

THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN AFRICAN AND WORLD HISTORY:

MISSION SOURCES AND RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTER¹

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ABSTRACT. This article is a revised and expanded version of my inaugural lecture as Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Cambridge, delivered on 12 March 2014. It highlights the evolution of Ecclesiastical History to include the study of Christianity in the global South and shows how recent developments in the study of African and World History have produced a dynamic and multifaceted model of religious encounter, an encounter, which includes the agency of indigenous Christians alongside the activities of missionaries. Investigating the contribution of faith missionaries to the production of colonial knowledge in Belgian Congo, the article challenges stereotypes about the relations between Pentecostalism and modernity, and between mission and empire. Throughout, consideration is given to the range of missionary sources, textual, visual and material, and their utility in reconstructing social differentiation in African societies, particularly in revealing indigenous African criticism of 'custom'.

I

The first Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History was Mandell Creighton, Anglican cleric and future Bishop of Peterborough (1891) and London (1896). His election in 1884 represented a departure in the approach to Church History in the University of Cambridge. Creighton's research was on the Papacy during the Reformation and before his arrival most Cambridge scholars assumed that

Ecclesiastical History was the study of the ancient church, a field in which Joseph Lightfoot had set the standard of scholarship. But according to Creighton's biographer: *'the electors were determined that continuity in Christian history should not be overlooked'*.²

In some respects my own election one hundred and twenty six years later represented something of a break with the Cambridge tradition of Ecclesiastical History. This time, the electors, mindful of the necessity for historians to make comparisons and connections across the world, sought to assert a new set of *global* continuities.³ The period marked by the existence of the Dixie Chair has witnessed a remarkable transformation in the constituency and character of what used to be known as Christendom. This change commenced with the intensification of the missionary movement, which was global in reach and multinational in membership, and resulted in the shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global South. On the turn of the Twenty first century *The Sunday Times* (London) reported that, 'The average Anglican in the world is a 24 year old African woman'.⁴ The publication in 2002 of Philip Jenkins' influential *The Next Christendom*, offered, in popular form, a description of that transformed global religious landscape. African Bishops now considerably outnumber British ones in the Anglican Communion; the vast majority of baptisms within the Catholic Church take place outside of Europe, and the largest chapter of Jesuits no longer resides in the United States but in India. Evangelical Christians in Nigeria, Ghana, Brazil and South Korea view the European Church as apostate and its post-Christian societies as sites of mission.⁵

Missionary movements have had an immense effect on changing patterns of Christian adherence across the globe and more generally on the making of world history. Mission work created close encounters of peoples from a great diversity of ethnic and racial backgrounds, well ahead of the globalisation and multiculturalism of the later Twentieth century.⁶ As some of the first great transnational organisations, missions linked communities in disparate parts of the globe via travel, correspondence, print and shared institutions. The Swiss Basel Mission, for example, connected workers in India, China, New Guinea and what became Cameroon and Ghana. While in the early Eighteenth Century the Dominican Order relocated two troublesome African Friars from East Africa to Goa, then to Macao and finally to Bahia, Brazil.⁷

Indeed, the study of missions breaches traditional boundaries of periodization allowing us to write deep histories of cultural encounter which begin with the Iberian Empires in the early modern age. And there are fruitful comparisons to be made between the Nineteenth and Twentieth century missionary encounter and the expansion of the Church in Antiquity. Missionaries in the modern era sought to make connection with what Peter Brown describes as the neutral technologies of civilised living – feasts, sacrifices, holy places – in much the same manner as Pope Gregory's instructions to his evangelists embarking on mission to Seventh century Britain, recounted by Bede.⁸ Most significantly, analysis of missions also has broad implications for central historical narratives of the modern era. A key task for religious history is to historicise the southwards relocation of the Church's axis and to interrogate its relation to major processes

such as globalisation, racial interaction, the construction of new social and political institutions, scientific advance and identity formation. Such an enterprise must necessarily be interdisciplinary, drawing upon anthropology, sociology, literary studies as well as history.

Since the publication of the Comaroffs' *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* in 1991, the subject of the missionary encounter has been one of the supreme historical and anthropological topics of research.⁹ The extraordinary and unpredictable nature of contact, in which the actors found themselves in unfamiliar and challenging circumstances, presented situations where the struggles of human existence were amplified and values were laid bare. The interaction of religions with contrasting codes of belief and practice has provided rich examples of how the construction of identity through difference, or 'otherness' has occurred. Post modernists' suspicion of grand narratives and disposition to view socio-cultural formations as constructions have undermined anthropologists' confidence in the authenticity and stability of the cultures they had hitherto made the object of study. This in turn has made the more dynamic notion of religious encounter a new and fertile field for scholars interested in the study of cross-cultural fertilisation whether understood as hybridity, bricolage, creolization, syncretism or most recently, entanglement.¹⁰ Historians of religious encounter are fortunate in the wealth of their sources. Missionaries provided copious, though not unproblematic, accounts of such moments motivated by their need for propagandist literature and images, their curiosity, and sense that they were reliving the Acts of the Apostles. Converts also produced their own texts such as diaries, memoirs,

canonical and tribal histories, and newspapers. In Africa, where new Christians were usually the first literate colonial subjects, these literary productions were also important in shaping political as well as religious cultures.¹¹

My own research has sought to expand the notion of missionary encounter in Africa. First, I have tended to work on missionary movements within radical evangelicalism and Pentecostalism, which have often been neglected in favour of historic mission churches.¹² These lesser known movements represent an important primitive strand of Christian religion that emerged from the shadows of Western states in response to secularisation and which, in missionary form, often eschewed connections with empire and were selective in their response to modernising Christianity. Today, however, their Born-again descendants have a global reach and remarkable influence.¹³ Secondly, I have sought to reconstruct the encounter over the *longue durée*, attentive to moments of rupture, revival and reprise within a sequence of religious change.¹⁴ Thirdly, I have become interested in the explanatory power of intimate relations between missionaries and indigenous peoples on whom they often relied. I am intrigued by how these contacts brought about changes embodied in dress and deportment, manners and mores, and how they were domesticated within new Christian households. This connects with my fourth concern: the agency of indigenous Christians in the spread of Christianity and the creation of religious communities and cultures. Finally, I have examined the impact of the environment -- disease, death, hunger and isolation -- in shaping patterns of missionary interaction.¹⁵ This last point causes me to observe that I am not the first Dixie Professor to work on the missionary encounter. In 1959 Owen Chadwick published a less well-known but

no less remarkable book, *Mackenzie's Grave*, a study of the tragic failure of the pioneering endeavour of Bishop Charles Frederick Mackenzie's Universities Mission to Central Africa in 1862. Rejecting the triumphalism that characterised so many accounts of mission at that time, Chadwick narrates a story of missionary failure amidst the trials of hunger, isolation and disease encountered within the wider context of the violence and the instability of Africa's internal slave trade. His book is an important reminder of the contingency of Christian mission in pre-colonial Africa.¹⁶

Returning to my own work, my current research explores religious encounter through the lens of the missionary contribution to scientific research. There is now a considerable body of literature, which establishes that Catholic and Protestant missionaries were responsible for much of the knowledge produced about Africa and parts of Asia and the Pacific, before the establishment of university disciplines.¹⁷ In the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries when amateur science was viewed as an educational and recreational activity at almost all levels of society, missionaries also viewed themselves as both scholars and representatives of science of every kind. Working in collaboration with museums, universities, collectors and arm-chair academics, these amateur intellectuals made contributions to zoology, entomology and botany, medicine, and, in particular, linguistics and social anthropology. In addition they were zealous practitioners of other fields of measurement and delineation ranging from geography, cartography, meteorology and hydrography to archaeology and palaeontology.

My concern is to reconstruct knowledge pathways to illuminate how Africans dialogically shaped missionary texts, images and collections, and consider what this reveals about the missionary encounter. In the latter half of this article I will illustrate how much criticism of missionary ethnography was made in ignorance of what that ethnography reveals about indigenous African dissent. Through their contact with missionaries, Africans were offered the opportunity and example of other ways of looking at life. Drawing authority from new social communities (churches), which they were deeply involved in creating, African Christians generated a far-reaching critique of 'custom'. In the first instance, however, it is useful to examine the ways in which the missionary encounter has been portrayed in both popular and scholarly literature, and what we can learn from this.

II

In England, at the beginning of the Nineteenth century, the missionary was regarded as kind of tinker who, in the words of the Reverend Sydney Smith, '*could not look a gentleman in the face*'. This view was supported by a traveller to Tahiti who claimed that no great discernment was necessary to grasp that English missionaries were '*selected from the dregs of the people*'.¹⁸ By the mid Nineteenth century, the social position of Protestant missionaries had been transformed from religious eccentrics to representatives of Victorian values. Much of this rehabilitation was due to the missionary icon, David Livingstone. His influential work of 1857, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, sold 60,000 copies while his scientific lectures of the same year in Cambridge met with considerable acclaim.¹⁹ Urbanization and industrialisation had not yet

diminished Christian adherence in most of Western Europe. And neither had scientific advances undermined religious belief. Missionary societies emerged out of new prominent groups in urban industrial society, a manifestation of the respectability and self-confidence of this aspiring middling sort.²⁰ Literate, prosperous and earnest, they made missionary periodicals the most widely circulated literature of the Victorian era.²¹ As new types of social organisation, voluntary transnational missionary bodies crystallised around international issues such as slavery and the condition of so-called native women, allowing ordinary members to work alongside religious specialists as activists.²²

Nevertheless, the image of the missionary as social failure seemed to stick in some quarters, even in the established church, which was not as interested in mission as one might assume.²³ The autobiography of the Anglican missionary Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe makes the point well. Like Bishop Mackenzie, Biscoe was one of the many Cambridge graduates who participated in successive waves of missionary outreach in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. However Mackenzie and Biscoe were rather different characters, representing different ends of the Anglican missionary spectrum. Mackenzie was an outstanding graduate in Maths from St Johns who was made Fellow of Caius before founding the Anglo-Catholic Universities Mission to Central Africa. Biscoe, graduate of Jesus College, joined the evangelical Church Missionary Society. He was a great all-round sportsman who coxed the Cambridge crew to victory in the Boat Race of 1884 but made a rather unpromising student. After completing his curacy in the slums of White Chapel, London, Biscoe was summoned to a meeting with Frederick Temple, then Bishop of London.

Biscoe writes:

On his desk were my examination papers, and as he turned over the sheets he exclaimed loudly: 'Shocking! Shocking! You don't know anything Biscoe' 'I know I do not' I replied.

Bishop: Then how do you think you can teach anybody if you do not know anything yourself?

Biscoe (scratching his head): Well, sir perhaps there may be some people in the world almost as ignorant as I am.

Bishop: I doubt it! I doubt it! You are only fit to teach the blacks, there now!

Biscoe: Sir, if you can only persuade my parents and the Church Missionary Society to send me to central Africa, I shall be most grateful.

Bishop: Ah, then you'll do! You'll do!²⁴

The embodiment of muscular Christianity, Biscoe ended up in Kashmir where he was renowned for founding schools, introducing soccer and for his strong imperial sentiments.

A survey of the popular cultural representation of missionaries in film in the Twentieth century shows that they were invariably portrayed either as figures of fun or people with high ambitions who were frustrated by the overwhelming forces they took on – not least the power of human nature itself. But what is notable about these representations is that they amount to the precise opposite of missionaries' own self-image. To quote John Mackenzie, missionaries viewed themselves as 'a people who controlled their own natural and human

environments with the help of their technology, science, and Western medicine, as well as through their moral aura, their moral force and state of grace'.²⁵ The truth lies between these two sets of characterisations.

Some scholars are rather too quick at reproducing familiar literary tropes about missionaries, reducing them to objects of anthropological irony or what Mark Sweetnam describes as 'a two dimensional metonym for ignorance, repression and hypocrisy'.²⁶ Undoubtedly, such characterisations do emerge from a limited reading of missionary popular literature. While creative encounters and exchanges did occur in the contact zone, missionaries often felt compelled to characterise their work as a battleground between diametrically opposed Christian truth and heathen superstition.²⁷ They deployed defamatory categories about heathen darkness, ignorance and superstition and they loved to tell evolutionary stories of progress because, as Nancy Hunt observes, quaint tales of reformed cannibals eating with knives and forks, and female ex-slaves who became house girls, mothers and Bible translators convinced metropolitan readers of the value of their work.²⁸ When conversions were not forthcoming, descriptions of hard-hearted, sinful slothful heathen helped account for failure to mission supporters back home. Nowhere was missionary rhetoric stronger than when describing combat with the traditional healer who had immense social and moral influence, especially when it came to marking key liminal moments. Mission doctors often cast themselves as heroic agents who single-handedly annihilated 'traditional' systems of healing even though they only had limited control over a range of diseases in an age prior to the availability of antibiotics.²⁹

Such triumphalism was also out of place when it is remembered that, Livingstone, the great missionary role model, had actively engaged with African therapeutic systems and sought to remain on good terms with local practitioners.³⁰ Moreover, the late nineteenth-century missionary deal with the traditional healer occurred when the Western Church was experiencing a revival of spiritual healing.³¹

It is hardly surprising then that until recently, the figure of the missionary did not fare well in Africanist historiography. From the 1960s to the late 1980s it was unfashionable to make missionaries the explicit object of study.³² Nationalist, Marxist and Africanist historiography cast them as cultural imperialists, the heroes of a discredited colonial history. It was argued that missionaries had disparaged and undermined indigenous cultures in ways that made them complicit in colonial domination. Instead, scholars chose to research a different type of Christianity.³³ Africanist historians were in search of the resilient African initiative that had produced new and vibrant forms of Christianity or that, in association with missionaries, had created successful peasants, entrepreneurs and political leaders. In their quest for a usable past, they wrote about African independent churches led by great African prophets who could be turned into proto-nationalists and resistance figures. But the passage of time showed that most African Christians continued to adhere to the historic mission churches and scholars returned to study their legacy. By *reading out* African voices from missionary sources, through the collection of oral history and the observation of African appropriations of mission Christianity, historians and anthropologists came to grasp that the real agents of

Africa's Christianisation were Africans themselves: evangelists, catechists, labour migrants, teachers and Bible women.³⁴ It was these local actors who seized hold of the material, spiritual and intellectual resources of Christianity and used them to find healing and personal security, to make the most of the colonial labour economy, and to take hold of the land through pilgrimage and the construction of new holy places. The linguistic work of missionaries was surely their greatest achievement but recent work on the production of vernacular scriptures shows how Africans were creatively involved in the translation process, placing their own ideas and images into the final texts.³⁵ Indeed Jeffrey Cox's reconstruction of the material basis of the British missionary enterprise has shown that it could not have happened on such a large scale without its considerable level of non-Western support. His careful statistical analysis reveals that over 80% of the missionary workforce was African or Asian and that white women outnumbered white male workers.³⁶

World historians, with some notable exceptions, were slow to engage with religious history. This paucity of reflection on the global dimensions of religious change was partly because social and cultural historians within area studies were interested in processes of localisation and adaptation. Scholars were also rather too quick to relegate religious expansion to a facet of imperial or political history.³⁷ But recent advances in world history have brought new insights, historicising processes such as the growth of transnational religious connections and consciousness, increasing hybridisation, and the dialectical play of homogenisation and indigenisation. They have also illuminated the multipolarity of these developments.³⁸ The initial emphasis on more tangible

types of cross-cultural encounter such as trade, technology, disease and development has given way to a growing interest in the sharing of knowledge and the meeting of ideologies, including religions.³⁹ Comparative study of religious encounters reveals notable patterns in the reception of Christianity such as its initial attraction to the socially marginal and the importance of Western education and biomedicine in broadening the appeal. There were other contexts alongside Africa, such as the Pacific, where the massive scale of conversion relative to the number of western missionaries was such that indigenous peoples had much latitude to inculturate Christianity.⁴⁰ Comparison of China with Africa highlights the presence of large-scale, sometimes violent Chinese resistance to Christianity and the inability of missionaries to dismantle the social economy of healing in Chinese traditional medicine, and missionary failure to come to terms with Chinese nationalism.⁴¹ The tendency to decentre Europe in accounts of global transformation relocates missionary impetus in new hubs such as Los Angeles, Freetown and Johannesburg. And the search for lateral connections and exchanges outside of the West draws out the significance of religious movements and religious agents beyond formal mission. It highlights, for instance, the importance of Christianised ex-slaves in spreading Christian modernity into the African interior from the West African coast, or the role Polynesian missionaries in evangelising Melanesia.⁴² Work on networks and modes of diffusion of knowledge across the globe highlights missionary exchange outside the formal structures of colonialism.⁴³ Lastly, the study of missionary itineraries, the transnational activities of Bible Societies and their colporteurs, and the linguistic regions created by vernacular scriptures challenge the conventional geo-political spatial categories of historical writing, particularly the

nation-state.⁴⁴ These insights also help us move beyond the academic fixation with mission's relationship to empire, or at least help us comprehend how Christianity came to outlast its framework of transmission.

Other scholarship, influenced by post-colonial theory, has analysed missionaries as agents in the making of colonial and metropolitan identities.⁴⁵ Following Edward Said's path-breaking *Orientalism* (1978), and Valentin Mudimbe's idea of a 'colonial library', scholars have read missionary publications for their imperialist discourses to show how Africa was used as a negative trope in the delineation of the colonial 'other', a means of constructing European identities of race, class and gender.⁴⁶ But while missionaries often used the tropes of darkness and savagery to elicit funding from their readers, they just as frequently stressed the picturesque and romantic sides of African life in their ethnographic writings. At the same time, their publications also contained fascinating references to science as ordered knowledge.⁴⁷ In the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth-century mission field, science was the apotheosis of Christianity. Living on the edge of empire and beyond its confines, missionaries quickly became men-(and occasionally women)-on-the-spot who supplied scholars in the metropole with objects and images of indigenous material culture and detailed ethnographies. Their engagement was more about a reordered world than plunder and the accumulation of profits. David N. Livingstone called these missionary contributions 'a significant chapter in the global story of modern science'.⁴⁸

My current research reconstructs the ethnographic processes of William F. P. Burton, co-founder of the Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM) established in Mwanza, South East Belgian Congo in 1915. The case study approach allows us to gauge in detail how the interaction of metropolitan, colonial and local influences shaped missionary knowledge production. Burton's missionary organisation, the CEM, embodied the changing face of the Twentieth century missionary enterprise. It was a transnational Pentecostal faith mission founded in South Africa and initially managed in the USA before it transferred base to England. It drew personnel from all three of these locations as well as Switzerland, the Netherlands and New Zealand. This type of Protestant movement was in the ascendant as many of the historic liberal missionary agencies suffered a crisis of confidence following the First World War and Britain declined as a sending nation. The CEM's theology and practices were both conservative and destabilising in their relation to Belgian colonialism. Missionaries encouraged proselytising and preaching by the laity and stressed spiritual rebirth through the descent of the Holy Spirit made manifest in revival, public confession, dramatic testimony of faith and gifts of the spirit. They rejected formal politics but also shunned the formal colonial project of health, education and development because it slowed continuous gospel proclamation in a time of millennial urgency.⁴⁹ They preferred divine healing to biomedicine. Suspicious colonial officials collected and collated their publications and forwarded them to superiors. Burton's claim to have healed another missionary's arm through prayer was met with incredulity, and his account of termites being chased from the house following a time of intercession was accompanied by a large exclamation mark in the margin added by the Provincial

Governor, Gaston Heenan, who received the report. Regarding the CEM's pneumatic practices such as glossolalia, Heenan observed: 'Certain members of the group bordered on otherworldliness or neurosis'.⁵⁰

Burton was public school educated and studied for a degree in Engineering at Liverpool University. He was a member of the Royal Geographical Society to which he delivered a lecture in Oxford in 1927. He wrote twenty-eight books and numerous articles in a range of missionary and scientific publications. His principal scientific text was *L' Ame Luba – The Soul of the Luba*, which appeared in the Belgian native affairs publication - *Bulletin des Juridictions Indigènes* in 1939, later updated and published by the Central Africa Museum in Tervuren, Belgium, as *Luba Religion and Magic in Custom and Belief* in 1961.⁵¹ More popular inspirational versions of these studies appeared as sketches of African life and missionary work. Burton also adapted some of his work on fables and proverbs into children's stories published by Methuen.⁵² He was also a collector, photographer, cartographer, botanist and painter. He supplied artefacts and photographs to the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa, and the Central African Museum in Tervuren, Belgium.⁵³ He was in regular correspondence with Winifred Hoernlé, the so-called 'mother of south African Anthropology', and Audrey Richards her colleague, who became a pioneer of British Anthropology and founder the Cambridge African Studies Centre.

According to the preeminent historian of Central Africa, Jan Vansina: 'Ethnographic accounts are the single most important, most massive and most used source of knowledge we claim to have of Central African societies and

cultures'. They remained important sources on cultural change into the early Twentieth century.⁵⁴ Burton's data covers a remarkable range: unpublished correspondence and published propaganda and ethnography, visual and material culture. He devotedly recorded African Christian confessions, sermons and testimonies, sometimes verbatim, sometimes stereotyped, in order to demonstrate the redeeming power of the Word. When this data is supplemented with fieldwork it is possible to engage in much needed source criticism of his published scientific work and to examine how it relates to the broader dynamics of religious encounter. Missionary images, in particular, reveal a far more complex attitude towards African subjects than the simple oppositions that evangelical prose usually allowed because as, Paul Jenkins observes, photography permitted missionaries 'a greater freedom to pursue' their interest in non-western cultures 'than did [their] written reports to the guardians of orthodoxy at home'.⁵⁵

Missionaries embodied a good number of contradictory tendencies. They embraced empire because it appeared part of God's providential plan for the spread of the gospel. But the practical workings of imperial policies often horrified them, such as when indirect rule empowered Muslim emirs or traditionalist chiefs, or when labour migration and urbanization were accompanied by what they saw as the less savory aspects of modern living.⁵⁶ Missionaries also often manifested a schizophrenic attitude towards Africans, seeking simultaneously to preserve the past, promote economic change, and protect them from the worst effects of modernity. This was apparent in

Burton's career, which spanned forty-five years in Belgian Congo. In the 1920s he moved from an epistolary ethnography, providing armchair specialists with data, to salvage anthropology: a commitment to preserving a vanishing Luba culture. In his ethnographic texts he did not so much write about what was happening around him but write about what he imagined pre-contact Luba society looked like. His ethnography was characterised by a bounded timelessness in which few of his observations were given an orientation in time or space. In the instances that he did provide a geographical location for his material, it often came from villages and chieftaincies close to his mission at Mwanza, or from Kabongo in the north where his colleague, Harold Womersley, also conducted research. Specifics were often generalised to give the impression that the Luba lived in an unchanging, unified culture called Lubaland.⁵⁷ There was little reference to the transformations that urbanisation, labour migration and the production of cash crops had brought across CEM territory. Burton preferred to write about so-called 'traditional' secret societies such as *Bambudye* or *Bakasandji* which had a strong Luba constituency, rather than more recent neo-traditional societies that had a multi-ethnic reach and had assimilated aspects of western clothing and modernity into their practice.⁵⁸ His writing style was descriptive with little progression of argument, the major concern being to identify normative behaviour. In the preface to *Luba Religion and Magic* Burton admitted ignoring 'all that was uncommon'.⁵⁹ The use of the passive voice, the impersonal 'we', and generalised statements created the impression of scientific authority, although Burton as missionary, could not resist intervening in his texts to condemn certain practices as 'vile', 'filthy' or 'immoral'. It is difficult to fit his work into a single theoretical school. At times he took a historical/diffusionist

perspective but he also employed notions and terminology from functionalist anthropology, writing about 'types' within a Luba 'social system'.⁶⁰

This reproduction of a homogenous tribal culture was also manifest in Burton's collecting and photography. He photographed coiffures and cicatrization, dancers and diviners, hunters and fishermen, craftsmen and their artistic productions. Most human subjects, beside Chiefs and sculptors, were de-individualised, reduced to 'types' involved in traditional activities. His ethnographic photography contained few images of modernity – western clothes, brick houses and bicycles -- and the modern objects that did impinge were usually ignored in accompanying commentaries. Burton was of course deeply aware of social and religious change. He wrote to the Belgian Colonial authorities protesting about how labour migration emptied the countryside of able-bodied young men.⁶¹ As a missionary he worked for the transformation of bodies and spaces but his ethnographic thinking had been captured by the Belgian ethno-museological genre.

Under the tutelage of museum curators at Tervuren, Burton was initiated into the Trait School of collecting and requested to locate objects that would complete the museum's collection of sculptures from Katanga. He was asked to discourse on the makers, users and purpose of the artefacts he collected, and identify analogous objects. In this collecting he was participating in a broader colonial exercise of mapping so-called tribes in terms of the presence or absence of certain cultural elements. He arrived at a similar set of arrangements with University of Witwatersrand anthropologists. Burton's commitment to the study of so-called tribal cultures represented through the Trait School at

Tervuren and the functionalism of Witwatersrand anthropologists in the 1920s sat well with his missiological aims. His ideal was a stable rural community of monogamous nuclear families under a Christian chief who would protect his people from the pitfalls of colonial modernity.⁶²

Burton's missionary writings and photography provide a strong contrast to his social scientific work. He wrote hagiographies and cameos of named evangelists recounting their spiritual and material development. And in a genre also found in colonial publications, his missionary photographs were records of progress: roads, railways, bridges, houses and Western clothing which were all intended to demonstrate the benefits of colonial rule and modernising Christianity. Figure 1 was a popular type of image found in missionary propaganda. Taken from a magic lantern slide, it shows a pastor and his nuclear family in cotton clothes outside a square brick house: the products of patient evangelical activity.

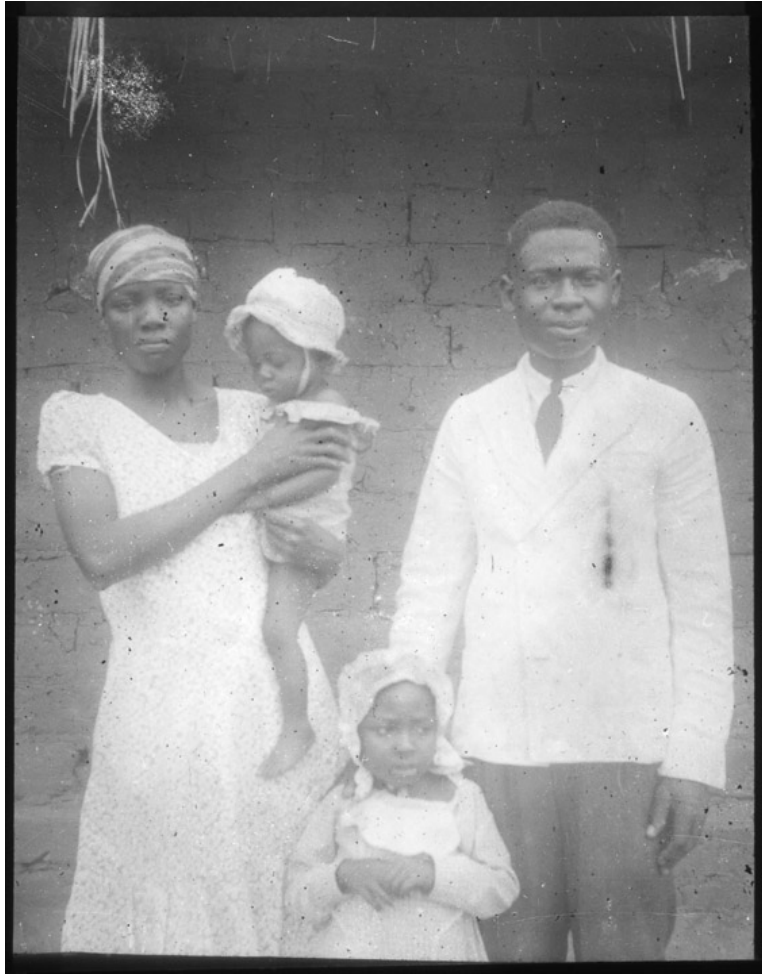


Figure 1. An evangelist and his family. (Courtesy of CAM, Preston no. 75).

Another favourite missionary trope was the 'before and after' shot. In this case an ethnographic image of two Luba Bavidye (mediums] originally taken for the University of Witwatersrand was recycled to create a visual narrative of conversion. It was printed in a 1933 edition of the bi-monthly journal, the *Congo Evangelistic Mission Report (CEMR)*, alongside the post-conversion picture of the same two men – now called Peter and David – smiling and dressed in modern clothing. The *CEMR* caption reads "Kabondo Dianda Sorcerers". Three years ago we photographed these Consulters with the spirit world. Since then they have been saved, and now they are happily testifying of Jesus Christ and his abounding grace.'⁶³



Figure 2. LUBA 2 *bavidye* (Courtesy, University of Witwatersrand Art Museum and the Burton Collection at the Witwatersrand Museum of Ethnology [BPC 12G.19]).

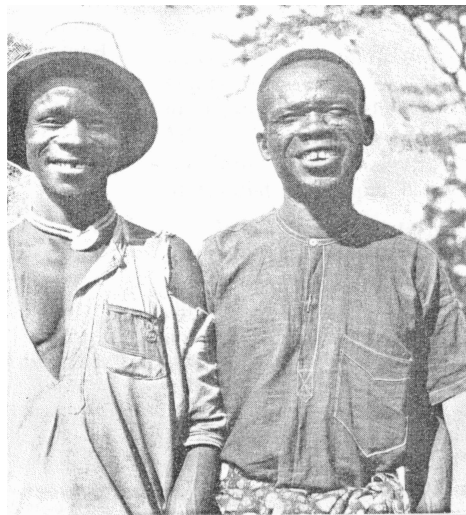


Figure 3. Peter and Stephen. [Courtesy, CAM, Preston] *CEMR* 43, July- August 1933.

Although missionary photographs were created within an unequal power relationship in a colonial setting, Christopher Pinney highlights how scholars interpreting such images should consider ‘the “photographic event” – the dialogic period during which the subject and photographer come together’, observing that ‘no photograph is so successful that it filters out the random entirely’.⁶⁴ Close scrutiny of figure 3 reveals that the outward transformation of the mediums into converts was not complete. Peter continues to wear a cone

shell necklace as a sign of status amongst the Luba and both men's smiles reveal their filed front teeth, which acted as a 'tribal' mark.

Although Burton's research interests were numerous, his ethnographic publications focussed on Luba religion and magic, particularly as they were practised by so-called secret societies, better termed associations. Easily demonised by missionaries who found them difficult to comprehend, these were populist institutions, which were committed to the maintenance of traditional morality and certain rites of passage. They could control healing, initiation and funerals and were essentially educational societies with a strong public presence. Burton was much exercised about the *Bambudye* and *Bakasandji* Associations. The former was a political faction whose function was to initiate candidates into the rules and regulations of royal authority. The latter were doctors who dealt with malevolent spirits through spirit possession and controlled witchcraft accusation.⁶⁵ Essentially the associations covered the same ground that the church wanted to occupy.⁶⁶ Burton was irked that some officials saw their activities as harmless entertainment and so he set out to expose them.⁶⁷ As Burton described it in a 1925 *CEMR* article, research was literally a means of 'drawing back a veil', of making public what lay beneath surface appearances.⁶⁸ In the unpublished 1929 preface to his manuscript *Luba Religion and Magic in Custom and Belief*, he explained:

The causal white may scarcely notice the startled cry in the darkness of the night, the small white mark upon a native's body, or the waving of a few leaves in the hand of one of his caravan porters, accompanied by a muttered spell. Yet a few

judicious enquiries conducted in the right way, would lay bare a whole underworld of fearful custom, of which the white man has not even dreamed. We are convinced that for lack of such knowledge much missionary preaching is like a boxer striking the empty air instead of planting well-directed blows in the spot where they are most likely to take effect. ⁶⁹

In this scientific mode of revelation, Burton used photography to subject traditional practitioners and their sacred objects to the spectator's gaze, thereby neutralising their power. His image of the lion drum of the *Tupoyo* Society (figure 4) was a prime example. The accompanying caption read: 'The turning, first in one direction and then in the other, of the small stick, causes a roaring noise, at the mouth of the water pot, very much resembling roaring of lion in the distance It is this 'lion roaring' that is used by the *Tupoyo* Society to deceive the outsiders into believing that there is a lion in their society lodge'.

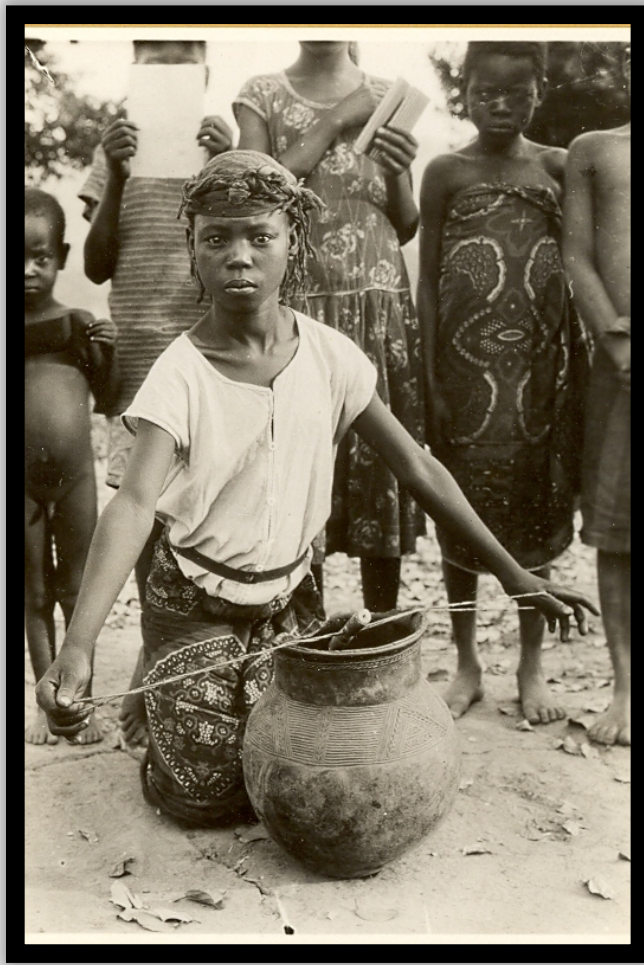


Figure 4. LUBA. Tupoyo Society. (Courtesy, University of Witwatersrand Art Museum and the Burton Collection at the Witwatersrand Museum of Ethnology BPC 07L5).

Although Burton cast these associations as fraudulent, debauched and cannibalistic, he was not simply reproducing notions of alterity present in European discourses about Africa but also reflecting the views of his informants. Many of these were converts who had chosen to locate themselves outside of traditional Luba society and cast it in negative terms. Young men were his most enthusiastic and active informants. They bore the brunt of elder male gerontocratic power in Luba society. As John Peel observes from the Nigerian context, conversion offered young men an exit strategy and Christianity, in its

ideology of individualism, provided 'a ready legitimation to the new cultural choices which now beckoned'.⁷⁰ Young male converts were willing to break secrets or make public what was unspoken. They told Burton the passwords needed to gain entrance to a secret lodge. His photography and missionary articles recording the event, one of which was aptly entitled, 'Invading a Bambudye Sanctuary', made what was private and sacred accessible to the viewer's gaze.⁷¹



Figure 5. A Bambudye Association Lodge. (Courtesy, CAM, Preston no.4).

These youthful converts also engaged in acts of disenchantment and iconoclasm, using the resources of Christianity to purify and intensify their own religious experience. The young male evangelist, Lomami, pictured in figure 6, seized the sacred object, known locally as a *Kanzundji*. The object had been used by a local

traditional religious practitioner to divine witches. Burton considered the object as no more than a trophy and subsequently sawed it in half, encouraging his evangelists to parade it around local villages to demonstrate its mundane nature.⁷²

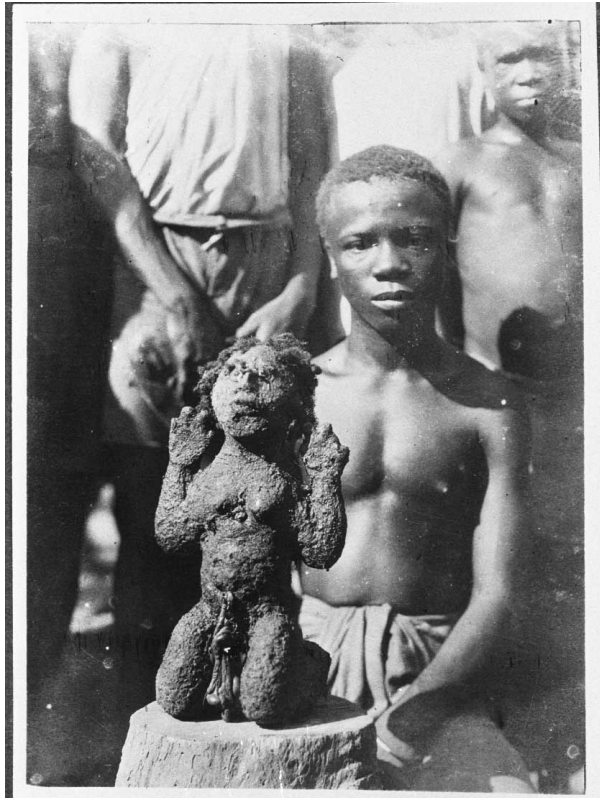


Figure 6. LUBA. 'A Kanzundji'. (Courtesy, University of Witwatersrand Art Museum and the Burton Collection at the Witwatersrand Museum of Ethnology, AL19).

Although Burton arrived in Belgian Congo with preconceived ideas about the pervasiveness of 'cannibalism', like most missionaries he never witnessed it and his accounts were second hand, fleshed out by his African co-workers. Many of his accounts of anthropophagy were provided by Christian porters on evangelistic trek, men who were keen to distance themselves from the threatening pagan 'others' they encountered in alien territories.⁷³ Pioneering missionaries depended on these workers for introductions and local knowledge,

especially before they had honed their linguistic skills. Burton and his colleagues describe evangelists intervening in their preaching to clarify meanings, and missionaries wryly acknowledged that once they had retired to their tent at night it was their carriers and servants who explained to villagers what he had really meant to teach in their sermons.⁷⁴ Evangelistic treks were great occasions for Burton to collect ethnographic data. But, always on the move, there was little opportunity for corroboration and hence he was deeply reliant on his porters for their interpretations.

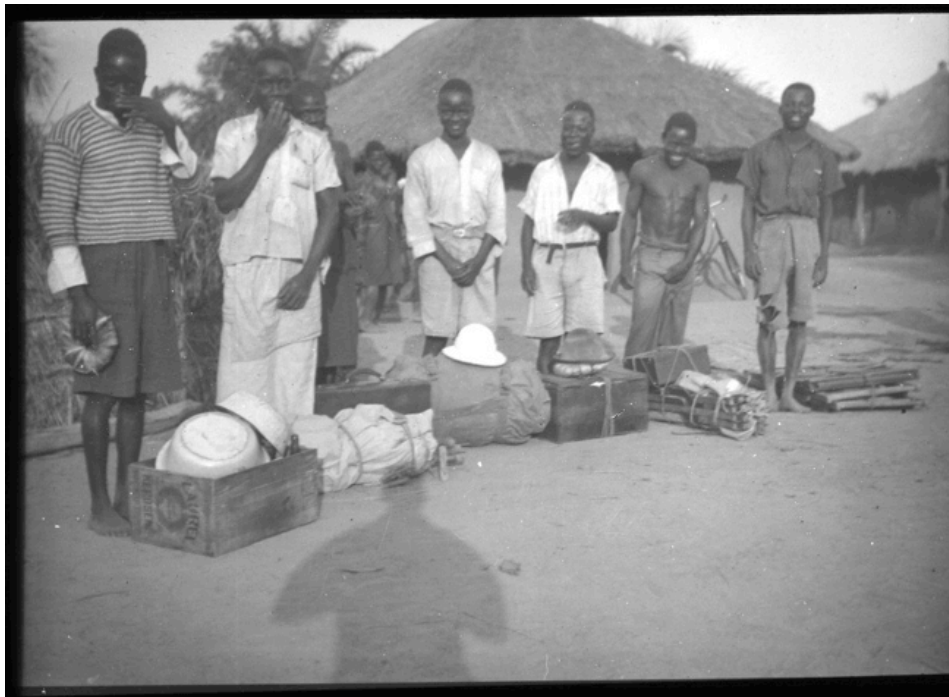


Figure 7. Porters on Trek . (Courtesy, CAM, Preston no. 3).

Another group of informants who distanced themselves from traditional religion were Christianised former slaves. Slavers had originally taken them from Katanga to the Angolan coast, to work in plantations. There, they were Christianised by Protestant missions and returned as missionaries in their own

right when the Portuguese Republic abolished domestic slavery in 1910. The returnees were literate Christians with marketable skills. They built in brick, were trained in carpentry and animal husbandry, and planted different crops. They had no wish to live under traditional chiefs and exhibited a deep anxiety about the contaminating effects of contact with pagan lower orders. Residing at mission stations or in Christian villages, they drew upon idioms of respectability to assert spatial and moral boundaries between themselves and 'pagan' neighbours. Working closely with the CEM and American Methodist missionaries, the ex-slaves pushed the Christian frontier well beyond mission stations. Clothes were a key marker of their respectable status. In figure 8, Kaluwashi, one of the most influential ex-slaves dons the apparel of a missionary: khakis, boots, braces and all-important pith helmet. The accompanying image, figure 9, provides an important insight into how evangelism has often been conducted in Africa. It is Kaluwashi, Bible in hand, who preaches to the paramount Chief Kabongo, while the linguistically challenged white missionaries remain seated.



Figure 8. 'Kaluwashi and Wife', 1917, Mission Albums Collection, Africa 6, 30271 (Courtesy, General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Madison, New Jersey, USA).

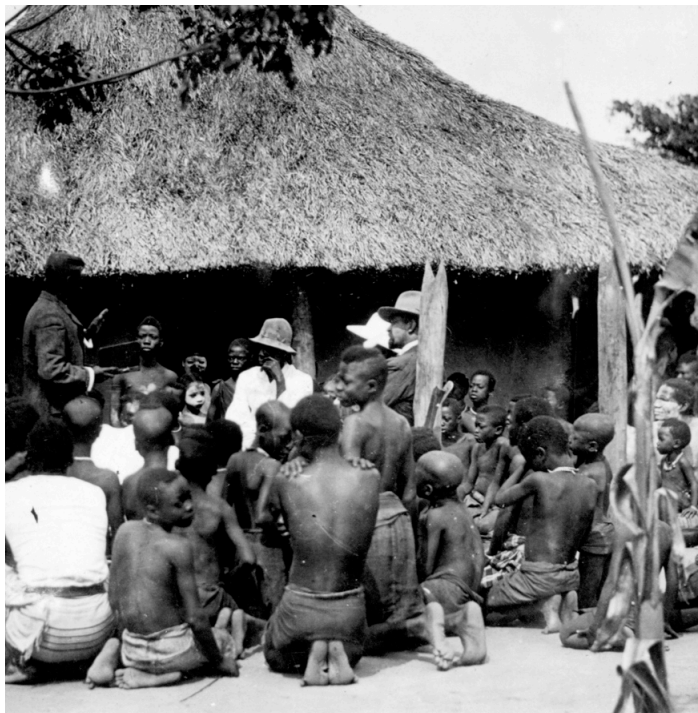


Figure 9. 'Kaluwashi preaching to Chief Kabongo', c.1917, Mission Albums Collection, Africa 6, 30272. (Courtesy, General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Madison, New Jersey, USA).

The final social category who put itself outside traditional Luba society was women fleeing abusive relationships and domestic slavery. William Burton's wife, Hettie, founded a women's refuge. Besides women in flight, the refuge attracted other socially marginal females such as widows who lacked the security of living children. Deeply affected by the loss of her new born baby son, Hettie threw herself into women's work, recording her experiences in a book entitled *My Black Daughters*. She formed deep friendships with women such as the former slave, Sala Kamone, (figure 10) who revealed to her the traumas of slavery and the details of female initiation.⁷⁵



Figure 10. Sala Kamone. (Courtesy, CEM Preston, no 82).

William Burton also engaged with chiefs, mediums, sculptors and secret society members, often drawn by beauty and curiosity as much as by the evangelical

desire to know and confront his enemy. Although he wrote in derogatory terms about the ‘weird dances and paraphernalia’ of Luba diviners there were numerous occasions when his aesthetics ran counter to his written appraisals. In spite of his commentaries Burton took many fine photographs of the Luba. The images exhibited no trace of pity as part of a strategy to raise funds, but rather creativity and dignity through their depiction of skills, arts and crafts.⁷⁶ Many of them were subsequently transformed into careful gouache and watercolor paintings and together they represent some of his most significant social scientific work.⁹⁷

While much of Burton’s published work for church audiences was constrained by the simple oppositions of modernizing Christianity versus heathen superstition, it is clear that during his 45 years of mission work he constructed deep relations of trust and respect with Luba traditionalists, evident from the negotiations involved in posing photographs. Like many pioneering missionaries he was dependent on the patronage of the local chief, Mwanza – Kazingu. Although Kazingu never converted, and to Burton’s horror continued to imprison his rivals, the two nevertheless became good friends. Kazingu allowed Burton to photograph him in his precious crown and subsequently to have a copy made for the University of Witwatersrand (figure 11).

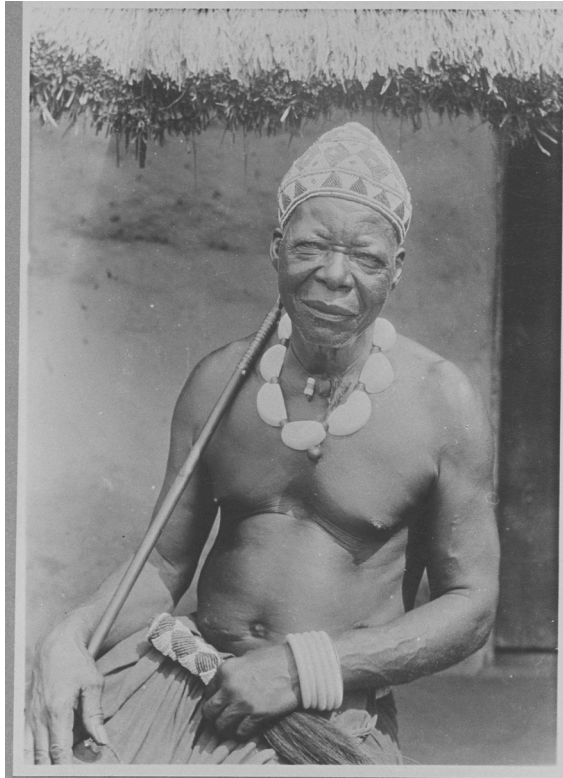


Figure 11. LUBA. My old friend Chief Kajingu [sic.] of Mwanza in full regalia. (Courtesy of the University of Witwatersrand Art Museum and the Burton Collection at the Witwatersrand Museum of Ethnology, BPC 13.11).

Burton also spent much time in a local village called Kabishi, which was an atelier producing sculpture for chiefs across the Luba polity. Burton photographed and painted the shrine on the perimeter which intrigued him, and he eventually formed a close friendship with a sculptor, Kitwa Biseke, whom he proselytized in a dialogue of proverb and scripture.⁷⁷ Burton's technically brilliant photograph of Biseke (figure 12) in which the sculptor became the sculpture, with sacred objects on display, would have required a good deal of cooperation between the photographer and carver. Through his connection with Kabishi, Burton was drawn into local networks of artistic patronage, commissioning sculptures for museums and sending local children to art school

in Elisabethville.⁷⁸



Figure 12. 'LUBA. A Kitwa (chief's personal wood carver) carving a Kitumpo (for divining) with a knife & adze only. The Kitwa's Kibango (carved staff) is behind him'. [Courtesy of the University of Witwatersrand Art Museum and the Burton Collection at the Witwatersrand Museum of Ethnology, BPC 05.13].

Burton's desire to convert chiefs and his interest in history led him to interview numerous traditional leaders and 'men of memory': keepers of royal traditions. These gerontocratic elites, whose status and powers of arbitrary justice had declined under colonialism, exaggerated the pre-colonial reach of the Luba polity and their connection with it. They also elaborated models of custom that suited their interests over and against women and youth. These partialities found their way into language primers, local histories and native affairs publications all of which equated Luba identity with a specific body of proverb, tradition and folklore. The texts were disseminated back across the Luba polity via schools

and churches by a committed body of teachers and evangelists, becoming one of a number of ways CEM missionaries unintentionally participated in the construction of Luba ethnic nationalism.

The triumphal tone of printed missionary sources often obscured the contingencies of early mission work. Loneliness, illness, the necessities of food, shelter, protection and translators made Burton and other missionaries reliant on local society in the opening stages of the encounter. Such close engagement with the Luba meant that his view of them shifted over time. He moved from an aggressive intrusive mode of research to a position of greater sympathy as he came to appreciate their cultural riches through study of language, folklore, and proverb. Embarking on a second sequence of research in the 1940s and 50s, he collected and collated, with African assistants, a vast collection of 1800 proverbs, and wrote on Luba oral culture.⁷⁹ His sympathies and understanding also shifted in sympathy with the second generation of Luba Christians. This group of converts did not experience the rupture of conversion, or the old life, as a social and spiritual entity. Disenchantment had rendered practices such as drumming and dancing or the partaking of palm wine as no more than harmless heritage. Thus second generation Christians sought a self-conscious rapprochement with their parents' former culture in acts of 'reprise'.⁸⁰ Burton's shift, which drew upon Nineteenth-century Fulfilment Theology in asserting Christianity's continuity with so-called primal religions, brought him in line with contemporary missiological thinking.⁸¹ He came to believe that beneath the superstructure of so-called African superstition lay a deeper metaphysics, which could be marshalled and Christianised.⁸²

IV

There was an intrinsic tension between missionaries' interest in local culture and their endeavours to transform it. Indeed, as this article has shown, some of the data missionaries gathered was generated through their efforts to challenge local beliefs and practices. This was certainly the case when missionaries relied upon information provided by converts, especially if it was presented in the form of a triumphal narrative of overcoming a custom that was believed to be inimical to Christianity. In such circumstances any sense of the inherent value of the custom was lost.⁸³ Nevertheless, missionary interactions with indigenous peoples were recorded in a range literary genres extending from ethnographic writing to public and personal correspondence, reportage and history, propaganda and inspirational writing. Photographs and the collection of material objects also marked their encounters. Neither did they simply interact with converts. Curiosity, a sense of aesthetics, a desire to know their 'enemy', and the need to make converts drove them from their verandas to engage with a great variety of people. Their ethnographic photographs record them in situations far from mission stations interacting with dancers and diviners, chiefs and sculptors in a manner that could shock supporters back home.⁸⁴ Missionary scholars were also aware of the charged nature of material gathered from and by youthful converts. This was made clear in an impressively reflexive article published in *Africa: The Journal of the International Institute* (1931). The article was written by Diedrich Westermann, an ethnographer and missionary statesman who advised researchers to seek out informants and assistants from a

range of social categories.⁸⁵ However, scrupulous research methods did not make missionaries immune to criticisms from their detractors.

At the inaugural International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, (London, 1934), George Basden, a missionary ethnographer working with CMS in Nigeria presented a paper entitled 'How far can African customs be incorporated into the Christian system?' After the lecture, Jomo Kenyatta, then student at the London School of Economics and future first president of independent Kenya, stood up to attack the methods of missionaries:

In Kenya, missionaries have not gone the right way in presenting Christianity to Africans, declaring that all African customs and beliefs are bad, and that before an African can adopt Christianity he must cast such things away, and overlooking the fact that the African obtains much good by adherence to his beliefs, and that the idea of "brotherhood" is so great a part of African beliefs and life.

Missionaries have obtained most of their ideas of African customs from converts to whom their old gods have become devils... Co-operation with Africans themselves is what is required, for African beliefs and customs maintained a social system adequate to African needs.⁸⁶

While Kenyatta's observation about the partial nature of converts' testimony was powerfully articulated, what is also notable about his intervention was his rigorous functionalism. Learnt from his mentor, Bronislaw Malinowski, and expressed more clearly in his 1938 book *Facing Mount Kenya*, it caused Kenyatta to see Kikuyu life as an 'integrated culture' from which 'No single part' was

‘detachable’. In his distinction between *converts* and *Africans themselves* he ignored the religious choices made by some Kikuyu, elevating instead a version of pristine culture over society, thereby suggesting that African Christians were no longer part of the social field. As Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale show in their work on Kenyatta, his functionalism was more than just a tool of social science. Functionalism was the means by which he asserted his authority as a Kikuyu spokesman schooled in local wisdom and tradition, against youthful self-confident mission converts whom he cast as detribalised and disorientated. He believed that he could shepherd the Kikuyu into modernity along a different path from that advocated by paternalistic missionaries.⁸⁷ Kenyatta’s struggles within Kikuyu society illustrate how the charged nature of ethnographic information given to missionaries is its saving grace. If untrammelled by evangelical rhetoric, a convert’s rejection of traditional practices could illuminate customs and the regard in which they were held.

Moreover, the sum of local testimonies were a means of reconstructing the full extent of missionary interactions and the parameters of social conflict and debate within African society between Christian and traditionalist, men and women, elders and youth. The multitude of local religious encounters captured in the sources counters the tendency to describe collective representations and systems of coherence and stability found in interwar social anthropology.⁸⁸ It rescues Africans from the depersonalised, abstracted aggregates known as ‘tradition’.⁸⁹ The Protestant missionary desire to create new individualised subjects and to celebrate their progress in writing also offers the opportunity to identify informants shrouded in anthropological texts.⁹⁰

Because missionaries recorded testimonies from a range of social categories, Christian and traditionalist, as well as studying how consensus was achieved through public ritual, their data provides a sense of the contested nature of religious ideas and the contingent nature of religious identities. Religious boundaries shifted and were transgressed, and religion was a process in which different actors made new religious arguments in the context of shifting relations of power. Missionaries appear more grounded, deeply involved in these processes.

Burton was a representative of a small but influential group of missionaries and administrators who had a keen interest in 'native culture' but were also actors in colonial settings. When combined with radical evangelical Protestantism this stance at times could lead to contradictory attitudes towards Africans. There has been a tendency to see missionaries as unyielding proponents of a Western lifestyle and indeed their published propaganda often suggests this. But Burton's photography, collecting and ethnography also show him to be moved by those he encountered. It was missionaries such as Burton, intent on changing customs and beliefs, who provided some of the most intimate and detailed early ethnographic accounts, thereby helping to shape the development of the secular discipline of anthropology, which in the course of its professionalization has been distinctly ambivalent about their contributions.⁹¹ Thus the paradoxical role of missionaries as social scientists as well as proselytisers usefully expands the notion of religious encounter.

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⁸ P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Oxford, Revised edition, 2013), pp.85-86; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 56-7.

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¹⁹ J. MacKenzie, 'Missionaries, Science and the Environment in Nineteenth Century Africa' in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, (Grand Rapids, 2003), pp.107-8

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²⁶ M. Sweetnam, 'Dan Crawford, *Thinking Black*, and the Challenge of a Missionary Canon', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58, 4 (2007) pp.705-6.

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²⁹ Walima Kalusa, 'Christian Medical Discourse and Praxis on the Imperial Frontier: Explaining the Popularity of Missionary Medicine in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1906–1935', in Harries and Maxwell, eds., *The Spiritual in the Secular*, p.248.

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⁵⁷ Burton, *Luba Religion*.

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⁵⁹ Burton, *Luba Religion*, p.1.

⁶⁰ Burton, *Luba Religion*.

⁶¹ W.F. P. Burton, Un Rapport des Activités de la Mission Evangélistique du Congo Belge, 10 January 1926, AAB, M640 XIV, CEM, Katanga.

⁶² W. Burton, *When God Changes a Village* (London, 1933).

⁶³ *Congo Evangelistic Mission Report* (henceforth *CEMR*) 43, July – August 1933.

⁶⁴ C. Pinney 'Introduction' in Pinney & N. Peterson, eds. *Photography's Other Histories* (Durham, 2003), pp.7 & 12. For an extended discussion of Burton's photography and more detailed commentary on the images below, see Maxwell, 'Photography and the Religious Encounter'.

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⁶⁶ Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, p.324.

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⁶⁸ W. Burton, 'Bwanga' [witchcraft], *CEMR* 8, April-June, 1925.

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⁷⁰ Peel, *Religious Encounter*, p.238.

⁷¹ Burton entered the lodge in 1928. Burton to Salter, 19 Sept 1928, Central African Missions, (CAM) (formerly CEM), Preston, file, Burton to Salter Letters and Reports, 1919-30. The image was used in an article by W. Burton, entitled: 'Vile Secret Society Broken Up: Chief Members Converted, *CEMR*, 79, July – August 1939. He used it in a vignette entitled, 'Invading a Bambudye Sanctuary', published in *Congo Sketches* (London, 1950), pp.55-8.

⁷² W. Burton, 'Letter to Mr Myerscough', *CEMR* 1, July-August 1923. The story was first recounted in full in *CEMR* 18, Oct-Dec 1927. Burton may have been referring to an *nzunzi*, though he and his missionary colleague Harold Womersley continued to use *kanzundji* along with more derogatory terms such as 'dreamchild' or 'bogey': *CEMR* 42, May-June, *CEMR* 43, July-August 1933; *CEMR* 69 Nov.-Dec. 1937. There were differences in dialect across Luba territory

⁷³ For instance, 7, 1927; W. Burton, 'Wells in the Desert', *CEMR*, 25, July – September 1929; C. Taylor, 'From Canibalism to Christ, at Kaseba and Mpasu. Notes from one of Mr Taylor's Itineraries', *CEMR* 30, October – December 1930.

⁷⁴ W. Burton, *Honey Bee. The Life Story of a Congo Evangelist* (Johannesburg, 1959), p.11; J. Salter, *Abraham. Our first Convert* (London, c.1936), p.11; M. Moorhead, *Missionary Pioneering in Congo Forests: A narrative of William F. P. Burton and His Companions in the Native Villages of Luba-Land* (Preston, 1922), pp.75, 96-7.

⁷⁵ H. Burton, *My Black Daughters* (London, 1949), pp.9-10 & 76-8. The magic lantern slide was untitled but the informants in Katanga recognized her. Interviews, Lubaba Rubin (Lubenyi) Bikomo, 14 May 2007, Ruashi, DRC & Mama Andyena, Kyungu Dyese and Numbi Martha, 21 May 2007, Mwanza, DRC.

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- ⁷⁶ M. Gullestad, *Picturing Pity: Pitfalls and Pleasures in Cross-cultural Communication: Image and Word in a North Cameroon Mission* (Oxford, 2007).
- ⁷⁷ W. Burton, *Congo Sketches* (London, 1950), pp. 103-4.
- ⁷⁸ Interviews, Lubaba Rubin (Lubenyi) Bikomo, Ruashi, DRC 14 May 2007; Banze Kitwa Kapasa Zacharie, 22 May Mwanza, DRC, 22 May 2007; Banze Kalumba Shayumba, Mwanza, DRC, 23 May 2007.
- ⁷⁹ W. Burton, Burton, 'Kanya Oral Literature in Lubaland', *African Studies Review*, (1943), 2; 'Proverbs des Baluba' *BJI*, (1955-58), 23, 3, – 26, 10 *Proverbs des Baluba*, Elizabethville, 1958); *The Magic Drum. London. Tales from Central Africa* (London, 1961).
- ⁸⁰ For a recent exploration of themes of rupture, revival and reprise see R. Werbner, *Holy Hustlers, Schism and Prophecy: Apostolic Reformation in Botswana* (Berkeley, 2011).
- ⁸¹ A key founding text was George Matheson's *The Distinctive Message of the Old Religions* (London, 1893). Matheson used comparison to discern a universal concept of religion that was believed to coincide with liberal Christianity. His model remained hierarchical because Christianity was the only true universal religion while Buddhism and Islam were closer to natural religion. The idea was developed in by Geoffrey Parrinder, former Methodist missionary to West Africa and Professor of Comparative Religion at Kings College, London. An early indication of Parrinder's thinking is his *African Traditional Religion* (London, 1954).
- ⁸² Significantly, Placide Tempels' influential study, which explored the ontology of Bantu Religion, also arose from research in Katanga. The limitations of space

do not allow for comparison of Burton and Tempels' work. P. Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy* (Paris, 1953 (1945)).

⁸³ Helen Gardner, 'Practising Christianity, Writing Anthropology: Missionary Anthropologists and their Informants' in Grimshaw and May, eds., *Missionaries*, 116-7.

⁸⁴ Maxwell, 'Photography and the Religious Encounter', p.71-3.

⁸⁵ D. Westermann, 'The Missionary as Anthropological Fieldworker', *Africa: The Journal of the International Institute*, 1931, 4, 2.

⁸⁶ J. Kenyatta. *Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques. Compte-rendu de la Première Session, Londres 1934* (London, 1934), pp. 213-5.

⁸⁷ B. Berman and J. Lonsdale, 'Custom, modernity, and the search for *Kihoto*: Kenyatta, Malinowski, and the making of Facing Mount Kenya' in Helen Tilly with Robert J. Gordon eds., *Ordering Africa. Anthropology, European imperialism and the Politics of Knowledge* (Manchester, 2007). Kenyatta wrote *Facing Mount Kenya* (London, 1938) partly in response to two earlier Kikuyu ethnographies written by contemporary converts. Pers. Comm. John Lonsdale. More specifically Kenyatta was defending clitorodectomy, which was under attack by missionaries.

⁸⁸ J.D.Y. Peel, 'Problems and Opportunities in an Anthropologist's use of a Missionary Archive' in R. Bickers and R. Seton, eds., *Missionary Encounters. Sources and Issues* (London, 1996) pp.84-5.

⁸⁹ Joseph Miller, 'History and Africa / Africa and History', *American Historical Review*, (1999) 104, 1, p.15.

⁹⁰ Gardner pp.115 & 120.

⁹¹ Harries, 'Anthropology' in Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*.