Transfer and Transformation of Missionaries' Images of Europe in Contact with the Other, 1700–1970

*Junior Research Group: Europe Seen from the Outside*

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1. Summary

How did Europeans outside Europe view Europe? From the 18th century onwards, Protestant Europeans left their home countries for decades, often even for their remaining lives, to promote Christian, “European” values to cultures outside of Europe. Working in European networks, they formed a European identity at an early point in time. At the same time, physical distance from Europe and the encounter with non-European cultures changed their concepts and images of Europe. The Junior Research Group examines these modifications and their retroaction on Europe.
2. State of research

2.1 Introduction

Concepts and images of Europe have long been a research subject.\(^1\) Naturally, the internal perspective predominates in this view.\(^2\) By contrast, it is difficult to grasp how Europe was seen from the outside. Mission history can offer a very promising approach to the external view of Europe. Here, missionaries (Europeans) sent forth by their respective home churches or missionary societies are the focus. They accepted their assignment on the basis of an image of Europe that was assumed to be matter-of-fact and was unquestioned. They possibly even believed they could transfer the achievements associated with it into an alien culture, but they had to modify their concepts of Europe during their encounter with the foreign culture – and indeed did modify them. Missionaries did not leave Europe for a short period but for years, oftentimes even decades, and in the early days of mission even for their entire lives. They often lived much more closely with members of non-European cultures than other Europeans who travelled and worked in those countries. In their regular letters home, there are statements about the foreign and their own culture, as well as descriptions of Europe and European values. The Christian churches sent missionaries into countries outside Europe from early on, where they not only functioned as promoters of Christianity, but also acted and were intended to act as carriers of certain ideas of Europe and typical European values. However, the more they acculturated in their destination countries, the more they took on an "outside position" and, consequently, developed a perspective on Europe from the outside. Therefore, the question of this project is multilayered. The objective is to fathom to what extent Europeans distanced themselves from Europe and, thus, developed an external perspective on the Continent. In brief, how did Europeans see Europe from the outside?

The missionary assignment, i.e. the transfer of certain religious values and values considered characteristic of Europe, intermingled – this being the research hypothesis of the project – with a

\(^1\) Cf., e.g. Wolfgang Geier, Europabilder. Begriffe, Ideen, Projekte aus 2500 Jahren, Vienna 2009; Vrääth Öhner, Europa-Bilder, Innsbruck et al. 2005; Katrin Rücker, Quelle(s) Europe(s)? Nouvelles approches en histoire de l’intégration européenne = Which Europe(s)? New Approaches in European Integration History, Brussels et al. 2006; Sabine Penth, Europas Grenzen, St. Ingbert 2006.

\(^2\) Research on Europe is also increasingly being conducted in historical sciences, so that it has become possible to speak of a "European Turn", cf., e.g. Kerstin Armborst/Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele (ed.), Der Wert "Europa" u. die Geschichte. Auf dem Weg zu einem europäischen Geschichtsbewusstsein, Mainz 2007; Peter Blickle, Das Alte Europa. Vom Hochmittelalter bis zur Moderne, Munich 2008; Ferdinand Seibt, Die Begründung Europas. Ein Zwischenbericht über die letzten tausend Jahre, Frankfurt am Main 2004; Peter Krüger, Das unberechenbare Europa. Epochen des Integrationsprozesses vom späten 18. Jh. bis zur Europäischen Union, Stuttgart 2006; Matthias von HELLFELD, Akte Europa. Geschichte eines Kontinents, München 2006; Heinz Duchhardt, Europa-Historiker. Ein biographisches Handbuch (3 vol.), Göttingen 2006 seq, or the series "Handbuch der Geschichte Europas" by UTB.
gradual distance from Europe that could lead to the revelation of European weaknesses, while simultaneously the unity of the European Diaspora against the non-European strangers gained in importance. Concepts of Europe and European values were explicitly or implicitly modified in contact with the foreign culture and language.

In the missionary periodicals that appeared regularly from the early 18\textsuperscript{th} century, these images of Europe were published in the home countries and, in turn, began to shape the ideas of Europe held by Europeans. In this way, the missionaries actively participated in shaping Europe by relating their external perspective.

2.2 State of research

The significance of missions in the history of Europe has only recently been specifically emphasized.\textsuperscript{3} It is rightly considered a deficiency that the historiography of missions has long been neglected, unless conducted from a (post-)colonial perspective. Particularly in Germany, which unlike Britain or France did not have to confront a centuries-long colonial history, missions have often only entered the historical and ecclesiastical field of vision at the margins. Even now, histories of Germany and England\textsuperscript{4} in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the so-called "century of missions", are written without even mentioning missions, leave alone dedicating a specific chapter to them. Even presentations of colonialism seem to make do without an explicit reference to missions.\textsuperscript{5}

Questions about the significance of missions in foreign countries and cultures were asked mainly in the course of postcolonial studies. The contribution of missions to the identity formation of the ruled, both in the positive and the negative sense, was to be researched from the latter’s perspective. This perspective has produced many ground-breaking works on the identity formation of non-European nations. However, since Europeans were the rulers in this approach, it can only marginally contribute to work on the present question.

German and English research literature must be differentiated with respect to the question of mission and colonialism or empire. Research on a pan-European level does not exist. Jürgen Osterhammel’s \textit{Verwandlung der Welt} offers a global history approach but missions are relegated to a mere ten pages


\textsuperscript{4} Since the submitted projects intend to examine German and English missionary societies, these two countries take centre stage in the research survey. As well, only the history of Protestant missions will be discussed.

\textsuperscript{5} Cf. Sebastian Conrad, Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte, Munich 2008.
in the chapter "Religion and empire" in a total of almost 1,300 pages of text. The fact that the historical perspective so far has been oriented predominantly country-specifically points to a research gap that needs to be worked on: the absence of studies on the significance of missions for Europe and the external image of Europe which was shaped thereby.

Naturally, the topic of missions and colonialism has caused less excitement in the German-speaking than in the English-speaking sphere. Numerous studies of missions in empire have been produced both on the British and the Anglo-American side. However, missions have been viewed either structurally or in terms of content mostly in relation to the British Empire or the United States as the superpower. The genuine concerns of the missions have hardly been addressed. This is not only regrettable because the historical phenomenon has not received an adequate treatment but also because the historical significance of the mission has often been misunderstood or even ignored. The reasons for this were, for one, ignorance of the theological interests and motives of the missions and, for another, misleading central questions.

Nevertheless, particularly in English mission history some very significant and ground-breaking works can be cited. On the side of universal history, there is Andrew Porter’s Religion vs. empire? which has become a standard work in the area.

Here, both the political and historical background as well as the religious motives of the missionaries are analysed in a convincing manner. Porter shows that missions were eminently religious in motivation and demonstrates how missionary societies and individual missionaries in the various periods of mission history attempted to deal with the political entanglements of their undertakings. Missions as a problem in an interplay of religion and politics could range from exertion for the benefit of the established rule and its active support to decided dissociation from political power holders and their programmes. However, often a middle path was taken, because cooperation was often unavoidable even though Christian principles may have called for distancing.

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7 In the following, the presentation will be limited to the British Empire. It is, however, not possible here to deal in detail with the varied works on colonial history and especially the history of the British Empire that do not address missions specifically. On the interaction between North America and Europe, cf., e.g. Claudia Schnurmann (ed.), Atlantic understandings. Essays on European and American history in honor of Hermann Wellenreuther, Hamburg 2006.
10 Contrary to, e.g. Stuart Piggim, Making evangelical missionaries, 1789-1958. The social background, motives and training of British protestant missionaries to India, [p. l] 1984.
For the German-speaking mission field, Thorsten Altena has carefully and precisely demonstrated how German missionaries in East Africa fluctuated between adaptation and delimitation during the German colonial period.\textsuperscript{11}

He examined, for example, the missionaries’ self-image and its modification as a result of contact with African cultures. However only German missionaries who were sent out with a minister-like status were examined. Therefore, the information the study can provide with respect to Europe is limited.

The important perspective of ecclesiastical history is brought in by the research of Brian Stanley. In his study \textit{The Bible and the Flag}, he has presented a comprehensive study of British missionary societies and their attitude to the Empire. Many other fundamental works are owed to his pen.\textsuperscript{12}

Rebekka Habermas has recently selected a completely different, innovative approach: network analysis. She sees the significance of mission in establishing "(a) global network(s) of the religious" that is worthy of more detailed research.\textsuperscript{13}

Habermas emphasizes that missionaries "in the 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century were members of the probably 'most entangled' professional group".\textsuperscript{14} Looking beyond Habermas, this also applies to the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. This entanglement was ensured by the diverse direct cooperation of the mission societies in Europe as well as by social engagement in the "internal mission" at all levels of the population in the respective home countries.

The networking of missionaries outside of Europe as well as their attachment to their home countries gave the missionaries the possibility to exercise influence on Europe from the outside.

Another complex of topics relates to mission and religion. Most historical studies on missions leave out the religious motivation of the missionaries. In part, it is even outright denied.\textsuperscript{15} Only recently has

\textsuperscript{13}Habermas, Mission im 19. Jh.
\textsuperscript{14}ibid., 641.
\textsuperscript{15}This applies particularly to research with a strong social or political history approach. The utilisation of missions in the web of interests of colonialism and imperialism was often regarded as identical with the intention of the missionary societies and the individual missionaries.
it been emphasized more that the missionary movement cannot be understood without its religious background.16

However, there are almost no academic studies in mission history regarding the history of particular missionary societies or regarding missions and non-religious questions. The results are different where missions and their embeddedness in the Awakening Movement of the 18th and 19th centuries are concerned.17 In surveys of Pietism and the Awakening, the movements which first made missions an issue in Protestantism, the mission is of necessity important.18 This deserves to be noted for two reasons: For one, because here the religious embeddedness and motivation without which the mission and its actual thrust cannot be understood are discussed and, for another, because these movements actually had a pronounced European dimension. German Pietism was nurtured by English and Dutch approaches and in turn affected Britain and later North America. The revival there and the Holiness movement on their part left deep marks on the German Awakening Movement.19

2.3 Conclusions

This marks the point at which this research project begins:

1. The question of the missions' religious motivation, which is indispensible for a study of missions and their effects, implies the question of their underlying value system. Here, mission research and value research, which is eminent in research on Europe by asking about binding European values meet.20 Missions were mostly about spreading Christianity in non-Christian cultures but this was

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16 Thus, e.g. Habermas, Mission im 19. Jh., or Porter, Religion vs. empire?.
done either with a silent or a stated understanding by the missionary societies and their missionaries with regard to the baggage of European values. "Civilising" the non-Europeans at times ranked very high in missionary ideology. In the encounter with non-European cultures and with other Europeans outside of Europe – including merchants, soldiers and civil servants – this value system and, therefore, also the associated image of Europe, was subjected to various modifications. To be noted are both a pronounced critique of Europe as well as a strengthening and revitalisation of European values (which did not necessarily exclude each other) or, particularly due to the intense contact with a foreign culture, an accommodation of European values with the world of foreign ideas.  

2. Another starting point for the project is the significance of the mission for political developments that formed Europe in an eminent way and gave it its current appearance (e.g. colonialism, imperialism), as emphasized in the existing studies. Added to this is the influence of the mission movement on European self-understanding. With their letters home and their reports, missionaries also affected the self-image of their audience and, consequently, formed its identity. Likewise, their own identity changed and took on new contours in their interaction with political power holders. This is at most shown in outline in the cited studies. So far, specific research does not exist on this topic, especially not from a pan-European viewpoint.

Two questions derive from these observations: What is the significance of the encounter with Europeans outside of Europe for transforming the image of Europe held by the missionaries? To what extent did the missionaries form Europe's image of itself with their external perspective?
3. Research question, concept and four-years-outline

3.1 Primary question
The proposed Junior Research Group will examine by means of a longitudinal analysis the images of Europe held by missionaries living outside of Europe between 1700 and 1970 with special consideration of fundamental Christian values from the perspective of the missionary movement.

The fundamental question is: How did Europeans outside Europe see Europe? With what image of Europe and with what ideas of European values did German and English missionaries go to non-European countries and how was this image changed by life outside Europe?

Subordinate to the fundamental question are questions regarding the significance of the contacts of missionaries with other Europeans outside of Europe and with non-European cultures:

- What image of Europe did the missionaries gain through their encounter with other Europeans outside of Europe? Did they change their attitude to Europe as a result? Did their opinions of European values change?
- What significance did the encounter with non-European cultures have? Can a reorientation of the missionaries to Europe, a "Europeanisation" resulting from this be identified?
- What values changed in the course of the attempted cultural transfer and in what way?
- What significance did the close cooperation between European missionaries outside Europe have?

Furthermore, questions about retroactive impact of the missionaries’ images of Europe on Europe will be raised:

- What influence did the change in missionaries’ concepts of Europe have on the views of the missionary societies? Did conflicts arise and how were they resolved? Did an intercultural transfer take place?
- What image of Europe was carried in the media and in what way?
- What influence did the missionaries/mission societies have on the political definition of Europe and, consequently, on the convergence of Europe?
The respective political and social circumstances of the age must be clarified as the research basis:

- To what extent did political developments effect modifications of the missionaries’ images of Europe? How were images of Europe changed by colonialism and imperialism? How were they changed by decolonisation?
- Can differing concepts of Europe be attributed to different societal and social contacts of the missionaries?
- What effect did the social structure of the mission territories have on missionaries’ concepts of Europe?

Three parameters stand in the foreground of this analysis of the image of Europe:

→ **Boundaries:** In the opinion of the missionaries, what countries belonged to Europe? According to what criteria were these boundaries set?

→ **Civilising:** Particularly in contrast to non-European countries, missionaries saw civilisation as a characteristic of Europe that should be transferred to these countries. But what did “civilisation” mean for them? How did the definition of European virtues and moral-ethical attitudes change through contact with non-European cultures?

→ **Religion:** What actions, attitudes and experiences were, for missionaries, indispensable for a “true Christian”? How did the attempted transfer into a non-European context change the definitions of Christianity?

With a view toward these overarching series of questions, the Junior Research Group is divided into three individual research projects that examine the significance of the missionary experience for the development of the image of Europe. This can only be done by focusing on the selected missionary societies and their activities.

**3.2 Methodology and analytical framework**

Europe was mainly defined by shared values for the missionaries – this even applied to the geographical boundaries of the missionary “Europe”, with Catholic countries frequently being excluded from this definition. Consequently, historical research on values and the transformation of values offers a suitable methodological and theoretical approach to this topic. Definition of and research on values is mainly done with a philosophical and sociological approach. Among the numerous definitions of values, that of Hans Joas stands out with its references to communication
According to Joas, values – unlike norms that provide (often legally codified) guidelines – are “reflexive standards for the assessment of our preferences, emotionally charged ideas on the desirable”.

Values arise from communication and are changed during communication. They must also relate to the individual life history or it must be possible to relate them to the latter to recognise them as values. This means that the missionaries’ value system continuously changed due to the continuing interaction with non-European society.

The concept of value – Joas stresses this – includes far more than moral values. Values are short-hands for cultural models, by means of which fields of action are evaluated. Therefore, not only the bourgeois-moral attitudes of the missionaries but also their religious convictions can be included in the value concept.

However, it is not possible to examine values independently of other "determinants of human behaviour". Material life situations, social standards, leadership, knowledge and ideas must also be included in the study. They form the background to the definitions of European values among missionaries overseas. Different societies form different value systems that interrelate. In this way, new values are negotiated, and a new perspective on established European values which may have been perceived until then as the only right ones arises. In particular, notice must be taken of the relationship of non-European cultures to other Europeans on the ground. In this research, the set of methodological tools for analysing cultural transfer and historical comparison will be applied.

In research on value transformation, two aspects stand in the foreground: the changing relevance of values over time and the reconfiguration of particular values. It will be possible to identify both in the missionaries’ image of Europe and both must receive attention.

Processes of value change can only be observed in longitudinal historical studies. They must be supplemented by in-depth cross-sectional analyses. Only in this way will it be possible to describe the values precisely, on one hand, as well as to explain their historical context (cross-section), and identify their modification (longitudinal) on the other hand. Yet, even these relatively long-term projects will not be able to analyse all sources over a century or more but can only blaze trails. This will be done by a deepening analysis of the periodical sources in ten-year increments. It must be

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23 Hans Joas, Braucht der Mensch Religion? Über Erfahrungen der Selbsttranszendenz, Freiburg et al. 2006, 44.
supplemented by a study of the years of particular importance for the respective missionary societies or for European history.

The missionaries’ correspondence will be analysed by means of case studies. For this purpose, missionaries working in all non-European cultures will be selected. Work in India cannot be compared with work in Africa, Jamaica or North American locations. Examples will be selected from each of these four areas.
3.3 Individual research projects and sources

**Project 1: Images of Europe held by missionaries in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Danish-Halle Mission in the 18th century**

The 18th century as the century of the origin of organised Protestant missions is the focus of the first research project. In contrast to the 19th century, there were only a few very large and influential missionary societies in the 18th century. These are distinguished by a stronger intermeshing with the political authorities than the later societies. The largest and most important English missionary society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), which was founded in 1701, limited its field of action to English colonies.

The first large missionary society in Germany was the Danish-Halle Mission. It was from the beginning a European enterprise and operated within European networks. The Danish king Frederick IV sent out the first German missionaries in 1704. Starting in 1710, the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which was founded in 1698, supported the Danish-Halle Mission. Commencing in 1705, the Danish-Halle Mission published reports, so it offers an excellent repository of sources. The SPG published information on its annual meetings and Proceedings from the start.

This project aims at a doctorate.

**Project 2: Images of Europe held by the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Basel Mission and the Rhenish Missionary Society during the long 19th century**

The end of the 18th century saw a gradual decline of the first missionary societies. With the foundation of the interdenominational London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795, a new start was ventured in London. The LMS became a model for other missionary societies in all of Europe. In 1799, representatives of the Church of England united in the Church Missionary Society (CMS), which was to be directly associated with the Anglican Church. Initially, CMS had significant problems in finding English missionaries. Its first missionaries were Germans who were trained at the Berlin mission seminary. Soon, a close cooperation with the Basel Mission came about that persisted over decades and was mediated by personal relationships. The Basel Mission is important not only because of its close contacts to the English societies but also because of its significance in the German-speaking region. The Rhenish Mission Society was initially founded as an auxiliary society for the Basel Mission, then became a training site for men whose education was insufficient
for the demands of the Basel Mission. It became a missionary society in its own right during the course of the 1830s. It is included because of its size and close contacts to Basel. This project is the most comprehensive and its objective is a habilitation thesis. It will be conducted by the head of the Junior Research Group.

**Project 3: Images of Europe held by the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Basel Mission and the Rhenish Missionary Society in the age of decolonisation, 1918 - 1970**

A new era began for the German missionary societies with the German defeat in the First World War and the end of German colonialism. How missionaries living outside Europe reacted to the changes in Europe and the transformations in the political and legal context in their mission activities can be examined using the example of the German Rhenish Missionary Society. The Basel Mission constitutes an interesting case because it was resident in Switzerland but at times more Germans than Swiss worked there. English missionary societies had to deal with decolonisation only later but then all the more intensively. Here, CMS, which was close to the established church, and LMS, which in the meantime had mainly become Congregationalist, will be the focus. Missionary strategies began to completely change in the 1970s, which is why 1970 was chosen as the cut-off point.

This project covers a shorter period than the two other projects, but this will be compensated for by conducting country comparisons in all the more detail. The end of official colonialism came about in different ways in various colonies, so diverging results should be anticipated in this regard, too. This project will result in a dissertation.

**Sources**

The sources are excellent for all relevant missionary societies from the 18th to the 20th century. The German and Swiss archives respectively are located at the place of the traditional seat of the mission house, that is, for the Danish-Halle Mission in the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle, for the Rhenish Missionary Society in Wuppertal and for the Basel Mission in Basel. The archives of the Church Missionary Society are kept at the University Library in Birmingham, while those of the London Missionary Society are located at the SOAS Library in London. The archival materials of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts are mostly located in the Rhodes House Library, Oxford, as well as the Library of Lambeth Palace, London.

The periodicals of the missionary societies, in which many of the letters home and regular reports of the missionaries were published, will constitute the main sources. They will be supplemented by the
archived annual reports of the missionaries and a selection from their correspondence with the missionary societies. In the 20th century, the missionaries were also often required to compose circulars, which are also available in the archives. These sources are supplemented by the application letters of the missionaries in which they described their principles and reveal their professional intentions. These can then be compared to later reality as well as the instructions with which they were sent forth. These make evident what was expected of the missionaries and what image of Europe they were supposed to relate. This, too, will be compared to their later experiences and compared to the then prevailing understanding of Europe.

*Inclusion of fellows (in residence) and study periods abroad*

In the context of international exchange, academics from Europe and outside Europe will be invited for presentations and colloquia. They will be incorporated in the regular work of the Junior Research Group during their stay. For all projects, a longer study stay at a partner university can be beneficial. A longer-term international exchange would broaden the perspective of the researchers.

In addition to visiting scholars coming for short periods, four foreign fellows in residence, who are working on complementary issues at their home universities, will be invited by the Junior Research Group for a one-year stay (dissertation or post-doc). Research on images of Europe outside Europe in various mission areas and examinations of the images of Europe held by Catholic missionaries are conceivable. These fellowships will be awarded through a specific application process.