Rediscovering Missionary Photography

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2d ed., 1989), the word “photography,” derived from the Greek words for light and writing, was coined by Sir John Herschel in 1839, the year the photographic process became public. In that same year LMS missionary John Williams (1796–1839) was martyred on the Island of Erromango in the New Hebrides. The “modern missionary movement” was just emerging from its fledgling state, and missionaries were quick to appreciate and utilize photography as a means of promoting their concerns.

Today, photographic images—on screen and video, in magazines and newspapers, on billboards and posters—are ubiquitous, inescapable, and powerful shapers of our perceptions of both what is and of what should be. The skillful manipulation of images sways opinion, perpetuates stereotypes, distorts reality, and peddles everything from products to propaganda.

Echoing the eccentric but prescient William Blake (1757–1827), we humans are led to believe a lie when we see with, not through, the eye. Perhaps consciously, perhaps unwittingly, but above all inevitably, missionary photographs were used to reveal and conceal, clarify and distort, nuance and stereotype their subjects.

But missionary photographers went well beyond tawdry sensationalism. In this issue’s lead article, Jack Thompson tells how Alice Seely Harris’s photographic images of mutilated Congolese captured the grisly reality beneath the carefully orchestrated public-relations façade that, until then, had masked King Leopold’s brutal economic rape of the Congo.

Hans Rollmann demonstrates that Moravian photographs from Labrador some 130 years ago constituted much more than simply visual proof of the legitimacy of the Moravians’ work and their worthiness of financial support. They served a profoundly theological purpose as well, reinforcing the Moravian Church’s self-definition as a mission church, and reaffirming each congregation, however remote, as part of a wider unity.

Missionary photographs have recently become the focus of serious attention by archivists and librarians. So vast has been the accumulation of photographic images in mission collections that until recently, those charged with the systematic classifying, cataloging, storing, and retrieving of these pictures have been simply overwhelmed. The good news—related in the articles by Paul Jenkins and by Samantha Johnson and Rosemary Seton, and illustrated by the announcements of the MUNDUS Gateway and Internet Mission Photography Archive (IMPA) initiatives—is that substantial efforts are now underway to ensure that future generations of mission historians and scholars will be enabled to see our present and our past more clearly; not only with, but through the eye.

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of Missionary Research
Light on the Dark Continent: The Photography of Alice Seely Harris and the Congo Atrocities of the Early Twentieth Century

T. Jack Thompson

In 1905 Mark Twain published King Leopold’s Soliloquy, an imaginary rumination by the Belgian king on the troubles caused him by those campaigning against his administration in the Congo Free State. Part of Leopold’s fictional meditation is on the difficulties caused him by the evidence of the camera. Twain has him lament: “The Kodak has been a sore calamity to us. The most powerful enemy that has confronted us. . . . The only witness I have encountered in my long career that I couldn’t bribe.”

A few years earlier, in 1902, the Scottish missionary James Stewart delivered his Duff Missionary Lectures in Edinburgh. Reflecting on the atrocities in the Congo at the time, Stewart observed: “There is always a suspicion that details of this kind [about mutilation and other atrocities] are sensationally exaggerated. Photographs, however, generally tell their story with brutal fidelity, being unable to do otherwise, and readers will find some that will illustrate the nature of the administration beyond dispute.”

Almost certainly both Twain and Stewart were speaking specifically of the photographs of Alice Seely Harris, an English missionary with the Congo Balolo Mission. Harris took hundreds of photos during this period, many of them documenting atrocities carried out either directly or indirectly by the Congo authorities in their haste to maximize profits from the fast-developing rubber trade.

Alice Seely was born in 1870 and married John Harris in 1898, just before both of them departed from England as missionaries to the Congo. At that time the nature of Leopold’s rule in the Congo was beginning to emerge in Europe and North America. A host of personalities, many of them well-known internationally, helped to bring the Congo atrocities to the attention of a wider public. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, famous as the creator of Sherlock Holmes, wrote a pamphlet, The Crime of the Congo. Joseph Conrad’s novel Heart of Darkness—today one of the most-discussed African texts in postcolonial studies—was based on six months he spent in the Congo in 1890. William H. Shepherd, the first African-American to become a Presbyterian missionary to the Congo and the subject of the recent book Black Livingstone, reported so frankly on the atrocities he witnessed in Kasai Province that in 1909 he and his colleague William M. Morrison were put on trial in the Congo (and later acquitted). Roger Casement, the Irish-born British diplomat later executed by the British for treason during the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland, carried out a thorough investigation in 1903 into allegations of brutality and wrote a detailed report for the British government that had considerable impact on future British policy. Finally, E. D. Morel, the key figure in the fight against Leopold’s policies in the Congo, founded the Congo Reform Association, which did much to bring about the eventual transfer of the Congo from Leopold’s personal control to the Belgian government.

In the light of such an array of talent and endeavor, the contribution of Alice Harris (or indeed that of her husband, John) to the cause of Congo reform might seem of limited significance. In fact, her contribution to the struggle both in photography and in print was substantial. Harris’s photographs were featured on several continents both as book illustrations and as Magic-Lantern slides, the latter often at huge public meetings to protest Leopold’s policies in the Congo.

The process colloquially known as the scramble for Africa accelerated after the Berlin Act of 1885, signed by the major European powers. Earlier, however, King Leopold of Belgium had already begun to establish in the Congo what was, in essence, a personal fiefdom financed by others. The expenses of Leopold’s Congo were largely borne by the peoples of the Congo itself and by the Belgian populace; the profits went substantially to Leopold himself. On April 22, 1884, the United States became the first major country to recognize Leopold’s claims. Some months later, in November 1884, the Berlin Conference recognized the legitimacy of the International Association of the Congo, which soon became the Congo Free State. Ironically, the title in French was l’État Indépendant du Congo, the Congo Independent State. What this meant in practice was that Leopold wanted the Congo to be independent of all outside control and criticism. Neither the Congolese peoples nor the Belgian parliament were to have any effective control over his actions there.

Leopold employed a whole range of explorers and adventurers to help him explore and exploit the Congo. One of these was Henry Morton Stanley, after whom several natural features of the area were subsequently named. In the first few years of occupation, the main export from the Congo was ivory, but by the early 1890s Leopold had become aware of the hugely expanding world market for rubber, mainly because of the invention of the inflatable rubber tire by John Dunlop in Belfast in 1890. Inflatable tires were used first for the bicycle and subsequently for the automobile.

In the twentieth century in other parts of Africa and in Latin America, cultivated rubber was to become a major cash crop. In the Congo of the 1890s, however, the rubber Leopold sought to exploit was wild rubber, growing in the form of vines in the forest...
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within a short time of arriving in the Congo in 1898, both Harris and her husband began sending home written reports on many aspects of life there and taking a wide variety of photographs. Their photographs were ethnographic, botanical, and political (in the sense of being images that could be used to put political pressure on various groups, including the British government).

Alice Harris's photographs were already being used in Regions Beyond, the magazine of the Congo Balolo Mission, before the Harrises returned to Britain on furlough in 1902. In 1904, however, following Roger Casement's consular report on the subject, Regions Beyond began to write openly about the atrocities, and Alice Harris's photographs began to be used more widely. In the same year Mrs. H. Gratian-Guinness, wife of the editor of Regions Beyond, published the pamphlet Congo Slavery, again using many of Harris's photographs.9

In 1904, following a private meeting the previous December with Roger Casement, E. D. Morel formed the Congo Reform Association. The next year the Harrises toured the United States, addressing more than 200 meetings in forty-nine cities. In this period at the beginning of the twentieth century, the use of the magic lantern for large public gatherings was at its height. While...
Nsala of Wala with his daughter's hand and foot.
Photograph by Alice Harris, 1904. From Edmund D. Morel, King Leopold's Rule in Africa (London: Heinemann, 1904), following p. 144.

John Harris usually spoke at these meetings, Alice Harris's visual images made the biggest emotional impact. In an age well before television, when photographs were still rare in daily newspapers and when world travel in the modern sense was an opportunity open only to few, the magic lantern was one of the most popular means of visual communication.

Frequently repeated modern images of war, famine, and destruction, which appear almost nightly on our television screens, have perhaps blunted our sense of outrage and shock at inhumane acts. However, I still remember vividly the emotional shock of encountering mutilated children on the streets of Freetown, Sierra Leone, during the recent civil war there. Imagine, then, the shock for audiences 100 years ago of being confronted by Harris's harrowing photographic images of mutilated men, women, and children in the Congo.

Other missionary photographers also documented the results of the vicious regime of Leopold in the Congo, but both in their quality and in their distribution, Harris's photographs had a greater impact than those of any other missionary (or indeed, nonmissionary) of the period. Multiple copies of her photographs were made into magic-lantern slides, accompanied by explanatory text. The slides found their way not only to Britain but to Europe and North America as well. In addition, her photographs appeared in many books. Indeed, some editions of Mark Twain's King Leopold's Soliloquy used her photograph "Nsala of Wala with his daughter's hand and foot." The same photograph appeared in Morel's book, King Leopold's Rule in Africa and in Mrs. Grattan-Guinness's Congo Slavery.

In 1906 the Harrises began working for Morel's Congo Reform Association. She took most of the photographs that Morel used in the publicity for the association. In addition she helped her husband write several of the books that he published, though she is never credited as a coauthor. Her one independent publication (as far as I am aware) was The Camera and Congo Crime, a pamphlet containing twenty-four of her photographs.

Quite a few of her photographs from this period still exist, either as original prints or as magic-lantern slides. Some are in the archives of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society at Rhodes House in Oxford; others are at the headquarters of Anti-Slavery International in Brixton, London.

Momentum for Reform

By this time, pressure for reform was growing in both the United States and Britain. In 1905 Leopold set up his own commission of inquiry that he hoped would largely absolve him and his administration from blame and vindicate his rule in the Congo. The opposite happened, despite Leopold's handpicking of the commission. The commission's negative report further increased the pressure for major reform. In December 1906 the daily New York American ran a week of articles on the Congo atrocities, using Harris's photographs to illustrate them.

Eventually Leopold agreed to hand over administration of the Congo to the Belgian government. This transition took place officially in November 1908. The shift in governance was not a revolutionary, or even a radical, solution, but it did ensure the cessation of the most inhumane of Leopold's policies and a greater degree of accountability for the future. The Harrises were aware that what had been won was one small battle, rather than the war. Perhaps for this reason John Harris in 1910 became organizing secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, for which he continued to work until his death in 1940. Though Alice Harris held no official position with the organization, she was, in effect, a cosecretary. She also continued with what today would be called her documentary photography.
In 1911–12 the Harrises returned to Africa, including the Congo. During this visit Harris took hundreds more photographs, most of which have survived. Only a handful of these later photographs are of what one might call atrocities. Overall, the Harrises saw “an immense improvement” in the situation in the Congo, yet they were not naive about ongoing injustices. Indeed, John Harris wrote a long report on the latest commercial development, the extraction of palm oil. He criticized the fact that the rights of indigenous peoples were ignored in the process and later produced a book, Present Conditions in the Congo, illustrated with his wife’s photographs.

Yet the zenith of the Congo Reform Association’s influence had passed. Leopold had handed over control of the Congo to the Belgian government in 1908, and just over a year later, he was dead. While much remained that was wrong with the colonial administration of the Congo, the emotional moment had passed, and support for further Congo reform began to wane. In 1913 Morel decided to discontinue the Congo Reform Association. Alice and John Harris were both on the platform at its final meeting in London on June 16. In his speech Morel commented, “We have struck a blow for human justice; that cannot and will not pass away.” That a considerable part of that blow was due to the photography of Alice Harris cannot be doubted. The impact of her work was partly due to her skill with a camera, but it was also partly due to the nature of her subject, namely, the harrowing and highly symbolic nature of physical dismemberment. Cutting off human hands and feet brought forth a particularly strong emotional reaction that has remained, even until today.

Critical Exposure

In recent years there has been much criticism of mission photography. The case has often been made that it helped to reinforce European stereotypes of the barbaric and savage other, that it was used to set up a false dichotomy between civilization and savagery and between Christianity and heathenism. Unfortunately, there is much truth in such criticism. With the exception of Shepherd, most of the missionaries involved in publicizing the Congo atrocities could not be called stridently pro-African, certainly not in the religious or cultural sense of the term. Yet they had a deep and basic concern for human dignity and were prepared (to varying degrees) to fight against injustice and inhumanity. That such injustice was perpetrated largely by their fellow Europeans was yet another twist to the story, though criticism of the colonial policies of a country other than one’s own was not by any means unknown.

What was unusual was the international nature of the campaign against Leopold’s rule. The campaign was due to the work of many people, some of whom have been mentioned in passing. Several of them, such as Mark Twain and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, were already figures of international repute; others such as E. D. Morel and William H. Shepherd became famous as a result of the campaign. Some, like Alice Harris, remained comparatively unknown throughout the struggle. Yet in many ways she contributed as much as anyone (with the exception of Morel, and even he remained in her debt). That her textual contribution was largely subsumed under the name of her husband was unfortunate. Her photographic contribution was unique and deeply significant.

In the early years of the twentieth century, Alice Harris undoubtedly threw light on the Dark Continent. The light was the exposure (in both senses of that word) of the photographs she took. The darkness was not the natural condition of the continent—as so many outsiders of the period might have wanted to argue—but the evil imported into Africa from Europe through the greed of men such as Leopold. Almost 100 years after they were taken, Alice Harris’s photographs still stand as a beacon of light against such injustice.

Notes

8. Ibid., pp. 111–12.
11. E. D. Morel, King Leopold’s Rule in Africa (London: Heinemann, 1904), p. 144. In a caption the photograph is wrongly attributed to John Harris, rather than Alice. On p. 444 an appendix points out that John Harris was not present when the incident occurred. The photograph was definitely taken by Alice.
13. Two of Alice Harris’s photographs may be found at <http:// www.boondocksnet.com/congo/congo_kodak05.html> and <http://www.boondocksnet.com/congo/congo_kodak06.html>.
14. Newspaper Collections (microform), New York Public Library.
15. BFA-S & APS Archives.
18. Directly contradicting statements made by supporters of King Leopold, a number of missionaries in the Congo signed affidavits stating that the practice of cutting off hands and feet was not a traditional custom in the areas in which they worked and that it had been introduced by Europeans.
The Beginnings of Moravian Missionary Photography in Labrador

Hans Rollmann

The Unity Archives of the Moravian Church at Herrnhut, Saxony, include a collection of more than 1,000 photographic plates taken by missionaries in Labrador, besides a smaller collection that comes from Greenland. These historic photographs, taken between the late 1870s and the early 1930s, cover thematically a wide range of missionary, aboriginal, and settler existence on Labrador’s north coast, from locations and settlements to Inuit life and labor. The photographs complement earlier artistic and architectural depictions of the Labrador settlements that were made to record the Moravian presence in Labrador. Unlike the earlier art, the photographs reached an increasingly wider public in print through major German and English periodicals, notably Missions-Blatt, Periodical Accounts, and Moravian Missions. In addition, these photographs were used systematically in print and slide presentations designed to maintain the link between the mission field and the home congregations and raise awareness and funds in church circles for the Labrador Mission.

This essay does not aim to interpret the content, aim, or artistic merit of the photographic representations by Labrador missionaries. Instead, I explore the early history of the photographic medium as developed by missionaries in Labrador, as well as its institutional setting among Moravians, confining myself to the Herrnhut collection and its documented photographers.

Illustration and an appeal to the full range of sensory experience have long been part of the Moravian educational methodology. Moravian bishop and pedagogical innovator John Amos Comenius (1592–1670) purposefully used illustrations in the service of education in his revolutionary Orbis Sensualium Pictus (1658). Count Zinzendorf’s profound religious commitment was deepened by viewing a painting of the crucified Christ by Domenico Feti, exhibited in a church at Düsseldorf. Although rigorists in their religious commitment, Moravians have embraced a wide range of culture. It is thus not surprising that Moravians, who had depicted their missionary surroundings in drawings, watercolor, oil, and engravings, would also adopt the medium of photography in the service of mission.

The northern coast of Labrador was first explored by Moravians in 1752. They assumed that the Inuit people they found there were ethnically related to the Inuit of Greenland, whom the Moravians had begun evangelizing in 1733. With the approval and support of the British government, Moravian missionaries settled permanently in northern Labrador beginning in 1771. They established communal centers for Christian Inuit, to which the aboriginal population increasingly returned from Christmas to Easter and on occasion throughout the year. In the early twentieth century the Moravian settlements extended from Makkovik in the south to Killinek on the northern tip of the Labrador peninsula. By then the missionary efforts also embraced the settlers living on Labrador’s north coast and the seasonal Newfoundland schooner fishers who frequented it annually.

Moravian culture and trade have significantly shaped northern Labrador and the lives of Inuit and settlers living there. The Moravian church is still the pervasive religious force in the region, with approximately 2,500 members in four churches (Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, and Happy Valley–Goose Bay) and two fellowships (North West River and Postville), which are part of an affiliated province under the supervision of the Board of World Mission.

Early Labrador Photography in Print

The earliest photographs from the Labrador mission field were taken by Captain Henry Linklater of the missionary vessel Harmony, which annually supplied the mission stations and obtained the seal oil, pelts, and other goods traded in Moravian
stores. In the June 1875 issue of the English missionary journal *Periodical Accounts*, “Labrador Views, Photographed from Nature by Capt. H. Linklater of the Harmony” were advertised for sale to the benefit of the mission. These images, 11 1/2 by 9 1/2 inches, depicted the then extant missionary settlements: from south to north, Hopedale (founded 1782), Zoar (1865), Nain (1771), Okak (1776), Hebron (1830), and Ramah (1871), as well as group portraits of aboriginal men and women. They could be purchased through the offices of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (SFG) at a price of 1 shilling, 6 pence each.

The use of these early photographs in the service of supporting the Labrador Mission is documented in an unpublished letter of the Swiss Labrador missionary Heinrich Meili (1831–1921). While on furlough in Europe, Meili lectured on the mission in supportive Swiss circles. One of his contacts, a Swiss lady of nobility who had organized female workers in sewing projects for Labrador, showed so much interest in these photographs that Meili sought to secure a set for his next lecture to her group.

Despite the availability of such commercial photos, missionary photography did not receive much exposure in the Moravian periodical literature until a decade later. Before the middle of the 1880s illustrations were sparse, consisting largely of line art or prints based on drawings or engravings. The first employment of photography in the German Moravian journal *Missions-Blatt* used a photograph as the basis for line art. It was a group portrait of an Alaskan Inuit family “in faithful reproduction,” furnished in 1885 by the Lithographic Institute of Leopold Kraatz in Berlin, which also printed maps for the German Moravians. The directors of the SFG, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, sent a collection of such pictures to the Department of Missions at Herrnhut, Saxony, where they were deposited in an attached museum for the general benefit of visitors and the pious.

In the following year, the April 1886 issue of *Missions-Blatt* featured its first photograph in print. The gold-toned image, following the last page of the issue, is printed on regular paper and represents a group portrait of three Inuit women employed in the blubber yard at Nain, Labrador. The description of the photo in a separate article, which is entirely related to the subject in view, explains the process of producing seal oil from blubber and the role and clothing of the women employed in the blubber yard. While the photographer is not identified, we can safely assume from what is known from other sources that this picture was taken by missionary Hermann Jannasch (1849–1931) of Nain, no later than 1885.

Issues 1 and 3 of the 1887 *Missions-Blatt* featured two other gold-toned photographs from Labrador, presumably also taken by Jannasch. One depicts a group of Inuit in front of their sod house in Hopedale, the other shows the settlement of Hebron with Kangerdliukoasak Bay. Both images were produced on special photographic paper inserted into the journal.

In 1888 black-and-white prints based on a photographic image taken in Lichtenau, Greenland, and a gold-toned photo of the New Fairfield Delaware mission building in Moraviantown, Ontario, were published. The commentary to the art from Lichtenau, which shows an Inuit group in front of a lake with the mission buildings in the background, reveals something of the self-consciousness that the act of photography evoked among the children. While the scene was peaceful and the children playful, we are told that “at the moment when Bro. Schärf built up his photographic apparatus, the noisy play stopped and in amazement they arranged themselves in front of it. Thus they appeared in the photograph, after which our picture was drawn.”

In the oldest English Moravian serial publication devoted to missions, the *Periodical Accounts*, which featured largely original communications from the mission fields and was published by the SFG beginning in 1790, no art whatsoever appeared until the mid-1880s, not even engravings of mission establishments, such as those at Nain and Hopedale, which the German *Missions-Blatt* had featured already in the mid-1840s on its covers. The earliest black-and-white art, group portraits of missionaries to Alaska, appeared simultaneously with photographs in the *Periodical Accounts* of 1886 and 1887.

**Pioneer Missionary Photographer**

Photographs only gradually replaced printed black-and-white art and sometimes were used during the 1880s as a basis for line drawings and lithographs. The serialized travel accounts of 1887 from Labrador by missionaries secretary Benjamin La Trobe, published in the following year under the collective title “With the Harmony in Labrador” and later also in book form, continues that tradition. While the travelogue is copiously illustrated, the images either are based on La Trobe’s sketches or represent art based on photographs supplied by missionary Hermann Jannasch. Two group portraits, widows at Nain and the Nain church choir, represent art based on photographs.

In his commentary to the pictures, La Trobe alludes to the pioneer role of Jannasch in Labrador photography. Under the heading “Two Eskimo Groups Taken at Nain,” La Trobe writes:

> BR. JANNASCH is the photographer among our Labrador missionaries, and we have to thank him for some excellent pictures of
When Jannasch took photos outdoors, an Inuk pushed “a little black house on a wheelbarrow behind him.” At the appointed place, he disappeared into it.

judgment does not appear to have been racially motivated but was guided only by a sense of faithfulness when representing to viewers at home his new Labrador surroundings through photographic images. Jannasch concludes his 1879 letter by stating his intention to send more pictures to the SFG in London for distribution among supporters of the mission effort, as had been done already with previous pictures, presumably those of Captain Linklater. According to Jannasch, these images had been distributed not only in England but also in Switzerland and Germany, specifically Lübeck and Württemberg.

Hans-Windekilde Jannasch, the son of Hermann Jannasch, was born in Nain in January 1883 and later served as professor of education in Göttingen. Writing from a child’s perspective on his father’s early photography in Labrador, the son observes:

Father had been introduced by his friend the photographer Süss in Bautzen to the secrets of this art and received from him a very good light-sensitive lens. In this work he appeared to me like a wizard. In the beginning he still worked with wet plates, which required a cumbersome apparatus. When he took pictures outdoors, an Inuk pushed a little black house on a wheelbarrow behind him. On the appointed place, father disappeared into it, after first dropping on a glass plate a viscous liquid and then waving it back and forth in the air. Whatever happened with it in the dark housing, I never discovered, yet there it acquired its magic power to retain pictures. Then father appeared again, placed the heavy camera on a tripod, covered it with a black cloth and crawled under it. I heard how the case was pushed in with a snap, saw how the leather bellows of the camera expanded and contracted, thus reminding me always of an accordion, only that it didn’t make a sound, and, then, how father’s hand grasped after a rubber ball, which protruded from a hose, and squeezed it. Now the miracle had happened. The picture was in the box. The apparatus was taken down, and we pulled it home. In a room at the back of the house father had built himself a darkroom, which was barely lit by a red light. How he continued to work magic with the plates, I didn’t discover, for I was permitted to come to him into this room only in full daylight. Then the pictures on paper were already being washed in trays.

The sun, I was told, had made them appear; and indeed the plates had stood, together with the paper, in wooden frames at the window of the room and had been inspected often by father or mother. When the pictures were finally tinted in a gold bath, we were permitted to watch. This was a solemn activity, for gold was the most valuable material on earth. So much I knew already. The dried pictures were then put on yellow cardboard, on which there was printed: Labrador Moravian S.F.G. Station. Later they were given to patrons and friends of the mission in England and Germany or sold for its benefit. They were produced with much effort, but it paid off, for the golden-brown tint has been preserved for eighty years. How perishable in contrast are the snapshots of today.

From the description of his son, it appears that Hermann first used the collodion (wet plate) process, the most common negative process from the 1850s through the 1880s. Eventually replaced by gelatin dye plates, photography employing the collodion process required immediate darkroom processing after an exposure that ranged from seconds to minutes. The process was suited to both landscape and portrait photography, and the viscous liquid described by the son consisted of guncotton dissolved in ether and alcohol. It had the property of drying into a transparent thin layer that would bind the photo-sensitive material to the plate. This process, which was first introduced in 1851, represented a revolution in photographic technology and enabled photographers such as Jannasch to produce photos with fine detail and in multiple copies. As the son’s description indicates, however, the procedure remained rather cumbersome because of the handling of wet plates and the use of darkroom tents, which in Jannasch’s case even involved an Inuit assistant.

The process employed by Jannasch later gave way to dry-plate photography, such as the Lancaster Instantograph featured in the photograph on page 150. Jannasch’s photographs found a ready audience among mission supporters. Unfortunately, however, the majority of his original photographs perished in eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War.
This journal is almost certainly unique in terms of its scope and content. *Transformation: An International Dialogue on Mission and Ethics* is produced by the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (OCMS) and utilizes a cosmopolitan editorial team, currently consisting of Kwame Bediako, Vinay Samuel, René Padilla, Murray Dempster, Chris Sugden and Rollin Grams.

OCMS exists to develop creative, reflective and theologically capable leaders for professional involvement in society, the church, and faith-based institutions through transforming leaders, promoting scholarship and enabling institutions. OCMS was founded in 1983 by a network of senior mission theologians from Africa, Asia and Latin America with their partners in the West (The International Fellowship of Evangelical Mission Theologians - INFEMIT) and works as their study and research center. *Transformation* is just one aspect of this ministry, and is now in its nineteenth year. This scholarly journal, published four times a year, works at the cutting edge in the application of biblical faith to the world, with a special emphasis on the Two-Thirds World. The OCMS website (www.ocms.ac.uk) contains a searchable index of issues of *Transformation* going back to 1984, as well as some free articles and executive summaries.

Each issue focuses on a particular topic, and recently these have included:

- Leadership
- Globalization and Theological Education
- Christian Faith and Economics
- Degrees of Intercontinental Partnership Concerning Mission and Development in Africa
- Belonging Together in Christ: The family caught between culture and kingdom

Contributors are drawn from OCMS contacts worldwide, and include established authors and theologians as well as providing opportunities for their own research scholars to make us aware of their work. Recent articles and contributors have included:

- Family, Covenant and the Kingdom of God - Chris Wright
- Cultural and Religious Factors and the Family - Gloria L. Kwashi
- Social Obligations in the Chinese Context - Yong Chen Fah
- Pressures on Brazilian Family Life - Siméa de Souza Meldrum

In addition to the main articles you will find extensive news and reviews. Usually running to between 64 and 88 pages each quarter, in a 245x181mm format, *Transformation* is far more than just another theological journal. And with our special offer of 2 years for the price of one you should get excellent value for your $30.00!
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and the scattered stations themselves. Mission, for Moravians, was not merely an extension or outreach of the church at home but represented—as one synodal report from 1899 preserved in Hopedale states—a vital part “of the entire Unity.” The Moravians’ desire to remain in contact with their missionaries and their new brothers and sisters in far-flung foreign lands manifested itself in various means of communication. Official correspondence between Europe and Labrador and other mission fields, together with the crucial decisions for the mission field made by the Unity Elders Conference and mission department in Saxony, were transmitted annually. Yearly visits by the mission ship maintained the vital link with Europe. Personal ties between missionaries and their home congregations continued through visits and by letter. Affirmations of mission took place at special mission festivals in Europe, North America, and at the mission stations. Sermon, prayer, song, and litany joined in support of mission, and financial and pastoral help were extended to fellow Christians elsewhere. All of this is testament to the underlying conviction of the Moravian Church: that wherever in the world Moravians might reside, they remained part of a wider Unity.

Printed photographs and slides were thus not merely visual aids for fund-raising or entertaining spectacles to satisfy European curiosity. They were instruments by which the church actualized its worldwide communion both at home and on the mission field. Just as the public reading of diaries, correspondence, and autobiographies from the missions had functioned to connect the missionaries and their congregations with the home congregations that had sent them, so the medium of photography added a powerful realism to these global relationships.

Influenced by the example of the missiologist Gustav Warneck (1834–1910), German Moravians, under the leadership of Theodor Bechler (1862–1944), established a mission conference in 1904 to maintain and develop awareness and commitment to foreign missions. The mission conference organized local missionary study groups and arranged lectures that systematically employed slides from the mission fields. Labrador photography was well represented among the slide lectures with at least three series of more than fifty pictures each. According to Bishop Baudert, the Labrador slide series were in particularly great demand for presentations in 1930. Indeed, they were so popular that he sought to obtain more images from Labrador. The bishop wanted to secure pictures “which somehow permit a glimpse into the life and work of the people,” photos that allowed the human dimension to emerge from the image. The scripts explaining the photographs, written either by the missionaries who had taken the photos or by others familiar with the field, were complemented by guided readings, curricular materials, and missionary literature. Whenever available, retired or visiting missionaries conducted these lectures. On evenings devoted to Labrador, viewers could purchase a variety of popular publications devoted to Labrador missions.

Showing of photographs and lantern slides from other mission fields at the Labrador stations became a communication device by which individual congregations in even the remotest locales stayed in touch with their fellow Moravians worldwide. It had the added benefit of enhancing geographic awareness. In Labrador, the new technology went hand-in-hand with the introduction in the 1880s of geography as a school subject. A geography textbook in Inuktitut, Geografî ubvalo Nunâksiib nunangîta okautigijauningît (Guide to Geography), authored by Ferdinand Elsner (1822–88), was published in Germany for use in Labrador schools.

**Conclusion**

Labrador missionary photography developed the Moravian tradition of teaching by visual means and expressing one’s faith through sensory vehicles. Missionary photography received a wider forum through its use in periodical literature. While technique and artistic perfection depended much on personal interests and opportunities, as the cases of Hermann Jannasch and Paul Hettasch show, a more systematic use of photography became possible through its inclusion in the missiological curriculum of the missionary training school at Niesky at the end of the nineteenth century. The institution also perfected the development of glass-plate negatives from the mission fields and collected them for subsequent use until a special missionary
repository for photographs was developed at Herrnhut in 1925.  
Photography thus did not function merely as a fund-raising tool but must be understood as a means of communication and education by which the congregations at home were linked with those abroad and both congregations reaffirmed their identity as a missionary church. Photographs, which added a new sense of reality to the church’s missionary commitment, were embedded in a wider communicative context that enabled home and mission congregations to celebrate their global unity. The innovation of the missionary conference, which promoted an awareness of missions through organized missionary study groups and lectures in Germany, provided new opportunities for exhibiting photographs through slides, with accompanying scripts written by the missionaries who took the photographs or who were familiar with the subjects. On the mission field, the use of photographs and lantern slides from other areas enhanced local awareness of a wider fellowship and supported an educational effort in geography, which in Labrador had been enhanced through curricular emphasis and a geography textbook in the local language.

Notes
1. See the excellent introduction and commentary by Charles E. Thompson, as well as samples of the book, at <http://education.umn.edu/EdPA/iconics/Orbis/Orbis_Text.htm>.
2. Back cover of Periodical Accounts 29, no. 307 (June 1875); see also the repetition of this advertisement in 29, no. 308 (September 1875).
5. Ibid., 50, no. 4 (April 1886), following p. 84.
6. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
7. Ibid., 52, no. 2 (February 1888), following p. 30.
8. Ibid., p. 19.
11. Besides the unpublished correspondence used below, see also Hermann Jannasch, “Was ein Eskimomissionar zu thun und zu lernen hat,” Missions-Blatt 44, no. 2 (February 1880): 27.
17. Later, after a photographic corpus had been developed, missionaries did not hesitate to represent in photographs the darkened features of their aboriginal subjects after summer fishing, such as in the striking portrait of the Hopedale Inuit chapel servant Abel, photographed by missionary Heinrich Simon. See (M) 6079 of the Herrnhut Collection, taken in 1928.
20. I am grateful to Larry Coady for his research and insight into the cameras and photographic processes likely involved in early Labrador photography.
22. For the development of this missiological orientation in the school at Niesky, see Schulte, 200 Jahre Brüdermission, 2:649–54. On the introduction of practical mission-related subjects, including photography, at the Missionsschule during the later nineteenth century, see “Unsere Missionsschule,” Missions-Blatt, 83, no. 9 (September 1919), pp. 180–83. I am also grateful to Esther von Ungern-Sternberg, Herrnhut, and to Peter Vogt, Niesky, for supplying me with the Niesky timetables and other relevant archival material.
23. I am grateful to Ted Wenzel, great-grandson of Paul Hettasch, for supplying me with sample photographs of Herman Koch and a business seal listing his various professional accomplishments and photographic awards.
24. See the unpublished correspondence of Samuel Baudert with the Hettasches and Berthold Lenz in the Unity Archives, Herrnhut.
25. See the reaffirmation of “our missions as a single work of the Unity” in paragraph 93 of chapter 10 of the General-Synodal-Verlass von 1899, preserved at the Agvituk Historical Society museum at Hopedale.
27. I am grateful to my colleague Gerhard Bassler for having drawn my attention to the scripts of the German Labrador slide lectures and for making these materials available to me.
28. Samuel Baudert to Kate Hettasch, 12 December 1930, Unity Archives, Herrnhut.
30. The Herrnhut collection of photographs pertaining to the Labrador and Greenland missions is now catalogued and readily accessible, thanks to the work of Esther von Ungern-Sternberg and Barbara Reeb in connection with a copying project in 2000/2001. The project, under the direction of Paul Feucker, archivist of the Unity Archives, Herrnhut, was made possible through the financial support of the Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation of the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The photographs accompany a traveling exhibit during the summer and fall of 2002. Afterwards, all photographs and art will be available to scholars at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
Much More Than Illustrations of What We Already Know:
Experiences in the Rediscovery of Mission Photography

Paul Jenkins

Thank to a number of foundations and other sponsors, the Basel Mission Archive in the last ten years has been enabled to document its collection of historical photographs and other types of image. Both the size of the collection and the age of the oldest photographs were surprising. In all, the archive houses about 50,000 images created before 1950. The archive’s oldest photographs taken in Europe date back to about 1850, the oldest in Africa and Asia to 1860 or perhaps a little earlier. The institutions that financed the cataloging showed interest in a pilot project that would address problems of access as well as conservation. The archive tackled both issues, concentrating on a body of 28,000 photographs and other types of image, half of them from before 1914, with 80–90 percent of them taken in Africa or Asia. The result is an interactive system that allows database searches of select images stored in an electronic image bank. The images then appear on-screen. This image bank becomes available for public use through a Web site in late October 2002.

This essay is not the place to give an account of the ten-year project. Instead, one fundamental and problematic issue in the Basel Mission’s archival policy with old photographs will be raised, and the results that the policy enables will be illustrated by reference to a photograph of Pastor John Mösi (see photo above). The point at issue is the postulate, built into the mission’s archival policy, that proper archival and research work with old photographs requires that they be cataloged individually, that is, treated as separate, individual documents. We have followed this principle in work done on the 28,000 photographs the archive now has “under control.”

Anyone who has worked for any length of time with historical photographs will immediately recognize the controversies that this policy can generate. At one level the postulate is easy to defend. For people hungry for visual resources for the social history of Africa and Asia, what the archive has done is clearly important and justifiable. For many places in southern Ghana, Cameroon, Southwest India, South China, and Borneo, where Basel missionaries worked in the “classic” period of Western mission outreach, the archive presents a coordinated and documented series of between 50 and 200 historical photographs, in some cases even more. For each location the Basel Mission Archive is probably the only source of an organized body of historical photographs currently available. Basel’s archivists have also structured the collection’s fuzzy borders, indicating which photographs were taken in a specific region, even when the exact site of origin is uncertain.

Individual cataloging, however, also presents immediately evident problems. First, it takes time and therefore costs money. Second, when cataloging of the Basel Mission collection was begun, I myself and the people I was in touch with certainly underestimated the number of holdings of photographs in the world and the volume of photographs in those holdings. It is not hard now to find statistics that seem to rule out altogether the idea of individual cataloging. An important European conference on work with collections of historical photographs held in September 2000 confronted participants with the dismaying figure that in Sweden, a country with a relatively small population, photographs are being taken at an average of one million per day.

Of course, situations vary. Situations where photographic documentation is rare—for example, the West African coast in the 1860s—contrast starkly with situations where its bulk is overwhelming. Not much imagination is needed to suppose, however, that the known photographs of the non-Western world before 1914 in organized collections, plus the number of photographs no doubt existing in forgotten cupboards, would quickly swamp the resources that archivists have for work in this field.

Creating Value

For this reason I welcome the opportunity to write about cataloging and about the wider impact that visual sources from mission archives can have in the cultural and social sciences. Individual cataloging of historical photographs is valuable in itself—or perhaps better, taking up a phrase fashionable in central Europe, it creates value. My experience as archivist for the Basel Mission has convinced me that individual cataloging of photographs introduces a new quality into discussions of the past and should enable new forms of discourse about the past to develop. Using visual sources correctly and with the necessary rigor and accuracy
could have as revolutionary an impact as working with oral sources had in African history a generation ago. Properly cataloged photographs should also be the basis for “schools for seeing,” in which reflective study of photographs helps people to perceive the deeper meanings and varied significance behind the historical and contemporary images used by modern mass media merely for their immediate impact. Trying to prove these assertions in the abstract is unrewarding. Instead, I increasingly draw on experiences with specific photographs when attempting to evaluate what has been achieved in Basel. I would thus like to present a kind of “cataloging biography” of photograph E-30.86.229, “Rev. John Mosi” (first photo), in six short “chapters.” They show how an individual image, subjected to the attention of individual cataloging, can move from being one anonymous item among thousands of others to gain an individual profile and, even as a single photograph or as one of a small group of photographs, to offer unexpected information and point our thinking in new directions.

The clothing of the subject is, as a general style, traditional among the people of the region known as the Cameroon Grassfields, a highland area around the city of Bamenda, where more than a dozen ethnic groups live in a mode of ongoing competition that has been appropriately called an informal hierarchy. Some ethnic groups are organized as kingdoms, and others are more egalitarian. Although there is a fairly lengthy bibliography about the Presbyterian Church (formerly the Basel Mission Church) in this region, from the viewpoint of a historian of Africa, a satisfactory social, cultural, and intellectual history of the church in terms of regional social and cultural dynamics is yet to be written.

During the initial cataloging process in the mid-1990s, taken as the first step toward creating the database, the photograph itself was inspected. The caption and the name of the probable photographer were entered in the database. The results read, “Rev. John Mosi. Photographer: Wilhelm Zürcher, between 1932 and 1945.”

It was clear that John Mosi was a pastor of the old Basel Mission Church in the Grassfields. The photograph could be dated to the 1930s or 1940s, given the presence of the photographer in Cameroon during those years. With this information (and the allocation of keywords), the essential elements in the initial cataloging process were complete. The image remained in my memory, however, partly because of the apparent anomaly of finding a Basel Mission pastor of that time wearing traditional robes. It stuck in my memory for another reason as well. Because of seeing photographs of missionaries from forty years earlier who are dressed in the same way, I had already begun raising new questions about the interpretation to be given to the robe Mosi is wearing. Initial cataloging yielded no hint as to what Mosi was doing or why he should be standing in a clearly traditional architectural setting, nor were we told where the photograph was taken. Simply creating the database supplied no information about the event in which he was participating or why he was presenting himself in this traditional way. Individual cataloging, however, meant that the image was given an unambiguous reference number. As needed, it could be recalled easily and reliably at any point in the future.

Chapter 2: Incorporating New Research

In 1999 Richard Fardon, professor of West African anthropology in the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, visited the Basel Mission Archive. In his early fieldwork he had studied an ethnic group called the Chamba on the Nigerian side of the Nigeria-Cameroon border, in the region south of Maiduguri. A number of groups in the Cameroon Grassfields claim nineteenth-century Chamba origins, not least the kingdom of Bali Nyonga (see “Chapter 4” below). Fardon had been extending his research to include these Cameroonian groups, looking especially at questions of cultural dynamics as probably relatively small groups of people brought their beliefs, customs, and social structures into the quite new cultural context of the Cameroon Grassfields. During his 1999 visit he studied carefully the archive’s Bali Nyonga photographs, focusing on anthropological-historical information.

Fardon pointed out that the archive has a few photographs of people celebrating the accession in 1940 of Galega II, the new fon (king) of Bali Nyonga (photographs E-30.86.224–27; see second photo). Three of these photos (nos. 224–26) had in fact already come to catalogers’ attention because they raised a translation question that could not be easily answered. The original German captions refer to *die Gemeinde Grasland*. This phrase means literally “the Grassfields community” or “the Grassfields congregation.” Neither of these made sense. The question, Why would “community” or “congregation” qualified by “Grassfields” be in the singular and not in the plural? had no satisfactory answer.

A second question concerned a basic ambiguity in the word *Gemeinde* itself. In the usual Basel Mission language the term *Gemeinde* refers to a Christian congregation. In German, however, it can also mean the basic local unit of government, especially in Switzerland, where the *Gemeinde*, or local commune, is the foundation stone of the traditional democratic order. These photographs showed men wearing traditional robes and carrying weapons, so at first it seemed that *Gemeinde* was being used here in a political sense.

Chapter 3: Gaining New Light

At this point the accuracy with which photographs can be retrieved once they have been individually cataloged intersected dramatically with Fardon’s interest in photographs from a specific locality. It turned out that the portrait of Mosi was part of the same film as the images clearly linked to the accession of the new fon in 1940, including those referring to the “die Gemeinde Grasland.” With the Mosi picture seen as part of that series, it became much more likely that *Gemeinde* means “Christian congregation.” Here were the congregations *with their pastors!*

This conclusion inspired a search in the written records of the mission archive for any indication of an event of this kind
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from this part of Cameroon in 1940–41. Records from this time
and place are somewhat sketchy, since the Basel Mission’s Ger-
man staff members were interned, but there was clear written
confirmation that representatives of Christians from all parts of
the Grassfields had indeed greeted the new fon of Bali Nyonga
when the Grassfields Synod met in Bali Nyonga shortly after his
accession.11 The photographs are likely not from this post acces-
sion greeting but from the actual accession day, for it appears,
from the phrasing of the captions of numbers 224–26, that the
Christians of Bali Nyonga also presented themselves at the
accession itself as a clearly identifiable group to welcome the new
king.12

Having these sources, visual and written, working together
in synergy was like being given new spectacles that registered
previously invisible wavelengths of energy. Much more now
became apparent in and around the portrait of John Mösi. The
photograph made perceptible new and striking profiles in the
social landscape of relations between the church/mission and
the region’s traditional polity.

Chapter 4: Establishing a Baseline

To sense the significance of this new information, we must
review what we know about the history of the Basel Mission in
the Grassfields. At the beginning of the German colonial occupa-
tion of the Cameroon Grassfields in the 1890s, Bali Nyonga was
still a relatively young, dynamic, and expanding kingdom. Right
from the start, it clearly tried to use the new German presence to
further its own power, territory, and population.13 In 1902–3
leading circles in the kingdom expended considerable energy in
persuading the Basel Mission to found a mission station there,
the first one in the Grassfields. We see the extent of its success in
the Basel Mission’s very early choice of Mungaka, the language
of this relatively small kingdom, as its official school and church
language for all the ethnic groups in the whole Grassfields. Basel
Mission schools in the Grassfields thus became to an important
extent instruments of the Bali Nyonga attempt to extend cultural
and political hegemony outside its normally accepted borders.

Most missionaries, however, had difficulty coping with the
alien political and social structures of this African kingdom, and
they did not find it easy to integrate the claims exerted by an
African kingdom with their idea of what a congregation should
be like. There is a long history of missionary disillusionment once
it turned out that the early forecasts of large numbers of Bali
Nyonga people becoming Christians were not fulfilled in the
way the missionaries expected.

By the 1930s Basel Mission reports were stressing how few
real conversions there had been within Bali Nyonga, that is, how
few people adopted the Basel Mission mentality and lifestyle,
and, a modern historian would want to add, how many re-
mained tied into the power and status systems of the Bali
Nyongan kingdom. One suspects that, in Grassfield terms, a
legitimate and rational appropriation of Christian ideas and
beliefs occurred, though it was very different from the conver-
sion the missionaries had been trained to expect.

Chapter 5: Hearing a Different Message

Returning to the photographs and to the written record of
Christians celebrating the accession of a new fon of Bali Nyonga,
we can see that the Grassfields Christians viewed this kingdom,
Bali Nyonga, very positively. This contrasts with the missionar-
ies’ negative assessment. The fon who died in 1940 was
the old king, Fonyonga, who had invited the Basel Mission to the
Grassfields in 1902–3. He was apparently popularly respected,
for all his unbending “heathenism” in the eyes of the missionar-
ies, as the founder of Grassfields Christianity. The Grassfields
Christians welcomed the new king, Galega II, and they took part
in ceremonies choreographed in a manifestly traditional way.
There were no clerical suits, no sitting in rows of chairs under
palm-leaf shelters, and, presumably, no hymns by Martin Luther
or Paul Gerhardt. There must have been dancing instead, and
men moving back and forth in loose military formation holding
spears or shooting guns, a kind of coordinated activity that is
central to this day in traditional Bali Nyonga festivals.

Chapter 6: Returning to John Mösi

This cataloging biography has one final chapter. In June 2001 my
Cameroonian colleague Jonas Dah supplied the information that
John Mösi was a member of the Meta ethnic group. One of the
more egalitarian groups in the Grassfields, the Meta are a large
farming population. Though they had been present long before
Bali Nyonga arrived on the scene, Bali Nyonga had attempted to
integrate them as a subordinate population into their new and
expanding kingdom. Indeed, at least part of the population of
Meta was living in acute tension with Bali Nyonga in 1940. This
tension escalated a decade later into intercommunal violence.
John Mösi’s portrait, however, suggests that, when he came to
the 1940 accession celebration, he was to some degree accepting
Bali Nyonga claims to hegemony, for he wore a robe that can bear
this interpretation. It had been the kind of garment that within
living memory had customarily been presented by the fon of Bali
Nyonga to persons prepared to accept a role among his leading
servants.14 It probably still had this significance in 1940.

One can go further. We know that a missionary was enrobed
in 1902, which probably meant that the kingdom was trying to
incorporate him into its leading structures. And as recently as
1972 my colleague Hans Knöpfl was incorporated in precisely
this way (see third photo). As a result, he spent considerable
amounts of time and energy sitting with other officials of a
similar grade working out common solutions to the problems of
the broader community, an experience that still plays a major
role in his memories of three decades of work in Cameroon.15

Wider Implications

The final step in approaching the image given in “Chapter 6”
does not answer all possible questions.16 Rather, as I suggested at
the beginning of this essay, step 6 indicates a direction for
research whose outcome is still uncertain but that can be pursued
energetically with visual sources at hand. The first and second
photos immediately prompt the questions: What role did the
Grassfields Christians expect the new fon of Bali Nyonga to play
in relation to their future? And what role was John Mösi—and
with him the Grassfields Christian congregations of non-Bali
Nyongan ethnic groups such as the Meta—expected to play in the developing history of Bali Nyonga?

These questions lead to broader issues. It may be taken as axiomatic that the celebration these two photographs document was not simply about the past or the renewal of kingly rule but about broader issues, not least hoped for future developments. We may also be sure that the concepts and assumptions in the minds of the Grassfields Christians—concepts and assumptions that they would have held to a great extent in common with the new for—would have been dominated by the categories and values regnant in Grassfields diplomacy, administration, and politics. But what these values, categories, assumptions, and concepts were, and what concrete expectations each side had for the other's behavior, remain unknown to me as an outsider. They certainly existed, however, and we must recognize their essential role in accounting for the dynamics of church history and cultural and political change in twentieth-century Grassfields.

Questions arising about the portrait of Pastor John Mösí printed in the first photo have helped to focus attention on a set of events that are too easily forgotten in Western discourse about African churches and, indeed, that have been largely forgotten even in Basel Mission discourse about a much-loved African daughter church. Answers to those questions support an assertion given inadequate recognition in the West, namely, that African church history is very different from Western mission

King Galega II is greeted by the Grassfields congregation on the day of his enthronement. Photograph by W. Zürcher. Courtesy of the Basel Mission Archive. Reference number E-30.86.226.

Six leading officials (Nkom) of Bali Nyonga, including the Basel missionary Hans Knöpfl, during the Lela festival. Left to right, using their traditional names, they are Ba Gwambula, Ba Gwanyama, Ba Gwanyebit, Ba Gwambila, Ba Gwagaduna, and Ba Gwanjigana. Photo taken December 1981. Courtesy of Hans Knöpfl; private collection.
history. Intensive research and close attention is needed if African church history, with its key indigenous categories and mechanisms, different as they surely are from region to region, is to be properly and adequately perceived. Even a simple observation—that Christians took part as a clearly identifiable group in the event at which Pastor Møsi was photographed, although it was choreographed in an indigenous way—should give cause for thinking about indigenous church history in new ways and for upgrading expectations of work with visual sources. Evidently, visual sources are especially important when working on the history of cultures that themselves have a strong and complex tradition of using visual symbols.

The "rediscovery of mission photography" is not too strong a term for describing the new insights into Grassfields church history outlined above. Clearly, the process of rediscovery documented here and the further rediscoveries that may be possible in the future are intimately linked with the discipline of cataloging individual photographs. Here we clearly extend the term "cataloging" to include, where appropriate, rigorous intellectual encounter with an individual photograph or a group of photographs. Experience at Basel demonstrates that archivists working in this field must possess sound academic and scientific judgment if their work is to achieve the greatest possible results.

Certainly the original documentation of photographs in the Basel Mission Archive has proved to be very fragmentary. Even specifying the place where a photograph was taken often requires an act of judgment on the part of the cataloger. For this reason, in part, cataloging at the archive is never an anonymous activity. We routinely record who was responsible for initial cataloging of a photograph, who contributes further insights in its analysis, and when they do so.

If researchers simply leaf through loosely organized card indexes of photographs to find visual "proof texts" for assertions that everyone tends to think must be true anyway, they can be found. But such an approach does not further the cause of understanding, and each time it is followed, another opportunity to put research on a new and extended footing is lost. Photographs can have the power to energize and mobilize historical and cultural research, and not only in the field of indigenous church history. Other themes (e.g., the social history of missionary life) can also benefit from injection of this source of new information. Achieving this potential, however, depends on our understanding the grammar and syntax of working with visual materials, and it depends not least on our applying precision to questions of when and where an individual photograph was taken and what is going on in it.

**Notes**
2. The address is <www.bmpix.org>. Menus, keywords, and related information is all in English. Historical texts in German relevant to individual images (above all, captions) have also been translated.
4. Such topics were considered at the conference "Written in Light: Photographic Collections in a Digital Age," organized under the patronage of the European Commission on Preservation and Access, London, September 12–14, 2000.
7. When we compare this image with what we know of the practice of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (the Basel Mission’s other historic African partner church), the contrast is striking. In the 1940s the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast was still resisting direct challenges to adjust elements of its culture, such as pastors’ attire, to the wishes and customs of the traditional kingdoms with which it had long been linked. But here is a Cameroonian pastor of the equivalent church wearing traditional robes—and also carrying a gun!
10. Unusual in the Basel Mission Archive, the photos E-30.86.219–33 are contact prints that seem to come from the same film. E-30.86.228, which is not referred to in detail in this article, is a portrait of another Grassfields pastor, Elisa Ndïfon, also dressed traditionally, presumably on the same occasion. E-30.86.219–23 are general images of Grassfields congregational life, and E-30.86.230–33 are portraits of named personalities dressed in Western clothing and evidently not taken during the accession of Galega II.
12. The Christians of Bali Nyonga, like the traditional groupings, had gone onto the marketplace in front of the palace to participate in the traditional death celebrations of the old king in 1940. Albert Angst, “Der alte Fonyonga gestorben,” November 1, 1941, a report in file E-5-2.14, Basel Mission Archive.
13. Eugen Zintgraff, *Nach-Kamerun* (Berlin: Gebruder Paetel, 1895), provides the classic description of the first contact between Bali Nyonga and the Europeans, in this case an expedition traveling in the name of the German colonial government.
16. “Final” here refers merely to the state of the art in cataloging photographs as of the spring of 2002.
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“Fields of Vision”: Photographs in the Missionary Collections at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London

Samantha Johnson and Rosemary Seton

Missionary collections have been accumulating in the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library since 1973 when the Council for World Mission deposited its large and valuable archive and library. Since then, other no less valuable materials have been received, notably from the China Inland Mission, the Conference of British Missionary Societies, the Japan Evangelistic Band, the Melanesian Mission, the Methodist Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Church of England. Many individual missionaries have also donated papers, books, and photographs.

Since that date SOAS archivists have been sorting and listing these vast quantities of materials, which comprise some 1,000,000 documents, 25,000 photographs, and many thousands of published works. The books have now all been cataloged in the library’s online system (available at http://lib.soas.ac.uk). The archive’s catalog is expected to go online in 2003.

Until recently, SOAS archivists have been unable to devote much time to cataloging and curating the photographic component of the SOAS missionary collections. Taken together, they present a formidable research resource for a wide range of academic disciplines. The geographic range of the photographic collections encompasses Africa (Southern, Central, East, and West), Madagascar, China and Taiwan, Japan, India, Malaysia, the Caribbean, Pacific islands in Melanesia and Polynesia, and also the home base in the United Kingdom. The subject range is also considerable. There are group and individual portraits of missionaries and converts, patients, pupils, and others. There are extensive views of buildings, including churches, houses, hospitals, schools, and nonmission buildings. There are topographical views and scenes of everyday life and work, customs, and traditions. Notable events such as revolutions, wars, proclamations, and famines are recorded. While the archives’ holdings do not include very early photographs such as daguerreotypes, there are a number of photographs dating back to the 1860s. The date span of the collection is therefore about 100 years.

In 1999 a two-year project was begun to catalog the archives’ holdings of missionary photographs through funding from the Higher Education Funding Council for England. An initial projection of around 20,000 individual photographic prints in the SOAS missionary collections was subsequently discovered to be quite an underestimate! Most of the images were loose prints; some were mounted, some not. Others were in albums. It was decided not to include the archives’ substantial collection of glass-plate negatives and lantern and other slides in this particular project, hoping to fund another project later on. The currentproject also has a preservation element. All loose photographs have been placed in inert polyester sleeves, while albums and large mounted prints have been carefully packaged. A further step will be to digitize about 100 images for placement on the SOAS archives’ Web site (http://www2.soas.ac.uk/archives).

Developing the methodology for the project entailed considerable research and discussion. Colleagues such as Paul Jenkins in Basel and Elizabeth Edwards at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford generously gave advice based on their considerable experience and expertise. In the end the decision was made to catalog the photographs using an archive database that provides fields for title, reference, photographer (if known), level of description, description, dates, physical size and format, whether/where published, existence/location of copies, and so on, and also enables both keyword and free-text searching. Because of the short duration of the project, the ideal of item-by-item cataloging had to be sacrificed. Instead, each set or album of photographs has been described. By this approach a larger number of photographs have been opened up to scholarship than would have been possible had the photographs been dealt with on an individual basis.

Organizing Missionary Photographs

Photographs in the missionary collections at SOAS vary in their scope and nature but are united by one primary purpose. Photographs were acquired and collated for use in mission society publications and promotional material to educate and stimulate support for overseas missions. Therefore, although diverse in content, they form a coherent resource for mission studies.

The largest collection, that of the Council for World Mission (CWM), is also the most detailed in its original organization. These photographs from missionaries in the field were carefully collated by personnel at the London headquarters as a resource for publications, first as a basis for engravings, and from 1890 directly as photographic reproductions. The circulation figures of missionary journals, while certainly not comparable to general publications, were considerable. Copies of London Missionary Society (LMS) publications, including the LMS’s Chronicle, the society’s juvenile magazine, and supplements produced and circulated throughout the home and overseas divisions reached 680,000 in 1890, rising to 1.2 million in 1921.

The CWM collection consists of a combination of commercially available prints, comprising largely albumen prints of topographical and travel scenes from the 1860s to the 1880s; personal records of missionary activities, largely in the form of printing-out paper prints from the 1880s to the 1920s; and gelatin silver prints from the 1920s to the 1960s. Many of the earlier images from missionary and nonmissionary photographers are pasted together onto numbered boards and captioned by hand, forming valuable records of how the society used its graphic resources. Many prints are marked up for multiple publication, as is verified by the published journals. Many of the later prints exist only as contact prints and were not used for publication, often because they are the missionaries’ personal rather than official records, appearing in albums or on loose album pages.

The geographic arrangement of CWM mission fields is the primary basis for the organization of the CWM photograph archive. Within these geographic divisions, many photographs were allocated to one of nine subject areas: “Missionaries and Church Work,” “Educational,” “General Types,” “Home Life

Samantha Johnson is Assistant Archivist/Cataloguer (Photographs) and Rosemary Seton is Archivist at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
and Occupations,” “Manners and Customs,” “Landscape,” “Crafts,” “Documentary,” and “Impact of Civilization.” Categorization of images within these subject areas and their recategorization subsequent to reproduction can usefully be compared with written documentation relating to the same subjects to be found elsewhere in the archives. Such comparison provides valuable insight into the society’s perception and use of its photographic resources.

Recording Mission Work

One recurrent request by researchers using the SOAS archive is for images of missionaries at work. While there are some fine examples of this subject matter, they are certainly not as widespread as might be expected. The primary function of mission photography is that of recording events, particularly the meeting of mission workers in a particular district in the ever-present group photo. Similar to many other photographic records, the images produced by missionaries in the field reflect people and occasions that were deemed to be significant. Meetings of normally disparate mission personnel for centenary celebrations, deputation visits, and similar events are therefore represented more frequently than many day-to-day mission practices.

A large number of the images, however, document missionary work by implication by portraying indigenous groups either in their pre-evangelized daily practices or in the performance of standard activities of the mission compound. Here the missionary is not just the unseen observer. Unlike the commercial production of carte-de-visite studio portraits for colonial consumption, for which representatives of indigenous cultures were brought into the largely city-based studios, the missionary in the field is participating in this other world, not on an equal level with his or her indigenous subjects but in an altogether more complex relationship of power and influence. The missionary’s control is far wider reaching than merely setting up a studio backdrop or choosing ephemera. The missionary has decided not merely how the photography subjects should dress but how they should live their lives. As a result, a significant proportion of the photographs either taken or acquired by missionary personnel portrays indigenous populations engaged in an aspect of approved mission compound life. Often such records show the pursuit of education, literacy, handicrafts, mothercraft, or nursing. The missionary, when pleased with the results of his or her work, records it in a letter and a photograph to be sent home for publication. Missionaries themselves are not visible but are ever present.

Pioneer Photographer

William Lawes, missionary of the LMS and father figure of mission and Western presence in Papua New Guinea for over thirty years from 1874, is interesting as an example of a pioneer
missionary. As the first photographs of Papua New Guinea, Lawes’ images were valued outside the missionary sphere as much as within. His own photographs were distributed commercially through Henry King of Sydney and appear in various nonmissionary archives. Lawes played a significant role in the early photography of Papua New Guinea not only as a photographer himself but also because his knowledge of, and role in, Papuan life was of paramount importance to other photographers, particularly those of colonial government and expeditionary parties. Lawes understood the importance of gradual acculturation into a different society and had earlier achieved some success on Niue Island. His description of his missionary methods reveals the level of trust required in his work: “The normal idea of the missionary, as a man wearing a black coat and standing up with an open Bible in his hand preaching to a crowd of gaping savages, is very far from the truth. All we can do often on a first visit is to let the natives handle us, feel us, give them a little present, and come away.”

In his Picturesque New Guinea, the Australia-based professional photographer J. W. Lindt acknowledges the decisive role that Lawes played in facilitating Lindt’s visit to Papua New Guinea and the photographic work he was able to carry out. There are examples within the SOAS collections of Lawes and Lindt photographing subjects simultaneously, such as H. O. Forbes’s expedition party en route to Mount Owen Stanley in 1885. The two photographers also favored certain subjects and styles. Their many single and group portraits of female Motu water carriers are an example. (See photo on page 165.)

Beyond its ethnographic interest, the scene in this first photo has immediate appeal as a reference to classical and biblical themes. Like many of Lawes’s images, this albumen print from the 1880s reappears frequently throughout the files of the CWM collection, both in bound albums and mounted individually, often captioned with varying degrees of information and instructions on how it should be used for each specific purpose.

As a consequence of the missionaries’ extended knowledge of local peoples, languages, and customs, the relationship between the missionary photographer and his or her subject is more complex than that of expeditionary personnel and other “outsider” photographers. Though many of the mission photographs contain anthropologically significant subject matter, the intention in creating them and the use made of them was specifically to propagate the faith by educating the church at home regarding the work overseas and gaining support for its continuation and growth. Alongside their relationship with their indigenous subjects, the relationship between missionaries and the overseas colonial administration is also a significant issue for interpretation of photographic records missionaries produced.

While Lawes’s role as part of the early colonial presence in Papua New Guinea gives his images particular value, the relationship between the missionary in the field and the fortunes of the British Empire was often complex. Though the success of the one did not necessarily reflect that of the other, political considerations influenced the missionaries’ work and their role in society. Missionary influence was increased as much as threatened by times of political upheaval.

LMS presence in Madagascar began in 1818, and following a period of persecution and expulsion, Christian influence increased greatly during the reign of Queen Ranavalona II (1868–83). However, growing French control of the domestic and foreign affairs of the country limited LMS influence, as did the growing importance of the French-sponsored Roman Catholic missions.

In the 1860s LMS missionary and photographer William Ellis used photography in gaining royal trust and support for the success of the mission, in direct rivalry with the French Catholic missionary Father Marc Finaz, who sought to gain influence through the introduction of daguerreotypes. John Parrett, LMS printer and missionary from 1862 to 1885, photographed widely in Madagascar until 1895, including royal and political events, and played an important role in representing the Malagasy prime minister at negotiations with the French in August 1885. The photographs produced in Madagascar by mission photographers are therefore central to the social, political, and religious
history of the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, and this area is one of the CWM archive's particular strengths. (See photo on page 166.)

Photographer and Editor

The Methodist Missionary Society collection contains largely original and unique photographs. These are often more personal "snapshot" views, often still in the (amateur) photographer's original albums. Consisting of over 2,000 photographs, they depict all of the Methodists' main overseas fields: Africa, the West Indies, China, India, Burma, and Ceylon. The majority of the photographs were created by the missionaries themselves in the field rather than collected. They provide a valuable firsthand visual record, made by persons directly involved in the life and work of the mission stations, of people and events the missionaries considered of value and importance. Many of the photographs are captioned on the reverse with information, not only with details about the photograph's subject and when and where it was taken, but also giving the photographer's own attitude toward the person, place, or event represented.

The individual who contributed most to the creation and dissemination of visual propaganda concerning the activities and intentions of Methodist overseas missions during the interwar period was Frank Deaville Walker, editor of both the Foreign Field (1914–32) and its successor, the Kingdom Overseas (1933–45).

Walker visited all of the society's mission fields between 1920 and 1937, including India, Burma, Ceylon, West Africa and the Ivory Coast, the West Indies, and China. His first photographs from India appear in April 1921 in an article entitled simply "Pictures and Jottings," giving an overview of Walker's journey and experiences and introducing the illustrated articles that were to follow. As both photographer and editor, Walker often referred, in captions printed in the mission publications, to the process of photography as well as the subject. On photographing the Kali temple, he remarks, "It was difficult to place the camera so that nothing unpleasant would appear in the picture." As editor of the mission society's official publications, Walker censored his own camera so as to preclude any scene that he felt would offend his readers. With this caption, Walker highlights both the perceived power of the photographic image and his role in determining the images that his readers saw. As editor he selects the images to be reproduced from those sent in from the field, but as photographer himself he is already making these decisions before the camera shutter is released. Detailed articles on specific aspects of Walker's trip appear in almost every issue, and he also devised a photographically illustrated page for children about a missionary's daughter entitled "When Helen Went to India," with photographs by "Uncle Camera."

By the late 1930s Walker had a wide choice of his own photographs as "stock" to be used when formulating ideas and illustrating articles for the Kingdom Overseas. His own photographs are reproduced in full more often than those submitted by missionaries in the field, as he used his knowledge of photograpic composition and page layout in his selection of subject matter and style. With his aesthetic conventions in mind, Walker's photographs of the indigenous populations encountered by the Methodist Missionary Society in the field pose many questions. He often chose to take close-cropped portraits of his subjects mainly, but certainly not always, with their approval. His emphasis on the individual as "type" is shared by many mission photographs held in the SOAS archives. This emphasis is often reflected in the captions given when the images were reproduced. In many instances an individual's name and personal details, such as profession or role in the community, are noted on the reverse of the original print, yet the reproduced image is captioned simply as "A Chinese Doctor" or "West Indian Schoolgirl." (See photo below.)

Walker was a tireless propagandist on behalf of the mission society, using speeches, books, pamphlets, and journals as well

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Portrait of girl looking into mirror, showing her hairstyle. Photograph by Frank Deaville Walker (1878–1945). Gold Coast (now Ghana); gelatin silver print, 1926. Courtesy of the SOAS Library. Reference: MMS, West Africa, Photographs, file 10, item 38.
as photography. His pamphlet *Hints for Missionary Speakers* (ca. 1911) emphasizes that the object of a missionary speech, as with any publicity or propaganda work on behalf of the society, must be clear but specific: "The object should be, not just to impart information, but to impart information that will lead to service. The aim must be service, not mere information." Missionary photographers created their pictures with a purpose, which is central to the value of these archives for researchers and historians.

As a result of his own travels, Walker realized the difficulties involved in photography in the climates encountered by the majority of missionaries overseas, noting:

> Often I start out before daybreak, and I am frequently developing plates till after midnight. . . . I am doing my level best to see everything I can, photograph all I can, learn all I can. And in the intense heat of India it is a pretty exhausting task. I'll never again blame missionaries for not sending us good photos. And those who do shall be reverenced as heroes and saints. The exhaustion of photographic work, often in the full blaze of the sun, is terrific. Sometimes I've stood trying to catch a picture till I could scarcely hold myself up. It is so trying to struggle with crowds of people who will stand right before your lens and others who will fly from you the moment they see your camera. Anybody can get snapshot here, but the pictures you want are so difficult to get. You see splendid groups sitting by the roadside, but the moment you approach they jump up, and it is nearly impossible to get them right again. They are so graceful in a natural posture, but as wooden as images before a camera. 

Despite these difficulties, Walker believed that the resulting images would serve the purposes of the publication best from an information and propagandist point of view. He encouraged the missionaries in the field to take photographs and send them in for publication, arranging for photographic materials to be sent out at cost price for this purpose. As a result of Walker's passion for the photographic image, mission personnel often produced unique images of people and places previously unphotographed. Walker's own photographs excel as a result of the combination of his privileged position, visiting lesser-known regions of the world as part of the trusted mission community, and his editor's eye.

**Continuing Vitality**

Missionary presence around the globe sometimes reflected and sometimes challenged colonial and anthropological experience of indigenous societies. Study of missionary photographs is therefore significant both within mission studies itself and for the wider historical, political, and anthropological interpretation of photographic artifacts. In terms of the history of photography, the preservation of such a large collection of largely amateur photography, produced in challenging circumstances, is a distinctively significant resource. Cataloging has now made this resource, enhanced and contextualized through cross-comparison with written archives and materials published contemporaneously, fully accessible both physically and intellectually.

### Notes

1. Formerly known as the London Missionary Society and, since 1966, as the Congregational Council for World Mission. In 1973 its name was shortened to Council for World Mission.
2. In October 2001 Samantha Johnson, formerly of the Royal Photographic Society, took over the post of photographs cataloguer. She is the author of the rest of this article.
From Beyond Alpine Snows to Homes of the East—a Journey Through Missionary Periodicals: The Missionary Periodicals Database Project

Terry Barringer

Historians and anthropologists, Christian and otherwise, who are interested in the meeting of Western and non-Western cultures, the ways each have affected the self-understanding of the other, and the mental images each have held of the other have begun to dig deep into the rich deposits of missionary archives. Rosemary Seton and others have done much to make these sources better known and accessible. The mining of missionary periodicals, however, has barely begun. Several times in the course of the Missionary Periodicals Database Project, we were the first to cut open the pages of a library copy of a missionary magazine.

Missionary periodicals have always had an image problem. Their editorial are full of complaints that even regular church and chapel goers are ill informed and indifferent to foreign missions and regard missionary magazines as uninteresting. They are constantly exhorting their readers to sign up more subscribers. If the missionary magazines had a problem in their own era, it was a long time before scholars took them seriously as source material. Scholars tended to think of them, if they thought of them at all, as covered in a pietistic haze, of interest only to committed missionary antiquarians. Such attitudes are changing. In introducing their important collection Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues, Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton were able to report that “a broad cross-section of social scientists and humanities scholars are finding the missionary enterprise a fecund, if often frustrating source of material to work on, and use to work through to other issues.”

The story of missionary periodicals follows that of the modern missionary movement. The Baptist Missionary Society was founded in 1792, followed in quick succession by the (mainly Congregationalist) London Missionary Society in 1795, the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society in 1799, and then many other societies and organizations throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Beginning with the Annual Reports of LMS in 1795, Periodical Accounts by BMS in 1800, and Proceedings from CMS in 1800/01, all British mission societies published magazines and periodicals to inform their constituencies and to generate support in prayer, money, and recruits. Some periodicals were generalist, devoted to worldwide mission; others were focused on specific areas. They were denominational, interdenominational, or non-denominational. Some targeted women; others, children; still others, specific social classes or educational levels. Prices ranged from a halfpenny—with bulk discounts for distribution to Sunday school children and the working classes—to expensive annual volumes costing several guineas designed to appeal to the social and spiritual snob. Such was the Missionary Annual published in 1833 by the London commercial publishers Seeley and Sons, who advertised their product as a source of “information and pleasure not only to the general reader, but more especially to those who desire to blend piety with their highest gratifications and whose deepest interest is excited by whatever is connected with the advancement of true religion in the world.... The volume, it is hoped, will be generally approved, especially by the friends of Religion, as a beautiful and appropriate present, attractive in its decorations and permanently valuable in the interesting and important nature of its contents.”

Study of a run of missionary periodicals shows how ideas and images changed over time, making possible a more nuanced understanding of the much-debated relationship between colonialism and Christianization. Missionary periodicals are valuable sources for the evolution of missionary self-understanding and self-representation. They sometimes make for uncomfortable reading, as there is no shortage of what appears now to be offensive, racist, or patronizing (e.g., Little Darkie’s Budget or stories of Woppy the Guardian Angel winging round the African jungle rescuing naughty black boys and confronting witch doctors in answer to the prayers of golden-curled Catholic children in England and Ireland). Reading of missionary periodicals must be both sympathetic and critical if it is to be rewarding.

Self-representation is an important theme for missionaries in the field. Even more, committees and editors back home were acutely aware of the need to rally supporters and encourage...
Gaining Access to Missionary Periodicals

Missionary periodicals are also a rich source of maps, illustrations, and photographs. To tap these riches, however, scholars need to know what exists and where to find it. The Missionary Periodicals Database aims to enable them to do just that. Work on compiling the database began at the end of 1997 under the auspices of the North Atlantic Missiology Project, which promoted scholarly analysis of modern Protestant missions, with Brian Stanley as director. In early 1999 the database project was absorbed within Currents in World Christianity, a three-year international research project on the growth and impact of Christianity in the non-Western world. Funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts, the project was based in the Centre for Advanced Religious and Theological Studies in the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge.

The database aims to record all periodicals on foreign missions published in Britain from the 1700s to the 1960s by missionary societies and commercial publishers, giving full bibliographic details, with information on contents and location. Information was gathered by myself and by Rosemary and David Seton from their base at the University of London’s School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), whose very rich collections of missionary archives notably include those of the London Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society, and the China Inland Mission. The information gathered was mounted on the Web with the aid of technology consultant David Clough, formerly of Cambridge University Library, and SOAS. The database was searched under the auspices of the North Atlantic Missiology Project, which promotes scholarly analysis of modern Protestant missions, with Brian Stanley as director. In early 1999 the database project was absorbed within Currents in World Christianity, a three-year international research project on the growth and impact of Christianity in the non-Western world. Funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts, the project was based in the Centre for Advanced Religious and Theological Studies in the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge.

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The first surprise in drawing up a list of missionary periodicals was seeing how many there are. We anticipated finding about 200, but the final total came to over 600. A first list was compiled using Rosemary Seton’s guides to missionary archives. Library catalogs (especially those of the British Library, Cambridge University Library, and SOAS) were searched under the names of the known missionary societies and for periodicals with titles beginning with “Mission…,” “Missionary…” Such titles occupy four pages in the British Union Catalogue of Periodicals, including for example Mission to the Kabyles and other Berber Races, Mission Parcel Society Little Papers, and Missionary Exhibition Rambler. Thereafter the list, like Topsy, “just grew.” One periodical led to another through advertisements and cross-references. We explored other libraries. Consulting the catalogs was not always enough, for sometimes we had to investigate piles in dark corners. Conversations with friends and colleagues brought others as they dredged up memories from childhood Sunday school reading.

Occasional additions and amendments are still being made to the database, but it now has full details for some 500 titles of the 600 title working checklist. The direct address for the database is http://namp.divinity.yale.edu/namp.taf, or it can be accessed via the Web site of the Henry Martyn Centre at Cambridge at www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk.

Searches in the database can be made by region, title, or specific term. To search by region, click on the map on the front page, which brings up a list of periodicals dealing with that part of the world. To do a title search, enter a particular title. Searches by specific term are flexible. For example, it is possible to search by denomination, to look for all periodicals for children, or to call up a list of all those containing engravings or photographs or advertisements or verse.

The database records the following information for each title: basic bibliographic details, including title and any changes of title, issuing body, place of publication, publisher and printer, dates and numbering system; frequency, whether weekly, monthly, annual, or otherwise (e.g., the Pentecostal Flames of Fire, which incorporates Tidings from Tibet and Other Lands, carried the statement, “This paper will be issued from time to time as the Lord directs”); price; circulation figures, where these are known; denomination; and region, using the nine areas of Africa, Australasia and the Pacific, East Asia, Europe including Russia, Latin America and Caribbean, Near and Middle East, North America, South Asia, and South-East Asia.

Information is given on specialized work, where appropriate, using categories such as Bible Translation, Jews, Literature, Medical, Welfare and Development, and Women. The database identifies intended readership (e.g., children, women, Sunday school teachers, children’s workers), as well as the use of illustrations, distinguishing woodcuts and engravings, black-and-white photographs, color photographs, and portraits.

Illustrations in missionary periodicals are a rich seam. It is my hope that before too long at least one Ph.D. dissertation and one book will be devoted to missionary iconography and use of the camera. Missionaries and missionary magazines were quick to embrace new technologies, and the role of missionary magazines in disseminating visual images of exotic parts of the world can hardly be overestimated. Similarly, there is scope for much work on missionary cartography. Occasionally, the missionary magazines published extremely detailed maps of little-known parts of the world. More often, maps were used to make points about the missionary needs of the world. There is some extremely interesting use of light and shade; among Protestants, mission stations conventionally appear as pinpoints of light in the heathen darkness.

Digging Deeper

Information recorded in the database is quite detailed. The contents of the magazines are logged using the following standard headings: Advertisements, Book Notes and Reviews, Children’s Corner, Competitions, Home Supporters’ Activities, Hymns and Verse, Letters to the Editor, List of Subscribers, Minutes and Proceedings, Missionary Stations and Movements, Obituaries, Prayers and Topics for Prayer, Sermons and Sermon...
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Forgotten and forlorn I live
Upon a dusty shelf.
And feel so downcast and so sad,
I hardly know myself:
A missionary box am I
And better days have seen,
For copper, silver—yes and gold
Within my walls have been.

Now I am empty—no not quite,
For something you may hear—
A mournful jingle from my depths
By pennies made, I fear;
I scorn not pennies—no indeed,
Their worth too well I know:
But twopence only in a box
Does make one’s spirits low.

The missionaries say, indeed,
That pence to pounds soon grow;
But older people ought to give,
We want our money so.
And thus in emptiness I wait
And dustier grow each day,
While, headless of my silent plea,
You, round me, work and play.

My words are weak and poor at best,
I know not how to plead,
But look upon the distant fields
To harvest white indeed;
The heathen are in thickest gloom,
Do you need a stronger plea?
Then listen to His voice who said—
“Ye did it unto Me.”

Web-based Initiatives for Mission Research

Photographs taken in the field between 1850 and World War II represent an important documentary resource for scholars interested in the international missionary movement. In many cases, however, the actual usefulness of these visual archives has been limited by their unorganized state and their dispersion across widely separated mission repositories.

Recognizing the research potential of these photos, the Getty Grant Program is sponsoring the creation of a Web site that initially will feature the collections held by the Day Missions Library at Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut; the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, Maryknoll, New York; the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; the Norwegian Missionary Society, Stavanger; and the Leipzig Mission, Leipzig, Germany; and the Moravian Church, Herrnhut, Germany.

Photographic prints and negatives from these excellent collections will be cataloged in conformity with international archiving standards, then digitized and aggregated into a searchable electronic database, accessible through a Web site hosted by the University of Southern California Library’s Archive Research Center. Once launched, this Web-based resource, provisionally called the Internet Mission Photography Archive, will evolve and expand as other mission collections are brought online. The goal of the project is to launch this site by December 2004.

Collaborators on this effort will be Jon Miller, Center for Religion and Civic Culture, University of Southern California; Martha Lund Smalley, Day Missions Collection, Yale Divinity School; Rosemary Seton, London University, School of Oriental and African Studies; Paul Jenkins, Basel Mission and Basel University, Switzerland; Nils Kristian Heimyr, Norwegian Mission Society, Stavanger; and Adam Jones, University of Leipzig, African Studies Center.

The MUNDUS Gateway, a Web-based guide to more than 400 collections of overseas missionary materials held in archives, libraries, museums, and other institutions in the United Kingdom, provides descriptions for each collection, plus location and access information for each holding institution. There is a facility for free-text searches, as well as searches by personal and corporate names, place-names, and subjects. Maps are provided to assist with regional searches, and there are links to related projects and resources. The MUNDUS Gateway, housed on a University of London computer, can be viewed with a password at www.mundus.ac.uk. Rosemary Seton, Archivist for the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, is the Project Manager. Funding for this project was provided by the Research Support Libraries Programme, Higher Education Funding Council for England. For more information, visit www.rslp.ac.uk/projects/research/41.htm.
Great poetry or hymnody is rare in missionary magazines, but as a source for the study of popular piety and attitudes, they are a much-neglected source. “Jack Horner Up-to-Date” shows a familiar text reworked in a missionary vein:

Little Jack Horner,
Sat in a corner
Eating a very queer pie:
He saw in a trice
It held everything nice
From the lands where the mission fields lie.
From Ceylon came the spice,
And from China the rice.
And bananas from African highlands;

There were nutmegs and cloves
Sent from Borneo’s groves.
And yams from the South Sea Islands.
There were nuts from Brazil
All the corners to fill,
And sugar and sage from Siam;
And from Turkey a fig
That was really so big,
Jack’s mouth thought, “It’s bigger than I am.”

There were pomegranates fair
Grown in Persia’s soft air,
And tortillas from Mexico found there:
And there did appear
Grapes and grain from Korea
And all the things that abound there.

An Egyptian date
Did not turn up too late;
He need not for tea to Japan go;
Tamarinds were not few;
There were oranges, too
And from India, many a mango.

“Now,” thought little Jack,
“What shall I send back
To these lands for their presents to me?
The Bible, indeed,
Is the gift they most need,
So that shall go over the sea.”

Locating Missionary Periodicals

Nothing is more frustrating for scholars than to know that relevant source material exists but not to know where to find it. The database project has therefore placed importance on recording location information. Up to four locations are cited for each title, although often there is only one or two known locations. They are coded to show how comprehensive the holding is at each location, whether complete, nearly complete, moderately complete, or very incomplete.

For missionary periodicals the richest mines are the British Library; the Oxford and Cambridge University libraries; the School of Oriental and African Studies; the Orchard Learning Resources Centre, Selly Oak, Birmingham; and New College Library, Edinburgh. There are some rich denominational seams such as the Moravian Church Archive and Library and the Library of the Society of Friends, both in London. Full contact details for these libraries are included on the database, as also for libraries such as the Gamble Library of Union Theological College, Belfast, and the Angus Library of Regent’s Park College, Oxford. Each of these libraries may be the only known location for a particular title. For some titles no locations have yet been traced, for example, the newsletters of sundry Anglican diocesan associations. Work continues, and the project team would be pleased to hear about any titles and locations that have been missed.

I end not so much with a conclusion as with thoughts about how the study of missionary periodicals can be carried forward. Currents in World Christianity, the parent project, has now come to an end; however, provision has been made for continued maintenance of the Missionary Periodicals Database Web site. If we had unlimited time and funding, it would be good also to record the information in book form. And then it would be good to initiate sister projects recording missionary periodicals published in America, in continental Europe, and on the mission fields themselves. I would like to see an anthology/sourcebook/book of readings from missionary periodicals. Finally, all of us involved in this project hope that more and more scholars from a wide variety of disciplines will become aware of the richness of the raw materials to be mined from missionary periodicals.

Notes

My Pilgrimage in Mission

Lois McKinney-Douglas

I was born November 3, 1931, in Bisbee, Arizona, a copper mining town just seven miles from the Mexican border. In this bilingual/bicultural community, I acquired some border Spanish and was exposed to my Baptist church’s mission outreach among Mexicans and Native Americans. When a missionary to the Navajo spoke in vacation Bible school, I was intrigued by her stories, photographs, and artifacts. I realized that the world was larger than Bisbee and wanted to go to faraway places to tell people about Jesus.

At the same time, I was full of doubts about being “saved.” Though I knew I loved Jesus and had understood what I was doing when I made a profession of my faith through baptism at age eight, I kept responding to altar calls over and over because I was so afraid of hell and God’s judgment. When I was twelve, my family moved to Southern California, where my mother and I started attending a Pentecostal church. Even though I thrived on experiential worship, my fears were exacerbated as I was told that evidences of salvation included being baptized in the Spirit and speaking in tongues.

Later I started going by myself to an Evangelical Free church. Anxieties about my personal experience gave way to a focus on the Scriptures, and my desire to be a missionary was renewed. Two students from Biola (Bible Institute of Los Angeles, now Biola University) who were attending the church took me through a discipleship program that, in spite of its legalism, helped me to develop disciplined habits of Scripture memorization and Bible study. Through the influence of these friends, I enrolled in Biola in the fall of 1949.

That was the year that the People’s Republic of China took over the nation, and Christian missions were forced to withdraw. During a solemn chapel service, tears flowed and sobs were heard as, slowly, one by one, on a large world map scattered with lights representing missionaries who had studied at Biola, the lights in China were turned off. The missionaries were gone. The church would die. Only later, when encouraging news began to leak out, did we begin to realize that the work of God in China not only survived, it even thrived without an expatriate missionary presence. What was dying was an era of paternalistic, Western-dominated mission.

Formation

At Biola I was absorbed in Christian education, in part because of a natural affinity toward education and psychology, but even more importantly, because of a Christian education professor, Margaret Jacobsen, who made me her undergraduate teaching assistant and research assistant and spent countless hours as my mentor. In 1952, between my junior and senior years, I participated in a summer experience in pre-Castro Cuba with Practical Missionary Training. The program was considered a radical departure from traditional approaches to mission preparation in which prospective missionaries were expected to trust their call from God without testing the waters before they went abroad.

Practical Missionary Training had a strong emphasis on spiritual formation. We were required to read through the Book of Philippians every day. There were frequent periods of prayer and singing. Even as a seventy-year-old, I still hear Joy Ridderhof’s chorus “Our Blessed Lord Is Working Out His Purpose” ringing in my ears. However, my Biola experience was clouded by intellectual struggles. The tightly structured belief system that permeated churches and Bible schools in the early fifties had become stifling. I knew that I needed to pursue graduate study, if for no other reason than to sort out what I had been taught from what I believed. So in the fall of 1953 I enrolled in the Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary (now Denver Seminary).

At Conservative Baptist, Vernon Grounds, then dean, repeatedly spoke of his desire that students would leave Denver more committed to the infallible Word of God than they were when they began their programs and that they would also be more skeptical of infallible interpretations and infallible interpreters. I thrived in this atmosphere of critical realism. I could explore issues with which I was struggling, and I was stretched in new directions through exposure to authors of whom I had not been aware, such as Oscar Cullman and Søren Kierkegaard. However, I was soon stretched in another way. In the middle of my program at Conservative Baptist, I took time for a self-imposed internship as director of Christian education for a church in Arizona. The pastor was extremely difficult to work with. Only later did I discover that with my year and a half on his staff, I held the longevity record! When I returned to Denver, God used the skillful counseling of Grounds, who had become my faculty adviser, to help me integrate those difficult experiences into the pattern of my life in ways that led me toward greater emotional and spiritual maturity.

Launching into Mission

A week after graduating from Conservative Baptist in the spring of 1956, I began working with Scripture Press Publications in Wheaton, Illinois. My main responsibility was leading workshops and consultations in Sunday-school conventions, local churches, and, occasionally, theological schools. I traveled 75 percent of the time. In the process I spoke in all but four states of the United States and two provinces in Canada. This travel exposed me to most of the eighty or more denominations that Scripture Press served.

The tug toward intercultural missionary service continued,
and I finally wrote to the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society (now CBInternational), introducing myself and asking them where they might use me. I received a positive letter in return, suggesting four countries for possible service. After studying their suggestions, I settled on Portugal. I was appointed by the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society in January 1959 and sailed into the beautiful harbor of Lisbon in February 1960.

On my first night there the missionaries broke the news. They believed that the leaders of the Portuguese Baptist Convention were highly trained and prepared to carry on without us. It was time for our mission to plan a phased withdrawal.

While in Portugal, thanks in large part to the unobtrusive mentoring of missionary Arthur Brown, who opened doors and gave helpful counsel along the way, I taught Christian education at the Seminário Teológico Baptista de Leiria, directed the Instituto de Educação Cristã (the women’s program), was a department editor for the Revista Teológica (the seminary’s theological journal), directed a children’s camp, and immersed myself in the ministry of a local church.

Since I was a new missionary, these experiences were not without stresses and surprises. It took a while for a North American Christian educator to accept having adults come to youth meetings and men to women’s meetings. It was even harder to understand why it was so important for the director of the Portuguese Baptist Convention to save face when his son and son’s girlfriend were disciplined by me for breaking the seminary rules by going to a movie (a proscribed activity) without the required chaperone on a night when the students were expected to be at a prayer meeting.

Our mission phased out its work with the Portuguese Baptist Convention in 1965. After six years of fulfilling ministry in Portugal, I was then reassigned to teach at the Seminário Batista do Nordeste, located in Floriano, Piauí, in northeastern Brazil. Extreme poverty, somewhat alleviated through raising produce and livestock on small plots of land, characterized the region. Terrible droughts at all too frequent intervals brought suffering and even starvation to the region.

While I was in Floriano, I made frequent trips in Mission Aviation Fellowship airplanes to remote churches to involve seminary students in Sunday school teaching and development of local teachers. On one occasion, a student was not able to go, so I taught Sunday school myself. Afterward a mother gave me her little girl’s report: “We had a different teacher today, Mother. She smiled a lot, but she didn’t sing as well as Maria, and I didn’t understand everything she said.” That was another reinforcement of my lifelong commitment to developing national leaders!

New Directions in Theological Education

By 1968 the Theological Education by Extension (TEE) movement had reached Brazil. I was among the early missionaries and Brazilian leaders to become interested in TEE. Many of the problems that led Presbyterians in Guatemala to initiate TEE were being experienced by our seminary as well. We were facilitating the exodus of young, unproven seminary graduates from the region and, at the same time, neglecting the education of underprepared leaders who were faithfully serving their churches in the interior.

As my home assignment drew near, Ted Ward, then from Michigan State University, was in Brazil to conduct a TEE workshop. He responded positively to my inquiries about studying at Michigan State. When I saw him again a few weeks later at a Christian education and missions conference at Scripture Press, he had come loaded down with application materials for me so that I could begin my doctoral program in January 1970.

The program at Michigan State met my expectations. I was able to bridge the culture gap between the remote Brazilian interior and a campus caught up in the North American countercultural movement. I was introduced to theorists such as Malcolm Knowles, Carl Rogers, Jean Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg, and, especially, Paulo Freire, the exiled adult educator from northeast Brazil who had developed a radical literacy program that not only taught adults to read but also, through a process of consciousness raising, empowered them to work for change within their own social contexts. My philosophy of education and Christian ministry has been deeply influenced by Freire ever since.

When I returned to Brazil in 1974, I became deeply immersed in teaching and in developing a master’s program at the Faculdade Teológica Batista de São Paulo, in directing Brazil’s nationwide TEE association, and in launching a graduate-level training program for educators and writers for TEE. Fifty-five interns from twenty-two institutions were involved.

Four years later, in 1978, when I was due for home assignment again, I realized that the TEE association and the internship program were able to function well under capable national leadership. This realization gave me an ecstatic sense of fulfillment. “Father,” I prayed, “I am ready to go home to be with you. If you give me a long life with more ministry opportunities, I want to be faithful to you, but I cannot ask you for any more than you have already given me.”

On my return to the United States I was invited to become the executive director of the Committee to Assist Ministry Education Overseas (CAMEO), a joint committee of the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies (EFMA) and the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA). Its vision was to link member missions to evangelical theological education worldwide through mutually shared information and services. In practice this assignment meant continual travel, ministering in more than forty countries. I conducted TEE consultations for programs just getting underway, worked with both residential and extension programs in faculty and curriculum development, gave lectureships and courses in theological schools, and, especially, represented CAMEO at international missions congresses and conferences, at meetings of national and international TEE associations and accrediting associations, and in North American missions gatherings.

By 1982 it was time to move on. I had been able to contribute to the expansion of a theological education network and to inform and encourage North American mission agencies in their partnership with these endeavors. Now TEE was firmly established. It was an accepted component of the worldwide theologi-
cal education scene, with hundreds of programs, dozens of national and regional TEE associations, and linkages among these groups through the International Council of Accrediting Agencies.

In the fall of 1982 I began teaching in the missions/intercultural studies department at Wheaton College Graduate School in Wheaton, Illinois. Up to that point, I had been an extremely national and regional TEE associations, and linkages among these groups through the International Council of Accrediting Agencies.

A move to Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in 1990 stretched me even further as I began to teach Ph.D. seminars and direct doctoral dissertations. My most memorable missiological moment was being introduced to both David J. Bosch and his then recently published book *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* at an Overseas Ministries Study Center gathering. I have been immersed in this monumental work ever since.

**Exploring Issues**

In spite of my near-total absorption with theological education and the education of missionaries through the years, I have been exploring other issues as well. The most constant of these has been the relationship between evangelism and social concern. My sociopolitical consciousness was awakened early through my father’s involvement in state politics and through exposure to poverty on the Mexican border. After being largely squelched during Bible school days through constant warnings against the dangers of the social gospel, my concern revived as I lived in the midst of the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal and later under a military regime in Brazil. Internalizing Paulo Freire’s writings at Michigan State and during my years in São Paulo certainly had an impact, as did participation in meetings of the Latin American Theological Fraternity during my São Paulo years.

An experience that left an indelible mark occurred shortly before I left northeast Brazil, in 1969, when I was awakened early one morning by wailing from a neighbor’s home. A five-year-old girl had died. After her burial later that day, a medical doctor told me that the child died needlessly of malnutrition and parasites. As I prayed and cried over the next several weeks, I kept asking for forgiveness for myself and our mission for our almost exclusive preoccupation with future salvation, which had caused us to neglect the present needs of the poor.

Participating in the Grand Rapids Consultation on Evangelism and Social Responsibility in 1982 was a memorable time of interaction with representatives from around the world in a largely successful effort to reconcile polarized positions on this issue, which were threatening to divide evangelicalism. My social concern turned active during my years at Wheaton as I

**Noteworthy**

**Announcing**

The 2002 annual meetings of the *Evangelical Missiological Society* and the *Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association* will be held in conjunction with each other at the Airport Marriott in Orlando, Florida, on October 3–5, 2002. The theme is “The Christian Response to World Religions.” Chairpersons for the meeting are Paul Hiebert and Enoch Wan. For details, visit www.missiology.org/ems/conference.htm.

*Evangelical Ministries to New Religions* (EMNR) is accepting paper or e-mail proposals for the 2003 annual conference to be held January 23–25, 2003, at Biola University, La Mirada, California. The conference theme is “Christianity in a World of New Religions.” Presenter biographical information should accompany all workshop proposal submissions. For more information, visit www.emnr.org or write to EMNR, 913 Huffman Road, Birmingham, AL 35215.

The *Council for a Parliament of the World’s Religions* will hold its next Parliament in July 2004 in Barcelona, Spain. The event will be bilingual for the first time, presented in Spanish and English. The Parliament is part of the Forum of Cultures, cosponsored by the Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004 with the support of UNESCO. For more information, visit www.cpwr.org.

The U.S. Catholic Mission Association will convene its annual conference October 25–27 with the theme “Mission and Inter-religious Dialogue: Promises and Challenges” in Raleigh, North Carolina. The conference will feature prayer and worship at local synagogues and mosques, followed by conversations with members of the faith communities. For details, call (202) 832-3112 or visit www.uscatholicmission.org.

**Personalia**

On July 12, 2002, Lamin Sanneh, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and World Christianity, Yale Divinity School, and concurrently Professor of History in Yale College, was honored by the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, with the honorary degree of doctor of divinity. The laureate was Professor David Kerr, Director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World. Both men are *IBMR* contributing editors.

**Died. Ion Bria**, a Romanian Orthodox priest and former director of a World Council of Churches division, July 2, in Geneva, Switzerland. In 1973 Bria was appointed executive secretary for mission and relations with Orthodox churches within the WCC, and in 1987 he became director of the WCC Sub-unit for Renewal and Congregational Life. Shortly before retirement in 1994, Bria was named director of the WCC Faith and Witness Unit. Born in Telega, Romania, in 1929, he studied at Bucharest Theological Institute, where later he was professor of dogmatic theology and missiology. In 1995 Bria was appointed an associate professor at the Andrei Saguna Faculty of Theology, Sibiu, Romania. Bria’s experiences are recounted in his “My Pilgrimage in Mission” in the April 2002 issue of the *IBMR*.

**Craig A. Noll**, *IBMR* copy editor since 1992, has been named Assistant Editor. Since 1995 he has been an editor for Eerdmans Publishing Company, working from his home office in North Kingstown, Rhode Island. Noll’s primary editorial responsibility is coordinating production of the five-volume *Encyclopedia of Christianity*. Previously he served as registrar (1982–85) of Barrington College in Barrington, Rhode Island, and was a free-lance academic copy editor.
became deeply involved in Spirit and Truth Fellowship, a Chicago inner-city ministry developed by Manuel ("Manny") Ortiz, who taught urban mission at Wheaton at the time. I began to understand what it is like to live in the midst of underemployment, nondelivery of medical and social services, crime, drugs, violence, and even police brutality.

Another issue I have explored through the years has been the role of women in church and mission. During the late seventies these debates entered the evangelical world with full force. I felt their impact personally as I interacted with mission executives while I was with CAMEO and especially while I was teaching at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, where I became known as a champion for women. In spite of my deep passion for egalitarianism and my participation from its inception in Christians for Biblical Equality, I have tried to keep my involvement in the evangelical women’s movement low-key. I feel I have accomplished more for women in missions by being one than by talking about it.

**Encounter with Third World Missions**

My missiological journey has also taken me into Third World missions. In São Paulo from 1974 to 1978, I was so fully absorbed in seminary teaching and TEE that I was scarcely aware of the Brazilian mission movement that was underway and was not really convinced that churches in Latin America were capable of sending missionaries. Six years after I had returned to the United States, a friend invited me back to Brazil to lead the first seminar for missions professors sponsored by a commission of the Associação Brasileira de Missões Transculturais. I had imagined sitting around a table with half a dozen theological school professors to talk about starting missions courses in their institutions. When I arrived, I discovered that there were more than twenty participants, representing at least that many different schools. All of them had missions courses, and some had missions majors!

In 1987 I was back in São Paulo as a North American delegate to COMIBAM (a Spanish/Portuguese acronym for Ibero-American Missionary Cooperation). The gathering was a celebration of Latin American and Iberian missions coming of age or, as the conference theme put it, of the two regions emerging “From a Mission Field to a Missions Force.” The opening night was dedicated to recognition of expatriate missionaries who had brought the Gospel to their regions. During a standing ovation the auditorium reverberated with the sounds of clapping, cheering, and shouting. The ecstatic sense of fulfillment that the nationalization of Brazilian programs had brought me in the 1970s had turned out to be penultimate. God had allowed me to climb an even higher mountain from which I could see and hear this celebration of globalization and partnership. I felt as if the hosts of heaven were cheering and clapping with us!

Another milestone experience at COMIBAM was rooming with Ruth Siemens of Global Opportunities. During our short time together, she transformed me from a tentmaking skeptic into a convinced supporter of bivocational missions. Tentmaking took on a personal dimension when I returned to Brazil in 1997 for a theological lectureship at the Faculdade Teológica Baptista de Campinas. There I heard about a widower who had spent forty years in Brazil teaching nuclear physics in state universities and investing his time, energy, and leadership skills in campus student ministries with the Aliança Bíblica Universitária, an International Fellowship of Evangelical Students affiliate. He was in the United States while I was in Brazil, but mutual friends became matchmakers, and after 800 pages of e-mail, numerous phone calls, exchanges of photos, and trips between our two countries, Ross Alan Douglas and I were married on December 12, 1998. Almost four years later we are still enjoying our companionship, which extends to collaboration in professional activities and our church life.

Throughout most of my life, my personal spirituality has been intensely activist and goal oriented. A turning point came in 1993 when I began meditating on the Psalms during free moments throughout the day. Then in 1995 a friend and I studied a workbook together based on Richard Foster’s *Celebration of Discipline*. This experience prompted me to reread Foster’s book, which I had read several years before. Since then I have been gradually breaking out of my single-minded commitment to a Calvinistic, Word-and-evangelistic-proclamation-oriented tradition of spirituality and have been embracing elements of contemplative, holiness, Pentecostal, and socially active traditions as well.

Ross and I attended a spiritual formation conference at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in 1998. I was able to attend a second conference at Dallas Theological Seminary in 2001. We felt the impact of these extremely dynamic events and especially the ministries of Dallas Willard, James Houston, and Gordon Fee. Here in Brazil we have both grown through attending an intense seminar followed by a yearlong once-a-month course led by Pastor Osmar Ludovico da Silva. His emphasis on classical spiritual disciplines has had a transforming effect on our lives.

After a lifetime of missions education, and at times feeling stressed and out of control, I am learning, ever so slowly, to love and to accept being loved.
The Legacy of Mary Slessor

Jeanette Hardage

Sixty-six-year-old Mary Mitchell Slessor lay dying in the village of Use Ikot Oku, Nigeria. Feverish, weak, and going in and out of consciousness, she prayed, “O Abasi, sana mi yak” (O God, let me go). Her prayer was granted just before dawn on January 13, 1915. The woman known as eka kpukpu owo (everybody’s mother) had lived nearly forty years in Nigeria, but her death was noted around the world, and her influence lives on today.

How did Mary Slessor, a petite redhead from the slums of Dundee, Scotland, become a role model for others, even today? How did she come to wield such influence in the land known to her compatriots as the white man’s grave? How did she fit into the British Empire’s plan to “civilize” Nigeria? A study of Slessor’s life reveals certain factors leading to a missionary fervor, combined with a large measure of down-to-earth common sense. Through the trying circumstances of her youth, she learned to face and overcome difficult situations in ways that often challenged the mission methods and attitudes of her era.

The Mission at Calabar

In 1841 Hope Masterton Waddell, an Irish clergyman serving with the Scottish Presbyterian mission in Jamaica, received a copy of Sir T. Fowell Buxton’s book The Slave Trade and Its Remedy. The author proclaimed that God would inspire men from the West Indies to return to their African homeland with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Buxton’s book spurred Waddell to urge colleagues and congregants to seek to establish a mission in Africa. Slaves had been freed in Jamaica in 1833, and Waddell and other missionaries had a strong ministry among the people there.

The synod in Jamaica sent Waddell as their representative to the Foreign Mission Board in Edinburgh to plead for permission to go to Calabar, near the southeastern coast of present-day Nigeria. At first the society denied the request, but the persistence of the Jamaican group paid off, and in 1846 the first contingent of missionaries finally reached Calabar. The mission saw some successes, but for years mission stations remained for the most part clustered around the coastal villages near the mouths of the Cross and Calabar Rivers.

By the time of Mary’s birth in 1848, her mother (also Mary Slessor), like hundreds of other Scottish Presbyterians, eagerly read each issue of the Missionary Record. The United Presbyterian Church (later United Free Church of Scotland) published this monthly magazine to inform members of missionary comings and goings, progress, problems, and needs. The exploits of the famous missionary explorer David Livingstone, as well as those serving in Calabar and elsewhere, enthralled Mrs. Slessor, and she communicated her enthusiasm for missions to her children.

Mary’s childhood had a dark side in the person of her alcoholic father, Robert. In 1859 he moved the family from Aberdeen to Dundee, hoping for a change. He worked briefly as a shoemaker, then in one of the city’s textile mills, but he soon was laid off and then reverted to his old lifestyle.

Mary’s mother was already a skilled weaver and began work in one of the mills to help support the family. By the time she was eleven, Mary also went to work in the mill. Like many others around them, the Slessors lived in the slums and knew the meaning of hunger. Before long, Mary’s father and both her brothers died, leaving behind only Mary, her mother, and two sisters.

Practical Training

David Livingstone, missionary hero of the day, had urged fellow Christians not to let die the fire of opening Africa to Christianity. Slessor responded to this call. She read everything she could lay hands on, including the works of Milton, Carlyle, and others. She became an eager student of the Bible and was convinced she must give herself to God’s service. As later years were to show, once she felt certain of God’s leading on any matter, nothing kept her from following through. This admirable characteristic sometimes put her at odds with coworkers and the mission board.

Slessor’s life, apart from twelve-hour workdays, revolved around the church. As a teenager, she began teaching Sunday school and working with a youth club. On Saturdays she often led her group on outings—running races with them, climbing trees, hiking up her skirts when necessary. Her usually docile attitude gave way to exasperation when she learned that some of the church elders disapproved of such behavior.

Her notes for a lesson she taught at Wishart Church in 1874 contain an urgent plea which is also an unwitting foretelling of her own life story.

Thank God! For such men & women here & everywhere, who in the face of scorn, & persecution ... dare to stand firmly & fearlessly for their Master. Their commission is today what it was yesterday. ‘Go ye into all the world, & preach the Gospel to every creature.’ ... not the nice easy places only, but the dark places, the distant places... to the low as well as the high, the poor as well as the rich, the ignorant as well as the learned, the degraded as well as the refined, to those who will mock as well as to those who will receive us, to those who will hate as well as to those who will love us.1

She answered her own challenge to go when news reached Britain of Livingstone’s death in 1874.

The Foreign Mission Board agreed to send Slessor to Calabar as a teacher upon completion of a three-month training course in Edinburgh. She wrote in later years that the training would have been more beneficial had it been “more practical.”2 Whatever the training, it surely did not include house-building and concretemaking, chores she found herself involved in through the years. At the same time Slessor continued to be a serious student and teacher of the Bible in Africa. She came to exemplify the truth set forth by missions historian Andrew Walls that missionaries “set themselves to intellectual effort and acquired learning skills far beyond anything which would have been required of them in their ordinary run of life.”3

Arrival at Calabar

Slessor embarked for Calabar on August 6, 1876, and in September set foot on African soil at Duke Town, forty miles inland up the Calabar River estuary. Neither the oppressive tropical

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climate nor the innumerable insects or wild animals could dampen her high hopes, wonder, and enthusiasm. She admired her teacher, longtime missionary Mrs. Euphemia Sutherland, whom she dutifully followed around as she learned the business of being a “female agent”—teaching, dispensing medications, and making the rounds of the women’s yards surrounding Duke Town, mission headquarters in the greater Calabar region.

Slessor eagerly followed advice given her to make the study of the Efik language her highest priority. She was such an apt student of the language that she was described by Africans as having an Efik mouth.

During her first years in Calabar Slessor began to understand the religious beliefs of the people, their social relationships, their laws and customs (especially as represented by the governing Ekpe fraternity), and the problems presented by polygamy, slavery, and drunkenness. She abhorred the practices of twin-murder and the sacrifice of wives and slaves upon the death of a chief. She began to make elevating the status of women one of her priorities. Her eccentricities and headstrong personality became more evident as she broke tradition by shedding her Victorian petticoats and climbing trees. She marched bareheaded and barefoot through the jungle and declined to filter her water—habits she maintained for years.

Within three years Slessor, now thirty years old, was ill and homesick. Frequent attacks of fever sidelined her, and she suffered from the harmattan, the dusty Saharan wind that blew during the dry season and consumed her energy. She went home to Scotland, but after a stay of a little over a year, she returned to Calabar.

Slessor had begged to go to a different station and was delighted to find she was assigned to Old Town, a few miles up the Calabar River. Here she was freer to go her own way, though in theory she remained under the supervision of Duke Town. She found that by living like an African (tea was the only European nicety she allowed herself), she could now live more cheaply and send more of her small salary home to care for her mother and sisters. Responsible for several outstations, she trekked miles through the jungle to conduct Sunday services, telling everyone she met about the Savior of the world sent by the one true and loving God.

For years missionaries had rushed to rescue twins or orphaned babies before they could be killed. Slessor herself became a champion baby-saver. One of her earliest twin adoptees, Jane, lived with her until Slessor’s death more than thirty years later. From then on, her African household always included babies and young children. Eventually, she raised six girls and two boys as her own.

As early as 1882 Slessor began to explore along the river. She sometimes stayed away for days at a time, visiting different villages, meeting the people, listening to their stories of hardship and sorrow, carrying medicine to treat their illnesses, and preaching informally. The people responded with affection to her open acceptance of them and her mastery of their language. She began to travel further afield in response to appeals from village chiefs. In Ibaka, thirty miles downstream, people came from miles around to see the white Ma (an honorific term similar to Madam, often applied to a mother figure). She dispensed medicines, worked with the women, and held morning and evening services daily for two weeks.

In 1883 Slessor returned to Scotland, sick again, with baby Jane in tow. The child was a great attraction in the churches and homes visited. The furlough extended to two and a half years, with one delay after another. Finally, Slessor left her mother and younger sister in the care of a friend and returned to Calabar in 1885, this time to Creek Town, across the river and farther inland from Duke Town.

She served with other missionaries in Creek Town but longed to move on to new territory. She had told the Calabar Mission Committee of her desire to go to the people of Okoyong even before her first furlough. When both her mother and her remaining sister died by early 1886, she had no more family ties to Scotland. She mourned—then looked toward the move she felt God called her to. She said, “I am ready to go anywhere, provided it be forward.”

**Okoyong Territory**

Mission representatives had visited Okoyong territory numerous times but found no welcome there. Fearsome reports of guns and drunkenness, trial by ordeal with poison beans, human sacrifice, cannibalism, and skulls on display circulated about the people and the territory—between the Cross and Calabar rivers, about thirty miles from Duke Town. Understandably, the mission committee in Calabar was not enthusiastic about sending a lone woman into such danger, but finally at the end of 1886 they approved her request. Then ensued more than a year of negotiations with Okoyong chiefs. Slessor finally took matters into her own hands in June 1888 and went alone to finalize arrangements for her move. “I had often a lump in my throat,” she admitted, “and my courage repeatedly threatened to take wings and fly away.”

Slessor trekked four miles inland from the Calabar River to Ekenge, where she met Chief Edem and his sister, Ma Eme, and received a promise of land for her house. Thus began fifteen years of service to a people who sometimes loathed her but more often loved her. Ma Eme became Slessor’s friend and often aided the white Ma in rescuing babies, women, and slaves, though she did...
Farmland soils were depleted. It was here that stories of her and women—missionaries, military men, and popular Victorian traveler Mary Kingsley—were recorded. Kingsley, who called Slessor a “veritable white chief over the entire [Okoyong] district,” observed, “Her great abilities, both physical and intellectual, have given her among the savage tribe an unique position, and won her, from white and black who know her, a profound esteem … and the amount of good she has done, no man can fully estimate. . . . [Okoyong] was given, as most of the surrounding districts still are, to killing at funerals, ordeal by poison, and perpetual internecine wars. Many of these evil customs she has stamped out.”

In 1890, while Slessor recuperated back in Duke Town from fever, she met a new missionary teacher, Charles Morrison, eighteen years her junior. He was attracted to her both by her reputation and by the fact that they both enjoyed literature and poetry. How the couple kept their deepening friendship out of the limelight in Calabar is hard to fathom. The relationship is not mentioned in other missionary correspondence, but when Slessor returned to Scotland for furlough in 1891, she appeared wearing an engagement ring. She had agreed to marry Morrison on the assurance that she was to keep moving forward, “just to take hold,” and she spent the last four years of her life itinerating between Use Ikot Oku and Ikpe, twenty miles apart on Enyong Creek, a long and difficult trek necessary, determined to carry out the commission she was convinced was hers. In each new place she faced the same problems she had contended with at previous stations. She left no written record of her relationship with Morrison or her disappointment at being denied marriage.

For Slessor there was never any thought that she would leave the ministry to which God had called her or abandon her assurance that she was to keep moving forward, so the engagement was off. She left no written record of her relationship with Morrison or her disappointment at being denied marriage.

In 1892 the British consul general, Major Claude MacDonald, appointed Slessor vice consul of the Okoyong territory. She had insisted that “her people” were not ready for a British court system, so it was natural to hand the job officially to her, since she was already doing it informally. She served several years, then resigned over a disagreement with a new young district commissioner. She resumed the same job again (now called vice president of the native court) in 1905 and became well known for her quick and fair, though often unconventional, judgments.

Enyong Creek

Arochuku lay up Enyong Creek, off the Cross River. The Aro people purportedly continued slaving expeditions, taking of skulls, and cannibalism. Accounts, even if exaggerated, by survivors who had escaped from Arochuku were the last straw for the British. In 1901 the Foreign Office decreed that “persuasion was useless with these cannibals” and proceeded to attack and defeat them. Though she may not have questioned the British military intervention at Arochuku, the use of force was not Slessor’s own method of operation. She did take firm stands against the evils she saw (and was known in later years to box the ears of unruly men as if they were naughty children), but she always sought to win people by telling of, and demonstrating, the great love of God.

No sooner had the military conquest ended than Slessor determined to move up Enyong Creek into Aro country. She told the missions committee that it was time for an ordained missionary to come to Akpap and build up the church for Okoyong so she could move on. (By now she was telling the Foreign Mission Board what she expected to happen, not just making polite requests.) Her fame preceded her arrival, and she began a new work in 1904 at the village of Itu on the west bank of the Cross River near the junction of Enyong Creek, the place that became her headquarters for several years.

About this time Charles Partridge became district commissioner of the Itu area, and he and Slessor began a long friendship. His headquarters was twenty-five miles from Itu, so they often had occasion to correspond. He saved her many letters to him written from 1905 through 1914 and donated them to the city of Dundee in 1950. In these letters we see Slessor’s relationship with someone outside the church whose friendship she valued highly. Partridge wrote in his presentation of the letters, in which he acknowledges his own agnosticism and his disdain for missionaries in general: “I have had intercourse with many distinguished people. . . . Of the women, I place first Mary Slessor, whom you call ‘the White Queen of Okoyong!’ She was a very remarkable woman. . . . Excepting Miss Slessor, I thoroughly disapprove of all missionaries!”

Slessor wrote to Partridge about people they both knew—British officers, local chiefs, missionaries, and others; she discussed everything from legal cases she was handling to the weather and insects. She shared much more with him than she did with many mission coworkers.

Slessor took her beloved adopted son Dan with her on her final furlough to Scotland in 1907. While there she wrote to Partridge several times. On one occasion she responded to news of an illness he had: “[T]hen comes your letter with its woeful tale of sickness. . . . I ought to be preaching to you & telling you ‘it serves you right’ for you are such an agnostic. & etc. etc. but I am too sorry to indulge in this. . . . Have you good reading? It is such a good help to keep off nervousness & weariness to have a good book, & someone to read with.”

When she returned to Africa, the plucky trailblazer continued to move forward, “just to take hold,” and she spent the last four years of her life itinerating between Use Ikot Oku and Ikpe, twenty miles apart on Enyong Creek, a long and difficult trek before roads were built. Much of that time she was deathly ill, but always she rallied, even crawling to Sabbath services when necessary, determined to carry out the commission she was convinced was hers. In each new place she faced the same problems she had contended with at previous stations.

In 1913 Mary Slessor received an award from the British government. She was elected an Honorary Associate of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. When she actually received the medal, she was most embarrassed. In keeping with her character, she accepted it on behalf of all the missionaries who served in Calabar.

Slessor’s last letter to Partridge was written on Christmas Eve 1914. She confided that she did not much care whether or not
she survived her "long illness." She was depressed also by the deaths of two friends and by the news of the war in Europe. Less than a month later, she died.

**Remembrance**

Mary Slessor's stubborn drive to open new territory to education and the presentation of the gospel message stands as a prime example of what Ogbu Kalu, Nigerian church historian and professor of world Christianity and mission at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, refers to as "a broader view of the style and vision of the [missionary] enterprise." He states, "Her vision was much broader and more activist than her compatriots could imagine." 10

Slessor demonstrated her social activism in a number of ways: her persistent rescue of twins and orphans, in some cases adopting and raising the children as her own; her determination to make life better for women in general, especially in setting up vocational training schools for them; her use of the "each one teach one" principle later espoused by Frank Laubach and other modern literacy proponents (she would send a couple of boys who had learned to read into a village that had invited her to come, and they would teach not only reading but also what they knew of the Bible); and her participation in settling disputes, whether as an agent of the British government or on an informal, personal basis. She brought a semblance of order to communities in a time of social and political upheaval.

Kalu says, "Slessor represents a genre of missionary presence which rejected the social and spatial boundaries created by the 'ark syndrome' in missionary attitude." 11 In Calabar she was a catalyst that challenged the mission to change emphasis, to become a sending body rather than a mostly stationary body, a practice the mission's converts had been urging for some years. She garnered support from younger mission colleagues, in addition to being admired by British colonial personnel and the people of the districts where she lived and worked.

Mary Slessor's importance in the history of the development of the church in Africa cannot be denied. She is remembered—by some, venerated—in both Scotland and southeastern Nigeria. In 2000 she was chosen one of the millennium persons of Calabar, the place she began her witness. She is honored in the area with statues, each a likeness of Slessor holding twin babies. A hospital and schools are named for her. In Scotland a ten-pound note bears her picture. Queen Elizabeth laid a wreath at her grave in Calabar in 1956. The museum in Dundee displays stained glass windows that depict events from her life. Slessor herself would have shunned such goings-on. Regardless, she left a trail of churches and schools, a host of people who admired her deeply—and many who still do.

**Notes**

5. Buchan, *Expendable Mary Slessor*, p. 84.
10. Ogbu Kalu, "Personal Correspondence [E-mail to author]," February 25, 2002.
11. Ibid.

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Of numerous biographies the most useful for study are:


Significant information on the Scottish Presbyterian mission work in Calabar or on Mary Slessor appears in:

Book Reviews

Dictionnaire œcuménique de missiologie: Cent mots pour la mission.


The introduction to this splendid volume tells us that the French-speaking world was lacking a suitable missiological dictionary. Instead of translating a recent dictionary from German, English, or Italian, a team of Protestant and Catholic scholars from France, Belgium, Switzerland, and French-speaking Africa decided to create their own. The subtitle ("hundred words for mission") indicates that the articles are fairly short, shorter than many of the articles in the well-known Dictionary of Mission (Orbis Books, 1997). Yet the spirit of the two dictionaries is quite similar—passionate concern for the church's mission, without ignoring its contemporary difficulties.

In the Dictionnaire the problem areas of the church's mission are addressed in a number of important entries. The articles "Liberté religieuse" and "Prosyélytisme" reveal that the present understanding of human rights, including the collective right of cultural self-determination, may lead some nations to forbid missionary efforts that seem to undermine a people's tradition. A planned U.N. charter that would protect indigenous peoples may move in this direction. The articles "Dialogue interreligieux" and "Religions" deal with the recent turn to interreligious dialogue and wrestle with the as-yet unanswered question of how proclamation and dialogue are related to one another. Does Christian faith see religious pluralism more as a defect to be repaired by the world's conversion to Christianity or as a marvelous expression of God's infinite riches?

The articles "Justice" and "Royaume de Dieu et mission" (Kingdom of God and mission) discuss the recent emphasis on the church's mission as servant of humanity, divinely appointed to promote love, justice, and peace. "Colonisation et décolonisation" treats the role of the churches in the age of colonialism and raises the question whether the overcoming of colonialism after World War II has abolished the colonial structures within the churches themselves.

The articles "Dieu" (God), "Parole" (Word), and "Esprit Saint et mission" (Holy Spirit and mission) offer a missionary theology based on God's omnipresence as Creator and Redeemer that allows the church both to distinguish in the world between the forces of darkness and the achievements of grace and to announce to the nations God's coming reign.

—Gregory Baum

Gregory Baum, a Roman Catholic ecumenist, is Professor Emeritus in the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, Montreal, and editor of the Ecumenist.

The History of Vatican II: Vol. 3.
The Mature Council: Second Period and Intersession.


Vatican Council II, by any standard, was the most important religious event of the twentieth century. It affected the course of the history not only of the Catholic Church but also of other Christian churches and their relationship with the world and its religions. But little is known about its inception and workings, including the internal opposition and resistance, the behind-the-scenes theological and curial battles, and the events that led to the eventual triumph of reform, renewal, and moderation in the Catholic Church.

History of Vatican II, edited by Giuseppe Alberigo, probably the greatest authority on the history of the council, is the product of some of the finest scholars on the history of Vatican II. This third volume, covering the most creative and decisive period of the council, deals with some of its most important themes, including the conception of the church (pp. 420ff.), divine revelation (pp. 428ff.), liturgy, and ecumenical relations. In many ways, the council's success must be attributed to the wisdom, theological acumen, and moderation of Pope Paul VI, along with the general trend of the world episcopate, which wanted change despite the intransigence of some (p. 493).

This is a very honest treatment, without any effort to gloss over serious difficulties. It explores attempts made by conservatives to change the course of the council. It thoroughly covers the theological positions taken by the council, the limitations of the various documents produced by the council, the strengths and weaknesses of those who guided the council to its close, and the betrayed hopes along with the successes of Vatican II. Theologians, historians, and pastors will find this an excellent guide to the understanding of Vatican II.

—Sebastian Karotemprel, S.D.B.

Sebastian Karotemprel, a contributing editor, is Professor of Mission Theology at the Pontifical Urban University, Rome, a Visiting Professor, Sacred Heart Theological College, Shillong, India, and a member of the International Theological Commission.

A Native American Theology.


The stated purpose of the three Indian authors is to create a dialogue in which Native Americans can speak as equals to
Introducing Theologies of Religions


Paul Knitter, professor emeritus at Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio, has been exploring the relationship of Christianity to world religions for over two decades. His Introducing Theologies of Religions is a logical progression from his previous No Other Name? (1985) through Jesus and the Other Names: Christian Mission and Global Responsibility (1996). Knitter provides an empathetic summary of evangelical, conciliar Protestant, and Roman Catholic theological frameworks with respect to the church’s relationship with other world religions. For each of the four theological models he identifies—Replacement (total and partial), Fulfillment, Mutuality, and Acceptance (the dominance of diversity in a postmodern world)—Knitter delineates the theological issues, suggests insights and questions the model raises, and provides a selected bibliography.

Two key theological Christian convictions undergird Knitter’s discussion: the universality of God’s love and the particularity of God’s love in Jesus the Christ. His “inconclusive conclusion” suggests that the multiple theological models provide checks and balances to each other (p. 239) and might be a blessing and promise, as well as a frustration. Ultimately, no matter what theological model one favors, the need remains for}

Wayne A. Holst is a writer and Instructor in Religion and Cross-Cultural Studies at the University of Calgary. He served as a Lutheran pastor, missionary in Trinidad, and mission executive for twenty-five years.

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interreligious dialogue, cooperation, and social/ethical action.

Of particular importance for understanding the impact that the encounter with world religions has on Christian churches today, Knitter cites the theological work in India, other parts of Asia, and Africa. Theological development in these countries, which is carried out in the midst of a day-to-day interaction with world religions different from that of Western theologians, offers new questions and insights for the global church.

I concur with the author's suggestion that the book could be used, as the title suggests, as an introductory text for undergraduate students who have a basic theological foundation. Practitioners of various types of interreligious dialogue and people in continuing education courses would also find his clearly organized text a beneficial map through the terrain of Christian approaches to world religions.

—Angelyn Dries, O.S.F.

Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., Associate Professor in the Religious Studies Department at Cardinal Stritch University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, worked with the Korean Catholic community in southeast Wisconsin from 1991 to 2001.


In this his second volume of John Stott's biography, Timothy Dudley-Smith, formerly bishop in the Church of England and widely known as a hymnwriter, continues the story by dividing it into what he calls "self-contained decades, ten years at a time, providing a firm scaffolding of chronology" (p. 10). The book is in four sections, each covering a decade.

The first section, on the 1960s, traces the consolidation and handing over of Stott's ministry as rector of All Souls Church, Langham Place, in London's West End, and his growing influence as an Anglican evangelical leader, apologist, and reformer in the Church of England, and in the wider church in Britain. But this decade also signaled significant developments in Stott's life and ministry, which burgeoned in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Reading the last three sections, one is amazed at the depth and breadth of Stott's growth, vision, leadership, and impact as a global apologist for the evangelical faith. This growth is evident in his speaking and writing and is also reflected in the diversity of relationships, debates, partnerships, and groundbreaking projects that he initiated and participated in, such as the Bible Speaks Today series of expository commentaries, the Lausanne movement, and the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity. The narrative is also filled with anecdotes of another passion of his life: birds!

In this account Dudley-Smith has traced well the journey of a man endowed with many gifts, tried and tested in the crucible of life: an Anglican evangelical Christian, pastor, theologian, evangelist, controversialist, Bible scholar, ornithologist, churchman, evangelical reformer, theological mentor, friend, author, leader, Bible teacher, and counselor—he indeed has been all these things, and more! Stott is truly an internationalist, whose parish is the world.

—D. Zac Niringiye

D. Zac Niringiye, a Ugandan currently based in London, since May 2001 has been Regional Director for Africa with the Church Missionary Society. Earlier he was involved for twenty years in Christian student work with the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students in Africa.
Andrew Walls is unquestionably one of the most important scholars of mission studies and world Christianity in our day. Those who have engaged him in classroom or conference know well the depth of his knowledge and vision. His literary work has been mainly found in journal articles over the years, limiting his access to the general reader. We are thus indebted to Orbis for having gathered this collection of essays into a book.

The essays contained in The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History are organized into three sections. Part 1 explores the process of transmission of Christian faith across cultural boundaries throughout history. Part 2 looks at aspects of African church history. Part 3 is entitled “Vignettes of the Missionary Movement from the West.”

Running throughout the text are several themes that serve to stitch the book together as a whole: the days of Western Christendom are over and the majority of the world’s Christians now reside in the South and East; Western missions played a significant role in bringing this transformation about; crossing cultural boundaries has long been the “lifeblood” of Christianity (p. 32); and the resulting cultural diversity of world Christianity is a profound theological expression of the meaning of Jesus Christ—“Christ takes flesh as he is received by faith in various segments of social reality at different periods, as well as in different places” (p. 74).

Whether he is subtly reconstructing Latourette’s main thesis regarding Christian advance and recession through history, offering a new vision for ecumenical relations, or focusing his steady eye on political theologies right and left, Andrew Walls here is at his best. No one interested in the future of world Christianity can afford to ignore this book.

—Dale T. Irvin

Dale T. Irvin is Academic Dean and Professor of World Christianity, New York Theological Seminary, New York City.

Faith in Development: Partnership Between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa.


This volume, which reflects on the possibilities of partnership between the World Bank and the churches of Africa, is a compilation of papers presented at the Churches of Africa/World Bank Conference on Alleviating Poverty in Africa, held in Nairobi, Kenya, in March 2000. In a jointly written foreword, the president of the World Bank and the archbishop of Canterbury offer three reasons for this partnership: African spiritual leaders are often closer to the poor than government officials are, African churches offer social services, and throughout the continent of Africa spiritual ties are often strongest in the
society. In a concluding chapter on the respective contributions of African churches and the World Bank, Vinay Samuel argues that "without transcendence, the moral vision will not work. The idea of the integration of all aspects of development is itself a moral vision. But this needs transcendent rooting" (p. 241).

Africa, the continent with the most dramatic increase in the number of Christian adherents, is still the most economically deprived in the world. There is thus a regrettable juxtaposition of spiritual well-being and economic deprivation.

Contributors to the book include economists, medical practitioners, businesspeople, and theologians. The dominant motif of the volume is alleviation of poverty.

With trenchant analysis, illuminating graphs, and continent-wide coverage, Faith in Development needs to be thoroughly devoured by analysts and makers of public policy and by African church leaders. If the churches and the World Bank can translate these recommendations into action plans at the local level, the story to be told at the ten-year anniversary of this conference will be salutary indeed.

—Casely B. Essamuah

Casely B. Essamuah, an ordained minister of the Methodist Church, Ghana, is currently a doctoral candidate at the Boston University School of Theology and serves as the Minister of Missions at Park Street Church, Boston.

Christian Mission in Western Society.


What does it mean to engage in mission in the twenty-first century in England and Ireland, countries deeply shaped by the legacy of Christendom? This question is addressed in these essays from two conferences held in 1997 that Barrow suggests serve as "signposts from the frontlines" (p. 235) within the ongoing debate about the relationship between Gospel and culture.

The volume's basic premise is that Christianity was in fact successfully inculturated within these two countries. The missiology proposed by the Gospel and Our Culture programme, spearheaded by the late Lesslie Newbigin, is repeatedly criticized as a wrongheaded approach to mission in the West in the aftermath of the Enlightenment. The authors challenge the church to accept pluralism and locality as postmodern realities and to develop a missiology that focuses on celebrating our shared human potential.

In proposing a way forward, however, a basic contradiction runs throughout the essays. Should we finally acknowledge that the categories of "Christianity," "churches," and "Gospel" are essentially obsolete (Smith, p. 27)? Or, rather, should we view them as in the process of radical redefinition in the face of postmodernity (Barrow, p. 239)? Although their perspectives are very different, the editors, along with all the authors, concur that the Gospel can no longer function as an ideological metanarrative in shaping Christian mission in the West.

—Craig Van Gelder

Craig Van Gelder is Professor of Congregational Mission at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, and is a member of the Gospel and Our Culture Network in the United States.
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Brzezowska, J.
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January 27–31
Ethnicity as Gift and Barrier: Human Identity and Christian Mission. Dr. Tie Tiénoü, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, works from first-hand experience in Africa to identify the "tribal" issues faced by the global church in mission. Cosponsored by Mennonite Central Committee and Wycliffe Bible Translators. Eight sessions. $125

February 24–28

March 3–7
Beyond Decisions: Church Growth Through Disciple-Making. Dr. Darrell L. Guder, OMSC Senior Mission Scholar and Professor of Missional and Ecumenical Theology, Princeton Seminary, deals with the challenges of mission outreach at home. Cosponsored by Moravian Church Board of World Mission. Eight sessions. $125

March 10–14
Christian Witness in the Hindu World. Dr. Roger Hedlund, director of the Dictionary of South Asian Christianity project, and former professor at Union Biblical Seminary and Serampore College, India, establishes the principles of effective witness in one of the world’s most challenging social and religious contexts. Eight sessions. $125

March 17–21

March 24–28

March 31–April 3

April 4–5
Rites of Passage for Servants of the Kingdom. Intensive, two-day seminar, led by Dr. Young Lee Hertig, United Theological Seminary, helps participants discover healthy self-awareness in life stages, covering career, family, and personal development. Special focus on the Korean missionary community. Cosponsored by United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries. $85

April 8–11
Key Issues for Missions in the New Millennium. Dr. Gerald H. Anderson, Director Emeritus of OMSC, explores major issues facing the missionary community. Cosponsored by Mennonite Mission Network and Mission Society for United Methodists. Four morning sessions. $90

April 21–25
Christian Witness in Latin America. Dr. Sidney Rooy, Professor Emeritus, Instituto Superior Evangelico de Estudios Teologicos, Buenos Aires, examines the strengths and weaknesses of the church’s witness in Latin America. Cosponsored by Christ for the City International and Latin America Mission. Eight sessions. $125

April 28–May 2
Cross-Cultural Evangelism: How Muslims, Buddhists, and Hindus Come to Christ. Combining first-person stories and a lifetime of research, Dr. Muram Adeney, Seattle Pacific University, and Regent College, British Columbia, shares guidelines for more effective evangelism. Cosponsored by InterVarsity Missions/Urban. Eight sessions. $125

May 5–9
Leadership, Fund-Raising, and Donor Development for Missions. Rob Martin, Director, First Fruit, Inc., Newport Beach, California, outlines steps for building the support base, including foundation funding, for mission. Eight sessions. $125

May 19–23
Urban Renewal and Ministry. Robert Linthicum, President, Partners in Urban Transformation and Visiting Professor of Urban Mission, Eastern College, Philadephia, shows how to connect spiritual formation in the local church with empowerment of the urban poor. Cosponsored by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, held at the Center for U.S. Missions, Concordia University, Irvine, California. Eight sessions. $125

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**Book Notes**

Adeney, Miriam.  
*Daughters of Islam: Building Bridges with Muslim Women.*  

Buckeberg, Werner.  
*Fundamentalism: Muslims Differ Widely from Evangelicals.*  

Cardoza-Orlandi, Carlos F.  

Curran, Charles E.  
*Catholic Social Teaching, 1891–Present: A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis.*  


Goldsmith, Michael, and Doug Munro.  
*The Accidental Missionary: Tales of Elekana.*  

Hexham, Irving.  
*Pocket Dictionary of New Religious Movements.*  

Mallouhi, Christine A.  
*Waging Peace on Islam.*  

Nöldeke, Eva.  
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