Program for Colonial Christian Missions and their Legacies conference

27-29 April 2015

Rooms 22.0.11, 27.0.47, 27.0.09
Buildings 22 and 27
Copenhagen University Amager campus
Njalsgade 120
2300 Copenhagen South
Map of Copenhagen University Amager Campus (KUA), showing buildings 22 and 27

Note the Metro station at Islands Brygge to the west of the campus.
### Day 1: 27 April, 2015

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<tr>
<td>08.45-09.00</td>
<td>Welcome</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Laura Stevens (University of Tulsa, USA)</td>
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<td>‘Castaways on Islands, Jesuits in Space: Missionary Desire and Despair from <em>Robinson Crusoe</em> to contemporary Science Fiction’</td>
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<td>Chair: Claire McLisky</td>
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<td>10.00-10.30</td>
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<td><strong>1A. Museums and memory</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Anne Folke Henningsen</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Jo Ichimura (School of Oriental and African Studies, England)</td>
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<td>and Emily Mankeltow (University of Kent, England)</td>
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<td>2. Chris Wingfield (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge)</td>
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<td>3. Jacqueline Van Gent (University of Western Australia)</td>
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<td>‘Museums and the material and emotional legacies of mission collections in Europe and Australia’</td>
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<td><strong>2A. Intellectual legacies of early modern missions</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Rebecca Noble</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Jan Gustafsson (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Missions, Coloniality and Utopia’</td>
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<td>2. Julio Jensen (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘The Modern State and its Souls: Francisco de Vitoria and the right to mission’</td>
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<td><strong>1B. Representations of self and other in missionary and secular literature</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Vera Alexander</strong></td>
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<td>1. Daniel Henschen (University of Southern Denmark)</td>
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<td>‘Reading through the call: How Danish mission literature presented the world 1890-1940’</td>
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<td>2. Lara Atkin (Queen Mary University of London, England)</td>
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<td>3. Joanne Davis (Independent Scholar, England)</td>
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<td>‘Representing Soga: lessons in romanticism’</td>
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<td><strong>2B. Histories, representations and legacies of missions to Greenland in comparative perspective</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Soren Rud</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Claire McLisky (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘The history, and legacy, of emotion in colonial missions to Australia and Greenland’</td>
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<td>2. Jens Heinrich (Independent Scholar, Greenland/Denmark)</td>
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<td>‘Influence of Christian Values on Provincial Councils in Greenland’</td>
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<td><strong>3A. Location and place</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Niklas Thode Jensen</strong></td>
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<td>1. Sara Ebrahimi (University College, Dublin, Ireland)</td>
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<td>2. Laura Montoya Upegui (Independent Scholar and School Teacher, Colombia)</td>
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<td><strong>3B. Historiographical representations</strong></td>
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<td>1. Thorkild Kjærgaard (Ilisimatusarfik University, Greenland)</td>
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<td>2. Stuart Piggin (Macquarie University, Australia)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kirsten Thisted (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)</td>
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<td>Chair: Søren Rud</td>
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<td>16.30-18.00</td>
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## Day 2: Tuesday 28th April

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alan Lester (University of Sussex, England)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Missionaries, Humanitarianism and Race Across and Beyond the British Empire’</td>
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<td>10.30-12.00</td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Peter Harder</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Esther Liu (University of Cardiff, Wales)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘The Colonial Missionary as Shaper of Contemporary Translation Theory’</td>
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<td>2. Maryse Kruithof (Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Accessory results of the Christian mission in colonial Java; the enrichment and standardization of the vernacular languages’</td>
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<td>3. Joao Monteiro (Eastern University, USA)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Colonialism, Missions, and Language in Cape Verde, Protestantism vs Catholicism’</td>
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<td><strong>Histories – 27.0.47</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Maria Cecilia Holt</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. David Lederer (University of Northern Ireland, Maynooth &amp; University of Adelaide, Australia)</td>
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<td>‘Exporting Brotherly Love: Emotions and Community in 19th-Century Australia and Papua’</td>
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<td>2. Julia McClure (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)</td>
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<td>‘The Franciscan: Forging coloniality for a ‘New World’’</td>
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<td>3. Rebecca Noble (University of Warwick, England)</td>
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<td>‘Madness and Missionaries in Eighteenth-century New Spain’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rebekka Habermas (University of Göttingen, Germany)</td>
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<td>‘Doing mission at home: The emotional entanglement of German mission work around 1900’</td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Claire McLisky</strong></td>
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<td>14.00-15.30</td>
<td><strong>Parallel Sessions 6</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Legacies – 22.0.11</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Holger Bernt Hansen</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Jacinta Ume-Njamma (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)</td>
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<td>‘Post-Apartheid South Africa, Intra-Africa Diaspora Relations, and the Evolution of Igbo Mass at Christ the King Catholic Cathedral in Hillbrow’</td>
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<td>2. Lubari Stephen Elioba (Oxford Centre of Mission Studies,</td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Michael Harbsmeier</strong></td>
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<td>1. Lillian Shoroye (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Beyond Saving the Twins: Reflections on the Enduring Sartorial Legacy of Mary Slessor’s Missionary Activities among Calabar Women in Nigeria’</td>
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<td>2. Cécile Bushidi (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, England) and Tom Cunningham (Edinburgh University,</td>
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<td>England</td>
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<td>‘Legacies of the Church Missionary Society for the Episcopal Church of South Sudan: Evangelisation, health and education’</td>
<td>‘Missionary Interventions into Body Cultures among the Kikuyu people of Kenya, 1900s-1937’</td>
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<td>3. Nuno Vidal (Angolan Catholic University / Lisbon University Institute, Portugal)</td>
<td>3. Sinah Kloss (Heidelberg University, Germany)</td>
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<td>‘The influence of colonial Churches in the socio-historical matrix of the MPLA’s power in Angola’</td>
<td>‘Contesting “Gifts from Jesus”: Conversion, the Notion of Charity, and the Distribution of Used Clothing in Guyana’</td>
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15.30-16.00 Afternoon tea
16.30-18.00 Parallel sessions 7

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<td><strong>6A. Legacies – land, economics and Indigenous rights</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Rebekka Habermas</td>
<td><strong>6B. Gender</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Laura Stevens</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Ndu Life Njoku and Linda Chijioke Ihenacho (Imo State University, Nigeria)</td>
<td>1. João Figueiredo (University of Coimbra, Portugal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Colonial Christian Missionaries and the Evil Forest Phenomenon in Igbo-land: The Legacy of Interactions between Missionary Enterprise and Culture in Nigeria’</td>
<td>‘Heimlich/unheimlich in the Angolan early photographic heritage of spiritan influence’</td>
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<td>2. Kirstie Close-Barry (Deakin University, Australia)</td>
<td>2. Jessica Criales (Rutgers University, USA)</td>
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<td>‘Transporting Concepts of Indigenous Land Rights between Fiji and Australia’s North’</td>
<td>‘“My Obligation to the Doctor for his Patarnel Cair”: Eleazar Wheelock and the Female Students of Moor’s Indian Charity School, Connecticut, 1761-1769’</td>
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<td>3. Juliet Oppong-Boateng (University of Ghana)</td>
<td>3. Maria Cecilia Holt (Harvard School of Divinity, USA)</td>
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19.00-21.00 Conference dinner - Spiseloppen
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| 08.30-09.30 | **Keynote session – 27.0.09**  
Julie Evans  
‘Attending to place in academic life: living with settler colonialism’ |                                |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                           |
| 09.30-11.00 | **Parallel sessions 8**  
*Histories – 27.0.09*                                 |                                | 7A. Early colonial missions  
Chair: Gunvor Simonsen  
1. Karen Auman (Brigham Young University, USA)  
   ‘Failed Mission: Halle Pietism and Indians in North America’  
2. Scott Cave (Pennsylvania State University, USA)  
   ‘Achmayex Guayaxerax and Her Son Jesus: Communication, Captivity, and Forgotten Converts in the Canary Islands’  
3. Jason Dyck (Trent University Oshawa, Canada)  
   ‘Jesuit Missionary Partnerships: Morisco, Indian, and Filipino Evangelists in the Spanish World’  
7B. Legacies of mission history for 21st century education  
Chair: Julie Evans  
1. Lilly Brown (University of Melbourne, Australia)  
   ‘Australian teachers on the frontline: Unarmed and unprepared to teach the colonial past and its legacy in the present’  
2. Jonathan Anuik (University of Alberta, Canada)  
   ‘Achieving Christian Childhood at Public School: Faith-informed Discourse and Action’  
3. Arnaq Grove (Ilisimatusarfik University, Greenland)  
   ‘Colonial mission legacies in the usage and status of the Greenlandic language’ |                                                                 |  
| 11.00-11.30 | **Morning tea**                                                                                   |                                |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                           |
| 11.30-12.30 | **Parallel sessions 9**  
*Histories – 27.0.09*                                 |                                | 8A. Missions and colonialism  
Chair: Christian Damm Pedersen  
1. Retief Muller (Stellenbosch University, South Africa)  
   ‘Afrikaner Missionaries in British Colonial Africa: Mashonaland and Nyasaland’  
2. Stephen Morgan (University of Notre Dame, USA)  
   ‘The Rhenish Mission, the Herero, and German Colonial Conquest in South-West Africa’  
8B. Indigenous Christianity  
Chair: Kirstie Close-Barry  
1. De-Valera Botchway (University of the Cape Coast, Ghana)  
   ‘“The Gold Coast is our Nazareth” – Jemisimiham Jehu Appiah and 20th Century Religious Schism in the Gold Coast: An African Prophet’s Intellectual Contribution to the Africanisation of the Church’  
2. Fortune Afatakpa (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)  
   ‘Igbe and its Revolutionary Response to Christian Missionary Activities among the Urhobo Ethnic Group of the Niger Delta’ |                                                                 |  
<p>| 12.30-13.30 | <strong>Lunch</strong>                                                                                         |                                |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                           |</p>
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<td><strong>9A. Education on 19th century Christian missions</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Karen Vallgårda</strong></td>
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<td>15.00-15.30</td>
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<td><strong>Legacies – 27.0.47</strong></td>
<td><strong>9B. Memorialising missions</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Chair: Jacqueline Van Gent</strong></td>
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<td>1. Nancy Rushohora (University of Pretoria, South Africa)</td>
<td>‘The Majimaji war memory and memorials of the German colonial missions in Southern Tanzania’</td>
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<td>15.30-16.30</td>
<td>Closing panel – 27.0.09</td>
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Day 1: 27 April, 2015

Keynote Session 09:00-10:00

Laura Stevens (University of Tulsa, USA)  
‘Castaways on Islands, Jesuits in Space: Missionary Desire and Despair from Robinson Crusoe to contemporary Science Fiction’  
Chair: Claire McLisky

This paper will explore some aspects of the literary legacy of Christian mission as it coincided with the era of European exploration and colonization: the absorption of missionary tableaus and plots into adventure fiction. Focusing on Anglophone literature, I will connect what I am calling an eighteenth-century motif or tradition of missionary fantasy, in which otherwise realistic writings indulge in wishful or fantasy thinking about the conversion of non-European non-white peoples to Christianity, with contemporary science fiction narratives that describe missionary ventures to sentient extra-terrestrial species. Although I’ll briefly reference several texts, two novels will stand at the center of my analysis: Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe (1719), along with its two sequels The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1720) and The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe (1720), and Mary Doria Russell’s The Sparrow (1997), along with its sequel Children of God (1998).

I will argue that the Anglophone fictional literature of Christian mission in both the eighteenth and twentieth centuries tends to use the tableau of contact and evangelization as a background against which plays out the foregrounded plot of a missionary’s emotional shifts between the poles of hope and despair. The directions of the missionary’s affective trajectory in these two centuries, however, are directly opposed to each other. Eighteenth-century fictional narratives of Christian mission tend to describe a solitary figure, exiled by accident or design from his or her community, teetering on the edge of despair brought on by loneliness, fear, and lack of purpose. Contact with racial and cultural others inspires a call to spread the gospel, a task that is accomplished with improbable ease and that yields the collateral benefits of community, material support, and a sense of purposefulness. In contrast, the handful of science fiction stories and novels dealing with missionary plots and themes published between the 1940s and the present day have tended to narrate Christian missionary endeavours, or even forms of interspecies contact framed by Christian theological queries, as triggers of spiritual despair. In one way or another missionaries are thrown into spiritual crises accompanied by various combinations of loneliness, guilt, anger, grief, and shame.

In these more contemporary narratives we can see the residue of the plot structures of eighteenth-century missionary literature, including both fictional stories and factually based narratives ranging from the Jesuit Relations to the diary of David Brainerd. The missionaries’ experiences and self-portrayals are delivered, however, in ways that also show the influence of Enlightenment scepticism and post-colonial critique. What remains consistent is the final focus on the internal drama of the missionary, with the plot of contact and attempted conversion ultimately serving the narrative of his emotions, mind, and soul.
1A. Museums and memory – 10.30-12.00

1. Jo Ichimura (School of Oriental and African Studies, England) and Emily Mankeltow (University of Kent, England)
   ‘Do Not Presume: Exhibiting David Livingstone at SOAS’

ABSTRACT
The history of Christian missionary activity can be controversial in the modern world. While mission sources provide a rich and detailed insight into the politics of encounter, conversion and colonialism, critics of mission as a colonial activity sometimes assume that those who use such sources simply replicate, rather than examine, the complex history and legacy of nineteenth-century evangelical missionary movements. This can be a particular problem when attempting to bridge the gap between academic and non-academic audiences. This paper recounts and reflects upon the experience of putting together a recent exhibition on David Livingstone at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 2013. The exhibition, entitled ‘The Life and Afterlife of David Livingstone: Exploring Missionary Archives’, ran for seven months and attracted many visitors, but was not without controversy (a link to the exhibition pages is still available here: https://www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/livingstone/). In this paper the Archivist responsible for the exhibition (Jo Ichimura), and one of the historians on the Academic Advisory Panel (Emily Manktelow) reflect upon the exhibition itself: the process of putting it together and the logistical, methodological and pedagogical issues that raised; the diverse reactions it elicited from the public and from within the School for Oriental and African Studies; and the ways in which this interacts with current trends in UK higher education. Some UK institutions in the Higher Education sector are currently engaged in a process of critical reflection and self-evaluation of their own colonial roots, and how this sometimes uncomfortable past can be reconciled with the needs of modern and culturally diverse communities of students and staff. This paper interacts with and explores these issues, while reflecting upon what the Livingstone Exhibition experience might have to tell us about how missions (and empire) are perceived in modern Britain today.

2. Chris Wingfield (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge)
   ‘The Symmetrical Legacies of Missionary Collecting: The Case of the London Missionary Society’

ABSTRACT
This paper will explore the legacies of missionary collecting in Britain, and particularly its impact on the development of ethnographic museums and the shaping of anthropological ideas, through a concentration on the London Missionary Society museum (1814-1910). It will be suggested that while missionary collected material has been interpreted in a range of different ways over the last two centuries, its mere presence in Europe resulted in a range of unanticipated consequences, including an influence on modernist artists in the early twentieth century. In the present, the vast body of missionary collected material provides a rich resource for unpacking the complex negotiations that underlay missionary encounters in colonial contexts (Jacobs et al. Forthcoming). In practice, however, this material continues to be problematic for many museums holding these collections, but also for many of the descendants of those from whom the material was collected (Jacobs & Wingfield 2014). The ongoing ambivalences felt in Britain about the colonial and missionary past, as well as ambivalences felt in other parts of the world about the pre-Christian past, can mean that this history and its legacies remains difficult and frequently unarticulated.
3. Jacqueline Van Gent (University of Western Australia)
‘Museums and the material and emotional legacies of mission collections in Europe and Australia’

ABSTRACT
Colonial missions have left considerable emotional and material legacies to this day. In this paper I will discuss how these legacies are addressed in contemporary museum exhibits in Europe and Australia. Missionaries were avid collectors and keen traders of ethnographica and natural objects; they serviced most emerging anthropological museums in Europe. But also many early anthropologists chose as their site for fieldwork and collecting nearby mission stations, often without acknowledging this in their subsequent writings. Both depended on indigenous people as informants and brokers for their material collections, but these historical contexts remain obscured in many contemporary museum exhibitions. Museum curators today thus have to deal with a complex legacy of mission collections which arose out of particular social, cultural and emotional engagements with missionaries and with indigenous people associated with missions. One of the more ambiguous areas in contemporary exhibitions is the role of missions played not only in assembling material collections, but also in leaving us an emotional legacy towards indigenous people that is rarely analysed and sometimes carried over in contemporary exhibitions. I will address these questions in the discussion of three case studies of Protestant mission collections and their contemporary display in Europe and Australia.

1B. Representations of self and other in missionary and secular literature – 10:30-12:00

1. Daniel Henschen (University of Southern Denmark)
‘Reading through the call: How Danish mission literature presented the world 1890-1940’

ABSTRACT
Printed words have arguably caused mission’s most tangible global impact, and this applies not just to effects of literacy and circulation of books in mission countries. In their native countries missionaries were strongly engaged in the textual presentation of the colonial world. Just one example: In the little more than 50 years of Danish mission in China (1895-1949) around 400 mission books about the country were published in Denmark – that is approximately 40% of all Danish titles with Chinese subjects which were published during the span of 300 years until the communist takeover. And China makes no exception. Between approximately 1890 and 1940 mission organizations were without comparison the largest single publishers of Danish books about the world outside Europe and the United States. It seems likely that this significant text production have had an impact on how the colonial world and its inhabitants were viewed by the contemporaries. And that makes it quite relevant to examine the contents of these books as well as their circulation in Danish society. This paper argues briefly for mission literature as an independent and transnational literature with a number of common characteristics across media and literary genres. Special attention will be paid to the biographies of converts which may possibly best illustrate these characteristics: A common mission genre it was quite unique to the colonial representation of non-Western peoples which were portrayed individually as both role models and objects of aid – a characteristic missionary duality. In conclusion, it is the aim to provide a picture of the Danish circulation of mission literature on colonial peoples in comparison with the secular counterparts: Which media spread the literature, who read it, and to what extent was mission literature a mainstream genre for those interested in the world?
2. Lara Atkin (Queen Mary University of London, England)

ABSTRACT
At first glance, Captain Marryat - hero of the Napoleonic wars and founding-father of the boys’ adventure story- and Rev. John Campbell, Congregationalist minister and co-director of the London Missionary Society in southern Africa, would appear to have little in common. Yet between 1800 and 1845 both pioneered children’s fiction that was informed by both the increase in Evangelical religious fervour among the British middle-classes and also the growing interest in travelogues, written missionary writers, which included detailed ethnographic and natural historical information about southern Africa. Campbell and Marryat’s texts are some of the earliest examples of fictional works that seek to render detailed representations of a range of southern African indigenous peoples, making them important sites for tracing the development of popular ideas about these autochthonous groups in Britain during the early-mid nineteenth century. This paper will examine how the trope associated with the representation of the San ‘bushman’ in the missionary ethnography of the early-mid nineteenth century migrated into the popular children’s fiction of the age. By tracing the evolution of the boys’ adventure story through the missionary travel narratives and Evangelical tract fiction that shaped the development of the genre, I will reveal the influence that this combination of ethnographic detail and Evangelical ideology had on the formation of both the texture of adventure stories and popular perceptions of the indigenous peoples represented therein. Furthermore, this paper will reveal how these texts became important propaganda tools that were used by the London Missionary Society in particular in order to garner public support in Britain for its ailing missions in southern Africa.

3. Joanne Davis (Independent Scholar, England)
‘Representing Soga: lessons in romanticism’

ABSTRACT
In December 1856 the southern African Tiyo Soga became one of the first black men ever to be ordained, but his status and legacy have been neglected by history. This paper shall present my discursive analysis of the official biography of Soga penned by the Reverend John Aitken Chalmers, Soga’s colleague in the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, into which he incorporated Soga’s journal, and which became the sole authority on Soga for a full century. Chalmers appears to be, rather than a biographer, a romantic author who has penned a romantic narrative using conventions which privilege Chalmers’ ‘insider’ status at the expense of ‘othering’ Soga. I shall explore how Chalmers produced the character called Soga using embedded cultural motifs and tropes around raced identities. I shall also detail several alterations Chalmers made to Soga’s journal to support his representation, and further excisions of Soga’s political and translation work made by Chalmers’ publishers. Combined, these ‘interpellations’ contributed to a legacy more about shame, culpability and duplicity than perseverance and precedence, which has had a profound effect on a sustained depiction of Rev Soga’s legacy in missiology and colonial and postcolonial history; only recent archival scholarship has located alternative documents which have permitted Soga’s achievements and international significance to shine through. Yet Chalmers too was a colonial missionary, born the son of a colonial missionary in an otherwise voiceless station, and my examination of his literary modes reveals that through the rhetorical device of ventriloquism he has left his own equally valid and important voice, which otherwise would never have been recorded. This paper will highlight the contemporary and enduring value of archival research in seeking out primary sources in missionary history and assert the relevance of contemporary literary criticism to reading those archival sources.
2A. Intellectual legacies of early modern missions – 13.00-14.00

1. Jan Gustaffson (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)
‘Missions, Coloniality and Utopia’

ABSTRACT

Utopia, in the sense of a belief in, or hope for, a radically better world, is an important tradition that in Europe took a new turn with the conquest and colonization of the ‘New World’ from ca. 1500. The chronicles from the newly ‘discovered’ world inspired ideas of a utopian society outside Europe, as witnessed, for instance, in Montaigne’s famous essay “On Cannibals” that synthesizes ideas expressed by Columbus, Vespucci, Peter Martyr d’Anghiera and others. Obviously, the most outstanding example of these projections is More’s Utopia. Inspired by these ideas, a number of colonial missions began to organize the indigenous population in utopian-like societies, such as the Village-Hospitals in 16th century Mexico. The most massive and well-known of these are the Jesuit Missions in South America, beginning early 17th century and ending in 1767 with the expulsion of the Jesuit from the Spanish empire. These utopian missions implied an ambiguous relation with their own colonial foundation and with their object, the Indigenous population: On one hand they were the expression of a desire to protect the Indians and improve their life, on the other they reproduced the colonial hierarchies of power, culture and religion. The Jesuit Missions in Spanish America represent, thus, both colonialism and emancipation (against colonialism). One aim of this paper is to examine the origin and spread of these utopian ideas from the first encounters in the 1490s through More’s seminal text to the systems and ideas of the Jesuit missions. Another is to discuss the ambiguity of these ideas and practices in relation to colonial power. Finally, I also suggest that colonial utopian ideas contributed to preserve a social imaginary of a particular relation between Latin America and utopia. 20th century social utopianism in Latin America, although more explicitly inspired in political populism and/or Marxian ideas, often reproduce ideas and principles already present in the Jesuit Missions (and in More’s Utopia).

2. Julio Jensen (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)
‘The Modern State and its Souls: Francisco de Vitoria and the right to mission’

ABSTRACT

One of the many changes caused by the appearance of the modern territorial state in early modernity is that of the confessionalisation of society. Spain and France are arguably the two first kingdoms that developed a centralized, differentiated and autonomous state apparatus, primarily as a by-product of the considerable amount of wars these two kingdoms were engaged in during the late middle ages (Tilly). As regards Spain, this process was due to the Reconquista, the conquest of the Muslim kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula by Christian rulers. The same year as the last Muslim kingdom was conquered on what today is Spain, Columbus arrived at the New World. In turn the conquest of America triggered, as is well known, a theological-political debate in Spain as regards the right of the Spanish crown to subject the indigenous peoples. One central figure in this debate is the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria, who can be regarded as the founder of international right. Vitoria represents an interesting figure of transition between medieval scholasticism and modern philosophy of natural right. On the one side Vitoria acknowledges the legitimacy and thus the right of the foreign societies to govern themselves while, on the other, he also considers that Christian societies have the right to mission and to protect the converted Christians. One central problem Vitoria has to elaborate upon – at the very moment of the establishing of the modern state – is thus the limits of political power. In this way an early modern reflection upon the question of mission can throw light upon the political organization of the modern state in early modernity.
2B. Histories, representations and legacies of missions to Greenland in comparative perspective – 13.00-14.00

1. Claire McLisky (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)
‘The history, and legacy, of emotion in narratives on early Christian missions to colonial Greenland and Australia’

**ABSTRACT**
In this paper I trace the development of popular narratives around early Christian missions to Greenland and Australia and ask what influence these narratives still have on the ways in which Christian mission in these two contexts is represented and understood. In the first part I consider the ways in which Christian missionary activity during the first 50 years of colonization in each context were represented at the time, and have since been represented, in official accounts, popular histories, and newspaper articles written in English and Danish language. I argue that the specific colonial formations in Australia and Greenland led to the development of two quite different narratives about the history, and the outcomes, of missionary activity in the two locations. These multiple narratives, I argue, were each in different ways reliant on associating particular emotions with the mission project, and covering over or delegitimizing others. In the second part of the paper I investigate the ways in which the histories of early Christian missions in the two contexts are currently understood, exhibited and taught in public fora in Denmark, Greenland and Australia, and consider the extent to which the emotions found in the popular narratives of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries still play a part in how we understand these histories. While levels of knowledge and understanding of the histories of Christian missions to Greenland and Australia vary greatly both between and within countries, I suggest here that much of the emotional content of earlier representations still influences how contemporary Danes, Greenlanders, and Australians understand their colonial mission histories.

2. Jens Heinrich (Independent Scholar, Greenland/Denmark)
‘Christian values through the provincial councils in Greenland: the matter of children born out of wedlock’

**ABSTRACT**
All of Greenland was Christianized by the beginning of the 20th century. On the political level Greenland was divided into different colonial districts and provinces. The provincial councils (landsrådene in Danish) covered each of the two provinces on the west coast of Greenland, while there were 62 communal councils (kommuneråd). Eastern Greenland and the Thule area were colonized at a later stage, and were not fully incorporated governmentally into the rest of Greenland until the 1960s. The provincial councils began in 1911 and consisted of 11-12 members, elected by and from the municipality councils. The provincial councils had limited powers and the system was seen as a process of learning to manage their own affairs. The councils however were asked to deal with matters and were heard in relevant matters dealt with by the Danish government and the council had to a certain extent judicial power. One of these matters concerned children born out of wedlock. As early as the 18th century Danish fathers to children born out of wedlock were demanded to pay alimony, but Greenlandic fathers were not. In the 1870s certain local Greenlandic councils (forstanderskaberne), the predecessor to the provincial/ communal councils, started to regulate in order to make Greenlandic fathers subject to alimony payments. In 1911 the provincial councils made recommendations concerning children born out of wedlock and in 1914 proper regulations were made. After World War II Greenland was included in the Danish Realm as an equal part, and no longer a colony, and a modern judicial system was being established. This included a law concerning children born out of wedlock. The aim of the talk will be to point out different councils dealing with the matter of children born out of wedlock from Christian ethics perspective.
3A. Location and place – 14.00-15.00

1. Sara Ebrahimi (University College, Dublin, Ireland)
‘Evangelistic Agency: The Question of Location’

ABSTRACT
James Shepard Dennis, missionary, historian, and statistician of missions, made reference to medical missions as permanent ‘Agencies of Evangelism’ in his 1904 book Centennial survey of foreign missions. This description appeared in other missionary records as in the Church Missionary Society (CMS) medical reports. While existing studies of the CMS medical work have used these reports, they have not explored what was meant by ‘evangelistic agency’. Rather than concentrating on the mission hospital buildings – the representation of their location and architecture – these earlier studies have mostly focused on the medical side of the work. Thus, this paper concentrates on the two following agendas: the areas where the hospitals were founded and the land where they were constructed. It examines how the choice of area and land were represented in the CMS medical records, chiefly in the two CMS magazines: Mercy and Truth, and the Mission Hospitals. The CMS was founded in 1799 in London. The medical work began in the second half of the nineteenth century followed by the construction of a large number of hospitals in different geographical areas: Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Mercy and Truth and the Mission Hospitals, published between 1897 to 1921, and 1922 to 1939 respectively, were the two CMS magazines that covered the CMS medical work. Each issue of these magazines contains information about the particular hospitals. Challenging the notion of ‘hospital’ is the main aim of the current research, and this paper will present one key trajectory of analysis. It will examine: 1) the relationship between the ambition to gain local people’s confidence and trust and the choice of area and land; 2) how this ambition was possibly related to the idea of imperialism; 3) the importance of the CMS hospitals that are still extant and/or active as the legacy of the mission work.

2. Laura Montoya Upegui (Independent Scholar and School Teacher, Colombia)
‘Evangelization and catechization strategies of the Lauritas missionaries in western Antioquia (1914-1925)’

ABSTRACT
Catholic missions were used as one of the means to afflict any type of political control over the population located in the borderline territories of Colombia. Located in the Mid-western region of Antioquia, a subtropical jungle with the name Urabá came to have this characteristics of frontier, and for that, it was considered a territory that should be included in the rush for the XX century modernization. In this context came a group of female missionaries willing to labour with a population that was depicting a “nuisance” for the Antioquians. The Missionaries of The Immaculate Mary and Saint Catherine of Siena (also known as Lauritas) were formed and reached this settlement to work with Catios indigenous group. These missions were founded by the now Saint Laura Montoya Upegui who in charge of laying the basis of the congregation, established all the norms and parameters the sisterhood of the Lauritas was to follow. In my PhD thesis, I analysed the strategies of the Lauritas missionaries to evangelize the “Catios” indigenous groups located in Antioquia, Colombia. From a perspective of cultural geography I wondered how the missionaries tried to transform the conceptions of space of the indigenous groups, in order to change the antique methods of the missions guided by men and who were based in nuclear locations. In that sense, I intended to show how the missionaries adapted their missions to the space distribution of the Catios and, after doing that, how they readapted their religious way of life to one “more accessible” for the indigenous groups. In that order, I analysed how cultural exchange relations are given from syncretism or resistance, and also, how inside those relationships the people exposed to the evangelization discourses are also agents who transform the “message” of Catholicism in a way convenient for their context. Also within this work I finished delving into how these missionaries managed to reinterpret the image of women in the church in order to explore new methods that were able to "integrate" the indigenous within the "official order" of Antioquia.
3B. Historiographical representations – 14.00-15.00

1. Thorkild Kjærgaard (Ilisimatusarfik University, Greenland)
‘Economy as goal – mission as pretext: Cold War-thinking about mission and empires’

ABSTRACT
The victorious powers of WW2 – The United States, a former British colony, and the Soviet Union, a “workers state” – were both strongly anti-colonialist, and abolition of colonies was inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations (chapter 11). After 1945 a thinking, directly or indirectly inspired by Vladimir Lenin’s famous book Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917) prevailed on the global scene. Empires and colonies were for the two dominant powers of the world, and for the General Assembly of The United Nations a story about exploitation, and nothing more. A story that had to be brought to an end as soon as possible, and that was indeed what happened. In less than two decades the map of the world was redrawn, and the vast pre-WW2 colonial empires were reduced to practically zero. Culture in general and Christian missions in particular – whether Catholic or Protestant did not matter – were dismissed as hypocritical pretexts for exploitative imperialism and colonialism, and there was no room left for alternative interpretations. That was true not only in the world of politics but also in academia. Figures like Franz Fanon, Immanuel Wallerstein, Gunder Andre Frank, and Edward Said became stars in universities all over the world. A conference like the one here in Copenhagen 2015 would not have been possible in the 1960s or in the 1970s. Nobody would ever get the idea, and no funding would be available for something so much out of contact with the Zeitgeist. We had to wait until the second decade of the post-Cold War era before things began to change and more complex interpretation of the Christian missions in Africa, in Asia, in Australia, in the Americas or – to mention an important local example – in Greenland became possible. But still it is a highly controversial. The intellectual (and the political) scene is still dominated by a Leninist or a post-Leninist paradigm, where colonialism has, with a slight change of a phrase coined by the American historian Clifford Ando, “money as goal – mission as pretext.”

2. Stuart Piggin (Macquarie University, Australia)
‘The Missing Story: The ‘Entanglement’ of Christian Missions with Australia’s Colonial Development’

ABSTRACT
The role, the ‘entanglement’, of Christian missions in Australia’s colonial development is part of the missing story of the impact of vital Christianity on Australian history. It is a story which secular and religious historians alike have found hard to see. The prevailing narrative in Australian historiography is that Australia is a secular, post-enlightenment nation, inhospitable to any entanglement of Christianity and public life owing to the separation of church and state. Historians of religious movements have tended to accept this narrative and have been content to focus on the considerable inner history of those movements. But there are serious flaws with this prevailing narrative. The Australian colonies in the nineteenth century, while post-enlightenment, were not ‘secular’ in the sense that Christianity was excluded from public discourse or disallowed any place in social policy. The Australian colonies did not practise the separation of church and state; they rather adopted a plural establishment with state support of the mainstream denominations. In particular, Evangelical Christianity, to which missions were integral, were comprehensively involved in building Christian commonwealths. Evangelicals did not think of the Australian colonies as dumping grounds for criminals, but as a providential opportunity for the gospel to do its work of spiritual and social redemption. It was a work inextricably entangled in the educational, legal, demographic, cultural, social welfare and political issues of the day. To chart and analyse the extent and effectiveness of that entanglement is the purpose of this paper. In exploring the contribution of colonial missions to nineteenth-century Australian settler society, this paper offers ‘big picture’ revisionist perspectives on Australian history which result when the missing story is told.
Keynote Session 15.30-16.30
Kirsten Thisted (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)
‘Kim Leine’s *The Prophets of the Eternal Fjord* and the role of the mission in the writing of Danish-Greenlandic history

ABSTRACT
While the Danish government has declined taking part in a reconciliation process with Greenland, its former colony, a large literary audience has embraced the novelist Kim Leine, who puts colonial history and Danish-Greenlandic power relations on the agenda. Originally published in 2012, his novel *Profeterne i Evighedsfjorden* (English title: *The Prophets of Eternal Fjord*) has received huge attention as well as several prestigious literary awards, including the 2013 Nordic Council Literature Prize. The novel has also been the target of criticism, however, for painting a distorted picture of Denmark’s conduct in Greenland. Central to this discussion is the question of the mission’s role in the colonization project. Two basic narratives compete for the right to tell the story about the Danish influence in Greenland. One is the story about Denmark as a benign colonial power, a protective ‘mother nation’. A central feature in this narrative is the notion of the mutual love and respect between Greenlanders and Danes, by virtue of which the Greenlanders’ inclusion in the unity of the realm has always been voluntary. The other narrative insists that Denmark has been an imperial power like all other imperial powers, primarily looking out for its own needs to expand its power and reaping economic benefits. A core element of this narrative is criticism of the Danes’ disrespectful and condescending view of Greenlandic language and culture and sympathy and understanding for any anger, perhaps even hatred, towards the Danes that this may have bred among the Greenlanders. In the first narrative the mission is understood to have had a central role in the task of elevating the Greenlanders from the ‘primitive’ state as nomadic hunters that they occupied when the Europeans first arrived. In the second narrative the mission is seen as a tool in the hands of the state, in order to subdue the population under the law and order of the colonizer. Drawing upon the historians Hayden White and David Scott, this paper will argue that *The Prophets of Eternal Fjord* with its description of a shared colonial space where power and counter-power are closely linked, strongly challenges these default narratives about Danish colonialism in Greenland. As such, the novel may be read as a contribution to the Danish-Greenlandic reconciliation that the Danish government has so far declined to engage in.
Day 2: Tuesday 28\textsuperscript{th} April

**Keynote Session – 09:00-10:00**

Alan Lester (University of Sussex, England)
‘Missionaries, Humanitarianism and Race Across and Beyond the British Empire’

**ABSTRACT**
This lecture examines the entanglements between missionary discourse and activity, that of colonial settlers, and that of the colonial state. Ranging across examples from the British Empire in the Caribbean, Australasia, southern Africa and India, and from the 1820s to the 1860s, it asks how we might best conceive of missionary relationships with other colonial projects. How did the geographies of empire affect the contingent relationships between missionary enterprise, the practice of slavery and colonial settlement? Was the humanitarianism often associated with missionary political interventions a lobby extrinsic to the state or was it actually constitutive of state projects? How did missionary understandings of racial difference relate to broader discussions of race in the nineteenth century? The lecture will suggest that a spatial appreciation of colonial history is as necessary to engage with these questions as a temporal one.

**4A. Translation/Language – 10:30-12:00**

1. Esther Liu (University of Cardiff, Wales)
‘The Colonial Missionary as Shaper of Contemporary Translation Theory’

**ABSTRACT**
The work of French colonial missionaries is too often dismissed, or equated as equivalent to that of those in administrative offices. And yet, these largely overlooked figures were a vital component of the colonial encounter. In particular, the translation undertaken by these men and women not only reveals attitudes to the religions of the indigenous and to translation itself in their contemporary moment, but also leaves a legacy affecting translation theory and practice today. By considering the writings of and about François Coillard (1834-1904), French protestant missionary in Lesotho and Western Zambia, this paper will highlight the priorities and strategies of a colonial missionary in order to reconsider and reshape the assumptions located in Translation Studies. Coillard’s emphasis on the message of the Bible rather than the text, contradicts the supposition that the Christian translation technique holds the precise words of God as sacred and fixed. Furthermore, Coillard’s continual use of a team, and the inclusion of his wife in his work reveals the collaborative nature of translation, where much of Translation Studies assumes a singular translator. And finally, Coillard’s incarnational translation, where his whole life speaks his message, challenges the assumption that the process of translation concerns only texts. The translations of François Coillard are a legacy in and of themselves; whenever the Lesotho national anthem is sung, so are his words. But more than this, Coillard’s work is valuable in the re-examination of the missionary-translator figure in colonialism, and in the re-evaluation of norms and conventions found in Translation Studies. Indeed, the missionary’s legacy still has influence today.
2. Maryse Kruithof (Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands)
‘Accessory results of the Christian mission in colonial Java; the enrichment and standardization of the vernacular languages’

ABSTRACT
With my PhD-thesis “Shouting in a desert”, Missionary Encounters with Javanese Islam, 1850-1920' I produced a history of the Dutch missionary encounter with local religious communities on Java. It illuminates both the Dutch and the Javanese dimensions of this historical exchange and I compare between the approach and results of Protestant, Catholic and indigenous evangelists. In addition, I demonstrated how the missionaries perceived the social, cultural, and religious landscape of Java and how they -both consciously and unconsciously- influenced it. Even though the vast majority of Java resisted the Christian call, the Dutch missionaries did influence the Javanese society in multiple ways. In this paper, I will argue that the Dutch missionaries not only enriched the local languages, but simultaneously changed the Javanese notion of religion. First, Dutch missionaries spread literacy which decisively changed the way in which religious beliefs were held. In literate societies religion often acquires a rigid base. Religion becomes a system of laws and people develop a sense of universal orthodoxy of doctrine; a doctrine which is not limited to a particular cultural and temporal context. Second, the Dutch missionaries were active agents in the standardization of the vernacular languages, because in order to spread Christianity the missionaries were persuaded to translate the Bible into indigenous languages and to conduct services in those languages. The missionaries also introduced multiple words. They introduced abstract concepts like ‘sin’, ‘eternal life’, ‘salvation’ and ‘conversion’ in regions were Islam was not yet thoroughly penetrated, or they gave new meaning to these words. By introducing such abstract concepts, the missionaries transformed their followers’ understanding of religion. So rather than assuming that the fruit of the Christian mission on Java was solely a matter of replacing old beliefs with new, I propose that what was important was the accessory social and scientific development, initiated by these agents of change.

3. Joao Monteiro (Eastern University, USA)
‘Colonialism, Missions, and Language in Cape Verde, Protestantism vs Catholicism’

ABSTRACT
The first Protestant mission in the Cape Verde islands dates from 1900. At that time, there was no formal religious organization outside the Catholic Church. Since the 15th century when the Portuguese began to settle the islands, Catholicism had operated as the monopolistic “religion of the kingdom,” and any alternative forms of religious activity were banned. Indeed, discouraged or even forbidden were cultural practices associated with the colonial subjects including, notably, the indigenous language of Cape Verdians, Crioulo. As the 20th century dawned, Protestantism appeared on the islands for the first time, principally through the work of a Cape Verdean man by the name of João Dias. He had emigrated to the United States as a young man, embraced Protestantism, and was sent back as “missionary to his own people” by the American congregation where he had converted to his new faith. Despite the historical and legal obstacles in place, he established a Protestant “mission” and remained at its helm for a period of about thirty years. In the mid-1930s, the mission entered a new phase when Dias retired and U.S. missionaries took over as leaders. For the next six decades, the mission was under the leadership of envoys from denominational headquarters in the United States. The last of these missionaries retired to the U.S. in the mid-1990s, by which time the church was back in the hands of Cape Verdean leaders. The emergence of Protestantism in Cape Verde is significant as the first organized challenge to the religious monopoly of the Catholic Church, and, in principle, as a potential questioning of the colonial status quo. Its missionary trajectory offers some insight into the realization or subversion of that potential. In this paper I draw upon language use in religious services as a way to examine the intersection of mission and colonialism in the experiences of Cape Verdean Protestants.
4B. Love, madness and poverty – 10:30-12:00

1. David Lederer (University of Northern Ireland, Maynooth & University of Adelaide, Australia)
‘Exporting Brotherly Love: Emotions and Community in 19th-Century Australia and Papua’

ABSTRACT
Brotherly love (Nächstenliebe) emerged from the evangelical Reformation as an affective basis for communalism. The language of brotherly love laid the foundation for public assistance (e.g. the community chest), enlightened philanthropic societies (e.g. Humane Societies) and the nationalist principle of fraternité. Through its secularization, brotherly love has become a cornerstone of the modern welfare state. An investigation of the evangelical mission to Australia and Papua New Guinea reveals the broader impact of an emotional principle on relations between European and non-Europeans. After the Prussian Union of Churches, the British South Australia Company enticed dissenting Altlutheraner and Pietists to immigrate. From the 1830s, German evangelicals founded missions and settled nucleated villages – a markedly different spatial pattern from British extensive cattle farming. They attempted to integrate and assimilate indigenous inhabitants through education and trade. Ironically, inadequate resources, poor treatment and missionizing zeal alienated many despite the best of intentions. Some individual missionaries abandoned settlements and worked directly with locals to promote communalism. For example, the Franconian, Johannes Flierl, founded mission stations in the Outback and Queensland, eventually relocating to Papua for three decades. Now revered as national hero, his views of native culture contrasted sharply with other representatives of the German Imperial bureaucracy, such as the anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski. By employing theoretical models from the work of Peter Blickle and William Reddy (among others), this investigation evidences discrepancies between idealized goals – as manifest, for example, in spatial patterns of settlement – and the actual treatment of native Australians and Papuans. The variation is explained through the influence of patriarchal and paternalistic values inherent in the language of brotherly love, which had repercussions both for gender relations and those between colonists and colonized.

2. Julia McClure (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)
‘The Franciscan: Forging coloniality for a ‘New World’

ABSTRACT
The Franciscans, a mendicant Christian Order with a unique doctrine of voluntary poverty, were the first to religious institution to become established in the Americas. The Franciscans played an important role in the construction of colonial identity on both sides of the Atlantic. In Europe during the Middle Ages they engineered complex techniques of subjugation, routinizing and ritualising violence against themselves. This subjugation was a mechanism for achieving their doctrine of poverty, a doctrine which was embedded within an eschatological framework. The Franciscans interpreted the Americas and their role within it according to their doctrine of poverty eschatology. They thought that they were forging a new age (the third age of the holy spirit) of spiritual poverty in the Americas. The Franciscans included the Amerindians in this vision, and they set out not only to convert but also to integrate the Amerindians into their spiritual poverty. In the early years of Spanish colonialism in the Americas the Franciscans did more than other groups to penetrate and transform the religious, cultural, linguistic, and physical landscape of the Americas. They contributed to the colonisation of the Americas but they did so in a complex way, by transplanting a colonial identity of poverty and subjugation which they had forged in late medieval Europe. The Franciscans idealised a new world, but this was not a utopia of equally dispersed power but of spiritual poverty. The complex position of the Franciscans was summarised by the medieval historian Gordon Leff, who wrote that for St Francis man could ‘only achieve virtue as the victim of the world’s injustices’. The Franciscans’ contribution to the colonisation of the Americas was also complex. They played a role in the construction of colonial identity amongst the Amerindians, but they also often aligned themselves with the Amerindians against the conquistadores. The political implications of their position were
therefore ambiguous. This ambiguity can be seen in their legacy in the Americas. The image of St Francis and his solidarity with the poor was an important component of the Theology of Liberation movement in the twentieth century.

3. Rebecca Noble (University of Warwick, England)
‘Madness and Missionaries in Eighteenth-century New Spain’

ABSTRACT
Madness as a category of historical analysis has the potential to open up an unseen side of missionary work, allowing historians to consider how missionaries understood themselves and the world around them; ideas of duty and shame; and the relationship between masculinity and madness. This paper will examine discourses surrounding madness in missionary records in eighteenth-century New Spain. Discourses referring to madness occur in a variety of colonial records and terms referring to this concept were used interchangeably with a plurality of meanings. I shall engage with the historiography of madness in colonial New Spain and that on missionary work in the Spanish Empire. The paper will focus on a cases where Spanish missionaries in New Spain were returned to Spain because they were considered mad in order to consider questions such as:
- What behaviour was seen as mad?
- How did madness relate to the foreign environment missionaries found themselves in?
- How did such experiences affect the articulation of the Christian mission in New Spain by missionaries?
- How did coping with mad missionaries affect understanding of New Spain?
- How was madness gendered within the Christian missions in New Spain? And how have those gendered notions persisted?
- In what ways can understandings of emotions, mentalities, and health nuance the picture of Christian missionary work in the New World?

My work uses frameworks of the history of the Atlantic and the history of science and medicine which challenge narratives of historical ‘progress’ and lend themselves to discussion of how ideas are spread, adopted and changed. I hope to draw on these frameworks in order to explore the effects of madness on missionaries and the effects of missionary work on understandings of madness. This forms part of a wider project on concepts of madness in New Spain.
Keynote Session – 13:00-14:00

Rebekka Habermas (University of Göttingen, Germany)
‘Doing mission at home: The emotional entanglement of German mission work around 1900’

ABSTRACT
The paper considers missionary politics in Germany around 1900, focusing on a group of supporters, the so-called mission friends. Although most of the men and the majority of the women and children in this group were of poor background they donated money and engaged in organising collections, mission festivals and invitations of missionaries. Who, how and why did they want to help to bring the gospel to places they had never heard of before? Which ties bound them together with the so-called heathen from very far away? Focusing on the social, but foremost on the emotional aspects of these very concrete and at the same time imaginary relationships between supporters, missionaries and ‘heathens’, the paper aims to show the whole picture, the entanglements and how both sides were bound together. Many German mission friends, I argue, developed a social, religious and gender agenda of their own. Although this agenda at first glance is not very different from that at stake in missionary politics of the time, in the context of the supporters’ everyday lives it unfolds an ‘imaginative resource of lived local experience’ (Arjun Appadurai) far beyond the well-known missionary agenda. In the second part of the paper I argue that to add the supporters to the well-known picture of a somehow antimodernist and traditional mission agenda might also contribute to a better understanding of the role mission played in the wider field of colonial imagination and in the everyday life of the supporters, which for the most part came from small villages of very remote areas.

5A. Political and cultural legacies – 14:00-15:30

1. Jacinta Ume-Njamma (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)
‘Post-Apartheid South Africa, Intra-Africa Diaspora Relations, and the Evolution of Igbo Mass at Christ the King Catholic Cathedral in Hillbrow’

ABSTRACT
Evolving out of an ethnographic investigation aimed at tracking the evolution of Igbo Mass at Christ the King Catholic Cathedral at Hillbrow in Johannesburg in South Africa, this paper examines an aspect of the cultural trajectory of intra-African diaspora at the turn of the 21st century. It argues that colonial Catholic missionary activities had their greatest impact on the Igbo-speaking people of Eastern Nigeria, which accounts for why the largest number of Catholics in the country are of Igbo extraction. Against this backdrop, the paper examines how the legacy of Catholic proselytizing among the Igbo in Nigeria informed the initiative of conducting a monthly Igbo Mass in Johannesburg in a post-apartheid dispensation. To do this, it tracks the opening up of Hillbrow-- an exclusively white-only area in the city of Johannesburg during apartheid-- to non-white South Africans following the collapse of apartheid. It further reckons that the reception of post-apartheid South Africa to immigrants from other parts of Africa further engendered the emergence of various immigrant African communities in Hillbrow, prominent among which is the Nigerian community. The pre-eminence of the Igbo in this immigrant Nigerian community coupled with the reputation of the Igbo as having the largest population of Catholics in Nigeria has thus primarily accounted for the recent institution of the monthly Igbo Mass. Realizing, however, that the institution of the Igbo Mass did not just happen because of the huge presence of Igbo Catholics, but because the idea underwent an evolutionary process over the years before its materialization, the paper also analyzes
the dynamics of diaspora cultural affirmation in the context of spirituality. It concludes that the Igbo Mass in South Africa provides a new diasporic dimension to the study of colonial missionary legacies in Africa.

‘Legacies of the Church Missionary Society for the Episcopal Church of South Sudan: Evangelisation, health and education’

ABSTRACT
Both Christian and Muslims brought their influence into the Sudan. Christian missionary influence was through the Church Missionary Society (CMS) founded in 1899 and representing mainly Catholic, Presbyterian, and Anglican churches. CMS was the important link between the Church of England, especially the Salisbury and Bradford dioceses, and the Episcopal Church of the Sudan (ECS). The mission strongly emphasized the need for personal faith and holiness, devotion to the bible and prayer. These features, important to CMS and inherited by ECS, laid strong focus on outreach, witnessing and evangelism. Supported by CMS and the international community, ECS continued to serve the Christians with the message of peace and provided food, clothing, shelter and medicine to the people during the long time of conflict. Remarkably, even during the war and often without foreign support, dioceses operated and carried on with regular worship, bible schools and Sunday schools; mothers' unions were active, and youth groups had their normal activities. Through the great commitment and leadership of the local church life of the communities and the church continued. In 1976 ECS gained formal independence from the Church of England, but strong links were retained referred to as the "Salisbury-Sudan Link". The CMS legacy still exists today through people who have been educated by CMS, through books written and through buildings. After independence of the Republic of South Sudan in 2011, ECS was formally changed to Episcopal Church of South Sudan and Sudan (ECSS &S). It emphasizes local church ownership in the provision of both spiritual and temporal development to its members. Many dioceses today contribute to construct their own churches, schools, health units and train personnel to provide these services. One of its largest service departments is the department of education which provides training and guidance to Church and government schools alike, in order to build a national education system that serves all the children.

3. Nuno Vidal (Angolan Catholic University / Lisbon University Institute, Portugal)
‘The influence of colonial Churches in the socio-historical matrix of the MPLA’s power in Angola’

ABSTRACT
This paper argues that the ever reinforced dynamics of political-economic dominance of the MPLA since independence owes a great deal to the sociological-historical background of its MBundu/Creole core elites: a long and lasting historical process of social identity started in the 16th century directly derived from the specificities of the European expansion and incursion in the territory of Angola, where Christian missions played an important role from the very start up to nowadays. The onset of the historical-sociological matrix of the MPLA can be located at the end of the 16th century, when Portugal began favouring the North-central area (Luanda and its hinterland) to the detriment of the North (S. Salvador of Congo), following a new strategy of incursion into the interior. The new incursion was mainly supported by a fourfold complementary and self-reinforcing structure: ecclesiastical (Christian-Catholic autonomous from the Kongo Kingdom); commercial (small fairs); military (so-called guerra preta - 'black army'); juridical-administrative (the prelude of colonial administration with new legislation, especially at the level of inheritance law). Slowly but relentlessly, the new strategy favoured a process of Creolisation and an alliance between the Mbundu ethno-linguistic group and the Creole along the Luanda-Catete-Malange corridor, progressively blurring the distinction between these groups or at least facilitating their alliance. Such process was closely accompanied until the mid 19th century by the genesis of a complex clientelist social organisation including extended kinship ties. Altogether, characteristics of this complex process
were to form the sociological and historical matrix of the Creole/MBundu elites facilitating their dominion over the ecclesiastical, military, commercial and administrative structures until the end of the XIXth century, resulting in an unparalleled capacity to legitimize and reinforce its political and economic power throughout the centuries (a bit constrained during the colonial period, but then again resumed in the post-colonial period up to nowadays). It is from these elites and within those structures that emerged those who were to produce the first reaction to the Portuguese colonization or the so-called proto-nationalists in late XIXth century and those who were to form the MPLA nationalist movement in the late 1950s of that same century. It is also that process that explains these elites’ relatively easier mastering of a legitimizing and flexible modern political discourse in the XXth century: Christian-humanistic (gathering Catholics and Protestants within the central-North region), nationalist/independentist, universalist and socialist (1950s to 1980s); social-democrat with an “officially” open and closer relationship with the two dominant churches of the central-North corridor – Catholic and Methodist (1990s); liberal-capitalist, but still and always in closer relationship with those two dominant churches (from the end of the civil war in 2002 up to nowadays). This paper will explores this historical-sociological process that constitutes the matrix of the MPLA’s power and the contribution of Christian missions and churches within it.

5B. Bodies – 14:00-15:30

1. Lillian Shoroye (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)
‘Beyond Saving the Twins: Reflections on the Enduring Sartorial Legacy of Mary Slessor’s Missionary Activities among Calabar Women in Nigeria’

ABSTRACT
While the memory of Mary Mitchell Slessor holds much significance in Nigerian history for her epic role in persuading indigenous people in colonial Calabar to stop the killing of twins, there is little acknowledgment of the sartorial legacy she bequeathed the region during her missionary activities. As a Scottish missionary of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland to Calabar in the late 19th Century, she set foot on African soil for the first time on September 11, 1876, dressed, no different from the women of her time in the Victorian era of Europe, in a long flowing gown with full sleeves. Slessor, a trailblazer, whose exploits among her host communities was a poignant tale not only of selfless service, but also of a woman’s strong commitment to humanity, is much revered by the people even almost a century after her demise. Her Victorian gown has become one of the many enduring legacies of her missionary activities among the Efik people of Calabar. Popularly called ‘Oyonyon’ or Mary Slessor’s gown, the flowing gown with full sleeves has been adopted as the traditional dress of Efik women and is today a definitive feature of their rich cultural heritage. This paper, which is based on a field investigation among Calabar women using focus group discussion (FGD) and in-depth interview (IDI) methods, adopts extant theories of cultural diffusionism to reflect on the significance of this enduring sartorial legacy of Mary Slessor. Findings show that Mary Slessor's missionary activities were coextensive with the dispersal of certain aspects of the dominant cultural consciousness of the Victorian Age. One such was the sartorial legacy which today has been integrated into the indigenous culture of Calabar women of South-South Nigeria.
2. Cecile Bushidi (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, England) and Tom Cunningham (Edinburgh University)
‘Missionary interventions into body cultures among the Kikuyu people of Kenya, 1900s-1937’

ABSTRACT
In September 1929, the Church of Scotland Mission missionary Dr. John W. Arthur launched an attack on the custom of female cliteredectomy among the Kikuyu, Kenya’s largest ethnic group who mostly lived, at that time, in the some districts of the Central Province of the British colony. The Mũthĩrĩgu dance and song was performed in front of the missions as an act of protest against missionary intervention into a fundamental Kikuyu cultural practice. While this political and cultural crisis that came to be known as the Female Circumcision crisis has received scholarly attention, the deeper history of missionary interventions into Kikuyu body cultures is yet to be explored. In this paper, we situate the missions’ campaign against circumcision alongside a host of more 'everyday' attempts to reform the Kikuyu body. We argue that mission attempts to control African dancing, to prohibit the consumption of alcohol, to promote 'European' sport and games, and to encourage the replacement of animal skin cloaks and red ochre body paint for 'European' dress, were significant strategies to reform the Kikuyu body, mind, and soul. We will consider the local debates on morality, modernity, and tradition that these cultural politics fuelled among the Kikuyu. By looking at mission activities in the Central Province of Kenya through the lens of 'bodily encounters' and 'bodies in contact' (Ballantyne and Burton eds., 2005) such as witnessing a dance or examining and washing bodies, we place the body as an analytical and methodological tool to explore missionary experience in Kenya.

3. Sinah Kloss (Heidelberg University, Germany)
‘Contesting “Gifts from Jesus”: Conversion, the Notion of Charity, and the Distribution of Used Clothing in Guyana’

ABSTRACT
Clothes have always been a means to demonstrate wealth, status, and socio-religious hegemony in Guyana. As elsewhere, practices of consuming and exchanging clothing create possibilities to enhance or lower one’s status through displaying ‘taste’ as well as cultural and economic capital. In British Guiana, the discourse on nakedness/nudity and respectable dress additionally served as a means for colonizers and Christian missions to highlight an alleged ‘Western’ and Christian superiority compared to ‘heathen,’ ‘uncivilized,’ and ‘inferior’ cultures and religions such as those defined as ‘African’ and ‘Indian/Hindu.’ This presentation highlights the presumed opposition of Indian/Hindu and English/Christian cultures with regard to dress and analyses the link between Christian missions, clothing distributions, the notion of charity, and definitions of ‘poverty.’ In particular, it focuses on charitable distributions of used clothing in Guyana, past and present. In contemporary Guyana, Hindus often regard clothing donations and charitable distributions as linked to Christian missions. They frequently describe that initially only Christians were able to conduct distributions due to economic advantages, their links to colonial powers, and their role in the international secondhand clothing trade. In this context, they commonly state that the distribution of used clothing was and remains a means to convert Hindus to Christianity and to consolidate Christian dominance. They remark that Christians refer to such charity directly as “gifts from Jesus.” Christian organizations continue to “give charity” but in the course of transnational migration to North America, Hindu-Guyanese have initiated charitable distributions of clothing “back home.” For this purpose, used clothes are collected by migrants and are then shipped to Guyana. The presentation hence addresses the following questions: as Hindus remain a minority in Guyana, can this practice be regarded as a means to counter the perceived ‘threat’ of conversion? How does this development influence social hierarchies and religious hegemony?

6A. Legacies – land and economics – 16:30-18:00
1. Ndu Life Njoku and Linda Chijioke Ihenacho (Imo State University, Nigeria)
‘Colonial Christian Missionaries and the Evil Forest Phenomenon in Igbo-land: The Legacy of Interactions between Missionary Enterprise and Culture in Nigeria’

ABSTRACT
This paper examines critically the religiously-loaded description of forests designated for certain socio-cultural purposes in Igbo-land as ‘bad’ or ‘evil’ (as opposed to ‘good’), the suspicion and tensions which this generated during the colonial Christian missionary-Igbo encounter, and the legacy the encounter left behind. The paper shows how traditional Igbo facts of life and religious attitudes revolving around the culture of evil forest derived ultimately from the degree of their control and understanding of the material world, and how these affected, and were affected by, colonial Christian missionary work. In effect, the evil forest became the spatial point of interaction between the missionaries’ struggle to deepen the Christian gospel (God’s spell?) in order to save souls from the strangle-hold of ‘the heathens’ on one hand, and the resolve of the Igbo against the wishes and strange practices of the intruding missionaries, on the other. From both positive and negative perspectives, that this struggle further enhanced the success of Christian missionary work, following the survival of the missionaries after clearing such forests and erecting buildings on the land – land otherwise forbidden for ordinary/healthy use – is useful in deconstructing the notion that colonial Christian missions can be forgotten. But, it is also useful in re-constructing an example of how they are remembered or memorialized in different parts of Igbo-land. Using oral, secondary and primary sources, the paper will advance scholarship in this area by capturing the experiences of indigenous people as active agents in their own history.

2. Kirstie Close-Barry (Deakin University, Australia)
‘Transporting Concepts of Indigenous Land Rights between Fiji and Australia’s North’

ABSTRACT
By the 1920s and 30s, ‘industrial mission’ method had developed a radical undertone throughout the Pacific, with an aim of guarding Indigenous peoples against the threat of complete dispossession. Fijian Methodists, for example, had taken part in a project intended to protect Indigenous land possession from Indo-Fijian settlement in the west of Viti Levu. This paper explores the translation of ideas that had propelled this Fijian farming scheme to the north of Australia. Missionaries such as the Reverend Ratu Kolinio (Kol) Saukuru were an integral link between the two sites. Saukuru’s father and grandfather had engaged in industrial missions, and he was subsequently raised in Fiji’s west where industrial mission was most vibrant (and in the minds of some missionaries and colonial administrators, subversive). He travelled to the Methodist Mission station at Milingimbi in Australia’s Northern Territory in 1933 and worked there with the Reverend Theodore Webb until 1950, encouraging agricultural training for Aboriginal Mission residents. This paper will outline Saukuru’s objectives, before discussing whether his philosophies aligned with or challenged colonial agendas. This paper engages with questions emerging from the histories of colonial missions, particularly whether missions aligned with colonial administrations on strategies of governance. However, it also points to the need to think beyond national boundaries when studying mission histories. An examination of the Methodist Overseas Mission using a transnational framework illuminates a network of Indigenous people who worked to protect Indigenous access to land. This study therefore expands on the existing historiography of colonial missions, of Indigenous labour, and of land rights activism in Australia’s tropical north and Fiji.
3. Juliet Oppong-Boateng (University of Ghana)
‘Economic legacy of Christian missions on African societies: a study of the Basel mission trading company in the Gold Coast from 1859 to 1917’

ABSTRACT
The Basel Mission Society (BMS) operated for ninety years on the Gold Coast (the modern territory now known as the Ghana) from the year 1828 to 1918. With the primary task of evangelism in focus, the Basel missionaries did not limit themselves to this activity. As part of the efforts to achieve the Mission Society’s aim of total social transformation of its converts, the Basel missionaries promoted the establishment of schools, linguistic studies, agricultural experimentation and other economic ventures such as trading. A trading post which evolved into the Basel Mission Trading Company (BMTC) was established at Christiansborg in the year 1859 to take charge of all their economic ventures. In addition, financial difficulties constrained the BMS to become self-supporting; and the BMTC’s profits provided support for its educational and other missionary activities. The mission trading company’s task included the importation of European goods such as biscuit, sugar, drugs and lamps; and the distribution of these items to the various mission stations in the Gold Coast. With time, the trading activities of the BMTC were expanded to cater for the needs of the African society. This paper argues that the attempt by the Basel Mission Society to leave behind an economic legacy on the Gold Coast through the operations of the BMTC by transmitting the Mission’s work ethic and practices to its converts formed part of their efforts to regenerate the African society from the ills of the slave trade. Unfortunately, the social and cultural systems of the African people which embodied their work ethic and practices were given scant attention. Drawing on available archival and secondary materials with supplementary sources from oral data on the activities of the BMS in the Gold Coast, this paper examines the BMTC as an economic institution and the interplay between Christianity and commerce in the quest for moral and material regeneration of the African society.

6B. Gender – 16.30-18.00

1. João Figueiredo (University of Coimbra, Portugal)
‘Heimlich/unheimlich in the Angolan early photographic heritage of spiritan influence’

ABSTRACT
When the Congregation of the Holy Spirit turned its attention towards Angola, in 1866, one of the earliest areas it decided to intervene in was the local African gender division of labor. At Lândana, the spot of their first successful mission, women seemed to do all the agricultural work, while the men hunted and took part in other public and heavily ritualized political and/or religious activities – a state of affairs they did neither understand, nor tolerate. The spiritan missionaries, wary of Protestant encroachment, decided to adapt their Christian rivals’ model, establishing in Angola the first mixed gender missions, thus hoping not only to successfully convert locally influential males (like their predecessors, the Capuchins), but also to create Christian families. In order to do so, they forced upon local women their take on the crafts of domesticity, asking them to abandon the fields in order to devote themselves solely to an idealized role of wives and mothers. Fifty years later, at the southern plateaus of Huíla and Bié, the spiritans continued their campaign to shape “caring” mothers out of the local women, while trying to banish to oblivion “gentile” political and religious rituals decried as feitiçaria (sorcery). Two of the most important photographers of colonial Angola, Cunha Moraes (active in the 1870s and 1880s) and Elmano Cunha e Costa (active in the 1930s), either documented the work of the spiritans or actively collaborated with them, leaving a legacy of hundreds of images which still frame our possible understanding of the time. This paper will reflect on how the spiritans’ policy of gender role reorganization and selective forgetting of traditions shaped what is shown and/or hidden in these photographs – which have gained an agency of their own –, deconstructing the missionaries’ policy of the heimlich by confronting it with its unheimlich counterpart.
2. Jessica Criales (Rutgers University, USA)

“‘My Obligation to the Doctor for his Paternal Cair’: Eleazar Wheelock and the Female Students of Moor’s Indian Charity School, Connecticut, 1761-1769”

ABSTRACT
In 1761, Eleazar Wheelock opened a “Female School” as a branch of his previously established “Moor’s Indian Charity School,” a New England boarding school for indigenous youth. Supported by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, both schools formed part of Wheelock’s “Great Design” for civilizing and Christianizing members of the surrounding Pequot, Mohegan, Narragansett, and Delaware tribes. Moor’s Indian Charity School is usually seen as a failed experiment, as many students ran away or rejected the Christian lifestyle. It also represents an aberration in the history of Anglo-indigenous relations, occurring between the optimistic missionary endeavors of Christian ministers in the early colonial period, and the assimilationist, state-sponsored schools of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the Female School serves as an excellent case study of attempts to impose Anglo gender norms on indigenous girls. Letters exchanged between Wheelock and the female students enrolled at the school, as well as available evidence about their lives before and after their time at the school, demonstrate the impact of Wheelock’s ideology on his students, the “father of his tawny family.” This paper argues that Wheelock’s greatest impact was in creating a strong sense of community at the school, based in his authority as a patriarch. This bond with individual female students remained even after the students had left the school. While Wheelock failed to achieve the majority of his gendered goals for his students, many female students did Wheelock’s role as a patriarchal figure in their lives.

3. Maria Cecilia Holt (Harvard School of Divinity, USA)

‘Tea with the Queens of Hawaii: Letters from Fort Armstrong’

ABSTRACT
In a 1915 letter from Hawaii, Mrs. Francis M. Hinkle, wrote excitedly to her mother about “Mrs. Frear’s” invitation to a very small Tea “to meet Mrs. Jack London.” Mrs. Hinkle replied that although she had already met the Londons, “I am elated. I have won my way into a lovely circle here in Honolulu by my own abilities…there are plenty of other Captain’s wives who cannot go to the Queen’s, or be invited to Mrs. Frear’s…” Indeed, Marion Ethel Hinkle, an aspiring poet and keen admirer of the arts, did in fact have Tea with several of Hawaii’s “queens” including Charmian London (with whom she would become close friends), Mrs. Arita, the wife of the Japanese Consul, Mrs. John Dominis, wife of the Queen’s step-son, and even Queen Liliuokalani herself—Hawaii’s last monarch—who in 1898 had written:

‘My great-grandfather, Keawe-a-Heulu, the founder of the dynasty of the Kamehamehas, the Keoua, father of Kamehameha I., …and my great-grandaunt was the celebrated Queen Kapiolani, one of the first converts to Christianity. She plucked the sacred berries from the borders of the volcano, descended to the boiling lava, and there, while singing Christian hymns, threw them into the lake of fire. This was the act which broke forever the power of Pele, the fire-goddess, over the hearts of her people.’

How did Hawaii’s royal family take to Tea and Christians? This paper’s exploration of selected letters from Marion Ethel Hinkle, Charmian London along with Queen Liliuokalani’s biography offers a glimpse into subtle but crucial negotiations of identity and gender in a dynamic colonial setting through an analysis of ritual exchanges of “civilities” between the royalty, military and literati in early twentieth century Hawaii.
Day 3: Wednesday 29th April, 2015

Keynote Session – 08:30-09:30

Julie Evans (University of Melbourne, Australia)
‘Attending to place in academic life: living with settler colonialism’

ABSTRACT

Minutes of Evidence is a collaborative project that seeks to expand the field of engagement with conventional notions and practices of History, by providing a number of public meeting places where different ways of understanding Victoria’s past, and its resonance in the present, can interact. Its members are Indigenous and non-Indigenous; it is interdisciplinary in its conceptual framing (sharing the insights of researchers in history, law, criminology, socio-legal studies, and historical geography); and cross-sectoral in composition (its partners come from the creative arts, education, major government and public institutions in Victoria, and universities in Victoria and England). The minutes of evidence of an 1881 official inquiry into a so-called rebellion at the Coranderrk Aboriginal mission, located near Melbourne, inform the project’s three dimensions – education, performance, and research – all of which are premised on public and community engagement (http://www.minutesofevidence.com.au).

At the heart of the project is the intention to expand the field of engagement with the complexity of the colonial past – to draw on, yet also move beyond, conventional scholarly ways of ‘doing’ History; to draw in different ways of knowing, experiencing and relating the meaning of the past and the present; and to open up some new possibilities for working collaboratively towards a just future between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Victoria.

In many ways, the thinking behind the Minutes of Evidence project reflects what Ann Genovese has described as the shift from critique, to critical conduct. I reflect in this paper on how responsibilities attaching to the office of historian might be understood and exercised outside the reassuring familiarity of disciplinary forms and conventions, and the relative detachment of academic critique, in order to move towards critical conduct. Speaking from the general perspective of what it means for a non-Aboriginal person to live with settler colonialism, and of the particular responsibilities that the office of historian might hold in settler societies such as Australia, I consider the importance of attending to place in academic life.
7A. Early colonial missions – 09:30-11:00

1. Karen Auman (Brigham Young University, USA)
‘Failed Mission: Halle Pietism and Indians in North America’

ABSTRACT
A key center for Pietist thought in Germany, the Francke Foundations in Halle established missions in India, Eastern Europe and British North America. In 1734, Johann Martin Boltzius became the first Halle-trained pastor sent to a mission in North America when he was appointed the spiritual shepherd to the exiled Salzburgers who settled in Georgia. Expanding their reach, Halle sent Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg in 1742 to work in Pennsylvania. Both men lived in the frontiers and carried the charge to convert Indians, yet they—and Halle—quickly and quietly abandoned the idea. This paper examines the lessons of that failure, explicating the ways religious networks functioned in the transatlantic, the cultural interactions between German Lutherans and Indians, and the challenges of operating in a pluralistic setting of competing Protestant faiths.

2. Scott Cave (Pennsylvania State University, USA)
‘Achmayex Guayaxerax and Her Son Jesus: Communication, Captivity, and Forgotten Converts in the Canary Islands’

ABSTRACT
In the years before Columbus landed in the new world, Spain had already subdued the Canary Islands and their previously isolated Guanche inhabitants. Historically and geographically the islands lay somewhere between Europe and Africa, and on the way to America. Given their liminal position between disciplines and landmasses, they have largely been ignored by scholars of each, and studies of this first overseas mission have suffered accordingly. If scholars have remained silent, the Guanche were more than eager to tell the story of their conversion. Beginning in the 1480s, they appeared regularly in mainland Spanish courts, arguing that their religious conversion legally prevented them from being kidnapped and sold as laborers. Later in the sixteenth century, Tenerife natives worked with a Guatemalan friar on a history of the Virgin of Candelaria. They told the story of her statue’s appearance, and how the Guanche preacher Antón came from Spanish captivity to teach them her true identity and instruct them in the worship of her son. Mediated as they are by Spanish scribes and Spanish concerns, these Guanche stories, along with the words of their priests, neighbors, conquerors, and owners, can serve as the basis for an examination of the Spanish missionary experience in the Canaries. Informed by discussions of the role of language, alternative literacies, and intermediaries in emerging Latin American scholarship, this paper asks how the Guanche came to understand Christianity and the ways they engaged with it. It also asks how Spanish clerics approached the Guanche, and the role of a highly extractive colonial society in this process. Finally, it assesses the legacy and lessons of the conquest of the Canaries and the conversion of its people in the context of colonial/missionary projects in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica.
3. Jason Dyck (Trent University Oshawa, Canada)
‘Jesuit Missionary Partnerships: Morisco, Indian, and Filipino Evangelists in the Spanish World’

ABSTRACT
Jesuits in the early modern Spanish world described their work of evangelization as a “spiritual conquest” of native souls. In their provincial chronicles, mission histories, devotional histories, and sacred biographies they exalted the men of their religious order as self-sacrificing men willing to die for the sake of the Christian gospel. But if the triumphant rhetoric of their narrative accounts is stripped down, an alternative and perhaps unintentional story of a different kind of missionary emerges. Whether it was the fallen Muslim kingdom of Granada, the northern missions of New Spain, the reductions of Paraguay, or the islands of the Philippines, the Society of Jesus depended on native inhabitants to evangelize and catechize local peoples. Early modern Jesuit chroniclers emphasize the role Moriscos, Indians, and Filipinos played as preachers and teachers of Christian doctrine to their own people and other neighbouring groups. In this paper I analyze textual images of non-European missionaries under Jesuit supervision in their sacred histories, arguing for an expansion of the colonial category of “missionary” in the Spanish world. Generally speaking, only Spaniards and creoles were considered “missionaries” because they were the only ones who were ordained into the priesthood. But many of the tasks that converts on Jesuit missions performed were similar to their own, turning them into carriers of the Christian gospel and hence co-creators in the development of local Christianities. Drawing inspiration from Matthew Restall’s notion of the “myth of the white conquistador,” I believe it is time to question the “myth of the white missionary” by breaking down the traditional binary between European missionary and native convert.

7B. Legacies of mission history for 21st century education – 09:30-11:00

1. Lilly Brown (University of Melbourne, Australia)
‘Australian teachers on the frontline: Unarmed and unprepared to teach the colonial past and its legacy in the present’

ABSTRACT
Australia as a nation came into being through the process of colonisation and the attempted dispossession of Indigenous people from their lands, language and culture. Despite the importance of this dynamic as part of the foundation of Australian nationhood, a continued struggle is evident in the way the past is presented and what's remembered. The research presented here will assert that secondary school teachers are on the front line when it comes to formally transferring collective narratives of the past to the proceeding generations. Yet despite the recent emphasis within the National Curriculum that ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures’ be prioritised within the classroom, limited scope exists to formally consider or acknowledge the complexity of Australia’s ‘shared history’ and its legacy in the present. This is evidenced in the numerous challenges faced by educators attempting to incorporate ‘shared history’ content into their teachings, including: limited prior knowledge and pre-service preparation; difficulty facilitating and navigating discussions in diverse classroom settings; and importantly, a lack of appropriate place-based educational resources. In considering these challenges, a number of exciting possibilities emerge in parallel, particularly in relation to mission histories as complex, yet specific place-based sites of inquiry.

2. Jonathan Anuik (University of Alberta, Canada)
‘Achieving Christian Childhood at Public School: Faith-informed Discourse and Action’
ABSTRACT
Catholic and Protestant churches take credit for the formulation of ideas that shape modern schoolhouses in western Canada. Pre-service teacher candidates do not see the Christian contexts that illuminate the pedagogical stances that they take in class. This paper draws on my education elective course Concepts of Childhood in History and works specifically from the course topic: who is a Christian child? In this class on Christian childhood, I demonstrate to students the ideologies that resulted in the normalization of Christian ideals of childhood that would affect the delivery of education to First Nation and Métis children on the prairies. Christian ideals would become normalized as secular ideals and influence the format and execution of classes at school. Indigenous students would be the main targets in these early years of schools. I share the messages from articles written by Christian education scholars at the turn of the 20th century to illuminate philosophies of morality, childrearing, learning, and education, the basics of Christian concepts of childhood, and their influences at school. Such an intellectual history informs students how the principles of education that would take shape in Indian Residential Schools and mainstream public and Catholic schools would disassociate Indigenous children and youth from their existing knowledge bases. Finally, I close with suggestions for a repurposing of teaching from value transmission to nurturer of sources and domains of knowledge, enumerated through the First Nations Holistic Lifelong Learning Model. Such prospects serve as lessons in learning for teacher education.

3. Arnaq Grove (Ilisimatusarfik University, Greenland)
‘Colonial mission legacies in the usage and status of Greenlandic language’

ABSTRACT
The Greenlandic language today is, unsurprisingly, very different from the way it was before its colonization by the Danes and Norwegians in 1721. The changes are largely the result of how it has been used and changing attitudes towards it. The Christian mission was originally the major actor in the formation of the Greenlandic education system, and the codification of the written language. In this paper I will give some insights into a number of discords in the ways in which the language has been, and continues to be, perceived. These different attitudes came up at different times, both within the mission and in other parts of the Greenlandic community. I will finally describe some of what I find problematic changes it has undergone in modern times.

8A. Missions and colonialism – 11:30-12:30

1. Retief Muller (Stellenbosch University, South Africa)
‘Afrikaner Missionaries in British Colonial Africa: Mashonaland and Nyasaland’

ABSTRACT
My paper will focus on “the history and legacy of relationships between Christian missions and colonial states.” For the purpose of my paper I will focus on two British colonial territories in southern and central Africa, Mashonaland and Nyasaland. I shall consider the period of the late 19th to early 20th centuries. I will especially look at the history of Afrikaner missionaries from South Africa’s Dutch Reformed Church in these two areas, and the relationships they had with colonial authorities. For instance, the first DRC missionary to arrive in Mashonaland received personal authorisation to start his work by none other than Cecil John Rhodes, without whose good graces no DRC mission would have been possible there. What makes this interesting is that the period in question spanned the Anglo-Boer War (South African War) (1899-1902), an event in which the abovementioned Rhodes had a significant hand, as well as the First World War (1914-1918). In the first instance the Afrikaner Boer republics fought against the British Empire and by the time of WWI South Africa was a Union within the British Empire. Some of the missionaries I will discuss had
therefore deeply divided loyalties. They were committed Afrikaners, in some cases veteran Boer soldiers who had spent time in POW camps. Yet here they were doing missionary work under the protection of the British flag. Obviously this created a myriad of emotionally complex dealings between missions and authorities, which will be the focus of my paper. Much of the relevant documentation, including correspondences is preserved in the Dutch Reformed Church archive in Stellenbosch, South Africa, where I am currently situated. I already have done some research on these missionary endeavours by the DRC, but look forward to focus more directly on this particular theme.

2. Stephen Morgan (University of Notre Dame, USA)
‘The Rhenish Mission, the Herero, and German Colonial Conquest in South-West Africa’

ABSTRACT
This paper will argue that the development of colonial rule in German South-West Africa during a turbulent and violent time around the turn of the twentieth century shaped the way that the Rhenish Mission to the Herero articulated its work and its vision of a Christianised Herero. I will show how the Mission imagined the place of both the Herero and itself in the colonial order in response to colonial conquest, and demonstrate that missionary conceptions and portrayals of their work could be fluid, evolving due to changes in the colonial context. This complicated the legacy of the Mission, which could not claim one set of unwavering commitments beyond generically stated goals. The period from 1896 to 1907 was tumultuous in South-West Africa, especially for the Herero, the colony’s largest indigenous group. It began with a natural disaster that devastated Herero cattle herds, thus forcing them to sell land to Europeans, and ended with a war of genocidal dimensions that nearly annihilated them. It was also the period during which the government’s drive to create ideal conditions for settlement eliminated the possibility of Herero self-sufficiency and political autonomy. For the Herero, it was marked by colonial expropriation and conquest. These radical changes altered not only Herero life, but also missionary efforts among them. By the late nineteenth century, the Mission responded to the expropriation of Herero land by identifying its mission closely with an agrarian vision for Herero life and with political agitation for reservations where the Herero could live secluded from colonial society. Yet by the end of the Colonial War of 1904-1907, it represented its work in terms of integrating the Herero into the colonial order as diligent workers and servants. I will show through this evolution how the colonial context shaped the parameters within which the Mission not only worked, but also imagined its work.

8B. Indigenous Christianity – 11:30-12:30

1. De-Valera Botchway (University of the Cape Coast, Ghana)
‘The Gold Coast is our Nazareth’ – Jemisimiham Jehu Appiah and 20th Century Religious Schism in the Gold Coast: An African Prophet’s Intellectual Contribution to the Africanisation of the Church’

ABSTRACT
The introduction and operationalising of Eurocentric Christianity in Africa by European missionaries inspired and produced African-led schisms. Most leaders of the defections were once auxiliaries – teacher-catechists, choir masters and lay preachers – in the proselytisation enterprise of the European missionaries. They defected from a foreign missionary paternalism, which was intolerant to certain locally generated notions that the African ancillaries sought to add to the Christianisation project and make it African centred in doctrine and, moreover, democratise its leadership. Frustrated by a foreign hegemony in religion and, by extension, colonialism, the schismatic movements were reconfigured into an African protest against foreign domination. Consequently, many Independent African Churches, nuanced by nationalist
ideas, emerged and became mouthpieces for local anti colonialism leaders to demand autonomy. In the Gold Coast, now Ghana, William J.E. Appiah, (Prophet Jemismiham Jehu Appiah), a teacher catechist, left the missionary-founded Methodist Church for opposing his Afrocentric healing and preaching activities, and founded the Musama Disco Christo Church (M.D.C.C.) in the 1920s. In a nationalist spirit, he wrote, in the indigenous Fante language, his philosophies to validate an Afrocentric church. Deeming the M.D.C.C. as “indigenous” and “true”, and free from missionary hegemony, he considered that it would motivate the emergence of similar ones in Africa in the colonial and post colonial moments. His Church is alive, yet his untranslated writings have remained in obscurity. What was the relationship between the missionaries and this defector? This study provides a biographical view about the prophet. It translates his writings, which were generated from his local experiences, and interrogates their inner logic. They were liberation theology philosophies, which rationalised the salvaging of aspects of indigenous culture through the Africanisation of Christianity as vital to the promotion of a Black Nationalist cultural awareness among peoples of the Gold Coast and other colonies.

2. Fortune Afatakpa (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)
‘Igbe and its Revolutionary Response to Christian Missionary Activities among the Urhobo Ethnic Group of the Niger Delta’

ABSTRACT
The experience of colonialism and Christian missionary activities gave rise to a new religious order among the Urhobo of Niger Delta. This religion is today popular among the Urhobo ethnic group which is the fifth largest in Nigeria. Nevertheless, colonial Christian Missionary activities were characterized by hostilities and condemnation of Igbe Religion because in those colonial years certain beliefs and practices associated with Igbe were labeled antithetical and offensive to the colonial administration and Christian missionary quest. Consequently, the colonial administration prohibited the practice of the religion. Yet, the religion survived the colonial and Christian missionary opposition it initially suffered, thriving with an increasing transnational profile in the 21st century. It is against this backdrop the paper examines the survival of Igbe in spite of the opposition it suffered at the advent of colonialism and Christian missionary activities. It adopts a sociological and historical interpretation of the phenomenal growth of the religion. Data was collected through interviews and participant observation and was analysed qualitatively using descriptive method. Among others, findings show that using the humanistic and tertium quid model of interfaith dialogue, practitioners of Igbe religion have adopted some modes of Christian worship as a survival and growth strategy. The findings further show that the adoption of some Christian modes of worship is connected to the commonality of theism to both Igbe and the Christianity. This designates Igbe as a unique African Indigenous Religion precisely because of its theistic affirmation as against the usual pantheism common to the apprehension of African Traditional Religions. The paper concludes that practitioners of Indigenous African Religions must adopt an inclusive model of interfaith relationship which is the focal point of the tertium quid model in order to survive and thrive against the essential affirmations and proselytizing of the Christian faith tradition in contemporary Africa.

9A. Education on 19th century Christian missions – 13:30-15:00

1. Jim Carroll (Iona College, New Rochelle, USA)
‘The Good News and Bad News: Religious Denominations and Indigenous Education’

ABSTRACT
The arguments presented here will examine the relationships between religious denominations and nation-states in order to uncover the ideological and practical foundations of this encounter. This analysis is limited to the first five decades of the twentieth century—the final epoch of church-state cooperation—and will include
four settler societies—Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia. These nations share several important similarities that have an important bearing on this study: (1) all were explored and colonized by Great Britain; (2) each region was populated by clearly defined indigenous peoples; (3) the economic potential of the colonies rested on a settler-society and resource exploitation; (4) Christian missionaries arrived in each of these places “arm-in-arm” with the conquerors; (5) involuntary servitude and large-scale emigration were important historical events in all the nations; and (6) the indigenous cultures were changed by the efforts of Christian missionaries. Some may argue that in the case of Canada the original colonizers were French and in Australia the doctrine of “terra nullius” negated indigenous hegemony, however by 1900 the effects of these differences were equalized by prolonged contact allowing these assumptions to apply to all of the nations. Moreover, the specificity of considering the role of Christian denominations in the education of indigenous children reduces many of the ideological differences because schools generally emerged on the cusp of frontier collapse which commenced at the midpoint of the nineteenth century.

While a wide range of religious denominations operated schools in the various nations, this analysis singles out the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church. The universal ecclesiology and common missionary impulse of Catholicism provides a unique perspective for transnational comparisons. From the northern latitudes to the antipodes Catholic missionaries had a long-standing involvement in the conversion, “civilization,” and protection of indigenous children by means of education thus lending itself to comparative analysis. In most cases mission schools were started by specific Catholic orders—Benedictines, Jesuits, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Pallottines, Marianists, etc, as well as religious orders of women (the “godly mechanics of civilization”)—who shared an international missiology and a particular charism. The role of other denominations enters the narrative during periods of interdenominational conflict and increased bureaucratization that was frequently connected to government funding of indigenous schools.

The task of unravelling the similarities and differences between Catholic indigenous education in the four countries is challenging because it involves widely different cultures, competing approaches to missions (e.g. Benedictine versus Jesuit approaches), differing bureaucratic structures, varying geographic challenges, and shifting government policies. In order to insure coherence and to generate meaningful comparisons a number of themes will be explored— the ideology and philosophy of Catholic indigenous schools, the structures employed by missionaries to educate indigenous children, the relationship between these schools and the national governments, the assimilationist ideas affecting Catholic missionaries, and the effect of these institutions on the cultures they touched. This analysis is both comparative and recursive and the ultimate objective is to amass a critical body of evidence that highlights similarities and differences between Catholic indigenous schools in different parts of the world.

2. Arun Kumar (University of Göttingen, Germany)
‘Histories of the Mission Industrial School: Its Everyday Working and Remembrance’

ABSTRACT
This paper makes a historical inquiry into the functioning of industrial schools established by protestant missionaries for the poor converted ‘natives’ in colonial India who were deemed unfit for the proper ‘book-learning’. Histories of these industrial schools were connected within the networks of a distinctive ‘intra-continental’ missionary discourse on education for the poor and production of ‘labouring bodies’ which concerned to satisfy the needs of labour of mission posts and provide livelihood to ‘poor heathens’. The paper will discuss how certain global ideas about dealing with the poor’s education were experimented and employed by missionaries in the colonial setting. And once employed, how they had to interact with and conform to the demands of colonial state’s agenda of education which was often at odd with missionaries’ aspirations. The paper will highlight the everyday hidden tension between the distinct desires of missionaries and colonial officials in educating the poor. To do this, it will focus on the history of an industrial school present in a local town (Nazareth) of colonial Madras which had its origin as the Christian town in the great famine of 1876-77 when thousands died and millions starved. Employing colonial and missionary archive, the paper will also dwell much on oral testimonies of the ex-students of the School to explore how the school has been remembered in the local memory. In the oral recall, the school is very much part of the history of their
local town. It is these two different stories – one of its official origin in the missionary archive and the other of its lived history in local people’s memory – which this paper will attempt to bring out.

3. Idir Ouahes (University of Exeter, England)
‘French Christian missionary education in Lebanon and Syria 1920-25’

ABSTRACT
This paper will outline the background of French Christian interaction with the Levant through the Ottoman period. I will show that established educational missions existed by the beginning of the French Mandate in 1920. However, I argue that the presence of the French authorities from 1920 onward signified a shift in gears in the level of engagement of these missions, particularly in terms of their co-optation into politics. While political considerations were always a part and parcel of successfully running educational establishments, as demonstrated in the mass expulsions of Christian missionaries by the Ottomans in World War I, missionaries were increasingly convinced of the political as well as cultural element civilising mission by French bureaucrats running the new Mandate States. I examine the various missions, from the Lazardists and Jesuits to the Soeurs de la Charité and give a global view of the role and proportion of education provided by these missions. I give a brief account of the kind of students they accepted, the regimes of education they provided and the mentalities of these missionaries. I then examine the relation they had with the French authorities, and the level to which they were co-opted by the administration. I also show that they could equally provide the space for local intellectual and political development by educating Lebanese and Syrians. For this paper I use archives from the French diplomatic and national archives and archives of these missions held in France and Italy.

9B. Memorialising Missions – 13.30-15.00

1. Nancy Rushohora (University of Pretoria, South Africa)
‘The Majimaji war memory and memorials of the German colonial missions in Southern Tanzania’

ABSTRACT
The Majimaji war was a resistance against the German colonial rule in Tanzania (1905-1907). The main causes of the war were the exploitative nature of the colonial authority. German missionaries were already in the colony during the Majimaji war outbreak. Although their works were distinct from the colonial government and administration, the local people were unable to differentiate the German missionaries and administrators. Thus, during the war, missions and missionaries were the target of the Tanzanian warriors. Churches were looted and burnt, missionary schools were ablaze and missionaries were killed. However, the implication of missions during the war was not uniform. In areas where the developmental role of the missionary activities were already realized, the local people hid the missionaries and saved their lives. While in areas where the traditional religions conflicted with Christianity, the disputes were high. Missions have been important agents in the keeping of the war memories. All the affected missionaries are commemorated with well-built memorials and books which commemorate the war. Despite the recognition of the war by the government of Tanzania as a first freedom fighting attempt, the memorials of the war are very few as compared to the missionary memorials. The local communities living near the missions commemorate the refuge role that missionaries provided after the war. The war was followed by hunger and missionaries saved the lives of many people. The missionaries are also remembered as agents of change in southern Tanzania, the poorest region in the country. The communities have relied on
missionaries for education and medical services until recently. This paper presents the missionary memories and memorials of the Majimaji war and the development legacies in Southern Tanzania.

2. Iris Busschers (University of Groningen, The Netherlands)
‘Memorialisation on the brink of a changing world: remembrance and amnesia in the commemoration of missionary lives in Dutch Calvinist mission, 1942-1949’

ABSTRACT
When World War II had ended in both the Netherlands and the Indonesian archipelago, information about deceased mission workers poured in. After years of near silence on the subject of their own missions as directed by the German occupiers, the Dutch Calvinist mission cooperation Samenwerkende Zendingscorporaties (SZC) caught up on the news by dedicating an issue and a half of their monthly journal to obituaries of missionaries who had died in the Indonesian archipelago under Japanese rule. But by November, when the first of these two issues appeared, mission had to accommodate another change in circumstances: Hatta and Sukarno had declared Indonesia independent in August 1945, after which a Dutch-Indonesian conflict began that lasted until the Dutch recognised Indonesia’s independence in December 1949. Taking the November and December issues of the mission journal Nederlandsch Zendingsblad as a point of departure, this paper investigates the changing memorialisation of different groups of SZC missionary workers (including missionaries, doctors, women, and Indonesian preachers) during the years 1942—1949. Combining insights from studies of collective biography, collective memory, and the history of emotions, this paper makes apparent how the SZC tried to accommodate a changing worldview in which the implicit acceptance of colonial rule was increasingly called into question by both missionaries and (intended) converts, while at the same time aiming to maintain a traditional vision of what a missionary life (and mission itself) should be. In doing so, it elicits reflection on the often hagiographic nature of missionary biographical writing without dismissing these texts as sources, but, rather, by demonstrating how these sources might be useful points of departure for mission historians today.

‘A Triple Jubilee: the significance of the 1945 anniversary of the London Missionary Society (LMS)’

ABSTRACT
In 1945 the London Missionary Society, one of Britain’s oldest and most successful missionary societies, was approaching its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The anniversary actually fell in the month of September and with World War II concluded a programme of celebrations in London, elsewhere in the UK, and overseas could safely be embarked on. Commemorative services were organised, pageants were performed, tea parties and other social gatherings were held, histories and papers were written, souvenir stamps issued, and special “Triple Jubilee” board and card games for children produced. Significantly, the title of the specially commissioned photograph album, issued in two volumes at the end of the festive programme - London Missionary Society 1945 - year of the Triple Jubilee and New Advance indicated a concern with the Society’s future as well as its past. This paper investigates for the first time the historical significance of the LMS’s Triple Jubilee. It examines the contents of the materials produced for the event, as well as contemporary correspondence and reportage, and evaluates the purposes underlying the celebrations and the responses of those attending or observing. It looks at the pattern and significance of jubilee commemorations in mission history generally, and particularly in relation to the history of the London Missionary Society. It further reflects on the connections between Christian communities in Britain, and those overseas, as well as their mutual perceptions, at a transitional moment towards the close of the colonial era.