mission's siding with German colonialism. Not much evidence is given as to Yoyo's authorship, however.

thus anticipated a debate which became intense generally only after decolonization in Africa's former mission churches.

Yoyo had acknowledged that there were diverse interpretations of Christianity and that its European version was not privileged. In fact, the claim of privileged interpretation was the basic problem with ›European Christianity‹. Ironically – to say the least – this controversy prompted the mission's Director to produce a paper for the Ninth Continental Missionary Conference in Bremen (25–28 May 1897) on the »Marriage Order for Protestant Mission«.[11] Here, Zahn argued that Europe's marriage customs were desirable for Africa, but that they were a product of culture and history, not the Bible. He specifically warned against applying uncritically to cultures outside Europe the social standards that had emerged from the history of Christianity in the West. He forgot to thank Yoyo for his services as a theological midwife.

Simon Kimbangu

Kimbangu (1889?–1951) is widely regarded as the founder of one of the largest African independent churches, the *Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu*. Today, the Kimbanguist Church has hundreds of thousands of members in the Congo and additional congregations in neighbouring countries and overseas.[12] Mentioning the Congo conjures up a long history of human tragedy, largely induced by *mputu* (Portugal, the Kikongo word for Europe), and by no means over when the prophet movement seized the country in the 1920s. British Baptist missionaries at the time did not acknowledge Kimbangu's charismatic gifts, regarding him as uneducated (he had received only rudimentary instruction) and rejecting his application to become one of their evangelists. Explicitly linked to this was a decisive spiritual experience that would push Kimbangu into a six-month public ministry (1921) outside the mission (cases of the widespread burning of traditional

11 See F. Michael Zahn, »Die Heiratsordnung in der Evangelischen Mission«, *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (1897): 372–94, which also has a summary of the discussion following Zahn's paper (412 et seq.). The reference to Yoyo is on page 391.

12 Historically, Kimbanguism, as a church, was founded after the death of Kimbangu by young members of the new black elite in Kinshasa (among them Joseph Diangienda, the youngest son of the ›Prophet‹). This church never managed to integrate all of the groups of the diverse Kimbanguist movement which is quite influential in central Africa. The literature is plentiful but not always reliable. A first selection would be: Marie-Louise Martin, *Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1975), Werner Ustorf, *Afrikanische Initiative. Das aktive Leiden des Propheten Simon Kimbangu* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1975), id., »Die kimbanguistische Bewegung in Belgisch-Kongo und Zaire (1921–1977)«, in *Soziale Bewegungen in Entwicklungsländern*, ed. Rolf Hanisch (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1983), 119–55. For important materials from inside the Kimbanguist movement, see Kuntima (previously ›Joseph‹) Diangienda, *L'Histoire du Kimbanguisme* (Kinshasa: Editions Kimbanguistes, 1984).

fetishes, of miraculous healing and even of resuscitation were reported).[13] Nkamba, his village in the Lower Congo, became the »New Jerusalem« and he, the *ngunza* (the Kikongo word for prophet), the messenger who, unlike the missionaries, had made God's power available to a conquered people (and predicted the end of colonial rule). Numerous fantasies of violent liberation were around and, though Kimbangu kept to his line on non-violence,[14] the Belgian authorities seized him (and his twelve ›apostles‹) at the end of that year and, having accused him of sedition, subjected him to life-long imprisonment. Thousands of others were deported. He died a baptised Catholic.[15] Kimbangu, like Jesus, may have left no writings[16] and has become a figure of legend, myth, and theology. Currently, there is a tendency in the Kimbanguist Church to regard its prophet as another exemplar of divine incarnation (namely that of the Holy Spirit).[17] It has proved difficult for scholars and believers alike to define who Kimbangu actually was.

Yet, Kimbangu's critique of the missionaries' type of Christianity is clearly discernible in the documents available. It is important to state from the start that he criticized European Christian interpretation in the name of biblical Christianity which he understood on the basis of his own spiritual experience. His rebellion was, unlike that of Yoyo, not the action of the urbanised and educated new black elites; rather it ticks all the boxes of a movement coming from ›below‹: that is to say, from the countryside and from those who were routinely and systematically disenfranchised by the colonial system. However, different from Yoyo's initiative, his attack simply ignored the European and missionary discourse on political, cultural and theological matters, though it did of course relate to all of these discourses. More fundamentally, Kimbangu had cut out the missionary ›middleman‹ altogether and established a biblical and yet resolutely *African* discourse on God, that is to

13 The decisive document here, purportedly dictated by Kimbangu to his two scribes and seized by the colonial authorities in 1921, was published without consulting the Kimbanguist Church by Paul Raymaekers, ed., »L'Histoire de Simon Kimbangu prophète d'après les écrivains Nfinangani et Nzungu«, *Archives de sociologie des religions* 31 (1971): 7–49. See for the cultural background Wyatt MacGaffey, *Modern Kongo Prophets: Religion in a Plural Society* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983).

14 When Kimbangu embarked on his mission to change the world, he may not have imagined that even the *non-violent* pursuit of the New Jerusalem would have such massive social implications.

15 The Kimbanguist orthodoxy does not acknowledge the prophet's conversion. Of great importance here is the documentation provided by Paul Raymaekers and Henri Desroches, ed., *L'Administration et le sacré. Discours religieux et parcours politiques en Afrique Centrale (1921–1975)* (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, 1983).

16 There are two letters to his sons dated 17/7/1924 and 16/12/1929. Both have been reproduced by Ustorf, *Afrikanische Initiative*, 396–98. Kimbangu's authorship is, of course, a matter of controversy as long as the Archives Africaines in Brussels remain closed in this regard.

17 The best theological discussion on Kimbanguism is contained in the first half of Heinrich Balz, *Weggenossen am Fluss und am Berg* (Neuendettelsau: Erlanger Verlag, 2005).

say, the struggle was a *spiritual* one, concerning the African image of the biblical God and the knowledge of what God wanted the Africans to be in a world dominated by the whites.[18] This becomes manifest in his religious calling of 1921, when a divine voice was telling him that the missionaries had got it wrong in assuming that ›education‹ was a prerequisite of service, and that: »They refuse to let you teach? I will make you an apostle«.[19] His calling directed Kimbangu to re-enact the great deeds of Jesus – healing, casting out evil spirits (*bandoki*), and overcoming death; in brief, hope in action or *Salvation now*. God had, finally, chosen the African people. Kimbangu wasted little time in criticizing the missionary régime; it was already a spent force, a thing of the past.[20]

Much later, when the Kimbanguist Church felt the need to justify its individuality and distinguish itself from other denominations, nationally and ecumenically, and within a climate of decolonisation, the explicit critique of western missions became part of its standard apologetic repertoire. In 1961, one of the sons of Kimbangu (Salomon Dialungana) authored an official text describing the European missionaries as greedy and treacherous people who refused to be God's servants, as they had »sold out« to other masters.[21] His brother, the Church's »Chef Spirituel«, continued the innuendo[22] and extended it by describing the West in general as a region of »profound spiritual scarcity« and »shamelessness« (ready to be exposed to mission from Africa). He also introduced another line of argument, by stating that, unlike the European missions, the Kimbanguist tradition was at the heart of the national liberation struggle; and, more than that, that it was »the first« movement to raise the problem of the »dignity of the black man« and was a sign of the »spiri-

18 Well-known in the Congo is the record *Nakumitunaka*, released in 1971 in Kinshasa, which asked »Who created the black skin? Who is our first ancestor?« No answer was given, but everybody knew that the ›Prophet‹ was referred to as God's answer to the dilemma of the black person vis-à-vis the ›uncles‹ (the whites).

19 Raymaekers, *L'Histoire de Simon Kimbangu*, § 3. There is a much earlier, but related, story, that of Hong Huoxiu (who called himself later Hong Xiuquan – Son of God and Jesus' younger brother) and his violent mid-nineteenth century Taiping movement. Hong had failed repeatedly the Chinese state examinations – a traumatic event that helped to trigger his spiritual vision. The narrative is beautifully retold by Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), esp. chapter four.

20 There are only two occasions in the sources that make reference to Kimbangu contacting the missionaries after he had accepted his calling: by mid-March 1921 he had begun his healing activity. On the 3rd of April, according to the diary of R. L. Jennings (dated 4/4/21), Kimbangu took Holy Communion at the BMS' Ngombe Lutete station. On the 22nd of that month, Jennings had received a letter from Kimbangu (concerning »Masamba« – probably a name, otherwise nothing is known about the content). Oxford, Regents Park College, BMS Archives, R. L. Jennings Papers, Jennings' diary.

21 Published and commented on by Wyatt MacGaffey, »The Beloved City: Commentary on a Kimbanguist Text«, *Journal of Religion in Africa* 2 (1969): 129–147, 135.

22 Diangienda, *L'Histoire de Kimbanguisme*, passim and, as good examples, 195 and 201.

tual liberation of the black race«.[23] Hyperbole apart, one must not overlook the fact that the emphasis here is on the *spiritual* and that, in this regard, Diangienda may have interpreted his father's intentions quite correctly. Interestingly, the assumptions behind this were not completely unknown to the European missionaries, for Diangienda's argument was rigorously anti-pluralistic and anti-secular: the battle for black dignity was to be carried out on all levels of social life, but its core issue was essentially a spiritual one. African liberation, according to this argument, could only be achieved through the continent's spiritual transformation. It matters to the Kimbanguist Church whether black Africa is dominated by such a vision of liberation as the secular myth of Nelson Mandela, or whether the continent's future is guided by the spiritual mythology of God's prophet Simon Kimbangu – after all, Kimbangu was longer in a white prison than Mandela.

Moses Tjalkabota

In 2002 an important text was published of the encounter between Christianity and Aboriginal religion in Central Australia;[24] it was not written by a western observer but dictated in the early 1950s in a native language (in Aranda,[25] which is one of the more than 200 Aboriginal languages and is spoken around Alice Springs) by a man initiated according to Aboriginal tradition. These 60 or so pages represent the autobiography of the black evangelist Moses Tjalkabota (ca. 1870–1954), a man who was of great importance for the growth of the Aboriginal Lutheran Church in Central Australia.[26] Tjalkabota belonged to the first generation of converts, but unlike Kimbangu (a second generation convert), he unfolded his teaching and preaching ministry inside the Lutheran mission, which, at the time, had a near-monopoly in Central Australia. By 1900 he was going blind and began to assist with bap-

23 Ibid., 126 et seq., 242, 245, 248.

24 The most comprehensive overview of this encounter is Diane Austin-Broos, *Arrernte Present – Arrernte Past. Invasion, Violence, and Imagination in Indigenous Central Australia* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

25 »Arrernte« in today's spelling (the Lutherans in Alice Springs, however, prefer »Arrarnta«).

26 The text has been published in English as an appendix to Paul Albrecht, *From Mission to Church, 1877–2002* (Adelaide: Finke River Mission/Open Book Publishers, 2002), 237–300, (quoted as »Tjalkabota«). On Tjalkabota see the obituary written by Paul Albrecht's father, Friedrich Albrecht, »Old Blind Moses. His memory will continue to be a blessing among his people« [obituary Moses Tjalkabota], *Lutheran Herald* (Adelaide, 24 July 1954): 215–16. Papers on Tjalkabota and the Finke River Mission are held by the Archive of the UELCA in Adelaide: UELCA FRM Archive. Archive of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia. Finke River Mission, Adelaide. A comparative study is Peggy Brock, »Two Indigenous Evangelists: Moses Tjalkabota and Arthur W. Clah«, *Journal of Religious History* 27 (October 2003): 348–66.

tismal instruction, as well as advising the leader of the Aranda mission, Carl Strehlow (1871–1922) and, later, his son, the anthropologist Ted Strehlow (1908–1978) in matters of Bible translation and Aboriginal tradition.[27] His main achievement, in my view, is probably the reversal of the structures of mission from ›come‹ to ›go‹: that is to say, from a mission compound mentality, expecting the nomadic Aborigines to come and live at the mission station (which coincided with government policies), to a strategy of taking the Gospel to where the tribes or groups were actually living – which meant itinerant mission. This happened systematically only after the white patriarch (Carl) had prematurely died and was, to a large extent, introduced by Aboriginal evangelists, prominent among them Tjalkabota.[28]

For a decade he was the main evangelist and, though completely blind, travelled for hundreds of miles through the semi-desert on foot, donkey, camel, and occasionally on the back of a truck. His people, Christians and non-Christians alike, held him, like Kimbangu, in extraordinary esteem. This degree of acknowledgement is remarkable given the fact that he never distanced himself from the white mission apparatus. Tjalkabota did not assume the role of a ›prophet‹ of an indigenous and separate form of Christianity. And generally, unlike its African or Melanesian counterpart, modern Aboriginal history has not produced ›prophets‹.[29] Tjalkabota's message was a

27 Carl Strehlow's contribution to knowledge is: Carl Strehlow, *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien,* 7 vols. (Frankfurt: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1907–1920). His son Ted's main publication is: Ted Strehlow, *Songs of Central Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1971). Ted, unlike his father, had gone ›native‹ and crossed the cultural boundary which led to his exclusion from the anthropological community. The writer Barry Hill has written a massive (and vitriolic) biography of him: Barry Hill, *Broken Song. T. G. H. Strehlow and Aboriginal Possession* (Sydney: Knopf, 2002).

28 Peggy Brock, »Two Indigenous Evangelists«, 360, thinks that Tjalkabota took the initiative and began from 1913 to go on unsupervised evangelistic trips. He did indeed undertake a trip to Henbury – which is about 80 miles south-east of the mission station Hermannsburg. This trip which, to the surprise of C. Strehlow, led to unplanned missionary encounters, is also mentioned in *Tjalkabota*, 280 et seq. But it is clear that it was neither meant to be an evangelistic tour nor was it part of the official mission strategy. Though Tjalkabota was ›allowed‹ to go again (twice, between 1914 and 1922) Henbury was a white settlement with a black population of workers – this was not a nomadic context. Carl Strehlow had explicitly rejected the idea of spreading out and sending Aboriginal evangelists to the tribes. His main reason was the lack of funds as future ›outstations‹ would have to be supported. Strehlow to Mission Board, 18/8/1922; UELCA FRM Box 2, J.J. Stolz's Correspondence with Hermannsburg 1922. A year later, that is during an *interregnum* (Strehlow's successor arrived only in 1926), Tjalkabota preached in Alice Springs (and from then on, in many other places), whereas the first three native evangelists had gone on an agreed three-month evangelistic tour to the west of Hermannsburg Station; Lutheran Herald 13 (Adelaide, 1923), 244 et seq. Stolz, the Chairman of the Board, wrote to the Secretary of the Minister for Home and Territories (in Melbourne), J. T. McLaren, that the Mission would now create ›outstations‹ (28/3/1923); UELCA FRM Box 1. It is certain that government subsidies were expected.

29 This matter has been discussed by Terence Ranger, »Great Spaces Washed with Sun: the Matopos and Uluru Compared«, in *Text, Theory, Space. Land, Literature and History in South*

mainline Christian one and as exclusivist and hostile to the native tradition as Kimbangu's or that of the missionaries. However, his life story offers us a ›window‹ on the way he himself explained his success in a phase of invasion history that was as traumatic to the Aborigines as Belgian colonialism was to the Bakongo. The contours of a type of Christianity that was different from the European model might well emerge in this narrative.[30]

Tjalkabota's narration is ›traditional‹ insofar as its focus is mainly on his travels and evangelistic tours in Central Australia. It is also ›remarkable‹ insofar as this man of mission, who was in many ways fully dependent on his white superiors, not least financially, rarely refers to the work done by the white missionaries. Like Kimbangu, he seemed to assume that the actual appropriation of the Christian message was something that happened primarily among the black people. But how did this process unfold? Though Tjalkabota was uncompromising in his condemnation of Aboriginal religion, in terms of his social status he must have been seen as a specialist of an alternative religious wisdom, for he was addressed as *ingkata*, a term used for the keepers of Aboriginal tradition.[31] This process of homology also worked the other way round, as even non-Christian Aborigines called themselves ›Christians‹ initially, which implied that they had *juxtaposed* baptismal teaching, Christian hymns and rituals with Aboriginal initiation, songs and *corroborees*.[32] Tjalkabota told them to ›switch‹ to the new system because the old one was not true. Two particular devices seemed to support the force of his evangelistic intervention: ›pictures‹ and ›power‹.

Rejecting the Aboriginal iconography (for example body paintings and incisions on the *tjurungas* – sacred-secret objects) Tjalkabota produced ›true‹ images of the divine, namely industrially manufactured colour prints of Jesus and of God creating the world that would prove to be incredibly convincing.[33] Why this was the case is another matter and requires more research. The issue of power relates to the question of how the Aborigines could be protected from the multiple forces of the white invasion. To put it in a different way: ›Europe‹ was not something far away, it had an overpowering presence inside

Africa and Australia, ed. K. Darian-Smith et al. (London: Routledge, 1996), 157–172, and by Aram Yengoyan, »Religion, Morality and Prophetic Traditions: Conversion among the Pitjantjatjara of Central Australia«, in *Conversion to Christianity. Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 233–58.

30 About 70% of the Aborigines around the area of Alice Springs are Lutheran according to Hartwig Harms, *Träume und Tränen. Hermannsburger Missionare und die Wirkungen ihrer Arbeit in Australien und Neuseeland* (Hermannsburg: Verlag Ludwig-Harms-Haus Missionshandlung, 2003), 180–182.

31 *Tjalkabota*, 281, 287. In line with this, he reports that he made rain on one occasion (291). Later, he was also addressed as ›missionary‹, a term otherwise only applied to whites (289).

32 Ibid., 258. Corroborees were the mainly secret ceremonies.

33 Ibid., 274, 284 et seq., 286, 290, 292 et seq., 295.

the Australian continent. Tjalkabota argued that the *tjurungas* did not protect them – a very convincing thing to say as the white advance, and the destruction it brought, seemed to be unstoppable. But how could it be then, the non-Christians would ask Tjalkabota, that he had survived all these dangers and did not get shot on his travels like so many others? »God himself protects me on the road, so that people cannot harm me.«[34] This was another type of ›evidence‹ that was well received. It is significant that the protection emanates from God, not the European missionaries.

Tjalkabota's type of Christianity answered one of the central questions that the old religion had been asking by offering a scheme that re-connected what was lost, namely the direct link between the divine and the Aboriginal person; in this regard, there is a similarity to Kimbangu's intervention, though Tjalkabota (in accordance with not just Lutheran teaching but also the decentralised nature of Aboriginal tradition) never claimed to be the privileged conduit of this link. His model of Christianity was relevant to the local context of the time, but it was also in considerable tension with the pluralist nature of Aboriginal religion: i.e. its capability of combining personal mono-totemism with a multi-totemic environment.[35] But the debate was only delayed. Aboriginal theology today reflects on the compatibility of the two traditions.[36]

Jakob W. Hauer

Hauer (1881–1962) was one of the chief architects of neo-pagan thought in Germany in the 1930s. He was simultaneously a professor in the history of religion at Tübingen University and a member of the SS, in which capacity he figured publicly as a declared enemy of Christianity. For a couple of years, he entertained the illusion that he had something to teach his fellow-Nazis – believing that his vision of a post-Christian religion was what was missing in Nazi thought.[37] As the Canadian anthropologist Karla Poewe rightly com-

34 Ibid., 293. See, in a similar vein, also 296.

35 See Ted Strehlow, *Central Australian Religion: Personal Monototemism in a Polytotemic Community* (Bedford Park, S.A.: The Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1978).

36 See Graham Paulson, »Towards an Aboriginal Theology«, *Pacifica* 19 (October 2006): 310–20. A degree of popularity was achieved in the 1990s by the so-called Rainbow Spirit Elders, *Rainbow Spirit Theology*.

37 This vision he published in 1934 as a book that he himself compared to the New Testament (he also did not hesitate to compare his own role to that of Jesus). That book was: Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, *Deutsche Gottschau. Grundzüge eines deutschen Glaubens* (Stuttgart: K. Gutbrod, 1934). For his inflated sense of importance, see Hauer to Dr F. Hertter, 17 July 1940; Bundesarchiv Koblenz, Nachlass Hauer, 73 (quoted as K: NL Hauer); also Hauer to the Rev. Friedrich Manz, 18 June 1935; ibid., 93.

ments, he is best seen as representing the actual religio-cultural transmission mechanism that turned a defeated nation into a monster of post-civilization.[38] Before, however, he switched to the academy and to post-Christianity, Hauer had begun his career as a missionary in South India (Basel Mission). There, he found his own faith being seriously challenged and moved from the mission's exclusivist point of view to a more liberal and pluralist Christian position. Back in Germany, and throughout the 1920s, he was chairman of a Christian youth movement that was critical of the established Church and advocated free religiosity. In the 1930s, however, he led his flock straight into the Hitler Youth. By this time, he had metamorphosed into an academic prophet of neo-paganism and leader of the German Faith Movement. We are going to deal with his vision only in so far as it sheds light on his diagnosis of the problems Christianity had in Europe.

Initially, Hauer's primary ideological opponent was not Christianity but the secularism of his time, the ideas of the French Revolution, and, particularly, what he had called the »godless myth of the sciences«.[39] In this regard, he was in agreement with much contemporary Christian thinking. What he wanted was »to positively look after and, wherever possible, gather those into a community who do no longer find in the Church what they are looking for – whether they are members of the Church or not.«[40] Half a year before the founding of the German Faith Movement, Rudolf Otto, the historian of religion, who had retired in 1929 from his chair in Marburg, supported Hauer's plan for establishing such a potentially massive non-church community, but with regard to just one aspect of its purpose: to prevent the de-Christianized masses from slipping into a void. Addressing this problem, he warned Hauer, meant facing the extreme diversity of the cultural, ideological, religious and sociological milieus of the de-churched population, and making sure that his emphasis on collective structures (community and nation, i.e. elements central also to the NS ideology) was counterbalanced by one of individuality. The free-religious component, Otto held, continued the popular and ratio-

38 Karla Poewe, *New Religions and the Nazis* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 24 et seq. Her thesis is that the actual transformation of the widespread but diverse political resentment into the unity of a publicly accepted fantasy, which was eventually able to capture the imagination of the masses, was accomplished by a relatively small circle of anti-Christian intellectuals – poets, writers, religious virtuosi, and professors. There is plenty of literature on Hauer, see e.g. Margarete Dierks's (apologetic) study, *Jakob Wilhelm Hauer. 1881–1962. Leben – Werk – Wirkung* (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1986); Ulrich Nanko, *Die Deutsche Glaubensbewegung. Eine historische und soziologische Untersuchung* (Marburg: Diagonal-Verlag, 1993). I have myself done some archive-based research on Hauer; the last publication is »Prophet of Post-Christianity – Hauer's Project of Liberating the ›Nordic Soul‹«, in Ustorf, *Robinson Crusoe*, 115–132.

39 See Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, *Das religiöse Erleben auf den unteren Stufen* (Berlin, Stuttgart, Leipzig: Kohlhammer, 1923), preface, also the introduction, 1–4.

40 Hauer to a Rudolf Lempp, 18 October 1932; K: NL Hauer, 70.

nalist religiosity of the nineteenth century that had been thoughtlessly abandoned by the official Church and much of theology. It was attracted neither by the traditional Christian message, nor by a kind of atavistic Germanic faith, the Edda, or Meister Eckhart's mysticism. The ›religiously consecrated‹ Nordic racism, however, was the affair of a minority only. Otto also drew attention to the fact that Hauer's own religious position was located somewhere else, more within Hindu mysticism and closer to »the experience of the Atman«. But this position, by definition, could not be combined with any particularly German, nationalist or racist line of thought. In Otto's view, the nature of Hauer's religiosity was, in principle, »completely non-national« and »non-racist« and, therefore, seriously at odds with the ideology of the planned German Faith Movement.[41]

Hauer ignored his colleague's profound advice, a decision that resulted in the willing transformation of his vision into a mechanism that carried dechurched populations straight to the doors of Nazism. He was able to do this, however, because his religious vision also tapped into the general unease with Christian truth claims and hijacked a number of emancipative traditions that had their roots in the Enlightenment. This will be briefly demonstrated by looking at the two major assumptions Hauer made:

He opposed, firstly, what he saw as the main problem of European Christianity, namely its exclusivism and its tendency to nip any independent religious experience in the bud. »Liberation« is a term frequently used by him. By policing the boundaries of doctrine, the Church actually claimed the position of the mediator between God and man and prevented believers from having uncontrolled access to the sacred. Like Kimbangu, he insisted that people do have religious experiences and can be touched by the divine.[42] But he privileged his own (individual) experience: it was allegedly not a private affair but paradigmatic for everybody else (his own version of exclusivism), namely an expression of the *general* structure of a ›German faith‹ – or more precisely, a genuine and specific *(arteigen*) form of faith to be found in all Germans (and, by implication, in other ›racially‹ related nations). However, it is on the back of the legitimate quest for free religious expression that Hauer's neo-pagan religion hoped to travel to the people.

He rejected, secondly, the modern notion of secular man. In Hauer's view, there was no such thing as secular man. This is another area where there was implicit agreement with Kimbangu or Tjalkabota. His ambition was to rehabilitate ›primitive‹ religion and, along with it, the raw, but unacknowledged religiosity of the modern, deChristianized individual. Surveying the world's

41 Otto to Hauer, 7 August 1933 (emphasis is mine); K: NL Hauer, 57; and Otto to Hauer, 24. February 1933; ibid., 67.

42 Hauer to Heinrich Frick (missiologist in Marburg), 17 January 1936; K: NL Hauer, 88.

tribal religions, he suggested that not only did all the ›great religions‹ have their historical roots in ›primitive‹ religious experience, but that the primary experience thus engendered would continue to be active in the later phases of their development. In fact, all men, modern men included, were primitive ›underneath‹; that is to say, in some way religious. But this kind of religiosity was not necessarily that of any of the established religions. At this point, a profound difference to our other voices opens up. However, it is on the back of a valid concern, namely that there is an encounter with the divine also outside the Church (or the Mission), that Hauer's neo-pagan missile could be launched.

Taken together, both assumptions seemed to ›make sense‹, and not only to Hauer. The core issue was the nature of man and the position of religion in a post-Christian Europe. Of course, he wished to exploit the historical moment of 1933 by spreading the self-serving news that Christianity was ready to be taken over and that it had lost its relevance, and that »the non-Christian movement […] is the decisive one.«[43] The religious problems and promises occasioned by the trouble that traditional Christianity was experiencing posed questions that were now among the most important confronting modern culture; important not only for Germany, but for »the world«.[44] These were overblown expectations, but his main argument had more force: European Christianity, as an external system of *thought* (expressed in theology and ecclesiology), was, at best, a secondary phenomenon, the rationalisation of a historically and religiously anterior, now fossilised, experience; it had, in his view, become culturally and religiously alien to modern culture,[45] and had no legitimacy unless it was confirmed by a primary inter-

43 Hauer to Kurt Leese (a liberal theologian in Hamburg), 5 August 1937; K: NL Hauer, 103.

44 Hauer to Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze (the ecumenist), 16 October 1933; K: NL Hauer, 57. Particularly instructive here is some correspondence which Hauer conducted in 1934 with the Basle missionary G. Kilpper, who was then stationed in Kaying/China. For Kilpper see Hermann Witschi, *Geschichte der Basler Mission*, vol. 5, 1920–1940 (Basel: Basileia Verlag, 1970), index. Correspondence: Kilpper to Hauer, 3 June 1934, and Hauer's reply of 12 July 1934; K: NL Hauer, 83. Also: Kilpper to Hauer, 26 August 1934; K: NL Hauer, 92. Hauer conceded here that, in principle, his new religion was just a local expression of a process that was active in all of humanity and was even then manifesting itself throughout the world as two powerful forces: (1.) a drive for authenticity that would create »out of the deep powers of life and nation new forms of faith«; and (2.) a »struggle for religious freedom« that would lead to a global redistribution of, first, religious, then also, political power. The first force would inevitably create diversity, but the second one would connect all the different anti-colonial and independence movements: in China, India *and* Germany.

45 For Hauer, there could be »no synthesis« between Christianity and German culture; Hauer to J. Schulze, 16 June 1942, K: NL Hauer, 4. See also his *Deutsche Gottschau*, 25. Jesus did not belong to the Indo-Aryan »soul«, therefore, could not be »aryanised« or inculturated. On the other hand, Jesus was a very pure case of the »religiöses Urphänomen« (the experience of God in the depth of one's racially, culturally and historically conditioned life) and, in this respect, of universal importance. See Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, *Ein arischer Christus? Eine Besinnung*

nal religious *experience*. In all matters of religion, »*life* has the last word, not thought.«[46] However, Hauer himself demolished this argument by claiming that people's primary experience would be something along the lines of his vision, an alternative view without Marx and without Jesus. His battle for liberation from ›alien‹ domination took place on two fronts: against Christianity and against transatlantic atheism and liberalism. It has become clear, then, that it is relatively easy and indeed necessary to reject the inconsistencies, the racism and the violence of Hauer's dark religious vision. But it is a lot more difficult to brush aside what actually provided his vision with power: the fact that western culture now challenged any monopoly regarding the access to the divine and the problem that modernity's official image of man as a secular being was at odds with the primary undercurrent. On both counts ›Europe‹ and ›Christianity‹ were drifting apart.

Joseph H. Oldham

Oldham, the most important figure of the International Missionary Council on the eastern side of the Atlantic, was one of the first missiologists to face fully the dilemma of the Christian presence in the West.[47] On the one hand, Christianity had not only withdrawn from large areas of Europe since 1789, it had also receded from the heart of western civilization generally. Liberal culture, it seemed, was no natural ally of Christianity. It was now much more difficult for the missions on both sides of the Atlantic to persuade a largely unwilling public that they somehow had privileged access to the truth – not to mention their intention to conquer all other religions, and non-religions, in favour of their type of Christianity. On the other hand, what Oldham witnessed in the 1920s and 30s was that the post-Christians, those who were supposed to be secular and irreligious, had returned in droves to a fanatical living faith – a passion they had refused to give to the Church. Why were the Christian churches half empty and the ›churches‹ of the totalitarian and the nationalist revolutions full?

Oldham (1874–1969) was a layman with extensive international experience. He had done away with the inherited division of labour, according to which the preaching of the Gospel in the West was a pastoral task, but in

über deutsches Wesen und Christentum (Karlsruhe and Leipzig: Boltze, 1939), 59–64, quoted here after Armin Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932*, vol. I. 3rd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989), 379.

46 Hauer, *Das religiöse Erleben*, preface; a similar statement, also in the preface, declares: »Religion, you know, is not a concept, it is the power of life«.

47 For Oldham's biography see Keith Clements, *Faith on the Frontier. A Life of J. H. Oldham* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999).

Africa and Asia it was a missionary activity. The task was a missionary one everywhere, only the particulars differed. However, particulars mattered. In modern Europe, for example, Christianity's chance of survival was now in question.[48] On this basis, he launched two serious attempts at dealing creatively with the new cultural and spiritual situation. The first he started before 1933, the year Hitler came to power, the second after this landmark. The *Christian Message Project* of 1929 aimed at identifying the epistemological and theological tasks that needed to be addressed in order to develop a programme for re-evangelizing the West, Europe in particular.[49] He believed initially that this search would require a period of reflection lasting about twenty years, but he had not reckoned with a new factor that had emerged in western culture – the return of religion. The new political religions, Nazism in particular, but also Hauer's ›German Faith‹, were much faster than Oldham and his academic team in producing a comprehensive, if arbitrary, cultural-religious synthesis, on which basis the totalitarianism of the Third Reich was able to flourish. The attempt by the international missionary movement to redefine or even re-inculturate the Gospel in the liberal West had failed. Oldham abandoned the project in 1933 and adopted a much more practical and authoritarian course, a new project, which he developed best in his cultural analysis of 1940, *The Resurrection of Christendom*.[50]

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48 I have worked on this matter in more detail in my books: Werner Ustorf, *Sailing on the Next Tide. Missions, Missiology, and the Third Reich* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 2000), 97–127, and id., *Robinson Crusoe*, 133–185. Extensive footnotes can be found in both.

49 His intention was to gather an international team of the most experienced specialists in the fields of the humanities and the sciences. Some well-known theologians did participate, however, because the project asked whether God was indeed also revealing Godself outside of scripture, that is, in the modern-secular world, Karl Barth's inclusion was rejected on the grounds that his dialectic theology had nothing to contribute to the search for a new inculturation of the Gospel. What could the Church offer, Oldham asked, that its competitors could not; or, indeed, in which they were more competent? Did the preaching in Europe not make it abundantly clear that it had lost its specific language by repeating, on the one hand, the thought patterns of a period that had long been abandoned by the majority and, on the other, by restating in more contemporary and fashionable tones what modern man thought anyway? Therefore, the Gospel in Europe had to be newly expressed – in the language of the modern world, but certainly not in the sense of a re-introduction of evangelistic piety or a call to re-conquer lost terrain. In fact, these two reactions were the kind of misconceptions that Oldham wished to avoid, and this was why he tried to keep the mission agencies out of his project.

50 This publication was the first supplementary volume of the influential weekly, later fortnightly, *Christian Newsletter* that Oldham edited during the wartime. It summarizes a conservative social philosophy, similar to that of the writer T. S. Eliot, who was also a member of the theological think-tank that Oldham had established during the War. »Christendom« relates to that period in Christian history when religion, culture, state, language, and territory were almost identical – its meaning is therefore rather different from the meaning of the word ›Christianity‹. Further, Oldham's essay is also based on the theological discussions of the *Life and Work* conference on »Church, Community and State« that he organized in Oxford in 1937, and on those of the International Missionary Council of which he had previously been the first General Secretary.

His thesis was now that the nature of the crisis was spiritual – Hauer would agree and so, later, would the Kimbanguists; »cancerous growths« were affecting western civilization as a whole, killing off the »spiritual foundations of western civilization«. This process was destructive to Christian faith and advancing at a different pace in different countries. In Germany it was most developed, and, seen in this light, the Nazi system was a violent attempt »to arrest the process of disintegration« by establishing society on a religious, but post-Christian, namely, pagan foundation. Unless the democracies of the West made up their minds and went for a »radical cure«, they might go down the same road as Germany. This radical cure, which purported to be able to revitalize a »sick« Western civilization, was nothing less than the reconfiguration of national life on the basis of a restored Christendom.

However, how was it possible that the spiritual moorings of European civilization were being destroyed? Oldham identified a catastrophic sequence of four phases:

1. The cultural, political, and social revolutions that Europe had gone through since the time of the Enlightenment and the inception of the industrial era had not led to the extinction, but to the marginalization, of Church and Christianity, and to what he called »the progressive paganization of thought and life«.[51]
2. Contributing to the rise of secular culture, however, was the Church itself, through what was deemed to be its far-reaching accommodation of modernity. Saying the sort of things in religious language that secular culture had already expressed, the Church and its faith became almost redundant and were consequently more or less replaced by liberal humanism.
3. As the project of modernity was no longer seen to deliver the degree of inner peace, equality and justice it had once promised, exhaustion from, and disillusionment with Liberalism was spreading.
4. Secular man proved to be unable to shoulder the weight that modern culture had loaded upon him; namely, to find the ultimate source of value and the aim of life in oneself. People rid themselves of this enormous weight and flee from this responsibility into a space where there were new absolutes and certainties. These absolutes were easily available in the new totalitarian religious systems.

The task in hand was nothing less than to go back to step 2 and revitalize Western civilization through a reformulated and renewed form of Christian thought. The »Christian revival« meant the injection of new moral energies

51 Joseph H. Oldham, *The Resurrection of Christendom* (The Christian News-Letter Books 1) (London, New York: Sheldon/Macmillan, 1940), 22.

into a sick body, and something that would have a massive and transformative impact on Western civilization – it had to be of »comparable historical significance« when measured against the new totalitarian religions.[52] In other words, the revitalization was to redraw completely the basic assumptions of society as, in their way, the »doctrines« of Nazism had done. This revolution was spiritual, it would create a state that recognized that »the chief end of man is spiritual«;[53] but it was also »a social and political faith« that would dominate public discourse in every respect. The church would offer »clear convictions« that would be »impressed on the mind and conscience of the members of the Church by its teachers«. Compared with the Nazi believers' readiness for self-sacrifice, this faith would be equally heroic and would require people to be »prepared to die« for it. It should already be clear by now that Oldham's response to totalitarianism, the resurrection of Christendom, had taken a few pages from the book of Nazism.[54] It would be unfair, however, to locate this approach within the ideological spectrum of fascism, because Oldham did also speak of the »pluralist« structure of the new Christendom, envisaging a clear division of power. On the other hand, it is also obvious that a totalitarian society in which the core element is Christian is still a totalitarian system.

Was Oldham's proposal really a way out of the crisis? I am irritated by the underlying assumption that Nazism's response to the religious crisis of the West was ›right‹, in as much as it re-introduced the religious dimension; though it was, of course, the ›wrong‹ sort of religion, namely, violent political religion. As it was, he agreed with Nazism that vaccination or inoculation against the autonomous structure of modern thought was necessary, but he prescribed a different vaccine or serum. Was it really good enough to try to match the fanaticism of the new violent religions with a Christian version of heroism and sacrifice? He vigorously confronted Nazism by opting for an absolutist position, which, today, we would call Christian exclusivism. But this was precisely the kind of authoritarian certainty from which western mainline culture was trying to emancipate itself – though with much difficulty and, as the example of Hauer and Oldham's analysis itself showed, always tempted by the promise of new absolutes and instant certainties.

52 Ibid., 8.

53 Ibid., 32.

54 This impression is reinforced by the following: Oldham suggests an organized and coordinated process to influence the masses, and the involvement of a special order of Christians, that is to say, convinced and committed lay persons, in the political life, government, business, the academy, the sciences, press, broadcasting and education – »élite« groups or, as he says in one place, the »storm-troops« of the Christian cause. See, also for the subsequent quotes of the paragraph, ibid., 22 et seq., 30, 44 et seq.

Conclusion

The historical materials here presented are far too rich and heterogeneous to be subjugated to a single line of interpretation. However, it is possible to highlight a number of observations regarding the image of Europe and European Christianity that these five outsider voices in this period of history have constructed. The first observation is that the question of direct access to the sacred is central for at least three out of our five voices. ›European Christianity‹ has frequently been experienced as smothering that access. This was most visible in the case of the two ›prophets‹ Kimbangu and Hauer, and was also a theme in Tjalkabota's narrative. The two voices speaking on behalf of institutionalised Christianity and its professional theological discourse, Yoyo and Oldham, acknowledge the issue, but see its solution more in the mediating and educational structures of the Church (both African and European). It is clear that the question of direct access to the divine cuts across cultural and geographical boundaries. With Kimbangu and Hauer we have, in addition, a radical attempt to cut out the previous ›middlemen‹ – in Africa the foreign missionary apparatus, in Germany a culturally ›alien‹ Church. Both types of prophesy, different as they are, indicate that there is a problem whenever an established religion does not offer sufficient space for people to express the charismatic dimension of their lives. The lines of difference, hence, do not run between ›North‹ and ›South‹ or internal and external but, rather, between institutionalized and non-institutionalized types of Christianity.

A second observation relates to the way people live their faith. This is the moment when questions of Gospel and Culture come into play. Apart from Hauer, who flatly (and against all evidence) denies that the inculturation of the Christian message is possible at all in an ›Indo-Aryan‹ setting, it is the theologian Yoyo who raises explicitly the question of the captivity of the mission from the West to the values of modern European mainline culture. European Christianity is found to be too uncritical of its cultural fixations. He is in this regard in agreement with the great strategist of the missionary movement, Oldham, who did in fact produce a programmatic scheme for differentiating between Christianity and European culture, whether it was liberal secular or regressively religious. Yoyo, however – and implicitly Kimbangu and Tjalkabota – argues for the right of the people to address and understand the Gospel in their own (culturally and historically conditioned) ways. This is an option which the two Europeans, interestingly, more or less deny. Hauer makes his own vision a prescriptive one and Oldham wishes to ram his ›revival‹ down the people's throats. Both show a teacher's attitude, which, macrohistorically, is one of the problems that kept plaguing not only the Mission from the West for a considerable time.

The third observation is that a conflict has opened up in global Christian history that remains unresolved to this day. This is the conflict of interpretation between multilateral and unilateral ways of understanding the Christian faith. In his Christian phase, Hauer advocated a plural approach to understanding and, therefore, gave legitimacy to free religious thinking inside Christianity. Yoyo is probably closest to this position with his acknowledgement that the Christian message can be, and is in practice, read in different ways in different cultures. Kimbangu and Tjalkabota (and, later, Hauer), however, are exclusivists and offer little space for alternative interpretations. Oldham moved from a position in which the autonomy of the scientific world-view was respected to a more belligerent attitude that evinced an open Christian rivalry. It is interesting to see that, like the first one, this conflict is cross-cultural as well: that is to say, it is not a question of a pluralist Western against an exclusivist Southern Christianity. The debate on multilateral versus unilateral ways of understanding the Christian faith is happening on both sides of the divide and inside each of the variants of the faith.

Sebastian C. H. Kim

Pyŏngin pakhae and Western Imperial Aggression in Korea

Changing Perception of Western Christianity in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty

›洋夷侵犯 非戰則和 主和賣國‹

戒吾萬年子孫 丙寅作 辛未立

– 斥和碑

›If you do not fight when foreign barbarians attack, in effect you are colluding with them. If you call for conciliation with them, you are betraying your country‹.

We hereby warn the descendants of the next ten thousand years. Written in Pyŏngin year (1866); Stele erected in *Sinmi* year (1871)

– Ch'ŏkhwapi (Stele Rejecting Conciliation).[1]

Korean officials and scholars in the late Chosŏn dynasty were introduced to Western Christianity through Chinese literature published by missionaries in Beijing. After nearly a century in which Christian literature had been studied in Korea, Catholic Christianity took root there, through the baptism of Yi sŭnghun in 1784, and began to grow.[2] The perception of Western Christianity by the general public shifted over this period.[3] At first, it was appre-

1 The Stele Rejecting Reconciliation (*Ch'ŏkhwapi*) was written in Chinese in stone by the Taewŏn'gun in 1871 to warn the people of Chosŏn not to associate with foreigners. Steles were erected in Seoul and various key cities throughout the country, but were later taken down in and around 1882 when the Chosŏn dynasty made treaties with Western nations. See Ching Young Choe, *The Rule of the Taewŏn'gun, 1864–1873: Restoration in Yi Korea* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1972).

2 Institute of Korean Church History (IKCH), ed., *Korean Catholic History I* (in Korean) (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 2009), 239–51.

3 During this period, the people of Chosŏn had very little contact with other nations, apart from China and Japan. The initial encounters with Catholic Christianity and Western nations were

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ciated for providing new ideas and ethics, along with Western philosophy, science and technology, which would benefit the modernization of Korea. Latterly, however, the Catholic Church was seen as promoting different and ›wrong‹ doctrines and teachings, which would destroy traditional Confucian values and its existing socio-political system. In a yet later period of 1866–67, the Catholic Church was regarded as an ally of the Western imperial forces, which had defeated the mighty China, and threatened the sovereignty of the nation and its existence. In this paper, I will examine these three evolving perceptions of Western Christianity. I will briefly examine the first two periods and then focus my discussion on the last period, which was in the time of *Pyŏngin pakhae* (the persecution of Catholics across the period 1866–1873).[4]

The Korean Catholic Church is known throughout the worldwide Catholic Church for its martyr history and its ›unique‹ origins. It is claimed that the Korean church was started through the initiative of Koreans themselves in 1784, before any foreign missionaries had visited Korea. It grew exceptionally quickly; however the new movement soon fell out of favour with the authorities and was severely persecuted for the best part of the next one hundred years. In 1984, Pope John Paul II canonised ninety-three Korean martyrs – forty-seven of them women – of the persecutions of 1839–40, 1841, 1846, 1866–1871, together with ten French missionary priests.[5] Out of the four great persecutions, *Pyŏngin pakhae* (which started in the 1866, known as *Pyŏngin* year) was the last major persecution and was quite different from previous episodes: the number of victims, estimated between 8000 and 20,000, was far greater, the persecution was nationwide rather than regional,

mainly with European imperial powers. However, during and before the *Pyŏngin pakhae*, there were encounters with American imperial power as well. Korean experience with Western nations was mainly with political and military forces, missionaries, and some explorers. Korean descriptions of these people defined them largely by skin colour. The Chinese word for Westerners describes them as ›the people from the western sea‹ which means from European nations, but Koreans applied it to Americans as well, because the Americans they met appeared European.

4 For the general discussion on *Pyŏngin pakhae*, see Chang Dongha, *History of Modern Korea and the Catholic Church* (in Korean) (Seoul: Catholic Books, 2006), 131–180; Yi Wŏnsun, *A Study of Korean Catholic Church History I* (in Korean) (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 1986), 118–140; Yi Wŏnsun, *A Study of Korean Catholic Church History II* (in Korean) (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 2004), 123–68; Institute of Korean Church History Studies (IKCHS), ed., *A History of Korean Church I* (in Korean) (Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 1989), 107–21. Charles Dallet, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée: précédée d'une introduction sur l'histoire, les institutions, la langue, les moeurs et coutumes coréennes: avec carte et planches*, trans. in Korean by Ahn Ŭngyŏl and Choi Sŏkwu, *A History of the Church in Korea III* (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History Studies, 1980), 359–485.

5 Institute of Korean Church History (IKCH), ed., *Korean Catholic History III* (in Korean) (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 2010), 258–83; Chang, *History of Modern Korea and the Catholic Church*, 181–89.

and it was aimed across various classes rather than specifically at the *yangban* elite.[6] The persecution had much to do with a domestic political power struggle of the Taewŏn'gun, Grand Prince and effective ruler of Korea, in the inner court of the Chosŏn dynasty. It was triggered, and further fuelled by, western imperial advancement and the perceived collaboration of Western powers with Korean Catholics and foreign missionaries. In other words, as I shall show in the following sections, although the Chosŏn government initiated persecution towards missionaries and Korean Catholics, the severity of *Pyŏngin pakhae* was largely due to the cooperation of French missionaries and some Korean Catholics with the French invading navy at a time of national crisis.

The early introduction of Catholic Christianity to the Korean peninsula

The long-established tribute system with China meant that, from the Three Kingdoms period, Koreans had had little direct contact with other nations. Apart from occasional embassies to Japan, the annual tribute visit to Beijing was their only foreign relation. For the Korean envoys, China was a window onto the wider world. The envoys to China included Yi Sukwang (also known as Chibong), who travelled to Beijing in 1590, 1597 and 1611.[7] Yi was an early representative of the emerging *Silhak* or ›practical learning‹ movement. The chief Confucian response to Japanese attacks in the late sixteenth century was to strengthen orthodoxy by emphasising the traditional virtues of filial piety and loyalty, the importance of self-cultivation and the right performance of ritual. However, the *Silhak* scholars, while still claiming loyalty to Chu Hsi, the founder of neo-Confucianism, saw this attitude as neglectful of actual social problems and as merely consolidating a corrupt social order.[8] These observations motivated them to adopt a more responsive approach and reform the tradition. They were influenced by the Tung-lin movement of the late Ming dynasty, which emphasised the application of knowledge, and the anti-Chu Hsi school of philosophy during the Ch'ing dynasty, which sought truth rather than orthodoxy. Envoys to Beijing contrasted the prosperity of

6 Andrew Finch, »The Pursuit of Martyrdom in the Catholic Church in Korea before 1866«, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (Jan 2009): 95–118, 101–102.

7 Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 79–121; Dallet, *A History of the Church in Korea I*, 299–332; Choi Sŏkwu, *Research on Korean Church History III* (in Korean) (Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 2000), 11–75; IKCH, *Korean Catholic History I*, 117–225.

8 Ibid., 227–238; Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 13–32.

early Ch'ing China and the poverty of Korea. Having observed these things, *Silhak* scholars proposed social and political reforms with a greater emphasis on wealth creation.[9]

Another result of the tribute trips to Beijing was that the scholars encountered the ›Western learning‹ (*sŏhak*) which was mediated by the Jesuits at the imperial court and generally equated by Koreans with Catholicism. This also suggested new solutions to Korean problems which scholars began to take back home with them. The intellectual approach of the Jesuits in China meant that, by the seventeenth century, Confucian texts had been translated into European languages and many western texts had been translated into Chinese. Many more scientific and philosophical works as well as explicitly religious material had been composed in Chinese, and Ricci's own works were pre-eminent among these. Those of his religious books that later became influential in Korea include *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (1595, published in 1603; *Ch'ŏnju Silŭi* in Korean),[10] which is the most widely read. *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* is a scholastic apology for Christian faith that aims to correct mistaken conceptions of God – particularly those of Buddhism, Taoism and traditional Chinese pantheism – and open up a dialogue with Confucianism.[11] While in China, Chibong (Yi Sukwang) collected together the new learning that he encountered there in one great encyclopaedic work (*Chibong yusŏl*) which ranged across astronomy, geography, language, building, clothing, food, botany and biology. It also included the earliest Korean writings on foreign countries based on what he had learnt about Europe. Chibong also described Catholic doctrine in a way that appears to be based on Matteo Ricci's *Ch'ŏnju Silŭi*. This book was first referred to in the reign of Kwanghaegun (1608–1623) by Yi Sukwang.[12] Another well-known scholar, Hŏ Kyun went to China twice in 1610, where he came across Ricci's book. He is said to have bought and transported 4,000 books back, including many Catholic volumes. His particular enthusiasm for ›Western learning‹ was such that he has been referred to as Korea's first Catholic by Park Ji-wŏn and Ahn Jŏngbok, who were leading scholars.[13]

9 Yu Chai-shin, ed., *The Founding of Catholic Tradition in Korea* (Ontario: Korea and Related Studies Press, 1996); Jangtae Keum, *Confucianism and Korean Thoughts* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2000).

10 Matteo S. Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translations Series I: No. 6), trans. Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, ed. Edward Malatesta (St. Louis, Mo: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985).

11 Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, »Translators' Introduction«, in *The True Meaning* (T'ien-chu Shih-i) by Matteo S. Ricci, 3–53, 22; Song Yŏngbae, »Conflict and Dialogue between Confucianism and Christianity: An Analysis of the Tianzhu shiyi by Matteo Ricci«, *Korea Journal* (Spring 1999): 224–48, 225.

12 Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 239; IKCH, *Korean Catholic History I*, 118–19, 169–70.

13 Ibid., 125–26; Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History I*, 33–41.

Initially, Confucian scholars and *yangban* elites studied Catholicism, together with western literature, science and philosophy, all of which were brought by official envoys who would go to Beijing for their annual visits. The western teaching, known as *sŏhak*, was positively accepted by this group who were seeking alternative philosophy and ethics for the transformation of both society and the system of government. After more than a century in which Catholic teaching had been studied in Korea, a decisive point was reached in 1777–1779 at a series of meetings (*kanghakhwoe*) of Sŏngho scholars, some of which took place at the hermitage Ch'ŏnjinam near the Buddhist temple Chuŏ-sa.[14] The group entrusted Yi Sŭnghun, who was accompanying his father on the annual official visit to Beijing, to make contact with missionaries and find out more about Christianity. The Catholic Church dates the birth of the church in Korea to 1784, the date of his baptism.[15]

As Korean intellectuals and officials encountered Catholic Christianity as early as the sixteenth century, they received it positively, as something able to advance the modernisation of Korea, because the missionaries introduced new ideas from the West. Also, the fact that the missionaries were allowed to live in Beijing and had a well-established relationship with the emperor's court and high level officials in China gave Korean leaders the impression that their teaching was desirable. Catholic Christianity, as interpreted by Ricci, was very acceptable to Korean leaders and scholars since there was ample shared ideology between it and their own worldview. There was some criticism of and suspicion towards Catholic doctrine, comparing it unfavourably with Confucian teaching. For example, this is found in the writings of Yi Sukwang. However, by and large, Koreans appreciated Catholic Christianity as a catalyst for bringing the Western learning into Korea as it had done in China. In the same manner as Confucianism, Christianity was regarded as the social and personal code of conduct and philosophical framework whereby Western civilisation flourished.[16] There were a growing number of Korean intellectuals who were showing interest in *sŏhak, Western teaching,* either with or without an association with Catholic teachings. However, as China experienced the serious tension between the Catholic Church in Rome and the Chinese Emperor, known as the Rites Controversy, and Pope Clement XI's decree in 1705 prohibited Chinese Christians from ancestor vener-

14 Ibid., 80–117; Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 102–121; IKCH, *Korean Catholic History I*, 227–238; Dallet, *A History of the Church in Korea I*, 299–303.

15 IKCH, *Korean Catholic History I*, 239–51; IKCHS, *A History of Korean Church I*, 73–76; Dallet, *A History of the Church in Korea I*, 303–8, Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 115–21.

16 Yi Wŏnsun', *Korean Catholic Church History I*, 42–79; IKCH, *Korean Catholic History I*, 194–221.

ation, leading to the persecution of Catholic Christianity, so in Korea the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Korean authorities rapidly became embittered.

Ancestor veneration and the beginning of persecutions

Although the first believers seemed convinced that western learning, or Catholicism, was complementary to Confucianism, the fact that they met in secret from the beginning suggested that they suspected that the authorities, who were dominated by the conservative *Noron* faction, would not have the same attitude. The prohibition of ancestor veneration, which they discovered only in 1790, was a major challenge to the community. The *yangban* members of the community, for whom lineage was the basis of their social status, were the most affected by the prohibition. Failure to venerate the ancestors according to the prescribed tradition provided a very clear and rational motive for those opposed to Catholic teaching, who did not have to wait long to pounce. Paul Yun Chich'ung, a cousin of Tasan, was in no doubt as to where his allegiance lay. After the death of his mother in 1791, he not only refused to use the ancestral tablets in the mourning ritual for his mother, but went much further than Bishop Gouvea advised and burned all of the family's ancestral tablets. Hong Nag-an got to hear about it and brought it to the attention of Ch'oe Chegong, the leader of the Namin faction, saying that this was a crime ›one hundred times worse than rebellion‹ and that those who practised it should be ›exterminated‹ for it.[17] This caused a huge outcry in *yangban* society and prompted demands for their execution. After his uncle had been arrested, Yun and his maternal cousin Kwŏn Sangyun, who had helped him, turned themselves in. Although they could have recanted and been released, under interrogation and torture both insisted on the priority of conscience and refused to give in.[18]

At his trial, Yun defended himself by arguing that ancestor veneration was a sin against the Lord and was forbidden by the Catholic Church. But he denied that he had been disrespectful of his mother's memory and argued that Catholicism had even more elaborate rituals to remember the dead. He cited other circumstances, such as poverty, under which failure to venerate ancestors was not punished and claimed that there was no law against believing in Catholicism. He also criticised the Confucian custom as misguided:

17 Don Baker, »The Martyrdom of Paul Yun: Western Religion and Eastern Ritual in Eighteenth-Century Korea«, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch* 54 (1979): 33–58, 49–50; Dallet, *A History of the Church in Korea I*, 336–56.

18 Ibid., 333–336; IKCH, *Korean Catholic History I*, 292–300.

honouring the wooden tablets could not be the same as honouring his parents because they were not present in the tablets; rather, their bodies were in the earth, and their spirit in either heaven or hell. He then went further and flatly contradicted Confucian doctrine by insisting that loyalty and filial piety are not absolute but based on the law of God, although he then summarised this law in a Confucian way as the Ten Commandments and seven virtues of Catholic teaching. However, Yun's arguments were nonsensical to the Confucian court, for which fulfilment of social obligations had priority over any questions of right or wrong, and whose members had never, anyway, considered that ancestors' spirits were present in the tablets, but only that the tablets represented them. Yun and his cousin were beheaded as grave robbers by the P'ungnam Gate in Chŏnju. This became a place of pilgrimage associated with miracles and a towel soaked in the martyrs' blood was taken to Beijing as a relic. The authorities rounded up other church leaders and others who were deemed guilty by association.[19]

Whereas in China the question was about whether the Confucian ancestor rites could be incorporated into Christian practice, and whether they were a purely civil ceremony, in Korea, the point at issue was more extreme: the neo-Confucians treated ancestor veneration as the litmus test of orthodoxy and, when the Church forbade it, this implied to Christians that the rites were an idolatrous religious practice incompatible with Christianity and to Confucians that Catholicism, which had its own rites, was an illegitimate and exclusive alternative to Confucianism. Therefore, from a Confucian perspective, the prohibition of ancestor veneration would lead to bloodshed and the destruction of tradition and families. Catholic rejection of Confucian ancestor veneration was a major obstacle to the acceptance of Catholicism and contributed to the perception that Christianity was foreign and even treasonable. The chief accusation against the Christians was that they ›knew neither parents nor king‹ but insisted on obedience to the Lord of Heaven.[20] From the believers' point of view Ch'onju (the heavenly Lord) was both father and king, but from the Confucian perspective Ch'onju could count as neither. However, a line had also been crossed by the Christian community. From this point on, it was more difficult to argue that Christianity was compatible with Confucianism, and commitment to Catholicism set oneself against the existing order with all the risks that that entailed. Violation of the law on ancestor veneration was most difficult for *yangban* Christians whose family status was seen to depend on it, so after this the number of *yangban* converts began

19 Jai-Keun Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea: An Examination of Popular and Governmental Responses to Catholic Missions in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seoul: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2006), 100; IKCH, *Korean Catholic History I*, 301–7.

20 Ibid., 311.

to decline relative to other social classes. *Yangban* believers faced strong social pressure to conform to Confucian norms, not only within the professional arena, because if they were known as Catholics they could no longer hold government posts, but also from parents, who sometimes threatened suicide, and from other relatives who considered their status to be at risk. Refusing to venerate one's ancestors in the Confucian way became a profession of faith, but the responsibility to venerate ancestors was not itself denied. It is likely that the first Korean Catholics understood prayer and the sacraments as an even more efficacious way of praising heaven and one's ancestors.[21]

From the perspective of the authorities, Catholicism could perhaps have been tolerated were it not for the prohibition of ancestor veneration, but when Christians refused to venerate their ancestors, they crossed a line. Neo-Confucianism was able to tolerate heterodox views (*idan*) and, indeed, intellectual debate flourished among the literati, as we have seen. Heterodox beliefs were permissible in private but not in public. Hence, women could continue shamanistic practice in connection with domestic concerns. *Yangban* were free to engage in unconventional activities so long as it was within the home, but ancestor veneration was a public act. However, refusing to venerate ancestors challenged the moral framework of society and so Catholicism was no longer viewed as *idan* – heterodox – but had revealed itself to be *sahak* – perverse teachings.[22] In this period, the Korean authorities began to make a distinction between Catholicism and Confucianism and between Catholic teaching and western literature in general. They now perceived the Catholic faith as a direct challenge to Korean customs and values, which were closely entwined with Confucian values in the form of ancestor veneration. Nonetheless, the faith of individual Catholics who refused to take part in ancestor veneration was not perceived by the authorities as a threat to national security, and there was still a generally positive attitude to Western learning. However, this view was to be drastically changed as Koreans faced direct attack from Western powers, as we will see in the next section.

Pyŏngin pakhae and western imperial aggression in Korea

Around the time of a series of persecutions in the first half of the nineteenth century, Korea was going through a time of crisis. The Chosŏn administration was highly centralised but very inefficient. The factional strife which had so beset the administration declined in the nineteenth century to be replaced by rising nepotism due to the growing power of royal in-laws – a classic sign of

21 Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 102–3.
22 Baker, »The Martyrdom of Paul Yun«, 54–5.

a weak dynasty. In particular, the Andong Kim and the P'ungyang Cho clans vied for power between 1802 and1873. The common people were exploited by corrupt local magistrates, clerks, *yangban* lords, Confucian academies, princely houses and government agencies. By the nineteenth century, many were near bankruptcy or already effectively bonded labourers. They were also subjected to ever greater duties and taxes. To add to the woes of ordinary Koreans, there was a series of natural disasters. Between 1782 and 1840 there was famine or epidemic about once every two years. There were large-scale revolts during this period. The Hong Kyŏngrae rebellion in P'yngan province in 1811 was savagely repressed. The Imsul farmers' revolt of 1862 in Jinju, Kyŏngsang province, was sparked by the exploitative practices of the local ruler but triggered uprisings across the country.[23]

Meanwhile, the Chinese Qing Dynasty suffered greatly both from internal rebellions, most notably the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), in which about 20 million lives were lost, and from the imperial advancement of Britain, France and Russia. In particular, during the Second Opium War (1856–1860), the Emperor Xianfeng fled from Beijing as the Anglo-French army entered, and burnt the Summer Palaces and forced the Chinese monarchy to ratify the Treaty of Tianjin in October 1860. This came as a great shock for the Korean monarchy and politicians, who had always regarded China as a powerful nation acting as a patron for them. This incident revealed to Koreans not only the decline of the Chinese power in world politics, but more significantly, the rise of western imperial nations and their imminent threat to the Korean peninsula. Indeed, when the news of the Chinese defeat reached Korea toward the end of 1860, it was reported that there was a significant disturbance in Korean society and in some cases people wished to acquire Catholic books or ornaments in order to gain favour in the event of future attack from western nations. Japan, the other most powerful nation in the region, was also forced by the US government to open for trade in 1854. There was fear and suspicion of the new and unknown powers and the Korean authorities decided on a policy of complete isolation from the rest of the world. In the next section, I will first describe the political situation and then analyse the perception of Western Christianity by Korean authorities and by Korean Christians.

23 See Choe, *The Rule of the Taewŏn'gun*; Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 201–209; Anders Karlsson, *The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion 1811–1812: Conflict between Central Power and Local Society in 19th-Century Korea* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, Institute of Oriental Languages, 2000).

Internal politics of the royal court and the process of the persecution

King Ch'ŏlchong, who ruled from 1831 to 1863, was generally favourable toward Catholics and was supported in this attitude by his in-laws, the powerful Andong Kim clan. However, he died without an heir and on his death, power passed into the hands of Dowager Cho, of the rival clan, and Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun (Grand Prince Hŭngsŏn), father of the newly-appointed king Kojong, who was still a minor. He soon used the power of his in-laws, the Min clan of Yŏhŭng, to push out the Cho family. While the Taewŏn'gun tried to consolidate his newly- gained political power, he had to face threats from outside as there were various attempts from western nations to open trade agreements with Korea. The Taewŏn'gun was originally friendly to Catholics; indeed his wife was a sympathiser, his son's wet-nurse Martha Pak was a baptised believer, and there were Catholics at court. He also seemed to have had wide-ranging contacts among hereditary Catholics who had fallen from power, but he was in a precarious political position and the period of persecution that he initiated, which extended through several phases until 1871, needs to be understood in the context of world history as well as internal matters.[24] In 1847, under Nikolas I, Russia moved to the East and South as it acquired Siberia from China. After the second Opium War, Russia acquired a large body of land that shared a border with the North East of Korea. The Russian fleet operated constantly near Korean ports in 1853 and 1855. In 1866, the Russians became even more aggressive in their approach to Korea (sending a ship to Wonsan to ask for trade and sending a group of soldiers to the northern border). In the crisis of Russian aggression, the Taewŏn'gun enlisted the help of Korean Catholics to mediate between French missionaries and the Korean government to arrange an alliance with France to protect Korea against the Russians.[25]

The French Catholics were only too happy to help, being particularly wary of Russian expansion only a decade after the French had resisted Russia's southward policy in the case of the Crimea. However, they moved slowly to bring the bishops to the negotiations and news of these leaked to the Catholic community who could barely contain their exuberance, especially at learning of a proposed meeting of the Taewŏn'gun with their Bishop.[26] But this drew attention to the presence of French priests in the country, which was politically embarrassing for the Taewŏn'gun. So when, in 1866, the threat

24 Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 200.

25 Kang Sanggyu, »A Study of the Paradox of Taewongun's Political Power« (in Korean), *The Review of Korean Studies* 30 (2007): 307–34.

26 IKCH, *Korean Catholic History III*, 250–7; Chang, *History of Modern Korea and the Catholic Church*, 134–36; Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 133–38.

from Russia was unexpectedly lifted, he turned against Catholicism and followed the example of China at the time in suppressing it. During the first phase in the earlier part of 1866, the authorities moved against representative Catholic figures and the French missionaries. In the name of Dowager Queen Cho, who gained political capital out of this, a nationwide order was issued to burn all Catholic books, to report Catholics and to guard the west-facing coast. The persecution then became widespread. Catholics in Seoul, in P'yŏngyang and in the provinces were executed, and others were indiscriminately slaughtered. Nine of the twelve French missionaries in the country at the time were also captured and beheaded, including Bishop Berneux. However, three others – Frs Félix Clair Ridel, Ferol and Calais – evaded arrest to raise the alarm and mobilise foreign support. Ridel went to the French Admiral P. G. Roze, who was stationed in Chefoo, China, to call for a rescue of the French missionaries and military action to prevent further persecution of Catholics in Korea. Roze promised him that he would take action, but due to an urgent situation in Indo-China, the military campaign was delayed.[27]

Meanwhile, in the middle of 1866, the US armoured merchant ship the General Sherman penetrated inland to P'yŏngyang to negotiate with the Korean government for trade. In addition to the twenty-four sailors, Robert J. Thomas of the London Missionary Society was on-board as the translator and navigator. The local government's rejection of any negotiation frustrated the crew and, on 27th August, they captured the captain and the conflict started. On 28th August, the ship fired toward Korean defences and seven Koreans were killed. Eventually, the ship got stuck in the mud due to the tide and was attacked by the Korean army. Everyone on board was killed on 5th September. The presence of Thomas and his role in the foreign vessel's aggression confirmed to the Korean government that the Western imperial powers and missionaries were closely cooperating in order ultimately to exploit Korea for their own gain.[28]

The death of the missionaries now gave the French what they regarded as a legitimate excuse to interfere in Korean affairs. Admiral Roze eventually started his punitive campaign against Korea, utilising his naval vessels as well as a fleet from Japan, totalling seven battle ships with 1,400 soldiers on 11th October.[29] On board were the missionary priest, Fr. Ridel, and three Korean Catholics acting as translators and navigators. The navy planned to

27 Chang, *History of Modern Korea and the Catholic Church*, 139–54; Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 143–48.

28 IKCHS, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 137–41.

29 For the detailed account of the war, see Archives of Chosun-French Relations (1861–1867) – *Pyŏngin yangyo*, *Church History Research* 2 (1979): 195–288; Lee Juch'ŏn and Kim Jinhwan, »The Reillumination of Byeonginyangyeo Incident – Fighting between the Chosun and the French Army« (in Korean), *Open Mind Research in Humanities* 8 (2007): 131–46.

cut off Seoul and starve it out, so they occupied Kanghwa Island at the mouth of the River Han on which Seoul is situated. The initial battles were dominated by the French side since they had superior weapons and a well-trained navy, but gradually the situation changed as the Taewŏn'gun mobilised soldiers and volunteers throughout the country.[30] The French finally withdrew from the island on 21st November, but as they sailed away, they plundered and burned many of the buildings and boats, and took nineteen boxes of silver (887.55kg). They also took 340 volumes of precious books, which were kept in *Oekyuchang-kak*, one of the most important royal archives in the country. The remaining 5,790 volumes were burned to ashes. The books were mainly collections of drawings of major government events, such as royal funerals or weddings, produced between 1630 and 1849, and these drawings were of the highest quality of any produced in the period. This war between France and Korea infuriated the Taewŏn'gun, who decided that the place of the execution of Catholics should be Yanghwajin – the point on the River Han to which the French ships had penetrated. The official record stated that ›Due to the Catholics, the western barbarians polluted our river, therefore we need to wash it with their blood‹.[31] The perceived link between Catholicism and the ›West‹ was made explicit in this quotation and it was symbolised by the place of the execution so that everyone could see it. Many Catholics were executed without trial or permission from the central government.[32]

Further foreign threats that emerged in the next few years led to the extension of the persecution as Catholics were now getting the blame for all European aggression. In April 1868, the German adventurer Ernst Oppert, who had plotted with Fr Ferol and had been helped by Korean Catholics, landed at Ducksan and raided the tomb of the Taewŏn'gun's father, Namyŏnkun, believing that this would help to force Korea to open up. The attempt wasn't successful since the tide meant that Oppert and his associates had to leave the site but, predictably, this incident deeply upset the Taewŏn'gun. Koreans regarded the act as revolting and un-ethical, since they venerated their ancestors as a sacred duty. Those Koreans who were involved in the raid were captured and executed.[33]

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30 IKCH, *Korean Catholic History III*, 266–7; Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 148–55, Chang, *History of Modern Korea and the Catholic Church*, 159–80.

31 Yi Wŏnsun, *Study on Korean Catholic Church History*, 135. For details of martyrs during this time, see Suh Jongt'ae, »Pyŏngin pakhae and Chuldosan Martyrs« (in Korean), *Church History Research* 22 (2003): 85–129; Chŏng Duhŭi, »Pyŏngin pakhae Martyrs« (in Korean), *Theology of the World* 32 (1996): 118–26.

32 For details about victims see, Pang Sangkŭn, *A Study of the History of the Korean Catholic Church during the Middle of the 19th Century* (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 2006), 135–51.

33 IKCH, *Korean Catholic History III*, 235–78.

The final phase of persecution took place in May 1871 when the US finally retaliated for the destruction of the trading ship General Sherman, which had sailed up the river to P'yŏngyang in 1866. Previous expeditions had failed to discover its fate but Fr Ridel had informed them that it had been burnt and that all on board had perished. He now accompanied them to lead their worship on this expedition. They reconnoitred and had a skirmish with Korean batteries but then withdrew. Koreans also accompanied the ships and it was reported that Catholic believers visited the warships at night and attempted to establish relations with foreigners. As a result, there was a further round of arrests of Catholic believers who were killed because they – or in some cases merely their relatives – were perceived by the authorities as having treacherously attempted to make contact with foreign ships. The Taewŏn'gun also erected the Stele Rejecting Reconciliation (*Ch'ŏkhwapi*) throughout the land and redoubled his persecution of Catholics. Each such incident resulted in further isolationism by the Korean government, not out of a lack of desire to trade but because of fears that Western ideas would spread.[34]

Perceptions of western Christianity by the Korean authorities

In the context of a weakened China, Koreans felt that they had to decide foreign affairs on their own, and in this process of forming a national identity as an independent state, they decided to adopt an isolationist policy and rejected anything to do with the ›West‹ as barbarous and evil. This shift in the perception of the West was provoked particularly by the issue of ancestor veneration. The Catholic policy of banning Christian participation in ancestor veneration contributed to the people's general perception that the ›West‹, or ›Christians‹, which amounted to the same thing, were unethical and anti-royal. At the time of the military encounter, the Chosŏn government sent a strongly-worded letter to the Admiral Roze to protest the illegal entrance of the French into Korean territory:

> You are attempting to preach your religion in Korea which is an evil act. There is ample evidence from various pieces of literature on this matter. We follow our religion and you yours. If one renounces one's ancestors, this should be criticised. Why are you imposing your ways and calling on us to abandon ours? If we do not execute these people [missionaries], it is better that we denounce heaven.[35]

34 Ibid., 274–5.

35 Choi Sŏkwu, *Hankuk kyohoesaŭ Tamku II (Study on Korean Church History)* (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 1991), 332–33. Translations by Sebastian C. H. Kim.

The objection of the government was that the Western church not only held an ›evil‹ doctrine, but also tried to impose it onto Korean people. This, as a sovereign nation, they could not accept. When Korea encountered the news of China's defeat by Western nations, the authorities decided to stand firm rather than accept the requests for the trade from the West. However, through military encounters, the perception of the ›West‹ shifted to the view that the foreign invaders were barbarians, that its close associates, Korean Catholics and the missionaries, should be condemned, and that any Catholic teachings must be rejected. Before this period, being a Catholic did not in itself lead to martyrdom. The authorities were reluctant to impose capital punishment on Christians and were willing to release them if they showed signs of apostatising but this ›Great Persecution‹ was wholesale and indiscriminate.[36]

Yi Wŏnsun argues that the initial persecution of early 1866 could have ended there since the authorities had executed the majority of the missionaries and most of the Korean Catholic leaders, and the Catholic churches in major cities were destroyed. He suggests that the western aggression made the persecution worse than had been intended, especially considering the Taewŏn'gun's initially favourable attitude toward Catholics.[37] The official record of the executions shows that they were concentrated in the years between 1866 and 1868 (there were 376, 131 and 257 executions, respectively) which indicates a clear correlation between western imperial advancement and the severity of the persecution. For example, in the year 1866, 645 people were arrested; out of these, 91 people were arrested before August when the French attacked and 554 after August. Similarly, after the tomb incident, 750 people were arrested.[38] During previous persecutions, the government had tried to persuade the believers to give up their faith and the matter was dealt with in civil courts, but at the time of *Pyŏngin pakhae*, being a Catholic was not a matter of holding on evil doctrine. Rather, it was now regarded as treason. It was no longer an issue of ethical conduct toward culture and customs but now had more to do with national identity and allegiance in the context of the serious threat to Korean sovereignty.

The difference between the western nations and Christianity was not entirely clear to most Koreans at the time. Because of the association of the missionaries and Korean Christians with the invading military, they identified the two as operating together and decided that by executing the Catholics and missionaries, they would give a stern warning and could prevent western imperial advancement. In this regard, the missionaries' attitude was not en-

36 Andrew Finch, »The Pursuit of Martyrdom in the Catholic Church in Korea before 1866«, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (Jan 2009): 95–118, 101–2.

37 Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 138–42.

38 IKCH, *Korean Catholic History III*, 279–81.

tirely helpful, since they too boasted of the church's association with what was known as superior technology and science and, above all, military power. Although the majority of missionaries had either nothing to do with imperial advancements or were against military campaigns, some actively advocated the intervention of their home nation and the exercise of military power to achieve their missionary activities. Fr Ridel was an example of the latter case in that, after the execution of his colleagues, he wrote too Admiral Roze that military intervention was necessary for religious freedom in Korea and justified, so it wasn't just reaction to the persecution.[39] He later went to the Admiral Roze to appeal for a military campaign and accompanied the invading fleet as translator and navigator; when the Admiral decided to withdraw, he urged him to continue the campaign until they won, and he later accompanied the military campaign of Admiral Rodger of the American Asia Pacific Fleet.[40] His case could be exceptional, but this attitude of active military and political intervention on the basis of the home nation's imperial ambition laid the missionaries open to criticism.

The perception of the Catholic Church by the Korean authorities in the late Chosŏn dynasty deteriorated rapidly over the issue of ancestor veneration and over the acts of imperial aggression. In particular, during the *Pyŏngin pakhae*, Catholics were regarded as traitors to the nation simply by virtue of their Catholicism. This had much to do with the internal politics of the royal court and with events in China, but it was also a result of western imperial advancements and the active collaboration of some missionaries with Korean Catholics. Some missionaries were naïve in their assessment of the situation and arrogant in their call for military intervention.[41] It is regrettable that the actions of Korean Catholics, although sincere in seeking freedom of religion and acting out of desperation under systematic persecution, confirmed the suspicions of the government and the general public that their national allegiance was in question.

Perception of western Christianity by Korean Catholics

The rapid growth in the number of Korean Catholics shows that the Catholic faith was attractive to Koreans, and the number of Korean Christians from non-*yangban* classes and among women was increasing, judging by the records of those arrested. It is difficult to assess the motivations for martyr-

39 Even before the beginning of *Pyŏngin bakhae*, various missionaries suggested the necessity of military intervention in Korea. See Chang, *History of Modern Korea and the Catholic Church*, 142–43, fn. 25.

40 Yi Wŏnsun, *Korean Catholic Church History II*, 148–49.

41 Chang, *History of Modern Korea and the Catholic Church*, 175–6.

dom, and this is beyond the scope of this paper. In any case, not all executed were killed for their faith. Many were falsely accused of being Catholic, when they were only relatives or associates of Catholics. In a time of severe and systematic persecution, it is natural to seek help and in the case of *Pyŏngin bakhae*, they were actively involved in helping the invading military, giving detailed information about Korean military movements and sea passages. What could be in the minds of the ordinary Catholics at the time of foreign invasion? Which side did they support? How did they respond when the country which sent missionaries also sent an army to invade the country? How did they view the missionary on board – was he on the side of good or evil? When their allegiance and identity were seriously challenged, what did they do?

Their perception of the Catholic Church was revealed in a letter written by Hwang Sayŏng. Back in September 1801, with the Catholic community thrown into turmoil, and under threat of arrest, torture and death, a young Christian, Hwang Sayŏng (1775–1801) composed a letter to the pope to be sent via the bishop of Beijing. Having witnessed the mass execution of Catholics, he wrote his letter on silk so that it could be smuggled to China in the clothing of Christian couriers. However, it was discovered and Hwang Sayŏng was arrested – in a pottery workshop. His letter has become known as the ›Hwang Sayŏng silk letter‹ (*Hwang Sayŏng baeksŏ*).[42] It graphically described the situation of the Christian community – and has thus become one of the main sources for knowledge of this early period. Hwang recounted the current persecution and the suffering of the Christians both in the current and in previous persecutions, referring to the factional strife that was behind them. He asked for help first in the form of financial support to enable the church in future to provide safe havens for priests. Secondly, he asked for a better system of communication with Beijing, and, thirdly, for the pope to put pressure on the Chinese emperor not to persecute Korean Catholics. Finally, and most seriously for the future of the Catholic community, he went on to ask for Chosŏn to become a province of China and for hundreds of battleships from the West, bringing 50-60,000 men (or at least a tenth of this) to threaten the government.

The above letter and other documents suggest that Catholic Christians perceived the Catholic Church as inseparable from both the Pope and European states, and particularly France, from which most Catholic missionaries came (specifically, most Catholic missionaries came from the Paris Foreign Mission). Hwang thought that the pope could provide military forces for Korea.

42 Hwang Sayŏng, *Hwang Sayŏng baeksŏ* (Seoul: Sŏng Hwangsŏk durkasŏwŏn, 1998). See also Institute of Korean Church History (IKCH), ed., *Korean Catholic History II* (in Korean) (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 2010), 48–74.

Koreans who accompanied Fr Ridel to help the French invasion must have been impressed by the military power and also believed that the French government, missionaries and the Roman Catholic Church were working together for the spread of the Catholic teachings and for freedom of religion in Korea.[43] As we have seen, the actions of some Catholics were heavily condemned by the Chosŏn government and later by historians, who questioned the lack of judgement involved in them. However, reflecting on Hwang's letter, though one could well accept the criticism, one could alternatively interpret Hwang more positively as a revolutionary, believing that the only way to change the unjust situation in Korea was to bring about revolution; since it was not possible to achieve this from within Korea, he tried to do so with help from outside.[44] As I have pointed out, the initial acceptance of the Catholic faith by Korean intellectuals and scholars had much to do with bringing in the new ideas presented by Catholic teachings, especially issues of ethics and practical methods to achieve social and political justice. They saw, rightly and wrongly, that the rise of western power must be related to Christian teaching and saw that Christianity could help bring about their desired goal of social and political reform. The Catholic Church was seen by Korean Catholics as a catalyst for their cause because it provided a new and sophisticated ethics and moral code through Catholic teachings, and a new social and political order by the example of Western imperial powers. They were clearly naïve in their perspectives and also had limited access to information, but they were genuinely seeking to change their situation for the better.

As the persecution continued and the clash between Confucian and Christian ethics on the issue of ancestor veneration became public, many of *yangban* elite either gave up their faith or status, or were executed and the Catholic community extended toward the common and lower classes, who had been victims of generations of oppression. The message of equality and eschatological hope prevailed among the people and they held on to their faith in the midst of severe torture and death. Yet, they saw that the ›West‹ was something that they could tangibly grasp in their life time to help bring an end to the tyranny of the present regime. As in the case of the peasant revolts during the same period, the Christians had reason to fight, but, furthermore, they had faith and hope through Christian teaching. Even more, through the presence of French missionaries, they had hoped for the freedom of their newly gained religion in the near future. So the action of the Catholics, although treasonable was not unjustifiable. They were seeking the end of persecutions and freedom of faith. The Chosŏn society was so deeply divided

43 For the missionary attitude toward Koreans see, Noh Kilmyŏng, *People's History and the Catholic Church* (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History Studies, 1981), 53–81.

44 IKCH, *Korean Catholic History II*, 75–86.

by class, gender and clan that a national identity had barely formed and correspondingly, the Catholics had anchored their identity instead in the Catholic faith, which was notable in the Korean context for breaking down these divisions. Therefore the attempt of the ruling class to impose a neo-Confucian, hierarchical and class-oriented form of ›national identity‹ was bound to clash with the lower classes who did not share the same socio-cultural values.

Conclusion

The gap between the perceptions of the ruling authorities and Korean Catholics regarding the West and the Catholic Church made the persecution of Korean Catholics far worse, and as a result of being charged as traitors to the nation, Catholics underwent great physical suffering as well as social condemnation by the general public. There were reports of large numbers of Catholics being cast out from their local communities into the mountains, and many of them starved to death. Arguments that Catholics in the period may have intended revolution, or that they were consciously betraying the nation to an imperial power, perhaps over-read history.[45] It seems that they were simply responding to their desperate situation and holding on to a hope for survival. Unlike the other reform movements or revolts in the same period, which involved much regional conflict with government forces, Catholics were passive victims during the times of persecution, but, by affirming their faith and hope for a better world, here and after, they showed resilience and commitment in time of severe trial. The initiative for the Catholic movement came from Koreans themselves and the movement itself started as a lay movement, but it later came under the leadership of missionaries and church hierarchy. That was too much to bear for the Catholics who had lost all that they had and yet had to face the terrible dilemma of choosing between the conflicting claims of church and country – and that was perhaps as hard as going through suffering and even death for the sake of their faith.

The missionaries and Korean Catholics could not be entirely free from blame for their ill-judged initial approach to Taewŏn'gun – their attempt to bring the French military to respond to the threat from Russia, and their active support for foreign invasion in a time of national crisis. However, with reference both to the accusations of failing to respect ancestors and to those of assisting foreign invasion, Catholics had to pay a heavy price for the actions of outsiders, either of the church hierarchy or of imperial military forces, which were perceived to be allied against Korea. The tragedy of this history for ordinary Catholics was that, in both cases, they were unable to

45 IKCH, *Korean Catholic History II*, 73–86.

respond to the situation presented to them. The *Pyŏngin pakhae* was severe, not only because of the physical punishment of the numerous victims, but more importantly because it tore the hearts of Korean Catholics, who were forced to choose where and when they would take a stand when the choice had been already made for them.

R. G. Tiedemann

Changing Chinese Perspectives on Western Christianity During the Transition from Culturalism to Nationalism

> Let it be clearly understood that the division of the missions is largely the cause of this unproductive state of the Church. The Church is Christ's Body and to break that Body into pieces is nothing less than sin.
>
> E. S. Yin, Chinese Protestant (1919)[1]

In recent years considerable scholarly attention has been focused on the role of Christianity in modern Chinese society. Some Chinese scholars and church leaders expect Christianity to contribute more actively and positively to a new spiritual culture in modern Chinese society. Against the background of a mixture of political socialism and market economy capitalism, they assume that Confucianism and Christianity will play an important role in the moral reconstruction of modern China. Accordingly, the creation of an authentically Chinese theology distinctly and emphatically different from the old Western missionary kind of biblical interpretation is, therefore, a most urgent task, because it would enable necessary and meaningful dialogue with other religions and ideologies.[2]

Whatever the underlying motives for these developments in contemporary China, in late imperial China the integration of foreign Christianity with Chinese culture would never have been contemplated. When the first missionaries of the third advent of Christianity in China[3], the Italian Jesuits Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607), entered the

1 E. S. Yin, Contribution to the discussion »The Evangelization of China – A Symposium by Chinese Christian Workers«, *The Chinese Recorder* 50.7 (July 1919): 447–448, 447.

2 Among the latest publications assessing Christianity in contemporary China is a collection of essays by Miika Ruokanen and Paulos Huang, eds., *Christianity and Chinese Culture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2011).

3 Attempts at introducing Christianity into China had, of course, been made on two earlier occasions, namely by missionaries of the Church of the East (often called Nestorians), first during the Tang dynasty (618–907) and again during Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), and by Franciscans who were sent by the Church of Rome in the late thirteenth century. However, the respective Christian communities had long disappeared by the time the Jesuits arrived in China.

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mainland from the Portuguese trading post of Macau in 1582, they introduced themselves as ›scholars from the West‹. Indeed, in the early China mission Christianity »was an exponent not only of a religious practice, but of a complete world view […] Missionaries brought a world of sciences, with their propagation of astronomy, medicine, cartography, and so on«. Although Ricci's famous *mappa mundi*, »A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World« [*Kunyu wanguo quantu*][4] – intended to introduce the Chinese to those parts of the world that were largely unknown to them – provided names of some European countries, the early missionaries, coming from various parts of Catholic Europe, preferred to give their native place simply as *xiguo* (the »Western Country«, or »Western Countries«), and occasionally as *Ouluoba* (Europe).[5] Certainly, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the term *xiyangren* (»people from the Western Ocean«) had come into usage. This was later shortened to *yangren* by the Chinese and took on a decidedly pejorative connotation in the nineteenth century.

The missionary transmission of geographical knowledge notwithstanding, before 1800 the Chinese ruling class showed little interest in the world beyond the farthest extension of civilization. According to the understanding of the world outlined in the Confucian classics, nearness in space to China, the centre of civilization and cultural superiority, implied appropriateness in moral behaviour. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Chinese scholar elite generally imagined the outsiders from the West as ›barbarians‹. The *xiyangren* were regarded as the uncivilized Other because they were different and their culture was unknown. After all, the countries of Europe made no ritual attempts to acknowledge the universal sovereignty of the emperor of China. In contrast, the empire's immediate neighbours offered regular tributary obeisance to the emperors in Beijing. This merely reinforced China's position as the pre-eminent economic and political power in the Confucian world and beyond. In this context, the relative ignorance with regard to Europe becomes understandable. As Antoni Üçerler has recently observed, »China created a body of knowledge about Europe within the limits of what it considered to be its own social needs while rejecting anything it did not deem as beneficial«.[6]

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4 On the transmission and reception of geographical knowledge related to this map, see Nicolas Standaert, »Mission History in China and Some Methodological Issues«, in *Beyond Borders: A Global Perspective of Jesuit Mission History*, ed. Sinzo Kawamura and Cyril Veliath (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 2009), 91–106, here 93. The 1602 edition of the map can be viewed at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kunyu_Wanguo_Quantu. Access date: 23 August 2011.

5 For further details, see Timothy Brook, »Europaeology? On the Difficulty of Assembling a Knowledge of Europe in China«, in *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison 1543–1644*, ed. M. Antoni J. Üçerler (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009), 269–293, 271–272.

6 M. Antoni J. Üçerler, »Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison 1543–1644«,

The Chinese model of civilization was severely challenged when the country was forced into the ›international community‹ in the course of the nineteenth century. At this time it was the newly arrived Protestant missionaries who set out to transmit European – and American – scientific, technological and cultural knowledge to the Chinese. Beginning in the summer of 1833, the German missionary Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851) issued a serial publication, the *Dong-Xi yangkao meiyue tongjizhuan* [East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder] to convey an awareness of the power and achievements of the European countries to the Chinese and dispel their entrenched idea that the people of *Ouluoba* were barbarians. Gützlaff and other Protestant missionaries provided detailed information on the various countries of Europe, including England (*Yinggelan*; now shortened to *Yingguo* and meaning Britain), Sweden (*Ruidian*), Portugal (*Putoyaguo*), Russia (*Eluosiguo*), France (*Falanxi*) and Spain (*Xibanya*). Indeed, the *Dong-Xi yangkao* served as an important source of information about the outside world when Chinese officials were obliged to learn as much as they could about the Europeans as tensions with foreigners mounted in the late 1830s and 1840s. Notably, both Wei Yuan's (1794–1857) famous geographical work, *Haiguo tuzhi* [Illustrated treatise on the maritime countries], published in 1844, and Xu Jiyu's (1795–1873) *Yinghuan zhilüe* [A short account of the maritime circuit], issued in 1849, drew on information gleaned from the *Dong-Xi yangkao* and produced more practical accounts of the outside world.[7]

Following the Opium Wars, China was forced to sign a number of so-called ›unequal treaties‹ with several foreign powers and establish diplomatic relations with a number of European countries. In order to deal with this new situation, the »Office in Charge of Affairs of All Nations« (*Zongli Geguo Shiwu Yamen*), commonly called Zongli Yamen, was established in Beijing in 1861. This enforced change in the way that the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) conducted its foreign affairs, along with the subsequent dissolution of the traditional tribute system, did much to undermine the hitherto dominant Chinese sense of superiority. The task of acquiring knowledge about Europeans and European states now became even more urgent, as officials had to deal with representatives of individual European countries. This encouraged missionaries, who under the treaties had gained the right to proselytize throughout the country, to intensify their translation work and convey a more sophisticated picture of the Europeans and their achievements. Moreover, as a result

in *Christianity and Cultures,* ed. id., (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009), 1–15, 8.

7 This paragraph is based on an article by Michael C. Lazich, »The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China: The Canton Era Information Strategy«, in *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*, ed. Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 305–327.

of their encounters with foreigners, especially with missionaries, Chinese officials learned to distinguish between the different European countries. It should be noted, though, that these distinctions were made primarily in connection with Protestant missionaries. Such distinctions were generally not made with regard to Catholic priests. Because France had assumed a religious protectorate over foreign Catholic missionaries, they were all assumed to be French, regardless of nationality.

In other words, in the course of the nineteenth century there arose in China two distinct European Christianities that were in conflict with one another. On the one hand, Protestantism (*Jidujiao* = ›Teachings of Christ‹; also *Yesujiao* = ›Teachings of Jesus‹) operated as a diffuse religion, with missionaries from different national backgrounds and denominational affiliations.[8] On the other hand, the representatives of Catholicism (*Tianzhujiao* = ›Teachings of the Lord of Heaven‹), while belonging to different religious institutes and coming from different parts of Europe, were nevertheless able to offer a united front as members of, in their eyes, the ›universal church‹. Especially after 1860, perplexed officials were thus confronted with a rather more complex European situation when dealing with a multitude of so-called ›religious cases‹ (*jiao'an*) involving foreign missionaries. Yet in China's hinterland, the local literati, i.e. the adherents of ›Confucian‹ state orthodoxy, and the common people usually did not make distinctions according to nationality, but continued to call all Europeans *yangren* – the epithet *yangguizi* (›foreign devil‹) being most frequently used by ordinary folk in the second half of the nineteenth century. Here it should be noted that even at the beginning of the twentieth century most Chinese had never seen a European and could give free rein to their imagination as to what such a being might look like.

Against the general background of the range and depth of knowledge of Europe and Europeans[9], this paper considers changing Chinese perspectives on European Christianity over the past four hundred years. Throughout this long period, the basic attitude of the majority of Chinese toward the foreign religion may have been one of indifference, yet anti-Christian sentiments and incidents also have a long history. What were the underlying factors contributing to consistent rejection and periodic episodes of violent opposition?

8 Nowadays Chinese scholars criticize Protestant missionaries – European and American – for having inflicted denominationalism on China. However, because comity agreements had been made among the missionary societies, denominational differences would not have been obvious to local Chinese Christians or non-Christians in the nineteenth century. For a brief discussion, see R. G. Tiedemann, »Comity Agreements and Sheep Stealers: The Elusive Search for Christian Unity Among Protestants in China«, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36.1 (January 2012): 3–8.

9 China's knowledge of Europe is also considered in T. H. Barrett, »Ignorance and the Technology of Information: Some Comments on China's Knowledge of the West on the Eve of the ›Western Invasion‹«, *Asian Affairs* 26.1 (1995): 20–31.

To what extent did the nature of anti-Christian agitation change over time? Finally, we need to determine to what extent Chinese Christians began to question the relevance of the European version of Christianity in a Chinese cultural or national context. To this end, the chapter has been divided into three parts. Initially, developments between 1582 and 1800 are considered. During the last years of the Ming dynasty, when the European priests propagated Christianity as ›Western learning‹ (*xixue* or *xijiao*), their ›accommodation‹ to Chinese culture enabled the Jesuits to cultivate a ›Confucian Christianity‹ for a brief period. However, in the longer run the religious component of ›Western learning‹ was ignored and increasingly rejected by the ruling class of a stable, prosperous and self-confident empire. As Timothy Brook points out, the core of ›Western learning‹ was European Christianity and thus in conflict with Chinese traditional culture and China's social structures. Thus, some members of the official-scholar class dismissed the entire body of ›Western learning‹ as »fantastical and exaggerated and without any basis whatsoever«.[10] Finally, after a number of ›religious cases‹ and the protracted Chinese Rites Controversy, Christianity was proscribed in 1724. Ironically, during its precarious existence over the next hundred years, when few European priests were able to venture into the interior, Catholicism took on decidedly Chinese characteristics.

In many ways, the nineteenth century was a time of transition for Chinese scholar-officials in their evaluation of the people from the ›Western Ocean‹. They had reluctantly to adjust to a rapidly changing international environment, as the country had to deal with internal disorder and external threats, including a more aggressive missionary enterprise. This was, however, a slow process. Note, for instance, the ambivalence of Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu who were known for their more up-to-date, mid-nineteenth-century geographical scholarship. Yet they were still influenced by the traditional barbarian imagery of Europe that had first emerged in the seventeenth century. »One the one hand, they actively contributed to the dissolution of sinocentrism by relativizing their own universe's position: they revealed that China was only one nation among many others. On the other hand, their view of outsiders was deeply influenced by stereotypes.«[11] Perhaps more surprising are the views expressed by Tan Sitong (1865–1898), executed in 1898 for his radical reformist ideas after the failure of the Hundred-Day Reforms. Only a decade earlier he had been »a defensive cultural nationalist, angry and resentful over his nation's despair at the hands of aggressive barbarians from the West, but convinced that China's salvation rested in its ability to restore the integrity

10 Dong Han, *Chunxiang Zhuibi* [Superfluous notes from Waterplant Village], quoted in Brook, »Europaeology?«, 291. For a fuller discussion see Brook, »Europaeology?«, 285–292.

11 Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1991), 49.

of its spiritual civilization.«[12] In his »Views on the Management of World Affairs« (1889), Tan, too, resorted to the familiar traditional concepts of arranging nations in a descending order of material and cultural sophistication: (1) China, Korea, Tibet, Vietnam and Burma formed the core of the universe, called *Huaxia zhi guo*, or ›Sinitic states‹; (2) Japan, India, Russia, Turkey, Europe and North America constituted the *yidi zhi guo* (›countries of the barbarian peoples‹); and (3) Africa, South America and Australia were in the lowest category, the *qinshou zhi guo* (›states of the beasts‹).[13] By implication, European missionaries were members of the barbarian races and their religion was to be treated with contempt.

This kind of cultural chauvinism was no longer tenable following China's humiliating defeat by the Japanese in the war of 1894–95 and the convulsions of the Boxer Uprising of 1900. In the early years of the twentieth century, a new generation of urban, forward-looking intellectuals emerged. Many of these young activists having been trained in Japan, the West or missionary schools in China, they took part in the 1911 Revolution. By the 1920s, this new breed of political radicals had joined nationalistic and revolutionary movements. They launched uncompromising attacks on Christianity – not because it was perceived as a threat to traditional Chinese culture, but because it was condemned as superstition that was too closely associated with foreign imperialism. The final section of this paper does not, however, focus on the opponents of Christianity. Instead, it explores the reactions of leading Chinese Protestants to the high tide of nationalism and revolution. Their publications at this time are indicative of an emerging critique of European Christianity by Chinese Christians.

Christianity in the early modern period: from reception to rejection

Unlike in other regions or in a later time, the missionaries to China in the early modern period could not rely on external power, because the Chinese Empire occupied the dominant and unchallenged position in the world. The European priests »could only enter China with great difficulty and not without the permission of the Chinese authorities, and what was even more significant

12 Summarized in Lionel M. Jensen, »China and the Confluence of Cultures: Overcoming the East-West Mind-Set«, in *Beating Devils and Burning Their Books: Views of China, Japan, and the West*, ed. Anthony E. Clark (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Asian Studies, 2010), 107–132, 113.

13 Adapted from Jensen, »China and the Confluence of Cultures«, 113; and Dikötter, *Discourse of Race*, 50.

is that they could not leave the country without permission.«[14] As George Dunne has observed, the early missionaries recognized upon their arrival that China »was more than a state. She was a world unto herself, and a closed world«.[15] In other words, in this advanced culture their activities were possible only on China's terms. To this end, Ricci and some other early Jesuits, as part of their policy of cultural accommodation, promoted certain elements of ›Confucianism‹[16] as compatible with and complementing Christianity. Initially some members of the literati – China's elite status group based on their study of the Confucian classics, often called ›gentry‹ in English-language accounts – seem to have been attracted to the different ideological framework that Ricci and his confreres were bringing to China. In particular, it was the intervention of a few high scholar-officials who, impressed by their scientific knowledge, supported and protected the Western priests at this time. The most prominent among this group, Xu Guangqi (1562–1633), Li Zhizao (1543–1630) and Yang Tingyun (1557–1627), underwent religious experiences that led to their baptisms. Later known as the ›Three Pillars of the Early Christian Church‹ in China, they became harsh critics of Buddhism. These ›Confucian Christians‹ founded flourishing churches in their native localities in eastern China in the early seventeenth century.[17]

However, this period of syncretic interaction between the European missionaries and elements of China's scholar elite was relatively brief. Anti-Christian feeling began to develop even before the end of the Ming dynasty. An early episode of anti-Christian agitation in south-eastern China culminated in the publication in 1640 of the well-known collection *Poxie ji* [Collected Essays Refuting Heterodoxy], »a heterogeneous compendium of memorials, litigation records, letters, and polemics in eight parts, [that] supports the view of the fundamental incompatibility of Christianity and the cumulative traditions of the Chinese«.[18] Purporting to be a Confucian condemnation of the Jesuits for their misunderstanding and deliberate misrepresentation of the

14 Standaert, »Mission History in China«, 93.

15 George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1962), 10.

16 The term ›Confucianism‹ was created by Europeans in the seventeenth century. The Chinese call this tradition of wisdom ›Literati Teaching‹ (*ruxue*). See D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 38. For more details, see Paul A. Rule, *K'ung-tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986).

17 Willard J. Peterson, »Why Did They Become Christians? Yang T'ing-yun, Li Chih-tsao, and Hsu Kuang-ch'i«, in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773*, ed. Charles E. Ronan and Bonnie B. C. Oh (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), 129–152. See also Mungello, *Great Encounter*, 14–18.

18 Jensen, »China and the Confluence of Cultures«, 118.

teaching of Confucius and his followers, it was in fact essentially a literary campaign by Buddhist monks against the overtly anti-Buddhist sentiments of the missionaries and Catholic converts.[19]

Opposition to Christianity intensified after the Manchu from beyond the Great Wall seized power in China and established their Qing dynasty in 1644. In the ensuing years, the Chinese scholar elite adopted a more orthodox Confucianism that strengthened ethnocentric feelings and precluded meaningful interaction with the foreign missionaries and their religion. In consequence, the Chinese ruling class now actually rejected Christianity and its propagandists. Thus, the tensions between the European religion and the Confucian order created an increasingly precarious presence for the Catholic priests in the provinces. Only those Jesuits who had been called to Beijing as »court savants« by the Kangxi Emperor's (r. 1662–1722) led a more secure existence. They were employed primarily as mathematicians, astronomers, engineers and artisans, leaving relatively little scope for missionary work. According to Catherine Jami, the emperor appropriated the scientific knowledge brought to China by the Jesuits for imperial purposes, to consolidate Qing rule.[20]

An important factor in the rejection of Christianity by China's elite was the social and political issues that became apparent in the second half of the seventeenth century. At this time, a more rational orthodox Confucianism, with its static view of social life and its emphasis on loyalty and filial piety, was adopted by the Qing state as the official philosophy. It dominated all levels of intellectual and social activity of the government and the ruling class. It regulated the patterns for social relations and family life. In the traditional (or imperial) Chinese context, orthodoxy refers to the ›correct‹ social and political order, i.e. the hierarchical ordering of the state and society on the basis of the Confucian ›five relationships‹, including the subordination of subject to monarch, and child to parents. Because a strong Chinese state traditionally attempted to penetrate, regulate, and control religions, Christianity as an institutionalized foreign creed with a strongly proselytizing urge did not easily fit into the orthodox Confucian framework. At the very least, like Buddhism, Daoism and popular religion, Christianity was expected to con-

19 Ibid., 119. For a detailed discussion of anti-Christian apologetic literature, written by Buddhists, see Iso Kern, *Buddhistische Kritik am Christentum im China des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bern/Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1992).

20 On the unique experiment of Jesuit science in the service of evangelization, see Catherine Jami, »Imperial Control and Western Learning: The Kangxi Emperor's Performance«, *Late Imperial China* 23.1 (2002): 28–49. This aspect has been explored in greater detail in id., *The Emperor's New Mathematics: Western Learning and Imperial Authority During the Kangxi Reign (1662–1722)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also id., »For Whose Greater Glory? Jesuit Strategies and the Sciences during the Kangxi Reign (1662–1722)«, in *Encounters and Dialogues: Changing Perspectives on the Chinese-Western Exchanges from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Wu Xiaoxin (Sankt Augustin; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2005), 211–226.

form to Confucian moral and political orthodoxy. Yet the European priests »undertook actions or proclaimed doctrines that at times could be interpreted as being dangerous. Moreover, by claiming a position different from other religions, they already were undermining the existing order, which became more apparent in their claim to be (at least) equal to Confucianism.«[21]

Thus, the scholar-official class came to view Christianity as a heterodox foreign creed that threatened the broad Confucian ideal, with the potential to cause chaos. In this regard, it was perceived to be similar to indigenous ›heterodox‹ and ›subversive‹ creeds such as the so-called ›White Lotus Teachings‹ (*Bailianjiao*). From the perspective of Qing government officials, the links or potential links between Christian groups and outlawed ›secret folk sects‹ (*minjian mimi jiaomen*) posed a danger that had to be eliminated. Indeed, such a combination was more than just a possibility, for records from the early eighteenth century show that members of indigenous sects had been joining the Catholic Church.[22]

While some Chinese literati were impressed by the Jesuits' scientific knowledge, they found the foreign religious message rather incomprehensible. As a certain Zhang Chao put it in 1699:

> They are extraordinarily intelligent, those people [the missionaries]. Their studies concern astronomy, the calendar, medicine, and mathematics; their customs are loyalty, good faith, constancy, and rectitude; their skill is marvellous […] The conceptions of the great West are surely far ahead of other doctrines. It is simply a shame that they speak of a Lord of Heaven, a crude and obnoxious conception that leads them into absurdities and which our literati have a great deal of difficulty accepting. If they could only put aside this conception, they would be very close to our Confucian tradition.[23]

Confucian scholars could not understand the Christian notion of an unseen ›creator‹ (*zaowu zhu*) who remained outside the creation. Some suspected that Christianity had stolen the Confucian impersonal term ›heaven‹ (*tian*) and used it to name its supreme personal being (*tianzhu* = ›lord of heaven‹). Also, it was thought to have borrowed the language of the Buddhist transmigration of the soul. Furthermore, these intellectuals found it hard to understand why an all-powerful deity should have created an evil spirit who made humans do wicked things. To some scholars steeped in Neo-Confucian cos-

21 Ad Dudink, »Opponents«, in *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800*, ed. Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 504–506, 506.

22 See, for example, R. G. Tiedemann, »Christianity and Chinese ›Heterodox Sects‹: Mass Conversion and Syncretism in Shandong Province in the Early Eighteenth Century«, *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996): 339–382.

23 Quoted in Jacques Gernet, »Christian and Chinese Visions of the World in the Seventeenth Century«, *Chinese Science* 4 (1980): 1–17, 17.

mology and the concept of the innate goodness of man's nature, Christian ideas such as the transcendent God, the need for individual prayer for God's forgiveness of sin, and the hope for otherworldly salvation appeared egotistically motivated and ›perverse‹ (*xie*). Such an un-Confucian ›profit-oriented mind‹ had, indeed, much in common with indigenous heterodox sects. Thus, Christianity appeared to many Chinese scholars to be an absurd and subversive philosophy.

Qing elite opposition to Christianity was intensified by the protracted so-called ›Chinese Rites Controversy‹ that was to fester for more than a century among, mainly, the European missionaries over Ricci's ›accommodation policy‹. Here it should be noted that the Jesuit monopoly of the China missionary enterprise ended in the 1630s with the arrival of Spanish friars of the mendicant orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians) from the Philippines. The Franciscans in particular focused their proselytizing energies not on the elite but on the lower social classes and employed different conversion strategies. Because of the negative reaction of the literati to the Crucifixion and Resurrection, for example, the Jesuits »delayed presenting these fundamental teachings in the religious instruction to prospective converts«. The Franciscans, working among the lower classes, taught these essential concepts more openly.[24] Toward the end of the seventeenth century the missionary enterprise was reinforced by secular priests of the Missions Étrangères de Paris. They all rejected the Jesuit policy of cultural accommodation, especially with regard to the veneration of Confucius by the scholar-official elite and ›ancestor worship‹ by Chinese society at large. They insisted that Christians should not take part in these rituals. The controversy took on a political dimension when the papal decision went against the Jesuits, for it brought about the Kangxi Emperor's intervention, especially during the first of two contentious diplomatic-religious missions to China by papal legates in 1705–06 and 1720–21.[25] The emperor having publicly supported the »policies of Matteo Ricci«, the papal decrees of 1715 and 1742 condemning the rites were considered a direct challenge to Qing imperial power.[26] From the perspective of the Qing ruling class, the Chinese Christians' inability to take part in traditional ancestral rites, »the most important ritual expression of the value attached to the family«, was especially contentious, for their rejection of it »directly challenged values which lay at this culture's core«.[27] In other words, Christianity

24 Mungello, *Great Encounter*, 21.

25 On the complex relations between the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuits who served at his court, see Paul Rule, »The Acta Pekinensia Project«, *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 30 (2008): 17–29.

26 For a detailed discussion of the Chinese Rites Controversy, see D. E. Mungello, ed., *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994).

27 Paul A. Cohen, »Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900«, in *Cambridge History of*

in its European form was not compatible with the Chinese cultural tradition. In consequence of its departure from Confucian norms and fearing its subversive potential, the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723–1735) proscribed Christianity as an ›evil cult‹ in 1724 and ordered the expulsion of all missionaries except those Jesuits based in Beijing.

Whereas the determined opposition of the Qing elite is clear, the attitudes of ordinary Chinese toward Christianity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are more difficult to determine. While they may have been concerned that Christian activities might upset the harmony of nature (*fengshui*), in many localities the common people were accustomed to dealing with a variety of indigenous religious beliefs and practices, not only Buddhism and Daoism, but also specific forms of popular religion, including various sectarian traditions. Indeed, local Christians as well as the Catholic missionaries shared some of the premises of the non-Christians. As Eugenio Menegon has observed with regard to the converts in the south-eastern province of Fujian, »they believed in spiritual presences, and they trusted amulets, relics, and prayers as powerful healing methods. Even non-Christians benefited from the ›magic‹ powers of the friars.«[28] In that context, localized Christianity would not necessarily stand out as an alien creed. Spanish Dominicans, although opposed to an ›accommodation‹ approach, were nevertheless able to establish viable and lasting Christian communities in Fujian province in the seventeenth century. »Despite recurrent state repression […], Mindong [i.e. eastern Fujian] Christians had won a niche for their communal and individual activities and carved a social space within which to affirm their religious identity […] The localization of Christianity in Mindong during the underground period had not antagonized the local power structure or upset the spiritual landscape of temples and *fengshui* […].«[29] He concludes, therefore, that Chinese culture was not at all times and in all places opposed to Christianity.

The survival of the Chinese Catholic communities in the face of sporadic persecutions by the Qing state following the Yongzheng's edict is another indication that the Christians were tolerated by their neighbours in particular localities of China. Between 1724 and the 1840s, when most European missionaries had left the empire and the number of Chinese priests was still rather small, local Christian lay leaders and unmarried Catholic women were in-

China. Vol. 10*: Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911*, Part 1, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 543–590, 568.

28 Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 229. On the production of edifying Christian literature in Fujian during the last years of the Ming, see Erik Zürcher, »The Lord of Heaven and the Demons: Strange Stories from a Late Ming Christian Manuscript«, in *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien. Festschrift für Hans Steiniger*, ed. Gerd Naundorf et al. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1975), 359–375.

29 Menegon, *Ancestors*, 357 and 361.

strumental in preserving the faith in their largely remote rural communities.[30] Their versions of Christianity would, however, be challenged and largely eliminated by the arrival of European priests in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Chinese antiforeignism in the nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century, especially after 1860, opposition to Christianity became more intense and violent. To some extent this intense hostility to Christianity arose in response to circumstances specific to this period:

1. The penetration of China by the European powers
2. Christianity's identification with the opium trade and foreign military aggression in China after 1840
3. The so-called ›unequal treaties‹, especially the Beijing Conventions of 1860, which gave missionaries and their ›converts‹ special privileges (protection; exemption from participating in or making material contributions toward local projects if they were deemed to contain ›superstitious‹ elements
4. Protestant influences on the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), the most destructive civil war in world history
5. Interference by some missionaries in local administrative affairs

Mid-nineteenth-century Qing China had to confront external challenges (the Opium Wars of 1840–42 and 1856–60) and the rather more serious internal rebellion of the Taipings. The responses of leading members of the Chinese ruling class to these crises focused also on subversive Christianity, which was now proclaimed on Europe's terms. Feng Guifen (1809–1874), an advocate of European scientific learning and a major ideological exponent of the Chinese self-strengthening movement after 1860, dismissed the Christian creeds as »very absurd and not worthwhile to be studied«.[31] Although knowledge about Europe had increased, their comments in defence of ›Confucian‹ culture nevertheless betray a poor understanding of European religion. He Qiutao (1824–1862), a scholar from Fujian, complained:

30 See Lars Peter Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China: Christian Inculturation and State Control, 1720–1850* (Abingdon/Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2006).

31 Quoted in Lee En-Han, »China's Response to the Full-fledged Christian Challenge, 1860–1900: An Analysis of Chinese Anti-Christian Thought after the Mid-19th Century«, *Asia Munhwa* (Asian Culture) 4 (September 1988): 69–91, 77.

The Christian adherents have no idea of [the Confucian] five-relationships but treat every people including their parents as friends. They do much charitable work but do not understand the significance of Confucian graded love […] They give no financial help to their brothers, cousins and other relatives, but are not hesitant to donate several thousand dollars to social welfare institutions for the old, destitute and orphanage. This kind of principle is contrary to the Confucian teachings, but still wins lavish praise for the unselfish, fraternal philanthropy. This is really following the doctrines of Mo-tze and Jesus imitated his predecessor's doings.[32]

Mistakenly assuming that the Taipings had been influenced by Catholicism, Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), a high official and defender of the Qing dynasty, noted in his famous anti-Taiping proclamation in 1851:

The Taiping bandits worship Catholicism which is learnt from foreign barbarians […] It is an unprecedented disaster [that] ever happened since the beginning of our Chinese civilization. This deplorable situation should make the deceased Confucius and Mencius crying bitterly in the heaven […] The Catholicism which is believed by the French denies the values of Confucianism. It does not accept the supreme status of emperor in our nation as well as the authority of fathers in our society. It believes only [in] an omnipotent God. The religion defies all the ethical principles of China and follows only the absurd doctrines of foreigners […] Now the Catholicism is rampant in China, and if our Confucian scholars are still refraining from taking punitive action, it means really that they lack the sense of honor, indeed.[33]

In general, then, these writers rejected Christianity because it was an illegal foreign religion that undermined Chinese cultural traditions and harmed the Confucian order. Moreover, Christian teachings and practices were regarded as amoral because they attacked the veneration of ancestors. In other words, the foreign creed rejected Chinese orthodoxy. The Chinese scholar-official elite found it particularly difficult to accept some key Christian concepts, such as the creation myth and the incarnation of Jesus, his virgin birth, death at the cross and resurrection. As Roman Malek has argued, »Those points that – as the missionaries thought – could complement Confucianism, were precisely those of which the literati felt they were too much in conflict with Confucian duties that they had to be rejected.«[34]

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32 Quotes in ibid., 78, 79. Note that Lee has somewhat inadequately translated these and subsequent passages. In the twentieth century the comparison between Jesus and the philosopher Mozi (5th c. B.C.) was made by the Protestant convert Wu Leichuan. For details, see Roman Malek, *Verschmelzung der Horizonte: Mozi und Jesus. Zur Hermeneutik der chinesisch-christlichen Begegnung nach Wu Leichuan (1869–1944)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

33 Quotes in Lee, »China's Response«, 72, 73.

34 Roman Malek, »Konfessionalismus und die chinesische Kritik am Christentum im 19. Jahr-

Whereas the above-mentioned Chinese scholar-officials put forward essentially the same rational arguments – from the perspective of Confucian elite culture – as their predecessors a century or two earlier, a different kind of elite-sponsored anti-Christian propaganda appeared after 1860. According to Paul Cohen, »the empire was deluged with a growing torrent of violently anti-Christian pamphlets and tracts«[35] at this time. Surely the most dangerous publication of this type was *Bixie jishi* [A Record of Facts to Ward Off Heterodoxy], first published in 1861. It contained the most incendiary images and descriptive misrepresentations of Christianity, such as engaging in sexual improprieties, and committing obscene acts which were contrary to the social customs and habits of China. According to Paul Cohen, the »charges of sexual license and perversion have always, in the most varied cultural milieus, been the favorite devices by which indignant upholders of orthodox order have sought to incriminate their real or maligned foes«.[36]

The ›irrational forces‹ at work in some of the discourse surrounding the anti-missionary conflict had fostered the widely held belief that foreign missionaries engaged in sorcery, kidnapping children, and snatching body parts to produce medicines and precious metals. In this connection, Barend ter Haar has found that, »Whereas traditionally it is argued that the riots were the result of focussed anti-Christian propaganda, […] the accusations towards the missionaries fitted into a long and orally transmitted tradition of fear that had already been responsible for many deaths before the advent of Christianity.«[37] He asserts that »During the nineteenth century Western missionaries, and their associates, came to be identified as the primary suspects in cases of kidnapping, organ-snatching and foetus-theft, largely replacing earlier scapegoats, such as travelling [Chinese] beggars, monks and other outsiders.«[38] Evidence of the misrepresentation of Christianity is even found in Wei Yuan's *Haiguo tuzhi*, containing the following comment on the Catholic religion: »New converts are made to swallow a pill and are […] required to rid their homes of ancestral tablets. Male and female followers are known to spend the night together in church. And followers, once deceased, have

hundert. Bemerkungen zu einem verkannten Aspekt der Christentumsgeschichte in China«, in *Evangelium und Kultur. Begegnungen und Brüche. Festschrift für Michael Sievernich SJ*, ed. Mariano Delgado and Hans Waldenfels (Fribourg: Academic Press; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2010), 163–190, 169–170. Malek introduces another important factor in the rejection of Christianity in the second half of the nineteenth century; namely the awareness by some Chinese scholars and officials of the presence of three competing heretical ›sects‹ (Catholic, Protestant, Russian Orthodox).

35 Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 45.

36 Ibid., 58.

37 B. J. ter Haar, *Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 31.

38 Ibid., 154.

their eyes gouged out by their mentors.«[39] The abundant anti-Christian literature in the form of manifestos, posters and pamphlets aimed at generating an atmosphere of intense hatred and revulsion to counter the ›diabolical‹ tracts produced by the missionaries. However, this aspect of Chinese perceptions of Christianity has been explored in greater detail in Thoralf Klein's chapter in this volume.[40] Suffice it to say that this kind of anti-Christian folklore was readily believed by the common people, at least in times of extraordinary stress.

Exposed to the incendiary pictorial literature and rumours, ordinary Chinese became involved in the anti-Christian conflict after 1860. A closer examination of the so-called ›religious cases‹ (*jiao'an*) reveals, however, that the cause of many of these conflicts had nothing to do with the European religion but had arisen from existing disputes over land, water control, etc. Still, in some cases, the expanding missionary enterprise was perceived as a threat to the traditional social order and Chinese political authority. Here I want to give just two examples. (1) When Catholic priests intervened in local disputes on behalf of their converts, they challenged the role of local power holders in local society. Of course, as leaders of long-established Christian communities, the priests were expected to assume such a role. What made it different, though, was their access to external power, namely the French religious protectorate. (2) Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, undermined the status of the degree-holding gentry (or literati) – »the self-appointed guardians of the Confucian order at the local level«[41] – challenging their traditional role as teachers by setting up rather different educational facilities. It is, therefore, not surprising that the traditional Chinese ruling class resisted this challenge to the prestige and authority of scholars and officials. The conflict between Christianity and the old order reached its lowest point in the 1890s, culminating in the disastrous Boxer Uprising of 1900, when many missionaries and large numbers of Chinese Christians were killed. This was a tragic set of incidents, often infused with xenophobic reactions, too complex to be discussed here.[42]

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39 Wei Yuan, »Selections from An Illustrated World Geography«, trans. Tam Pak Shan, *Renditions: Chinese Interpretations of the West* 53–54 (Spring and Autumn 2000): 14–15.

40 See below.

41 Timothy Brook, »The Politics of Religion: Late-Imperial Origins of the Regulatory State«, in *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China*, ed. Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 22–42, 24. The classic study in this regard is Lü Shiqiang, *Zhongguo guanshen fanjiao de yuanyin 1860–1874* [The causes of the anti-Christian movement by Chinese officials and gentry 1860–1874] (Taibei: Wenjing shuju, 1973).

42 For detailed accounts, see Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University California Press, 1987); Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

One final point needs to be made: Unlike in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the nineteenth century, both Chinese elites and foreign missionaries were utterly convinced of their own cultural superiority. Whereas the evangelists from Europe perceived the Christianization of China as a civilizing mission, the traditional Chinese elite at the end of the Qing dynasty could still not conceive of civilization beyond the confines of the Middle Kingdom. Thus, along with other things foreign, the old order continued to reject Christianity as barbarian heterodoxy. Even reform-minded Chinese in the late nineteenth century were convinced of the superiority and uniqueness of Confucian civilization. Although still hostile, by this time the encounter between the Chinese ruling elite and the ›scholars from the West‹ was closer than in the earlier period. However, »does the encounter with the unknown ameliorate the mysteries that cause contempt or does it aggravate it?«[43] Be that as it may, Xue Fucheng (1838–1894), a prominent scholar with reformist ideas who was appointed the diplomatic representative of the Qing Court to Britain, France, Italy and Belgium in 1890, voiced his criticism of European religion in typically traditional Chinese terms:

> In their moral exertions, in their self-denial and love of others, Christians do not differ markedly from Confucians, yet the New and Old Testaments and other books the church publishes are full of fallacies, distortions and fantastic claims that even Chinese popular novels […] would not descend to. A child could see that what they say is untrue […] Thus it can be seen that the Way of the Sage [Confucius], being unbiased and fair-minded, has a direct appeal to the human heart […] Hence I am convinced that Christianity will decline, and Confucianism will spread to the West.[44]

In many ways, therefore, elite thinking was still deeply wedded to the Chinese cultural tradition in the 1890s.

Religious Salvation and National Salvation in the 1920s

After 1900, European secular knowledge and practice, the transmission of which had largely been in the hands of Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century, found a much warmer reception among reform-minded Chinese officials and intellectuals. European Christianity, on the other hand,

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43 Anthony E. Clark, »Introduction: Contending Representations: East-West«, in *Beating Devils and Burning Their Books: Views of China, Japan, and the West*, ed. id. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Asian Studies, 2010), 1–13, 3.

44 Xue Fucheng, »Selections from Journal of Diplomatic Mission to Four European Countries«, trans. D. E. Pollard, *Renditions: A Chinese-English Translation Magazine* 53 and 54 (Spring and Autumn 2000): 134–135.

after the ›golden age‹ of missions between 1902 and 1919, came in for renewed criticism. However, whereas anti-Christianism before the turn of the century had been in defence of Confucian tradition and Chinese culture, the anti-Christian agitation of the 1920s was an expression of Chinese nationalism and revolutionary ideology as part of China's modernization and national salvation.[45] The decade or so following the 1911 Revolution, which overthrew the last imperial dynasty to establish a republican system of government, was a time of profound intellectual ferment and nationalist agitation among the modern educated youth in China's major cities. By 1915, the New Culture Movement (usually called ›Renaissance‹ in the missionary literature) had come into being around the *Xin qingnian* magazine, with the French subtitle *La Jeunesse* (New Youth), which was started by the foreign-trained Peking University professor Chen Duxiu (1879–1942). It became the most influential periodical read by a new generation of Chinese intellectuals. In this and several other radical magazines appeals were made to China's students to take an active part in building a new China. Chen vigorously attacked Confucianism as an outdated mode of thought and life, advocating modern Western values of science and democracy as solutions to China's problems. However, the disappointment with the outcome of the Versailles settlement provoked an outburst of national protest known as the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and the subsequent growth of a radicalized and ultimately strongly anti-imperialist nationalism. Chen Duxiu and like-minded young intellectuals, having taken a close interest in the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, began to espouse socialism and became decidedly critical of all religions, including Christianity.

The first campaign against mission-centred Christianity was launched by a group of Shanghai students (League of Anti-Christian Students) and intellectuals connected with Beijing University (Great Antireligious League) in March 1922 in response to the forthcoming international meeting of the World Student Christian Federation which was to be held in Beijing in early April. Borrowing profusely from French anticlericalism, the campaigners denounced Christian doctrines as superstitious, outdated and irrational. Moreover, it was argued that foreign religious encroachment was driven by capitalism.[46] The antireligious agitation of 1922 was, however, short-lived. The anti-Christian campaigns between 1924 and 1927, on the other hand, were rather more radical and violent. The foreign religion was rejected as

45 Jessie G. Lutz, »Opponents of Christianity«, in *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume Two: 1800 to the Present*, ed. R. G. Tiedemann (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 640–652, 640.

46 Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, »La campagne antireligieuse de 1922«, *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* No. 24 (2002): 77–94.

being harmful to Chinese society and its institutions were regarded as tools of foreign imperialism. The foreign missionaries were accused of abusing Chinese sovereignty and cultural sensibilities.[47]

Against the background of a growing revolutionary nationalism, Chinese Protestant leaders[48] had to respond to the anti-Christian agitation in the cities of China and address the core elements of the New Culture and May Fourth movements. One of the key questions was this: Can one be both Christian and Chinese? In other words, are Christians traitors and running dogs of the imperialists? As Ryan Dunch has so eloquently shown, Protestants had been participants in the political and cultural revolution that had emerged in China's urban centres since the beginning of the twentieth century.[49] Now, when their patriotic credentials were questioned, the Protestant leaders proposed to pay greater attention to the indigenization of the church. This idea, demanded by the prominent church statesman Cheng Jingyi (1881–1939) at the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference and recognized by the China missionaries, had been slowly taking shape, but took on greater urgency at the time of the May Fourth Movement. As an educational missionary noted at the time, »China may surpass in the application of the social principles of Jesus, as shown by the statements of Chinese leaders in the National Chinese Christian Conference held at Shanghai, in May, 1922. The Chinese openly decline to accept Western theology and denominational distinctions, express their preference for the social interpretation of Christianity, and are conscious that they have a national contribution to make to the common cause of humanity.«[50]

As early as 1919, in response to the emerging May Fourth Movement, a group of Chinese Protestant Christian leaders in Peking formed the Peking Apologetic Group (*Beijing zhengdao tuan*), which was later re-named Life Fellowship (*Shengming she*). They were still convinced that Christianity was getting a growing audience in China, and that the Christian faith had a unique contribution to make in China's social reconstruction. Some of them

47 For a more detailed and still useful English-language discussion, see Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927* (Bellingham, Wash.: Western Washington University Press, 1980); Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–1928* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988).

48 Chinese Catholic reaction to these events took a different course. For details, see concluding passages in R. G. Tiedemann, »The Controversy over the Formation of an Indigenous Clergy and the Establishment of a Catholic Hierarchy in China, 1846–1926«, in *Light a Candle: Encounters and Friendship with China. Festschrift in Honour of Angelo S. Lazzarotto, P.I.M.E.*, ed. Roman Malek and Gianni Criveller (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2010), 337–375.

49 Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

50 James B. Webster, *Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1923), 297.

made the first attempts at developing a contextual Chinese theology. The most prominent were Zhao Zichen (T. C. Chao, 1888–1979), Wu Leichuan (Wu Lei-ch'uan, 1870–1944), Wu Yaozong (Y. T. Wu, 1893–1979), and Xie Fuya (N. Z. Zia, 1892–1991), who relied heavily on Confucian concepts and values, and stressed the affinity of Christianity with Confucian ideas. When the Anti-Christian Movement was launched, this first group of Chinese Protestant theologians initially tried to reconcile their Confucian cultural background with their identity as Christians. This was, however, a time when Confucianism and traditional Chinese culture were attacked by radical activists as obstacles to the creation of a new China. »All of these Chinese academics found a personal strength in Christian faith, but struggled with the challenge of making Christianity relevant to the national crises of the day. In attempting to do so they took a liberal or modernist theological stance, and tended to strip out the supernatural elements of doctrine. All of them to some degree became disillusioned with the institutional church.«[51] Indeed, Wu Yaozong, who had embraced Christianity in 1918 through reading the Sermon on the Mount and was one of the »most prominent pacifists of the Chinese church«[52], in later years became a proponent of radical social reform. For him »the gospel of Jesus is a social gospel«[53]. He eventually supported social revolution and co-operation with the Communist Party. In this he was representative of a whole group of Chinese Christian intellectuals, many of them affiliated with the YMCA, who took this path in the 1930s.[54]

An examination of *The Chinese Recorder*, primarily the organ of the mainline missionary enterprise in China, for the years 1919–1921 reveals in greater detail how some Chinese Protestant leaders sought to meet the challenges of revolutionary nationalism. The following issues feature prominently in many of the contributions:

1. urgency of indigenization
2. improved training of Chinese pastors and evangelists
3. the creation of leadership positions for the Chinese clergy
4. improved pay for the Chinese workers

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51 Daniel H. Bays, »Leading Protestant Individuals«, in *Handbook*, ed. Tiedemann, 613–627, 616.

52 Kevin Xiyi Yao, »A Voice in the Wilderness: The Protestant Pacifist Movement in China During the Twentieth Century«, *Mission Focus: Annual Review* 13 (2005): 57–67, 60.

53 Wu Yao-tsung, *Social Gospel* (Shanghai: Association Press, 1934), 146, quoted in Carver T. Yu, »Chinese Christian Thought«, in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought*, ed. Alister E. McGrath (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1993), 71–77, 73.

54 Ibid., 618. See also Chen Zemin, »Y. T. Wu: A Prophetic Theologian«, *Chinese Theological Review* 10 (1995): 108–115; H. K. Ting, »Y. T. Wu – Our Forerunner«, in *A Chinese Contribution to Ecumenical Theology: Selected Writings of Bishop K. H. Ting*, ed. Janice and Philip Wickeri (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2002), 45–55.

5. presenting the Christian message in simplified form; Jesus-centred
6. emphasis on the ›social gospel‹
7. creation of a non-denominational Chinese-led church

There seems to be an implicit criticism of the foreign missionary enterprise. Note, for example, the comments by Thomas Wang Zhengting (1882–1961):

We have imported cotton seed from America into this country, and in a few years it has changed. In the same way I believe that when Christianity is introduced here it should also change its character, because of the difference in mental training and historical background. As we discuss the various aspects of the question we shall agree on the major premise, e.g., that we must make Christianity indigenous.[55]

Concerning the importance of training a Chinese leadership, Wang noted that »some think that we need to train them only up to the point where they will make assistants to missionaries«. He was not happy with the »old tradition« according to which

the missionaries must rule and direct; so often young inexperienced missionaries, fresh from college and language school, are placed over experienced Chinese workers […] So long as mission work remains under the direction of missionaries, so long is it a strange institution in the land. It is like a plant nursed in a greenhouse, not one which has struck roots into the soil of the land and is prepared to stay and reproduce itself.[56]

Liu Tingfang [Timothy Tingfang Lew] (1891–1947), having returned to China in April 1920, after ten years in the United States, presented a detailed outline of the May Fourth Movement. He concluded that

the movement has given Christianity a chance to prove what it really is. It meets Christianity on a ground different from that of any previous movement in China. The unreasonable contempt for Christianity which characterizes some Chinese and the fatal indifference toward it which characterizes the great majority of the people, have been changed into the reasonable attitude of willingness to discuss it.[57]

For Liu the crucial question was this: »Can Christianity meet the needs of the present generation«? The May Fourth Movement »calls the church's attention to the irrational superstitions and the crass literalism which have marred

55 Chengting T. Wang, »Making Christianity Indigenous in China«, *The Chinese Recorder* 52.5 (May 1921): 323–329, 323.
56 Ibid., 324.
57 Timothy Tingfang Lew, »China's Renaissance – the Christian Opportunity«, *The Chinese Recorder* 52.5 (May 1921): 301–323, 311.

the beauty of its history and which have proved a hindrance to its progress«. While it is argued that religion »is something for the weak, for the ignorant, for the unscientific«, there is nevertheless »a remarkable appreciation and respectful recognition of the personality of Jesus and the influence of His teaching, and an earnest suggestion that in this spirit we find the saving power which will regenerate China.«[58] Reflecting on this, Liu made several concluding comments. He conceded that to some Christians the May Fourth Movement »presented difficulties and perplexities«. Yet to others it promised liberation and hope.

> These Christians often came to the missionaries with their doubts and difficulties for explanation and help, but they have usually, if not always, been brushed aside with answers which are not satisfactory […] That there are views which are different from the ones which they themselves have been teaching, that they also may be correct and that it is the privilege of Protestant Christians to choose what they think is best through their own reasoning, assisted by prayer, is something which many missionaries have seemingly ignored for a definite purpose. There are Chinese Christians who have never at heart agreed with what the missionaries teach […] Some are eagerly seeking for answers to the perplexing problems of the spiritual life, not from their pastors and missionaries who have failed them, but from the pages which bring different messages.[59]

Liu then made several summarized recommendations:

1. First of all, missionaries and Chinese Christian ministers should search their own hearts and ask themselves, ›What is the Christian message?‹
2. The Christian missionaries and ministers must cease to teach dogmatically.
3. Christian missionaries and ministers must approach scientifically all traditions or conventions of the church, however precious and dear they may be to them.
4. Missionaries and ministers must constantly remind themselves that they are missionaries and ministers and that they are not representatives of an authoritative church government still tinged with the hue of paternalism or despotism.
5. Christian ministers and missionaries must substitute for all priestcraft genuine Christian service.
6. Christian ministers and missionaries must make it their main duty to preach the social gospel of Jesus.

58 Ibid., 312.
59 Ibid., 316–317.

7. Christian missionaries and ministers must, in all their efforts to build up Christian lives, emphasize the positive and not the negative aspects of Christianity.
8. Christian missionaries and ministers must adopt a new policy in the religious instruction of their church members and particularly ministerial candidates and other Christian workers.
9. Christian missionaries and ministers must think through the problems of internationalism as over against nationalism and particularly in religious activity and religious thinking.[60]

These are just a few examples of the early concerns voiced by leading members of the Chinese mainline churches. Several other prominent Protestant commentators could have been cited. What is clear, though, is that the anti-religious dimension of the May Fourth Movement stimulated Chinese Protestant thinkers to develop a self-critical attitude and a desire to cross the ecclesiastical boundary and to interact with the secular world. Above all, the anti-Christian agitation encouraged them to promote an indigenous Christian church. These pressures influenced, to some extent, the creation of the interdenominational Chinese Home Missionary Society (1918), as well as the formation of the short-lived ›China for Christ‹ evangelistic campaign (1918–1921), the Peking Apologetic Group (1919), and the National Christian Council of China (1922), all of which were elements in the slow construction of a genuine Chinese church.[61]

The anti-Christian movements of 1922 and 1924–1927 had encouraged Protestant church leaders to distance themselves from foreign missions and identify more closely with Chinese culture and society – and in the process challenge the leadership positions of foreign missionaries. They believed that the creation of an indigenous Chinese church would be sufficient to bring this fundamental change. However, this effort was only partially successful. It came to an end when the anti-Christian pressure was removed after the split between the Communists and the Nationalists (Guomindang) in April 1927. Scholars differ, however, as to why this indigenization movement failed after the 1920s. Samuel Ling suggests that many leading Christians sought an indigenous Christian theology out of patriotism, and their failure resulted from internal contradictions between Christianity and the Confucian tradition.[62] Jonathan Chao, on the other hand, argues that most

60 Ibid., 318–323.

61 For further details, see Peter Chen-Main Wang, »Chinese Christians in Republican China«, in *Handbook*, ed. Tiedemann, 600–612.

62 Samuel D. Ling, »The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese ›Christian Renaissance‹, 1919–1937« (PhD thesis, Temple University, 1980), 198–199.

Chinese Christians were limited by their educational background and only a few Christian intellectuals and church leaders promoted this movement.[63]

Chao's argument certainly has merit, for these Protestant activists from the liberal, ›social gospel‹ wing of the mainline churches were by no stretch of the imagination representative of the Christian movement in China. The great majority of believers were simple peasant folk who were not interested in theology or politics, but who were struggling for survival in an increasingly uncertain and dangerous world. They – and their desperate non-Christian neighbours – continued to welcome the Western missionaries and their charitable works[64], possibly in spite of their innermost fears and suspicions about the foreign barbarians.[65]

Most Chinese evangelicals, or fundamentalists, ignored the issues of the day, railed against liberal theology and prepared for the second coming of Christ. It can, of course, be argued that the emergence of various independent churches was an indication of dissatisfaction with the European version of Christianity. Certainly the more radical indigenous churches that emerged during the first quarter of the twentieth century did not hide their strong anti-foreign sentiments.[66]

Conclusion

For the last 400 years, Christianity has remained an alien minority religion in China. For one thing, foreign religious influences were reluctantly tolerated by the Chinese state only during periods of social, economic and political crisis. The more the old legitimacy failed to provide security and sustenance, the more ordinary people were disposed to accept both foreign creeds and indigenous heterodox sects. But as soon as strong central power had been re-established, the state set out once more to regulate and control non-ortho-

63 Jonathan T'ien-en Chao, »The Chinese Church Movement, 1917–1927: A Protestant Response to the Anti-Christian Movements in Modern China« (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1986), 273–274.

64 See R. G. Tiedemann, »›They also Served!‹ Missionary Interventions in North China, 1900–1945«, in *Dong-Ya Jidujiao zaiquanyi* [Reinterpreting the East Asian Christianity], ed. Tao Feiya and Philip Yuen-Sang Leung (Hongkong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), 155–194.

65 During the antimissionary campaign in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Communists revived many of the lurid nineteenth-century tales about the ›diabolical‹ practices of European evangelists. See the accounts and illustrations in Johannes Schütte, *Die katholische Chinamission im Spiegel der rotchinesischen Presse. Versuch einer missionarischen Deutung* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957).

66 For a comprehensive study of the indigenous church movement, see Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

dox beliefs. Few missionaries realized the depth and strength of the Chinese state's historical obsession with preserving orthodoxy. The Chinese ruling class regarded European Christianity as a heterodox doctrine that would undermine the traditional social order. Thus, prior to the imposition of the treaty system in the middle of the nineteenth century, missionary activities in the interior of China were illegal and precarious. In this context, Christianity, in its Roman Catholic variant, was always on the defensive. Among the principal interrelated underlying causes, the ideological incompatibility of Christianity and ›Confucianism‹ was certainly a long-standing source of upper-class hostility to the missionary presence in China.

Especially after the treaty settlements of 1858–60, the missionaries, on account of their perceived or real links with European powers, began to pose a serious challenge to the established socio-political order. Prior to the imposition of the treaty system, it had primarily been the Qing ruling class (officials as well as the literati) who were opposed to the intrusion of the alien belief system. However, after 1860, ordinary Chinese became increasingly suspicious of and involved in conflict with Christianity as well. European missionaries and indigenous Christians were accused of violating the cultural and moral principles of Chinese society. Indeed, after 1860, they performed their alien religious observances openly, often quite conspicuously and provocatively displaying the symbols of successful expansion (chapels, churches, schools).

Confronted by an intensely Sinocentric culturalism, the foreign religious specialists launched an uncompromising attack on the entire Confucian value system. Clamouring for changes that would facilitate the conversion of China, »all missionaries, by the very nature of their calling, posed a revolutionary challenge to the traditional culture«.[67] Paul Cohen adds:

> Although narrowly conservative in personal and religious outlook, their impact on the Chinese scene was the very opposite of conservative. For these were the missionaries whose demands on the native culture were the most unyielding – and hence, from a Chinese standpoint, the most overtly iconoclastic.[68]

In the nineteenth century, European Christianity had been the declared threat to the Confucian order and traditional Chinese culture. However, by the 1920s a different kind of opposition was in evidence; namely, the forces of radical nationalism and revolutionary activism in the wake of the May Fourth Movement. A new, Western-educated Chinese intelligentsia dismissed religious beliefs as superstition that undermined efforts at national salvation.

67 Cohen, »Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900«, 544.
68 Ibid., 543.

Christianity came in for particularly harsh criticism because of its association with foreign imperialism. In response, a small group of Chinese Protestant intellectuals set out to prove their commitment to the national cause by critically distancing themself from the missionaries. While these individuals were still prepared to work toward an indigenous, non-denominational Chinese church in co-operation with the Western missionary enterprise, some of the emerging independent churches were overtly hostile toward foreigners.

A common thread running through the 400 years of European Christianity in China is suspicion and fear of the Other. Generally speaking, the great majority of ordinary Chinese, except for particular episodes, may have displayed a remarkable indifference toward the foreign creed, but the elites – traditional Confucians as well as modern nationalists – were opposed to it. In spite of the revolutionary, anti-Confucian rhetoric, one can still detect a resurgence of more traditional Chinese attitudes towards foreigners in the strident nationalism of the 1920s.[69] In other words, a sense of exclusive ›Chineseness‹ that was expressed in persistent antiforeignism by Chinese Christians and non-Christians alike continued to permeate all levels of society.

69 Paul A. Varg, »The Missionary Response to the Nationalist Revolution«, in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 312–313.

Thoralf Klein

The Missionary as Devil

Anti-Missionary Demonology in China, 1860–1930

As a foreign student in China in the early 1990s, I once visited the historical site of Zazhidong camp in Chongqing together with a German friend. This is a place where the Chinese Nationalists, with the help of American advisers provided by the Sino-American Cooperation Organization (SACO), interned and tortured Communists and their sympathizers in the 1940s.[1] It was a cold, grey, January day, and visitors were few. Apart from ourselves, I only recall a middle-aged Chinese couple coming on towards us. As they were passing us, I overheard the man say something to his wife. He was not speaking loudly, yet, perhaps because he mistook us for Americans and counted on our not understanding Chinese, what he said was clearly audible. It was just the two words *yang guizi* 洋鬼子 – ›foreign devils‹.[2]

This expression will be the focus of my subsequent examination of how European and North American missionaries in China became the object of processes of Othering. I am not suggesting in this article that the Chinese discourse on Europe can be reduced to the demonology implied in the term (*yang*) *guizi*; there existed other terms to denote missionaries and other foreigners, some of which – as we shall see – were more neutral. However, I think that the demonizing discourse on missionaries is important for two reasons: firstly, it was the strongest way in which the Christian presence in China, which was connected with imperialism from the mid-nineteenth century well into the twentieth, was construed as an alien and harmful force; secondly, over the same period, this discourse developed in a way that reflected the profound cultural change taking place in China at the time. As more and more traits of ›Western‹ culture were adopted and adapted in order to create a modern China, so the ways of perceiving ›Westerners‹ and construing images of them changed, and this in turn affected the use of anti-missionary demonology.

1 For the context see Klaus Mühlhahn, *Criminal Justice in China. A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 133–34.

2 This essay uses *Hanyu Pinyin* 漢語拼音 as the standard method of romanization, except in quotations and bibliographic information. In rendering Chinese names, the family name precedes the given name, unless authors have chosen otherwise. All translations by Thoralf Klein, except where translators are indicated.

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I am using the term ›Westerner‹ rather than ›European‹ because at the time under scrutiny here, common Chinese usage made no distinction between foreigners from Europe or from North America. This does not necessarily mean that there was no awareness of the differences between the two – educated circles, at least, clearly knew about (and had words for) the different European nation-states as well as the United States. However, given the nature of the encounter between Chinese on the one hand and Europeans and North Americans on the other, it was perfectly logical from a Chinese viewpoint to lump them together. This is reflected in terms such as *xi* 西 (›Western‹) or *yang* 洋 (foreign or, literally, ›from across the [Western] Ocean‹), or the combination of the two, *xiyang*. By the same token, *(yang) guizi* was also applied indiscriminately to all ›Westerners‹, although, in concrete circumstances, it could be rendered more specific by adding references to nationality. The term *yang* also denoted foreign things, such as foreign companies (*yanghang* 洋行), matches (literally ›foreign fire‹, *yanghuo* 洋火) and, last but not least, Christianity, the ›foreign religion‹ or, more literally, ›foreign teaching‹ (*yangjiao* 洋教). The latter was a generic term equally applied to both Catholicism and Protestantism, which were most commonly conceptualized as two different sets of doctrines, as is reflected in their specific names: *Tianzhujiao* 天主教 (literally, ›Teaching of the Lord of Heaven‹, after the name for God prescribed by the Vatican since the seventeenth-century ›rites controversy‹) and *Jidujiao* 基督教 (literally, ›Teaching of Christ‹) respectively.

›Foreign devil‹ or rather ›demon‹ was not an epithet specifically attributed to missionaries, but one generically referring to ›Westerners‹. In this chapter, therefore, I shall also ask to what extent missionaries were portrayed as a particular category of ›foreign demons‹ different from other ›Western‹ foreigners. By analyzing textual and visual material, I will examine how the epithet ›foreign demons‹ became a signifier denoting missionaries, and how its use changed between the mid-nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth. My chapter will focus on topics from three phases of modern Chinese history: in the first section, I will examine one of the major anti-Christian works and its impact on anti-missionary riots, in the second I shall take a look at the Boxer movement of 1898–1901, and the third will be devoted to anti-Christian literature in the context of the anti-imperialist movement of the 1920s. In my conclusion, I will place the Chinese anti-missionary demonology in the broader context of universalism, Orientalism and Occidentalism. I shall begin, however, by identifying the cultural and historical locus of Chinese anti-missionary demonology.

Devils or demons? The cultural and historical framework

Translating (*yang*)*guizi* as ›foreign *devil*‹ can be regarded as creating what Lydia Liu has called a super-sign – »a linguistic monstrosity that thrives on the excess of its presumed meaning by virtue of being exposed to, or thrown together with, foreign etymologies and foreign languages.«[3] For the term *gui* 鬼 does not suggest, as does the European concept of the Devil (or Satan), the idea of pure and absolute evil.[4] Rather, it evokes the idea of strangeness and danger – ›demon‹ or ›ghost‹ therefore would be a far more appropriate translation, and I will use either one of these terms when I refer to *gui* in what follows, except where I rely on translations by others.

The world of Chinese folklore is populated by a host of creatures such as demons, fox spirits, goblins and fairies.[5] On the level of high culture, this is reflected in the ›Strange Stories from the Studio of Cheerfulness‹ (*Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異) by the seventeenth-century author Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) – innovative and unconventional texts written in difficult literary Chinese and accessible only to the learned social elite of China, the literati. Pu's treatment of the spirit world is subtle and often satirical; for example, he depicts sexual intercourse between humans and female spirits, often with a happy ending.[6] To some extent, he draws on Chinese folk religion, which conceptualizes ›gods, ghosts and ancestors‹ as the three central categories of supernatural beings with which humans interact.[7] Of this triad,

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3 Lydia H. Liu, *The Clash of Empires. The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 13.

4 Surprisingly, an excellent discussion of this feature of the word, which productively uses recent literature on Chinese history, is found in W. Bryan Rommel-Ruiz, *American History Goes to the Movies. Hollywood and the American Experience* (London: Routledge, 2011), 24–25.

5 For some of these, see Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way. The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 4, 78 and passim.

6 There exists a plethora of Chinese editions as well as translations into English presenting either the complete text or selected stories. See Pu Songling, *Ershisi juan chaoben Liaozhai zhiyi* 二十四卷抄本聊齋誌異. 2 vols. (Jinan: Qi-Lu Shushe, 1981); id., *Strange Tales of Liaozhai*, trans. Lu Yunzhong, Yang Liyi, Yang Zhihong and Chen Tifang (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1982). For a situation of Pu's work within literati culture, for a characterization of his language and for the rootedness of his stories in popular culture see Chang Chun-shu and Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang, *Redefining History. Ghosts, Spirits and Human Society in P'u Sung-ling's World, 1640–1715* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 59–62, 73–75 and 151–58; Judith T. Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Classical Chinese Tale* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); id., *The Phantom Heroine: Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth Century Chinese Literature* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 16–18; Y. W. Ma, »Fiction«, in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William H. Nienhauser (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 31–48, 39.

7 Arthur P. Wolf, »Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors«, in *Studies in Chinese Society*, ed. id. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 1978), 131–82; David K. Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors. The Folk Religion of a Taiwanese Village* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972),

ancestors (*zu* 祖) and ghosts or demons (*gui*) form the opposite ends of a spectrum of ways in which the living and the dead are tied together. Although things are invariably more complicated than this, suffice it to say here that ancestors are the deceased members of one's own genealogical group whose living descendants take care of them and provide them with everything that they need in their afterlife. Souls of persons who have passed away prematurely, have died an unnatural death, or have produced no offspring cannot be taken care of. Hungry and homeless, they turn into ghosts preying on the living. Since they are outside the bonds between the living and their deceased relatives, they are usually external to the all-important family and lineage relations. As Arthur Wolf has written, »[o]ne man's ancestor is another man's ghost«. And: »The one [the ancestor] is usually a kinsman, the other is always a stranger.«[8] It is this narrower concept of ghosts that interests us here.

As recent anthropological fieldwork has shown, there is no unanimity among Chinese about whether demons are generally considered evil. There may even be some sympathy for ghosts on account of their unhappy fate.[9] However, in view of the fluid boundaries between ghosts and ancestors as emphasised by Wolf, what makes the former at least potentially dangerous is not necessarily their evil nature. Rather, it is their status as outcasts and aliens devoid of any obligations to specific communities and their individual members. At any rate, ghosts' interference with the living points to some sort of irregularity or disturbance that must be either prevented or rectified.[10] As a result, villages or descent groups resort to a variety of specific strategies in order to deal with ghosts and forestall any potential harm: As ideal types, we might distinguish between appeasing them through offerings – the best-known example being the Hungry Ghost Festival, where ghosts are fed and clothed during the seventh lunar month – and exorcising them with the help of religious specialists. Exorcisms are intended to bring about a change of fate or to restore peace, harmony and stability; however, it must be noted that expelling harmful ghosts is only one aspect of these rituals.[11]

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172. For a critical assessment of Wolf's concept and a historical (rather than systematic) treatment of the three categories see von Glahn, *The Sinister Way*, 6–7, 19, 62–65 and passim.

8 Wolf, »Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors«, 146.

9 Janet Lee Scott, *For Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors. The Chinese Tradition of Paper Offerings* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 91–96. Lee explicitly states that her findings bear out many of the claims made by Arthur Wolf. However, any application of contemporary findings to historical situations must be treated with caution.

10 Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors*, 134–37. It must be noted, however, that families can even be haunted by their own deceased members, often as a result of a disruption of the appropriate family structure; see ibid., 138–164.

11 For the Hungry Ghost Festival see Lloyd E. Eastman, *Family, Fields, and Ancestors. Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550–1949* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 52. Scott, *For Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors*, 97–101, describes offerings of special paper money and clothing, both during major festivals or intermittent. For exorcism see

Since ghosts were thought of as strangers, the concept of demons was readily transferable to foreigners who – from the perspective of Chinese society – intruded into family and lineage circles, interfering with the ordinary patterns of social and religious life. However, the association of the term *guizi* (a reinforced variant of *gui*) with the character *yang* and hence the identification of ›foreigners‹ as ›demons‹ was not a given of the idea that demons were strangers, but followed a historical trajectory. According to Meng Hua, this development can be divided into three stages:[12] In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, during the reign of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the term *gui* reflected popular fear at the appearance of the first foreigners – Portuguese and Dutch – on China's southern coasts. Some of the Chinese concerns, in particular the aggressiveness of the foreigners and their abduction of Chinese children, may have been the results of cultural misunderstandings. By using a derogatory epithet, Chinese people marked the alterity of the ›Westerners‹. After the Manchurian Qing dynasty (1644–1912) had conquered China, the usage of *guizi* was consolidated and found its way into high literature. However, its association with *yang* did not achieve wide popularity until after the Opium War (1840–42), which marked the beginning of the third stage. In particular, none of the recorded examples of the combination *yang guizi* predates the year 1840.[13] Since the mid-nineteenth century, this term expressed outrage towards and resentment of the imperialistic methods by which ›Westerners‹ had begun to impose their forms of intercourse on China and shifted the terms of interaction in their own favour. There is a certain irony in this, as the ›Westerners‹ understood the term *yang* to be a neutral description, in contrast to the character *Yi* 夷, which in the early 1830s, ›Western‹ China hands had begun to translate as ›barbarian‹, creating *the* supersign par excellence according to Lydia Liu.[14] Whereas the foreign powers had finally managed to suppress the use of *Yi* in official documents in the treaties following the Opium Wars, they found it more difficult to control popular usage. There is evidence, however, that foreign representatives actively attempted to censor the word *guizi* and local variants thereof whenever they

Donald S. Sutton, *Steps of Perfection. Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-Century Taiwan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 130–138; Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors*, 119–20, 129–33.

12 Hua Meng, »The Chinese Genesis of the Term ›Foreign Devil‹«, in *Images of Westerners in Chinese and Japanese Literature*, ed. id. and Sukehiro Harakawa (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 25–37.

13 Ibid., 35–36; see Liu, *Clash of Empires*, 96–107.

14 Zhaorong Peng, »The Image of the ›Red-Haired Barbarian‹ in Official and Popular Discourse«, in *Images of Westerners*, ed. Hua and Sukehiro, 17–23, 21. See Liu, *Clash of Empires*, 31–69; James L. Hevia, *English Lessons. The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press and Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 57–61.

heard it being used, sometimes admonishing transgressors, sometimes using physical violence to ›teach‹ them.[15]

One might expect that the term ›demons‹ was first applied to Christian missionaries in the first two periods identified by Meng Hua, as Catholic missionaries (in particular Jesuits) were evangelizing in China from about 1600 until Christianity was officially outlawed in 1724. However, anti-Christian tracts from the late Ming period do not seem to have used the term in this way. For example, the ›Collection on the Exposure of Heterodoxy‹ (*Poxie ji* 破邪集), an anthology of anti-Christian writings first published in 1640, uses *man* 蠻 or *yeman* 野蠻 to refer to foreign missionaries.[16] This was one of several terms denoting foreigners outside the realm of the Chinese empire and, although it construed a hierarchy of civilizations (*ye* meaning ›wild‹ and the character *man* containing the radical for ›worm‹, *chong* 虫), it was certainly less derogatory and more dispassionate than *gui*. Christianity, as indicated in the title of the collection, is referred to as ›heterodox‹ (*xie* 邪), i.e. a teaching whose doctrines and practices are not in accordance with the Confucian orthodoxy officially sanctioned and prescribed by the Imperial dynasty.[17] Thus the available evidence suggests that missionaries, as well as other foreigners, were referred to as ›(foreign) demons‹ only in the third period, after 1840. Instead, some of the texts assembled in the *Poxie ji* assume a diametrically opposite perspective, complaining that the foreigners »have no compunction in calling Confucius a devil« and also disregard the Buddha or Daoist immortals: »[T]hey insult them all, calling them devils and say that they have all been cast into hell.«[18]

In the nineteenth century, echoes of this attack on Chinese religions were found in the Taiping 太平 movement (1851–1864), best understood as a folk-religionized version of Protestant Christianity.[19] The leader of the movement,

15 Liu, *Clash of Empires*, 97–100.

16 Lionel M. Jensen, »China and the Confluence of Cultures. Overcoming the East-West Mind Set«, in *Beating Devils and Burning Their Books. Views of China, Japan, and the West*, ed. Anthony E. Clark (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies 2010), 107–132, 122. For the Buddhist background of this and other texts see *Handbook of Christianity in China. Vol. 1: 635–1800*, ed. Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 511–13.

17 See Kwang-ching Liu and Richard Shek, »Introduction«, in *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. id. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 3–4.

18 Quoted from Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact. A Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985), 177–78. Note that Gernet does not seem to be bothered by problems of translatability. For a critical reading of Gernet, albeit with few references to the *Poxie ji*, see Paul Rule, »Does Heaven Speak? Revelation in the Confucian and Christian Traditions«, in *China and Christianity. Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, ed. Stephen Uhalley and Xiaoxin Wu (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2001), 63–79.

19 Liu Ying-hua, »The Folk-religionization of Christianity in China – Hong Xiuquan's *Yuandao jueshi xun* and the Taiping Rebellion«, in: *Shizijia qian de sisuo – wenben jiedu yu Shengjing quanshi* 十字架前的思索 – 文本解讀與聖經詮釋 [Pondering before the Cross – Reading Texts and Interpreting the Gospel], ed. Wang Chengmian 王成勉 (Taipei: Liming Wenhua 2010), 77–106.

Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814–1864), believed in his God-given mission to rid China of ›demons‹. By this term he meant the defenders of the Imperial order and of Confucian orthodoxy and, in particular, the alien Manchus, the ethnic group to which the Qing dynasty belonged. As one of the Confucian adversaries of the Taiping stated: »The bandits [Taiping] call the [Qing] officials ›demons‹ [*yao* 妖], and they call Imperial clothing, Imperial caps, the jackets worn by officials, peacock feathers and buttons indicating rank, ›demon tools‹ […] They also call scholars ›demon scholars‹, soldiers ›demon soldiers‹ and envoys ›demon messengers‹. There is nothing they do not demonize, they even call the local militia ›demon maggots‹; this is a very new name.«[20] This was not simply a distorting perspective of the Taipings' enemies. In the ›Proclamations by Imperial Sanction‹ (*Banxing zhaoshu* 頒行詔書), an 1852 Taiping text, the Qing emperor is explicitly referred to as ›demon‹ (*yao*). The same text also speaks of people who were deluded by ›demons‹ (*yaomo* 妖魔), and tells how God and Jesus »exterminated great numbers of demons (*mogui* 魔鬼) in pitched battle, for how could the demons (*yaomo*) seek to rival heaven?«[21]

Two aspects of this discourse are important here: Firstly, Taiping dualism not only drew from Christianity, but also from Chinese popular sectarianism and therefore had »indigenous roots«;[22] this is a proof that demonization could be applied to groups within Chinese society, not only to foreigners. Secondly, the Taiping used a variety of expressions to demonize their adversaries, with *yao* referring to their earthly and *yaomo* or *mogui* to their spiritual enemies (to complicate the matter, the character *mo* 魔 contains the radical *gui* 鬼). This distinguishes Taiping rhetoric from anti-Christian demonology, which made exclusive use of the character *gui*, the one that was least associated with concepts of evil and most with a history of mishaps or injustice.[23] Anti-foreign demonology, therefore, was unique, and it is to its anti-missionary aspects that we now turn.

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20 Pan Zhongrui 潘鐘瑞, »Sutai milu ji 蘇臺麋鹿記 [Records of the Stag on the Grassy Terrace]«, in *Taiping Tianguo* 太平天國 [The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom], ed. Wang Zhongmin 王重民 et al., vol. 5 (Shanghai: Shenzhou Guoguangshe, 1952), 269–287, 279; see Thomas H. Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2004), 138–39.

21 »Proclamations by Imperial Sanction«, in *The Taiping Rebellion. History and Documents*, ed. Franz Michael, vol. 2 (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1971), 141–151, 143; I have added the characters from the original version see »Banxing zhaoshu (頒行詔書)«, in *Taiping Tianguo* 太平天國 [The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom], ed. Wang Zhongmin 王重民 et al., vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shenzhou Guoguangshe, 1952), 155–162, 160.

22 Paul Richard Bohr, »The Politics of Eschatology. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan and the Rise of the Taipings, 1837–1853« (PhD diss., University of California at Davis, 1978), 205–06.

23 For the different concepts and terminology see Barend J. ter Haar, *Telling Stories. Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

Sex, crime, and panic: anti-Christian tracts, 1861–1892

The first set of materials analyzed in this essay consists of anti-Christian texts and images published or distributed between 1860 and the early 1890s. This was the period when both Catholic and Protestant missions (the former after the effective repeal of the 1724 ban, the latter as newcomers after 1807) established themselves in every region of the Chinese empire. In the Treaty of Beijing in 1860, foreigners had obtained the right to travel in the interior of China, which effectively allowed Christian missionaries to evangelize outside the limits of the ›Western‹ settlements that had developed in the coastal ›treaty ports‹. By manipulating the Chinese version of the treaty, the French interpreter, a Catholic priest, also secured the right to acquire real estate in the Chinese hinterland. Protestant missionaries claimed the same privilege by appealing to the most-favoured nation status of their native countries before their residence in the interior was legalized in 1881. Also, in 1862, the Qing emperor had been forced to issue the last in a series of toleration edicts allowing Chinese Christians to practise their religion unmolested.[24]

Among the anti-Christian tracts published in late nineteenth-century China, perhaps the most influential was a book called ›A Record of Facts to Ward off Heterodoxy‹ (*Bixie jishi* 辟邪紀實). It was published anonymously in 1861 by an author styling himself as »the world's most heartbroken man« (*Tianxia di-yi shangxin ren* 天下第一傷心人), who had taken part in the fight against the Taiping, at a time when missionaries (and in particular Catholics) had just begun to establish themselves in the interior of China.[25] In addition

24 For these privileges see Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 276; Helle Jörgensen, »Zum wechselvollen Verhältnis von Mission und Politik: Die Berliner Missionsgesellschaft in Guangdong«, in *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert. Mission und Wirtschaft in interkultureller Perspektive*, ed. Mechthild Leutner and Klaus Mühlhahn (Münster: LIT, 1996), 183–218, 186; for the toleration edict of 1862 see R. G. Tiedemann, »Christian Missions in Shandong in the Context of China's National and Revolutionary Development«, in *Missionsgeschichte – Kirchengeschichte – Weltgeschichte*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden and Heike Liebau (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 387–404, 389.

25 An English translation based on an abridged version of this work was published under the title *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines. A Plain Statement of Facts. Published by the Gentry and the People* (Shanghai: no publisher, 1870). The most thorough treatment of the *Bixie jishi* is in Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity. The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism 1860–1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 45–60 and 277–81. For two more recent discussions see ter Haar, *Telling Stories*, 160–172; Anthony E. Clark, »Rape, Baptism and the ›Pig‹ Religion: Images of Foreign Missionaries During the Late Nineteenth Century«, in *Beating Devils and Burning Their Books. Views of China, Japan, and the West*, ed. Anthony E. Clark (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2010), 49–62. For the author see Zhongguo Di-yi Lishi Dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 and Fujian Shifan Daxue Lishixi 福建師範大學歷史系, ed., *Qing mo jiao'an* 清末教案 [Late Qing missionary cases], vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2006), 664, and ter Haar, *Telling Stories*, 160.

to the book itself, which continued to be printed and was often successful in stimulating anti-Christian action, numerous abridged and simplified versions were circulated. One Chinese source estimates the number of the various versions at several hundred.[26] Among these is a collection of woodblock prints from the *Bixie jishi* under the title ›Respectful Obedience to the Sacred Edict to Ward Off Heterodoxy. A Complete Picture Gallery‹ (*Jinzun Shengyu bixie quantu* 謹遵聖諭辟邪全圖), published around 1890 and reprinted with English annotations by a missionary press.[27] Missionaries attributed the editorship of the Chinese original to a scholar-official from Hunan province named Zhou Han 周漢 (1842 or 1849–1911), whom they suspected of being a chief instigator behind the anti-missionary riots in Central China in 1891.[28] This material is complemented by shorter texts and handbills, which, as Barend ter Haar has argued, may have derived from orally transmitted discourses expressing similar fears about missionaries, rather than from the more elaborate and literary *Bixie jishi*; what is important in the context of this essay, however, is that all of these media share the use of a number of signifiers.[29]

As will become clear in my subsequent discussion, ›Respectful Obedience‹ and other publications of its kind are specifically about missionaries. The latter are referred to as ›demons‹ *(guizi*) throughout, but, interestingly, this is nowhere reflected in the visual record. The foreigners are portrayed as exotic and alien, but they are clearly identified as human beings. The link between text and images is provided not by the signifier *gui*, but by the words *zhu* and *yang*. This is achieved by way of puns playing on the homonyms that are so characteristic of the Chinese language. Foreigners are often, though far from consistently, portrayed as goats because the character for goat (*yang* 羊) is pronounced the same way as the character for ›foreign‹ (*yang* 洋). By the same token, there is a pun on the Catholic name for God, namely ›the Lord of Heaven‹ (*Tianzhu* 天主), as being ›the heavenly pig‹ (*Tianzhu* 天豬), and Catholicism, ›the teaching of the Lord of Heaven‹ (*Tianzhujiao* 天主教) is ridiculed as ›the squeak of the heavenly pig‹ (*Tianzhujiao* 天豬叫).[30] With

26 Qing mo jiao'an, 635.

27 *The Cause of the Riots in the Yangtse Valley. A Complete Picture Gallery* (Hankou, 1891). The title of the book is translated as ›Heresy Exposed in Respectful Obedience to *The Sacred Edict*. A Complete Picture Gallery‹. The pages in this book are not consecutively numbered.

28 *Cause of the Riots*, introduction and notes to the title page. See Liu Yangyang 劉央央, »Zhou Han fan yangjiao an shulun 周漢反洋教案述論 [A discussion of Zhou Han's resistance to the foreign religion]«, in *Jindai Zhongguo jiao'an yanjiu* 近代中國教案研究 [Studies of missionary cases in modern China], ed. Sichuan Sheng Zhexue Shehui Kexue Lianhehui 四川省哲學社會科學聯合會 and Sichuan Sheng Jindaishi Jiao'an Yanjiuhui 四川省近代史教案研究會 (Changsha: Sichuan Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe, 1987), 373–395.

29 See ter Haar, *Telling Stories*, 160–63.

30 See also »Dr. John on the Hunan Manifesto«, in *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China 1891. With an Appendix* (Shanghai: North China Herald Office, 1892), 196–97.

little concern for the niceties of Trinitarian doctrine, however, the role of the ›heavenly pig‹ is attributed to Jesus, as illustrated by another widely published pamphlet, 800,000 copies of which are supposed to have circulated:

> The hog of heaven
> Easy to tell:
> They worship Jesus the only hog;
> Emperor and parents they heed not.[31]

This apparent focus on Catholicism does not mean, however, that Protestants were considered more acceptable. In fact, the *Bixie jishi* explicitly stated that both Catholics and Protestants were included in the attack, and the attacks against Protestants in the Yangzi Valley in 1891 offer support for this statement.[32]

As a visual sign, *gui* or ›demon‹ only worked in conjunction with those other signifiers, ›pig‹ and ›goat‹. This is also borne out in textual evidence, when posters referred to missionaries as »pig-goat-devils« (in the translation by a missionary).[33] As a rule, the ›ghost‹ sign is placed into a wider context. First of all, the title of ›Respectful Obedience to the Sacred Edict to Ward Off Heterodoxy‹ as well as the introduction in the *Bixie jishi* explicitly refer to the Sacred Edict (*Shengyu* 聖諭) proclaimed by the Kangxi 康熙 Emperor in 1670, and, more specifically, to the amplified version proclaimed by his son and successor, the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor.[34] This is a collection of 16 short maxims addressed to the Chinese population. In the 1670 original the seventh of these maxims runs: »Do away with errant teachings and so exalt the correct doctrine.«[35] In his 1724 elaboration of the edict, the Yongzheng Emperor had explicitly stated that »the people from the Western Ocean who venerate the Lord of Heaven [i. e., the Catholic missionaries, Th. K.], are also sub-

31 »Ghost-busting Song«, trans. Eva Hung, *Renditions* 53–54 (2000): 251–52, 251.

32 For an overview of these riots see Edmund S. Wehrle, *Britain, China and the Antimissionary Riots 1891–1900* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1966). Ter Haar, *Telling Stories*, 176–90 gives a fresh interpretation, understanding events mainly against the background of orally transmitted mass scares. For the *Bixie jishi*'s position see Cohen, *China and Christianity*, 48.

33 »An Agreement Entered Into by All Hunan«, in *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China 1891. With an Appendix* (Shanghai: North China Herald Office, 1892), 197–99.

34 For the *Bixie jishi* see Cohen, *China and Christianity*, 48.

35 This translation is from William Theodore de Bary and John Lufrano, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition. From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 71. For the Chinese text, which has *yiduan* 異端, not *xie*, to denote heterodoxy, see Liang Yannian, ed., *Shengyu xiangjie* 聖諭像解 [A Pictorial Explanation of the Sacred Edict], reprint edition (Beijing: Xianzhuang Shuju, 1995), 2. Interestingly, this edition of the late seventeenth-century original is based on an 1887 reprint from Hunan, which in turn draws on an 1856 edition from Guangzhou. This can hardly be a coincidence.

sumed under [the label] uncanonical.«[36] And although the emperor had conceded that missionaries were employed by the court as astronomers (and indeed artists), he had had all but these expelled them from his realm that very same year.

By referring to the official version of Confucian orthodoxy, the anti-Christian texts of the late nineteenth century appear as rallying cries to the defence of orthodox Confucianism, and the title of the *Bixie jishi* establishes a link to the *Poxie ji* and other seventeenth-century texts. Both also point to the Confucian and scholarly background of their authors. However, unlike their predecessors, nineteenth-century pamphleteers are less interested in doctrinal niceties and more in the exposure of what they portray as shocking Christian practices, in particular sexual licentiousness, the mishandling of corpses (and sometimes living humans) for ›scientific‹ or medical purposes, and mass poisoning.

A look at the first element in this uncanny triad reveals how nineteenth-century authors went beyond the criticisms of their predecessors. For example, ›Respectful Obedience‹ has an image depicting the Catholic mass as a licentious gathering of men and women (an image that missionaries sought to counter by separating male and female converts in church as best they could[37]). The caption, »Propagating the squeak in the squeak halls« equates evangelizing with fornication, as the characters ›propagating the squeak‹ are repeated in the lower half of the picture near what seems to be missionaries (and possibly a Chinese Christian preacher) having sexual intercourse with Chinese women.[38]

The accompanying text suggests that in church, »[…] people, who, for the most part, are strangers to each other, meet from all quarters, and couple and pair just as they please; human beings and devils, male and female, sleep together on the same pillow.«[39] This passage is interesting because it draws a dividing line between ›demons‹ on the one hand and ›human beings‹ on the other, but the missionaries' alleged attack on the social order and in particular on gender relationships is painted in even more drastic terms in another section of the *Bixie jishi*, which states that, after Sunday worship, »all give themselves up to indiscriminate sexual intercourse. This is the height of their enjoyment. They call it the ›Great Communion‹, or the ›Love-gathering.‹«[40]

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36 My translation is based on the following edition: Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴 and Gu Meihua 顧美華, ed., *Shengyu guangxun. Jijie yu yanjiu* 聖諭廣訓. 集解與研究 [An Extensive Instruction on the Sacred Edict. Collected Explanations and Research] (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe, 2006), 290.

37 See Pui-lan Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860–1927* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), 72–73.

38 »The Cause of the Riots in the Yangtse Valley«, plate 8 and translation.

39 Ibid.

40 This translation is taken from *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, 10.

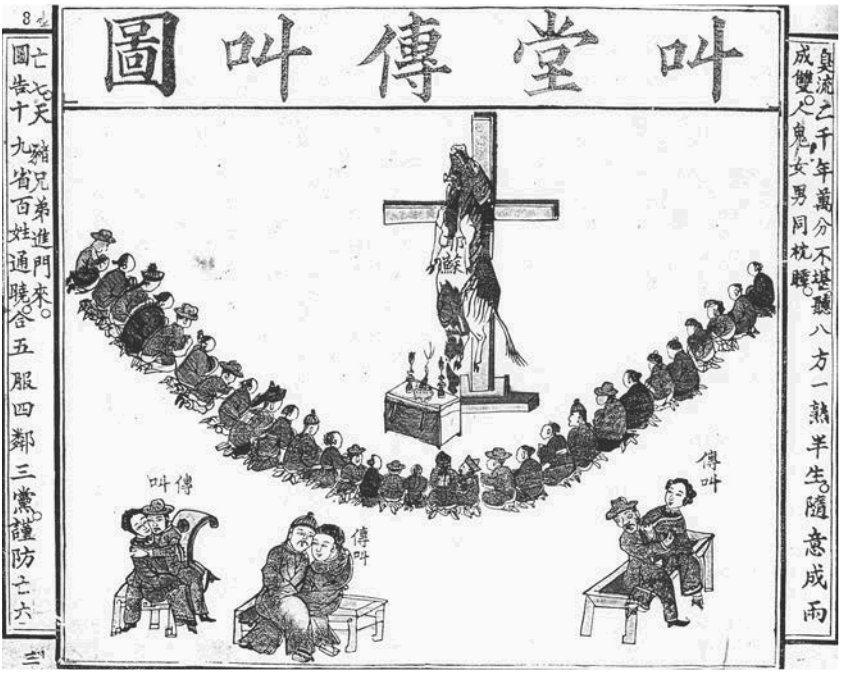

Figure 1: »Propagating the squeak in the squeak halls«, from »Respectful Obedience«, 1891. The crucified pig bears the inscription ›Jesus‹. The Cause of the Riots in the Yangtse Valley. A Complete Picture Gallery (Hankou, 1891), 8.

With their clearly sexualized overtones, the *Bixie jishi* and other anti-Christian works depart markedly from their seventeenth-century predecessors. These had criticized the want of propriety in the contact between missionaries and Chinese women, but they had not alluded to sexual relationships between the two. The nineteenth-century tracts probably also referred to other strands of Chinese literary tradition. Anthony Clark, to whose discussion of anti-Christian materials this essay owes a great deal, has drawn attention to the iconographic similarity between the pig in the anti-Christian tracts and visual representations of Zhu Bajie 豬八戒, better known in the West as ›Pigsy‹, from the popular sixteenth-century novel ›The Journey to the West‹ (*Xiyouji* 西遊記). While the *Bixie jishi* explicitly portrays Jesus as a licentious man, Zhu Bajie, half-pig and half-man, is punished in the novel for his sexual advances towards a Goddess.[41] Clark's observation may be accurate, but we will later encounter Zhu Bajie among the enemies of Christianity, and

41 Clark, »Rape, Baptism and the ›Pig‹ Religion«, 50–51 and note 31.

another character type featuring in popular Chinese novels, the lecherous (Buddhist) monk, may also have been a model for ideas about foreign missionaries. For example, chapters 45 and 46 of another popular sixteenth-century novel, *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (translated into English under the titles ›Water Margin‹, ›Outlaws of the Marsh‹ or ›All Men Are Brothers‹), contain the story of a sex-hungry monk's illicit affair with the wife of one of the novel's heroes. The episode concludes with the following poem:

> Most evil are monks
> Who break the commandments
> And revel in lust
> Day after day.
> Strange was this fellow's behavior.
> He shared the lady's pillow
> and ne'er with her would part,
> Mad like many monks,
> Big and small.
> You can see it on the streets.
> […].[42]

It is interesting that this parallels a ›Western‹ tradition that dates back at least to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, a late fourteenth-century text.

The second charge against missionaries, that of carving out organs or gouging out eyeballs from corpses, was no less drastic, but somewhat less sexualized if still gendered – excepting the horror fantasy that missionaries also cut out foetuses from women, either living or dead. For example, the »Ghost-busting song« already mentioned listed the ways in which Christian missionaries threatened men, women, and children respectively. While men are likely to wear the »hat of a cuckold« if they did not beware, the horrors awaiting women are portrayed far more graphically:

> The hog of heaven
> Cuts open your wombs,
> Drags out your foetuses,
> Slices off your nipples:
> All goes into the potions they prepare,
> Women of every family must beware.[43]

42 The translation is from a Chinese-English edition: Sidney Shapiro, trans., *Shuihu zhuan (*水滸傳*). Outlaws of the Marsh* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2003), 1391. For the history of the editions of this novel, see Liangyan Ge, *Out of the Margins. The Rise of Chinese Vernacular Fiction* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 2–3.

43 »Ghost-busting song«, 251.

The next stanza then conjures up the spectre of missionaries killing children with knives so that they can then cut out their kidneys.

These gruesome fantasies probably originated in the early eighteenth century, but developed into a mass scare only from the 1840s.[44] In the 1852 edition of his noted »Illustrated Survey of the Maritime Countries« (*Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志), the distinguished scholar and geographer Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1857), had famously told of Catholic priests taking out the eyeballs of deceased followers. Apart from his being one of the main sources for the alleged licentiousness of Christian missionaries – he had recorded that men and women spent the night together in church –, Wei also came up with stories of how converts to Christianity not only received money from the missionaries, but also were made to swallow »a pill like a small crispy pancake« thought to bewitch people so that they would remain loyal to the faith.[45] It seems that this misconstruction of the Holy Communion wafer helped to give rise to the third allegation against missionaries – that of mass poisoning of wells, foodstuffs and the like. This was not so much disseminated in book-length texts like the *Bixie jishi*, but, rather, in posters and handbills. For example, a poster distributed in 1892 in Guangdong province repeated the rumour of missionaries cutting out foetuses from their mothers' wombs for medical purposes, but its powerful opening passage evokes a more general concern for children:

> The foreign demons (*fan gui* 番鬼) hide poison
> In medicine and sweets
> Children are in mortal danger
> When they pick them up from the streets.
> If somebody[46] gives you [such] a present,
> Don't let small children have those treats.
> Sometimes [the presents] consist in,
> With the poison hidden in the strings.
> Don't let children bite them open,
> For sure death this brings.

44 ter Haar, *Telling Stories*, 159–60.

45 Wei Yuan 魏源, Haiguo tuzhi 海國圖志 [An illustrated survey of the maritime countries], vol. 2, ed. Guan Qiaoling 管巧靈 and Liu Wen 劉文 (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 2011), 881. See the discussion of the passage in Clark, »Rape, Baptism and the ›Pig‹ Religion«, 48–49. For a good discussion of the various editions of *Haiguo tuzhi* and its connections with the older anti-Christian literature see also Cohen, *China and Christianity*, 36–40.

46 Literally: »the face of a man« (*renmian* 人面). This might be an allusion to the phrase »the face of a man but the heart of a beast« (*renmian shouxin* 人面獸心), which would also denote the missionaries' not being human.

> Sometimes the poison may be hidden in a brush.
> Do not sip the ink and the hairs with water wash.
> First of all beware and open keep your eyes.[47]

Somewhat unusually, the author of this pamphlet is known: it was written by a *xiucai* (i.e. a degree-holder who had passed the lowest level of state exams) and schoolteacher named Zheng Xianchen 鄭獻琛 from Huilai 惠來 county in Guangdong 廣東 province.[48] His authorship again attests to the role of Confucian literati in instigating anti-Christian activities.

To get rid of the missionaries, the anti-Christian texts propose radical and violent measures. One of the best known woodblocks in ›Respectful Obedience‹ suggests beating the ›demons‹ (probably to death) and burning their books, while others recommend shooting them with arrows or decapitating them. Only one image shows a religious battle in the strict sense, namely a Daoist master exorcising the missionaries.[49] In another notice posted in Hunan province in 1892, the idea of exorcism seems to have been more metaphorical: To »subjugate the foreign devils and exorcise the evil spirits«, the text suggests killing not only the »foreign invaders« and burning foreign ships, but also those Chinese officials who support them. In particular some of the highest office-holders who advocated the ›self-strengthening‹ of the Qing empire in the 1870s and 1880s are themselves denounced as »devils«.[50]

Thus the anti-Christian literature of the 1860s to 1890s did address missionaries as *gui*, but it was not the term itself that acted as a powerful signifier (especially not in the visual material), and the propagandistic effect did not primarily rest on emphasizing religious difference. Rather, the signifier *gui* worked in conjunction with other signifiers; moreover, it was situated within a context of powerful and often revolting imagery of sex and crime, as well as rhetoric of anxiety and fear. That the foreign practices described in anti-Christian texts and the accompanying images seemed strange and outrageous to their readership must have reinforced existing stereotypes and prejudices.[51] At the same time, the material reflects a narrow understanding of who the ›demons‹ are: Although the term was no doubt widely in use to denote foreigners of any description, the texts focus on missionaries, with few exceptions. Discussions of Christian missions within the wider context

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47 *Jiaowu jiao'an dang* 教務教案檔 [Records of Mission Affairs and Missionary Cases], ed. Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, vol. 5 (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindai Yanjiusuo, 1977), 2201–02, no. 2188: von Brandt to Zongli Yamen, Guangxu 18/4/29 = 25 May 1892.

48 *Jiaowu jiao'an dang*, vol. 5, 2006–07, no. 2206, von Brandt to Zongli Yamen, Guangxu 18/6/12 = 5 July 1892.

49 *The Cause of the Riots*, e.g. plates 14, 15. The exorcism is depicted on plate 29.

50 Tam Pak Shan, trans., »An Appeal to the Hunan Public«, *Renditions* 53–54 (2000): 254–55.

51 Cohen, *China and Christianity*, 49.

of ›Western‹ economic aggression or directly incite resistance to ›Western‹ businesses and institutions probably date from the 1890s, when ›Western‹ commerce had penetrated farther than before into the Chinese hinterland.[52] As for the earlier texts, Paul Cohen is no doubt right in arguing that they identify the Christian religion with ›Western‹ culture at large,[53] because at the time missionaries were the one group of ›Westerners‹ permanently present not only in the coastal cities, but also in the remotest corners of the Qing empire. All in all, the anti-Christian discourse in this period was remarkably stable, partly owing to the continuous reprinting of materials from the 1860s.

It would be wrong to assume, however, that this quite homogeneous anti-Christian discourse created a coherent anti-Christian movement. Anti-Christian texts and images as well as orally transmitted messages did inspire anti-Christian hostilities of violent proportions, although their impact is often difficult to gauge. This is particularly true of the longer and more widely circulated texts, as opposed to the shorter and more localized ones.[54] Most of the so-called ›missionary cases‹ (*jiao'an* 教案) – incidents of attacks on missionaries and also Chinese Christians – were local and fragmented affairs based on intra-communal as well as inter-communal conflicts. Even in cases where attacks on missionaries or Christians were inspired by mass scares based on rumours, resistance came nowhere close to a mass movement. Although the fear of missionaries clearly was related to fears of indigenous outsiders, outbursts against Christian missions were based on processes of Othering, which crystallized in the use of those specific signifiers reserved for foreigners.[55] However, already in the 1890s, cultural boundaries were perceived to be shifting. In some regions of China (with evidence mostly from the South), Christian missionaries emerged as local power brokers whose presence was functionalized in rural power games; often contending local factions tried to make use of the schism between Protestants and Catholics.[56]

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52 For a discussion of Christian missions within a wider context, see the Beijing text »The Westerner's Ten Laments« (*Waiguo yangren han shi sheng* 外國洋人嘆拾聲), in A. Vissière, »Deux chansons politiques chinoises«, *T'oung Pao* 10 (1899): 218–22 (Chinese original plus a French translation); an abridged English translation is available in »The Westerner's Ten Laments: excerpts«, trans. Ian Chapman, *Renditions* 53–54 (2000): 247–49. This text addresses not only Christianity, but also the opium trade and other commercial ventures of the ›Westerners‹ as well as their advanced technology, somehow foreshadowing the Luddism of the Boxers. »An Appeal to the Hunan Public« also targets ›Western‹ shipping, and another text from 1892 Hunan threatens foreign enterprises (*yanghang*); see »Nanking Riot«, in *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China 1891*, 24–25, 24.

53 Cohen, *China and Christianity*, 59.

54 ter Haar, *Telling Stories*, 160–63.

55 In my opinion, ter Haar downplays the role of those signifiers in his otherwise fascinating study; see ibid., 169–70.

56 There is a vast literature on ›missionary cases‹. Of particular importance for this article are Cohen, *China and Christianity*; Joseph Tse-hei Lee, *The Bible and the Gun. Christianity in*

This produced conflicts of a different sort, but perhaps of even greater complexity. In the meantime, new and dynamic processes in northern China had given rise to the Boxer movement, which developed new patterns of Othering as well as anti-Christian action.

The Boxers and the fear of ›foreign demons‹

The Boxer movement is best described as a religious and social movement that originated in the Shandong-Zhili border region in 1898 and swept all of North China two years later, triggering a diplomatic crisis and, as a consequence, an international military intervention. It shared some features with earlier forms of anti-Christian violence, combining overarching and cross-regionally transferable concepts with reactions to local circumstances. However, it was unique in the way that its dynamics developed against the background of short-term catastrophes, in particular the devastating flood of the Yellow River in 1898 and the severe drought in the spring and summer of 1900.[57] China's forcible integration into the structures of transnational imperialism and the missionary presence both played a role as long-term factors.

Boxer sources demonstrate some continuity with the earlier anti-Christian literature, but also display a number of unique characteristics. A case in point is the virtual absence of visual material, in particular in the earlier stages of the movement.[58] Like much of the earlier popular agitation against Christianity, the Boxer message was transmitted through short textual messages (often in the form of posters) as well as, ditties that people could easily memorize.[59] However, the Boxer movement distinguished itself from earlier forms of anti-Christian violence through its specific rituals, in particular

South China, 1860–1900 (New York: Routledge, 2003), 119–159; Helle Jörgensen, »Funktionalisierung der Mission durch chinesische Christen: Die protestantische Rheinische Mission im Kreis Dongguan in der Provinz Guangdong, 1896–1902«, in *Deutsch-chinesische Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert. Mission und Wirtschaft in interkultureller Perspektive*, ed. Mechthild Leutner and Klaus Mühlhahn (Münster: LIT, 1996), 219–260; Thoralf Klein, »Protestant Missionaries and Communist Cadres as Local Power Brokers in Rural South China, 1890–1930 – A Comparison«, in *Mission und Macht im Wandel politischer Orientierungen. Europäische Missionsgesellschaften und ihre Tätigkeit in Afrika und Asien zwischen 1800 und 1945 in politischen Spannungsfeldern*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden and Holger Stoecker (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 285–305.

57 See Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys. The Boxers as Event, Experience and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 69–95; Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 223–24, 280–82.

58 The most widely used visual material consists of New Year print-like depictions of the war on the foreigners. See Jane E. Elliott, *Some Did It for Civilization, Some Did It for Their Country. A Revised View of the Boxer War* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002), 203–205; some of the prints are reprinted in this volume.

59 Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 216–19, 292–301.

through the mass possession by gods from the folk-religious pantheon, popular literature and folk operas; these gods included literary figures such as Zhu Bajie, whom we encountered earlier on. According to a contemporary observer, a man who, after offering incense and reciting charms, »suddenly threw himself on the ground, wriggled in all directions [so that] a great deal of mud stuck to his lips«, was said to have been possessed by Zhu.[60] A second characteristic of the Boxer groups were their invulnerability rituals, which they believed would aid them to fight even ›Western‹ guns and cannons.[61]

The Boxers identified their enemies by different names. The most neutral one was *yang*, which referred, as discussed above, to people ›from across the ocean‹. This word featured in the most common slogan *Fu Qing mie yang* 扶清滅洋, usually translated as ›Support the Qing [dynasty], destroy the foreign‹.[62] It was in itself a marker for the foreign enemy, as is evident from another rallying cry: »Kill the foreigners, destroy the foreign teaching.«[63] In the later stages of the movement, a taboo was placed not only on all products of foreign origin, but on the very word *yang* and on all its derivatives, which included references to many goods imported from the ›West‹.[64] More offensive epithets for ›Westerners‹ were ›red-haired ones‹ (*hongmaozi* 紅毛子) and ›demons‹, whereas Christians were nicknamed ›secondary hairy ones‹ (*ermaozi* 二毛子) or, perhaps less frequently, ›secondary demons‹ (*erguizi* 二鬼子).[65] Sometimes, these words were used interchangeably, as in a nursery rhyme circulated by one of the forerunners of the Boxers: »First we will kill the Catholics, then we will burn the demons' hall [church].«[66] Killing was

60 Dong Zuobin 董作賓, »Gengzi yishi 庚子佚事 [Anecdotes from the Year 1900]«, in *Yihetuan shiliao* 義和團史料 [Historical Materials on the Boxers], ed. Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院近代史研究所 and Jindaishi Ziliao Bianjizu 近代史資料編輯組 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1982), 505–511, 505. For the wider context see Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 218.

61 For a rather critical discussion of this element see Yang Tianhong 楊天宏, »Yihetuan ›shenshu‹ lunlüe 義和團 〈神術〉論略 [A sketch of the ›magical‹ techniques of the Boxers]«, *Jindaishi yanjiu* [Modern History Studies] 77 (1993): 189–191.

62 For this slogan, see Lu Yao 路遙, ed., *Shandong Yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian* 山東義和團調查資料選編 [Selected Materials from the Shandong Boxer Survey], (Jinan: Qi-Lu Shushe, 1980), 316. Alternatively, the slogan ran »Help the Qing, destroy the foreign« (*zhu Qing mie yang* 助清滅洋), »Protect the Qing, destroy the foreign« (*bao Qing mie yang* 保清滅洋), »On behalf of the Qing destroy the foreign« (*ti Qing mie yang* 替清滅洋), and the like; see Nankai Daxue Lishixi 南開大學歷史系, ed., *Tianjin Yihetuan diaocha* [The Tianjin Boxer Survey] 天津義和團調查 (Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 1990), 33.

63 Nankai Daxue Lishixi, *Tianjin Yihetuan diaocha*, 29.

64 Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, 203.

65 A reference to *erguizi* is in Lu Yao 路遙, ed., *Shandong Daxue Yihetuan diaocha ziliao huibian* 山東大學義和團調查資料匯編 [Collected Materials from the Shandong University Boxer Survey], vol. 2 (Jinan: Shandong Daxue Chubanshe, 2000), 1160.

66 Lu Yao, *Shandong Yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian*, 316. Lu Yao, *Shandong Daxue Yihetuan diaocha ziliao huibian*, 843, has a different version attributed to the ›Spirit Boxers‹ (*Shenquan* 神拳): »First we will kill the foreign demons, then we will rob the Catholics«.

often referred to by Boxers as *zai* 宰, which means butchering – another indication of how Boxers dehumanized their enemies.[67]

As the reference to the Catholics suggests, the Boxers started as an anti-Christian and anti-missionary movement,[68] and, although the chronology of both the written Boxer texts and the oral testimony is often difficult to ascertain, Catholics and Protestants are usually explicitly referred to as the first objects of attack.[69] This remained so in the years 1898 and 1899, as the Boxers targeted Chinese Christians, killing or kidnapping them and setting chapels and Christian homes aflame. The first ›Westerner‹, the British missionary Sidney Brooks, was not killed until New Year's Eve 1899.[70] But with the drought in the spring and summer of 1900 and the spread of the Boxer movement to the cities of Beijing and Tianjin 天津, the enemy image of the Boxers broadened dramatically to include all foreigners, and now they were made directly responsible for the calamity that had befallen China. This shift had consequences for the Boxers' demonology, as I will demonstrate using one of the most popular Boxer ditties. I have five different versions of this text at my disposal, two from the province of Shandong 山東 and three from the city of Tianjin.[71] All five tell the same basic story: The Boxers have arisen because the ›demons‹ have raised havoc in the empire; for this reason, the gods are angry, so they descend and possess the Boxers, aiding them in their righteous cause. Railway and telegraph lines as well as steamships will be destroyed. When all ›foreign demons‹ have been killed, peace and stability will be restored throughout the empire.

What is interesting is that only in the more elaborate Tianjin versions is there an explicit reference to Christianity, whereas all five versions mention the necessary destruction of ›Western‹ technology. In the Tianjin sources, Christianity is clearly identified as the religion of the *guizi*: »They persuade [people] to believe in their teaching [so that they] insult Heaven, do not venerate the gods and Buddhas and forget ancestors and immortals.«[72] The reference to Heaven – the non-personal deity of Confucianism – is a

67 Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, 185.

68 Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 165.

69 A late example can be found in Chen Zhen 陳振 and Cheng Xiao 程歊, ed., *Yihetuan wenxian jizhu yu yanjiu* 義和團文獻輯注與研究 [Comments and Studies on Boxer Texts] (Tianjin: Tianjin Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 22–23.

70 H. Matthews, »Sidney Brooks' Martyrdom«, *The Mission Field* 45 (1900): 167–69.

71 The two Shandong examples are from Lu Yao, *Shandong Yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian*, 249 and 315; the three Tianjin versions are from Chen Zhen and Cheng Xiao, *Yihetuan wenxian jizhu yu yanjiu*, 30–35.

72 Chen Zhen and Cheng Xiao, *Yihetuan wenxian jizhu yu yanjiu*, 31 and 33, with an identical version. The former adds: »The churches hate the people and impede the Venerable Heaven (*Laotian* 老天)«. The third version ibid., 34, runs somewhat differently: »They persuade people to believe in their teaching, and [these], instead of believing in Heaven, don't believe in the gods and forget ancestors and immortals«.

reflection of Confucian orthodoxy, as is the claim that the Boxers »are not heterodox« (*xie* 邪).[73] The ditties explain this further by pointing out that the Boxers have no connections with popular sectarianism, in particular the White Lotus Teaching (*Bailianjiao* 白蓮教), whose adherents had staged a large-scale rebellion that depleted the Qing dynasty's finances and sapped much of its strength between 1796 and 1805: »We are not the heterodox White Lotus Teaching«, as one version sums it up.[74] Rather than condemning Christianity as heterodox in the tradition of the seventeenth century, the Boxers are thus attempting to forestall criticism of their own movement. Furthermore, they do so not by referring to Confucian concepts, but by describing folk religious practices, probably in order to demonstrate that these are in harmony with the religious precepts of the Imperial state: The Boxers »recite magic formulas, they follow true words, they raise yellow paper [in order to make an offering], they burn incense, and they invite all kinds of spirits and immortals.«[75]

Moreover, although the Boxers claimed to rise in support of the ruling dynasty, this does not mean that they supported the scholar-officials, the paragons of orthodox Confucianism. In fact, some Boxer texts are remarkably hostile towards the magistrates.[76] As I have shown in the above section, this was not without precedent; however, in the case of the Boxer movement, it both stemmed from different preconditions and had different consequences. First of all, the Qing Imperial court directed its officials to suppress the Boxer groups throughout 1899 and into the first half of 1900. After the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835–1908), the *de facto* ruler of China at the time, and her advisers had decided to ally with the Boxers against the foreign powers, Boxers could more openly turn against mandarins and humiliate them, forcing them to dismount from horseback or sedan chairs. Officialdom split into rivalling pro-Boxer and anti-Boxer factions. As a consequence, the Boxer War in the summer of 1900 was not only a war of the Qing government and the Boxers against an eight-power invasion, it was also an outright civil war in parts of North China.[77]

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73 Ibid., 33.

74 Ibid., 31. For the White Lotus see Kwang-ching Liu, »Religion and Politics in the 1796 White Lotus Rebellion in Hubei«, in *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. id. and Richard Shek (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 281–320.

75 Chen Zhen and Cheng Xiao, *Yihetuan wenxian jizhu yu yanjiu*, 33. The other two Tianjin versions differ slightly from this one and from each other.

76 A fine example is translated in Arthur H. Smith, *China in Convulsion* (New York: Revell, 1901), 201.

77 For Qing officials trying to suppress the Boxer movement see Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 246–306; for the relationship between officials and Boxer and the state of civil war see Mark Elvin, »Mandarins and Millenarians. Reflections on the Boxer Uprising of 1899–1900«, in *Another History. Essays on China from a European Perspective,* ed. id. (Broadway, NSW: 1996), 219–24. For the humiliation of officials see also Sir Claude Maxwell MacDonald,

This does not mean, however, that the Boxers did not distinguish between different kinds of enemies. For one thing, the majority of Boxer texts mention only the foreign *guizi* and their Chinese followers as enemies. And whereas the Boxers' hatred of officials is informed by differences in social status, Boxer texts draw a clear line between humans and the foreign ›demons‹. Two of the three Tianjin ditties discussed above claim that the foreign ›demons‹ are »not born of men«, whereas the third alleges that the ›demons‹ children were conceived as a result of son-and-mother sex. Using almost identical words, all three texts refer to the ›demons'‹ blue eyes to highlight their difference from human beings; all three also describe the immorality and lewdness of ›Western‹ men and women, echoing a popular theme from earlier anti-Christian literature.[78] Another topic that was picked up from the previous anti-Christian texts and created a veritable mass panic in the spring and summer of 1900 was the fear that the foreigners were poisoning wells, as well as spreading diseases, to which Boxer posters readily offered antidotes.[79]

While there were continuities from the late nineteenth-century anti-Christian literature in Boxer texts, the Othering of ›Western‹ missionaries by the Boxers displayed a number of significant and distinctive characteristics. Firstly, as a signifier, the epithet ›demon‹ appears somewhat stronger and more clearly defined than in the late nineteenth-century texts. However, it competes with interchangeable signifiers such as ›red-haired ones‹ or the all-encompassing *yang*, which has now clearly ceased to be simply an explanatory addendum to ›demons‹, having become a negative signifier in its own right. Secondly, these signifiers are wrapped in an imagery that not only repeats the sexual overtones of the older anti-Christian literature, but also reinforces the sense of anxiety and panic created by allegations of mass poisoning in that earlier literature. For, the Boxer texts and utterances that have been preserved interpret an ecological and economic disaster (the floods and droughts in the years up to 1900) as a cosmological crisis caused by the foreigners. Thirdly, it is likely that the application of the signifiers mentioned above varied across time and space. As in the case of the anti-Christian literature of the 1860s to 1890s, *(yang) guizi* does not allow for a distinction between different groups of foreigners. Texts from the urban areas of Beijing or Tianjin, which display a comprehensive understanding of the term, date from a rather late phase of

The Siege of the Peking Embassy, 1900. Sir Claude MacDonald's Report on the Boxer Rebellion (London: The Stationery Office, 2000), 50–51.

78 For the allegation of incest see Chen Zhen and Cheng Xiao, *Yihetuan wenxian jizhu yu yanjiu*, 34.

79 Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, 167–72. Such antidotes are described in Alfred Forke, *Translation of a Boxer poster, 7 May 1900*, in Bundesarchiv, Deutsche Botschaft China R 9208 372/27; William A. P. Martin, *The Siege of Peking. China Against the World* (New York: Revell, 1900), 70.

the Boxer movement and arose in a context where the Boxers were confronted with a great number of ›Westerners‹ who were not missionaries, such as diplomats, soldiers, merchants, and engineers. This attests to the dynamic spread of the Boxer movement and would also suggest a gradual broadening of the range of images it used in understanding and constructing the enemy. That popular rhymes from rural Shandong should exhibit the same, fuller understanding of ›Westerners‹ *qua* enemy may indicate that they date from a late stage of the movement, or it may even point to influences from the Beijing-Tianjin area. In fact, the trajectories along which these songs and texts moved are often difficult to reconstruct, as the bulk of this material was gathered through oral history surveys. It is therefore possible, even likely, that in some areas *yang guizi* still predominantly or even exclusively denoted Christian missionaries. Fourthly, this impression is confirmed when we look at the practical effects of the Boxers' anti-foreign propaganda. Despite the fact that the sieges of Beijing and Tianjin were the most spectacular episodes of the Boxer War (and they were mostly conducted by Qing Imperial troops rather than Boxer groups), most of the damage was done in the countryside. Although the spread of the Boxer technique has rightly been likened to a prairie fire, what actually moved across North China were boxing techniques, rituals, and rumours, not people.[80] Boxer activities were thus for the most part local – with the exception of Beijing and Tianjin – and consisted in attacks on Chinese Christians and their property and on ›foreign‹ missionaries wherever these could be apprehended. So, while, by the early summer of 1900, every ›Westerner‹ had become a potential target of the Boxers, the brunt of the attack was borne by the 250 missionaries and the thousands or even tens of thousands of Christians who lost their lives.

Devils and the rhetoric of anti-imperialism

The next large-scale outburst of anti-Christian activities in China took place in the 1920s. The difference between the events of 1900 and those of the 1920s was greater than the one between late nineteenth-century anti-Christian literature and the anti-Christian agitation of the Boxers, not only because there was a longer time lag. Firstly, the anti-Christian movement of the 1920s ended what the Chinese historian Gu Weimin 古衛民 has called the »golden age of Christian missions in China«.[81] After the horrors, atrocities, and humiliation brought about by the foreign intervention that followed

80 ter Haar, *Telling Stories*, 175; see Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 275–77.

81 Gu Weimin 古衛民, *Jidujiao yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* 基督教與近代中國社會 [Christianity and Modern Chinese Society] (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1996), 351.

the Boxer crisis, China's monarchy had embarked on an audacious reform programme in which missionaries played an important role, especially in the health and educational sectors. I am arguing here, not for the first time, that the alliance between Christian missionaries and Chinese reformers was based on common interests and mutual benefit rather than on transcultural understanding.[82] It was therefore built on somewhat shaky foundations. Secondly, the modernization programme in which the missionaries so readily took part was paralleled by a rise in anti-imperialist consciousness that challenged the ›Western‹ preponderance in China on the basis of modern political theory. Its leaders and activists were neither Confucian scholars nor pugilists steeped in popular religion and culture, but intellectuals and students, who had begun to emerge as a social group after 1900. As a modern political and scientific vocabulary began to take root in China around the turn of the century, changing the Chinese language profoundly, it paved the way for the emergence of a nationalist rhetoric of anti-imperialism, which centred around terms such as the ›vanishing of the nation‹ (*wangguo* 亡國), the ›carving up [of China] (*guafen* 瓜分)‹ ›survival or perishing‹ (*cunwang* 存亡), ›selling [or betraying] the nation‹ (*maiguo* 賣國) or ›saving the nation‹ (*jiuguo* 救國); ›national humiliation‹ (*guochi* 國恥), a crucial term for decades to come, first appeared in the wake of the Boxer War and achieved widespread popularity during the demonstrations against Japanese imperialism in China in the year 1915, when the first ›days of national humiliation‹ were proclaimed.[83]

After China had failed to attain international parity at the 1919 Paris peace conference, despite having become a Republic in 1912, there was a new wave of anti-imperialism. This time it was based on Marxism and the historical precedent set by the establishment of Soviet Russia. It was only a question of time until the role of Christian missions, hitherto regarded as a partner in modernization, would be called into question. The process by which this

82 See Thoralf Klein, »Linking Up with Local Society: German-speaking Missionaries and Modernization in Local [sic!] South China, ca. 1900–1930«, *Berliner China-Hefte* 35 (2009): 48–63; see Lawrence D. Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station. An American Missionary Community in China 1895–1951* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 43–66.

83 Mary Backus Rankin, »Nationalistic Contestation and Mobilization Politics. Practice and Rhetoric of Railway-Rights Recovery at the End of the Qing«, *Modern China* 28 (2002): 315–361, 339. There is meanwhile a plethora of literature on *guochi*, partly because of its revival in the 1990s; see Luo Zhitian, »National Humiliation and National Assertion: The Chinese Response to the Twenty-One Demands«, *Modern Asian Studies* 27 (1993): 297–319; Paul A. Cohen, »Remembering and forgetting national humiliation in twentieth-century China«, in *China Unbound. Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past*, ed. id. (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 148–184. The latter essay reprints some items from a cartoon series entitled ›National humiliation pictures‹ (*guochi tu* 國恥圖) and published by the periodical *Anhui suhuabao* 安徽俗話報 in 1904.

happened was marked by the founding of the Anti-Christian Student Federation in 1922 and the Soviet-sponsored National Revolution between 1925 and 1927, and, unfortunately, it is a process that I cannot examine in more detail here.[84]

The critics of Christian missions pointed to their cultural role in the construction and maintenance of ›Western‹ imperialism. An article that appeared in a youth magazine in June 1926 sums up this argument and illustrates the political language of anti-imperialism at the time: »The aim of imperialism is aggression; its interests are fundamentally different from those of the oppressed nations. […] Cultural aggression is one type of imperialism's colonial policies, and mission schools are its base camps (*dabenying* 大本營). The imperialists have seen with their own eyes that when the weak and oppressed nations cannot bear their oppression [any more], they are prone to revolt, and they [the imperialists] think that political and economic aggression is too obvious and might easily meet with antipathy, so they have thought out a clever method – cultural aggression. With this method of cultural aggression, they can reap great fruits without moving a single soldier, without firing a single bullet. In order to eradicate (*xiaomie* 消滅) the national revolutionary spirit of the Chinese masses, they have set up the Bible and prayer as important subjects, and in order to make the Chinese masses worship (*chongbai* 崇拜) Western material civilization, they have built beautiful dormitories and classrooms […].«[85]

This language points to conflicts between students from secular and mission schools, but also between students and teachers within mission schools. In the mid-1920s, students were joined by education associations and the allied Nationalist and Communist parties together with their party army, the Soviet-trained National Revolutionary Army, in their demands to abolish mission privileges in education.

What is interesting in the context of this chapter is not so much the concrete political demands of this movement, but the way that demons were lurking behind this political rhetoric. As early as the autumn of 1923, an anti-Christian article remarking on the »lies« (*guihua* 鬼話, literally, ›demoniac words‹) of the missionaries may have sought, deliberately or subconsciously, to evoke the spectre of ghosts.[86] More important for our discussion, how-

84 For the intellectual and political context, see Jessie Gregory Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions. The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–1928* (Notre Dame, IN: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988); Ka-che Yip, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students. The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922–1927* (Bellingham, WA: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980).

85 Tong Bingrong 童炳榮, »Fandui jiaohui xuexiao yapo xuesheng [Resist the oppression of students by mission schools]!«, *Guangdong qingnian* (15 June 1926): 23–25, 23.

86 »Jidujiao yu renge jiuguo 基督教與人格救國 [Christianity, Personality and National Salvation]«, *Zhongguo qingnian* (3 November 1923): 3.

ever, is a poster entitled ›Anti-Christian Special Issue‹ (Fan Jidujiao tekan 反基督教特刊) – a title not infrequently chosen for publications of the kind – and issued by the Political Commissariat of the First Army of the National Revolutionary Army in December 1925 and distributed in the northeast of Guangdong province.[87] This army served as the military arm of the Nationalists and Communists, and sought to distinguish itself from the warlord armies it fought through its intensive use of propaganda, which was designed to mobilize the population in its support. This again relied on processes of Othering, in particular on the spectre of a collaboration of foreign and domestic enemies: »The foreign demons (*yangguizi*) are in collusion with the warlords, and [both] want to harm us; how should we not deeply hate the foreign demons? Let us smash the foreign demons, compatriots; do not look at us as if we were a devastating flood or bloodthirsty beasts, do not detest us as if we were enemies [as deadly as] snakes and scorpions. […] Compatriots! You must not fear us, you must even less hate us. Soldiering is no crime, the crime is that of the foreign demons who have colluded with the warlords to wage war [on us].«[88] The emotional nature of the appeal is elsewhere reinforced by introducing a new signifier: Alleged collaborators such as warlords and also Chinese Christians now became known as the ›running dogs‹ (*zougou* 走狗) of the foreign imperialists.[89]

The December 1925 ›Anti-Christian Special Issue‹ consists of four drawings and one ›Anti-Christian song‹. Three of the four drawings present variations of the same topic – the false masks of the missionary and his real face.

While the masks represent positive values such as ›peace‹, ›equality‹, ›freedom‹ and ›compassion‹, the unmasking of the missionary, a glance behind the black curtain or a look into the magic mirror reveal a werewolf-like monster, which is, the accompanying song explains, »the vanguard of the great powers and of [their] aggression against China; the tool of cultural aggression«.[90] Compared to the late nineteenth- century woodblocks, it is interesting that the relationship between text and images has been reversed: the ›demon‹ has now become a visual sign, which is coupled with signifiers taken from the new, rationalistic language of political anti-impe-

87 *Fan Jidujiao tekan* 反基督教特刊 (Anti-Christian Special Issue), 1925, copy, author's private archive. For the context of the poster see Thoralf Klein, »Anti-Imperialism at Grassroots: Christianity and the Anti-Christian Movement in Northeast Guangdong, 1919–1930«, in *The Chinese Revolution in the 1920s. Between Triumph and Disaster*, ed. Mechthild Leutner et al. (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 289–306.

88 Chen Yipei 陳以沛, Zou Zhihong 鄒志紅 and Zhao Liping 趙麗屏, ed., *Huangpu Junxiao shiliao: xupian* 黃埔軍校史料: 續篇 [Historical Materials on the Whampoa Military Academy: Supplement] (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1994), 377.

89 Ibid., 79.

90 *Fan Jidujiao tekan.*

rialism (and indeed there are many appeals to reason in the text). This language is (or at least is intended to be) emotive, yet it is simultaneously more abstract and descriptive.

This becomes more evident as we compare the crude drawings from the poster with another image from a special issue of ›Eastern Miscellany‹ (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌), a widely read and politically rather moderate magazine. This image, published in July 1925, bears the caption ›The false mask of civilized man exposed‹ (*Wenming ren de jia mianju jiepo le* 文明人的假面具揭破了), with the word ›exposure‹ echoing the tradition of anti-Christian literature. The unmasking of civilized man reveals a devil whose iconography is drawn from ›Western‹ demonology, in this case Christian iconography of the devil.[91] In contrast to the ›Anti-Christian Special Issue‹, which was distributed in rural areas, publications such as *Dongfang zazhi* catered to educated urbanites, many of whom would have been sufficiently familiar with ›Western‹ culture to understand this iconography.

Crucial to the understanding of this second image is the context in which it was published: The special issue was printed in response to an outrageous event that had taken place in Shanghai on 30 May, 1925. On that day, British Indian policemen had fired into a crowd of Chinese protesters, sparking the largest mass movement that China had witnessed so far. The May Thirtieth Movement sparked a wave of anti-imperialist resistance that fostered the rise of the National Party (Guomindang) in the years 1925 to 1927, and ultimately fostered the demise of ›Western‹ imperialism in China. It is the firing on unarmed civilians that the editors of *Dongfang zazhi* (and other publications as well) perceive as a break with civilization on the part of the ›Westerners‹.

Clearly, the depiction of ›Westerners‹ as demons (or, in this case, outright devils) was not at the centre of anti-imperialist discourse in 1920s China. Nonetheless, it is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, the emotional appeal of such populist imagery behind the inflammatory yet rationalistic rhetoric of anti-imperialism merits attention as a phenomenon in its own right. Secondly, and more importantly, the image from ›Eastern Miscellany‹ and images from other publications of the same genre[92] reflect a central motif of the anti-imperialist discourse in 1920s China: the attempt to reverse ›Western‹ notions of cultural superiority. The dichotomy between

91 *Dongfang zazhi* 22 (1925), no. 12a, special issue, quoted here from Yip, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students*, 43.

92 For text-image combinations also entitled *Wenming ren de jia mianju jiepo le*, see *Zhongguo chuban shiliao. Xiandai bufen* 中國出版史料. 現代部份 [Historical materials on Chinese Publishing. Modern Section], vol. 1 ed. Zhang Lisheng 張立升 et al. (Jinan: Shandong Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001), 502; Hong Jiulai 洪九來, *Kuanrong yu lixing: »Dongfang zazhi« de gonggong yulun yanjiu* 寬容與理性. 《東方雜誌》的輿論研究 [Tolerance and Rationality. Studies on »Eastern Miscellany« and Public Opinion] (1904–1932) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 2006), 93.

›civilization‹ and ›barbarism‹ or ›savagery‹ underpinned much of the colonial discourse and had been acted out on various occasions, including the Boxer war, when China was accused of having relapsed into barbarism.

Figure 2: »The false masks of Christianity and its real face«, from »Anti-Christian Special«, 1925. Bystanders comment on the missionary's real appearance and resolve to overthrow Christianity, the »vanguard of imperialism«. Fan Jidujiao tekan 反基督教特刊, 1925, copy, author's private archive.

This claim had directly legitimized foreign intervention. On the other hand, news of the Allied atrocities committed in China had led critics of imperialism – there were always critical groups such as pacifists, socialists and left-leaning liberals – to discover the ›barbarian‹ in the civilized ›Westerner‹. Although this anti-colonial critique was somewhat self-serving and no less Eurocentric, it was picked up in China two decades later, probably transmitted through Socialist channels, and was at least occasionally coupled with the idea of the foreigner as ›demon‹. In this context,

the Boxers were evoked again, but rather as an example of barbarism. The ›Western‹ imperialists, the argument went, had behaved worse than the Boxers, a view that was also acknowledged by some ›Western‹ publications.[93] The imagery of the ›Western‹ imperialist as demon fulfilled a similar purpose: Turning the ›Western‹ discourse on civilization on its head, it supported a view that distinguished between ›Western‹ culture on the one hand and the politics of ›Western‹ imperialism on the other. The connection between the two cartoons in *Fan Jidujiao tekan* and *Dongfang zazhi* would suggest that missionaries were included in this imagery alongside other ›Westerners‹. It was only the more precise language of political rationalism that enabled Chinese anti-imperialists to define for their purposes the cultural role of Christian missions within the broader political and military project of imperialism in more precise terms. In other words, in the period that saw the rise of Chinese intellectuals as a social group, the signifier *gui* alone was even more insufficient to convey the significance of anti-Christian agitation than in the period up to 1900. It had to be combined with other signifiers, many of which were more ›scientific‹.

The impact of this ›modern‹ anti-Christian discourse is again hard to gauge. Whereas the new political language was likely to work with the urban educated class, it was far remote from the life experiences and worldview of the rural population. The cartoons in ›Anti-Christian Special Issue‹ no doubt were an attempt to politicize and mobilize a largely illiterate population on its own terms. However, although the encounter of the Chinese peasantry with the Chinese Nationalists and Communists from the mid-1920s was a complex issue that involved a great deal of mutual learning, there are indications that the new language was making inroads even among peasants who may barely have understood their significance. In Northeastern Guangdong, where *Fan Jidujiao tekan* is known to have been distributed, local peasants would consider avoiding both sending their children to mission schools and associating with missionaries in any other way because the latter were imperialistic.[94] However superficially, the move away from a conventional demonology to a political criticism of ›Western‹ missionaries did not leave the rural population untouched.

93 Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, 254–259, for the discursive reversal see also Thoralf Klein, »Strafexpedition im Namen der Zivilisation. Der ›Boxerkrieg‹ in China (1900–1901)«, in *Kolonialkriege. Militärische Gewalt im Zeichen des Imperialismus*, ed. Thoralf Klein and Frank Schumacher (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 145–181, 167–69, 177–78.

94 Klein, »Anti-imperialism at Grassroots«, 297.

Conclusion

In the rhetoric of Chinese anti-Christian agitation, the concept of ›demon‹ (*gui*) became a tool of Othering. In the evocation of popular religious demonology, a clear line was drawn in which the ›demons‹ appeared as being outside the realm of human beings (equated with the Chinese). As a signifier, ›demon‹ was not effective *per se*, but had to be coupled with other signifiers and imagery pointing to the sexual debauchery of Christian missionaries, their mishandling of corpses and poison scares in the late nineteenth century. To these signifiers, Boxer propaganda added to the charges against ›Westerners‹, including missionaries, the bringing about of a cosmological crisis. Before the early twentieth century, the signifier ›demon‹ seems not to have been translated into a visual sign. Late nineteenth-century woodblocks clearly show the ›demons‹ as humans, as do the relatively few Chinese images produced during the Boxer war, the captions of which do not even contain any reference to demonology. Interestingly, anti-Christian images from the 1920s do portray missionaries as ›demons‹, but both the visual record and the textual argument seem to have been inspired by ›Western‹ ideas, which were now being adapted to suit China's political and social revolutions. The rationalistic language in which much of the critique was clad (its emotional appeal notwithstanding) suggests there was little if any continuity from earlier periods.

At the same time, anti-Christian literature reflects an ever-increasing sophistication in discussing the relationship between Christian missions and ›Western‹ culture. Whereas the majority of mid-nineteenth-century Confucian scholars, who authored many of the pamphlets denouncing Christianity, seem to have conflated the two, the Boxers were more aware of the different aspects of ›Western‹ religious and material cultures. The student agitators of the 1920s sought to pinpoint a specific function of missionaries within the broader project of foreign imperialism.

To say that representations of ›Westerners‹ as ›demons‹ were misrepresentations, construed either intentionally or for want of better understanding, amounts to a truism. Anthony Clark, who deplores the unnecessary violence arising from distorted portrayals of the foreign Other, seems to acknowledge this by also stating that misrepresentations can be acknowledged as such only with the benefit of hindsight.[95] Paul Cohen, in his extensive writing on the Boxers, has adopted a universalistic perspective, arguing that the anxiety and anger that Christian missions met with in China is no different from similar phenomena in other societies, including the seemingly more ›modern‹ world

95 Clark, »Rape, Baptism and the ›Pig‹ Religion«, 66–67.

of the nineteenth and twentieth-century ›West‹.[96] While this may indeed lead to a more ›human‹ perspective on the adversaries of Christianity in China, it does little to explain the specific cultural formats by which this anxiety and this anger found their expression.

More specifically, the question arises whether anti-Christian agitation in China may be theorized as a case of ›Occidentalism‹. This concept has many facets: it may simply be viewed as a dehumanizing caricature of the ›West‹ and a rejection of the modernity it transmitted to the world (often forcibly). Alternatively, it may be conceptualized as a counter-discourse of Orientalism, a construction of the ›Western‹ Other by which the Orient – including China – has been able actively and creatively to take part in processes of self-appropriation – a discourse, moreover, which different groups have put to different political ends. In other words, societies outside the ›West‹ have developed their self-image in comparison and contrast to a stylized image of the ›West‹.[97] However, the case of China is more complicated: Anti-Christian caricatures must be seen not only as a reaction to ›Western‹ dominance, but also as the outgrowth of a Sinocentric tradition that dates back to Chinese antiquity. As Jeff Wasserstrom has written: »Western imperialists, for all their faults, did not teach the Chinese how symbolically to dehumanize others, after all. Long before [›Western‹ imperialism], Han Chinese were incorporating the symbol for dog [and other animals for that matter, Th. K.] into the characters for neighboring ethnic groups.«[98] Likewise, Laura Hostetler, in her study on Qing colonialism, has argued that »the politics of representation encapsulated in the idea of ›orientalism‹ is not simply a feature of Western modernity, but of the colonial encounter itself, wherever colonial relations are played out. This capacity or inclination to ›orientalize‹ is not unique to the Western world.«[99] In fact, the way the notion of missionaries as ›devils‹ changed between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflects the transition from a Chinese (or rather Qing) imperial discourse in its own right to an anti-imperialist counter-discourse.

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96 A condensed version of Cohen's argument in his magisterial *History in Three Keys* can be found in id., »Humanizing the Boxers«, in *The Boxers, China, and the World*, ed. Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 179–199.

97 For the various concepts see Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism. A Short History of Anti-Westernism* (London: Atlantic Books, 2004), 5–7; Chen Xiaomei, *Occidentalism. A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*, 2nd edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 2–3; James G. Carrier, »Introduction«, in *Occidentalism. Images of the West*, ed. id. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1–32, 6.

98 Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, »The Chinese Revolution and Contemporary Paradoxes«, in *Human Rights and Revolutions*, ed. id. et al., 2nd edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 21–44, 42.

99 Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise. Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 99.

Jeffrey Cox

Sing Unto the Lord a New Song

Transcending the Western / Indigenous Binary in Punjabi Christian Hymnody

One of the greatest British historians of the twentieth century was E. P. Thompson, a secular Marxist who was nonetheless interested in religion. His classic work, *The Making of the English Working Class*, published in 1963, was an insular book that showed no interest in imperial history or even in the history of Scotland or Wales. When Thompson turned to the British Empire, though, the historian's task became more complicated. The son of a Methodist missionary to India, he was educated at Kingswood School, established for the sons of Methodist ministers. Thompson's father, Edward Thompson, later left the Wesleyan Methodist mission in India to become, among other things, a publicist for the Indian National Congress. In a memoir he wrote attempting to make sense of the complexities of his father's role in history, Thompson complained about »abbreviated categories which too often close enquiry before it has commenced. Some in the West are prisoners of vast undiscriminating categories [...] and bring those ready-made slide-rules to measure, and often to obliterate, the complexities of the past.«[1]

The abbreviated categories to which he referred are the familiar binaries of imperial history: Europe vs. the Other; the West vs. the Orient; imperialism vs. nationalism; modernity vs. tradition. These binary distinctions are rooted in the history of European global expansion over the last 500 years. They are metaphors embedded in master narratives of history, which have a large and often partly hidden power to determine scholarly understanding of smaller histories that come under the canopy of a master narrative. Thompson was struggling to find alternative ways to understand his father's role in history, an alternative to the straightforward struggle between the binaries of British imperialism and Indian nationalism in which the only interesting question was: which side are you on? This chapter is an attempt to reconceptualize the binary conflict between Europe and »the Other« in a missionary setting, to think of historical change in dialectical terms of hybridity or synthesis rather than permanent binary opposition.

1 E. P. (Edward Palmer) Thompson, *»Alien Homage«: Edward Thompson and Rabindranath Tagore* (Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 69.

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Preconceptions about the relationship between Europe and »the Other«, and even about the fundamental direction of history, shape all of our understandings of the history of religion in the modern world. It is important to understand what they are so that historians do not simply allow an underlying »master narrative« to guide their account of history, rendering it uncritical. The most powerful master narrative shaping our views of religion (and by *our* I mean the largely secular Western academy) is the story of secularization, in which history is on a unilinear path to some version of secular modernity. The unevenness of that path becomes evident regularly when historians and other scholars discover that many people in the modern world are not cooperating with the direction of history. They instead cling to their religion in defiance of history, whether this be in attempts to impose some version of Sharia Law, or the Pope's obstinate refusal to endorse abortion and contraception, or the American Christian Right's unintelligible objections to the theory of natural selection.

That the history of modern religion beyond the confines of Europe does not fit into the master narrative of secularization is widely recognized, although attempts to imagine an alternative master narrative have so far come to very little.[2] When studying Christianity in the non-Western world, and the history of foreign missions, we have the advantage of more than one master narrative. The first is a simple one that I will call, for reasons of convenience, the Saidian master narrative, the basis for Edward Said's still highly influential *Orientalism* (1978). The Saidian master narrative long predates Said's book, but few scholars have ever invoked it with such persuasive force. This is the anti-imperialist master narrative, in which the relationship between the West and the non-West in matters of culture, religion, and art is at heart a relationship of power – not the power that comes from the barrel of a gun or the forces of economic exploitation, but the power that comes from the presumption of a hierarchy of culture in which The West always, one way or another, comes out on top.

In the Saidian master narrative, the gulf between East and West is fixed and impassable. In a considerable body of Western scholarship on missionaries, one form or another of this Saidian binary governs the analysis. The most influential scholarly practitioners of this point of view are the anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff, and the historian Catherine Hall.[3] The

2 Jeffrey Cox, »Towards Eliminating the Concept of Secularisation. A Progress Report«, in *Secularisation in the Christian World*, ed. Callum Brown and Michael Snape (London: Ashgate Publishers, 2010), 13–26.

3 Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. 2 vol. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Comaroffs' extensive study of the relationship between Nonconformist missionaries and the Tswana people of South Africa treats missionaries as modernizing, Westernizing proponents of the values of competitive individualism. In a massively detailed study of the interactions between missionaries and African Christians, the Comaroffs classify everything as either Western or indigenous. The only truly indigenous (and therefore authentic) Christian ideas are those taken up by indigenous peoples in ways that are unanticipated by the Westernizing missionaries. In Hall's more recent work on British Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, missionaries are advocates for the freeing of the slaves, but before and after independence their primary role is to introduce the patriarchal Western family to communities of Jamaican Baptists, using their power relationship essentially to force this Western (and therefore not indigenous) set of values on Jamaican Christians. The point of view of Jamaican Baptists, and of Jamaican Baptist women, is hardly acknowledged. The religious faith that they shared with English Baptist missionaries (including missionary women) is corrupted by the imbalance of power – power in the Saidian sense of the word.

An alternative to the Saidian master narrative has its roots in the Western missionary movement itself. For convenience I will call it the Vennite point of view, in honor of the Victorian evangelical missionary theorist Henry Venn. The Vennite point of view, like the Saidian, is focused on a binary distinction between the West and non-West. Missionaries were concerned with the ethical and practical dilemmas created by western imperialism long before western post-colonial scholars took up the issue, recognizing as early as the eighteenth century that for missions to be successful, missionaries had to do more than simply insist on conformity to the values of Western civilization. Henry Venn's well known formulation – that the goal of missions should be to foster the growth of a self-governing indigenous, i.e. non-Western Christian church followed by the »euthanasia of the mission« – simply encapsulated one side of an ongoing argument in mission circles about the relationship between Christianity and »civilization«, however defined. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, missionaries and non-Western Christians alike attempted to sort out what is »Western« and what is »indigenous« in the new forms of Christianity that appeared on the mission field, both under the sway of missionaries and beyond their control. In the history of missions during the last fifty years, much attention has been paid to developing a narrative in which the spread of Christianity is judged to be a success insofar as Christianity is indigenous rather than Western (or European).

In the Vennite as in the Saidian master narrative, missionaries are inherently Christian imperialists in one way or another. In the broad sweep of history, they can only succeed when non-Western Christians pick and choose their own elements from the Christian package, and begin to develop an indig-

enous, independent, and therefore authentic Christianity. Like the Saidian point of view, the Vennite point of view focuses on the Western/indigenous binary, attempting to sort out the existence in history of what is a truly »indigenous« form of Christianity. The effect of this line of interpretation has been to demote the importance of missionaries.[4] In their influential books both Lamin Sanneh and Andrew Walls use terms such as »translator« or »detonator« to describe the work of missionaries.[5] Perhaps the most extensive recent Vennite history is Robert Frykenberg's history of Christianity in India which, despite its length, is a book of one idea: Indian Christianity is Indian (i.e. non-Western), not foreign (i.e. Western). The foreign influences on Indian Christianity, although not entirely negligible, have been in the very long run superficial.[6]

In South Asia especially, but also in other parts of the world, the Vennite approach to the history of world Christianity has understandable appeal to non-Western Christians. Indian and Pakistani Christians alike have been subject to powerful and sometimes violent political pressure that has intensified during the last thirty years. In the wake of menacing political attacks by the Hindu nationalists, Indian Christians are eager to assert that, to quote a recent book title: *Christianity is Indian*. The twenty-seven chapters on different aspects of Indian Christian history each have in the title the word »indigenous«.[7] From a political point of view this is entirely understandable, but as a rhetorical technique it amounts to slapping the word »indigenous« on everything that has happened in Indian Christianity.

Both of the views of history that I have labelled master narratives – the secular anti-imperialist Saidian and the Christian anti-imperialist Vennite – are powerful tools of historical understanding because they are rooted in historical reality, in the lived experiences of people over several centuries of both imperial and Christian global expansion. It is important, though, to treat them critically. Are we confronted with ›abbreviated categories which too often close enquiry before it has commenced‹? Should we not ask: what's

4 Norman Etherington, »Missionaries and the Intellectual History of Africa: A Historical Survey«, *Itinerario* 7 (1983): 116–43.

5 Lamin O. Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, American Society of Missiology Series. No. 13 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989); Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History. Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996).

6 Robert Eric Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Chad M. Bauman, *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868–1947*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), takes an even more extreme approach to eliminating all Western influences from Indian Christian history.

7 Roger E. Hedlund, ed., *Christianity is Indian: The Emergence of an Indigenous Community* (Delhi: Published for MIIS, Mylapore by ISPCK, 2000). My favorite chapter is »Robert de Nobili: An Indigenous Foreigner«.

wrong with this story? Is there an alternative story? Throughout the history of Christian missions there has been an alternative aspiration held by missionaries and non-Western Christians alike, an aspiration sneered at by the Comaroffs when they dismissed »the missionary fantasy of a multi-racial commonwealth.«[8] A multi-racial commonwealth was an aspiration that held no attraction for the Comaroffs, but what is even more important is that, according to the ready-made slide-rules that they use to measure, and perhaps obliterate, the complexities of the past, such a commonwealth was a fantasy. It is simply not possible to span the impassable gulf separating East from West, Europe and the Orient, the modern and the non-modern, expressive individualism and communal values.

When doing research for my book on Christian missions in colonial Punjab, my first approach to any problem was to look for the imperial on the one hand and the indigenous on the other.[9] Trapped within these binaries, I found it difficult to make sense of what was staring me in the face throughout the story, i.e. the aspiration of many Western and non-Western Christians to build Christian institutions where Western and non-Western people could work together on the basis of the spiritual partnership. Although I failed to recognize it at the time, I was confronting a spiritual and religious equivalent to the aspiration for friendship across the imperial divide, between Dr. Aziz and Mr. Fielding, that was invoked in such a moving way in the closing paragraph of E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*:

> ›Why can't we be friends now?‹ said the other, holding him affectionately. ›It's what I want. It's what you want‹. But the horses didn't want it – they swerved apart: the earth didn't want it, sending up rocks through which riders must pass single file; the temple, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House, that came into view as they emerged from the gap and saw Mau beneath: they didn't want it, they said in their hundred voices ›No, not yet‹, and the sky said ›No, not there.‹[10]

In Forster's critique of imperialism, its most damning characteristic was the barrier it created between human beings, a barrier to friendship, to fellow-feeling, to a multi-racial commonwealth. For missionaries, the aspiration to transcend the binary of European and the Other took a religious form, one that Forster regarded as irrelevant. In the long run, their goal was a self-governing, indigenous Christian church. In the meantime, it was a multi-racial religious community in which Europeans and non-European Christians shared

8 Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution,* vol. I, 32.
9 Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines. Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002).
10 E. M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974, reprint 1924), 362.

a common faith based on spiritual equality. Because missionaries of all sorts were first of all institution builders – even those of them who renounced institution building – they built institutions that naturally resembled Christian institutions in Europe or America. Because of the great imbalance between missionaries and non-Western Christians in terms of money, prestige, and professional qualification, these institutions generated highly visible racial hierarchies. The very process of Christian institution building set in motion a dialectical struggle against those institutions, one based on the contradiction between the only institutions that missionaries knew how to build, and the aspirations of missionaries and non-Western Christians alike to build a multi-racial commonwealth. Critics from the eighteenth century onwards pointed out this contradiction.

In 1863 missionaries, colonial administrators, and Indian Christians convened a conference in Lahore which dealt, among other things, with this very topic. In a session on »Sympathy and confidence: How can foreign missionaries secure, in the highest degree, the sympathy and affectionate confidence of their native brethren?«, an Indian Christian clergyman anticipated by nearly sixty years Forster's pessimism about bridging the Saidian gulf:

> I have failed to discover how an European or American missionary can secure the full sympathy of Native converts: for sympathy must be considered a sort of substitution, by which we are placed in the situation of another, and are affected, in a good measure, as he is affected [...] But the social position of a missionary, his intellectual and spiritual attainments, his highly civilized ideas, and his cultivated, refined feelings, must place him so far above his converts, generally, that there can scarcely be any fellow-feeling between them. A missionary would hardly find any loveliness in the character of his converts, to excite much kind feeling towards them. They are necessarily objects of his compassion and pity, but hardly worthy of his friendship, or capable of communion with him, except on religious subjects.[11]

The key phrase is the last one, in which the Rev. Golak Nath makes a distinction between Forsterian human friendship on the one hand and spiritual equality on the other, which was at the heart of the aspiration to a multi-racial commonwealth. Despite this critique, neither the Rev. Golak Nath nor his missionary colleagues could abandon the search for religious sympathy and fellow-feeling while waiting for either the euthanasia of the mission or the End of Time. The head of the Church Missionary Society mission in Punjab, the Rev. Robert Clark, launched an ambitious attempt to create a multi-racial

11 Lahore Missionary Conference, *Report of the Punjab Missionary Conference Held at Lahore in December and January, 1862–63.* (Ludhiana: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1863), 166–67.

commonwealth in the Punjab Native Church Council, one that was abandoned after several decades after being declared a failure by all sides. It was not entirely a failure, though, in terms of sympathy and fellow-feeling. Clark was ultra-conservative on imperial and ecclesiastical questions even by the standards of his day, and believed in a form of »stratified diffusion« by which Christianity would trickle down from an educated Indian elite. Nonetheless, he had a horror of racism, was serious about the Vennite aspiration to develop an indigenous form of Christianity, and developed close, life-long spiritual and personal relationships with the very small educated Urdu-speaking elite in Punjab. CMS missionaries in Punjab were generally buried in the white cemeteries of the churches of the Anglican Ecclesiastical Establishment, but Clark directed that his body lie next to those of his Indian friends in the Indian Christian cemetery so that he could be re-united with them immediately at the time of the Resurrection, when presumably some version of the Native Church Council could be reconstituted.

The elitist missionary strategy of building an indigenous church through stratified diffusion was one that Clark shared with the leading missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, The Cambridge Mission to Delhi, the Church of Scotland, and the American (Northern) Presbyterian mission. There were critics of this policy scattered throughout the missions, notably in a rival American Presbyterian mission, the United Presbyterians, and later in the Salvation Army. They pursued an indigenous church through a grassroots strategy of appealing to stigmatized groups in Punjab, formerly known as untouchables (or worse), then as »scheduled castes and tribes«, and more recently, in India, as Dalits. These conversions resulted eventually in a Christian church in Punjab that was largely of untouchable origins, and along with other similar »mass movements« in colonial India provided the basis for celebratory, Vennite treatments of them as the triumph of the indigenous.[12]

The conversion of a majority of a large untouchable social group in Punjab was not the earliest example of such group conversions, but it was one of a number of comparable social movements between 1870 and 1930 that created a Protestant presence in South Asia with the majority of members coming from an untouchable social background. The term used in the nine-

12 Jarrell Waskom Pickett and National Christian Council of India, *Christian Mass Movements in India. A Study with Recommendations* (New York Cincinnati [etc.]: The Abingdon Press, 1933); Frederick and Margaret Stock, *People Movements in the Punjab, with Special Reference to the United Presbyterian Church* (South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1975); John C. B. Webster, *The Dalit Christians: A History*, ISPCK Contextual Theological Education Series, no. 4 (New Delhi: ISPCK, 2009) 4th ed., and others. The entire literature on »mass movements«, which provided the initial basis for the church growth school associated with Donald McGavran, treats large scale South Asian conversions as »indigenous«.

teenth century for the Punjabi group was Chuhra, which now has a severe stigma in both India and Pakistan. In India the term now used is Dalit; in Pakistan the preferred term is Christian, without reference to social origins.[13] Punjabi village converts were distinctive in one respect: they embraced a hymnody that was extremely popular among the poor and often illiterate Christians, one based exclusively on singing the Psalms. Punjabi Christians on both sides of the Indo-Pakistan border delight in assembling to sing the Psalms (and, depending on their denomination, other kinds of spiritual songs as well). It took me a long time, partially blinded by extensive reading of missionary records, Western scholarship and Indian and Pakistani histories of Punjabi Christianity, to realize that congregational singing by men, women, and children alike was at the very heart of Protestant worship in Punjab, serving a role comparable to that of the Mass in Roman Catholic piety.

In some parts of Pakistan and Indian Punjab singing was (and is) limited to the Psalms, but throughout the Urdu/Hindi belt of northern South Asia, Christian hymnbooks have a special section for the Psalms: Punjabi Zaboors. Although the Psalms are canonical in Islam, and there is a north Indian Islamic tradition of Psalm singing – known as Qawalli – Christian Psalmody has nothing to do with Islam. Unlike caste Hindus, untouchables would not have been welcome at Sufi singing, and would have been entirely unfamiliar with it. Punjabi Psalmody is rooted instead in Western denominational difference, in particular the theological differences that distinguished the American (Northern) Presbyterians and the United Presbyterians. Although both came to colonial Punjab from the American Midwest, the United Presbyterians continued to adhere to the teaching of those sixteenth century reformers who believed that only the words of God were authorized for congregational singing. At first glance, this appears to be a fairly straightforward case of European influence on non-Western Christianity, a hymnody imported from Geneva and Strasbourg by way of Pittsburgh and Peoria.

Missionary accounts of the popularity of the Psalms, and subsequent histories of the conversion movements in Punjab, take a very different view,

13 The partition of colonial India in 1947 generated a nationalist bias in the historiography of Christianity in both India and Pakistan. See Webster, *The Dalit Christians: A History*; John O'Brien, *The Construction of Pakistani Christian Identity*, Research Society Publication, no. 1 (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2006). Webster gives the important Punjabi Chuhra conversions in the colonial era their due, but fails to acknowledge the existence of Pakistani Christianity, the spiritual home of the majority of former untouchable Punjabi converts. O'Brien, on the other hand, focuses on Pakistan, and consequently ignores altogether the term Dalit, which only makes sense in the context of Indian politics. See O'Brien, 508 et seq., for an account of Pakistani Christian resentment of Western scholars who use the term Chuhra, or more broadly deploy a social psychology of stigmatization, to explain aspects of Pakistani and Indian Christianity. Muslim adversaries of Pakistani Christianity use the term Chuhra to describe all Christians.

treating the popularity of the Psalms as a triumph of the indigenous.[14] The focus is almost entirely on one person, I. D. Shahbaz (1846–1921), a catechist, pastor, and poet in the United Presbyterian mission.[15] Recognized by missionaries for his talent for Urdu poetry, Shahbaz was recruited to serve on a United Presbyterian committee to translate the Psalms directly from the Hebrew into Urdu. These were published, and put to Western tunes, but the effort was declared a failure by everyone involved, and this failure was believed to be largely because the text was in Urdu. Shahbaz was then put in charge of a committee to translate the Psalms into Punjabi, the popular vernacular of Punjab, and also to set them to popular Punjabi tunes. At work from 1887 to1904, the committee presented a selection of them (in Urdu script) to the Sialkot Convention, where they became instantly popular with the missionaries and middle-class Christians in attendance. They also became popular in the Christian sections of Punjabi villages, where they were taught by itinerant missionaries and village Christian musicians.

After traveling to America to receive an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree, Shahbaz returned to India to become the pastor of the United Presbyterian Church in Sialkot and, from 1916 until his death in 1921, the pastor in Bhahlwal. Although he became blind at some point, he translated into metric Punjabi the entire body of the 150 Psalms, divided into 408 parts for purposes of singing. It is these Punjabi Zaboors that are found in most North Indian and Pakistani Hindi and Urdu hymn and songbooks, including those of the Roman Catholic Church. In the historiography of Punjabi Christianity, the focus is entirely on Shahbaz and on the words of the translation. He was, although not a missionary, a »translator« in Lamin Sanneh's sense of the word, taking the words of scripture and making them available for non-Western people to appropriate as their own, and there is no doubt at all that this is a major dimension of this story. A recent historian of Pakistani Christianity complains, with some justice, that Shahbaz has been excluded from all anthologies of Punjabi poetry.[16]

When looked at more closely, however, the origins of Punjabi hymnody appear to be too complicated to be placed on one side only of the Western/indigenous binary. Shahbaz appeared to have no principled objection to using European forms of worship. As far as European tunes were concerned, many of them later became extremely popular with Punjabi Christians. Middle class and educated Christians, who insisted in sitting in pews over the

14 Stock, *People Movements in the Punjab,* 120 et seq.; O'Brien, *The Construction of Pakistani Christian Identity*, 566 et seq.

15 The fullest account of Shahbaz's life in English is in Emanuel Khokhar, »A Great Name in the History of Christianity in Pakistan. Rev. Dr. Immam Din Shahbaz« (2005), http://emanuelkhokhar.tripod.com/sermonsarticles/id9.html. Access date: 14 May 2012.

16 O'Brien, *The Construction of Pakistani Christian Identity*, 567.

objections of missionaries, developed an enthusiasm for the formality of Victorian Anglican and Presbyterian hymnody. Village Christians later enthusiastically sang choruses composed by Ira B. Sankey and promulgated by the Salvation Army. Missionaries and Shahbaz alike, and his musical collaborators, did recognize that they were operating in a kind of limited free market in worship, where Christians could pick and choose what appealed to them, and it was that recognition that led to the decision to try out Punjabi metric Psalms and Punjabi popular tunes. The prohibition on singing hymns other than the metric Psalms came directly from Geneva, which is about as European a source as it is possible to imagine. There is every reason, though, to believe that Shahbaz and missionaries alike regarded this injunction as rooted in the Word of God, which is to say, a source that transcended the historical accidents of geography and history. In this endeavor, missionaries were perhaps translators or detonators, but also collaborators in a common project.

There is an important theological dimension to this story that is rooted in the tradition of European reformed hymnody, one that has so fallen out of favor during the last two hundred years that it is easy to forget how revolutionary it was in its origins, and how profoundly democratic. In the convoluted disagreements over hymnody during the Protestant reformation, most reformers came to believe that song was the fundamental form of congregational participation in worship. It was essential in Reformed worship that the entire congregation understood fully the words they said and sung. It appears that John Calvin, while a pastor in Strasbourg, came to believe that song is the highest form of prayer, and that the highest form of the highest form of prayer was to sing the words that God gave us in the Psalms of David.[17]

Having the entire congregation sing together in the vernacular produced a revolution in both public and private worship. A Protestant from Antwerp who visited the French Protestant congregation in Strasbourg in 1545 later wrote to his cousins in Lille:

> The psalm or prayer is sung by everyone together, men as well as women with a beautiful unanimity, which is something beautiful to behold. For you must understand that each one has a music book in his hand; that is why they cannot lose touch with one an-

17 Charles Garside Jr., »The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536–1534«, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69, no. Part 4 (August 1979): 1–36. On prayer in Calvin's theology see Hans Scholl, *Der Dienst des Gebetes nach Johannes Calvin* (Zürich: Zwingli-Verl., 1968), on psalm-singing in the Reformed tradition see Eckhard Grunewald and Henning P. Jürgens, ed., *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden, 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004), esp. Robert M. Kingdon, »Uses of the Psalter in Calvin's Geneva«, in ibid., 21–32; Judith I. Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter in den Niederlanden, Deutschland, England und dem Osmanischen Reich (16.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Tutzing: Schneider, 2010).

other. Never did I think that it could be as pleasing and delightful as it is. For five or six days at first, as I looked upon this little company, exiled from countries everywhere for having upheld the honor of God and His Gospel, I would begin to weep, not at all from sadness, but from joy at hearing them sing so heartily and, as they sang, giving thanks to the Lord that He had led them to a place where His name is honored and glorified. No one could believe the joy which one experiences, when one is singing the praises and wonders of the Lord in the mother tongue as one sings them here.[18]

While at Strasbourg, Calvin published the first French metrical psalter with seventeen Psalms, in the belief that »we know from experience that song has great force and vigor to arouse and inflame the hearts of men to invoke and praise God with a more vehement and ardent zeal«.[19] The United Presbyterians in colonial Punjab did not maintain the Calvinist position that only the word of God could be sung in church out of stubborn fundamentalist biblicism, but because they wished to see every Christian – male and female, adult and child – enabled and empowered to sing God's praises, not only in public worship, but in daily life. »There was a hunger for the Psalms to be put into meter«, recalled one missionary, »so they could be used in praise service. They were chanted in some churches.«[20]

In contrast to the elitism of the Anglican and American Presbyterian missions (one of whose luminaries referred to the conversion of untouchables as »raking in rubbish into the church«[21]), the United Presbyterians looked back to Calvin's practice in Geneva, where he found collaborators to put together one of the most influential books of Christian hymnody ever published, the Genevan Psalter. Knowing that he was incompetent to translate the Psalms into metric French, trained though he was in classical literature, and knowing equally well that he was not fit to choose appropriate melodies for them, he established committees of collaborators, and proceeded to argue with them. Calvin believed that children should be taught to sing the Psalms first, and then brought into public worship to teach adults. There should be no separate choirs of any kind. Men and women, boys and girls, should all sing together in the vernacular, with the goal that they would all know what they were sing-

18 Ibid., 17, citing Alfred Erichson, *L'Eglise française de Strasbourg au seizieme siècle d'après des documents inédit* (Strasbourg: Librairie C. F. Schmidt, 1886), 21–22.

19 Garside, »The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music«, 16, citing OC VI, 169–170.

20 Emma Dean Anderson and Mary Jane Campbell, *In the Shadow of the Himalayas: A Historical Narrative of the Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America as Conducted in the Punjab, India, 1855–1940* (Philadelphia, Pa.: United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; Pittsburgh, Pa.: Women's General Missionary Society, 1942), 114.

21 John C. B. Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (Delhi: Macmillan of India, 1976), 60.

ing. They were to memorize the words so they could sing from the heart, and eventually from memory, so that they could sing praises to God without ceasing, not only in public worship, but also as they went about their daily lives.

Male and female United Presbyterian missionaries, and Punjabi poets and musicians, shared this democratic vision of public and private worship, and joyously claimed (with perhaps some exaggeration) that in the early twentieth century »city streets and village lanes began reverberating praise to God.«[22] Punjabi psalmodists differed in one important, perhaps crucial, respect from Calvin, though. Unlike other reformers, including Martin Luther and Martin Bucer, (the reformer at Strasbourg), Calvin believed melodies that have gravity and majesty, and that would not be associated with obscenity and immorality, should be chosen to accompany the Psalms. The result of his success at Geneva was a convention of singing, including singing in the English-speaking world with the seventeenth-century Scottish, English, and New England Psalters, that developed a dreary, dirge-like characteristic, very different from the joyous singing noted in Strasbourg in 1545. The lines of the Psalms were generally »lined out« by parson or clerk, so that congregational singing in the English-speaking world became more like a call and response than the vigorous congregational hymnody of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheranism (before it too was submerged beneath another enemy of congregational singing, the organ).

In nineteenth-century America the United Presbyterians, eager to prevent their worshippers from going to sleep, had preserved the Psalms but adopted a wide variety of tunes, including ›Londonderry Air‹, and a similar promiscuous opportunism characterized the committees that worked with Shahbaz to develop Punjabi equivalents of the Genevan Psalter. It is here that the category of indigenous becomes most problematic. While Shahbaz, who never learned Western musical notation, worked on his metric Punjabi words, missionary women and Punjabi musicians worked together to collect village tunes, and put them into Western musical notation so that missionaries and Punjabi catechists could teach village Christians how to sing the New Songs, and play them on the classic missionary instrument, the harmonium. Itinerating missionary women used the Western musical notation of Punjabi tunes to teach Punjabi village women to sing a new song. Missionaries believed that the key to the success of Punjabi hymnody lay not merely in the words, but in the tunes, the »soulful Punjabi, or oriental, music that [...] captured the hearts of all the people of North India.«[23] »Their very weirdness, wild-

22 Anderson and Campbell, *In the Shadow of the Himalayas*, 113.
23 Ibid.

ness, plaintiveness and curious repetitions chain the attention and entrance the heart even of a foreigner«, United Presbyterian missionary Robert Stewart wrote in his memoir.[24]

Attributing the popularity of Punjabi hymnody entirely to Shahbaz is an example of Western missionary women being eclipsed in the history of missions by male agency, although in this case it is indigenous male agency. The most important missionary musical innovator was »our quiet, gentle, talented Mary Rachel Martin [...]. She secured an elderly Punjabi musician and hour after hour for months she listened while he played on his sattar – seven stringed instrument – and she picked out the notes and put them in place so they could be sung by Westerners. The Indians knew the tunes. In this tremendous labor of love Miss Martin was ably assisted by Henrietta Cowden, Mrs. William MeKelvey, and her sister, Josephine Martin. Soon, instead of objectionable songs, indecent love songs, the Psalms were taking their place and calling on all peoples to praise God.«[25] The »elderly Punjabi« is, as is so often the case in missionary literature, unnamed, but was possibly »a local musician, named Radha Kishan (who) had a great knowledge of local tunes and helped Dr. Immam Din Shahbaz. Many other people also assisted him in this regard, including Mr. Sadiq Masih.«[26] Despite the hierarchies of race, gender, and professional status in play, Punjabi Psalmody was the result of collaboration, respect, shared faith, and perhaps even friendship in an imperial setting.

Mary Martin and, possibly, Radha Kishan rejected Calvin's fear of indecent tunes, and recognized that it was not the words of the Psalms that limited their popularity in Punjab, but conservatism in matters of music itself. There is a long tradition of criticism of the Psalms for Christian worship, dating from Isaac Watts's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* of 1707, which treats the low state of congregational singing in English-speaking Protestantism as a consequence of the words of the Psalms themselves.[27] Some accounts of the popularity of the Punjabi Zaboors among the untouchable villagers of Punjab focus on the words rather than the tunes. The words of the Psalms, it is claimed with some justice, are popular because they speak powerfully to an oppressed people. It is not an accident that the most popular Psalm is 24, »The earth is the Lords, and the fullness thereof, and they that dwell

24 Robert Stewart, *Life and Work in India* (Philadelphia: Pearl Publishing, 1896), 304–5.

25 Anderson and Campbell, *In the Shadow of the Himalayas*, 113.

26 Khokhar, »A Great Name in the History of Christianity in Pakistan. Rev. Dr. Immam Din Shahbaz«, n.p.

27 I. Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs. In Three Books. I. Collected from the Scriptures. II. Composed on Divine Subjects. III. Prepared for the Lord's Supper, with an Essay Towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody, by the Use of Evangelical Hymns in Worship as Well as the Psalms of David* (London: John Lawrence, 1707), preface; Jane Giscombe, »Watts and His Readers«, *The Congregational History Society Magazine* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 39–51.

therein«, with the refrain »The Lord is the King of Glory«. It is even more telling in Punjabi: »Rab Khudavand Bahshah«, roughly the Lord is the emperor of all creation. Bahshah is the word used for the Mughal Emperor. It is easy enough to see why oppressed village Christians would find the language of deliverance from enemies attractive, although the psychology of Punjabi Psalmody is taken too far by critics of the Psalms who, following Watts whether they know it or not, lament the focus on revenge, particularly the other-worldly character of the revenge. An exegesis of the Psalms is used to stigmatize Pakistani and Indian Dalit Christians for alleged defects in their social psychology.[28]

A focus on the words of the Psalms as the primary source of their popularity is unpersuasive. The Psalms encompass a broad range of sentiments, and a 1980 survey of Pakistani Christians found that their favorite Psalms focused mainly on the Praise of God rather than vengeance for their enemies: Psalms 121, »I will lift up mind eyes unto the hills«; 91, »He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High will abide«; 23, »The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not Want«; Male students, surveyed separately, preferred Psalms 51, »Have Mercy on me, Oh God«; 32, »Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven«; 40, »I waited patiently for the Lord«; and perhaps the most significant, verse three of Psalm 40: »And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God: many shall see it, and fear, and shall trust in the Lord.«[29] Christian poets, pastors, and theologians often elevate the Word at the expense of Song, but there is ample evidence that in the history of Christian hymnody, it is the tunes that matter.

Punjabi Psalmody is only one strand of North Indian/Pakistani Christian music. The Church of North India's *Masihi Git ki Kitab* eventually included a section of Punjabi Zaboors, but is dominated by the traditions of Victorian and early twentieth-century Anglican and American hymnody, very popular with middle-class Christians.[30] The Salvation Army's Pakistani songbook, published shortly after independence, also includes a section of the Psalms, but is dominated by Moody and Sankey choruses, many of them re-organized into two line hymns designed for ease of memorization.[31] As Punjabi Psalmody was diluted in the course of the twentieth century with, in the view of conservatives, too much pop music, too much Moody and Sankey, too many Victorian hymn tunes, there has been an attempt in Pakistan to revive and

28 O'Brien, *The Construction of Pakistani Christian Identity*, 508.

29 Ibid., 120, citing Patras Yousaf and Gondulf. Hoeberichts, »The Psalms and the Punjabi God Experience«, *Focus-Pastoral Notes*, vol. 2 (1982), no. 2, 75 et seq.

30 *Masihi Git Ki Kitab* (5th ed.), hymnal (Hindi) (Delhi: Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1964).

31 *Mukti Fauj Git Ki Kitab*, The Salvation Army Song Book, Roman Urdu (Lahore: Salvation Army Territorial Headquarters, 1950).

restore the tradition of singing the true word of God at the Tehillim School of Church Music and Worship in Karachi (funded in part by grants from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland).

Is this indigenous or foreign, European or something else? Instead of taking out a scholarly scalpel, and attempting to disentangle the indigenous from the foreign, it is better to think of Punjabi hymnody as something new, the result of a dialectical process rather than a collision of vast, abstract global forces. In the first edition of the Genevan Psalter, the text at the beginning was taken from Psalm 96: Sing unto the Lord a new song: sing unto the Lord, all the earth. Punjabi psalmody, with its new songs, was indigenous and foreign and urban and rural, but most important of all, it was new.

David Killingray

Godly Examples and Christian Agents

Training African Missionary Workers in British Institutions in the Nineteenth Century

> We thank God that to-day hundreds of boys and girls and young men and women from Africa are in the schools and colleges of Europe and America, being prepared to return as teachers and missionaries.[1]

From the early sixteenth century onwards a small number of Africans, primarily young men, came to Europe to secure an education.[2] Two hundred years later West African rulers and coastal merchants sought to strengthen their political and commercial positions by sending sons to Europe to acquire a modern education. A ruler in the Sierra Leone area in 1769 sent one son to Lancaster ›to learn Christianity‹, and another son inland to Futa Jalon ›to learn Islam‹. Certain European traders living in West Africa also sent their mixed-race children to Europe to be educated.[3] By 1790 there were reported to be some fifty African children, boys and girls, in schools in Liverpool, and others in London and Bristol.[4] African children were also taken from the

1 Thomas L. Johnson, *Africa for Christ. Twenty-Eight Years a Slave* (London: Alexander and Shepheard, 1892, 6th edition), 43; Johnson (d. 1921) was an African American-British missionary, formally educated at Spurgeon's College in London, who became an evangelist in three continents.

2 King Afonso of Kongo (1509–42) in 1512–13 sent some 22 of his young relatives to Lisbon to study; John Thornton, »African political ethics and the slave trade«, in *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa and the Atlantic*, ed. Derek R. Peterson (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010), 38–62, 43.

3 The National Archives, Kew (hereafter TNA). BT6/11. John Matthews, »Observations on the conduct of Mulatto and Black African Children, who had been educated in England on Their subsequent Return to their Native Country […] 19 April 1789«; Matthews argued that an English education would enable students from Africa to be better mediators in Afro-British commerce and also help to promote ›civilisation‹. See also Daniel L. Schafer, »Family ties that bind: Anglo-African slave traders in Africa and Florida, John Fraser and his descendant«, *Slavery & Abolition* 20 (1999): 1–21.

4 Report of the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council […] concerning the present State of the Trade to Africa, and particularly the Trade in Slaves (London: 1789): 4–5, quoted by Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leon*e (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 11. See also

west coast by Europeans as ›hostages‹ or guarantors of suppliant behaviour by African rulers.[5] Well before the advent of the modern missionary movement the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was attempting to train Africans in England to return home as Christian agents. In the 1750s several youths were sent from Cape Coast to London where they »made good Proficiency in their Learning, and are well trained up in Christian Principles and Civility of Manners«.[6] Fifteen years later two boys from the Gold Coast entered the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in the hope that they would return home as Christian missionaries.

This chapter is primarily concerned with mission organisations sending Africans to British institutions to train as Christian agents through the nineteenth century. The views expressed here are primarily those of European mission agents, whose writings form the dominant extant sources, but where possible African accounts have been used. However, they are fewer in number, and many have not been located. As an aside, during the period surveyed a small number of Africans came by other means to Britain where they received education and training of one kind or another, invariably in a Christian institution, and they deserve brief mention. Almost any prolonged visit by an African to Britain in this period resulted in an ›education‹: immersion in a foreign culture, an improvement in spoken English, learning to read and write, and observing the intricacies and manners of a modern industrial urban society.[7] Initially most Africans who came to Britain were from the West African coast. In 1802–3 James Swanson, the surgeon of a slave ship, was entrusted with the young son of a chief on the Guinea coast who sought an education for his boy. Swanson took the boy, subsequently known as Thomas Jenkins, to Hawick, his home town, but he died before he could place him in a school in Liverpool or London. Jenkins grew up in the Scottish bor-

Fyfe, »Sierra Leoneans in English schools in the nineteenth century« in *Under the Imperial Carpet. Essays in Black History 1780–1950*, ed. Rainer Lotz and Ian Pegg (Crawley, Sussex: Rabbit Press, 1986), 25–31.

5 By the terms of the Treaty of Fomena in 1874, Kofi Nti, the 16 year old son of the Asantehene, was brought to Britain to receive an education in order that he might be returned to Asante as a civilising agent. The boy, sent to the Surrey County School in Cranbrook, failed to meet the standards set by his white directors and he was packed off to Trinidad to work for the Public Works Department.

6 Thomas Thompson*, An Account of Two Missionary Voyages* (London: Printed for Benj. Dod, 1758), 66–67. See also H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands. The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701–1950* (London: SPCK, 1951), 67–69.

7 The anonymously published [Maurice Morgann], *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies* (London: printed for William Griffin, 1772), 25–26, radically suggested that several boys and girls be bought from the West African slave forts to be schooled in England where they would become acculturated, »talk the same language, read the same books, profess the same religion, and be fashioned by the same laws« as other Britons, then to be sent as colonists to Florida.

ders, worked as a school teacher, studied at Edinburgh University, and then after further training at the British and Foreign School Society in Borough Road, London, he went to teach in Mauritius.[8] At times governments were eager to train the sons of indigenous rulers to serve as future modernising agents and promoters of Western ideas in states such as Asante. Occasionally, and for various purposes, missionaries brought Africans back to Britain to advance their education, to help with continuing translation work,[9] and sometimes as servants. Humanitarian minded officials and travellers also helped to educate individual Africans, although this might also result in their acting as a servant.

By the early nineteenth century a pattern of young West Africans travelling to Britain for education was well-established. It was seen by some Europeans and Americans, likewise by a handful of black people living on both sides of the Atlantic, as having a further potential: Africans educated in modern western ways might serve to promote ›civilisation‹ and also Christianity. The idea of African elite representatives as Christian missionaries was pioneered by the Moravians who trained the Accra-born Rev Christian Protten at Herrnhut and sent him back to the Gold Coast. Jacobus Capitein from Elmina was trained in the Dutch Reformed Church, earning a doctorate, and returned home as schoolmaster and preacher. The first Anglican missionary to West Africa was Philip Quaque who, along with two other African lads from Cape Coast, was sent to England under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Educated in London, Quaque alone returned to the Gold Coast, having been ordained by the Bishop of Exeter in 1765.[10] The former slave Olaudah Equiano unsuccessfully appealed to the Bishop of London for ordination as a missionary to Africa in the early 1780s.[11] In the

8 Mark B. Duffill, »New light on the lives of Thomas Jenkins and James Swanson«, *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1990): 31–44.

9 There are many examples of this, e.g. Mantantu Dundulu (Nlemvo), who died 1938, with W. Holman Bentley 1884–86, 1892–93 and 1905–06 to work on the Kikongo dictionary and grammar; two Congo boys with H. Grattan Guinness to England in 1881; Aku, a Congo girl brought to Britain by the Revd Thomas Comber (d. 1887); and Bompolo, a Congo lad to England with the Irish ABMU missionary Revd John McKitterick. Amanda Smith, *An Autobiography. The Story of the Lord's Dealings with Mrs Amanda Smith, the Coloured Evangelist* (Chicago: Meyer, 1893), 400–05, reports that her adopted son Robert, from Liberia, was educated at »Miss Hobbs School, Southport«. Where did he go after that, what was his full name, and did he, as reported elsewhere, return to Liberia as a missionary? This was Smiths' aim, as she states p. 499. See also Adrienne M. Israel, *Amanda Berry Smith: From Washerwoman to Evangelist* (Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 67, 91 and 102. »Bob« was about three years old when Smith adopted him in Liberia in 1888. She left England for the US in late 1890 and returned three years later to spend Christmas with Bob in Southport.

10 Vincent Carretta and Ty M. Reese, ed., *The Life and Letters of Philip Quaque, the First African Anglican Missionary* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), »Introduction«, 1–25.

11 Olaudah Equiano, »The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African«, in *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings*, ed. Vincent Carretta

Americas during the late eighteenth century a few black Christians also saw a role for themselves as missionaries not only in America but also ›back to Africa‹, a path followed by black Loyalists via Nova Scotia, England, and then to Freetown in Sierra Leone. Among these trans-Atlantic migrants was Boston King, born a slave in South Carolina, a loyalist who went first to Nova Scotia and then migrated to Freetown, returning to Britain to study for two years at Kingswood School, Bristol, from 1794 to 1796.[12]

The modern missionary movement

From the outset of the modern missionary movement, Africa was seen as one of the primary goals. A major stepping stone in West Africa was Freetown with its small settlement of free black Christians, to which were added, after the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807, a steady flow of recaptives rescued from slave ships. Implicit in the evangelistic motivation of early nineteenth-century missionary endeavour was the New Testament idea of training newly converted local Christians, invariably described as ›native agents‹, to serve as the voice and the hands of the Gospel. The most articulate British promoters of this ideal were Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and Bishop George Tozer of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa Mission.[13] Modern education, literacy and numeracy, along with artisanal skills, were part and parcel of Protestant Christianity, giving to new converts the ability to read and discuss the scriptures and also to earn a living by productive labour and commerce. There was also the urgent intent of steering new Christians away from African cultures which most missionaries believed to be permeated by ›pagan‹ superstitions and practices. The

(London: Penguin, 1995, repr. London 1789), ch. XII, 220–36. See also Vincent Carretta, *Equiano the African. Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 197–200.

12 Boston King, »Memoirs of the Life of Boston King, a Black Preacher, Written by Himself, during his Residence at Kingswood-School«, *The Methodist Magazine* 21 (London, 1798): 105–10, 157–61, 209–13, 261–65.

13 For Venn see Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 4 vols. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899–1916), vol. ii, 411–29; Venn later changed his mind, writing in 1866, that »the case is now altered. Experience has proved that employment by a foreign Missionary Society of native ministers on the footing of English missionaries impedes, in the many ways, the organisation of the native church«, quoted W. R. Shenk, *Henry Venn – Missionary Statesman* (New York: Orbis, 1983), 128. Tozer, addressing ›The Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, Oxford‹, dd. Zanzibar, March 1869, argued strongly that a ›native clergy‹ and a ›native church‹ were the pattern of ›Holy Scripture‹ and ›the pattern of the primitive church‹, Gertrude Ward, ed., *Letters of Bishop Tozer and His Sister Together with Other Records of the Universities' Mission from 1863–1873* (London: UMCA, 1902), 183–90.

best agent, so it was believed, was an African who retained the ability to converse and to think as an African but to do so with the mind-set of a modern Western Christian.[14]

The Church Missionary Society

In the late 1790s the Rev John Campbell, secretary of the Edinburgh Missionary Society, had the thought that

> might we not bring *over* Africa to England; educate her; when some through grace and gospel might be converted, and sent back to Africa, – if not any converted, yet they might help to spread civilization, so all would not be lost.[15]

This, as Mouser says, was the root of the African Academy, founded not in Edinburgh as Campbell proposed, but in the then Surrey village of Clapham in 1799 by the Society for the Education of Africans (London) which was directed by members of the Clapham Sect.[16] Although this was firmly an Anglican directorate the recently founded Church Missionary Society was not directly involved in the Academy. The pupils, many the sons of chiefs, were twenty boys and four girls who arrived at Portsmouth from Freetown under the direction of Zachary Macaulay. The Clapham curriculum involved training in ›industrial habits‹ which included printing, carpentry, elements of mechanics, and instruction in English with reading and writing and, of course, Christian teaching.[17] A later arrival at Clapham, in 1800, was Jellorum Harrison, a boy from the Rio Pongas region, who became a missionary, not to West Africa but to the Caucasus.[18] The Academy closed in 1806; the reasons for this are not clear but it was probably due to the high mortality among the African pupils in the harsh winter of 1805–6.

From early in the nineteenth century a selected handful of African children travelled to England for schooling. Later this was determined by mission

14 See Wallace G. Mills, »Missionaries, Xhosa clergy & the suppression of traditional customs«, in *Missions and Christianity in South African History*, ed. Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 153–71. By the end of the nineteenth century many Protestants, in an age of paternalism, were disillusioned with the idea of a ›native agency‹ in control of a ›native church‹.

15 Bruce L. Mouser, »African academy – Clapham 1799–1806«, *History of Education* 33 (2004): 87–103, 88.

16 Mouser, »African academy«, 87–88. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. i, 157.

17 Mouser, »African academy«, 96.

18 P. E. H. Hair, »A West African in Tartary: story of Jellorum Harrison«, *West African Review* (March 1962): 45–47.

bodies and also by the African educated elite, the former needing a better educated group of Africans as clergy, catechists and school teachers, the latter using their wealth to ensure that their children maintained their hold on the ladder and also ascended it further. Missionaries brought young West African men to England so that they might better learn English, mature in their Christian faith, and be trained in artisanal skills. Not all such students ›turned out well‹, for example Richard Wilkinson, who was taken to London by Bütscher in 1812, failed to meet expectations although many years later he proved a faithful supporter of Christian work on the Rio Pongas.[19] Five years later Edward Bickersteth, sent out by the CMS to assess the Sierra Leone mission, returned home accompanied by one of the Susu lads, Simeon Wilhelm. According to Stock, Wilhelm begged Bickersteth ›to take him with him to England, in order, as he said, that he might learn more fully what would fit him to teach his countrymen‹.[20] Under private tuition followed by attendance at a new National School in Shoe Lane, London, Wilhelm impressed those who met him by his earnest Christian devotion. When he died in August 1817, and was buried in St Bride's Church, Bickersteth wrote a pious memorial to him.[21] Nine years later a missionary brought from Freetown to England the young recaptive Samuel Crowther, later the bishop of the Niger, to spend a few months at the parochial School in Liverpool Road, Islington.

The London Missionary Society and Madagascar

The London Missionary Society's (LMS) interest in Madagascar gained an unforeseen advantage following the treaty of 1818 and Radama's agreement that 20 youths be sent overseas to be educated in useful arts and crafts, ten to Mauritius and ten to England. The British government underwrote the costs while the LMS provided education from 1821–3 at the Borough Road School in London and thereafter at Congregational Leaf Square Academy, Pendleton near Manchester. Within fifteen months of their arrival it was reported at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign School Society that »the youths brought from Madagascar, had made great progress« and »specimens of their writing were handed round the room, and much admired«.[22] Although several of the young Malagasys were baptised, the LMS expectation

19 Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. i, 162.

20 Ibid., 161–62.

21 Edward Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm, a Native of the Susoo Country, West Africa* (New Haven: Yale College Society, 1819).

22 *Seventeenth Annual Report of the British and Foreign School Society* (1822), also reported in *Newcastle Courant*, 1 June 1822. See Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895,* 2 vols. (London: Henry Frowde, 1899) vol. 1, 676.

that on their return home they would be Christian agents was barely realised.[23] If anything, the seven years they served in England under missionary tutelage in schools and factories redounded to the political advantage of King Radama's regime. A few years later, in 1836, the LMS sent a delegation from southern Africa to London to appear before a House of Commons Committee investigating the treatment of aboriginal peoples. Among the delegates was James Read Jnr, the mixed race son of the English-born missionary James Read and his African wife. In London the LMS offered the 25 years old James twelve months of schooling so that he could then be ordained into the ministry, but James was too unwell to accept.[24]

The CMS College Islington

The CMS' thinking on training and using a ›native agency‹ was an outworking of New Testament ideas about planting and growing new churches. In 1823 the CMS Committee looked forward to such a development in West Africa, a pattern already proved in India. The initial step was to develop local seminaries to train young men as school teachers, catechists, and clergy. The first of these institutions was Fourah Bay College, founded in Freetown in 1827, closely modelled on an English academy. Teaching was in English at a standard comparable with that of an English institution. Although the College languished in the 1830s, it received a new building and revived in the next decade and thereafter educated the majority of the West African clergy and leading laity through the nineteenth century.[25] This discounted, although it did not end, the debate among Europeans as to whether Africans were capable of benefiting from such an education.[26] Henry Venn's view was that

23 Sigmund Edland, »Evangelists or Envoys? The Role of British Missionaries at Turning Points in Malagasy Political History, 1820–1840« (PhD thesis, University of Stavanger, 2004), 82–86, says that only two of the young men were baptised, whereas at least four are reported in the contemporary British press: see *The Morning Chronicle*, 12 October 1824, and *The Derby Chronicle*, 15 February 1826.

24 Roger S. Levine, *A Living Man of Africa. Jan Tzatzoe, Xhosa Chief and Missionary, and the Making of Nineteenth-Century South Africa* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2011), 141.

25 The Principal of Fourah Bay College for over twenty years after 1840 was the Rev Edward Jones, an African American Episcopalian from Charleston, South Carolina. An idea, advanced by Edward Nicholls in 1842, was for a Normal School on Ascension Island for certain Africans, a further selection being sent to Britain to continue their education; see Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850* (London: Macmillan, 1961), 426–27.

26 On this question see Charles H. Lyons, *To Wash an Aethiop White. British Ideas about Black African Educability 1530–1960* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1975). Also Curtin, *The Image of Africa*, 263–66 and 423–28.

African »powers of apprehension, when rightly developed, are equal to those of a European«.[27] Added urgency was given to creating a ›native agency‹ by the small number of European missionaries offering for service in West Africa, but more so by their high incidence of ill-health and death which was costly in both human terms and money. The high death rate of the Niger expedition of 1841 further underscored the dangers to Europeans serving in the tropics, and helped boost the myth that Africans and people of African origin and descent were more likely to survive tropical diseases than were Europeans. Both the Revd J. F. Schön and Samuel Crowther, survivors of the disastrous Niger expedition, favoured the use of native agents. Colleges to train mission workers were established in the British West Indies, at Montego Bay, Jamaica, for the Baptists, and Codrington College in Barbados for the West Indian Church Association. From both institutions a small number of black missionaries crossed the Atlantic to serve in West Africa, but few if any Africans went to train in the West Indies. For J. M. Trew, Africa had been ›wasted by Britain‹ but could be ›restored by Native Agency‹.[28]

A further development, building on local training, was to select certain Africans, chosen for their potential as future Christian leaders, and send them to Britain for an education at a level higher than that they could receive in their home institutions. This process, it was argued, would take them away from the »temptations and claims of their ›native‹ environment and expose them to the superior qualities of English instruction and also English society«. The first African student to come to London under this CMS scheme was Samuel Crowther, who had recently proved his worth on the Niger Expedition of 1841. A former student of Fourah Bay, he came to the Church Missionary College, or Institution, at Islington, opened by the CMS in 1825, designed to train men who were not graduates of either of the two English universities for mission work overseas.[29] Three West Africans followed to Islington, George Nicol and Thomas Maxwell in 1844, and James Quaker in 1849, to study theology, history, English, mathematics, and the sciences alongside men from Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Pre-eminent in the curriculum was theology, Nicol leaving an account of how »within the walls of Islington College […] my heart was warmed by Divine grace«.[30] However, for the Native Church, about which much was being said by 1850, only a few of the men trained in England were eventually ordained – Crowther, Nicol, and Maxwell. Encouraged by Venn, Africans came to Britain to train, but most were directed to learning practical industrial skills: in factories in Man-

27 *CMS Annual Report 1851*, 5.

28 J. M. Trew, *Africa Wasted by Britain, and Restored by Native Agency* (London: J. Hatchard, 1854).

29 See Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. ii, ch. XXXVII.

30 Ibid., 73–74.

chester; at a printers in London; at Kew Gardens to learn about Africa's natural products in order to help promote legitimate trade;[31] and three young men, including James Africanus Horton, were sent to Edinburgh to study medicine, with the idea that once qualified they could serve in the Royal Navy.[32] Ajayi, writing of this period, says: »It should be emphasized that of all the boys known to have passed through Venn's hands in this way, only one went to England for a pure literary course – he was T.B. Macaulay, who went to the C.M.S. Training College at Islington and attended a few lectures at King's College, London«.[33]

From the 1850s onwards a growing number of children, mainly boys but also a few girls, of West African coastal elite families came to Britain for education. Older Africans often returned to Britain in order to gain a further professional qualification. Many of these families were the bedrock of the new and steadily growing African mission churches, and they sent their children to recently established denominational schools, or those that had a reputation for offering a sound Christian education, places such as the Methodist Queen's College, Taunton, the Anglican Monkton Coombe, and other schools in London, Margate and elsewhere. After secondary schooling some African students proceeded to a British university to study medicine or law. The advent of steam ships from the mid-century increased the volume of West African trade, increased the wealth of African merchants, and put Britain in closer contact with Freetown, Cape Coast, and Lagos. They also turned a once arduous and lengthy voyage into a two week journey, and encouraged more African parents to send children to Britain to study.

The clergy and teachers in some West African schools had high aspirations, Fourah Bay College in 1876 becoming a College of the University of Durham, the first degree awarding body in sub-Saharan Africa. Some white missionaries held contrary views, that Africans did not need too much instruction and certainly not in the alien environment of England; thereby, argued the Revd Henry Townsend of the Yoruba Mission, lay a route to ›pride of dress and caste'. Townsend doubted Africans‹ stability of character and he preferred them as schoolmasters and catechists and not as clergymen.[34] Nevertheless, by 1890 from the Yoruba and Niger Missions – the latter headed since 1864 by Samuel Crowther, a black bishop – forty African clergy had been ordained, six of them trained in England (five at Islington, one at Highbury Training College), fourteen at Fourah Bay, and two at Freetown

31 Ibid., 109–10.

32 Malagasy youths were sent in the 1820s to learn naval skills with the Royal Navy, and this practice was also adopted in West Africa.

33 J. F. A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841–1891* (London: Longmans, 1965), 145.

34 Townsend opposed the ordination of both T. B. Macaulay and Theophilus King in 1854, see Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria*, 180–81.

Grammar School.[35] And there were Christian Africans such as Henry Carr, who via Fourah Bay, won a scholarship to study in London and Durham, gaining an honours degree in mathematics and physical sciences in 1882.

All of Samuel Crowther's six children, four boys and two girls, were trained in England. Only Dandeson studied at Islington College and was ordained in 1870, by his father in St Mary's Parish Church, Islington. Many of the West Africans who studied at Islington in the 1860s–70s came via the CMS Grammar School and Fourah Bay College in Freetown; more were ordained – James Johnson, Samuel Dandeson Crowther, Obadiah Moore, William Gates, and John Bernard Bowen, while M. J. Marke spent two years at the Cheltenham Training College. When, in July 1875, Obadiah Moore (b. 1849) came to England, accompanied by Samuel Spain, both young men initially spent 18 months at Monckton Coombe School near Bath. The CMS in East Africa, which in the years 1860 to 1874 had relied on training African young men and women at Nasik near Bombay,[36] also sent one or two students to study in Britain, including a young woman to a school in Worcester in 1892.[37] By the 1870s serious questions were being raised about the utility of educating Africans in Britain, one official commenting that such Africans were being »made much of by the negrophilists and get ideas beyond their position«.[38]

Wesleyan Methodists

The Wesleyan Methodists, active in West Africa since the 1830s, could draw on earlier experience of black Christian workers of other denominations being trained and ordained in Britain. In addition their premier missionary on the Gold Coast since 1838 was Thomas Birch Freeman, a black Briton, born in Hampshire the son of a mixed race marriage. In the early 1840s Joseph Wright, an Egba recaptive who had been landed in Freetown where he had become a Christian, was sent to Britain for training at the Wes-

35 Ibid., 152.

36 Colin Reed, *Pastors, Partners and Paternalists. African Church Leaders and Western Missionaries in the Anglican Church in Kenya, 1850–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 23–29. In the 1890s white missionaries looked back critically at the Nasik scheme: »we do not think that it does any good for African children to be educated in India«, wrote the Revd H. Binns, to the CMS Committee in London, in 1897; ibid., quoted, 134. By then white CMS missionaries also criticised their Africa colleagues for wanting to dress in ›Western‹ style clothes and live in ›modern‹ houses similar to ones in which they lived.

37 Joseph E. Harris, *Repatriates and Refugees in a Colonial Society: The Case of Kenya* (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1987), 16.

38 TNA. CO267/325/11617, min. by Hemming to Kimberley on Revd James Johnson, 3 November 1873.

leyan Institution at Hoxton, in north London. He returned home after two years as »a native assistant missionary« and was ordained in 1848.[39] However, the Methodists were reluctant to bring young men to Britain for further education mainly, it would seem, for financial reasons. Their practice was to use African schools which provided a gradual path for catechists and the few ordinands.[40] Pressure to train young men in England also came from one or two African congregations in Sierra Leone anxious to promote their own mission work. In 1850–51 John B. Elliott, a minister in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, came to Britain »to see if arrangements could be effected for the admission of coloured students into the college at Cheshunt, with a view of sending them to the interior of Africa« to work among peoples who would accept a black man but not a white.[41]

The Scottish missions

Tiyo Soga (*c*.1829–1871), a Xhosa Christian, was sent by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland for a year's study at a seminary in Glasgow in 1848. He went again to Scotland in 1851 for further study, where he was ordained and married a white wife, Janet Burnside, with whom he returned six years later to the Cape. His eight children were educated in Scotland, the sons at Dollar Academy in Clackmannanshire, all of whom were to play an active role in the religious and political life of the Cape Colony and the later Union of South Africa.[42] Tause Soga, the niece of Tiyo Soga, fell in love with William Koyi, later to be a Xhosa missionary to Central Africa. Her father disapproved of this relationship, possibly on social grounds. His response was to pack his daughter off to Scotland to study along with her friend Martha

39 Wright died in Abeokuta in April 1849. In 1855, his eldest son followed his father to study at the Wesleyan Training Institution in Westminster; see *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (November 1855): 1854–55. John Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast* (London: John Mason, 1841), 357–58; also Philip Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 317–35. The process of taking Africans to the United States for training and education, began in the 1840s, and was to increase steadily through the nineteenth century. See *A Narrative of ›Griswold‹, the African Youth, from the Mission School, at Cape Palmas* (Boston, MA: By a Friend of Missions, 1845); the Episcopalian missionary Revd Dr Thomas S. Savage took A.V. Griswold to the US in 1843 in order »that he might learn the art of printing, then return to his native land and take his station at the missionary press«. Griswold died in the US in 1844.

40 School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society papers. Secretaries Letter Book. W. B. Boyce to Rev William West, 23 May 1865: »Objects to young Africans coming for education to England«.

41 *The Nonconformist*, 9 July 1851, 540; Fyfe, *Sierra Leone*, 260.

42 John A. Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga. A page of South African Mission Work* (Edinburgh, 1877); Donovan Williams, *Umfundisi. A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829–1871* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1978).

Kwatsha.[43] In Scotland Tause studied at the Free Church normal seminary in Glasgow, and possibly spent some time at the Dollar Academy. Tause and Martha returned to South Africa in September 1876 travelling on the »Windsor Castle«, which ran aground on Dassen Island off Cape Town. All the passengers were rescued but Tause fell ill and soon died, the reported cause being a mixture of shock and tuberculosis but aided by »the effects of her residence in a cold damp climate like that of Scotland.«[44]

From the Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland, Duff Macdonald sent three or four young men to Lovedale in 1878; others accompanied missionaries back to Scotland where two, Donald Malota and Kapito, spent a year at the board school in Muthill, Fife; a third, Mungo Murray Chisuse, entered elementary classes at Stewart's College, a prestigious school in Edinburgh. These men educated in the eastern Cape and in Scotland returned to Nyasaland to form the colony's first ›modern‹ community: Christian, literate men, speaking English, wearing Western clothes, and most married to Christian wives. Some left the mission for other employment, but many stayed and were active in mission work. Mungo Murray Chisuse, along with James Kalinji, spent six months back in Scotland in 1897 where the two men went to learn printing, partly in the works of Messrs Nelson & Son in Edinburgh. On his return to Nyasaland, Chisuse ran the printing department for the Blantyre Mission and became the colony's first African photographer.[45]

Within the Scottish missions, as in most others, the desirability or not of educating Africans outside the Continent was regularly debated. The Moravians were resolute adopting the following rule: »We also disapprove of bringing converts to Europe on any pretext whatever, and think it would lead them into danger of injury to their own souls«, or as Iliffe neatly puts it, a fear that a »European training alienated African clergy from their flocks and bred unwelcome independence of mind«.[46] James Wells credited the secession of the Revd Pambani J. Mzimba (1850–1911) from Lovedale in 1899, which gave further stimulus to the rise of ›Ethiopianism‹, to his visit to Scotland for the Free Church of Scotland jubilee in 1893; there »several people, from the very

43 Anon, *Lovedale Past and Present: A Record of Two Thousand Names* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1887), 491–92, described this more discreetly: »In January 1874 her friends deemed it advisable to send her to Scotland«.

44 *Lovedale News*, 25 October 1876, 3–4; see T. Jack Thompson, *Touching the Heart. Xhosa Missionaries to Malawi, 1876–1888* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2000), 101–03, and also in Thompson, *Ngoni, Xhosa and Scot* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2007), 37–39.

45 See McCracken, »Mungo Murray Chisuse and the early history of photography of Malawi«, *Society of Malawi Journal* 61 (2008): 1–18. See further *Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record* (November 1887): 57. John McCracken, *History of Malawi* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 109.

46 James Wells, *Stewart of Lovedale. The Life of James Stewart* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), 295–96 fn. 1. John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 218.

best of motives, gave him sums of money for his church, and he claimed the right of using these as he thought best.«[47] A firmer line was taken by the Revd John D. Don of the Kaffrarian Synod of the Free Church of Scotland:

> We cannot afford to act upon the assumption that the native is really equal to the European. There is something wanting in the best of them […] I have been notoriously […] a partisan of the native ministry, but have sorrowfully modified some of my earlier ideas […] They are at their best as assistants, or as ministers working under surveillance of Europeans.[48]

Whatever was said, Africans continued to go overseas to study. John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922), who had been educated at Lovedale, at the invitation of friends in Scotland and England visited Britain in 1892–3 to study divinity.[49] Bokwe's future wife, Lettie Ncheni, who worked as a servant to Mrs Stewart of Lovedale, accompanied her employer to Scotland where she stayed for three years *c.*1878–80. Nomhaya Deena Nzanzana, who later married the Revd Walter Rubusana, accompanied the Revd James Davidson and his family to Scotland where she studied at Dollar Academy.[50]

High Anglican missions: South Africa

The theological gulf that opened in Anglicanism from the 1830s onwards with ›Low Church‹ evangelicals ranged against ›High Church‹ Anglo-Catholics also touched missionary societies and the training of African Christian workers. The High Church-orientated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and its ally in the field, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa established in 1859, made use of St Augustine's College, Canterbury, which had been founded ten years earlier to train men for overseas colonial mission work.[51] Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford supported the College, arguing

47 Wells, *Lovedale*, 246–47. For Mzimba in Scotland see *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 15 and 17 July 1893, and *The Colonies and India*, 21 October 1893, 34.

48 Quoted by R. Hunt Davis, »School vs. Blanket and Settler: Elijah Makawane and the leadership of the Cape school community«, *African Affairs* 78 (1979): 12–31, 25.

49 »Notes on a visit to Scotland«, *Imvo Zabantusunda*, 19 May 1892; *The Colonies and India*, 17 December 1892; *The Christian*, September 1893, a special issue on the Keswick Convention with profile of Bokwe; Veit Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination. South Africa and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 122.

50 See Songezo Joel Ngqongqo, »Mpilo Walter Benson Rubusana«, in *African Intellectuals in 19th and 20th Century South Africa*, ed. Mcebisi Ndletyana (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 44–54, 46.

51 Gesine Krüger, *Schrift – Macht – Alltag. Lesen und Schreiben im Kolonialen Südafrika* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2009), 82–105. See also Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire. Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801–1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011),

that »the advantage of training the missionaries in this country in preference to the colonies are in my opinion decisive with respect to health, morals and efficient teaching«.[52] Modelled on an Oxbridge college, St Augustine's took in men who had not received a university education, providing each one with a small bedroom and study. Over two to three years they were taught a rigorous course in Divinity, Latin and Greek, Hebrew, and mathematics. By the 1860s music, and what was called a ›missionary paper‹, had been added to the curriculum, and students also undertook a weekly visit to Canterbury District Hospital to receive ›clinical instruction from the Physicians‹. After a course of 49 lectures they were then ›required to pass a Medical examination which would do no discredit to a MB of the University of London‹.[53] The first foreign student at St Augustine's was from Greenland; the first black student was Lambert Mackenzie ›of pure African descent, and the son of poor labouring parents in Berbice‹, British Guiana, in 1852.[54]

Zonnebloem College, Cape Town, created in 1857 in order to train the sons of local rulers to carry Christian and ›civilised‹ values to their own people started negotiating to send students to St Augustine's with support from four scholarships provided by the Archdeaconries of Hereford and Ludlow.[55]

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ch. 9. As Carey says, St Augustine's was created through private endowments and High Church networks, 272.

52 Quoted by R. J. E. Boggis, *A History of St Augustine's College, Canterbury* (Canterbury: Cross & Jackson, 1907), 40.

53 Henry Bailey, *Twenty-Five Years at St Augustine's College: A Letter to Late Students* (Canterbury: privately printed, 1873); *St Augustine's College Calendar 1858*, 4; George Frederick Maclear, *St. Augustine's, Canterbury: Its Rise, Ruin & Restoration* (London: W. Gardner, Darton & Co, 1888), ch. IV onwards; and Carey, *God's Empire*, 279.

54 During his three years of study Mackenzie won the Hebrew prize and »having obtained the college *testamur*, he was recommended by the authorities, and also the Board of Examiners of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as in every respect fitted to be admitted into the ministry of the Church«; see *The Guardian*, 18 April 1855, 299.

55 Governor Grey, drawing on his recent experience in New Zealand, sought to ›assimilate‹ and ›civilise‹ Africans by educating the sons of chiefs who might become valuable political agents in the frontier areas. Bishop Gray of Cape Town supported this scheme but his motives were primarily religious. Kaffir College, as originally called, was founded in Bishop's Court, Cape Town, moving to Zonnebloem in 1860. See J.B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise. Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856–57* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1989), 263–67. Dr Langham Dale, Superintendent of Education at the Cape from 1859–92, thought African students were better placed in industrial type institutions located in frontier regions. Looking back, he criticised policy at Zonnebloem »when the most promising lads were sent to complete their education at St. Augustine's; they played chess with some great Lady Bountiful, and took tea with some noble Duchess. This was the age of sentimentalism, which has hopefully passed away from the English notions of training natives. The kid-glove era [...] has finally disappeared and the discipline of the public school system, and of the saw, plane, hammer and spade has taken its place«, (in Zonnebloem), in Cape Argus, 15 May 1877, quoted by Janet Hodgson, »Zonnebloem College and Cape Town: 1858–1870«, in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, vol. 1, ed. Christopher Saunders (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1984), 125–52, 147. See also Hodgson, »A History of Zonnebloem College, 1858–1870. A Study in Church and Society« (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1979).

While this was in hand, two Xhosa boys from Zonnebloem, Maidyoni Konah Maqoma (Macomo) and Henry Duke Tshatshu, were sent to study in Nuneaton, living with the vicar, Canon Robert Savage, and attending King Edward VI School.[56] »Their selection«, wrote Janet Hodgson, »was based on their political importance among the Xhosa rather than on their scholastic abilities, which was indifferent.«[57] They were baptised in St Nicolas, Nuneaton, as George and Henry, and at the school they learned English, also studying mathematics and the classics. The intent was that both boys would return to the eastern Cape as catechists with the possibility of ordination as priests. They wrote home to Sir George Grey saying that they hoped preachers of the gospel will return with them to help their people and that God ›will raise up that dark country‹ and that their people will ›know their Saviour and save their souls‹.[58] However, just before they were due to leave for home, George Mqoma died of a ruptured blood vessel and he was buried in St Nicolas. Henry Tzatzoe returned to teach at Zonnebloem.[59]

In April 1861 four Zonnebloem students were prepared for St Augustine's. Faced with the problem of selecting which of his students should go to England, the Revd Edward Glover, principal of the College, wrote of choosing those who had a firm Christian faith and a good knowledge of English and were intellectually able to cope with advanced instruction in a foreign tongue and medically fit to stand a northern winter.[60] The four chosen were two Xhosa boys, Arthur Wake Toyise and Edward Dumisweni Maqoma (brother of the fated George), a Rolong, Samuel Lefulere Maroka, and a Sotho, Jeremiah Moshoeshoe. Of the latter it was said that he was sent to England because he had ›approved himself to his teachers by his good sense and industry, and especially by his preserving efforts, by God's help, to overcome his natural sensitivities and other faults of character‹. Sadly he died, probably of consumption, while on a visit to Herefordshire, and the three other young men returned to the Cape in July 1864. Samuel Moroka, who had implored Sir George Grey to send him to England, returned to Thaba Nchu seeing himself, as Landau says, ›not as a »Baralong« or a tribesman, but as

56 Tshatshu was the son of Jan Tzatzoe, and Maqoma the son of Chief Maqoma who had recently been imprisoned on Robben Island. See Levine, *A Living Man from Africa*, 191; also David Paterson, »Xhosa Youths in England 1859–1864: an Experiment in Evangelization«, *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies* 6–7 (1990–91): 54–63. I am grateful to David Paterson for sending me a copy of his article.

57 Hodgson, »Zonnebloem College and Cape Town: 1858–1870«, 134.

58 William Lee Rees, *The Life and Times of Sir George Grey* (London: Hutchinson, 1892), 346–50.

59 The students' presence in Nuneaton was recently commemorated; see *Coventry News* (26 October 2010).

60 Canterbury Cathedral Archives (hereafter CCA), Canterbury, Kent. St. Augustine's College. U88 A2/6 C725/2, Glover letter dd. Zonnebloem, 14 October 1860. I am grateful to Peter Ewart for his advice and help.

a citizen of the British Empire‹. Initially joined by George Mitchell, a close white friend from St Augustine's, Moroka became embroiled in a succession dispute and also conflict with hostile Boers. In 1884 he sailed to Britain to intercede on behalf of neighbouring Seleka chiefs – as it turned out, unsuccessfully.[61] Glover further addressed the criteria for selecting students, and also the treatment they received in England, when three further sons of chiefs were sent from Zonnebloem to St Augustine's in 1866, including Nathaniel Cyril Mhala and Jonas Nsiko (Ntsiko). Referring to the first batch of students sent in 1861, he wrote

> that the way in which [they] were treated was so very kind as to be unkind; they felt bitterly the contrast when they returned to S. Africa, and they have enough vanity about them though they have generally sufficient good manners to disguise it, to make such wonderful country a little dangerous. I allude to reports of the others who were in England having to escort ladies into dinner […].[62]

Mhala, son of a chief imprisoned for his part in the Cattle Killing, returned to South Africa in December 1868 to become ›catechist reader‹ in the St Mark's mission, Queenstown. A deeply Christian moderniser, he was a man of two worlds, caught between deep sympathy for his own people, who were suffering the depredations of white settlers, on one hand and a desire to maintain peace on the other. In 1878 the Cape authorities arrested and charged Mhala with treason, from which he was acquitted; the *Cape Times* unfairly commented that »deeper than his civilisation is his genuine Kafir nature«.[63] Mhala's political activity increased and in 1890 he helped found the South African Native Congress. He was actively involved in journalism, becoming editor of Izwe Labantu (»Voice of the People«) in East London in November 1897. From the 1860s to 1890s Mhala helped promote cricket in South Africa.[64] Jonas Nsiko (died 1918) eventually went blind and his church license was revoked; he became an interpreter for the magistrate at Tsolo, but he is best known as a Xhosa poet and hymn writer.[65]

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61 See Paul Landau, *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 149–61. For a biography of Nathaniel Mhala see Jeff Opland, *S. E. K. Mqhayi's Abantu Besizwe: Historical and Biographical Writings 1902–1944* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2009).

62 CCA. U88 A2/6 C669A, Glover letter, 9 April 1866.

63 Quoted by Christopher Saunders, »Through an African's Eyes: the Diary of Nathaniel Umhala« *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 34 (1979): 24–38, 37.

64 See André Odendaal, *The Story of an African Game* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2003), 22–29. There is a biography of Mhala in Xhosa by S. E. K. Mqhayi, *U So-Gqumahashe* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1921).

65 See Jeff Opland, *Xhosa Poets and Poetry* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998), 247.

The Church's investment in the men sent to St Augustine's in 1864 and 1866 proved disappointing. The deaths of two Zonnebloem students in England, largely due to what was described as injurious climatic conditions, ended the College policy of sending selective men abroad for education.[66] There were other considerations too. Canterbury was costly, and Africans trained there were not always suitable for mission work; indeed few returned to work for the church. And those that did, according to the head of the Grahamstown diocese in 1865, »most decidedly observe European habits, so much so that we found at first they would not stay with their friends.«[67] A further difficulty presented itself, for if black South African students were ordained in the Anglican Church and then returned to South Africa, they were then qualified to minister to non-European congregations, a policy opposed by most whites who were intent on continued African subordination in a society where increasingly there were segregated congregations. Other southern Africans came to study at St Augustine's, and at other English institutions, but after the 1860s no more came from the Cape diocese which developed its own system of training African catechists and church workers.

Later students from southern Africa at St Augustine's included Jacob Manelle and Ebenezer P.J. Hannie from St John's Native College, Umtata, admitted in 1884.[68] However, well into their three year course they were abruptly dismissed because they had incurred some local debts which breached the strict rules of the College. There was no suggestion of dishonesty, merely a lapse in paying bills. The Warden of St Augustine's, so it would appear from a letter by the Revd F. R. Blatch, argued that »a longer stay« would »do them harm«. Without reference to their clerical sponsors in Natal or their supporters in Britain, and worse, without informing the students of the intended action, he wrote to Manelle and Hannie, who were on their summer holidays, telling them that they could not return to Canterbury. Given the sudden nature of this news the two Africans acted with great graciousness:

66 Bishop Gray, in England for the Pan-Anglican conference in 1867, stated that climatic factors weighed against educating further Africans in England; see *English Independent*, 15 August 1867.

67 M. M. Goedhals, »Anglican Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown under the First Two Bishops, 1853–1871« (MA thesis, Rhodes University, 1979), 140, quoted by Les Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society. The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 385, fn 7.

68 T. D. Mweli Skota, ed., *The African Yearly Register (Being an Illustrated National Biographical Dictionary (Who's Who) of Black Folk in Africa)* (Johannesburg: Orange P. [nd. 1932]), 151, records that Hannie, born 1861 in Port Elizabeth, was an organist and that on his return to southern Africa he joined the civil service and retired in 1926. Manelle was ordained priest and worked in Cape Province, later forming an ›Ethiopian‹ church; he died in 1928 aged 70.

We have just heard this morning […] what has been settled about our stay in England. I need not say it took us by surprise. Indeed we are sorry to leave College and England at large, but taking many things into account we are not blind to see the desirability of the arrangement.[69]

Despite claims that pseudo-scientific ideas about race helped foster racial intolerance in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century, in this period there were relatively few complaints by black people about colour prejudice. The number of black people in Britain was relatively small, perhaps 5,000 in London and a similar number scattered the length and breadth of the British Isles, with an itinerant population in major ports. Rarely did they pose any perceived threat as rivals for work, housing, or the attention of women. Black people, particularly those involved in Christian and anti-slavery activities, were viewed with a mixture of curiosity and interest by white Britons. Large numbers of whites went to hear black preachers and speakers. Compared to the racialised climate of most colonial societies, and particularly the settler colonies of southern Africa, Africans visiting England entered what was a comparative haven of tolerance and acceptance, a point firmly made by Edward Glover of Zonnebloem. Ralph O'Neil Taylor from Freetown, the son of a former black CMS missionary, who studied at St Augustine's, found this out in 1876. Taylor, who appears to have had more ambition than Christian devotion, hoped to return to work in Sierra Leone. Failing to get the post he desired he turned to the CMS, but rebuffed by that Society, accepted a position in Jamaica where he clashed with the bishop and fellow clergy. For a black Anglican cleric, Jamaica was a racial hotspot, and Taylor had neither the personality nor the guile to survive for long there; his stay was short.[70] Similar experiences were suffered by other St Augustine's students who went to work in South and West Africa in the twentieth century.[71]

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69 CCA. U88 A2/6 C642/3. Jacob Manelle to Warden, dd. Flax Bourton, nr. Bristol, 27 July 1886. There were protests at the »sudden dismissal« of the two men: »[…] I must say that I think the lads are being very hardly treated, and that only gross misconduct on their part wd justify their sudden dismissal – which must greatly prejudice them on their return, and damage their prospects of usefulness. You say that ›there is no charge agst them and their characters are blameless‹. Why then should there be such haste«? Ibid. Revd F. R. Blatch to Warden, St. Augustine's College, dd. The Vicarage, Homerton, East London, 27 July 1886.

70 CCA. U88 2A/6 C1004. Taylor returned to Sierra Leone as the pastor of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion Zion chapel, Freetown, where he died in 1881. The few West African aspirants for missionary work in the High Church diocese of the Rio Pongas invariably studied locally or at Codrington College in Barbados.

71 E.g. CCA U88 A2/6 C1036, Revd Lawrence Charles Walcott (1880–1951), a black Briton who was at St Augustine's (1900–03) and then worked in South Africa and on the island of St Helena; C1118, Revd Latimer Kempton Zeeman (b. 1884), a mixed race South African who came to study at St Augustine's (1910–13) because there was no Anglican college in South Africa that would accept a ›Coloured‹ man; C83, Peter Blackman (1909–93), from Barbados,

No African diocese could afford to support students at St Augustine's; financial aid came from English diocesan funds or from gifts given in response to appeals to parishioners.[72] Cecil Majaliwa, rescued from a slave ship as a child, who as a church worker in Zanzibar was described by a former white missionary as »worth two curates to me«, studied at St Augustine's from 1884–85, his support totalling £40 per year.[73] Most students appear to have struggled financially, and been hard pressed to afford warm clothing, books, and the accoutrements of college life. In Majaliwa's case, the investment was a good one; he became the first African priest from within the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA).[74] Others students followed from southern Africa, including Gregory Ngcobo from Zululand, who came to Britain, spent four years at Hurstpierpoint school in Sussex from September 1891 to the summer of 1895, and then proceeded to St Augustine's. He returned home to Zululand in 1897, and subsequently moved to the Diocese of Lebombo in 1904 where he was ordained a priest.[75] The pressures on young men living in a distant white country were considerable. Ngcobo was desperately homesick at Hurstpierpoint and, according to reports, was often to be seen looking longingly at a map of Zululand. Few students had the means of returning home in the holidays and they were usually boarded out with rural clergy. The idea that men might return home before completion of their studies was seen as impracticable and also undesirable. »All missionaries«, wrote Christopher Smyth, father of the Bishop of Lebombo, »seem to concur in the opinion that no natives brought over to be educated in England should return before he has become a man & with established convictions & opinions – you send him back a spoilt native.«[76]

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who was at St Augustine's in the mid 1930s, resigned as a church ›lay worker‹ in Gambia in 1937 because he had lost his faith and would not tolerate racial discrimination.

72 E.g. the »Close Mission Fund«, Salisbury, and from money raised within the dioceses of Hereford and Exeter. In the 1880s special appeals were opened to support Cecil Majaliwa, Harry Mnubi and Henry Nasibu in England; see *Central Africa*, a monthly record of the work of the UMCA, April 1884, 61, and July 1887, 96. Interestingly many of the contributors were single ladies. The estimated cost of supporting Mnubi for three years was £100 per annum. See *Central Africa*, December 1883, 186, and January 1884, 13.

73 CCA. U88 2A/6 C633/4, letter Revd F.R. Hodgson to Dr G.F. Maclear, 21 January 1884. The Salisbury »Close Mission Fund« supported students at Warminster College, but an exception was made in the case of Majaliwa. See also Iliffe, *Modern History of Tanganyika*, 229–30.

74 Majaliwa returned to Zanzibar in January 1885; he was ordained deacon in 1886 and priest in 1890; *Central Africa*, April 1890, 65.

75 See CCA. U88 A2/6 C745/12(1). Ngcobo (1876–1931) was the godson of Bishop McKenzie; See further *Diocese of Lebombo. 1904 Reports and Statement*, 12; 1905, 10; and 1908, 23. Ngcobo died in a road accident, August 1931.

76 CCA. U88 A2/6 C745/1, Christopher Smyth, dd. Firwood, Chalford, Glos, 3 June 1895.

Although the student records of St. Augustine's College are a rich source, not all African students are dealt with in detail in the correspondence files. For example there is relatively little on E.P.J. Hannie or of an earlier fellow southern African Jonas Ntsiko who studied at the College in the late 1870s.[77] However, they do appear in the printed lists of examinees of present and past students.

The High Anglicans: the Universities' Mission to Central Africa

The UMCA was founded in 1859 and, after an uncomfortable early few years, made its headquarters in Zanzibar and focused its attention on east and central Africa. Before 1900 it had twelve Africans educated in England, from whom were drawn some of the first indigenous clergymen, the High Anglicans being greatly ahead of other Protestants in East Africa in ordaining black clergy before 1900.[78] In 1866 Bishop Edward Steere had taken John Swedi, a Ngindo freed slave, with him for a brief visit to England; Swedi was ordained a deacon in 1879 but not raised to the priesthood.[79] In 1865 Bishop William Tozer took four boys from Zanzibar »whom he intends to leave in England to be educated for missionary purposes in their own country.«[80] One was Francis Mabruki who spent a year living with the vicar of Rickinghall, Suffolk.[81] Other East Africans were to follow for further training from the 1870s, attending secondary schools and one or the other of the missionary training colleges at Canterbury, Dorchester, St Boniface Warminster, and St Paul's Burgh which were in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Acland Sahera, sent to Warminster in mid 1878, was later described by Archdeacon Farler as one who »stands out from them all [African workers], owing to the greater breadth and experience acquired by him during his three years training in England.«[82] The Revd J.K.C. Key, principal of St Andrew's, Kiungani, wrote that

77 CCA. U88 C759, Jonas Ntsiko.

78 On the need for an African indigenous leadership, see Bishop Charles Smythies' address at the Church Congress in Hull, October 1890, reported in *Central Africa*, 1 November 1890, 167–71.

79 R. M. Heanley, *A Memoir of Edward Steere, D.D., LL.D. Third Missionary Bishop in Central Africa* (London: George Bell, 2nd rev. ed. 1890), 244.

80 See *Guardian*, 12 December 1866, 11; also Ward, *Letters of Bishop Tozer*, »From Mr. Goodwin«, 139.

81 A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1859–1909* (London: UMCA, 1909), 74.

82 *Central Africa*, June 1883, 99.

Ours is a comparatively young Mission, and at present we cannot educate our promising young men to the standard to make them efficient clergymen by ourselves, although we shall be able to do I hope in five or seven years. But now we must send them to England, if they are to rise above their fellows, of course always picking out the most promising.[83]

Key identified Harry Mnubi as »an ideal candidate«: »what I want is that he should have an English education« and a kindly clergyman to look after him in the holidays. He went on to say: »If Harry Mnubi is not sent to England within nine months he will probably marry, and then be nothing more than a usual teacher.«[84] In 1883 Archdeacon J.P. Farler stated that I »brought home with me two boys, for whom I desire an English education, and another will come by the next mail«. The two were Hugh Peter Kayamba and Peter Nasibu, who spent the years 1883–85 at Bloxham School in Oxfordshire, the other Cecil Majaliwa, who had received his earlier education at Kiungani, and who arrived to spend 18 months at St Augustine's.[85] Farler strongly supported training Africans in England, arguing in a similar vein to Venn and others with reference to the economic and human costs of such a programme:

I have heard it objected that the cost of educating Africans in England is so very much greater than educating them in their own country; granted! but is it greater than the cost of Europeans to the Mission. A native educated in England is far more useful in Central Africa than an English Missionary can be for some time after his arrival. He knows the language, he understands the people, and he can appeal to them in a way that no Englishman can do. […] He costs much less to maintain, and his work is for life; there is no question of return expenses, or grants from sick fund.[86]

A few years later Petro Lima and Samuel Sehoza went to the Dorchester Missionary Training College in Oxfordshire, both being subsequently ordained.[87] Sehoza ›satisfied the Bishop's examiners [and] was accepted as a candidate for holy orders‹. These he received from the Bishop of Nyasaland on the western Scottish island of Iona, »the ordained going from the cradle of British

83 *Central Africa,* April 1883, 68, letter from Key, dd. 3 February 1882.
84 Ibid, and *Central Africa,* December 1883, 186, and January 1884, 13.
85 *Central Africa*, June 1883, 98. Farler hoped that the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge might be able to help with the costs of educating the students, but that Society was only able »to assist the education of natives in properly qualified colleges or training institutions in their own country«. As a result, Farler bore the initial costs although eventual help came from »two generous ladies«. *Central Africa*, April 1883, 67. On the UMCA students see Anderson-Morshead, *History of the Universities' Mission*. For the Bloxham students: *The Bloxhamist*, XLVII (March 1921): 5; LIII (March 1927), 14; and LVII (December 1931): 101.
86 *Central Africa*, June 1883, 99.
87 Limo returned from England in September 1892, Sehoza in 1893.

Christianity to the newest of the Church's mission in Central Africa.«[88] Writing of this period Anderson-Morshead commented, perhaps with Francis Mabruki and Henry Nasibu in mind:

But others came to England who did not turn out so well, and as a better and larger staff could be spared for Kiungani, the theological teaching has carried further, and it became not only unnecessary but inadvisable to send the boys to England, because (1) it cost more (2) it took them away from African surroundings and habits.[89]

The view of Bishop Charles Smythies of the UMCA, »On the question whether the more promising natives from Kiungani and Mbweni should be taken to England«, was that

from the first I have doubted the wisdom of taking Africans to be educated in England, and do not expect a good result from it. Especially is this the case with girls who marry young and are, I think, unfitted by their English experience for their life here. There may be something said for taking very promising boys who are to be teachers until we can give them a better education here; but that is the only case in which I can look for much good from it.[90]

Another missionary training college that took African students was St Paul's Missionary training college at Burgh, in Lincolnshire, founded in 1878 largely through the efforts of Bishop William George Tozer, the former leader of UMCA work in central Africa. In 1896/7 Philip Mkizi (*c*.1873–1943), a lay worker in the Diocese of Lebombo, was sent to Burgh, and reportedly then proceeded to St Augustine's Canterbury. He was ordained deacon in St Paul's Cathedral, London, but due to the South African War was unable to sail immediately for home. Instead, for the next few months, he served »for a time as curate to Canon Smyth in the parish of Elkington«, in East Lindsey,

88 *Central Africa,* October 1894, 151–53, also *The Guardian*, 29 August 1894, 1309, and the *Ipswich Journal*, 8 September 1894, 6.

89 Anderson-Morshead, *History of the Universities' Mission*, 423. Mabruki became a sub-deacon but by 1888 he had left the Mission; Nasibu was a teacher at Kologwe in 1892; the following year he had taken work with an English planter at Msasa, near Magila, but, as Farler wrote, »he refused to work on Sundays and held a regular morning service for the Christian workers on the plantation«. Hugh Kayamba also disappointed Mission expectations and became a store manager at Magila where, Farler continued, he »is now taking the full work of a European and doing it well«, *Central Africa*, September 1895, 143.

90 Gertrude Ward, *The Life of Charles Alan Smythies, Bishop of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (London: UMCA, 1899). Smythies however thought it »acceptable that mission workers be allowed to take a child home with them *at their own expense*« but not to use »Mission funds for that purpose«. A few girls were taken to England, some to the industrial school at Clewer, near Windsor, to be trained in household work, cooking and perhaps nursing; see *Central Africa,* September 1883, 145, April 1885, 58 and 79; also March 1890, 53.

Lincolnshire, which was a useful »time spent in practical work […] as he has been able to minister to English people as well as natives.«[91] After going back to Lebombo, he again returned to England in early 1907 »at the request of those responsible for raising our funds. His knowledge of English is sufficient to enable him to plead our cause very efficiently.[92] Another Anglo-Catholic work in southern Africa was that of the Community of Mission Priests of St John the Evangelist, colloquially known as the Cowley Fathers, founded in Oxford in 1865. From their mission house at Cape Town, they sent Alfred Mangena to London for ›further secondary schooling‹ in 1902, in the hope that he might return to work for the Community. Mangena went on to study law at Lincoln's Inn where he qualified as a barrister. On his return to South Africa he established a legal practice in Johannesburg, and in 1912 he helped found the South African Native National Congress.[93]

Anglican experience in sending Africans to England for further training may have started as a vision to provide leadership for a future native church; it then became an expedient; but by the end of the century, when the idea of the ›euthanasia‹ of mission had receded, it was widely regarded as an unwise policy. There were exceptions, as admitted by the severest critics, but notions of white racial superiority often dominated much missionary policy making. Africans brought to Britain as children, who had been exposed to a modern education and had absorbed contemporary western culture, were nevertheless regarded with some suspicion and rarely in mission circles accorded an equal place with their white fellows. Thomas Birch Freeman was invariably referred to as a ›native‹ and despite his premier role in Wesleyan Methodist activity in West Africa, he was not given the same measure of consideration – furloughs in Britain and education for his children, for example, as white Britons. John Chala Salfey (d.1914), rescued as a child from a slave dhow and educated in Britain and India, was trained at the Dorchester Missionary College and ordained as a ›priest for work in central Africa‹, although it is unclear why the Bishop of Oxford thought it necessary to seek permission for this step from the Archbishop of Canterbury. He later moved to South Africa, joined the Cowley Fathers, and then served in the newly created diocese of Lebombo, where he married a white fellow missionary in 1904, until his death in 1914.[94] Other black Britons in this period who sought Christian

91 *Diocese of Lebombo. Annual Report 1898*, 18; 1900, 13 and 15; 1901, 10.

92 *Diocese of Lebombo. 1907 Report & Statement*, 17. Philip Mkize probably did not transfer from Burgh to St Augustine's; he worked for many years in the Lebombo diocese, on which see T. R. Teague, *A Memoir of William Edmund Smyth, first Bishop of Lebombo* (London: SPCK, 1955).

93 David Killingray, »Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912: pan-African organisations and the emergence of South Africa's first black lawyers«, *South African Historical Journal* 64, 3 (2012): 393–417.

94 Lambeth Palace Library, London. Papers of Archbishop Benson, 351–356 ›Ordination to priesthood of Salfey‹, Bishop of Oxford to Archbishop Benson, dd. Cuddesdon, 11 May 1891. Salfey

service were invariably directed overseas, although some actively saw this as their role, for example, Salim Wilson who accompanied Graham Wilmot Brooke on his ill-fated journey to Northern Nigeria in 1892.[95]

Nonconformist missions in the latter half of the nineteenth century

If the Anglicans, both High and Low, grew cold over educating Africans in Britain, this was not so with Nonconformists, or with many Africans who looked with favour on further training in Britain. One Jamaican Baptist missionary wrote to the London published *African Times* in 1869 asking: »Why are not some youths taken out of day-schools at Cameroun and Victoria, and sent to England, or even to the Sierra Leone Grammar School, to be trained up as teachers and native preachers?« It was an appeal that appears to have been disregarded by his fellow Baptists.[96] Nevertheless, there was a well established pattern by the 1860s of the West African elite sending their children to schools in England. Sir Samuel Lewis, the first African to be knighted, was a boarder at the Methodist Wesley College, matriculated in London, and entered the chambers of S.D. Waddy, an ardent Wesleyan who had helped to found the College. The future Revd J. Claudius May from Freetown, followed in the footsteps of his father by studying first at the Normal College in Borough Road, London, and then spending four years at Taunton where he regularly preached on the local circuit and spoke at missionary meetings, all good experience for his eventual reception into Wesleyan ministry in 1875 four years after he had returned home. During the 1870s and early 1880s ten Sierra Leone boys went to Queen's Taunton, including Orishatukeh Faduma, the first Sierra Leonean to take a London BA.[97] Two other West African Wesleyans to train in Britain were S.R.B. Solomon and William F. Penny who went to Richmond College, Surrey, in 1886 with a view to taking greater re-

served with the UMCA – despite his many years in Britain, the Universities‹ Mission officials and also Anderson-Morshead, in *History of the Universities Mission*, consistently referred to him as »native clergy« (e.g. 343) – and in 1895 he joined the Cowley Fathers in Cape Town. Salfey then moved to the Diocese of Lebombo, serving in Inhambane. Broken in health he retired from the Diocese in 1914 and died *en route to* England. His career can be followed in the pages of *Central Africa*; also in the annual *Diocese of Lebombo Report & Statement*; the *Annual Reports*; and also *Lebombo Leaves*. For Salfey's marriage see *The Times*, 21 January 1903, 1.

95 Wilson is rarely mentioned in the accounts of Brooke's journey. See Salim Wilson, *I was a slave* (London: Stanley Paul & Co., nd, *c*.1939); also Douglas Johnson, »Salim Wilson: the Black evangelist of the North«, *Journal of Religion in Africa* 31 (1991): 26–41.

96 *African Times*, 23 September 1869, 35.

97 Fyfe, »Sierra Leoneans in English Schools«, 31. Also Moses N. Moore, *Orishatukeh Faduma: Liberal Theology and Evangelical Pan-Africanism, 1857–1946* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 6.

sponsibility in an autonomous Gold Coast church.[98] Both Solomon and Penny were patriots with a strong belief in the integrity of African culture, names and dress, as well as church independency from white control. They changed their names to Attoh-Ahuma and Egyir Asaam respectively and thereafter dressed appropriately. Their presence at Richmond was warmly endorsed by the Synod in a policy statement in 1888:

The Committee has it in contemplation to reduce gradually the staff of European Missionaries on the West Coast, and to devolve more responsibility upon Native brethren: and with this in view we have had several of them under training in our English Colleges […] Brother Attoh Ahuma and Brother Egyir Asaam have conducted themselves with great propriety during their residence at Richmond, and have won the respect and affection of the Governors and Tutors, and of their fellow students. We earnestly hope that they will show their profiting by great devotion to their work, and the results may appear in a prolonged and successful ministry.[99]

Two further Africans, the Nigerian Dosama Ogunfunmi, and Albert Makaula-White from southern Africa, are recorded in the official Registers as entering Richmond in 1889, but neither is listed in Cumbers' centenary account published in 1943.[100] While at Richmond, in common with many Africans sent for training to Britain, Penny and Solomon sharpened their preaching skills

98 E. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 100 and 121. John Rylands Library, Manchester (hereafter JRL): The »Richmond College Register«, merely records: »1167 W.F. Penny« and »1175 S.R.B. Solomon« who entered 1886. Frank H. Cumbers, *Richmond College 1843–1943* (London: Epworth Press, 1944), 137, quotes James Lewis, a fellow student, describing S. R. B. Solomon as »a great West African […] about six feet in height, of princely race with a prince's bearing, and with the gentlest, burring voice imaginable, loved and admired by all«. An earlier comment by Cumbers describes »the experiment […] of bringing coloured students from West Africa to be trained side by side with our own men« and that »the results were not judged encouraging, and the practice was afterwards discontinued«, ibid., 71. Richmond College, Richmond Hill, Surrey, was opened by the Methodists in 1843 as a seminary. In 1868 it was purchased by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and became a missionary training institution; from 1885 it reverted to training men for work at home and abroad.

99 Quoted Bartels, *Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 121–22.

100 On Albert Makaula-White (d. 1937) see *Grahamstown Journal*, 13 September 1890. He entered Richmond on 6 October 1890 but withdrew in October 1891, when the barely legible entry states that he had been »recalled by request (?) of South African Conference«, JRL. RC3/1 and RC3/3, Richmond College Registers for 1890 and 1891. In RC1/8 it is noted that in January 1891 he had successfully completed his trial and had been admitted to »Full Studentship«. In the Spring of 1891 Albert was living in the Cotswolds at Winchcombe, and later that year he married a white woman in Strood, Kent. Albert and his wife lived in the Cape 1892–1904 and then returned to Kent where they farmed. I am grateful to Milner Snell for the newspaper reference, and to Marika Sherwood for the reference from the JRL Register.

in local churches and at denominational conferences.[101] Primitive Methodist work in West Africa was largely confined to Fernando Po. Among the first missionaries were Africans from Sierra Leone, one being T.R. Prince (born 1834), a product of the CMS School in Freetown, who worked with the Baptists. His fellow missionaries urged him to study at Pastor's College in London, but Prince refused saying that his infant baptism was sufficient. In Fernando Po he was a teacher and among his pupil converts was the splendidly named William Napoleon Barleycorn. He in turn became a missionary and in 1886 he sent his sons to be educated at the Primitive Methodist Bourne School at Quinton, Birmingham, and one of his protégés, Edward Thaddeus Barleycorn Barber, in 1888 to Elmfield College, York, a premier training ground for Primitive Methodist ministers, from where he progressed to Edinburgh to study medicine. At the Bourne School the Barleycorn sons studied ›everything from book-keeping to botany, from chemistry to carpentry, and from elocution to electricity‹ as well as a solid diet of scriptural knowledge.[102]

Henry Guinness and Harley College

›Faith missions‹, as exemplified by Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission and also by George Müller's children's homes, influenced the Irish evangelical Henry Grattan Guinness, a member of the brewing family, in the principles of missionary training. In 1873 Guinness, together with Dr Thomas Barnardo, established the East London Missionary Training Institute, later termed Harley College. It was interdenominational, conducted on faith lines, and thus took no fees from students. In the next 42 years it trained 1500 missionaries from 30 different denominations for service all over the world. The first student was an Indian. In 1883 the College's work was extended to Cliff College in Derbyshire. Guinness and his wife were also missionary activists, founding the Livingstone Inland Mission in 1877, the Congo-Balolo Mission in 1888, and the Regions Beyond Missionary Union in 1898.

A number of Africans, and men and women of African descent, became students at Harley College. They came from South and West Africa, Egypt, the upper Nile region, and the Congo, from the Caribbean and the United

101 For W. F. Penny see *Northampton Mercury*, 13 November 1886, 7, and *Reading Mercury*, 1 January 1887, 4.

102 See http://www.mundus.bdlha.freeola.com/historian/bourne-college/bourne-college/htm. Access date: 26 March 2012. See also H. B. Kendall, *The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church* (London: Edwin Dalton, 1906), vol. II, 487–97; various copies of the *Bourne College Chronicle* (Birmingham), September 1887–August 1894; and Dorothy Graham, *Three Colleges: Primitive Methodist Secondary Educational Ventures* (Quinton: s.n., 1998). I am grateful to Dr Graham for her help.

States, and their training and subsequent missionary careers can in part be traced in the pages of the Mission's regular journal *The Regions Beyond* (1878–) and the annual reports of Harley House from March 1874. Some studied in East London and then transferred to Cliff College, or vice versa. Part of the training for students, as befitted an institution devoted to ›Home and Foreign Mission‹, involved working in chapels and mission halls among the poor of East London. The reports in *The Regions Beyond* edited by Mrs Guinness, often presented Africans in stereotyped form as naïve, devoted, earnest young men with a poor grasp of English. For example, George Utjebaz, »the Kaffir, in his simple style, next addressed the meeting [at Bakewell, Derbyshire]« and concluded with, »Though my skin is black we shall be one colour by-and-by for there will be no black in heaven; it is all white there, and I hope I shall meet you all there, Amen.«[103] An easy explanation would be to blame Harley College for its low level of instruction, or the Guinnesses' for putting ideas and words in African heads and mouths in order to solicit support within Britain. That would be without foundation. There were also at Harley and Cliff robust-minded men, and women, for example George's brother Charlie Sitwana, of whom it was hoped »May he yet become the Evangelist of his people, a second Tiyo Soga!«[104] Then there were F.S. Zeytoun, a Druze from Syria, who worked among Muslims in West Africa and in Algeria, followed by medical studies at Edinburgh; Salim Wilson who travelled with Brooke to northern Nigeria; John Newby, the African American who before coming to Cliff College had earned a reputation as an evangelist in the central lowlands of Scotland; and the hard-headed Theophilus Scholes who studied medicine in Scotland and served as a Baptist missionary first in the Congo and then in Nigeria, later turning to writing critiques of racial imperialism.[105]

103 *The Regions Beyond [...] story of the fourth year*, 1876–77, 27.

104 *The Regions Beyond*, 1879, 15.

105 For Zeytoun see J. Rutherfurd and E. H. Glenny, *The Gospel in North Africa* (London: Percy Lund, 1900), 138, 140 and 149; Wilson see Johnson, »Salim Wilson«; Newby see Elizabeth McHardie and Andrew Allan, *The Prodigal Continent and Her Prodigal Son and Missionary; or, the Adventures, Conversion and African Labours of Rev. James Newby* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1885), a questionable account which invites closer scholarly enquiry; and the writings of T. E. S. Scholes, *Sugar and the West Indies* (London: Eliot Stock, 1898), *The British Empire and Alliances* (London: Eliot Stock, 1899), *Chamberlain and Chamberlainism: His Fiscal Proposals and Colonial Policy* [pseud. Bartholomew Smith] (London: John Long, 1903), and *Glimpses of the Ages or the ›Superior‹ and ›Inferior‹ Races, So-Called, Discussed in the Light of Science and History*, 2 vols. (London: John Long, 1905 and 1908).

William Hughes and the Colwyn Bay Institute

In 1889 the Rev William A. Hughes, former Baptist missionary in the Congo, with the subsequent support of the shipping magnate Alfred L. Jones, established the Congo Institute, later known as the African Training Institute, at Colwyn Bay in North Wales.[106] The purpose of the Institute was to provide ›four years thorough training to the most promising of the African converts‹.[107] Hughes' argument was that Africans brought to Britain would be separated from ›old and evil injurious surroundings of their native land‹; they would ›come under new and beneficial influences of a Christian country‹; learn English and, thus, be able to read the Scriptures not available in their own languages, returning home with books by C. H. Spurgeon, D. L. Moody, Matthew Henry, and John Bunyan; and Africans living in Britain would see white people at their best. He further argued that such a scheme was ›economical as well as apostolic‹, that Africans in Britain would learn skills useful for their home lands, and that they were better able to endure the British climate than were Europeans that of Africa.[108] This latter point was not misplaced. Hughes knew first hand, from his own experience of working in Africa for the Baptist Missionary Society, the grievous losses of European lives during the 1880s.

Hughes was also Welsh-speaking and believed that the Christian faith was best communicated by ›native missionaries‹ using their native tongue. He argued that Africans trained in Britain would be survivors, and that as Christian workers in their own lands they would be self-sufficient, self-reliant, and self-supporting. Hughes' slogan ›Africa for the Africans; and Africa for Christ‹, plus his strong emphasis on Welsh spiritual virtues, indicates his own nationalism, although this should not be exaggerated. He certainly

106 Ivor Wynne Jones, »Hughes the Congo: the rise and fall of the Congo Institute«, in *A Tolerant Nation? Explaining Ethnic Diversity in Wales*, ed. Charlotte Williams, Neil Evans and Paul O'Leary (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), ch. 5, 77–93, and Christopher Draper and John Lawson-Reay, *Scandal at Congo House. William Hughes and the African Institute, Colwyn Bay: 1856–1924* (Penryhn Bay: Garreg Gwalch, 2012). I am grateful to Christopher Draper for his help.

107 Anon (probably W. A. Hughes), *Reasons for Training the Most Promising of African Converts in this Country* (Colwyn Bay: Colwyn Bay Institute, 1893).

108 Annual Reports and other material on the African Training Institute is in the Bangor University Archives, Bangor, north Wales, MS 410 and PER 1340. See W. Hughes, *Dark Africa and the Way Out, or a Scheme for Civilizing and Evangelizing the Dark Continent* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1892); Zana Aziz Etambala, »Congolese children at the Congo House in Colwyn Bay (North Wales, Great Britain), at the end of the 19th century«, *Afrika Focus* 3 (1987): 237–85; Barbara Yates, »Educating Congolese abroad: an historical note on African elites«, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14 (1981): 36–64.

thought Wales a more Christian country than England – ›a Bible in every home‹ – and that the Principality provided a much higher moral climate for African students.

Of the eighty-seven students accepted by the Institute between its founding in 1889 and closure in 1912, many had their passages provided on an Elder, Dempster ship owned by Alfred Jones. The cost of educating and training a student for four to five years, Hughes suggested, somewhat optimistically in 1893, would total £125 compared to the £500 required to train a European missionary. Training involved academic work, particularly acquiring English (not French, which would have been useful to students from Congo) and a better knowledge of the Christian faith, but also industrial skills and to this end students were apprenticed to local craftsmen and practitioners, chemists, doctors, wheelwrights, carpenters, and printers. Hughes' hope was that similar institutes would also be established across Africa, serving as feeders for Colwyn Bay. Most students were from Africa, but a few were African Americans. Most returned to Africa in support roles to missionaries, but a rare exception, Oladipe Lahanmi, went on to train as a medical doctor. Both H.M. Stanley and King Leopold II were patrons of the Institute, although Congo students ceased coming to Colwyn Bay in 1896 and thereafter the majority came from West Africa, although this did not prevent Hughes from trying to solicit further support from the Belgian king. The Congo Institute also attracted a number of black supporters, such as Dr. Theophilus Scholes, Revd Mojola Abegbi,[109] Revd Thomas L. Johnson, and the Sierra Leone barrister Augustus Merriman-Labor, and, after 1900, black patrons such as Sir Samuel Lewis, Prince Ademuwiya, and King Gbadebo, the Alake of Abeokuta, who visited Britain in 1904. Among the students at Colwyn Bay in 1903–04 was Peter T. Nyambo, from Nyasaland, who came to Britain with Joseph Booth, and who then went on to study at the Seventh Day Adventist Manor Park college, Holloway, in north London, for a further two years.[110]

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109 See Hazel King, »Cooperation in context. Two visionaries of the African church – Mojola Agbebi and William Hughes of the African Institute, Colwyn Bay«, *Journal of Religion in Africa* XVI 1 (1986): 2–21.

110 Skota, *African Yearly Register*, 231. Harry Langworthy, *›Africa for the African‹: The Life of Joseph Booth* (Blantyre, Malawi: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 1996) 177, 184, 190, and 426. Jack Mahon, »What happened in 1906«?, *Messenger* (Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the United Kingdom and Ireland) 111 (2006): 3–6; the photograph of students at Manor Park college on page 6 shows a single black bespectacled student who may well be Nyambo. See further *The Missionary Worker*, 24 April 1907, 73. I am grateful to Per Lisle, of Newbold College Library, Berkshire, for these references. Other African Adventists came to study in England, for example Joseph de Graft Hayford, the only delegate from West Africa at the Annual Conference of the Adventist Mission in London in 1902. He was accompanied by three young Africans whom he wanted to study with a view to becoming Adventist pastors. See *The Missionary Worker*, 28 May 1902, 85, quoted by Stefan Schmid, »Mark C.

What became of the students who attended the Institute? A handful died in Britain, a not uncommon sad aspect of similar schemes to bring Africans to Europe for education. Most returned to their own lands to work alongside European and African missionaries, although for some a modern education offered opportunities of paid employment in government service and in commerce. Several remained in Britain to study medicine or the law and then returned home to secular employment. In Africa the trappings of a new modern foreign culture were not always the best equipment for the Christian agent. Indigenous people often thought of them as ›Black white men‹, and their own acquired prejudices about their superior status which demeaned fellow Africans as ›uncivilised‹ and ›savage‹ did not aid evangelization.[111]

Conclusions

During the nineteenth century the total number of Africans educated in Britain under the auspices of missionary agencies probably never exceeded 150 men and women. Relatively little is known of their observations on life in Britain, on engagement with a different culture, and how they viewed the Christian faith and practice of their hosts. Their limited correspondence home (although there may be further letters in African archives) is confined mainly to comments on the school that they attended and its buildings, the content of lessons, the kindness of people, and predictably the weather. There were other Africans who came to Britain independent of missions: youngsters sent by their families for education, or older people who by their own efforts made the long journey to the metropole in quest of a formal education and qualifications. The value and contribution of these Africans to the spread of Christianity, whether as employees of ecclesiastical agencies or just as members of churches, were often applauded. For many Europeans involved in mission work the advance of the Gospel in the Continent depended overwhelmingly on the active support of Africans. This was a view advanced even as colonialism, with its emphasis on white racial superiority and leadership, got into its stride.[112] The size of the Continent and its diverse population, the limited number of white missionary volunteers, the rigours of a tropical climate so often hostile to Europeans, and the heavy cost in lives and trea-

Hayford: the First Ghanaian Baptist«, ts. 2011, p. 37, fn. 92. I am grateful to Stefan Schmid for a copy of his typescript.

111 On the careers of some of the first Congo students see Etambala, »Congolese children«, 262–73.

112 Two examples: Bishop William Tozer of the UMCA in Ward, *Letters of Bishop Tozer*, 183–90, and Dennis Kemp, the superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Gold Coast, 1892–96, in *Nine Years at the Gold Coast* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 144.

sure, all dictated the great value of a committed African agency. As Tozer argued in 1869, to the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity in Oxford: »I am largely influenced by the conviction that the evangelization of Eastern and Central Africa must ultimately be entrusted to the case of a native ministry«, and in a letter home he wrote of this being not only a scriptural requirement but also a practical one. Sincerely converted Africans made ideal missionaries because there

> will be no new language to acquire, no acclimatization to undergo, no strange modes of life to encounter. He will be intimately acquainted with all his people's characteristics, their modes of thought, their likes and dislikes, their superstition, their national habits and customs.[113]

His successor, Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar, was against steps that would »Europeanize our Christians«, but, he argued we do require that »what is Christian in our European conscience be taken over into the African conscience, to individualize and purify it.«[114] The big problem was how this vast task of cultural and spiritual transformation could be achieved. By 1900 many, perhaps most, white missionaries saw little value in sending Africans to Britain for education. Indeed, such action, resorted to in the past from necessity, only ›spoiled‹ African Christians by removing them from the culture in which they were to work and exposing them to ideas and influences that were likely to undermine their faith and possibly devalue their usefulness as evangelists and catechists. By then, Christian training institutions had been opened in Africa providing a curriculum geared to what was decided as meeting the needs of Africans who were destined to remain and work in Africa. These training institutions and schools were not only cheaper to run and under the eye of the mission, but they also fitted in with the new colonial order of white control and African subject peoples. To its shame the mission churches in Africa, with few exceptions, all too easily absorbed these current secular ideas and, furthermore, embraced the practices of white domination and black subservience. Contrary to white missionary expectations and wishes, such behaviour helped encourage the growth of independency and the release of new expressions of African spirituality.

113 Ward, *Letters of Bishop Tozer*, 189.
114 *Central Africa*, August 1908.

Kokou Azamede

Reactions of African Converts to Christianity, Particularly of Those Who Visited Europe

The Case of the North German Mission's Assistants in West Africa

From 1847 to 1914 the North German Mission (NGMS), also called the Bremen Mission[1], settled in West Africa among the Ewe[2] people. The history of their activities reached its summit as the Mission instituted a programme to send young Ewe Christians or assistants to attend mission training in Germany, with the intention that they would later help with the evangelization of their own people. Between 1884 and 1900, nineteen young Ewe Christians, assistants of the Mission, received academic and missionary training in Württemberg.[3] Their close contact with European society and Christian European culture gave them the opportunity to develop detailed opinions about the way that Europeans practised the ›Christianity‹ that they taught in Africa. After receiving this missionary education, they came back home to Africa with a strong ambition to evangelise their own people. However, their experiences also led them to ask themselves some questions about the reality of Christianity in West Africa. They were faced with local religious ideas and some contradictory behaviour not only on the part of German missionaries, but also on their own part.

The process of evangelization in the Eweland had been initiated by the missionaries with the goal of convincing the Ewe to stop their own religions practices. Since Christianity stood in opposition to local religion and cultural conceptions, it became necessary for each Ewe converted to Christianity to deny his/her own cultural identity. All Ewe who wanted to follow the Good News had to prove it by fighting against their own identity. They employed a variety of strategies to deal with this challenge.

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1 Kokou Azamede, *Transkulturationen? Ewe Christen zwischen Deutschland und Westafrika* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 10; see also August Wilhelm Schreiber, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der Norddeutschen Missionsgesellschaft* (Bremen: Verlag der Norddeutschen Missionsgesellschaft, 1936).

2 Also written Eve.

3 Azamede, *Transkulturationen*, 29–224.

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This chapter will present some of the reactions to ›European Christianity‹ of the Ewe assistants who received missionary training in Germany. It will approach this topic by analysing their respective biographies, reports and private correspondences.

Missionary education at the »Ewe-school« in Württemberg

After thirty-seven years of missionary activity on the West African coast, the Bremen Mission noticed that it had lost many of its missionaries because of difficulties arising from the climate, sicknesses, and even cultural hostilities. They had to learn the language of the local people so that they could establish a church among them. That is why they needed some local assistance to help them with all of their activities. Besides, the natives who had converted to Christianity showed that they were willing to receive education that went beyond simple literacy and instruction in how to preach the Good News. Their importance in the mission's activities enabled them to put pressure on the Mission to allow them to stay in the Mission's schools instead of transferring them to other English speaking schools on the Gold Coast, whether it be Lagos or Freetown. In their eyes, the more advanced missionary education would give them a higher chance of success and a wider range of options when looking for a job at the coast.

The Mission's Committee began to consider it important to the Mission's activities in West Africa that young African Christians should receive further education so that they could take over more responsibilities and substitute for German missionaries in West Africa. In 1884, the Bremen Mission, through Inspector Franz Michael Zahn, opened the »Ewe school« in Württemberg in the house of missionary Johann Conrad Binder, who was its manager. The first three young Ewe students were educated in Wilhelmsdorf from 1884 to 1887, before the school was moved to Westheim until 1900, when it was closed.[4] From 1884 to 1900, nineteen young Ewe students received missionary and further education. They spent two, three or even four years of education there before returning to Africa to work for the Mission. It is noteworthy that they later became teachers, catechists or pastors, which were important and prestigious positions not only within the Mission but also in Ewe-society.[5]

4 The Ewe-School was closed in 1900, after Pastor Johann Binder claimed that he felt too old and was no longer able to manage its activities in his own house. See Johannes Conrad Binder, *Bericht über die Evhe-Schule und das letzte Neger-Missionsfest in Westheim* (Bremen: Verlag der Norddeutschen Missionsgesellschaft, 1900), 2.

5 Kokou Azamede, »Eléments de biographies des 20 enseignants éwé formés en Allemagne entre 1884 et 1900 par la Mission de Brême«, in *Plumes allemandes. Biographies et autobiogra-*

According to missionary Carl Spieß, their stay in Germany let them have closer contact with German society. However, they were supposed to live in a specifically Christian environment, and were therefore kept away from ›non-Christian‹ people.[6]

In these circumstances, they underwent a process of acculturation that let them be influenced only by one particular Christian way of life. The Mission kept them in a Christian pietistic environment, as Werner Ustorf mentions in the following passage:

> In order to reach the goal the Africans were led to model themselves on the culture of ancient European Christendom. The idea was to keep them far from the ›temptations of the pagan's life‹ – without alienating them from African culture – and teach them ›Christian order and discipline‹ in the house of Pastor Binder, in the quietness of a remote pietistic village, that is to say in a model situation. The life in churches, schools, towns, families etc. was seen as the benchmark, because, for Inspector Zahn, this was where the sources of Christian life were to be found, ›which are flowing upon us into our Christian lands from the good hand of God.‹[7]

It was hoped that, living in this environment, the 19 Ewe-students would better appreciate the way that Germans practised their Christianity, so that they would adopt it and preach it more easily to their own Ewe people in West Africa. Their exposure to this German pietistic environment led to specific reactions among each of the Ewe converts to Christianity.

Reactions of Ewe converts to Christianity

Satisfaction during their stay in Germany

The official reports concerning the Ewe converts' impressions about their stay in Europe were generally positive. These reports give the sense that they were very happy among the Christian communities and families, whom they

phies africaines (»Afrikaner erzählen ihr Leben«), Actes du Colloque International de Lomé à l'occasion de la réédition de la traduction française de l'anthologie de Diedrich Westermann, *Onze Autobiographies d'Africains* (1938), ed. Adjai Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon et al. (Lomé: Presses de l'Université de Lomé, 2003), 254.

6 Carl Spieß, letter to inspector Zahn, Bremen, 22 February 1897, State Archives Bremen (abbr. as StAB) 7, 1025–29/6; He gave reasons against the education of Ewe in Germany.

7 Werner Ustorf, *Die Missionsmethode Franz Michael Zahns und der Aufbau christlicher Strukturen* (Erlangen: Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1989), 267 (All translations in this chapter from German into English by Kokou Azamede, unless otherwise mentioned).

could visit and with whom they could practise and enjoy the Christian way of life. Andreas Aku, one of the three Ewe Students, who lived in Germany between 1884 and1887, stated in one of his reports:

> Now let me tell you about my holiday trip […] On July 22nd, I started my journey from Ochsenbach and in the afternoon of the same day I came to Frankfurt, where missionary Thun, who had formerly settled as a missionary in India, met me at the station. Missionary Binder had written to him before, so that he could meet me there. I could not spend the night at his place; I'd rather stay in a hotel. The next day, the 23rd of July, I came to Kassel, where I spent just 2 hours. I could visit missionary Munz, who was living there. But he was not at home and I could only meet his wife. She received me very kindly. Half an hour later I continued my trip with the tramway from Kassel to Schieder. When I arrived in Schieder, I met Pastor Theopold at the station, who kindly picked me up. From there we first went to Blumberg, where his parents were living. We stayed till the evening. In the same evening we moved to Lemgo. I was kindly received there by pastor Theopold and his family, and they were all kind to me. On the 24th of July a friend called J. Loh and I visited other friends in the town.
>
> On Sunday the 26th of July, there was a mission feast in a small village not far from Lemgo called Heiden. In the afternoon, I went there with Pastor Theopold and the young people's association, who were carrying their trombones to celebrate the feast. The festival was celebrated under many trees and on the pastor's ground. Many people were there. It was very nice; particularly the way young people's associations were playing their trombones was wonderful. Pastor Theopold also talked about our Missions zone. We came back to Lemgo the same day. I spent 11 days in Lemgo, visiting many congregations and some villages with pastor Theopold.[8]

When reading Andreas Aku's report we notice – and other reports were similar – that the young Ewe-students were constantly guided by members of the Mission society, so that they could only observe what they ought to. Andreas Aku followed the training of a missionary and teacher in Ochsenbach, Lichtenstein for three years before coming back to Africa to work for the Bremen Mission. He was one of the assistants who continued to work for the Mission for the rest of his life and always remained devoted to it. His experience in Germany must have had a positive effect on him.

In a similar case, the Ewe student Benjamin Onipayede, who was educated from 1890 to 1894 in Westheim, praised the Bremen Mission in his valedictory address before leaving Germany. He expressed his pleasure at all of the positive things that he had experienced in Germany while living among the Christian communities there and even dared to redefine the concept of the Mission as far as his homeland of Africa was concerned. For him:

8 Andreas Aku, letter to Inspector Zahn, Ochsenbach, 19 October 1885, StAB 7, 1025–29/5.

Mission is a holy war. Not in the way that the world powers waged their war in order to bring people and countries under their power; not in the way that those tyrants in our eastern and western regions waged war in order to sentence prisoners to death or in order to sell slaves. No! It's a holy war, which is waged by those who run wide awake over lands and sea, as they are cleaned by the blood of the lamb and they stay under the banner of Christ, the Lord of the lords, in order to deliver deplorable people from the enemy of death, from the devil and from the sins in other parts of the world, with the sword of the Holy Spirit.[9]

Onipayede also praised the Mission for its great sacrifices in Eweland which, according to him, had become a blessing to his people:

For 46 years, the Bremen Mission has been waging the same war in our Eweland. But how difficult a battle was it at the beginning? Besides the power of the paganism, the fighters were confronted with other enemies, first of all like our climate, which caused their death a short or a long time after they settled in our country. […] it seems like all effort, all bravery of the fighters had been in vain. But the work that they did, which is going on today, and the holy war that they waged and which is still being waged today, comes not from the human being, but from God. That is why their effort will not be in vain and the work also will not subside.

[…] I thank you very much for this blessing that you brought to my people. We can notice how the work is going on. It is the harvest of the Lord.[10]

Further, Benjamin Onipayede now felt that he had matured into the Mission's work and loudly proclaimed his acceptance of the new challenge that his new career presented:

The childhood is over; we are now in the adolescence, which demands more from us. That is why the Mission cannot fulfil all the wishes of the souls, because there are few workers today for the region. Therefore both of us are very happy to go back home to Africa in order to help spread the Kingdom of God. For this purpose God armed us […], so that we still stay near him, look upon him and do in his power what he asked us to do […]. Let's thank you once again and ask you this favour:

Dear friends, we beg you now to pray for us and our people. Pray for us, so that everything you did for us, already in our country and here for three and half years would not become vain. Pray with us, so that we become loyal, humble workers in the wine mountains of God, our Lord, to those people, to whom we would give many things

9 Benjamin Onipayede, Valediction, StAB 7, 1025–29/5.
10 Ibid.

through our stay here. Pray with us, so that we serve God and our people in gratitude, so that the Lord puts us into place for the blessing of our people.[11]

Nearly all of the nineteen Ewe students gave the same impressions in their official speeches, which were given during the final days of their time in Germany and reported about their stay there: They had enjoyed their stay, learnt more about the Christian life, been convinced of the goodness of Christianity, and even seemed ready to fight against their own traditional religions in order to change their people's way of life. Therefore, the Committee of the Mission were satisfied with the job that Pastor Johannes Binder was doing through these future Ewe assistants. Even missionary Jacob Spieth, who commented on their advanced education in Germany, confirmed their greater competencies in the Mission's stations relative to those who had not been educated in Europe:

If people were uncertain about the capacity of education of the Ewe people from the year 1847 till 1883 or 1884, all of the expenditures for our Ewe-students who went to Germany are justified, if they finally proved the capacity of education of the Ewe people. I can immediately answer ›Yes‹ to the question of whether the lessons in Germany have made people more competent, so that they can fulfil their Christian and their Mission's job. I do say this despite ostensible failures. It is a genuine pleasure to follow Samuel Quist, Theodor Bebli and Andreas Aku when they are teaching. […] I did not hear any complaint about their poor knowledge from any of those who were trained over there, and maybe they are more and more conscious of it.[12]

The picture found in the official reports is that, at the end of their stay in Germany, each young Ewe Christian had formed an entirely positive impression of the training that they had received there. According to most reports to the authorities of the Mission, they showed their appreciation for the moments they had spent in Christian families and for the quality of their training. They were also satisfied with their trainers who had given them the tools to become model Christians in their African homeland. As they seemed to be sufficiently prepared and trained, they undertook to fight against their traditional beliefs and to evangelize their fellow countrymen on their return to Africa.[13]

11 Ibid.

12 Jacob Spieth, letter to Inspector Zahn, Schorndorf, 10 September 1897, 4–5, StAB 7, 1025–29/6.

13 Azamede, *Transkulturationen*, 40.

Figure 3: Benyamin Onipayede in Christian dress: *The childhood is over; we are now in the adolescence, which demands more from us*. Keta c. 1895 (StAB 7, 1025–Fotos–4269).

Injustice, hypocrisy and racism

Private correspondence, however, does not point to a similarly positive impression of the Mission among these young African Christians. From these, it seems that they did feel that they were receiving a good education, but they did not seem to be completely convinced of the Christianity that had been taught to them. Some of them returned home disappointed because they could not see any tangible indication that what they had been taught was acted out. For instance, it was felt that the lesson that all human beings were to be treated in the same way and to be given the same rights was not applied in practice.

The Ewe student Isaac Kwadzo was sent to Westheim from 1891 to 1895. He spent four years there and visited many people, congregations and families and also had many friends. In his official writings he expressed some satisfaction. His autobiography presents only superficial stories and mainly focuses on his career, so that in none of these documents did he describe his disappointment about the Christians in Germany. Since he had close German friends, whom he could trust, he told them his true impression of the kind of Christianity he experienced in German society through the behaviour of missionaries. He wrote to his »friend« Sister Mina, a friend of the Bremen Mission about his frustration concerning the Mission's work in the following words:

»Oh dear Mina, I have enough enemies and I believe you'll have too. You will have not yet read the word: ›The one who wants to live only joyfully without suffering needs to be cunning and malicious.‹«[14] In the letter, Isaak Kwadzo referred to himself and the way that he was trying to bear the hardships of the education and the behaviour of the Christians in Westheim. He disapproved of the way that he was treated in Germany and the way that people behaved towards him. He said:

> Is it not to have an enemy when somebody is doing something good and the so-called ›civilized people‹ try to prevent him from doing it? What would you call this, when someone is doing something wrong and knows that he is doing it wrong, but doesn't want other people to find out about it; and then another person comes and wants to bring his mistakes to light, so that he should not ruin many people; and the culprit tries to kill him? What should it be called, when somebody hates you because of your charity? Who are now slandering? And what should I write again about the devil, the main enemy?[15]

14 Isaac Kwadzo, letter to Mina, Bremen, 11 Mai 1895, StAB 7, 1025–29/5.
15 Ibid.

Isaak was convinced that the actions of the Mission were not always right and he did not agree with the way that the work of the mission was being carried out. That is why he warned Sister Mina by advising her not to believe all that she might be reading about the Mission; he expected her to find out the truth about some of the negative aspects of the Mission, so that she could report the reality to Europeans later. That is why he wrote to her: »Am telling you honestly: Everything that was written by the Mission is not completely true«.

In his letter to Sister Mina, Isaak Kwadzo tried to explain the motivation of his criticism. He was trying to say that the Mission always forced him to respect Christian rules. He was expected simply to learn how to be a good Christian, instead of being encouraged to develop his intellectual and artistic potential. He used to write papers and poems and to talk with people about his home, but the Committee of the Mission would always disagree with this behaviour which frustrated him.

He made a declaration through the first six of twenty-one verses of a poem that he wrote about the Mission entitled »*Die Hindernisse der Mission*« *(obstacles of the Mission):*

You are unfaithful in your work
The sense of Mammon is for you a food
To do the wrong thing is for you a drink
Flattery is your power
Do you call this preaching the Good News?
Is this what it means cheerfully to preach the News?[16]

This passage illustrates the hard pietistic education that the Ewe assistants had received during their stay in Württemberg. The same passage seems to show that the boys were not always happy with this kind of education. They would have liked to feel freer and have more contact with German society, instead of being confined only to Christian groups.

I wonder why Isaak Kwado criticised the Mission so harshly, if there are no other reasons than the ones that he described. Possibly, he had experienced further injustices that he did not dare to expose to Sister Mina.

In fact, one such injustice can be seen in the story of Kwadzo's journey to Germany: Isaak Kwadzo was not given a cabin for his journey on the ship to Germany in October 1891. As he talked just about a hard ship journey in his autobiography, his colleague Komla-Kuma, called Albert Wilhelm Binder, described what exactly he experienced in the following passage:

16 Ibid.

Figure 4: Isaak Kwadzo in his European suit. Peki-Blengo, 2.10.1931 (StAB 7, 1025–Fotos–1305).

A year later, missionary Seeger brought to us Isaak Kwadzo from Peki. I noticed that Isaak did not carry his bag. When I asked him about the reason, he said to me that his bag had fallen into the sea. I continued asking him: ›Did you not have accommodation in a cabin?‹ He answered: ›No, I didn't get any cabin‹. I reported to my brothers that he had not received a cabin, but had stayed on deck during the entire trip. That is why he lost his bag.[17]

The Ewe assistant Albert Binder experienced the same misadventure when returning to Africa from Germany and he reported it in his autobiography. He was surprised and angry to be treated differently from the German passengers, with whom he was on the journey in the name of the same Mission and for the same purpose:

We got onto the ship, as it suddenly began to rain. Everybody went in his board or in his cabin. Miss Sister Peper, with whom I was travelling to Keta also found her board. Only Edward Duwɔ and I didn't find any board. When I asked the captain for a cabin, he answered: ›There is no cabin for you‹. I was surprised and I said ›why‹? He answered: ›It does not depend on me, but on the people, who sent you here‹. I started to think about it and I suddenly burst into tears. I remembered immediately that this act was a conspiracy against us black people. […] I was in the rain until it stopped raining. I almost perished. Nevertheless, I was convinced that this act was not a plan of God, but just ideas of human beings. People would ask me then, where my second passenger Miss Peper was, who was doing the same job as me in Keta, and whom the same Mission Society and the same inspector had sent to duty. The answer is: As for her; she got a cabin in first class, just because her life is more valuable than mine. […] Poor me! I was always asking myself: ›Where are the Cameroonian and I going to sleep?‹, because we were there just like animals.[18]

For nineteen days Albert Binder and the Cameroonian Edward Duwɔ stayed on deck, without finding safe accommodation in the ship, until they arrived in Keta in Ghana – the former Gold Coast. Albert Binder also experienced the same discrimination during mealtimes.

The ship's cook told me that by the mealtime I should come and get food. […] Sometimes, he gave me the rubbish of bread and beef. Sometimes I ate it, but sometimes I threw it in the sea out of sorrow.[19]

17 Albert Binder, *Autobiography*, 1929, translated from Ewe, StAB 7, 1025–30/1.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.

Those experiences led the Ewe educated in Germany to doubt that Christianity was the only and best religion, superior to the local forms of faith. If all people were children of God, why should there be racial differences between black and white? If Jesus came to save the whole world, why should a certain life be more valuable than the life of another person? Albert Binder was still convinced of the love of the Christian God, but no longer of the righteousness of the missionaries. In this way, some of the African converts even came to doubt the true Christian faith of their missionaries.

Furthermore, some of the missionaries were no longer welcome in the Eweland because they themselves did not show and practise the Christianity that they used to teach to African people. They joined the colonial government in maltreating people, instead of protecting them from the colonial power. The Ewe assistant and teacher Hermann Yoyo[20], educated in Ochsenbach between 1884 and 1887, hid behind the pseudonym Kwadzo Outlooker and denounced the behaviour of some missionaries:

[One time] some Kwitta[21] scholars residing at Lome, namely: Gotthard Hiamabe, William Abotsi, Benjamin Kpowobe Blagodzi, Martin Kwasikuma, Filipo Aye, Benjamin Apevi, Kofi August and Robert Awuku, were singing on the street at about eight o'clock in the evening. That day was prayer meeting (Wednesday), but they did not close the chapel so as to [avoid] any interruption during the prayer meeting. However, they were arrested by policemen and released at the same time; the policemen further told them to appear before a court next morning. The following day [missionary] Carl Osswald also went with them and [bore witness] against them, saying that they always [cry loudly] when service is held, and therefore must be punished.

In fact, the Government does not wish to punish them but only [warn] them not to do the same thing again, but […] as Mr Carl Osswald has reported them already, so the Government wants them to pay twenty five shillings (25£) each and [to receive] ten (10) lashes. They pleaded very hard till the Government agreed that they would pay fifty shillings (50£) each; and so four hundred shillings (400£) were paid to the Government that day, and I hereby note that the money [in question], 400£ , paid to the Government was part of the money taken from the Collection made by the young men […] in connection with other Church members at Lomé pending the arrival of the Inspector, Rev. W. A. Schreiber, as the persons named got no other money to pay the fine to the Government, and this all [because of] the report that Mr Carl Osswald made to the Government. The consequence was that almost everybody [bears hatred towards]

20 Written ›Yɔyɔ‹ in Ewe (also called Yoyovi or ›Yɔyɔvi‹).
21 Also written Keta.

Mr. Carl Osswald. As a missionary and also a Minister to the Church of Christ, he ought to have begged for them, but on the contrary he was the very man who forced the Government to punish them anyhow.[22]

The missionary Osswald was implicated in many issues of injustice and Yoyo demanded that he should be sent back to Europe:

It once happened with the above named [Osswald], that he had killed a girl in Ho-district, and the action being considered as an accident, he was absolved; but the present character of the man shows that it had far better be the place of the Committee to have a change made, [by giving] him another situation at home and [preventing] his coming out to [the] coast again, but on the one hand the Committee paid less attention to consequences of the accident [for the girl than what had] happened to the man, on the other hand the man now or little from that time since thought very little of the accident, as his present character has shown almost to everybody at Keta and Lome.[23]

The young Ewe Christians were not able to express officially to the Mission's Committee their discontent about the Christian way of life to which they were subjected. They were not only too young, but were also told that their only duty was to be humble, obedient and diligent during their stay in Germany. Any opposition to the rules could lead the Committee of the Mission to sending them back to their homeland immediately. They were disappointed in more than one way, because they had expected to be treated kindly just as they had been taught to treat people in Africa, according to the word of God of the Christians. They found that charity was not involved in the strict pietistic education that they received. They were disappointed by the double standard of German missionaries and felt that the injustices that they had experienced were not in keeping with the Christian life.

Christian faith versus native cultural and religious convictions

Another source of problems between Europeans and Africans in the West African Mission was faith in God's power to perform miracles. Many Africans were convinced of this power and accused European sceptics of unbelief.

Robert Stefano Kwami was one of the loyal African assistants of the Bremen Mission in Eweland and was trained in Westheim from 1897–1900. After returning home, he worked very keenly for the Mission and was one of

22 Kwadzo Outlooker, letter to the Committee in Bremen. Per »Aline Woermann«, Kwitta, Gold Coast, Africa, 26 August 1902, StAB 7, 1025–17/1.

23 Ibid.

the most eager of the Ewe pastors, being one of those who defended Christianity by all means against the local religions. He dared to fight against the traditional priests in order to defeat their spiritual powers in the name of Jesus. He even defended Christianity in 1932 in Germany, although the National Socialist government under Minister-President Röver forbade him as a »Negro-pastor« to preach the good news in the huge Lamberti Church in Oldenburg. He dared to do it at the risk of his life. With the same faith, Robert Kwami described in his report on the Mission's work of 18th May 1937 how a member of the church had been miraculously healed of leprosy:

> On the 2nd of May I visited the outstation Koloenu. Before beginning the service, a Christian called Paulo Kpodo came to me and told me: ›Many years before, you were telling me about Samuel Buatsi who was healed from Leprosy. I met him on the Mission festival of Have in 1932, I listened to how he was praising God and I was so impressed. For two years I was looking for medicine in order to be healed, but in vain. My wife left me, because she believed that I would die. […] I begged the Lord to heal me, because human beings could help me no more. But it took very long, maybe three years! It was a very hard test of faith for me, but I did not give up. And suddenly the miracle happened. One day, when I woke up, I didn't feel any pain any more on my head and my limbs. I ran, jumped and saw that God had healed me! […] Yes, we have a living God, who hears prayers and heals sick people […].‹[24]

Pastor Robert Kwami considered this healing as a ›Christian miracle‹ and believed that his preaching and prayers to the Lord had had a positive effect on the patient Paulo Kpodo. But the Mission's staff did not believe him and even doubted his Christian ›spiritual power‹. Kwami could not understand why even the European missionaries and pastors did not believe in the healing power of God. He was sad and angry at them and did not understand how those who evangelised African pagans and preached to them about the almighty God could deny a present-day Christian miracle. Kwami's reaction to the missionaries' position was strong and very critical:

24 Robert Kwami, letter to head of Mission Schreiber, Amedzope, 18 May 1937, StAB 7, 1025–32/2.

Figure 5: Robert Stephan Kwami displaying an attitude of prayer: *»I lift up my eyes unto the mountains«*. Lemgo 1932 (StAB 7, 1025–Fotos–1945).

It is sad to know that even theologians no longer believe that nowadays exceptional miracles can still happen. What do they teach now? The Mission's work is nothing else than the blessing of God. Even according to the order of the Mission ›Go ye therefore, and teach all nations […],‹[25] it does mean: ›in my name you will drive out the evil spirit […] You will put your hand on the patients, so that they would be healed‹. – Mark 16:15–18. The one who does not believe in this is not a Christian.[26]

This occurred probably because, according to Alsheimer, the evangelical churches did not accept miracles any longer.[27]

In this reaction, it is evident that Pastor Robert Kwami ironically criticised the doubt of the Europeans about their Christian faith. Had the Europeans lost their faith in the power of the Christian God? This was clearly Kwami's opinion. That is why he gave them the following lesson:

It is time for the unbeliever in Europe to come out and see the wonder of God – so they will believe. Jesus said: ›blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.‹[28]

Gender-relations, marriage and family

The African converts were told that Christians were required to follow certain rules in family life as far as gender relations and the conduct of Christian marriages were concerned. In Pastor Johannes Conrad Binder's house, where the young Africans were being taught, the rules for young people concerning their relations to other young people were very strict.

The young Africans only had contact with people from whom they were supposed to learn something about the Christian way of life. They were not allowed to get close to anyone who was not a Christian. These young people found it hard to follow this instruction and sometimes transgressed the so-called Christian morals.

25 Matthew 28:19.

26 Robert Kwami, letter to head of Mission Schreiber; Amedzope, 18 May 1937, StAB 7, 1025–32/2.

27 Rainer Alsheimer, »Mission, Missionare und Transkulturalität. Die Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft und ihr Depositum im Bremer Staatsarchiv«, *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* NF 23 (2000): 189–240, 214.

28 John 20:29 (King James Version); Robert Kwami, letter to head of Mission Schreiber. Amedzope, 18 May 1937, StAB 7, 1025–32/2, ref. Alsheimer, »Mission, Missionare und Transkulturalität«, 214.

While Andreas Aku, Hermann Yoyo and Reinhold Kowu[29] were studying in the Ewe School between 1884 and 1887, Yoyo and Kowu once had excessively close contact with a young girl who used to visit them in the house and were almost sent back to Africa in consequence. They both wrote a letter to apologise for their mistake before they were allowed to continue their course in Ochsenbach. What happened exactly? According to Reinhold Kowu:

> One day, as we were in our room, the girl called Maria came to us with a letter in her hand. A soldier was painted on the letter. She said that she and the soldier always sinned when they were in Stuttgart. Later, on one occasion she brought the hot-water bottle, which she put on Hermann's bed and lay down on our bed. She started kissing us and was saying, she would like to sleep by us. One day, when she had trouble with Ernst[30], she told us that he once came to her at night at 12 o'clock. She asked me to come to her room to do the same thing with her. In the room I did not go up to her, but I just lay on the floor.[31]

Hermann Yoyo also wrote a letter to inspector Zahn to apologise for their ›sin‹. He even said that *he confessed his sin* and especially begged the inspector not to send them back to Africa, because: »When my parents hear about this, it will be a big shame for me, and I can almost no longer even go back to Africa.«[32]

Hermann Yoyo and his schoolmate were afraid that their parents were going to know about their behaviour, because they themselves knew exactly the reason for which they had come to Germany and what they wanted to achieve:

»[…] We are supposed to have come here to Europe to learn the right things; so we beg you not to expose it to our fellow countrymen […]«.[33] All three students had the same fear. Andreas Aku who was not even implicated at all wrote to the inspector expressing regret concerning the mistakes or ›sins‹ of his friends Hermann Yoyo and Reinhold Kowu. The main reason that he gave was the fear of what was going to happen to them if they came back to Africa earlier just because they had failed in their Christian education:

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29 Written ›Kɔwu‹ in Ewe.

30 Ernst was another young Ewe man brought by another German to Germany to be trained as a carpenter.

31 Reinhold Kowu to Inspector Zahn, translated from Ewe into German by Pastor J. Binder, Ochsenbach, 8 June 1885, StAB 7, 1025–29/5.

32 Hermann Yoyo, letter to Inspector Zahn, translated from Ewe into German by Pastor J. Binder, Ochsenbach, 8 June 1885, StAB 7, 1025–29/5.

33 Ibid.

What shall our brothers in Africa say, if they hear from such a mistake of us? If they hear such a mistake of us, particularly here in Europe, we will now be completely detestable. I'm very sorry for this matter, so that I can say: I would be happy, if I had not come to Europe.[34]

These writings may indicate that these young Ewe Christians regretted having violated the accepted rules of Christian behaviour. At the same time, they could also be taken as a proof that they were on the way to becoming good Christians, because their mistakes reminded them of real Christianity and made them affirm their Christian profession.

Nevertheless, it is noticeable that these confessions of the sin were not only concerned with being good Christians, but were also the only way for the young Ewe to stay in Europe longer in order to achieve a better social status in their own society. In fact, they were more interested in European ›knowledge‹ than in the pietistic Christianity, since the former gave them the chance to become ›people of modernity‹ with certain professional and social privileges in their home country.

Hermann Yoyo for instance, after coming back to Africa in 1887, worked for the Mission for a while but then decided to leave it because he was no longer convinced of the way the missionaries were practising Christianity and were interpreting the Christian rules concerning family life in Africa. For example, especially in the Ewe culture, polygamy was widely accepted. Yoyo thought that this way of life did not offend Christian precepts at all, because even in the Old Testament many men, although they were polygamous, had been anointed by God and had served as models. So, according to him it was not worth forbidding polygamy in Africa. For him, monogamy was rather a part of European culture and not really God's will. Yoyo wrote a long letter titled »*About monogamy*« explaining his point of view to the Committee of the Mission by asking the following questions: »*Is it an important commandment for a Christian to have only one wife?*«

After giving examples of godly people who were polygamous, such as Abraham, David and Solomon, he continued his comment by referring to laws and rules in the New Testament:

In the New Testament, too, we cannot read any law coming from the speech of Jesus saying that a Christian must have only one wife. In Mathew 19:4 the Lord talked about the letter of divorce and concluded that the joining of man and woman is a divine rule, and nobody shall separate what God has joined.[35]

34 Andreas Aku, letter to Inspector Zahn, Ochsenbach, 8 June 1885, StAB 7, 1025–29/5.

35 Hermann Yoyo, letter to Spieth, about mono/polygamy. Keta, 3 September 1896, StAB 7, 1025–19/5.

Yoyo justified this point of view with another passage about the apostle Paul:

> The apostle Paul preached in 1 Timothy 2–4 about marriage. He said further in his letter that some Christians at that time had 2 or 3 wives. He only said about the supervisor: A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach (1 Timothy 3:2). But the apostle did not make it a rule that a bishop should necessarily get a wife, because in fact to get a wife cannot be used as a rule everywhere in the Christendom.[36]

His second question to the Mission's inspector was: »*Would it be an obstacle for the work of blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ?*« Yoyo answered that:

> The important thing that God's word demands is surely ›believe in the Lord Jesus and you will be blessed‹ […] According to my conscience I don't regard it as necessary that people make it a law that a Christian must absolutely have only one wife, if this cannot be the case everywhere, like in Africa.[37]

This passage suggests that Hermann Yoyo – considering the case of polygamy – found himself caught between two different cultures and wanted to use parts of both of them. He was searching for a cultural alternative, while entering a transcultural process: to be a Christian and at the same time to be polygamous. That is why his third question referred particularly to his own cultural environment: »Is it possible in Africa to have only one wife?« He admitted that this was the most difficult question that was troubling him and further asked: »Which one of both natures, that from Europe and that from Africa, do people need most?« He dared to give the answer himself by saying: As Europe is situated in the moderate zone and Africa is in the hot zone, African Christians have difficulties to live in monogamy, which is impossible to overcome.[38]

Hermann Yoyo's point of view illustrates his clear intention to reform Christianity in Africa. According to him, this was the only option that would enable African converts to Christianity really to enjoy and practise it. He did not agree with the way that the Europeans tried to impose their culture through Christianity. Therefore his fourth question was: »Shall the marriage be a burden or a joy or even both in Christianity?«

About ten days later Yoyo explained his long thesis to the missionary Spieth in more detail by concluding with the following five questions:

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36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.

- Has Jesus come in order to institute monogamy, or so that people know the true God in order to be blessed?
- Can people not find any true enthusiast for Christianity among the excluded people who had 2 or 3 wives?
- Is the African so stupid that he can reject his God?
- If monogamy becomes a fierce distress in Africa, shall people get 2 or 3 wives?
- Is it not dangerous that Christians who have been excluded from the congregation because of bigamy or trigamy belong to the hopeless people who would pass from one sin to the other and finally be lost forever?[39]

All of the answers that Pastor Spieth and Inspector Zahn, respectively, wrote to him did not convince him to return to the European interpretation of Christianity. When he came to feel too menaced and, moreover, found hardly any support from his colleagues, he decided to resign from the Mission. He stated his decision clearly in the following words to Inspector Zahn:

I herewith inform the Committee of the North German Mission Society that, because my matters and intentions cannot get along with the Mission and I'll be therefore a nuisance, I resign from the Mission.[40]

Yoyo later worked for the colonial government and eventually could no longer bear his withdrawal from the Mission. Two years later, he apologised for his sins and mistakes. He begged the Mission's Committee to allow him to rejoin the Mission and was readmitted to duty. His second attempt to live according to European Christianity also failed and it looked as though this was because Yoyo had entered the Mission's group in order to change European Christianity. He wrote a pamphlet criticising the way that Christianity was being lived in Africa and called for reforms.[41] Hermann Yoyo left the Mission for a second time, but his writings were later to have an effect on the direction of the Ewe Church. Ewe pastors later confessed that they admitted polygamists and their wives to the church, just because these people supported the church either by funding its activities or by looking for more church members etc.[42]

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39 Hermann Yoyo, letter to Spieth, about monogamy. Keta, 12 September 1896, StAB 7, 1025–19/5.

40 Hermann Yoyo to the Commitee. Keta, 14 January 1897, StAB 7, 1025–19/5.

41 Adjai Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon, »›[…] Aber ich kann auch nicht anders thun, schreiben muss ich […]‹ Hermann Yoyo vi ou la prise de parole audacieuse«, in *Plumes allemandes. Biographies et autobiographies africaines* (»Afrikaner erzählen ihr Leben«), Actes du Colloque International de Lomé à l'occasion de la réédition de la traduction française de l'anthologie de Diedrich Westermann *Onze Autobiographies d'Africains* (1938), ed. Adjai Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon et al. (Lomé: Presses de l'Université de Lomé, 2003), 161–168.

42 Azamede, *Transkulturationen*, 89–99.

Figure 6: Hermann Yoyo (standing) with his colleague Andreas Aku on the Mission station of Lome, 1901 (StAB 7, 1025–Fotos–1958).

Conclusion

Close contact with European society and European Christian culture let the Ewe Christians develop in-depth perspectives about the way that Europeans practised the ›Christianity‹ that they taught in Africa. After receiving missionary education, they returned home to Africa with a strong ambition to evangelise their own people. However, their experiences, both in Germany and in Africa, led them to respond to European Christianity as follows: They found it difficult to adapt to the pietistic education that they had undergone in Europe; they did not at all feel that they were treated like brothers in accordance with the biblical teachings that their missionaries expounded in Africa. These experiences led them to become more critical of Christianity in relation to their traditional beliefs and especially of missionaries who had lost some of their credibility in the Mission stations.

The reactions of Ewe converts to Christianity were forward-looking. After accepting Christianity, they tried to adapt it to their own way of life in many ways and were not completely convinced of the Christianity practised in Europe. They would rather have used this religion to enter the new age of modernity and tried to take advantage of the education that they received. They combined aspects of Christianity with their own cultural mentalities in order to construct a third space in which they could feel comfortable in their cultural environment and at the same time adopt European Christian culture. This is how they created a new social class in Ewe society. Such a creation is evidence of the process of cultural globalisation in West Africa.

Martha Th. Frederiks

Ottobah Cugoano, Son of Africa

An Angry African Abolitionist Voice

Introduction

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, in London, the heart of the British Empire, an angry voice exclaimed that »Complexion is a Predominant Prejudice for a man to starve for want in a christian Country […]«[1] The angry voice belonged to an African: Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, also known by his slave appellation, John Stewart (of which there were various spellings). Cugoano was a Fante from Ghana. As a youth he had been captured and enslaved. After a period in the West Indies, his master had taken him to England. While in London, Cugoano had learned to read and write, and he later employed these skills in his protests against the slave-trade and against slavery. About a dozen of his letters and a book entitled *Thoughts and sentiments on the evil and wicked traffic of the slavery and commerce of the human species* (1787) have survived.

Cuguano was by no means the only African in late eighteenth-century London. Vincent Carretta, editor of several eighteenth-century Afro-British publications, estimates that Africans (both people who were African-born and people of African descent) made up »perhaps as much as 2 percent of London's population« in the late eighteenth century, being between 14.000 and 20.000 in number.[2] Stephen Braidwood, in his book *Black Poor and White Philanthropists,* suggests that a smaller estimate of several thousand Africans would probably be nearer to the mark.[3] According to Braidwood, the majority of the Africans living in England in the 1780s were Black Loyalists who had settled in Britain, having been discharged after the American

1 John Stuart to Granville Sharp Esqr., Leadenhall [undated, probably 1791], Quobna O. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Other Writings. Edited with An Introduction and Notes by Vincent Carretta* (London: Penguin Book, 1999), 195. Capitals in the original.

2 Vincent Carretta, »Introduction«, in *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Other Writings*, by Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, ed. with An Introduction and Notes by Vincent Carretta (London: Penguin Books, 1999), x. Carretta also edited the writings of Ignatius Sancho, Olaudah Equiano and Phyllis Wheatley.

3 Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundations of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786–1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 23.

Revolutionary War. Other Africans had come to Britain as sailors or students or were personal slaves, accompanying their West Indian masters.[4] The epithet Black Poor indicates that by the last two decades of the eighteenth century the circumstances of Afro-British had become extremely difficult; unemployment rates were high and poverty rampant among free Africans.[5]

Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* is one of the few African authored texts from this period.[6] Though often categorized as a slave-narrative, *Thoughts and Sentiments* is not a narrative tale but rather an abolitionist tract which sharply criticizes British [and by extension European] society for its hypocrisy in religiously and socially legitimizing the slave trade and slavery. Carretta deems *Thoughts and Sentiments* to be »[b]y far the most radical assault on slavery as well as the slave trade by a writer of African descent«.[7]

Cugoano's text can be read as a protest from the periphery of society which, through its rejection of both the slave trade and slavery, contests the religious, political and economic ideology undergirding the eighteenth-century British Empire. Cugoano's remonstrations, however, seem to have been largely ignored outside abolitionist circles; the book went un-reviewed at the time of its publication and does not seem to have been a commercial success.[8] One wonders whether the lack of general acclamation is partly an indication of the resistance that Cugoano's radical tone evoked among the wider public.

Cugoano's book has received less academic attention than other texts from enslaved Africans, such as those by Phillis Wheatley, John Marrant and Olaudah Equaino. Nevertheless, the book has already been studied from a variety

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4 Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555–1833* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 15–16; Braidwood, *Black Poor*, 27–29.

5 Slaves had been granted a certain degree of emancipation by the 1772 Mansfield ruling, which stated that a slave could not be forced by his/her masters to return to the colonies, but their circumstances nonetheless remained difficult. Carretta, »Introduction«, xi. For the Black Poor see e.g. Braidwood, *Black Poor*, 22–34.

6 Three eighteenth-century Afro-British writers based in England are known: Ottobah Cugoano, Ignatius Sancho and Olaudah Equaino. For the publications of Ignatius Sancho see: Ignatius Sancho, *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho: An African, 1782*, ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1998); For Olaudah Equiano see: Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa the African. Written by Himself*, ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 2003, repr. 1794) (revised edition) and Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006). See also Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 89–112.

7 Carretta, »Introduction«, xxiv. Carretta also notes that Cugoano uses his marginal position in society to critique both British and Africans. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 83.

8 Quite a number of the slave-narratives became, ironically enough, best-sellers, among them Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative.* See Henry L. Gates Jr., ed., *The Classic Slave Narratives* (New York: Signet Classics, 2002), 3–4. Other examples are Moses Roper's *Narrative of the Adventure and Escape of Moses Roper from American Slavery* (1838), Frederick Douglass' *Narrative* (1845) and Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853) which all had multiple reprints and several tens of thousands of copies were sold.

of perspectives. To offer just a few examples, some scholars have highlighted its literary or political aspects, whilst others have looked at racialism or at Cugoano's use of the Bible.[9] This chapter understands the text within a postcolonial framework and examines how Cugoano depicts Europe and Europeans and, more particularly, European Christians and Christianity.

Critiquing Christianity was a delicate issue. Cugoano was a baptized member of the Church of England, was active in Methodist circles, and had come to see his conversion to Christianity as God's providential hand through his slavery experience.[10] Also, many fellow-abolitionists and patrons of the Afro-British community were Christians, often of the evangelical persuasion. Yet Christianity was also the religion of many of the [European][11] slave-traders and plantation owners and was used to legitimize the slave-trade and slavery. It is this ambiguity surrounding Christianity and Christians that plays a crucial role in Cugoano's book and that will be discussed more elaborately further on.

This chapter begins with a brief inquiry into why so many slaves and manumissioned slaves in the Americas and Europe, despite the atrocities perpetrated on them by Christians, became and remained Christians. It then proceeds to introduce the author Ottobah Cugoano and his text, followed by his portrayal and assessment of Europe and Europeans and his assessment of European Christians and Christianity. Finally, this chapter offers some concluding remarks how a formerly enslaved African in late eighteenth-century Britain was likely to perceive European Christians and Christianity.

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9 For Cuguano see for example Babacar M'Baye, *The Trickster Comes West: Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diaspora Narratives* (Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 69–104; Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2003), 25–47; Vincent Carretta, »Three West Indian Writers of the 1780s Revisited and Revised«, *Research in African Literatures* 29 (1998): 73–87; David Killingray, »Britain, the Slave Trade and Slavery: An African Hermeneutic, 1787«, *ANVIL. An Anglican Evangelical Journal for Theology and Mission* 24 (2007): 121–136; Julie K. Ward, »›The Master's Tools‹: Abolitionist Arguments of Equianoi and Cugoano«, in *Subjugation and Bondage: Critical Essays on Slavery and Social Philosophy*, ed. Tommy L. Lott (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 79–98; Roxann Wheeler, »›Betrayed by Some of My Own Complexion‹: Cugoano, Abolition, and the Contemporary Language of Racialism«, in *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*, ed. Vincent Carretta and Phillip Gould (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 17–38.

10 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 17.

11 Not only Europeans, but also Africans and Arabs were involved in the slave trade. Carretta estimates that between the Middle Ages and the twentieth century Muslims traders enslaved approximately 12 million Africans who were transported via the Sahara desert, the Red Sea and the Pacific Ocean to eastern markets. See Carretta, *Equiano*, 2006, 18. See also Ronald Segal, *Islam's Black Slaves: The Other Black Diaspora (*New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001).

Slaves, slavery and Christianity

By far the majority of texts written by (formerly) enslaved Africans are written within a Christian frame of reference and are heavily laced with raptures about the joy and bliss of Christianity. Though tales of Muslims enslaved and manumissioned exist, they are comparatively rare.[12] Considering that, in the eighteenth century, Christianity had made little headway in West Africa[13] and most West Africans at the time were either Muslim or traditionalist, this is at least noteworthy.

There were diverse reasons why slaves favoured the Christian faith. Slaveholders in the Americas were suspicious of all forms of unfamiliar religiosity and bent on eradicating Islam »or other non-Christian religious practices that might be used to unite or direct their slaves«.[14] In addition, a number of slave-holders deemed the literacy of the West African Muslims [especially in Arabic] a potentially subversive skill and considered this to be an additional reason to curb expressions of Islam.[15] At the same time however, there are indications that, until the late eighteenth century, little sustained effort was made to baptize slaves and Christian instruction was discouraged, also because of its presumed subversive potential.[16]

It was through missionary activities generated by the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revivals that many slaves came into contact with Christianity.[17] Carretta writes that the emphasis on grace freely granted rather than earned, may especially have appealed to slaves, »whose ability to perform good works was severely limited by their social condition«.[18] He adds that

12 An example of an eighteenth-century text circulating in Britain with a Muslim as subject can be found in Thomas Bluett, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who Was Slave About Two Years in Maryland; And Afterwards Being Brought to England, Was Set Free, And Sent to His Native Land in the Year 1734* (London: Ecco Print Editions, 2010). For nineteenth-century Muslim slave narratives see e.g. Alan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* (London: Routledge, 1997) or Muhammed al-Ahari, ed., *Five Classic Muslim Slave Narratives* (Chicago: Magribine Press, 2006).

13 See for example Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (London: Hurst and Co, 1983), 15–49; Martha T. Frederiks, *We Have Toiled All Night: Christianity in The Gambia 1456–2000* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2003), 159–182.

14 Austin, *African Muslims*, 5. See also the fascinating book by Sylvaine A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 50 et seq.

15 Diouff, *Servants of Allah*, 108.

16 Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The »Invisible Institution« in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 96–98.

17 No Author, »The Religious Instruction of Slaves«, *The Christian Century* 24 (1824): 290–297; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 128–133.

18 Vincent Carretta, »Introduction« to *Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English-Speaking World of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Vincent Carretta (Lexington: Kentucky University Press, 1996), 1–16, 8.

also the proclaimed spiritual equality of all believers and the emphasis on the blessings of the afterlife may have attracted slaves whose chances for liberation in this world were distinctly minimal.[19]

Spiritual reasons for conversion aside, much of the interest in baptism might also have been instigated by the longstanding but erroneous conviction that conversion to Christianity, evidenced in baptism, merited emancipation.[20] This is born out by Cugoano, who writes that shortly after arriving in England he »was advised by some good people to get myself baptized, that I might not be carried away and sold again.«[21]

In Britain, Christianity dominated public life and many of the key figures in the British abolitionist lobby were evangelical Christians. The recording and circulation of slave-narratives from the late eighteenth century onwards was closely linked with the British abolitionist lobby. Slave-narratives were considered a powerful instrument in winning the general public for the abolitionist cause. Many of the early slave-narratives were published with the aid of evangelical patrons, who propagated abolitionism alongside evangelical Christianity. Christianity must therefore have seemed an obvious choice for those Afro-British freed or longing to be free. This evangelical patronage might also be one of the explanations for so many slave-narratives being unequivocally Christian in tone.[22]

Many of the well-known slave-narratives join abolitionist and evangelical strands of thought together. Texts by Africans like James Albert Gronniosaw, John Marrant, Phyllis Wheatley, Olaudah Equiano and Cugoano himself all testify that enslavement is both a social and a spiritual condition and that becoming a Christian liberates one from the chains of sin as manumission frees one from the chains of physical slavery. Some even believed slavery to have been part of God's providential plan for them to find ›eternal salvation‹. Wheatley's well-known poem *On Being Brought from Africa to America* reads:

19 Ibid., 8.

20 Carretta, »Introduction«, xiv; Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 151. Carretta, »Three West Indian Writers«, 8; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 98. Carretta nick-names baptism ›a rite of passage to freedom‹.

21 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 7. The Yorke-Talbot opinion of 1729 rather rejected a connection between emancipation and baptism. Shyllon, *Black People*, 20.

22 Carretta, *Equiano*, 168. A prominent patron was Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. Gronniosaw, Wheatley and Marrant came into contact with the Countess of Huntingdon via George Whitefield, whose Calvinistic form of Methodism (organized in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion) she supported. Interestingly enough, neither Whitefield nor the Countess of Huntingdon were against the institution of slavery. Carretta, *Unchained Voices*, 2.

'TWas mercy brought me from my *Pagan* land
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God, that there's a *Saviour* too:
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
Some view our sable race with scornful eye,
›Their colour is a diabolic die.‹
Remember, *Christians, Negroes*, black as *Cain*,
May be refin'd, and join th'angelic train.[23]

And Cugoano wrote:

But, among other observations, one great duty I owe to Almighty God (..), that, although I have been brought away from my native country, in that torrent robbery and wickedness, thanks be to God for his good providence towards me; I have both obtained liberty, and acquired the great advantages of some little learning, in being able to read and write, and, what is still of infinitely greater advantage, I trust, to know something of HIM *who is that God whose providence rules over all, and who is the only Potent One that rules in the nations over the children of men. It is unto Him, who is the Prince of the Kings of the earth, that I would give thanks.*[24]

Equiano seems to be an exception to this unwavering univocal enthusiasm of Afro-British writers for Christianity. At a certain point in his life he seriously considered becoming a Muslim. But after a process of soul-searching brought on by a terrifying incident during one of his voyages, he had a conversion experience and was an active Methodist for the rest of his life.[25]

The man Cugoano

Ottobah Cugoano belonged to that group of people in the eighteenth century who, though not voluntarily, had become acquainted with the three continents of Africa, the Americas and Europe. Called ›Atlantic Creoles‹ by Ira Berlin[26] and ›Black Atlantics‹ by Paul Gilroy[27], they were people with great intercultural skills who, as cultural brokers, had learnt to negotiate between

23 Cited as in Carretta, *Unchained Voices*, 62.
24 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 17. A word of caution is in order here: neither Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative* nor Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* were published by sponsorship; rather, they were printed and sold by subscription.
25 Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 179.
26 Iran Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 17.
27 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1993).

the various cultural traditions. Berlin writes that these Atlantic Creoles »by their experiences, and sometimes by their person, had become part of the three worlds that came together in the Atlantic littoral«.[28] Though Berlin coined the term to describe people on the African West coast who acted as intermediaries between Europeans and the African hinterland and for groups who fulfilled a similar role in North America, the term could equally be applied to people like Cugoano. Having spent more than half his life in England and having been socialized in more than one cultural setting, Cugoano could be considered an embodiment of hybridity, an example of personal creolization brought about by enforced migration. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin speak about the ›double vision‹ that this implied for the persons involved: »This vision is one in which identity is constituted by difference; intimately bound up in love or hate (or both) with a metropolis which exercises its hegemony over the immediate cultural world of the post-colonial.«[29] Griffiths has argued elsewhere that some black writers were effectively European in their culture, as they had been enslaved as children and hardly recalled any other culture than the European.[30] Cugonano in his text however firmly positions himself as ›a native of Africa‹ and ›a Christian‹.

Despite the fact that Cugoano has authored a book and a number of letters, preciously few biographical details are known about the author of *Thoughts and Sentiments*.[31] In his book, Cugoano dedicates just four pages to his personal story, the better part of which consists of the tale how he was »first kidnapped and betrayed by some of my own complexion, who were the first cause of my exile and slavery«.[32] A few more biographical details can be gleaned from his correspondence, but his biography remains fragmentary to say the least.

Cugoana's full name was Quobna Ottobah Cugoano. He was a Fante from the Kingdom of Agimaque in present-day Ghana and born around 1757. As a 13-year-old, when staying with relatives further inland, he was kidnapped by fellow Africans, together with 20 other children and transported to a factory in Cape Coast.[33] From there he was taken to Grenada, where he was set

28 Berlin, *Many Thousands*, 17.

29 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 26. For details, see below.

30 Gareth Griffiths, *African Literatures in English: East and West* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 9.

31 Cugoano's slave appellation was John Stewart, a common name in eighteenth century Britain, making information about him in sources other than his own writings difficult to trace.

32 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 16. For the ›full‹ tale of his life see pages 12–17.

33 Babacar M'baye suggests that »the tensions between the Fanti and the Ashanti provide the historical context leading to Cugoano's enslavement into the West. These conflicts led to the bondage of millions of people from the Cape Coast of Africa.« M'Baye, *The Trickster Comes West*, 75.

to work for some nine months. Then he was purchased by a man called Alexander Campbell. Campell renamed him Cugoano Stewart – later embellished to John Stewart – a name, Cugoano continued to use throughout his known life.[34]

After about a year in the West Indies, Campbell took Cugoano to England. A church register at St. James' Church in London indicates that on August 20 1773, Cugoano was baptized.[35] After his baptism in 1773 Cugoano disappears from the records until the mid-1780s, when he resurfaces, working as a servant for the artists Richard and Maria Cosway.

African pages and house-boys were quite trendy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain. They mainly served as fashionable status symbols to enhance the standing of the family and occupied a role in the household not unlike the domestic pets, which were being caressed, beaten or sold according the whims of the master.[36] Griffiths observes that »the African slave's social role in eighteenth- century Britain was not unlike that of the domestic dwarf or jester of earlier periods. They offset the condition of the dominant master, and emphasized his or her privileged being.«[37] And David Dabydeen, analyzing the images of blacks in eighteenth-century British paintings, writes: »A hierarchy is being revealed: the superior white (superior in social and human terms) is surrounded by inferior creatures, the black and the dog, who share more or less the same status.«[38] Carretta speculates that the anonymous African depicted in a number of portrayals of the Cosways, might well be Cugoano.[39]

Working at the Cosways meant that Cugoano was relatively well catered for physically; the position facilitated (superficial) contact with a set of influential people whom he later called upon to become subscribers to his book.[40] Somewhere around 1790 the personal and the financial status of the Cosways

34 At his baptism Cugoano adopted the name John Stewart, at times also spelled as John Stuart. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 7. A number of Cugoano's personal letters have survived. The signatures on the letters vary from ›John Stuart‹, to ›Ottobah Cugoano. John Stewart‹, ›Ottobah Cugoano, or John Stuart‹ and ›Ottobah Cugoano Steward‹. Noteworthy is the fact that the letter entitled ›The Address of Thanks of the Sons of Africa to the Honourable Granville Sharp, Esq.‹ dated December 15, 1787, mentions the names of both Ottobah Cugoano and a John Stuart, whereas there is a double name for none of the (other) signatories. See Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 188. This would suggest that there was another man called John Stuart active in the African abolitionist lobby-group.

35 Equiano also occasionally visited St. James; possibly the two men met there.

36 Shyllon, *Black People*, 39–44; David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in 18th Century English Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 22–23.

37 Griffiths, *African Literatures*, 7.

38 Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks*, 26.

39 Carretta, »Introduction«, xv.

40 Ibid. Dabydeen writes that many young Africans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, despite being well-fed and well-clothed, ran away from aristocratic homes partly »out of loneliness and alienation of existence in white aristocratic society, partly out of the physi-

changed. In 1791 Cugoano no longer lived with the Cosways but had moved to number 12 Queen Street, Grosvenor Square, from where he sold copies of an abridged edition of his book. Whether Cugoano was no longer a residential servant in Cosway's house due to the fact that he married or due to financial constraints of Richard Cosway and whether or not Cugoano was still employed with Richard Cosway in 1791 remains unclear.[41]

During the ten-year gap in Cugoano's biography – the period between his baptism and the year 1784 when he was working for the Cosways – two important events had occurred: Cugoano had gained his freedom and he had come into contact with Olaudah Equiano, a fellow Afro-British known for his involvement in the abolitionist lobby. But how and when these events took place remains obscure.[42] Also, at some point after his arrival in England, Cugoano had taught himself some basic reading and writing skills. Later he was sent to school by ›his master‹ for formal education.[43] His desire to acquire literacy had a clear focus:

> Since, I have endeavoured to improve my mind in reading, and have sought to get all the intelligence I could, in my situation of life, towards the state of my brethren and countrymen in complexion, and of the miserable situation of those who are barbarously sold into captivity, and unlawfully held in slavery.[44]

It is clear from the records that from the mid-1780s onwards, Cugoano was active as an abolitionist. According to Granville Sharp's diary, on July 28 1786, Cugoano and a man called William Greene requested that Sharp intervene on behalf of a black slave, Harry Demane, who was being sent to the West Indies against his will.[45] They were successful and those attempting to send Demane to the West Indies relinquished him. Several of the other letters written by Cugoano confirm his active participation in the abolitionist lobby. Amongst them is a number of letters, co-signed with Equiano and other Africans, indicating that, by the mid 1780s, Africans in Britain had some ›form

cal punishments they suffered«. Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks*, 36. For maltreatment of African house-boys see also Fryer, *Staying Power*, 20–25.

41 Carretta, »Introduction«, xix.

42 Ibid.

43 »After coming to England, and seeing others write and read, I had a strong desire to learn and getting what assistance I could, I applied myself to learn writing and reading, which soon became my recreation, pleasure, and delight; and when my master perceived I could write some, he sent me to proper school for that purpose to learn.« Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 17.

44 Ibid.

45 Carretta writes that this action made Cugoano »one of the first identifiable Afro-Britons actively engaged in the fight against slavery«. Carretta, »Introduction«, xviii. See also Braidwood, *Black Poor*, 96.

of intellectual and political association‹ to combat the slave trade.[46] Roxann Wheeler suggests that this group was known by the name ›Sons of Africa‹, to whom the 1791 abridged edition of Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments,* is dedicated.[47] *Thoughts and Sentiments* can therefore be seen as a manifestation of a more wide-ranging late eighteenth-century African involvement in the abolitionist lobby in Britain.[48]

The little that is known of Cugoano after the publication of *Thoughts and Sentiments* testifies to his persistence in the abolitionist cause. Cugoano seems to have closely but apprehensively followed the scheme to set up a colony for the Black Poor in Sierra Leone, conceding that a free colony for the Black Poor was (a little) better than slavery, yet at the same time doubting the colony's viability, because the government supported both a colony and slave-factories in the same region.[49]

In the postscript to the 1791 edition of *Thoughts and Sentiments*, Cugoano appeals for money to set up a school for young Afro-British in England to improve the circumstances of the Black Poor. In the same year, he also contacted Granville Sharp and offered to go to Nova Scotia to assist in the resettlement of Black Loyalists to Sierra Leone.[50] After 1791 Cugoano fades into the shadows of history. Whether he left for Nova Scotia or Sierra Leone or whether he died in 1791 or 1792 can only be guessed.[51]

Thoughts and sentiments

The question of whether or not *Thoughts and Sentiments* was authored by Cugoano and Cugoano alone has been the subject of much discussion. Paul Edwards, who published an annotated edition of *Thoughts and Sentiments* in 1969, writes that »[d]oubts expressed about the work's complete authenticity, however, appear to have some justification«.[52] Most academics, including Edwards, hold that Cugoano was author of at least part of the text. To support this claim, Edwards points to the jumbled syntax and grammatical

46 Griffiths, *African Literatures*, 12. The abolitionist group was not the only form of political organization among the Afro-British. Braidwood points to a similar group who negotiated with the Committee for the Relief among the Black Poor in view of the Sierra Leone expedition. Braidwood, *Black Poor*, 91.

47 Roxann Wheeler, »Betrayed«, 26.

48 A French translation was published in London in 1788.

49 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 105–106; Griffiths, *African Literatures*, 12.

50 Letter to Granville Sharp Esqr, Leadenhall [undated, probably 1791] by John Stuart. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 195–196.

51 An 1819 account by Henri Grégoire that Cugoano married an English wife is generally considered unreliable. Carretta, »Introduction«, xx.

52 Paul Edwards, »Introduction«, in *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*, by Ottobah Cugoano (London: Dawsons of Paul Mall, 1969, repr. London 1787), v–xvii, vii.

errors (e.g. the failure of the subject and the verb to agree), which he identifies as »characteristic of West African English«.[53] Yet at the same time, Edwards maintains, it is evident that the book is a compilation of at least two distinct types of style. This would seem to point to the book being partly ›ghosted‹ or at least having gone through the hands of an editor. Considering the fact that this person did not correct all grammatical errors, Edwards considers it most likely that not a native English speaker but a fellow West African served as Cugoano's editor and points to Equiano as the most obvious candidate.[54] But Edwards also concedes that an author may use ›many voices‹ and therefore differences in style are »not necessarily proof of many hands at work«.[55]

Gareth Griffiths takes the opposite position, claiming that the whole text was written by Cugoano and that »like Sancho, when he writes in ›high style‹, to present his historical and theological case against slavery, he is simply demonstrating his mastery of the appropriate style for such a subject within eighteenth-century conventions of decorum.«[56] Vincent Carretta leans towards Edwards's position that Cugoano may have received help in embellishing and editing the book. Yet he emphasizes that »many of the formal qualities of Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* that may strike readers as ungrammatical, repetitive, imitative, and lacking in narrative force may be explained by approaching the text from the African oral and Christian homiletic traditions […]«.[57] Carretta highlights not only that different genres may merit style differences but also hints at the possibility of differences in syntax and grammar between West African English and British English. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin in their book *The Empire Writes Back* go a step further than Carretta and advocate distinguishing between english and English:

> In order to focus on the complex ways in which the English language has been used in these societies, and to indicate their own sense of difference, we distinguish in this account between the ›standard‹ British English inherited from the empire and the english which the language has become in post-colonial countries. Though British imperialism resulted in the spread of a language, English, across the globe, the english of Jamaicans is not the english of Canadians, Maoris, or Kenyans. We need to distinguish

53 Ibid.

54 On the basis of the closing sentence of the 1791 edition of the text which states that »[s]hould this small Abstract obtain the approbation of my Readers, I shall publish the remainder of the Work, in a short time« Edwards infers that the 1791 edition was probably not an abbreviated version of the 1787 edition but rather was the ›original‹ text which formed the core for the 1787 expanded text. However, also in the 1787 edition, Edwards identifies sections which he thinks are written by Cugoano himself. Edwards, »Introduction«, vii–ix; Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 143.

55 Edwards, »Introduction«, ix–x.

56 Griffiths, *African Literatures*, 10.

57 Carretta, »Introduction«, xxii.

between what is proposed as a standard code, English (the language of the erstwhile imperial centre), and the linguistic code, english, which has been transformed and subverted into several distinctive varieties throughout the world.[58]

The distinction that Ashcroft and colleagues make between ›english‹ and English – grammar-, syntax- and style-wise – creates space for identifying Cugoano's text as a West African or Afro-British english text. What Edwards, with the normativity of English in mind, identifies as ›clumsy‹ and ›awkward‹ sentence constructions and typical Cugoano-esque errors like the failure of subject and verb to agree, could then be understood as characteristics of West African ›english‹. This would firmly position Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* as a postcolonial ›english‹ text.

Thoughts and Sentiments is not a narrative text. Julie Ward classifies the book as an abolitionist treatise, which, as David Killingray has pointed out, may have been written in response to James Ramsay's *Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (London 1784).[59] Carretta writes that it »belongs to the genre of the *jeremiad* or *political sermon*, denouncing the sins of the community and warning of divine retribution should the evil behavior continue.«[60] The repetitions in the book, according to Carretta, can be understood as a rhetorical instrument, typical for the *jeremiad* and other sermon-type texts. The fact that the manuscript has no chapters or headings and is laced with extensive and not always acknowledged quotations and biblical references reinforces the impression of a sermon-type text.

Typical for Cugoano is that he construes ›new‹ biblical verses by conflating existing passages or by plainly inventing them. The frontispiece of the 1787 edition reads: »He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or maketh merchandize of him, or if he be found in his hand: then that thief shall die. Law of God.«[61] Though this phrase may strike the reader as biblical, it is in fact Cugoano's phrase.

In his book, Cugoano engages with his readers through dense and multilayered messages. The recurrent use of the expression ›the blood cries out from the ground‹ can serve as an example.[62] The phrase functions as a metaphor for the cries for help from slavery's victims. Cugoano uses this expres-

58 Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, 8.

59 Killingray, »Britain«, 131.

60 Carretta, »Introduction«, xxii.

61 Another example is his conflation of Romans 13:12, Ephesians 6:10–11 and 2 Corinthians 6:7: »They are *commanded to cast off the works of darkness, and put on the whole armour of righteousness and light; and that they may be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might*«. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 44.

62 E.g. ibid., 16, 49, 76 etc.

sion to call to mind the story of Cain and Abel without actually quoting the text of Genesis 4:10. He thus classifies racial slavery as fratricide, and through the assertion of fratricide simultaneously stresses the shared humanity and parity of both enslaver and enslaved. The metaphor also conjures up the image of the victims' cry for justice.

Humor, often combined with an inversion of argument, is another method that Cugoano employs to captivate the attention of his reader. Cugoano's comments about the curse of Canaan are often quoted. In pro-slavery literature, racial slavery was legitimized by stating that Africans were descendants from Ham's son Canaan, who, according to the story of Noah, were cursed to be the servants of their fellow human beings forever. Cugoano however writes:

> Many of the Canaanites who fled away in the Time of Joshua, became mingled with the different nations, and some historians think that some of them came to England, and settled about Cornwall, as far back as that time; so that, for any thing that can be known to the contrary, there may be some of the descendants of that wicked generation still subsisting among the slave-holders in the West-Indies.[63]

The text also abounds in skillful wordplays, such as linking the chain of being with the literal chains that enchained enslaved Africans. Bubacar M'baye traces these witticisms to Cugoano's Fante background and considers them emulations of the unsettling and taboo-breaking jests of the West African (and Caribbean) trickster figure, the spider Anansi.[64]

As mentioned above *Thoughts and Sentiments* is not a narrative text. Only a few pages narrate Cugoano's story of enslavement; the main corpus of the book consists of a 100-page (Penguin edition) refutation of both the slave trade and slavery, especially racially based slavery.[65] In the course of the book, Cugoano counters argument after argument in support of the slave trade and slavery and castigates everyone involved in the trade. He points out »that the economic and political effects of slavery are so pervasive that all members of society, including the monarch, bear responsibility by their passive or active behavior for the continuation of the evil«.[66] Compared to

63 Ibid., 32–33.

64 M'baye, *The Trickster Comes West*, 73.

65 The book ends with a number of practical suggestions as to how to implement the abolishment of slavery, which include suggestions as varied as a period of national repentance, the institution of a number of years that a slave has to have worked for his/her master before he will be set free, and restitution to compensate for all the inflictions brought on Africans and Africa. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 96–102.

66 Carretta, »Three West Indian Writers«, 83. For Cugoano's text, see Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 84. With this denunciation Cugoano implicitly also condemns the behavior of some of his Afro-British contemporaries: Equiano at some point in his life served as an overseer at

other African authored texts of the period, Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* is uncompromising, radical and at times even raw. For example, Cugoano shows no reluctance in mentioning the rape of African women by white sailors during the Middle Passage to drive his point home[67] nor does he mince words in predicting the hell and damnation awaiting slave traders and plantation owners:

> […] if they do not repent of their evil way, and the wickedness of their doings by keeping and holding their fellow-creatures in slavery, and trafficking with them as with the brute creation, […] they must and cannot otherwise but expect in one day at last, to meet with the full stroke of the long suspended vengeance of heaven, when death will cut them down to a state as mean as that of the most abjected slave, and to a very eminent danger of a more dreadful fate hereafter, when they have the just reward of their iniquities to meet with.[68]

It is this severe and uncompromising tone that gives the book its ›hell and brimstone sermon‹ flavor. Anger and indignation leap from nearly every page, making Carretta conclude that *Thoughts and Sentiments* is »[b]y far the most radical assault on slavery as well as the slave trade by a writer of African descent«.[69]

Cugoano's Europe and Europeans

The terms ›Europe‹ and ›Europeans‹ feature prominently in *Thoughts and Sentiments.* ›Europe‹ in Cugoano's writings is first and foremost Great Britain (at times also called ›England‹) and the words ›Europe‹ and ›Great Britain‹ seem frequently interchangeable; Great Britain is considered the main embodiment and representation of Europe.[70] Cugoano is cognizant however that Europe is larger than Great Britain. He regularly mentions other Western

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Dr. Irving's Central American plantation, selling and supervising African slaves, whilst another famous eighteenth century Afro-British writer, Ignatius Sancho, made an income from selling tobacco, a product grown in plantations in the West Indies. See Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 217–218; Sunkdev S. Sandhu, »Ignatius Sancho and Laurence Stern«, *Research in African Literatures* 29 (1998): 88–105, 88.

67 »[…] for it was common for the dirty filthy sailors to take the African women and lie upon their bodies […]« Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 15. The sexual abuse and sadism endured by African female slaves is vividly depicted in Mary Prince, »The History of Mary Prince. A West Indian Slave related by herself«, in *The Classic Slave Narratives,* ed. Henry L. Gates Jr (New York: Signet Classics, 2002), 249–325. The text was first published in 1831.

68 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 25.

69 Carretta, »Introduction«, xxiv. Carretta also notes that Cugoano uses his marginal position in society to critique both British and Africans. Carretta, »Three West Indian Writers«, 83.

70 See for example Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 86 where the expressions ›the inhabitants

European nations, often in relation to their complicity in the slave-trade.[71] Apart from Great Britain, he identifies Ireland, France and Portugal, writes about Spaniards, Scotch and Dutch and refers to ›some other nations‹ that are not specified.[72]

In *Thoughts and Sentiments* Cugoano frequently juxtaposes the words ›Europeans‹ and ›Africans‹. The two terms seem to represent the two vastly different worlds. Europe is identified with Christianity whereas Africa (and the rest of the world with it) is summarized by the expression ›heathen nations‹.[73] Europeans, Cugoano writes, are »advanced in knowledge compared to Africans«[74] and »the most learned and most civilized people in the world«,[75] whereas Africans still need to become »refined«, »imitate their noble British friends« and »improve their lands«[76], and are still in want of »many rules of civilization«.[77] Cugoano even actively seems to support the idea of empire. The main rationale for this acclamation seems to be that within the realm of the empire, Christianity can spread. He writes that »we would wish to have the grandeur and fame of the British Empire to extend far and wide; and the glory and honor of God to be promoted by it, and the interest of Christianity set forth among all the nations wherever its influence and power can extend«. For »to endeavour to diffuse knowledge and instruction to all the heathen nations whenever they can, is the great duty of all Christian men«.[78]

However, while Cugoano seems to endorse the idea that Europe, and especially Britain, has a holy duty of educating, civilizing and Christianizing the world, he rejects a simplistic equation of Europe with civilization. A close reading of the text discloses that the term ›Europeans‹ is more often than not paired off with terms like barbarity, treachery and perfidy.[79] The context for this is that Cugoano fervidly avows that no truly civilized (or genuinely Christian) nation can be engaged in slave-trade; those who are »must

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of Europe‹ and ›the inhabitants of Great-Britain‹ seem to be rhetorical reiterations, referring to one and the same group of people, with the duplication serving as a reinforcement of the point.

71 Ibid., 72.

72 Cugoano's book testifies to an extensive geographical knowledge. Apart from his knowledge of Europe and his place of birth, which he identifies as ›the Kingdom of Agimaque and Assinee‹ and ›the Gold Coast of Africa‹, he makes reference to a large number of slave castles and forts along the Upper and Lower Guinea Coast and mentions locations such as Sierra Leone, Sherbo, the river Gambia and the Cape of Good Hope, as well as towns in the West Indies, America and – of course – Nova Scotia. Ibid., 73.

73 Ibid., 66.

74 Ibid., 23.

75 Ibid., 87.

76 Ibid., 101.

77 Ibid., 103.

78 Ibid., 107.

79 See e.g. ibid., 54 and 64.

in course have left their own laws of civilization to adopt those of barbarians and robbers«.[80] Behaviour, not birth or nationality, is the hallmark of civilization according to Cugoano. Cugoano underpins this stance by depicting the ›heathen nations‹ in terms somewhat reminiscent of the ›noble savage literature.‹ Queen Anacoana from Hispaniola (present-day Haiti) is ›peaceable‹ and ›innocent‹ and the Inca monarch Atahualpa has a ›beneficent character‹ and reigns with attention for the good of his subjects; he is noble, temperate and hospitable. Their characters and dignified behavior are in glaring contrast to the repulsive behavior of the Spanish conquistadores.[81]

Africa also is depicted as a place where people behave in civilized and humane way. Africans may be thought of as »a set of poor, ignorant, dispersed and unsocial people«,[82] but Cugoano's Africa is a place of »peace and tranquility« whose people »have a great reluctance to kill«.[83] Africans may not be as learned as Europeans, Cugoano concedes, but they are ›just as wise‹ and they have their own set of laws and government.[84] In Cugoano's text Europeans, and not Africans, are described as cannibals, with African parents warning their children to be wary of Europeans, who ›eat‹ people.[85] It is only those Africans who have been in direct contact with Europeans that have become »greatly corrupted«[86]; though it needs to be added that the latter seems to apply mainly to Africans in Africa who have become accomplices in the slave trade and is not intended to characterize Africans elsewhere.[87] And while Cugoano does not deny that some Africans also hold slaves, »those which they keep are well fed, and good care is taken of them, and they are treated well.«[88] This, according to Cugoano, is a completely different practice from the dehumanizing barbarity and cruelty enforced by Europeans upon enslaved Africans.[89]

A close reading, therefore, divulges that Cugoano contests and subverts an easy dichotomy between Europeans and Africans by challenging the presumed European cultural and moral superiority that undergirds this dichotomy. Rather, based on the way they act, non-Europeans are the civilized, the noble, and the virtuous.[90] Calling to mind the context of the pamphlet it is

80 Ibid., 81.
81 Ibid., 62–65.
82 Ibid., 22.
83 Ibid., 12 and 25.
84 Ibid., 25 and 28.
85 Ibid., 14.
86 Ibid., 27.
87 See also Cugoano's description that he was »first kid-napped and betrayed by some of my own complexion, who were the first cause of my slavery and exile«. Ibid., 16.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid., 16 and 54.
90 Ibid., 65.

therefore not inconceivable that some passages describing Europeans as civilized have an iron undercurrent; as Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin have pointed out, irony is one of the characteristics of postcolonial writings.[91]

Cugoano's description of European Christianity and European Christians

Before launching into Cugoano's depiction of European Christianity and Christians, it might be worthwhile to recall once more Cugoano's biography. Though his life-narrative does not divulge the details, it seems safe to assume that Cugoano was raised as traditional believer. In the West Indies – and possibly only in England – Cugoano had come into contact with Christianity. While in London, he formally embraced Christianity through baptism and at a later stage in his life he became a Methodist. Therefore, Cugoano's knowledge and experience of Christianity was primarily shaped by the European context.

Christianity evoked ambivalent feelings in Cugoano. Christianity was the faith he cherished as well as the religion of slave-traders and plantation-owners, whom he despised. Christianity was used to legitimize slavery but it was also used as a resource for abolitionism. This ambiguity necessitated Cugoano to create a vantage point from which to critique certain types of European Christianity without rejecting Christianity all together. In *Thoughts and Sentiments*, Cugoano negotiates these incongruities by emphasizing his otherness. Rather than highlighting a shared Christian identity, Cugoano deliberately stresses his Africanness to carve out a space from which to exercise his critique. This is evidenced by the fact that Cugoano seizes the publication of *Thoughts and Sentiments* as an opportunity to disclose his African name. Thus, by emphasizing his African identity, Cugoano intentionally positions himself at the margins of European society and European Christianity, thereby creating a space of both belonging and non-belonging from which to critique European Christianity.

Thoughts and Sentiments frames abolitionism in an explicitly Christian discourse. For, though Cugoano co-opts arguments from natural rights, economy and biology discourses the text is first and foremost a Christian pamphlet – and one of Methodist persuasion. This is evident from the ubiquitous biblical citations, the references to John Wesley's *Thoughts upon Slavery*

91 Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, 28.

(1774) and from the reiteration of classical Methodist preoccupations, such as the setting aside of Sunday, condemnation of lottery, and critique of the laxity and lack of spirituality of Anglican clergy.[92]

In assessing European Christianity, Cugoano chooses to adopt the Methodist concept of holiness as a yard-stick to distinguish between genuine and apostate Christians and to use the framework of the apocalypse as an interpretative scheme within which to locate the events of his time.

John Wesley, in *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (1766), had argued that conversion changed a person completely. After a person ›had received Christ‹, (s)he would grow towards Christian perfection and through grace would come to live a godly life. Sanctification was an inalienable and necessary consequence of justification. Therefore, in Methodist circles, behaviour was considered an indicator of the spiritual state of a person or community and sanctity in all aspects of life was deemed to be a marker of genuine Christianity. It is this ›behavioural lens‹ that Cugoano employs to assess the Christians of his time.[93]

Cugoano, in *Thoughts and Sentiments*, distinguishes between two groups of Christians. The first group is formed by those who are »the good soldiers of Jesus Christ«.[94] Their behavior is proof of this: they observe the divine commandment to »love their neighbours as themselves and that they should do unto others, as they would that men should do to them.«[95] The ›good soldiers of Jesus Christ‹ are people who are willing to endure hardship for the sake of their faith and who trust in God's providence to work all things for the good.[96]

Cugoano identifies two (and only two!) of these ›good soldiers‹ by name: Ukwasaw Gronniosaw and John Morrant, both freed blacks whose narratives circulated in Britain at that time. Gronniosaw, an ›African prince‹, Cugoano writes, »would not have given his faith in the Christian religion, in exchange for all the kingdoms of Africa, if they could have been given to him, in place of his poverty, for it.«[97] And he continues: »And such was A. Mor-

92 For references to Wesley see Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 37 and 74, for lottery see ibid., 62–66 and 69 and for Anglican clergy see ibid., 109.

93 See for example ibid., 24: »In a Christian aera, in a land where Christianity is planted, one might expect to behold the flourishing growth of every virtue, extending their harmonious branches with universal philanthropy wherever they came […]«.

94 Ibid., 44.

95 Ibid., 11. Remarkable is the omission of the first part of the commandment ›to love God with all your heart etc.‹ Whether Cugoano deliberately prioritizes the love of the neighbor for the sake of his argument or whether he presumes that the love for the neighbor is logically preceded by the love for God, is unclear.

96 Ibid., 77–78.

97 Ibid., 23.

rant in America. When he a boy, he could stroll away into a desart [sic.], and prefer the society of wild beasts to the absurd Christianity of his mother's house.«[98]

The Gronniosaw reference is again a typical example of Cugoano's dense style of writing. In a one single sentence Cugoano conveys to his readers three different messages. First of all he praises the faith of the former slave and African convert to Christianity, Gronniosaw, who values his faith above all other things; though by some deemed an inferior link in the chain of being, this African proves by his behavior that he meets the highest spiritual standards. Secondly, through his wording, Cugoano implicitly reminds his readers of the story of Jesus who was offered all the kingdoms of the earth if only He would bow to Satan (Mt. 4:8-10). By calling this story to mind, Cugoano frames Gronniosaw as a faithful disciple who, despite present difficulties and temptations, chooses obedience to God before worldly riches, just as Jesus did. Thirdly, with the Gronniosaw example, Cugoano criticizes all those people who call themselves Christians but whose behavior evidences that they have compromised their faith as well as human decency for worldly gain.

The second group of Christians Cugoano distinguishes are »the wicked and apostate Christians«.[99] These Christians are the »bramble of ruffians, barbarians and slave-holders«,[100] whose behavior is repulsive, perverse and contrary to all that Christianity stands for. Therefore, they »can be no Christians; for Christianity is a system of benignity and love, and all its votaries are devoted to honesty, justice, humanity, meekness, peace and good-will to all men.«[101] Rather, these people are Christianity's »greatest enemies and contrary to all its genuine principles; they should therefore be called by its opposite, the Antichrist.«[102] And it makes Cugoano exclaim that he wishes, if only for »the honor of Christianity, that the bramble grown up amongst them, was known to the heathen by a different name, for sure the depredators, robbers and ensnarers of men can never be Christians.«[103]

Prominent representatives of this group are slave traders, plantation owners and others who profit from the exploitation of human beings.[104] Religious leaders also feature prominently in the group of ›wicked and apostate Christians‹. Conforming to contemporary rhetoric, Cugoano vilifies the Roman Catholic Church for its »annals of the Inquisition, and the bloody edicts of

98 Ibid., 24.
99 Ibid., 23.
100 Ibid., 24.
101 Ibid., 66.
102 Ibid., 67.
103 Ibid., 25.
104 Ibid., 10.

Popish massacres«.[105] The »Popish inquisitors«, he writes, »are almost the only people in the world who deserve to be hung on the rack.«[106] With their »Popish nonsense and superstition« they have led many astray and instigated persecutions of Protestants.[107]

Protestant and Anglican clergy are rebuked as well, for their lack of moral and spiritual fibre. Religious leaders, who should have functioned as the moral compass for society, have neglected to live up to their calling. This lack of guidance, according to Cugoano, is one of the reasons why a society that legitimized the slave-trade, slavery and other atrocities could emerge.[108] Closer to home Cugoano criticizes the government of so-called Christian nations – and Great Britain in particular – for preventing the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery and for exploiting peoples around the world.[109]

> The learned and ingenious author of Britannia Libera, as chiefly alluding to Great-Britain alone, gives some account of that great evil and wickedness carried on by the Christian nations, respecting the direful effects of the great devastations committed in foreign parts, whereby it would appear that the ancient and native inhabitants have been drenched in blood and oppression by their merciless visitors (which have formed colonies and settlements among them) the avaricious depredators, plunderers and destroyers of nations. As some estimate of it: »to destroy eleven million, and distress many more in America, to starve and oppress twelve million in Asia, and the great number destroyed, is not the way to promote the dignity, safety and strength of empire, but to draw down the Divine vengeance on the offenders […]«.[110]

And thus Cuguano takes all of Europe's Christians and their governments – and Great-Britain in particular – to task for their complicity in the slave trade and other atrocities.[111] With a rephrasing of Isaiah 58 he exclaims:

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105 Ibid., 62–66. For Methodist polemics see David N. Hempton, »The People Called Methodists: Transitions in Britain and North America«, in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, ed. William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010). doi: 9780199212996.003.0004. Access date: 17 April 2012.

106 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 71.

107 Ibid., 108 and 10.

108 »[…] it is a great deficiency among the clergy in general when covetous and profligate men are admitted among them, who do not know, or dare not speak the truth but neglect their duty much, or do it such supineness, that it becomes good for nothing. […] Much of the great wickedness of others lieth at their door […].« And about Protestants: »Protestants are the most barbarous slave-holders, and there are none that can equal the Scotch floggers and negroe-drivers, and the barbarous Dutch cruelties.« Ibid., 109.

109 Ibid., 81.

110 Ibid., 68.

111 Ibid., 86–88.

But why think ye prayers in churches and chapels only will do ye good, if your charity do not extend to pity and regard your fellow creatures perishing through ignorance, under the heavy yoke of subjection and bondage to the cruel and avaricious oppressions of brutish profligate men […]?[112]

Cugoano accounts for the disgraceful behavior of European Christians and governments by adopting an apocalyptic interpretative scheme.[113] By construing his era as ›the end of times‹, Cugoano can explain the escalation of evil and wickedness in the world as well as the depravity of European Christianity; they are ›signs‹ of the end of times. In *Thoughts and Sentiments* Cugoano abides by traditional Protestant apocalyptic imagery in identifying Islam as an apocalyptic phenomenon. He thus reproduces classical European Christian anti-Islamic polemics, which from the ninth century onward had framed Islam in apocalyptic terms and identified Muhammad as the Antichrist.[114] But rather than following the traditional readings by identifying the papacy as the other embodiment of the Antichrist, Cugoano equates the Antichrist with all those forms of European Christianity that abuse Christianity to legitimize the exploitation of peoples around the world. This, according to Cugoano, is »as much Antichristian as anything in the world can be.«[115]

By taking on this apocalyptic interpretative scheme Cuagono achieves a number of things. First of all, by positioning slavery and other acts of colonial violence in a wider apocalyptic scenario, he is able to make meaning of a personal and communal tragedy by understanding the slave-trade and slavery as part of the evil that characterizes the end of time. Secondly, he is able to delegitimize and condemn slavery and other forms of colonial violence as diabolic schemes that aim at deceit and delusion. Thirdly, Cugoano can understand the depredated state of most of European Christianity as a form of Christianity that has succumbed to the demonic fallacies at the end of time; yet it also enables him to maintain that the distortion of European Christianity does not in any way disqualify the Christian faith itself. Rather, it calls genuine Christians into action, advocating abolition and arranging for Christian missions of reconciliation and healing to »heal the stripes that they have wounded,

112 Ibid., 94.

113 John Saillant, »Origins of African American Biblical Hermeneutics in the Eighteenth-Century Black Opposition«, in *African Americans and the Bible; Sacred Texts and Social Textures*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush (New York: Continuum 2000), 236–251, 241.

114 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 67. For Islam and the papacy as embodiments of the Antichrist, see for example Martin Luther's *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* (1529). For a more general overview see Hugh Goddard, *A History of Christian-Muslim Relations* (Chicago: New Amsterdam Books 2000), 81–84, and Thomas Kaufmann, *»Türckenbüchlein«. Zur christlichen Wahrnehmung »türkischer Religion« in Spätmittelalter und Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

115 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 69.

and to pour the healing balm of Christianity in the bleeding wounds of Heathen barbarity and cruelty«.[116] The desire of both Cugoano and Equiano to be sent out as Christian missionaries to Africa should be read against this background.[117] Fourthly and finally, by framing contemporary European Christianity in an apocalyptic scenario, Cugoano keeps the possibility open that European Christians in future may come to realize they have erred and will repent and possibly atone for their deeds. Thus, despite its present state of affairs, not all is lost for European Christianity.

Conclusion

Thoughts and Sentiments is an abolitionist tract written by an African Christian living in London in the eighteenth century. Though the book does not have European Christianity as its subject matter, the unholy alliance of slave-trade, European imperialism and Christianity inevitably brings Cugoano to an assessment of European Christianity. For Cugoano, European nations are Christian nations. Therefore what Europeans do, individually or collectively, is done by Christians.

As a recent convert Cugoano extols Christianity as a ›system of benignity and love‹ and claims that »all its votaries are devoted to honesty, justice, humanity, meekness, peace and good-will to all men.«[118] As an African and a victim of the slave-trade Cugoano had encountered a very different form of Christianity; one which made him exclaim: »I cannot but wish, for the honor of Christianity, that the bramble grown up amongst them, was known to the heathen nations by a different name […]«.[119] In order to condemn the vices that are perpetrated under the banner of European Christianity, Cugoano employs two main strategies. Firstly, he stresses his identity as an African and former slave. By highlighting this aspect of his identity, Cugoano deliberately positions himself at the margins of British society, thus creating a vantage point from which to critique Christianity as both an insider (fellow Christian) and an outsider (African). Secondly, Cugoano uses contemporary European Christian paradigms, such as holiness and apocalyptic paradigms, to assess and, where relevant, criticize and condemn European Christianity.

Though the term ›postcolonial‹ is possibly an anachronism to describe the thoughts and sentiments of an eighteenth-century Fante living in London, many aspects of postcolonial thinking are present in Cugoano's work:

116 Ibid., 54.
117 Ibid., 7; Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 220–221.
118 Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, 66.
119 Ibid., 25.

his style of writing, his subversion of presumed European superiority, his mockery of European racial theories, his condemnation of European imperialism and its consistent exploitation of peoples and lands, and his critical questions about the project of empire. Is *Thoughts and Sentiments* a postcolonial text? Is Cugoano a postcolonial author? To do justice to a man who was deprived of his home, his family, his culture and even his name through European imperialism, one might be well-advised not to label him in categories that he does not use, but rather to use his own words to describe him: Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, a young man, a Christian, but first and foremost a son of Africa.

Andrew F. Walls

Distinguished Visitors

Tiyo Soga and Behari Lal Singh in Europe and at Home

The two figures at the centre of this chapter, the Rev Tiyo Soga[1] from South Africa and the Rev Behari Lal Singh[2] from India, were contemporaries, though Singh was somewhat the elder and lived to a greater age. Both were in Europe at around the same time, Soga for a substantial period, Singh primarily as a visitor, though he seems to have kept up his links with Scotland, and to have had family members living there in the later part of the nineteenth century.[3] Both were well educated in Western terms, and fluent, not to say eloquent, in English; both became ministers of Scottish churches, and were recognised as missionaries of those churches. Soga first came to Britain in 1846 as a youth of seventeen, while the Frontier War was in progress. He was then a student at the Lovedale Institution in South Africa.[4] He stayed in Scotland for two years and then returned, now baptised, to his homeland in independent Kaffraria – that is, the area occupied by Xhosa people beyond the limits of the British colony at the Cape – as a mission school teacher. After a further two years, war broke out again, and he took the opportunity to come back to Scotland where he spent the next seven years in the study of Arts and Divinity and acquired a Scottish wife. He was licensed as a preacher of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and ordained as their miss-

1 On Soga, see J. A. Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga: A Page of Mission History* (Edinburgh: Elliot, 1877); Donovan Williams, *Umfundisi: A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829–1871* (Alice, CP: Lovedale Press, 1978); M. Gideon Khabela, *The Struggle of the Gods: A Study in Christianity and African Culture* (Lovedale, CP: Lovedale Press, 1996). Chalmers was a Scottish missionary colleague of Soga.

2 I have traced no biography of Behari Lal Singh, despite the obvious interest of his life and career, beyond the entry in William Ewing, ed., *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1914). But see his pamphlet *Leading Incidents Connected with a Missionary Tour in the Gangetic Districts of Bengal* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1853).

3 See a note by Michael Richards, dated 4 June 2008 in the family history website Ancestry Rootsweb: Archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/INDIA/2008-06/1212616839. Access date: 21 January 2013.

4 The Lovedale Institution was quite new at the time: it had been set up at the Lovedale mission station (established in 1821 by the Glasgow Missionary Society) with a view to the education of a ministry for South Africa. At this stage it was biracial, with white students (including the children of missionaries) as well as black.

ionary. No black South African had hitherto been ordained as a minister of any church; with Soga, Protestant missions in South Africa began to follow the pattern of indigenous ministry already established in West Africa.

By the time of his return the Frontier Wars had changed the shape of Soga's homeland. Emgwali, the mission station which was to be his home for most of the rest of his life, was now within British Kaffraria, a territory ruled from Cape Colony, though retaining traditional chiefly rule at local level. In colonial terms, Soga was an anomaly in a way he would not have been in West Africa. No other black African in the Cape or British Kaffraria had such an educational background or such professional status. He could not be readily ignored or patronised by any white man.

Over the years which he had spent in Scotland, his own Xhosa people had been ravaged, not only by the Frontier Wars – among the nastiest in the long record of the little wars of empire – but by the traumatic event of the Cattle Killing of 1856–57. This had followed an outbreak of bovine tuberculosis, which had been introduced by an imported herd of cattle, and was widely attributed to witchcraft. Cattle were at the heart of Xhosa traditional life; thousands of them were slaughtered in response to an indigenous prophet movement which owed much of its inspiration to biblical sources and Christian preaching. The outcome for Xhosaland was starvation and penury; it also brought an end to effective Xhosa resistance to white expansion.[5] The remainder of Soga's life, curtailed as it was in duration and activity by tuberculosis, was spent in seeking the Christian evangelisation of his people and their social and economic amelioration, in the shadow of these devastating experiences. Essentially, he encouraged them to take the path that he himself had taken: Christianity, education, development of skills. This was the path, he argued, to economic betterment that would enable Xhosa people to acquire money, and by that means, acquire land. Any other path would leave them as the clients or servants of the whites and helplessly dependent on them.

Behari Lal Singh's origins lay in the Punjab, but his father, seeing the way the wind was blowing in India, wanted his sons to have an English education, with government posts to follow. This not being easy to achieve in the Punjab at that time, he moved to Calcutta and entered his sons at the General Assembly's institution there. This was the English language school that, with local assistance from the Hindu reformer Ram Mohun Roy, had been opened by Alexander Duff, the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, with the object of reaching high-caste Hindu youth with Christian influences.

5 On the background to the Cattle Killing and its effects, see J. B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing of 1856–57* (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1989).

At the General Assembly's institution, Singh received a thoroughly Scottish education, inspired by the Arts curriculum of Duff's own University of St Andrews, shot through with the rational Enlightenment Calvinism that formed Duff's own worldview.[6] By his own account, at this period of his life, Singh was reading the Bible as he would read any other class book; what led him to Christianity was the personal impact, first of Duff and his missionary colleagues, and then of David MacLeod, a Christian East India Company official; a man, said Singh, of utter integrity who, while spending little on himself, laid out his substantial salary in sponsoring the education of such boys as Behari Lal Singh. From the Scots College in Calcutta Singh went to the Government medical college, and thereafter to the job under Government that his father had desired for him. But by this time, after much reading of the Bible, both he and his brother had decided to become Christians. Their father did not oppose the step; he, too, had been reading the Bible, and his only objection to Christianity was that its ethical standards were too high for realization. The brothers thus embraced the Christian faith without the family trauma and ostracism suffered by many whose conversion had followed study at the Scots Colleges.[7] Behari Lal Singh resigned his government post and offered himself for missionary service with the Free Church of Scotland.[8] He taught in the Church's college in Calcutta, and then was successively a missionary to the Jews, senior minister in Calcutta, and a missionary to Muslims. In 1868 the Free Church seconded him to the English Presbyterian Mission to open work in an unevangelized area of Bengal. The appointment lasted until his death in 1878.

In 1860, Singh, by then an established figure in the Church with seventeen years of service, was in Britain and attended the Conference on Missions held in Liverpool that year. The Liverpool Conference has had less attention than it deserves, for it is arguably the first international conference on missions in any meaningful sense, and a true ancestor of the World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh 1910. Singh's interventions at the conference reveal him to have been a perceptive observer of the European Other.

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6 This is well explored by Ian Maxwell, »Alexander Duff and the Theological and Philosophical Background to the General Assembly's Mission in Calcutta to 1840« (PhD thesis., University of Edinburgh, 1995).

7 This account of Singh's early life reflects what he says of it in his address to the »Second Missionary Soiree« at the Liverpool Conference on Missions (see below). *Conference on Missions Held in 1860 at Liverpool: Including the Papers Read, the Deliberations, and the Conclusions Reached; with a Comprehensive Index Showing the Various Matters Brought under Review,* edited by the Secretaries to the Conference (London: Nisbet, 1860 [hereafter *Conference*]), 80–85.

8 In 1843 (the year of Singh's baptism) the Disruption brought about a major division within the Church of Scotland, those withdrawing from the Church forming the Free Church of Scotland. Duff and the other Church of Scotland missionaries in India identified with the new body, and established a new mission.

The Conference brought together 126 delegates, representative of most branches of British Protestant missionary activity, the most notable absentees being the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the old official societies of the Church of England. (Evangelical Anglicans, those of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in particular, were plentifully represented). But while most of the participants were British, an international dimension was given to the conference by several representatives of the Basel Mission and several CMS missionaries of Continental origin, by one American missionary – and by Behari Lal Singh. To Singh, therefore, it fell to be the voice of the peoples to whom missions were addressed, and in particular the voice of the Christian churches overseas that had arisen from the work of missions. That voice was raised frequently, clearly and uncompromisingly. The Conference record shows that he often intervened in the debates; he was also a featured speaker at one of the few public meetings (and it may be noted in passing that this is one of the very few places where the conference record indicates laughter on the part of the audience).

In a response to the Conference's opening paper he argued that the value of native agency had not yet been understood. Translation work in particular had suffered from an assumption that only expatriate missionaries could be competent translators; translations were needed of greater purity and precision than had yet been attained, and this required indigenous translators.[9] Twisting the knife, he added that the same was true of preaching. A further trenchant contribution from Singh came following criticism of the Scottish missions for over-concentration on education. Singh replied that the standards of the Scottish institutions were in fact too low; they provided a mere smattering of Greek and Hebrew, whereas much more was needed if Christians were to keep up in debate with learned Hindus and Muslims. He himself had found it necessary to study with a rabbi and a classical scholar for that purpose. And not nearly enough Arabic was taught in mission institutions.[10] Another target of Singh's was Protestant denominationalism, which he saw as irrelevant in India. Indian Christians did not ask whether a particular situation represented a better form of theology or church government than that of another mission, but whether it offered greater opportunities for usefulness.[11] Singh was even unafraid to enter into the sensitive financial topic of the salaries of indigenous mission agents.[12] One way and another, Behari Lal Singh was as effective a voice of the indigenous church as anyone in those circum-

9 *Conference,* 26–27.
10 Ibid., 216–218.
11 Ibid., 292.
12 Ibid., 217–218.

stances could have been. He always spoke as a missionary, from within the missionary project, but from an independent perspective, constantly bringing into view not only the indigenous contribution to the project, but the potential further contribution, the indigenous resources as yet untapped.

That the voice of the indigenous church at the Conference should be Indian was fully in line with the ethos of the meeting. India represented the most considerable investment of the contemporary missionary movement, and for many of the delegates it clearly held the highest interest. It was the field which the majority of the missionaries, ex-missionaries and mission executives who formed the backbone of the Conference knew best; and the largest group of delegates outside that category were current or former members of the Indian civil or military establishments. The chairman of the Conference was an Indian Army general; the secretary had been civil administrator of Banaras.[13] Further, the Conference met at a time when memories of the climactic events of 1857–58 were still fresh; the Mutiny, the shock of the atrocities on both sides, the administrative revolution which brought the winding up of the East India Company and its replacement by direct British rule over much of India. Evangelical grievances about lukewarm government attitudes to missions remained; the arch-Evangelical Earl of Shaftesbury, who presided over the closing meeting of the Conference, had not long before presided over another meeting, called to discuss the future relations of the British Government to religion in India, and had declared there that it was the Government's business and duty »boldly and unreservedly to proclaim that it is a Christian government, [...] that it will pursue a Christian course, that it desires that its people should be brought within the knowledge, and if possible within the compass of India Christianity.«[14]

Like most contemporary Indian Christians, Behari Lal Singh was an unblushing supporter of British rule in India, believing that, despite its faults, it was the best guarantee of social and educational advance; and he also believed that the spread of Christianity in India would strengthen that rule.[15] Britain as the Other was already manifest in India; whether in India or in Liverpool, Singh could view it as a critical friend.

But Soga's homeland, »Kaffraria«, had also undergone traumatic experiences over the same period; recurrent warfare, leading to the inexorable spread of British rule and the extension of the Cape Colony, the apocalyp-

13 See the introduction to the Conference volume, ibid., 1–3 and the list of members that follows it.

14 *Christianity in India. Proceedings of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall…to Consider the Future Relations of the British Government to Religion in India* (London: Reed and Parden, 1858), 5–6. Another speaker at the meeting had declared Britain to be the only conqueror of India not to make its religion known.

15 See his remarks at the Missionary Soiree, *Conference,* 181.

tic excitement that led to the great cattle killing of 1856–57, and the mass starvation that followed. In South Africa, as in India, the power of the European Other had for a short time been threatened, and had then reasserted itself in more complete form, so that it was now beyond immediate challenge. And in South Africa, the Other was present and visible in ways that the vastness and complexity of India sometimes hid. Cape Colony had its own little Europe functioning within its borders, setting up towns, cities and communities on the European model, sharing the living space with the indigenous and the traditional, but controlling the environment. In South Africa, even more than in India, it might be possible to reject or ignore the Other for a while; but there was no escaping it completely. The options were absorption, subjection or negotiation.

Behari Lal Singh and Tiyo Soga were, in their different ways, negotiators. They had met the Other at close quarters in Europe, knew it well in its strengths and its weaknesses; they had appropriated what they saw as its strengths, without losing their original identity. Singh could lament the failure of the Scottish colleges to reach the academic standards that the missionary task in India required, and could offer to a large assembly of missionaries a compelling critique of aspects of mission practice, doing so as a colleague, not as an outsider. Soga's long acquaintance with Scottish life enabled him to deal confidently with Cape society and to be discriminating in his views of traditional Xhosa society. In the Colony he met plenty of crude racism: when he disembarked at Port Elizabeth on his return from Scotland with a white woman on his arm, the couple had been greeted with shouts of »Shame on Scotland!«[16] There was a colonial manifestation of Little Europe not far from his usual place of residence, King William's Town. There Soga was open to harassment and insult from petty officials who could not bear the sight of a black man who was, as they put it, a »fine gentleman.« (A fruitless complaint by him to the Town Council of King William's Town about such an incident got into the local newspaper).[17]

But Soga had met the Other on its own ground, and concluded that his people would gain by appropriating, as he had done, what was good in the life of Europe, while avoiding the bad and rejecting the dangerous. In this respect, one of his most interesting writings in English (what he published is mostly in Xhosa) is an address he gave to the Cape Town branch of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1866,[18] while he was recuperating in the city after serious illness. We should remember that the audience he was addressing

16 Donovan Williams, ed., *The Journal and Selected Writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga* (Cape Town: Balkema for Rhodes University, 1983 [hereafter *Journal and Writings*]), 3.

17 *Journal and Writings*, 182.

18 The lecture was reported in full in *The Cape Argus* for 7 June 1866. It is reprinted in *Journal and Writings*, 183–194.

would have been principally, if not entirely, white. The topic was »Some of the Current Popular Opinions and Tendencies of the Times«; the text offers a sustained critique of the »unblushing infidelity« of contemporary European society, as he had met it in Britain.

Soga finds this infidelity in academic circles, instancing the philosophical reconstructions offered by Principal Tulloch[19], of the University of St Andrews. When applied to theology, Soga argues, these would dismantle the doctrines of the Reformation from whence derived the evangelical teaching that he clearly identifies with. He is equally scathing about Isaac Taylor[20] and the quest for a new exegetical method that would enable a new way of understanding the Bible – though the new method and the new understanding was still indefinable. What were Christian preachers like himself to say to Africans while this method was being constructed? Were they to suspend their work until the method was ready? He knew what the response among his own people would be. They would say: »Old or new, it is all the same to us, you may now take it all away! We have been suspecting that this thing you said was God's word was only a fabrication of the white man, and this uncertainty is a proof of it!«[21] The idea of inevitable human progress was similarly defective;[22] it took no account of, and gave no consideration to, such areas as Kaffraria.

From the academic and theological Soga then turns to popular opinion in Britain and to the widespread demands to relax the observance of Sunday. In this connection it is worth reflecting how, in the history of African Christianity, the observance of Sunday has been a marker of Christian progress, rather as the degree to which the Ramadan fast has been observed has marked the progress of Islam. Soga sees the degree to which British people were in his day challenging the centrality of Sunday worship as a sign of drift from Christianity itself. He gives as an example the bibulous captain of a ship he travelled on who had clearly found the worship services that the missionaries had provided for the passengers to be a nuisance. But Soga's reflections

19 John Tulloch (1823–1886) though an influential philosophical and theological liberal was essentially an establishment figure, a chaplain to Queen Victoria and later (1876) Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

20 Isaac Taylor (1787–1865) was a lay theologian who wrote especially about corrupting factors in Christian history that had produced fanaticism or other unhealthy manifestations. It is noteworthy that Soga chooses quite mainstream intellectual figures to demonstrate his perception of a drift from Christian moorings; not, for instance, such vigorous challenges to orthodoxy as the translation (by George Eliot) into English of *The Life of Jesus* by D. F. Strauss that had appeared in 1846.

21 *Journal and Writings,* 189.

22 It is interesting to find Soga referring in this connection to the American Baptist theologian Horace Bushnell, though with mixed reactions: applauding his portrayal of Christ but fearful when he »diverges from the road« – presumably on eschatology and soteriology.

on Sunday observance lead into a much wider critique of British society as he had seen it.

He had witnessed crowded city life, and observed how huge populations were virtually imprisoned for long hours, week after week in factories, warehouses and shops. Some aspects of the boasted Western civilization, he concludes, resemble the great car of Juggernaut in the callous sacrifice of human life they bring about:

> I would ask my African-born friends[23] here present to go to London, to Edinburgh, to Glasgow, and other great cities of trade. Let them visit the great manufacturing estates – let them watch breakfast, dinner and closing hours when their thousands of labourers are relieved of their toil; let them see the pale, sickly, careworn factory girls who have no hope of life but in that imprisonment, and they will thank God for having been born in the free air of the desert.[24]

Soga has been led to this account of industrial Britain by his reflections on Sunday observance. Those in Britain arguing for a dilution of that observance often cited the recreational needs of busy workers. Reflecting on what he had seen of the lives of industrial workers, Soga heartily agreed that they needed to escape from the crippling routine of the factory. They also needed the space that Sunday afforded in order to worship and attend to their souls. These two things should not be incompatible: the solution lay in the hands of the employers, who should be prepared to give their workers adequate time for recreation:

> The guilt in the whole of this question, I humbly submit, lies neither at the door of a rigid orthodoxy nor at the door of the Decalogue; it lies at the door of the commercial world! Nothing, it appears, must stand in the way of its interests. Its laws are as unchangeable as those of the Medes and Persians! Is it too much to ask the commercial world, by a compact agreed upon for the interests of suffering humanity, either to allow a more frequent and regular recurrence of holidays, or to shorten the hours of labour, or to give one day in the week free? Such propositions of course, are deemed absurd and ruinous![25]

Soga thus finds British society to be defective in its observance of the humane, not to say the Christian, ethical standards it professed, and be in real danger of slipping away from its Christian moorings both in doctrine and

23 In the context of the lecture, »African-born« will refer primarily to white men born in South Africa.

24 *Journal and Writings,* 190.

25 *Ibid.*

in practice. His message to the young white South African-born Christians of the YMCA, representatives of that little Europe now at home in Africa, is that they should be bold and articulate in defence of Christian truth and Christian standards.[26]

We can learn much of his message to Xhosa people from his articles in the Xhosa and English language magazine *Indaba,*[27] a periodical addressed to the literate African community influenced by church teachings. In one of them he urges them to discriminate when viewing the things that the whites have brought. Jackets, trousers, hats and shoes are both more comfortable and more efficient than karosses made of animal hide; the now common use of metal ploughs and spades instead of wooden ones has improved Xhosa agriculture. But some of the other things that white men insist on peddling, notably their liquor, should be sedulously avoided.[28]

Such discriminating conduct is one of his constant themes. Soga seeks for Xhosaland a selective and controlled relationship with the European Other. This will include a discriminating attachment to the African past as well as a discriminating acceptance of things coming from the West. In a letter to his mission he quotes with approval words he heard in a prayer offered at the opening of a new church: »No good ever came of people who did not give the old its due.«[29] His articles in *Indaba* reflect his continuing interest in Xhosa history and tradition.[30] One necessary element in giving the old its due was respect for chiefs, who gave cohesion to Xhosa traditional society. Chiefs, not without reason, often feared that the spread of Christianity would take people away from them and their authority: Soga was anxious to prevent this from happening in practice. In his account of the occasion when the prayer just quoted was offered, he tells how the chief, who was not a Christian, was present, and was addressed by the Christians with tender attachment, even when they were appealing to him to abolish the most offensive of traditional customs. He appeals to Scottish history: the attachment of the Highland clans to their chiefs, he argues, had been an important factor in maintaining Scottish patriotism to the present day.

An article in *Indaba* on ›Christians and Chiefs‹[31] treats both the issue of the respect Christians owe to traditional rulers and the obverse, the attitudes they should take to white people. In this sphere, civility, but not servility,

26 *Ibid.,* 193–194.

27 New English translations of seven articles that he originally wrote in Xhosa for this magazine are included in *Journal and Writings.*

28 *Indaba,* vol. 1 no. 11 (1863): 166–170; English version in *Journal and Writings,* 167–169.

29 *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church,* (New Series) vol. 4 no. 66 (1871): 553–555; reprinted in *Journal and Writings,* 132–149 (the quotation is from page 144).

30 This is especially evident in his articles in each of the first three issues of the paper (translations in *Journal and Writings*, 151–63.

31 *Indaba,* vol. 2 no. 6 (1864): 353–354; translated in *Journal and Writings,* 171–175.

should mark the relationship. Discrimination was necessary here too. White people had their chiefs, and, like traditional rulers, these should be greeted with respect. What was not acceptable was to treat all whites, regardless of their status, as if they were chiefs; indiscriminate use of the address »Sir« to white people was »very annoying.«

Soga turns to another aspect of community relations in an article in *Indaba* entitled ›Mission People and Red People‹.[32] The latter term designates traditional Xhosa, those outside the sphere of church and school, those who had retained the red ochre body paint that those who took the path of church and school normally eschewed.[33] Soga speaks of the two groups as »the two sections of our people«. There are inevitably differences between them, but it is important that Christians should not generate unnecessary divisions, and that fellowship and co-operation should be maintained where possible. It is particularly important, for instance, that Christians maintain the duties of hospitality; it is scandalous if Christians leave »red« people stranded on a journey, without a meal or a place to sleep.

Soga's attitude to the European Other, whether in its Scottish or its South African expressions, is one of selective appropriation. It does not involve total rejection of the Xhosa past, but the selective incorporation of the Other into it. This is strikingly to be seen in the vision of the future of Africa expressed in a long letter to a Cape newspaper in 1865.[34] The letter is a reply to an article in the paper which had predicted the doom of the African – or specifically the »Kaffir« – race that had so manifestly rejected civilization. Soga proposes an alternative view, rooted in the history of Africa, the teachings of Scripture and Christian missionary activity. He begins with a gentle indication of the inadequacy of the term »Kaffir« for ethnographic purposes[35] and then moves into a historical demonstration of African durability:

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32 *Indaba,* vol. 2 no 10 (1864): 424–426; translated in *Journal and Writings,* 175–177.

33 The prophet-poet-preacher Ntsikana, whom Soga calls »the first notable Caffre convert« (*Journal and Writings,* 86), though he did not embrace mission Christianity, nor receive baptism through the missions, nevertheless washed off the red ochre in an act of obedience to the presence that he believed controlled him. Soga used Ntsikana's hymns, with their rich traditional imagery, and they clearly influenced his own hymn-writing.

34 *King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner*, 11 May 1865; reprinted in *Journals and Writings,* 178–182. Soga's preliminary thinking on the matter appears in his journal for 25 April 1865 (*Journal and Writings,* 38–40). On the whole issue, see Williams, *Umfundisi*, chapter 7.

35 Soga accepts the term – which he spells ›Kafir‹– for himself, and tells his mixed race children to accept it proudly (*Journal and Writings,* 6). But in his letter to the newspaper he is showing how simplistic and imprecise is the language about African peoples employed by the author of the article. Soga indicates the ethnic kinship of the inhabitants of Kaffraria with peoples all the way into Central Africa.

Africa was of God given to the race of Ham. I find the Negro from the days of the Assyrians downwards, keeping his ›individuality‹ and ›distinctiveness‹ amid the wreck of empires, and the revolution of ages. I find him keeping his place among the nations, and keeping his home and country. I find him opposed by nation after nation, and driven from his home. I find him enslaved – exposed to the vices and the brandy of the white man […]. I find him exposed to all these disasters, and yet living – multiplying and never extinct.[36]

Now, indeed, with »the prevalence of Christian and philanthropic opinions on the rights of man«, Africans uprooted by slavery were returning to Africa, and, as the Republic of Liberia demonstrated, taking Christianity and civilization with them. All historical evidence opposes the extinction theory.[37]

Nor is that theory compatible with the promises of Scripture, which make clear that »Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hands to God«. As for civilization, this is a gradual process, the product of generations, indeed centuries: no people has ever moved suddenly and completely to embrace it. And in South Africa, only the missionaries, with their very limited financial resources, have even attempted the hard work of education. »Would that the Government of Great Britain, the Father of its many people, would come forward with aids worthy of the Greatness.«[38] Hitherto Africa had received mixed blessings from its contacts with the West. Far from being doomed, all that Africa now needed to preserve and renew and uplift its life was »the Gospel by itself and Christian civilization by itself.«[39]

A South African historian has identified in Soga the dawn of black Consciousness in South Africa.[40] The views expressed, however, fit very well the Christian pan-Africanism being expressed in this period in West Africa, and notably in Sierra Leone, which in the 1860s could claim a higher degree of literacy, and a higher proportion of children at school than many European nations. Soga, like the Sierra Leonean J. A. B. Horton, can look forward to a Christian Africa which will play its own part within the comity of nations.[41] Soga, it will be noted, identifies *two* needs of Africa, not one: »the Gospel

36 *Journal and Writings,* 180.
37 Ibid., 180–181.
38 Ibid., 181–182.
39 Ibid., 182.
40 Donovan Williams, in a note in ibid., 178.
41 See James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native… and a Vindication of the African Race,* (London, 1868, reprint with introduction by George Shepperson, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969). Horton is discussed by Robert W. July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought* (London: Faber, 1968). See Andrew Walls, »Meditations among the tombs: changing patterns of identity in Freetown, Sierra Leone«, in *Rethinking African History,* ed. Charles Jedrej, Kenneth King and Jack Thompson (Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1997), 489–504.

by itself and Christian civilization by itself.« He does not identify the Gospel with Christian civilization, even though he desires the latter to spread among the Xhosa. The sad fact of Xhosa experience had been that Gospel and civilization had alike been introduced to them with additives of European origin.

Soga and Singh begin their thinking with their appropriation of the Christian faith. The fact that Christianity is associated with the European Other is incidental: as we have seen, Soga believed that Britain was, or might well be, slipping away from that faith; and Singh could offer robust criticism of European Christian practice. Both recognize Christianity as the source of (but not as identifiable with) other desirable developments, intellectual, cultural and technical, that Soga includes under the head of civilization, and Singh thinks of in terms of social and educational advance. In neither case does embrace of this involve wholesale rejection of the past of their nation; they do not obliterate that past, but refine it.

We no longer have a word in English to express what they and the evangelical usage of their day meant by civilization, with its historical, cultural, literary, technological and religious dimensions. These dimensions meant that ›civilization‹ was seen as improving agriculture, enhancing living standards, encouraging intellectual and aesthetic activity, reducing violence, protecting family life, and diffusing Christian influences. Singh and Soga had appropriated that discourse and lived in that world of ideas, not as strangers or visitors, but as proprietors. Perhaps the nearest word in contemporary discourse is ›development‹; but that is a miserably attenuated and sanitized concept compared with theirs, which, like their Christian faith, remained undiminished by the less than satisfactory aspects of the Other that they encountered in Europe, in India and in Africa.

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2010, essays edited by Roland Loeffler (Göttingen 2010); and *Intercultural Perceptions and Prospects of World Christianity* (together with R. Friedli, J. Jongeneel, K. Koschorke, T. Sundermeier) (Frankfurt 2010). He is currently working on a project tracing the theological consequences of Christianity's encounter with Aboriginal thinking in Central Australia.

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