

***A MISSION FOR THE FUTURE:
THE USE AND IMPORTANCE OF
MISSIONARY ARCHIVES***

**Papers given at a Conference
organised by the Religious Archives Group
in conjunction with the Research Support Libraries' Programme**

16th October 2000



Chinese Schoolboys singing "O Happy Day", 1905.
Missionary Photographs Collection, School of Oriental and African Studies

To Michael
from Rosemary
Balaton 2008

Foreword (i)

Ian Wakeling

Chair, Religious Archives Group

The records of mission agencies have long had a place in both the world of archives and the historical research arena. Indeed, mission agencies were amongst some of the first organisations to employ archivists; for example, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) had an archivist on its staff as early as 1935.

Recent years have seen a significant growth in the use of mission archives for research. In part, this has been due to straightforward historical timing. The last decade or so has seen a number of agencies celebrating milestone anniversaries. Bi-centenaries have been in abundance, with the Council for World Mission (formerly the London Missionary Society), the Church Mission Society the Baptist Missionary Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Methodist Missionary Society all celebrating such events. This year (2001) USPG has taken anniversary excitement still further by celebrating 300 years of work.

These events have coincided with a major new funding initiative for mission archives held in Higher Education Institution archives – the Research Support Libraries Programme (RSLP). Add to this a burgeoning realisation of the value of mission archives for multi-disciplinary research and a vibrant picture begins to emerge – one the Society of Archivists' Religious Archives Group (RAG) committee considered should be examined in greater detail.

The conference programme was wide ranging. Celebration and innovative historical insight combined to examine aspects of USPG's 300-year-old history in a paper by the Society's historian, Dr Dan O'Connor. Lesley Price discussed the issues involved in the creation and cataloguing of the London Missionary Society Archive. An unusual perspective on the use of mission records for multi-disciplinary research was offered by Sujit Sivasundaram, who examined George Baxter's print 'The Massacre of the Lamented Rev. John Williams' (1841). The afternoon was devoted to discussing two projects funded by the Research Support Libraries Programme – one by the Baptist Missionary Society and the other by USPG. The final event of the day comprised a short discussion on the subject of indexing mission archives ably introduced by Janet Foster and Andrew Whiteside.

Finally, I would like to thank the members of the RAG committee for their assistance in organizing the conference, in particular Sarah Duffield, Chris Penney and Andrew Whiteside. Special thanks go to Rosemary Seton for her help, enthusiasm and numerous connections – all of which made life easier!

Foreword (ii) by the Editor

Together with my fellow-members of the Mundus Steering Group, I was extremely grateful to Ian and other members of the RAG Committee for taking up so supportively the suggestion that the RAG 2000 Conference should be devoted to missionary archives and held in conjunction with the RSLP programme. A splendid turnout of members, a pleasant and conveniently-located venue and some excellent presentations ensured a rewarding and worthwhile day.

Nearly all the papers given at the Conference are included in the *Proceedings*. Since we largely ran out of time (and steam) for the last event of the day – a discussion on subject indexing – it was decided to include a report of work done on this topic by the Archives team at SOAS, together with a list of subjects used when indexing missionary archives (p.44). The intention of doing so is to provide an opportunity to evaluate the work more widely and as a contribution to the development of a suitable controlled vocabulary for indexing religious archives.

Rosemary Seton,
School of Oriental and African Studies

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in conjunction with the Mundus Project, Research Support Libraries' Programme (RSLP)

16th October 2000
at the Methodist International Centre, Euston Street, London

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Aspects of Anglican Mission History: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel experience 1701-2001

**The Revd Dr Daniel O'Connor, former Principal of the College of Ascension,
Birmingham, author of the USPG tercentenary history¹**

The USPG, the oldest and only really official mission agency of the Church of England, founded in 1701, is about to keep its tercentenary. It is in this connection that a new history of the Society is to be published this month. The request for this was a tall order, with just two years to do the research and writing - the Society worked over a huge part of the earth's surface, often, as in 18th century colonial America, very significantly (so that, for example, over two-thirds of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence were Anglicans), sometimes in small obscure corners, for example among the handful of descendants of the Bounty mutineers on Pitcairn Island. The Society has also functioned over an extraordinary historical span taking in slavery in the 18th century Caribbean, the second British Empire through to the anti-apartheid struggle in the 1980s, and right down to Jubilee 2000, where the Society played an important initial pump-priming role. It needs to be said that such an impossible assignment was only possible as a team effort, with an essential contribution by Catherine Wakeling (USPG Archivist) in London and her Rhodes House² colleagues, and the staff of the Mission Studies Library at Partnership House. In a 40-minute session it is only possible to say a few things about such a large topic, and I thought it might be most interesting to say something about how one went about such a project, and particularly share a few thoughts on what you might call issues of data, sources of information, and their interpretation.

One of the most striking aspects of the Society - and this is probably true of most mission agencies - is the great emphasis on recording, reporting the project. For many of us, therefore, within the circle of faith, a mission's own story is a sort of holy ground, an extension of the Acts of the Apostles. Here, a staple element for any understanding is the missionary's report. From the beginning, the Society required a six-monthly report back to London, and these help provide a solid basis for understanding. But there are snags and in dealing with this material we need as hard heads *within* the circle of faith as are applied outside it. For many an 18th century missionary, when the class structures were so rigid and not least in the church, the report often tells us more about the missionary's anxious dependence on the Society than about his actual work ('his' almost exclusively at this time) - the missionaries were, though graduates, mostly from amongst the poorest of the English clergy, the Society itself at the heart of the English establishment, and there is a tendency in missionary correspondence to a rather obsequious tone that happily seems to disappear later. Another snag, though, is that for some missionaries the official report was a very low priority. That is particularly the case with SPG, particularly from the 19th century on, since the missionary belonged to the Society only in a secondary sense - and doubly so! For a start, one was selected in this country not by the Society but by the Church of England - through an Archbishops' Board of Examiners, only administered by the Society, and when once selected one became the servant of the church overseas and not of the Society. When I was appointed to a post in India, for example, the Church in this country interviewed me through the Archbishops' Board of Examiners and the Indian principal of the college where I was to work appointed me on the strength of that interview, so that I only felt a very secondary obligation to the Society. Reports back, then, were not the highest priority. That can often be a frustration to the historian - the interesting anti-colonial missionary, A S Cripps, for example, in early 20th century Zimbabwe, hardly ever wrote a report - if you want to know what he was up to, you need to read the files of the Aborigines Protection Society and the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Then, related to this, when the missionary does write a report, she or he often feels the need to underline success and minimise

¹ Daniel O'Connor and others, *Three centuries of mission, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*, London and New York, Continuum, 2000

² The historical archive of the USPG is lodged at Rhodes House Library, Oxford

failure (more on this later). In many situations the missionary has to be very careful about what is said in a report. In the 18th century dissenters both in America and Britain used the missionaries' published reports as political grist to their mill - and in modern times, USPG (and no doubt other) missionaries have been sent home by independent governments for writing insensitively about the country where they were guests. The missionary's report nevertheless is an important source for the historian, and the Society's archives represent a vast treasure-trove in this regard. While honesty and integrity marks much missionary reporting, we do, however, need to exercise that vital part of the equipment of a mission historian, that is, suspicion, more specifically, hermeneutical suspicion.

There is a second area where caution has to come into play. As background, we need to note how in the 18th century, the finances of SPG were a very typical feature of an *ancien régime* enterprise in which there was a strong identity of church and state, so that (for example) colonial governors were obliged to ensure that public provision was made for worship according to the Book of Common Prayer throughout their colony, and churches and vicarages were built at public expense and the priest provided with 200 acres of land as glebe, with provision for schools and schoolteachers likewise. *Whose* land this was to give away is another question that we can only touch upon later. By the 1830s this state support was beginning to weaken in some respects (the abolition of the Clergy Reserves in Canada marks a major turning-point) and SPG had to turn much more energetically to the parishes of the Church of England for support. At the same time, the emergence of the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, and subsequent further fragmentation of the Church of England's missionary endeavours, meant that from then on the various mission agencies were competing for their market share. Hence the extraordinary burgeoning of missionary literature, magazines and monthlies, that are such a feature of the 19th century missionary movement. Among these was SPG's monthly *Mission Field*, which included acres of fascinating material lifted straight out of the missionaries' reports. It is invaluable, but of course it is selected and presented by the agency in Britain as a record of success, in order to create and sustain interest and support, to recruit missionaries and raise funds. The other side of that was the need to portray darkest Africa, and India, and everywhere else, as dark indeed. Much of the racism and contempt for other peoples' culture and religion, which was always part of the European attitude to the other, and which is still such a marked feature of British society, plainly got a great fillip from 19th century missionary literature - though I don't think SPG was anything like the worst in this regard. All of this literature has therefore to be approached with a measure of suspicion - and it needs to be supplemented.

To stay, for the moment, with the missionary: formal reports and their refraction through mission literature need to be supplemented, and an important source for this will be private letters, diaries and notebooks. Let me give you a particularly striking example of how this may alter one's reading of a situation. When the great SPG missionary rebel in India, C F Andrews, was struggling with whether to leave the mission and throw in his lot with the Indian freedom movement, he had a vigorous correspondence with the mission staff in Britain, and this he shared with two Hindu friends, showing them the letters he got from London and asking their advice on how he should reply. Of course, you won't find the record of this, and what his Hindu friends advised, and how they interpreted the question, in our metropolitan mission archives over here, though it is carefully and comprehensively preserved in the National Archives of India. Just as strikingly, we can contrast his missionary contemporaries' interpretation of his move as a sort of treachery with the glorious poem of welcome that the Indian and Hindu poet, Rabindranath Tagore, wrote when Andrews turned up to make his new home at Tagore's ashram, calling his arrival 'a gift of the Lord.' The missionary impact of Andrews' defection was, in fact, totally other than the interpretation put upon it by the mission community. Much of importance for our historical understanding is, nevertheless, available to us beyond the official reporting and records, in the letters and diaries, notebooks and newspaper cuttings, that find their way into mission archives. I was very struck to find in the numerous boxes of Roland Allen's papers in our archives at Rhodes House material, what often you might almost be tempted to call secondary material - cuttings of book reviews in highly ephemeral publications, for example - but which are vital for a full and clear understanding of Allen and his significance. I would want to encourage those of you who

have responsibility for archives to be as proactive as possible in securing this sort of material. I have mentioned here only one or two notable and high-profile missionaries, but the more 'ordinary' missionary's observations may well be highly significant, like the notes of a retreat which a young medical missionary in India sent home to her parents.

What will already be apparent in what I have said is the variety of angles, perspectives, that are available to us in attempting mission history. Let me take this further by looking at a few of the ways in which specificities of perception have come into play in the history of USPG.

i) The space between the metropolitan office of the mission agency and what was going on in what used to be called 'the field' is one full of mists and almost inevitable misunderstandings. One reason for this is particularly interesting, and that is the way the missionary is changed by her or his experience in another culture and context, so that, even if they started out by sharing the attitudes of their colleagues in London, they have often ended up in vigorous contestation with them. For an illustration we could take the case of the formation of the CSI, the united Church of South India, in 1947. Now that particular development was the occasion of fierce controversy in England, and people still recall the way Church notice boards would announce 'this church is NOT IN COMMUNION with the Church of South India.' It was almost entirely the high-church, Anglo-Catholic end of the Church of England that took this line. But there were lots of missionaries from that same high-church stable working in the Anglican Church in India, and yet they voted overwhelmingly in favour of the union. As one of them put it in the title of a book he wrote¹, they faced 'the challenge of an Indian experience' - not least the experience of Indian commitment to church union, which they knew they could not and probably ought not oppose. If you read only the 25 'highly inflammatory' files of protest in this country against the scheme, you would have no idea of the very different convictions forming among the missionaries on the spot.

ii) There was, of course, often a wide gap in perception between the missionary and the local Christian. Thus, the local Christians in the very successful mission area of Tirunelveli in South India were calling for their own, Indian bishop as early as 1865, convinced that the community both needed and was capable of providing one, but were brushed aside by Bishop Caldwell. Though himself in some ways a very effective missionary, he was deeply affected by the toxins of imperialism and was a thorough paternalist when it came to such aspects of the project. Even, incidentally, when the Church in South India *did* get its first Indian bishop, Azariah, in 1912, SPG in London tried to block it - but that illustrates my earlier point about mission field and metropolis. In the end, a reading of the history from the perspective of the local Christians is much more important than one written from the English end. Sometimes, of course, that is possible even to someone at the English end, and I have sometimes wondered whether my own Irish republican genes weren't a bit of useful equipment for this task. Fortunately, though, it is now increasingly possible to draw upon research by non-Western scholars, and one aspect of the new history is that we have been able to include a series of essays by scholars from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and so on, while in my main text I was able to draw on much new research being done in the non-Western world. This means digging into local archival and other evidence where possible, and also a careful re-reading of our own metropolitan archives with an eye to what Edward Said and others have called their gaps, absences and ellipses, silences and closures.

iii) Another area where this requires to be done is with regard to another what is called 'muted group' - or, at least hitherto to some extent muted - that is, the women in the story. Certainly many of the missionary wives were muted, so it is good to have an essay on them. But in fact, they weren't all that muted, even some of the wives, if you think of the popular publications on 'missionary heroines' that started in the 19th century, and their own important writings on mission issues. I think for example of a wide range of books by women (including missionary wives) on zenana and other mission questions in India from the mid-nineteenth century, and a journal like *The Mustard Seed* produced by SPG's Ladies' Association from 1871. Fortunately, however, mission studies in the modern sense are now also being taken up by women, and issues specifically

¹ E.J.Palmer, *The challenge of an Indian experience*, Oxford, 1933.

of women in mission are beginning to get their due in this field. There are of course, complexities, so that, for example, in South Africa women missionaries made their own nasty contribution to the racial oppression which characterised much mission work. We were able to include two essays specifically on women in mission, but I am aware that there is much more yet to be explored in this regard - even from the 18th century phase.

iv) I drew up a much longer list of areas where there is a space between the metropolitan data and the event of mission. Let me touch on just two more. First, there is the place of the mission story within the wider 'secular' and wider religious history of the mission 'field'. This is a hugely important question and it has been blocked out in many respects. I think, for example, of the way a major UNESCO study of education in Africa, published in the 1960s, managed to write about school education in Africa without mentioning that over 90 per cent of schools had been established and were still largely run by the missions. The only way this fact is now conceded, where it is, is in the area of often only flimsily historical post-colonial studies. A balanced reckoning, in the manner of Margery Perham's authoritative *Colonial Reckoning*, published in 1963, is still awaited. But on the broader issue of missions in secular and religious history, there is a fascinating story to be told. Like other aspects of the story, it is in part a horror story, for western colonialism, and not least Britain's, was by and large a sordid and violent outrage. Telling the story of mission in such a context is to walk a razor's edge. There are redeeming features - and one thing it has been good to do in this forthcoming volume is to tell the story of what I have called the missionary 'atheists of empire' those, that is, who, at great personal cost, opposed colonialism and imperialism. But you won't find all of it (as I indicated in the case of Cripps) in the mission archives. You will find more about another, surely the greatest of these atheists of empire, C F Andrews, in the newspapers of the Indian nationalist movement. SPG became increasingly disenchanted with Andrews, because he was a troublemaker to the British authorities in India, and there is a nice handwritten note added to an official letter by the then Secretary, H H Montgomery saying 'Charlie Andrews said he will come back to England next year. My heart sank.' An illuminating angle on another of these rebel missionaries, Verrier Elwin, a member of an SPG-funded ashram in India, the Christa Seva Sangha, is to be found in the records of the British Criminal Investigation Department in India - the imperial authorities were paranoid about the influence of a highly-educated British missionary among his Indian friends. These are just a few particularly striking reminders that mission is not a discrete 'religious' activity but an integral part of the wider history of the field where it functions.

v) My last point about the metropolis-field gap is not in the book, but is a more recent discovery for me, and the beginning of a fresh enquiry. In the marvellous two-hundred-year history of the Society written by C F Pascoe and published in 1901,³ there is a footnote to the effect that SPG missionaries started work in 1880 among the outcast community in Japan, the Eta, now better known as the Burakumin. Much of the documentation is in our archives in Rhodes House, but more of it in Japan. No one seems to have picked this up hitherto, and I was very thrilled to receive just the other day a paper (still unfortunately only in Japanese) by a young Japanese Anglican researcher beginning to open up this story. The Burakumin are now, of course, coming out of their obscurity, with an exposition of their Christianity - 'A Theology of the Crown of Thorns' - published in 1991, and an entry in the just-published *Dictionary of Third World Theologies* (Maryknoll, 2000), on 'Burakumin Liberation Theology.' This new landmark dictionary is a sort of announcement - that there is an extraordinary flowering of a myriad new theologies taking place among the world's poorest and most marginalised peoples, though it is scarcely known about in the metropolitan academies. The Dictionary entry says that one of the earliest movements to take up the Burakumin cause was (in translation) a Levellers Association, in 1922. It is exciting to know that SPG missionaries were perhaps sowing the seeds of all this over forty years earlier.

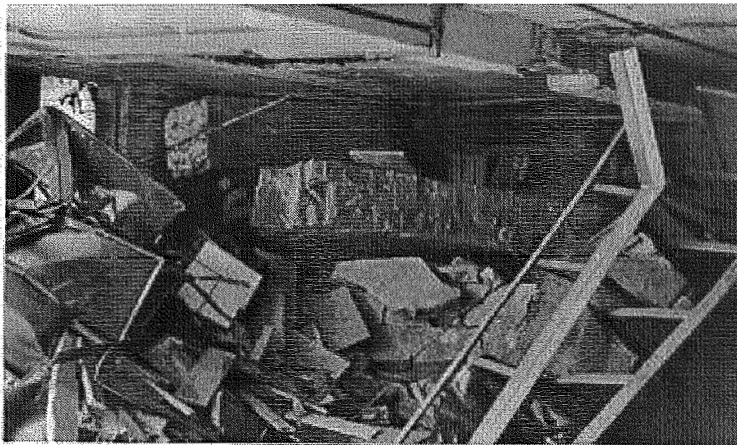
³ C.F.Pascoe, *Two hundred years of the SPG: an historical account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900*, London: SPG, 1901.

I am really saying in this last point that the Society's history has now so taken off that it has become on its better side one more small illustration of St John's observation at the end of his Gospel that 'there are also many other things that Jesus did; and if every one of them were written down, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be written.' The mission for the future, to quote your conference title, will be to try to keep up with this extraordinary story.

**‘A confused jumble of paper... bricks... and rubber flooring’:
cataloguing the archive of the Council for World Mission**

Lesley Price, Assistant Archivist, School of Oriental and African Studies

The 10th May 1941 is extremely significant for the archive of the London Missionary Society. On this night, London experienced the last heavy bombing raid of the 1940-41 blitz, and LMS headquarters at Livingstone House, Carteret Street received a direct hit. The Library at the School of Oriental and African Studies houses both the archive and the library of the old London Missionary Society, which contains a manuscript account of the consequences of the bomb, *Livingstone House in Wartime*, written by Howard Diamond, the Assistant Treasurer of the LMS. He writes, ‘The bomb...came in from the North, striking the wall of the Board Room at first floor level with a glancing blow, breaking through the Board Room floor and penetrating into the basement. There in the records strongroom it exploded...’¹ It will of course come as no surprise to the archivists among you that the papers were being stored in the basement. Diamond goes on to describe the cleanup: ‘Fortunately no fire had



The scene in the basement after the explosion of the bomb

been started. Consequently there was no water to contend with but only a confused jumble of paper, shelving, dirt, bomb fragments, bricks, cement and rubber flooring, all in a chaotic mess’. The bomb had reduced the archive from a scene of order into one of chaos.²

You will be happy to know that the archive of the Council for World Mission now at SOAS is generally in a good state. The papers themselves came to SOAS in 1973 after much work had been done in the intervening years on cleaning, sorting and relabelling the collection. Some material obviously was lost, but in terms of the size of the collection, the damage was relatively limited. Somewhat fortuitously, the consequences of losing the archive had already been appreciated by the LMS, and in February 1941, three months before the bombing, seventeen packing cases of ‘priceless historical documents’ were moved out of London for safekeeping: the dispersal is recorded in the *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society* for 1941.

¹ Howard Diamond, *Livingstone House in Wartime*, p.14 CWM Home Odds, Box 26

² *ibid*

Structure of the London Missionary Society/Council for World Mission Archive

The LMS collection, as it stands today, consists of almost 2,500 boxes of archival material. SOAS holds the papers of the organisation up to 1970. The collection has come to SOAS in four separate deposits; the first covers the papers from 1795 to 1940, and each of the subsequent deposits covers a ten-year period. I ought to say something about the confusing differences in organisational names, and why it is that I am working on the Council for World Mission archive and not that of the London Missionary Society, although I tend to use the two interchangeably. The London Missionary Society, when it was formed in 1795, was called simply 'The Missionary Society'. It was based on a fundamentally non-denominational principle that the Society was 'not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy or any other form of Church order or Government...';³ however, with the establishment of other denominationally-defined missionary societies, it became apparent that the Missionary Society was largely Congregational in denominational affiliation. In 1818 it changed its name to the London Missionary Society, and it stayed that way until 1966. By that time, the LMS had profoundly changed in nature and structure – in light of the missionary goal of the 'self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church', as a result of long-term financial pressures, and as a response to changes in post-war society, which included the increasing independence of indigenous churches and the growth of ecumenism. In 1966, as a response to its changing audience and environment, the London Missionary Society became an umbrella organisation called the Congregational Council for World Mission or CCWM. Part of that change included a merger with the Commonwealth Missionary Society, which itself was formerly called the Colonial Missionary Society and which had been founded in 1836. In 1973, as a response to the formation of the United Reformed Church, the CCWM became the Council for World Mission (Congregational and Reformed). And, finally, the Council for World Mission in its current form stems from more organisational change in 1977. There are many more papers to come to SOAS. Although we hold records up to 1970 we do not have all of the surviving archive from that period, and materials earmarked for transfer include the records that document the full metamorphosis of the London Missionary Society into the CCWM and finally the Council for World Mission.

My work on the CWM collection began in April 1999, when I was appointed Assistant Archivist at SOAS. My post is a permanent one, as it is financed directly by an endowment from the Council for World Mission. Since my appointment I have been able to survey the collection in depth, with a view to undertaking the systematic cataloguing of the archive into an electronic form. The long-term aim is to increase access to the collection and, in particular, to improve remote access. This will be significant, as the collection has a strong international user profile. In terms of current finding aids, an overview guide was created to the collection in 1973 before it was transferred to SOAS. A more detailed guide was created in 1994. Typed handlists exist for portions of the collection, including the missionary journals and early correspondence from particular mission fields. These can only be accessed in the Special Collections Reading Room at SOAS Library, a situation which is inadequate for users and which restricts research on the collection. And only a small proportion of the 2500 archive boxes are covered by these detailed handlists. This means that the researcher is often presented with no more than a box of regional materials for a specific date, and is left to search the contents. So, unlocking the research potential of the collection is a primary focus in cataloguing the archive of the Council for World Mission. The other aim is to make more explicit the links and relationships between the records. To fully describe the structure of a collection, and therefore the relationship between documents, is of course part of the key function of any archivist. And if the archivist is successful then this is the foundation upon which research can be built.

³ Richard Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, London:OUP, 1899, vol.1, p.49.

writer described this conflict in bodily terms and said that it was characterised by the constant watchfulness of eyes, arms, legs and other organs. These components of the body had to be guarded whilst the spirit within showed how a spiritual mind-set could be formed. 'Watch the providence of God as your instructor and guide.'¹⁰ The conflict was natural, because the whole of nature was degraded by sin; it was against nature because the body was a natural artefact when compared with the spirit.

In a letter to the *Evangelical Magazine*, one writer described the state of the dead individual as a 'spirit released from the clay ... A world of sin, dying friends, an afflicted body - all left behind.'¹¹ There was peace and joy, because the temptations of the body or flesh were laid aside. This was a state exclusive to those who had put their trust in Jesus. For these individuals were said to be immediately recognised by 'the robe of righteousness in which (they) are arrayed.'¹² Rescued individuals were not then free floating spirits, but rather the inhabitants of transformed bodies.¹³

The relationship between clothing and the body was elucidated by another commentator: 'As I have put off my clothes and laid myself upon my bed for repose of the night, so will the day of life quickly come to its period, so must the body itself be put off and laid to its rest in a bed of dust.'¹⁴ According to this metaphor, death sees the shedding of the outer garment, leaving intact vital connections between the present and future states. This doctrine of continuity was supported by the contemplation of nature. 'It is so common a thing to see the seed which is sown in the earth, spring up in quite different formwhy should it be more surprising for fleshy bodies to spring again from corruption than for vegetable bodies also?'¹⁵

Nature showed that death would bring about an improvement in the body. '... what an immense difference there is between the trifling little seed which we lay in the earth to rot, and the beautiful flower, or magnificent forest tree which will after a time spring from it. And cannot we, by the help of this comparison, draw some conclusion as to the enormous disproportion which there will be between the body as it is laid in the earth in a state of most dishonourable weakness and corruption, and its splendid condition when we shall be raised in incorruptible power and glory?'¹⁶ The new body was said to come into existence at conversion. From that moment it had to be nurtured with care and there was 'a growing into this image here on earth.'¹⁷ The life of the born-again believer was characterised by continual improvement and growth, akin to that shown by trees.

Evangelicals defined the body as 'equivalent to organisation - unity composed of parts.'¹⁸ They expected that different individuals would be given different bodies in heaven. Drawing again from nature and scripture, they claimed that just as the stars, the sun and the moon had different bodies and there were different bodies in the earth - in 'the collections of water, vast masses of rocks, lofty mountains and mineral bodies,'¹⁹ so an individual's resurrected body would be 'made to suit its place in heaven and its purposes.'²⁰ Thus natural metaphors came to characterise evangelical conceptions of the present body, the future body, the relationship between them and the dichotomy of body and soul.

¹⁰ *Evangelical Magazine* 1831 p.184

¹¹ *Evangelical Magazine* 1832 p.567

¹² *Ibid.* p.567

¹³ *Ibid.* p.567

¹⁴ *Evangelical Magazine*, 1845 p.574

¹⁵ G Boddington, *St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians explained in simple and familiar language* (London, 1839) p.197.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.198

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.199

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.188

¹⁹ John Brown, *The Resurrection of Life, An Exposition of First Corinthians XV*, (London, 1852) p.188

²⁰ *Ibid.* p.188

Bodies in contact

These beliefs surrounding the body that arose from nature were vital in interpreting the death of Williams. The title of martyr could only be bestowed if it could be demonstrated that Williams had controlled his body appropriately. Was he jubilant in death, wishing to shed the diseased and dying body in return for its resurrected counterpart? Was he happy to experience the Erromangans' attack and willing to die because he knew that peace and joy would follow? Positive answers were provided to both these questions.

Portrayals of his death seemed to suggest not only that he died willingly, but also that his demise could have been avoided with more care. Captain Morgan wrote that Williams was adamant to land at Erromanga despite his own hesitation: 'Mr. Williams remarked, he saw a number of native boys playing, and thought it a good sign, ... I said I thought so too, but I would rather see some women also; because when the natives resolve on mischief they send the women out of the way; there were no women on the beach. At last he got up, went forward in the boat and landed.'²¹

Mr Cunningham, the Vice Consul of Sydney and an enthusiastic naturalist, who was with him at the moment of attack, wrote: 'I instantly perceived that it was run or die. I shouted to Mr. Williams to run ... Mr. Williams did not run at the instant I called out to him, till we heard a shell blow, it was an instant, but too much to lose. I again called to Mr. W. to run, and sprang forward for the boat...Mr. Williams instead of making for the boat, ran directly down the beach into the water, and a savage after him.'²² The rationality of those actions was shown to be abnormal, both for a thinking man, and for the normal frame of mind that Williams possessed. Evangelicals could in this light suggest that he was led to his death in a pre-determined way. The spirit that resided within him had decreed that he would die, and guided him to that very death.

The last incomplete entry from Williams' diary was also used to celebrate this story. Two days before his death, he wrote 'This is a memorable day, a day which will be transmitted to posterity, and the record of the events which have this day transpired, will exist after those who have taken an active part in them have retired into the shades of oblivion, and the results of this day will be...'²³ John Campbell, an evangelical, said: 'Did not our departed friend, like the prophets of old, write words of which he saw not the full import?'²⁴ The fact that Williams did not sleep on the night before they reached Erromanga was also made to contribute to this thesis.²⁵ Williams therefore seems not only to have known that he was about to die, but his excitement is said to demonstrate his close communion with the deity.

Others who wrote of Williams pointed to some lines that he wrote on death just before his own demise: 'we live in a dying world; perhaps this may not reach England before your happy spirit will quit its tenement of clay, and unite with that of my departed friend Makea, in praising and loving the Saviour, who redeemed you both by his blood. Ere long some friend will communicate to surviving relatives and connections the information of our death.'²⁶ Not only was this reference to death taken out of his correspondence and given a special importance to denote his foresight, the particular view of death that Williams held was highlighted by this reference. He was worthy of the title of martyr because he understood what occurred at death: it was the moment when his 'happy spirit' quits 'its tenement of clay.' The perishable body would return to dust whilst the everlasting spirit reigned in eternal life.

²¹ Ibid. p.578

²² Ibid. p.580

²³ Ebenezer Prout, *Memoirs* p.569

²⁴ John Campbell, *Martyr of Erromanga* (London, 1842)

²⁵ See Basil Matthews, *Yarns of the South Sea Pioneers for use of workers among boys and girls* (London, 1914) p.32

²⁶ Ebenezer Prout, *Memoirs* p.566

In coming to all of these conclusions evangelicals paid particular attention to the manner in which Williams controlled his body at death. It was presumed that he would have prayed as Jesus did: 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they are doing.'²⁷ Mr. Cunningham made certain to tell evangelicals of the last sight he had of Williams' body:

I saw a handful of arrows struck into his body. ... Before we got half the distance our friend was dead, and about a dozen savages were dragging the body on the beach, beating it in a most furious manner. A crowd of boys surrounded the body as it lay, in the ripple in the beach, and beat it with stones, till the waves dashed red on the shore with the blood of their victim.... We hastened on board and beat up to the fatal spot; we could still perceive the white body lying on the beach, and the natives had all left it, which gave us hope of being able to rescue the remains of our friend from the ferocious cannibals. ...Our hopes were soon destroyed, for a crowd of natives ran down the beach and carried away the body, when we were within a mile of the spot.²⁸

When the news of Williams' death reached Sydney, a ship of war was despatched to the scene. The local people 'confessed they had devoured the bodies, of which nothing remained but some bones. These, including the skulls, were, after hours of delay, brought to the boat.'²⁹ These tales and relics of the old body were the only connections that evangelicals could have with Williams. They marked his absence and his triumph in heaven and allowed the closest access to the holy moment of death: when the body of this world was exchanged for another. One of the clubs used to kill Williams was said to have been displayed at the London Missionary Society's Museum.

It may be assumed that these evangelical conceptions of body and soul were distinct from representations of the body adopted by other travellers. In fact evangelicals also interpreted Williams' death according to 'humanitarian' perspectives of bodily violence. Jane Samson has outlined this thesis for 'humanitarianism.' She argues that 'just as Pacific islanders manifested a wide range of responses to European contact, so Britons spoke of the Pacific with many different voices.'³⁰ One of these voices belongs to the group she calls 'humanitarians', who believed that atrocities in the Pacific were the result of earlier crimes committed by Europeans on those shores, rather than the determined actions of local people. 'Sometimes humanitarian observers actually fabricated evidence in order to sustain the retaliation theory.' The body was central to this narrative: revenge was taken for harm done to bodies in the past, by inflicting harm on new bodies that came across the beach.

Narratives of retaliation also had a bearing on evangelical interpretations of the death of Williams. One missionary reported that 'shortly before this time foreigners from another ship, had visited part of the coast, had stolen a chief's daughter, and committed other grave offences of a like nature.'³¹ Interestingly, the exact provenance of this earlier atrocity is unclear, supporting the view that these narratives were constructed in line with the stories that other travellers told. Some accounts suggest that Williams' death was caused by a sandalwooder who had arrived before him. But Charles Spurgeon claimed that it resulted from the 'evil doings of a trader who had gone bad on the island, and who was also the son of a missionary.'³² According to retaliation theory, the blame for the violence did not rest with the Erromangans but with the British.

²⁷ See *Evangelical Magazine*, 1840 p.298 and *Evangelical Magazine*, 1843 p.117

²⁸ Ebenezer Prout, *Memoirs* p.581. For an account of the captain of the *Camden*, Robert Clark Morgan, who was with Williams when he died in Erromanga see:

<http://www.geocities.com/Eureka/Concourse/1364/>

²⁹ Ebenezer Prout, *Memoirs* p.586

³⁰ Jane Samson: *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific islands* (University of Hawaii, 1998) p. 7

³¹ H.A. Robertson: *Erromanga: The Martyr Isle* (London, 1902) p.56

³² Charles Spurgeon, *Manasseh, A Sermon delivered on Sabbath Morning*, November 30 1856 at the Music Hall, Royal Surrey Gardens. See <http://www.spurgeon.org/sermons/0105.htm>

Erromangans therefore performed their revenge automatically on the bodies of their visitors for bodily harm done on previous occasions. This was of course invalid. Even evangelical records tell us that when Williams and his party landed, 'At first (the natives) had tried to get the strangers to leave the spot, in their ordinary way, that is, by waving the hand. Again and again this was repeated.'³³ An annual feast was underway a few hundred yards from the point of landing. The chief gave the order that Williams and his party would not be molested if they did not head in the direction of the feast. A line was designated by a club in the sand. If they crossed that line, they would be attacked. Erromangans did not therefore act with mechanical rationality in slaying Williams: they imposed boundaries and were flexible in their thinking. Yet evangelicals could ignore these facts and interpret Williams' death in terms of narratives of 'humanitarianism.' Williams' body had been harmed because others before him had harmed Erromangan bodies.

This story shows how evangelical representations of the death of Williams were conflated. His death had come about by the leading of the spirit within his body and by the Erromangan juxtaposition of his body with the bodies of previous invaders. There is no room for a monolithic picture here: evangelical conceptions were not separate either from 'humanitarian' conceptions of the body or from Erromangan representations of the body. This last point has a direct bearing on the debate between Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere over the deification of Europeans.³⁴ There were isolated reports that Williams himself was thought to be a god. A later missionary tells us that the cry that arose from Williams' crew, as he was struck, was 'so poignant that it filled even the murderers with a momentary awe. They exclaimed in startled accents: 'What have we done: Have we killed their God?''³⁵

The Sahlins-Obeyesekere exchange may be read as a debate over how the 'body' is interpreted in contact. Obeyesekere contends that Hawaiians must have demonstrated pragmatic rationality; they should have realised that a malnourished European body could not be a manifestation of their god Lono. Sahlins retorts that Hawaiian conceptions of Cook did not follow Western forms of rationality. Hawaiians subscribed to a spirit-filled world whilst the British did not. Both Sahlins and Obeyesekere seem to detect a dichotomy between 'our' rationality and 'their' rationality. This dichotomy fails for evangelicals: they subscribed to a spirit-filled world too and this was central to their interpretation of the moment of death.

Bodies can have myriad meanings attached to them at the same time: and whilst different individuals and groups might differ in the specific meanings that they attach to such an object there must always be room to trace shared perceptions.

Contemplating print

In 1841 a print titled *The Massacre of the lamented missionary Rev. John Williams and Mr. Harris* appeared in London and came into wide circulation (see fig.1 overleaf). It depicted the scene of Williams' death in graphic detail, with about a hundred Erromangan men charging towards the ocean, armed with spears, clubs, slings, bows and arrows, and with countenances

³³ H.A. Robertson: Erromanga p.57

³⁴ See Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, (Princeton, 1992) and Marshall Sahlins, *How 'Natives' Think: About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago, 1995)

³⁵ A.K.Langbridge: *Won By Blood, The Story of Erromanga, The Martyr Isle* (London, 1922) p.31



Fig 1. The massacre of the lamented missionary John Williams and Mr Harris, 1841
Baxter Print, SOAS Picture Archive

expressive of rage. In the middle distance, Mr. Harris was depicted fallen on his back and surrounded by bare-chested men. In the foreground Williams was shown falling into the print, with his gaze turned to heaven and his left hand raised in the air. Over him stood three Erromangans armed with clubs and a spear. The picture also displayed a crowd of men rushing towards the boat. Two of the seamen aboard were shown pulling the boat lustily away, whilst Mr. Cunningham and Captain Morgan stood erect in the stern.

This image was printed by George Baxter, who had by this time established a reputation and won a patent for colour printing.³⁶ Baxter used wood blocks in conjunction with steel plates to produce his pictures and oil instead of watercolour or ink.³⁷ Subscribers were informed of Baxter's expertise on the left bottom margin of the plate depicting Williams' death. The print originally appeared in a book, together with another which showed Williams' favourable reception at Tanna, close to Erromanga, shortly before his death. The death scene was modelled on a watercolour drawn by J. Leary, who had been on the boat to which Williams attempted to return before he died. A description of the tragedy by Leary and an account of the islands when visited by Capt. Cook and Capt. Dillon formed the remainder of the book. It was sold to subscribers for £2 2s; to non-subscribers for £2 12s 6d; or in gold frames with description around the plates for £4 2s.³⁸ The distributor and printer was John Snow, the publisher of the London Missionary Society.

In his illustrations, it was said that Baxter 'drew from nature'³⁹ having published many natural-historical images. His first colour image was of butterflies, in 1829. Robert Mudies' books were illustrated by him.⁴⁰ These included: *The Feathered Tribes of the British Islands*

³⁶ For the George Baxter Society, with much information on his life and work see: <http://www.rpsfamily.demon.co.uk/>

³⁷ See A Ball and M Martin, *The Price Guide to Baxter Prints* (Suffolk, 1974) p.2. Also for the patent: James Cordingley: *Early Colour Printing and George Baxter* (London, 1950) p.7

³⁸ For prices and description of these prints see: C.T. Courtney Lewis, *George Baxter, his life and work*, (London, 1972) p.100ff

³⁹ C.T. Courtney Lewis, *George Baxter, the picture painter* (London, 1924) p.68

⁴⁰ For more on this, *ibid.*

(London, 1834) and *Man his Physical Structure and Adaptations* (London, 1838). His illustration of clouds in J.M. Moffat's *The Book of Science* (London, 1835) was praised in the preface by the author: 'The artist, Mr. Baxter, has thus been enabled to furnish representations of the forms and appearances of the clouds which for accuracy and effect may compete with drawings in water colours.'⁴¹ This attention to natural detail is also evident in Baxter's portrayal of the death of Williams. The original watercolour drawn by Leary survives and has been annotated by Baxter, with such phrases as 'hilly'; 'deep valley'; 'the mountain not so steep'; 'bushes and men running through' 'these men should be in deeper water' and 'natives - dark complexion.' (fig.2)



Fig. 2 Massacre of John Williams, water-colour

These changes were necessary to make the image consonant with evangelical views of nature and death. For example beneath the fallen Williams are the words 'Williams should be more heavenly.' But it is not only Williams' posture that makes the image amenable to evangelical taste. Changes to the environment make the moment when the 'body' is transformed laden with meaning. For example, evangelicals interpreted the mountains, the seas and the rocks in specific ways. The exclusion or addition of these was significant. Bernard Smith in discussing this image has focused exclusively on Williams' pose and its relationship to prints of Cook's death. This ignores the link between death and the contemplation of nature.⁴²

Leary's watercolour had four well-defined peaks in the background quite close to the shore: but Baxter's final image had just one mountain which faded into the background. Two years after this print appeared, the *Evangelical Magazine* carried a plate depicting Dillon's Bay, Erromanga where Williams had been slain. A description of the landscape followed on the next page and presented the argument that nature had contributed to the martyrdom. It was 'possible, indeed that the wild barrenness of its rocks and hills have helped, with other more potent causes to nurture in their bosom those habits which seem to defy at present, the approach of the Gospel's genial influence.' The spot where Williams was slain was said to have 'a bold and very rugged coast' whilst the bay was said to show 'stern uncultivatedness.'⁴³ Leary's watercolour did not present this argument: the mountains in his watercolour were too majestic to infer how depraved nature was on the island of Erromanga. This may well have been why Baxter modified their appearance.

It was noted earlier that evangelicals compared their own bodies to the bodies of nature. Therefore the form and height of the mountains had important implications, when they were

⁴¹ Ibid. p.61

⁴² See Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (Yale, 1985) p.321

⁴³ *Evangelical Magazine*, 1843, p.414

viewed anthropocentrically. For example scripture held that mountains would be levelled on the last day whilst valleys would be raised. The fading of the peak on the shore of Erromanga could thus symbolise the passing of earthly splendour. The natural order of this world would be reversed in heaven. Here Williams would be killed whilst in heaven he would be crowned a 'martyr.' In an article on mountains in the *Evangelical Magazine*, which Williams may well have read before his departure, the writer noted that 'Time is every hour committing gradual, but constant depredations on those surprising monuments of almighty power ... how should it teach us to set our affections on the things above.'⁴⁴ For the evangelical, every feature of nature had been put in its place by the deity: the way these appeared showed how evangelicals could control their own bodies.

References to the relationship between the sea and death were even more widespread. The sea was at the centre of a popular nineteenth century funeral hymn: 'Abide with me.'⁴⁵ Symbolism usually represented the dying as passing over a great sea to the eternal shore beyond. For example, John Williams retold the story of the death of a Pacific islander: 'I observed, "We shall meet again." At that I saw his countenance brighten. To a pious member of the church who visited him, he said, "The ship is now ready; I am about to sail, the sails are unfurling, I am going." "Whither are you going, my friend?" said the pious man. "I am going to Jesus; he is my Saviour. I shall soon be on board." "And do you think to land where Jesus dwells?" he was again asked. "Yes," said he, "to whom else can I look?"'

The metaphor of the sea was particularly appropriate in interpreting death: it emphasised discontinuity. Yet the point of departure and the destination were physical places and therefore the Pacific islander would keep his identity on arrival. The idea of a journey could also be linked to the course of life. In a tract titled *Navigation Spiritualized*, reissued in 1822, John Flavel wrote: 'The saints are now fluctuating upon a troublesome and tempestuous sea ... Many a hard storm they ride out, and many straits and troubles they here encounter with, but at last they arrive at their desired and long expected haven.'⁴⁶ Because Williams died at the end of his travels on the agitated sea, this print could well symbolise the end of the agonised conflict between body and soul and the coming peace.

The water around the spot at which Williams had fallen was deeper in Baxter's print than in Leary's original watercolour, but also more disturbed. This fury could in turn be linked to the souls of the Erromangans. A poet wrote of the natural features of the island where Williams had fallen:

But long the powers of darkness had held dominion there;
And rites of horrid cruelty polluted all the air;
And the cliffs that frown above them, and the waves that round them roll,
Spoke of wrath, and not of mercy, to the terror stricken soul.⁴⁷

In an early book titled *Contemplations of the Ocean, the harvest, sickness and the last judgement* (London, 1802), Richard Pearsall wrote that 'The wicked are like yon troubled sea, vexations to themselves and one another; they many times blaspheme God... Peace is a stranger to their breasts, for the way of Peace they have not known.'⁴⁸

The sea was also an important reminder for the evangelical of the attributes of God. The infinity of the oceans was said to be indicative of the infinity of God's love. Pearsall wrote: 'as is observable of some rivers entering the sea, may we in our approach to Eternity, widen in our views of Faith and usefulness to others, deepen in Humility, and if it be the will of our

⁴⁴ *Evangelical Magazine*, 1806 p.457. Mention of the humbling of mountains and the rising of valleys occurs frequently in the scriptures.

⁴⁵ H.F. Lyte (1793-1847): *Abide with me*. For a good analysis of this hymn see J.R. Watson: *The Victorian Hymn* (Durham, 1981)

⁴⁶ John Flavel, *Navigation Spiritualized*, Abridged and reissued by C. Bradley (London, 1822) p.228

⁴⁷ *Evangelical Magazine*, 1844 p.405

⁴⁸ Richard Pearsall, *Contemplations of the Ocean* (London, 1802) p.58

Heavenly Father, steal into the Bosom of Blessedness, as streams gliding into the ocean without any obstruction.'⁴⁹

Evangelicals who were shocked by the death of Williams, may have been comforted by reflecting on how the mysterious workings of the ocean were like the unsearchable ways of God. 'The ocean is so deep that no eye can discover what lies in the bottom thereof. What lies there, lies obscure from all eyes but the eyes of God. Thus are the judgements of God and the ways of his providence profound and unsearchable.'⁵⁰

The communication of all of these points was central to Baxter's style. Reviews of his work in the *Evangelical Magazine* praised his ability: 'We regard it an honour to our country to have given birth to an artist capable of producing such a print in colours as the one before us.'⁵¹ Another review held that 'while their qualities as pictures will awaken admiration - to the friends of liberty, justice and religion - the moral associations which surround them will impart an additional charm.'⁵² The connections between the sea, the mountains and death were moral no doubt: for they spoke of the brevity of life, the urgency of evangelism and the reversal of earthly hierarchies. Baxter's new technique of colour printing allowed these connections to appear more forceful. The image of the death of Williams, for example, was said to be life-like. A reviewer held that it 'is almost too realizing to admit of calm and placid examination.'⁵³

Baxter's relationship to the London Missionary Society was itself deeply moral. He contributed 'large portions of the profits'⁵⁴ from his sales to the society. In the case of the print of Williams' death, the public were informed that Baxter had already gifted fifty guineas to the fund set up to support the Williams family, whilst all further profits would also be contributed.⁵⁵ In subscribing to the print, readers were therefore not only participating in the solemn event and coming to moral reflections, but contributing to the welfare of those Williams 'left behind.' The politics of ownership thus also played their role in bringing about Baxter's extraordinary success. Later, an unpleasant dispute arose between Baxter and Snow, the publisher of the London Missionary Society. It is unclear what the cause of this dispute was, but it has been suggested that it may have had much to do with this very success.⁵⁶

The typologies of martyrdom

John Campbell, an evangelical, wrote on Williams' death: 'he died in a proper manner, at the proper place, and at the proper time.'⁵⁷ And again of Cook's demise: 'Then there is Cook...the idea of such a man's decease amid the soft obscurities of British retirement, perhaps some half-century posterior to the achievement of his matchless triumphs - his widow died but the other day - is not to be tolerated...Behold the parallel! Who ought to wish it otherwise, either in respect of the mariner or the missionary?'⁵⁸ The link between Cook and Williams is not coincidental: missionary writers often used Cook to speak of Williams' greatness and fame.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.18

⁵⁰ Flavel, *Navigation Spiritualized*, p.222

⁵¹ This is from the review of Baxter's print of the coronation, *Evangelical Magazine* 1842, p.699

⁵² This is from the review of the portraits of Queen Pomare and George Pritchard, *Evangelical Magazine*, 1845 p.389

⁵³ *Evangelical Magazine*, 1841, p.192

⁵⁴ See *Evangelical Magazine* 1845, p.533

⁵⁵ See *The Patriot*, April 19 1841 and May 17 1841

⁵⁶ See C.T. Courtney Lewis, *George Baxter, the Picture Painter* p.79

⁵⁷ John Campbell: *The Martyr of Erromanga or the Philosophy of Missions illustrated from the labours, death, and character of the late Rev. John Williams* (London, 1842) p.228

⁵⁸ John Campbell: *Martyr of Erromanga* p.226-7

Cook's *Voyages* were widely read amongst the supporters of the London Missionary Society and were cited amongst the reasons for its choice of the South Pacific as one of the first stations for missionary labour. Richard Lovett, the early historian of the London Missionary Society, wrote of the direct influence that Cook had on one of its founders, Rev. Thomas Haweis:

These pictures of lovely scenes, of stirring adventure, of human degradation and need had also powerfully touched the imagination of Dr. Haweis. A mission to these dusky islanders, so gentle, so favoured by nature, so likely to be so easily influenced for good, as he pictured them in his mind, had become the cherished purpose of his heart.⁵⁹

In the children's book, *John Williams, The Ship-Builder* (Oxford, 1915) the narrative began with Cook's landing at Erromanga and ended with Williams' death at the same location. Despite this association there were important distinctions between the two navigators. Cook is shown standing over the Erromangan with weapon in hand. Williams' landing, however, emphasised his willing death, he did not resist the attack. Here, it is the assailant who stands above, swinging a club. Cook hadn't left his boat. But Williams' companions were shown far in the background: his death was therefore detached and divine. For evangelicals, these differences became clear only when Williams' death was interpreted in the context of Cook's landing.

The complexity of this typological relationship has been lost by Gananath Obeyesekere who claims that Cook was unpopular with evangelicals. One of the evangelical sources he cites reads: 'He allowed the worshipping like Herod did. He did not put a stop to it. Perhaps one can assume that because of the error on the part of Lono-Cook - and because he caused venereal disease to spread there, God struck him dead.'⁶⁰ Obeyesekere goes on to argue that, though Hawaiians have been portrayed as 'thinking mythically, their mythic thought is considerably more flexible than the inflexible discourse of the missions which can tolerate almost no internal debate.'⁶¹ This assertion is misguided. Evangelical criticism of Cook went hand in hand with positive appraisal: their typological representations were flexible.

One of the central evangelical typologies was that between Adam and Jesus.⁶² The comparison of these two figures may seem strange given that one performed a sin, by eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, whilst the other performed a supremely good deed by dying on the cross. Yet the typological comparison worked for the evangelical precisely because of this complexity. Jesus was very similar to Adam and yet his uniqueness was established in the subtle difference. By one act Adam affected the whole course of history just like Jesus. In this act Adam was disobeying God whilst Jesus was obedient unto death. Judgement and condemnation followed Adam, whilst grace and justification followed Jesus. Similarly, with Cook and Williams: the two are very similar. Yet the vital difference is that one died for worldly exploration whilst the other died in the expansion of the heavenly kingdom.

Typology was central to the practice of controlling bodies. In his death, Williams was not just becoming another Cook, but more importantly another martyr also. Williams could thus be located in a long line that extended back to St. Stephen and Jesus. It was the nineteenth century evangelical's cherished desire for his life to reflect the life of his redeemer and for his own death to be like Jesus' death on the cross. Images of the passion of Jesus and his agonised prayer in the garden of Gethsemane were well known. Jesus could control his body at the crucial moment. He prayed throughout the crucifixion using words such as 'Father,

⁵⁹ Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* (1899) p.117

⁶⁰ Gananath Obeyesekere, *Apotheosis* p.161

⁶¹ Gananath Obeyesekere, *Apotheosis* p.168

⁶² For a discussion of evangelical typology see: *Evangelical Magazine*, 1842, p.167

forgive them; for they know not what they do,'⁶³ and 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.'⁶⁴ He told the women on the way to the cross: 'Daughters of Jerusalem weep not for me.'⁶⁵ His clothes, like Williams', were taken away, and a lot was cast for them. He was betrayed and crucified with similar instruments to those used in the death of Williams: clubs, spears, and scourges. Jesus died willingly, praying that his father's will would be done and not his own. It was because of these signs that it was possible for him to be identified as the son of God. Thus the centurion was said to have commented, 'Truly this was the son of God.'⁶⁶

Central to Jesus' and to Williams' death and to the deaths of all the other martyrs was the willing dismissal of the earthly body. John Campbell wrote, 'John Williams will be venerated as one of the most illustrious Fathers of the New Era - as one of the royal line of Stephen and Antipas, and other martyrs of our God.'⁶⁷ Cook had shed his body too: but for the worldly kingdom. Evangelicals were thus to emulate Cook in being sacrificial with their bodies, but their motivation was expected to be distinct.

Trade in tragedy

Just as Williams' death came to be linked to a line of other deaths, missionary enthusiasts hoped that it would serve as an inspiration to others who were considering missionary service. With this motivation in mind, dozens of books on John Williams came off the press. These ranged from philosophical treatises to boys' adventure books. Williams' own *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands with Remarks upon the Natural History of the Islands, Origin, Languages, Traditions and Usages of the Inhabitants* was the first among many. This was first printed in 1837, but a 'People's Edition' came out in April 1840. The 1840 edition sold twenty-four thousand copies; the book had sold six thousand copies before Williams' death.⁶⁸ Soon other works followed. John Campbell's *Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, considered in their mutual relations* appeared in 1840 and celebrated Williams' life and his achievements in navigation and shipbuilding. Campbell published again under the title *The Martyr of Erromanga or the Philosophy of Missions illustrated from the labours, death, and character of the late Rev. John Williams*. This appeared in 1842 and went through two further editions. He also reissued the farewell proceedings for John Williams together with an account of his death and six thousand copies of this were published. Within the decade pamphlets celebrating Williams' life also appeared such as *John Williams, the Missionary* which appeared in 1849 and sold for sixpence.

Later in the century, John Williams' story was told again and again. *John Williams, the Martyr Missionary of Polynesia* was presented at Sunday Schools for attendance. The inside cover of this work displayed a full list of missionary biographies that were selling at 1s 6d each. Another compared John Williams with David Livingstone and was sold under the title *Heroes who have Won their Crown*. A list of later titles on the missionary include:

- Basil Matthews: *Yarns of the South Sea Pioneers for the use of workers among boys* (London, 1914)
- Basil Matthews: *John Williams, The Ship Builder* (Oxford University Press, 1915)
- Basil Matthews: *The Ships of Peace* (London, 1919)
- Ernest Hayes: *Williamu. Mariner-missionary, the story of John Williams* (London, 1922)
- Albert Lee: *John Williams, the New Missionary Series* (London, 1922)

⁶³ *The King James Version of the Holy Bible* Luke 23:34

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Matthew 27:46

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Luke 23:28

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Matthew 27:54

⁶⁷ John Campbell: *Martyr of Erromanga* p.243

⁶⁸ *The Eclectic Review*, August 1843 p.182. For the reception of Williams' *A Narrative* see: G Daws: *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of self-discovery in the South Seas* (New York, 1980) p.60

- Norman Davidson: *John Williams of the South Seas* (London, 1925)
- Basil Matthews: *If only I had a ship: John Williams of the South Seas* (London, 1937)
- Mary Entwistle: *Islands Everywhere, Stories for 7-9 year olds edited* (London, 1939)
- Anon: Practical Books: *South Seas, a handbook for leaders* (London, 1944)
- Anon: *Our John Williams 1844-1944* (London, 1944)
- J. Reason (ed.) *The Ship Book 1844-1944, Stories, Games, Models etc* (Livingstone Press, 1944)
- Robert and Beryl Cohens: *John Williams, A Sunday School Celebration* (London, 1949)
- Phyllis Matthewman: *John Williams* (London, 1954)

Underlying the myriad retellings of this event was a desire to nurture a new generation of manly Christian heroes of the calibre of John Williams. The children's books made statements such as: 'Children like to imitate and they like to experiment. Here is an opportunity for both.'⁶⁹ Another claimed: 'Its aim is to reach boys of the scout-type at the age when the new emotions of space-hunger, hero-worship and sex instinct are bringing them into a new world, and the age at which the majority of those who take any decisive line at all come to their decision.'⁷⁰ For the evangelical and the Christian, mechanical ingenuity was a manly trait. Williams by building ships from scratch had demonstrated that very virtue. Male children were expected to be interested in building ships and were provided with the necessary cutouts.⁷¹ They were also asked to contribute to the cost of a line of ships that were designed to send missionaries to the South Pacific: these were named the John Williams ships. By the launch of *John Williams VI*, the money was said to come from 'children all over the empire.' This, the last ship in the line, was named by Princess Margaret.⁷²

The desire to raise a generation of missionaries of the calibre of John Williams was not restricted to Britain. The island of Erromanga and others of the region also came to serve as lasting monuments to Williams' memory. Churches were built on several islands in his memory.⁷³ Monuments were erected very soon after the event in Rarotonga. A plate depicting them appeared in Ebenezer Prout's *Memoirs of John Williams*. These were made from the materials found in the islands. Earlier, the coral, the rock and the waves had participated in the act of murder. Now they took on themselves the identity of the martyr. One of the missionaries wrote: 'a monument was erected to his memory at Arorangi, built of stone, and plastered with lime, having a suitable inscription both in English and in Rarotongan. Another has been erected at this place, (Avarua) sawn out of solid coral, a drawing of which I send you.'⁷⁴

It was crucial that the very objects that caused Williams' martyrdom were converted, and used to commemorate him, by becoming like Williams. Particular attention was paid by later missionaries to the family of Williams' murderer. When the Gordons arrived in Erromanga in 1857 they wrote: 'Kowiowi - the murderer of Williams - was killed fighting three months before our arrival. We visited his widow, a dear little woman, living in their war cave. Kowiowi had two sons, the younger son joined our mission, the other son used to come sulkily about, but remained a heathen in our day.'⁷⁵ This 'other son' also embraced the gospel and took part in the laying of a stone, for the centennial memorial of the death of Williams. The family of the 'savage' was thus 'redeemed.' We are told: 'At the jubilee of Williams' martyrdom, a monument was erected to his memory, the foundation stone being laid by the

⁶⁹ Anon: *Practical Books: South Seas, A handbook for leaders* (London, 1944) p.37

⁷⁰ Basil Matthew: *Yarns* p.2

⁷¹ See J. Reason (ed.) *The Ship Book 1844-1944: Stories, Games, Poems, Models etc.* (London, 1944) p.72

⁷² For an account of the John Williams ships see *The Today Magazine* Vol.18.

⁷³ See for example, Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies, South Seas Picture Box 1/E

⁷⁴ Ebenezer Prout *Memoirs* p.592

⁷⁵ A.K. Langridge *Won by blood* p.17

son of the man who murdered him, and the son of the same savage was by that time a native missionary in another island.⁷⁶ In this way the very natural environment that had caused the martyrdom was sanctified.

Conclusions

The missionary society did not have to wait long for individuals to arise who seemed exact replicas of Williams. The Gordons, who arrived as missionaries in Erromanga in 1857, were martyred, as was their successor, George Gordon's brother. The image of the first Gordon's death demonstrates many conventions used in depicting the death of Williams. The Erromangan is barely clothed in contrast to the fully clothed George Gordon and there is a drama of light and darkness between the skin-colours of the two. Gordon reaches his hands to the heavens, as Williams did before him. The lush greenery in the background reminds us of biblical metaphors of renewal that surround evangelical understandings of death. Just as Williams' death was remembered in relation to others that had occurred before his own, it now came to signify how other sheddings of bodies were to be told.

A study of the control of the body and the relationship between various bodies affords us the opportunity to come to the many meanings attached to the moment of meeting. It may be argued that bodies were the primary objects of interest that crossed Greg Denning's beaches.⁷⁷ Bodies in cultural contact were the sites of contested meanings and the arenas for the demonstration of control. The British by controlling their bodies and clothing them with particular garments wished to convey certain lessons to the islanders. Yet there were no unitary conceptions of the body by them or us. Individuals and groups brought different conceptions of the body to the site of meeting. British evangelicals, for example, looked for signs of Williams' godliness in the manner of his death in order to demonstrate that he was worthy of the title of 'martyr.' Had he responded to the spirit within him? Had he died joyfully and willingly? But these conceptions were not isolated from conceptions of the body adopted by those that Jane Samson labels 'humanitarians'.

The discussion of George Baxter's print serves as a case of how evangelicals displayed the transformation of the body. When Baxter modified the image to make the mountain less steep and the waters deeper, he had specific moral associations in mind. These included the connections between the passing earthly splendour and the changing shape of the natural landscape and the movements of the sea and the completion of the course of the saints. The print is of course just one example from the mass of material that was designed with a view to raising a new generation of John Williamses. Just as Williams' death came to epitomise the hopes of young boys, the interpretation of that death located it alongside others such as the crucifixion of Jesus and the death of Cook. This last juxtaposition is characteristic of evangelical typology: Cook died for the extension of the worldly kingdom and not for its heavenly counterpart.

Conceptions of death were linked directly to the contemplation of nature. The seed and the tree were used to reassure evangelicals of the certainty of the resurrected body. The body being a natural object lent itself to such comparison, as did the belief that the spirit was at war with nature. Nature showed that there would be continuity between the present body and the one to come: whilst the stages of nature were easily compared with the stages of life. The body should thus be seen as a natural artefact in this period: but it must also be seen in terms of its opposite, the soul. It is only if both these points are taken seriously that we may come to an understanding of the familiar nineteenth century obsession with death.

⁷⁶ Basil Matthews: *Yarns* p.36

⁷⁷ Greg Denning: *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology* (Carlton South 1995)

THE MUNDUS PROJECT

to facilitate and improve access to missionary collections in the UK

Rosemary Seton, Head of Archives Division, SOAS

In his inaugural lecture as Professor of History in the University of London in 1991, Professor Andrew Porter spoke of approximately 10,000 Britons engaged, by 1899, in the enterprise to take Christianity to the unevangelised peoples of Asia, Africa and other parts of the globe. *The Directory of Foreign Missions*, published by the International Missionary Council in 1933, lists well over 120 UK organisations actively engaged in mission work. Nor was the nature of work entirely evangelical. Many missions were involved in educational and medical work as the names of some of the following societies indicate. There were the leading, largely denominational, societies such as the Baptist Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society and the (United) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Amongst other more specialised missions were the China Inland Mission, the Mission to Lepers, the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, the Japan Evangelistic Band, the Nurses Missionary League, and the Regions Beyond Missionary Union. At home there were various supporting organisations like the Church Aid or Auxiliary organizations and missionary training institutes, and activities such as ladies' sewing circles, missionary collections, bazaars and exhibitions. When one takes into account the many missionaries being sent out by societies from Canada, the United States, Australia, Scandinavia, France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland and many other countries one begins to realise what a massive undertaking it all was.

There were, of course, earlier missionaries, like the great Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who introduced clocks and astronomical instruments to the Chinese along with Christianity in the 16th century and much, much earlier the Nestorian Christians whose inscribed monuments, dating to the 8th century, are still to be seen in China. But these earlier missionaries have not left the vast quantities of material generated by the missionary movements of the modern era though - in passing - I should point out that SOAS Library, for one, has rubbings of a Christian monument in China dating back as early as 781 AD, as well as many published works relating to the work of the early Jesuit and other Catholic missions.

The more modern materials I am alluding to here, date from the 18th to the 20th centuries and include - minutes, correspondence, published and unpublished reports of mission work, personal papers, photographs, lantern slides, and artefacts, such as idols used in pagan religions, or objects used in everyday life. Then there are the thousand of published works - biographies, histories, memoirs and the many missionary magazines which kept home supporters informed about the progress of the work in the various mission fields. There are the many grammars and dictionaries produced by missionaries as well as bible translations and tracts, most of these published by missionary presses.

Location of missionary collections

Until the 1970s, British missionary society archives and libraries were still to be found in the offices of their parent organisations, but since that time the majority have found their way to university and other repositories in various parts of the country. Many personal collections have also been deposited in libraries and record offices. Missionary training institutes have accumulated both printed and unpublished materials. Artefacts from former missionary society museum collections are to be found in a number of museums, together with associated documentation. Vast numbers of photographs, including glass plate negatives and lantern slides, taken of or by missionaries, exist in both private and public collections.

(A word here about Catholic Missionary Society archives, about which the position is much less clear. The current *UK Christian Handbook* lists more than 100 Catholic missionary

Cataloguing of the CWM archive began in December 1999, and the project is expected to span at least the next 7 years. Series for which electronic catalogue records will be created include approximately 740 journals, 10,000 reports, 2,000 subject files, and 100,000 items of correspondence and collections of 'odds' and 'personal' papers. Work has begun on Journals, which are being catalogued to file level, with time spent on the creation of detailed descriptions of content. Personal, corporate and place names have been 'tagged' as index points (where they form a search-string that would not be retrieved through a free-text search). Extensive subject indexing has not been undertaken at file level, as it was felt that specific terms of interest would be retrieved by a free-text search. Subject indexing is considered to be more appropriate at series level in this case.

The current RSLP project to catalogue photographic material from the missionary collections at SOAS presents a different case for subject indexing. Photographs are arranged by geographical region or subject area, and catalogued to file level. The need for greater contextual detail within the description to facilitate effective retrieval of images around certain themes means that greater attention has been devoted to subject indexing at a lower level of description. Through experience of research requests for visual material held in the missionary archives, themes include subjects such as medicine, medical staff and hospitals; women; education; food and drink; clothes, jewellery and ornamentation; festivals and rituals; weather patterns; languages and linguistic work, etc. As the project progresses, it has become clear that subject terms fall into two categories – terms that are specific to missionaries, and broader social and anthropological terms concerned with the relationship between the missionaries and the cultures with which they came into contact. The project is very much work in progress, and is generating a great deal of discussion as to how indexing should be tackled. It is apparent that to achieve effective subject indexing, we need to look closely at research patterns and the needs of the user. The project archivist** is also currently compiling a list of general subject terms used in cataloguing missionary archives. (Due to lack of space this list has not been included but is available from SOAS on request)

Subject indexing of missionary collections

As discussed, subject indexing for missionary collections falls into two broad categories – specific mission-related terms and broader social and anthropological terms. From initial experience, it seems that while the UNESCO Thesaurus covers broader terms well, it is less satisfactory for missionary terms. This raises immediate problems, which would be best solved by co-operative development work between repositories that hold this type of collection (e.g. SOAS, University of Birmingham, Rhodes House Library, etc.), and repositories holding religious archives more widely.

The initial difficulty is that 'missionaries' is not a preferred term in UNESCO. The preferred term is 'clergy', which incorrectly assumes that all missionaries are ordained and overlooks the fact that a large number of lay missionaries were employed by the various societies:

3.20 Religion (Micro-thesaurus)

Religious groups

NT1 Clergy

UF Missionaries

Initial efforts by the archival community to develop UNESCO*** have allowed for the creation of new terms within the hierarchies of existing micro-thesauri, thus preserving the overall structure of the Thesaurus. In this context, it has been suggested that UNESCO

** Gavin McGuffie.

*** See <http://www.pro.gov/archives/Unesco/Help.htm> to access the PRO database of new terms added to the UNESCO Thesaurus in the course of cataloguing PROCAT.

orders and societies engaged in mission work. However, their archives are housed for the most part in the mother houses on the Continent, though Provincial Archives can be found in Britain e.g. the archives of the Society of Jesus, British Province in Mount Street, London. In addition there are some British-based societies holding archives, of which perhaps the best known is St Joseph's Missionary Society at Mill Hill.)

The MUNDUS project which is funded by the Research Support Libraries Programme of the Higher Education Funding Councils for England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, aims to facilitate and improve access to missionary collections in the UK over a three-year period commencing in August 1999.

Five universities are active partners in the Project – the Universities of Birmingham, Cambridge, Edinburgh, London and Oxford. Each of these institutions holds and administers substantial missionary collections. The following will directly benefit:

- The Baptist Missionary Society's photographic collections at Regent's Park College, Oxford.
- The British and Foreign Bible Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Cambridge University Library
- The Church Missionary Society at the University of Birmingham Library and collections of papers and printed books at Selly Oak
- Missionary Collections at Edinburgh University Library
- Missionary Photographic Collections and the Methodist Missionary Society Library at SOAS
- Regions Beyond Missionary Union archive and other collections at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World
- United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel archive at Rhodes House Library, Oxford (missionary database)

Web-based guide to Missionary Collections

The culmination of the project is the creation of a web-based guide to all missionary collections in the UK, giving details of location, content and access arrangements. Work on the project will be carried out during 2001 to 2002 with the aim of going live in July 2002. For further information see the Mundus website: <http://www.soas.ac.uk/Mundus>.

micro-thesaurus 3.20 (Religion) should be developed to allow for the possibility of lay missionaries, by creating a new NT1, Laity, with Lay organisations and Lay missionaries at NT2, then missionaries from specific denominations at NT3:

Religious groups

- NT1 Laity
 - NT2 Lay organisations
 - NT2 Lay missionaries
 - NT3 Anglican lay missionaries
 - NT3 Catholic lay missionaries

- NT1 Clergy
 - NT2 Clergy missionaries ('Ordained missionaries')
 - NT3 Anglican clergy missionaries
 - NT3 Catholic clergy missionaries

Through experience of cataloguing missionary collections at SOAS it has been found that the arrangement described above is not the ideal. In a practical sense, the requirement to use 'clergy' or 'laity' in addition to the word 'missionaries' is clumsy and creates additional work for the cataloguer in establishing the precise status of groups of missionaries featured in the records. If additional narrower terms are required (e.g. 'women' or 'medical'), the results are increasingly long and unwieldy search strings:

- NT2 Lay missionaries
 - NT3 Lay medical missionaries

- Or NT2 Lay missionaries
 - NT3 Anglican lay missionaries
 - NT4 Anglican lay medical missionaries

In addition, it is much more likely that researchers will wish to search on the term 'missionaries' only, or perhaps more specifically 'women missionaries', 'lay missionaries' or 'medical missionaries'. Where new online databases (e.g. AIM25) make use of thesauri to generate alphabetical pick-lists of search terms, this would necessitate the use of complex 'see' references to direct researchers from the term 'missionaries' to the preferred terms 'lay missionaries' or 'clergy missionaries', and so forth.

It has therefore been considered more functionally effective to develop UNESCO in this area, and to elevate the term 'missionaries' to NT1 – with equivalent status in the hierarchy to 'clergy' or 'laity'. In this sense, missionaries should be seen as a religious group in their own right:

Religious groups

- NT1 Clergy
- NT1 Laity
- NT1 Missionaries
 - NT2 Women missionaries
 - NT2 Medical missionaries
 - NT2 Lay missionaries

As illustrated above, this arrangement allows for the construction of more specific terms at NT2, without the need for long and complex search strings that do not sit well within the CAIRS system, and are illogical to researchers. Further work on the development of the UNESCO Thesaurus for the effective cataloguing of missionary collections is now under

way at SOAS. The result is draft sub-sets of terms for this specific area. This list may be simplified as an aid to subject searching for researchers, and made available to use alongside the CAIRS database.

Proposals for the development of religious / missionary terms within the UNESCO Thesaurus, by the wider religious archives community:

- Religious terminology is not an area that has been strongly developed in the UNESCO Thesaurus, and as yet there are no obvious specialist thesauri on the market. This would suggest the need for a working party on subject indexing to be formed, perhaps as a sub-group of the Religious Archives Group.
- An RAG working party would be in a good position to establish what people are already doing with regards to subject indexing; to identify those repositories already using UNESCO; identify areas of the Thesaurus that are inadequately developed for the needs of the various repositories, and develop a strategy for the co-ordinated development of religious terminology.
- Different repositories could take on different areas for development, e.g. missions and missionaries could be tackled by e.g. SOAS, University of Birmingham (training of missionaries) and other partners of the RSLP project 'Missionary Collections in the UK. Other areas to be addressed include church administration (e.g. Church of England Records Centre, Lambeth Palace) and terminology specific to particular religious denominations (e.g. Baptists, Society of Friends, Presbyterians).
- Initial work done by SOAS on subject indexing terms used for the cataloguing of missionary collections could be made available to other repositories for comment and further development.
- The UNESCO Thesaurus Users Group is currently addressing the need for a central editing function for the development of new terms, which will be added to UNESCO. The RAG working party could work with this central body (most likely to be ULCC)* on the new terms suggested by repositories represented in the group, to ensure that they comply with the overall structure and functionality of UNESCO.

Conclusion

In summary, some useful initial work has been undertaken on subject indexing of missionary collections at the School of Oriental & African Studies. However, a great deal remains to be done in the context of the creation of electronic finding-aids and participation in shared networks, to standardise the way in which collections are indexed. If UNESCO is adopted as the way forward by the archival community, work needs to be undertaken in specialised areas such as religion and mission history, to develop the existing tool to represent these areas with greater accuracy and flexibility. Efforts within the religious archive community must be co-ordinated in order to achieve this goal.

* University of London Computer Centre

**UNESCO THESAURUS TERMS RELATING SPECIFICALLY TO
MISSIONARIES AND MISSION HISTORY**

N.B. The terms represented in this list reflect the nature of missionary collections at SOAS, i.e. non-conformist/inter-denominational missionary societies.

Unless indicated otherwise all terms have been developed from UNESCO micro-thesaurus (MT) 3.20, Religion. Where UNESCO fails to provide adequate terms, the desired term has been slotted in at the most appropriate level. These new terms are indicated with a (*) and are open to discussion.

***Artisan missionaries**

*BT1 **Missionaries**

***Assistant missionaries**

*BT1 **Missionaries**

***Auxiliary missionary societies**

*BT1 **Missionary societies**

***Bible schools**

BT1 **Schools**

*RT **Mission schools**

***Bible women**

*BT1 **Indigenous lay workers**

***Children of missionaries**

*UF *Missionary children*

*BT1 **Missionaries**

*NT1 **Missionary children's schools**

Clergy

UF *Ministers of religion*

UF *Priests*

BT1 **Religious groups**

*NT1 **Indigenous clergy**

***Deputations**

*USE **Missionary deputations**

***Educational missionaries**

*BT1 **Missionaries**

*RT **Educational missionary work**

***Educational missionary work**

BT1 **Missionary work**

*RT **Mission schools**

*RT **Bible schools**

***Evangelistic missionaries**

*BT1 **Missionaries**

*RT **Evangelistic missionary work**

***Evangelistic missionary work**

BT1 Missionary work

Indigenous clergyUF *Indigenous priests**UF *Indigenous pastors**UF *Native clergy*

BT1 Clergy

Indigenous lay workersUF *Indigenous preachers**UF *Indigenous readers**UF *Indigenous teachers*

*BT1 Laity

*NT1 Bible women

Industrial missionary workUF *Industrial missions*

BT1 Missionary work

*RT Urban missionary work

***Industrial missions**

*USE Industrial missionary work

***Laity**

BT1 Religious groups

*NT1 Lay organisations

*NT1 Lay preachers

*NT1 Indigenous lay workers

***Lay missionaries**

*BT1 Missionaries

***Lay organisations**

*BT1 Laity

***Lay preachers**

*BT1 Laity

***Medical missionaries**

*BT1 Missionaries

*RT Medical missionary work

*RT Mission hospitals

***Medical missions**

*USE Medical missionary work

Medical missionary workUF *Medical missions*

BT1 Missionary work

*RT Mission hospitals

***Mission administration**

*BT1 Mission policy

*NT1 Overseas / foreign mission administration

*NT2 District Councils

- *NT2 **District Synods** (etc. terms specific to denomination)
 - *NT2 **District Chairmen**
 - *NT1 **Home mission administration**
 - *RT **Missionary deputations**
- *Mission educational institutions**
Educational institutions (MT 1.35)
- SN Institutions, colleges or seminaries established and run by missionaries for the education and vocational training of indigenous people. Included training in agriculture, crafts, medicine, Christian education and skills in preaching.
 - RT **Vocational schools**
 - RT **Training centres**
- *Mission hospitals**
- BT1 Hospitals
 - *RT Medical missionary work
- *Mission policy**
- *BT1 **Missionary societies**
 - *NT1 **Mission administration**
- *Mission schools**
Educational institutions (MT 1.35)
- BT1 **Schools**
 - *NT1 **Missionary children's schools**
 - *RT **Bible schools**
 - RT Community schools
- *Mission ships**
- BT1 Ships
- *Missionaries**
- BT1 Religious groups*
 - *NT1 **Artisan missionaries**
 - *NT1 **Assistant missionaries**
 - *NT1 **Educational missionaries**
 - *NT1 **Evangelistic missionaries**
 - *NT1 **Lay missionaries**
 - *NT1 **Medical missionaries**
 - *NT1 **Ordained missionaries**
 - *NT1 **Women missionaries**
 - RT **Clergy**
 - *RT **Laity**
- *Missionary children**
- *USE **Children of missionaries**
- *Missionary children's schools**
- *BT1 Children of missionaries
- *Missionary deputations**
- *UF *Deputations*
 - BT1 Missionary work
- *Missionary societies**

- *BT1 **Religious organisations**
- *NT1 **Auxiliary missionary societies**
- *NT1 **Protestant missionary societies**
 - *NT2 **Anglican missionary societies**
 - *NT2 **Methodist missionary societies**
 - *NT2 **Baptist missionary societies** (etc. add denomination)
- *NT1 **Catholic missionary societies**
 - *NT2 **Jesuit missionary societies**
- *NT1 **Mission policy**
 - *NT2 **Mission administration**

***Missionary training**

Teaching and training (MT 1.60)

- SN **The training of missionaries**
- *UF *Training of missionaries*
- *UF *Missionary education*
- *NT1 **Missionary medical training**

***Missionary training institutions**

Educational institutions (MT 1.35)

- SN **Institutions for the training of missionaries**
- *UF *Missionary training colleges*
- BT1 **Training centres**
- RT **Vocational schools**

***Missionary wives**

- *USE **Wives of missionaries**

Missionary work

BT1 *Religious activities*

- *NT1 **Medical missionary work**
- *NT1 **Educational missionary work**
- *NT1 **Evangelistic missionary work**
- *NT1 **Women's missionary work**
 - *NT2 **Zenana missionary work**
- *NT1 **Rural missionary work**
- *NT1 **Urban missionary work**
- *NT1 **Industrial missionary work**
- *NT1 **Methodist missionary work** (etc. add denomination)
- *NT1 **Missionary work in Africa** (etc. add continent or country)
- *NT1 **Missionary deputations**

***Native clergy**

- USE **Indigenous clergy**

***Ordained missionaries**

- *BT1 **Missionaries**

Religions

NT1 *Ancient religions*

NT2 **Buddhism**

NT2 *Christianity*

NT3 *Catholicism*

NT3 *Protestantism*

*NT4 **Anglicanism**

*NT4 **Methodism** (etc. add denomination)

NT2 **Confucianism**
 NT2 **Hinduism**
 NT2 **Islam**
 NT2 **Judaism**
 NT2 **Taoism**
 NT1 **Primitive religions**
 NT2 **Animism**
 NT1 Religious sects

Religious activities

NT1 **Missionary work**
 NT1 **Religious practice**
 UF *Religious ceremonies*
 UF *Worship*
 NT1 Religious reform

Religious buildings

UF **Churches**
 UF **Cathedrals**
 NT1 **Mosques**
 NT1 **Temples**
 *NT1 *Chapels*
 *NT1 *Meeting Houses*

Religious groups

NT1 *Christians*

*NT2 **Catholics**
 *NT3 **Jesuits**
 *NT2 **Protestants**
 *NT3 **Anglicans**
 *NT3 **Methodists** (etc. add denomination)

NT1 Clergy
 UF *Ministers of religion*
 UF *Priests*

*NT1 *Laity*

*NT1 **Missionaries**

Religious institutions

NT1 **Church**
 NT1 **Religious communities**
 UF *Congregations*
 UF *Religious orders*
 NT1 *Religious movements*
 UF *Religious missions*

Religious missions

USE **Religious movements**

Religious movements

UF *Religious missions*

*Religious non-conformity

*NT1 **Protestant non-conformity**

*Religious organisations

*NT1 **Missionary societies**

***NT1 Religious charities**

***Rural missionary work**

***UF** *Rural missions*

BT1 **Missionary work**

***Rural missions**

***USE** **Rural missionary work**

***Urban missionary work**

***UF** *Urban missions*

BT1 **Missionary work**

***RT** **Industrial missionary work**

***Urban missions**

***USE** **Urban missionary work**

***Wives of missionaries**

***UF** *Missionary wives*

***BT1** **Missionaries**

***Women missionaries**

***BT1** **Missionaries**

***RT** **Women's missionary work**

***Women's missionary work**

BT1 **Missionary work**

***NT1** **Zenana missionary work**

***Zenana missionary work**

***UF** *Zenana missions*

***BT1** **Women's missionary work**

***Zenana missions**

***USE** **Zenana missionary work**



Congo missionaries Donald Dron and William Kirby outside the last surviving fetish temple in Yalembe, c.1902.
Regent's Park College, BMS Archive, ref. A/P100/17.



Unknown lady missionary travelling by canoe near South Villages, Calcutta, 1915.
Regent's Park College, BMS Archive, ref. IN/P 21/2.

