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Godly, International, and Independent: German Protestant Missionary Loyalties before World War I

Jeremy Best

In 1910 Gustav Warneck received nominations and support for both the Nobel Peace Prize and the Nobel Prize for Literature. His boosters, mostly from Germany but also from elsewhere in Europe, later speculated that Warneck's failure to secure an award was because his dual nomination prevented enough support for either prize. Instead, they went to the *Bureau international permanent de la Paix* (Permanent International Peace Bureau) and to German poet and author Paul Johann Ludwig Heyse.[1] The laudatory merits of the Permanent International Peace Bureau and Heyse aside, what had made Warneck worthy in the minds of so many for a Nobel Prize?

At his death in 1910, Gustav Warneck was undeniably the most influential figure among those involved with German Protestant mission organizations and a man of great prestige in the international mission movement. His nomination for two different Nobel Prizes indicates not just Warneck's perceived impact on German and global culture, but also the import of his cause, German Protestant mission. Missionary leaders such as Warneck did not fully oppose the formal German Empire in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, but they did view

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[1]The Norwegian Nobel Committee might have excited general protests with this decision as it had awarded the 1908 Nobel Peace Prize to the Swedish parliamentarian and pacifist Klas Pontus Arnoldson and the Danish pacifist Fredrik Bajer. Bajer was the founder of the *Bureau international permanent de la Paix*, effectively making him a two-time winner in just three years. See Arno Sames, "Die 'öffentliche Nobilitierung der Missionssache': Gustav Warneck und die Begründung der Missionswissenschaft an der theologischen Fakultät in Halle," in *Es begann in Halle . . . . Missionswissenschaft von Gustav Warneck bis heute*, ed. Dieter Becker and Andreas Feldtkeller (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1997), 18–19.

its political and economic means and purposes with much skepticism. Presumed by most historians to have been servants of the German colonial state, missionaries' attitudes toward empire were, in fact, far more antistate and antinational.[2] In 1901 Warneck had proclaimed missionaries' activities to be purely humanitarian and not designed to "make the nations [of the world] into Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Russians, but, instead, into Christians." Missionaries' task was to "found a heavenly empire whose king [would be] Jesus."[3] Warneck's leadership of Germany's Protestant missionaries and his advocacy of an international mission movement make his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize comprehensible. He and the other leaders of Germany's mission movement embraced an internationalist Protestantism that provided stiff resistance to more nationalist urges in German colonialism.

Germany's Protestant missionaries had an important impact on colonial policy in the metropole and in the German colonies. German missionaries, like missionaries of all nationalities, confessions, and denominations during this period, provided educational, medical, economic, and, at times, administrative support in Germany's and other countries' colonies abroad. As part of their activities, mission leaders produced an extensive literature that focused on missionary apologia, theoretical and theological tracts, and popular accounts of missionary activity; participated on the Colonial Secretary's *Kolonialrat* (Colonial Council);

[2]Horst Gründer, *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus. Eine politische Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen während der deutschen Kolonialzeit (1884–1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Afrikas und Chinas* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1982); Adrian Hastings, "The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism within Twentieth-century Missionary Christianity," in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 21 and 23–24; Heinrich Loth, *Kolonialismus unter der Kutte* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1960); Seth Quartey, "Missionary Practices: German-Speaking Missionaries between the Home Committee and Colonial Environment in the Gold Coast (West Africa) 1828–1895" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2004), 260–61; Woodruff D. Smith, *The German Colonial Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978); and Ulrich van der Heyden, "Christian Missionary Societies in the German Colonies, 1884/85–1914/15," in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 217 and 220. For an important criticism, see Johanna Eggert, *Missionsschule und sozialer Wandel in Ostafrika. Der Beitrag der deutschen evangelischen Missionsgesellschaften zur Entwicklung des Schulwesens in Tanganyika 1891–1939* (Bielefeld: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1970). These competing hypotheses receive careful consideration in Majida Hamilton, *Mission im kolonialen Umfeld. Deutsche protestantische Missionsgesellschaften in Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2009). The findings of this article are more sympathetic to Thoralf Klein's argument that missionary work was not an "extension of secular colonialism but a kind of colonialism in its own right"; however, his contention that the history of mission work parallels the secular sequence from colonization to decolonization is beyond the scope of this article's findings; see Thoralf Klein, "The Other German Colonialism: Power, Conflict, and Resistance in a German-speaking Mission in China, ca. 1850–1920," in *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences*, ed. Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn, and Patrice Nganang (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 171–72.

[3]Gustav Warneck, "Die christliche Mission und die überseeische Politik," *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* 28 (1901): 169. The *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* is hereafter abbreviated *AMZ* in footnotes.

and generally acted to support missionary activities in the political and public spheres. These last two activities represented the mission movement's primary cooperative activity, as the mission societies worked together through the *Ausschuß der deutschen evangelischen Missionen* (Committee of German Protestant Missions) to influence German politics. Mission leaders' and theologians' cooperative activities transmitted their internationalism to a segment of Germany's most devout Protestants. Their role in colonial affairs meant missionary ideology challenged the more chauvinistic aspects of Germany's colonial and, by extension, foreign policy. As contributors to colonial policy, Germany's Protestant missionary leadership advocated policies and theories that challenged those positions espoused by various experts, interest groups, and colonial adventurers—policies generally designed to maximize the economic or settler exploitation of Germany's overseas possessions.

Warneck's strong evocation of Christian universalism, paired with his cultural impact (as suggested by his Nobel nominations), raise important questions about the role of Protestantism and nationalism during the period of German imperialism. As the standard-bearer of the German Protestant mission community, Warneck represents a constituency among Germany's Protestants who valued their Protestant identity over their German identity.

Most historians assume that by the late 1870s, Protestant support for the German state was absolute, but they have not devoted enough attention to the politics of the German Protestant mission movement, a movement whose significance cannot be overlooked.[4] By 1905 sixteen Protestant missionary societies

[4]Most research has concentrated on missionaries and specific African tribal and ethnic groups. See Tilman Dedering, *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-century Namibia* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997); and Gesine Krüger, *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewußtsein. Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des deutschen Kolonialkrieges in Namibia 1904 bis 1907* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999). On the details of missionary school organizations, see Christel Adick, "Grundstruktur und Organisation von Missionsschulen in den Etappen der Expansion des modernen Weltsystems," in *Weltmission und religiöse Organisationen. Protestantische Missionsgesellschaften im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Artur Bogner, Bernd Holtwick, and Hartmann Tyrell (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004), 459–82; Bernhard Mirtschink, *Zur Rolle christlicher Mission in kolonialen Gesellschaften. Katholische Missionserziehung in "Deutsch-Ostafrika"* (Frankfurt am Main: Haag+Herchen Verlag, 1980); Hans-Joachim Niesel, "Kolonialverwaltung und Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1890–1914" (Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1971); and Rainer Tetzlaff, "Die Mission im Spannungsfeld zwischen kolonialer Herrschaft und Zivilisierungsanspruch in Deutsch-Ostafrika," in *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission. Kaiserliche Deutschland und kolonialer Imperium*, 2nd ed., ed. Klaus J. Bade (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984), 189–204. On missionary theology, see Becker and Feldtkeller, eds., *Es begann in Halle . . .*; Hans-Werner Gensichen, "German Protestant Missions," in *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era*, ed. Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (Copenhagen: Aros, 1982), 181–88; Heinrich Loth, *Zwischen Gott und Kattun. Die Berliner Konferenz 1884/85 zur Aufteilung Afrikas und die Kolonialismuskritik christlicher Missionen* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1985); Niels-Peter Moritzen, "Koloniale Konzepte der protestantischen Mission," in *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission*, ed. Bade, 51–56; Karl Müller, *Missionstheologie. Eine Einführung* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1985); Gunther Pakendorf, "Berlin in Afrika, oder der historische Ort der Deutschen Mission. Ein Beitrag zum Thema Kolonialmission," in *Kolonien und*

were drawing support from German donors, and ten of those societies were operating in the German colonial territories. A mission census in 1903 indicated that more than 1,000 missionaries performed the work of these sixteen societies in the mission field for approximately 500,000 converts.[5] Mission societies collected an average of fifty-four million marks per year from the German populace to finance their activities.[6]

For the historian, missionaries' close contact with colonized peoples, on the one hand, and the Protestant missionary leadership's close association with the various colonial policy-making and -influencing groups in Germany, on the other, place missionaries at the nexus of colonial politics.[7] Close attention to the nuances of missionary debates about colonialism, politics, and evangelization are therefore important for understanding Germany's nineteenth-century history.[8] German Protestant missionaries, though socially and politically conservative, rebuked efforts to appropriate their evangelical and other activities in Germany's overseas colonies for empire-building purposes. At the same time that missionaries showed their aversion to nationalist politics, they embraced the internationalization of Protestant mission work by participating wholeheartedly in international missionary conferences. At these conferences, German missionaries enacted internationalism as a direct contradiction to aggressive nationalism. They imagined themselves to be members of an international community, one that sought a global, communal commonweal of Protestant Christian brotherhood against nationalist devotion to difference. In this vision of globalization, Germany's Protestant missionaries were not unlike the socialists of the Second International or other international unions. For these reasons,

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Missionen. Referate des. 3. Internationalen Kolonialgeschichtlichen Symposiums 1993 in Bremen, ed. Wilfried Wagner (Munster and Hamburg: Lit. 1994), 472–87; and Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1–20.

[5][Gustav Warneck], "Die gegenwärtige Lage der deutschen evangelischen Mission," *AMZ* 32 (1905): 157. For the Protestants, a "convert" was someone who had undergone several years of instruction in Christianity and who had been subsequently baptized. Missionaries frequently used the obviously problematic term "*Heidenchristen*" when referring to their converted congregants.

[6]Van der Heyden, "Christian Missionary Societies," 217.

[7]See footnote 4 above.

[8]This dynamic has received very limited treatment. The best is in Niesel, "Kolonialverwaltung" (an unpublished dissertation), but Niesel's analysis is limited to only a small selection of the mission societies and does not recognize the extent, effectiveness, or influence of the Protestant mission movement's institutions. Sara Pugach's work on missionary linguists and their relationship to colonialism is a key new work, but conforms to the general narrative that German missionaries willingly adapted themselves to the colonial state's needs and goals; see Sara Pugach, *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linquistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814–1945* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 49–53. Also valuable but narrowly focused is Werner Ustorf, ed., *Mission im Kontext. Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Norddeutschen Missionsgesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bremen: Übersee Museum Bremen, 1986).

Germany's Protestant missionary leaders opposed aggressive and pro-German colonial policies and instead fostered internationalist associations before 1914.

The German Protestant Mission Movement

Missionaries are generally assumed to have served the goals of the German colonial state because they were loyal subjects of a German state whose Protestant clergy "emphasiz[ed] duty and sacrifice to the German cause."[9] Thomas Nipperdey argued that particularly after 1871, "a definitive nationalism flowed into the church, a 'pastoral nationalism' marked by an evangelical and national ethos for Kaiser, empire, and Protestantism."[10] Hans-Ulrich Wehler agreed, writing that after 1871, "the traditional alliance of 'throne and altar' acquired new lustre."[11] And, as Nipperdey described it, by the 1880s mission societies had already united behind a religious nationalism that bound together imperialism and a German mission in the world. This union was strengthened because the "international links of German Protestants were never very strong" and thus cooperation between the national policy makers and mission leaders was quite natural.[12] More recent histories of Germany's colonial history have also largely overlooked missionaries, instead focusing on questions of continuity or discontinuity between the colonial and National Socialist periods through analyses of other colonial themes and actors.[13] In short, the Protestant missionary movement has been misunderstood as an important source of colonial theory and praxis.

[9]David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1870–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 426.

[10]Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866–1918,* vol. I (Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist) (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990), 487.

[11]Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871–1918,* trans. Kim Traynor (Dover, NH: Berg Publishers, 1985), 114. See also Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte,* vol. 2 (Von der Reformära bis zur industriellen und politischen "Deutschen Doppelrevolution," 1815–1845/49) (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1987), 459–69.

[12]Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte,* vol. I, 489–90. Nipperdey references the colonial ideologue Paul Rohrbach as characteristic of the links between mission and national policy. Rohrbach's thinking on mission was a very late intervention, however. See Paul Rohrbach, *Die Kolonie* (Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loening, 1907), which was published after the Herero-Nama and Maji-Maji Wars had drastically changed many colonialists'—including Rohrbach's—thinking on colonies and given particular rise to a strain of anti-mission sentiment among many colonialists. Furthermore, Rohrbach was never officially affiliated with any mission society; his connection to the colonial sphere came through the colonial administration. Nipperdey seemed to take the fact that Rohrbach was a university-trained theologian and that he wrote about missions as sufficient to make Rohrbach representative of missionaries. Rohrbach's theories of a "Greater Germany," "cultural Protestantism," and "ethical imperialism" were more interested in the "informal" imperialism Germany directed toward the Ottoman Empire. See Walter Mogk, *Paul Rohrbach und das "Größere Deutschland." Ethischer Imperialismus im Wilhelminischen Zeitalter* (Munich: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1972); and Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Weltpolitik als Kulturmission. Auswärtige Kulturpolitik und Bildungsbürgertum in Deutschland am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1982), esp. 69–89.

[13]For arguments about continuity, see Helmuth Bley, *Kolonialherrschaft und Sozialstruktur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Hamburg: Leibnitz-Verlag, 1968); Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture*

The history of the German Protestant mission movement begins in the late seventeenth century. During that period August Hermann Francke gathered pietists at Halle. These gatherings ultimately stimulated early organizations of German Lutherans for foreign mission work in India and the Americas.[14] In the 1790s, British Christians responded to cobbler-turned-pastor William Carey's *An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians* by expanding the existing mission movement with a collection of new British mission societies.[15] These missions, with the help of the Basel Mission Society (*Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft Basel*), founded in 1815, recruited extensively from the continent and especially Germany, thus further stimulating German Protestant mission energies.[16]

The Protestant identity of this large movement originally represented eighteenth-century anti-institutionalist movements such as the Pietists and the Moravian congregations of Germany. The Moravians possessed a unified leadership and identified themselves as members of the *Brüdergemeine*, a larger association of Moravian communities that drew support from member communities across Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the United States, and managed to coexist with the Lutheran, Reformed, or Union episcopates of

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and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); Jürgen Zimmerer, *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust* (Munster: Lit Verlag, 2011); and Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, *Völkermord in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Der Kolonialkrieg (1904–1908) in Namibia und seine Folgen* (Berlin: Links, 2003). See also Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973); and Horst Drechsler, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft. Der Kampf der Herero und Nama gegen den deutschen Imperialismus (1884–1915)* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966). For challenges to and refutations of the various continuity theses, see Jon M. Bridgman, *Revolt of the Hereros* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981); Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski, "Der Holocaust als 'kolonialer Genozid'? Europäische Kolonialgewalt und nationalsozialistischer Vernichtungskrieg," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 33, no. 3 (2007): 439–66; and Jakob Zollmann, *Koloniale Herrschaft und ihre Grenzen. Die Kolonialpolizei in Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1894–1915* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 350–51. For examples of the research on missionaries, see footnote 6 above.

[14]Daniel Jeyaraj, "Mission Reports from South India and Their Impact on the Western Mind: The Tranquebar Mission of the Eighteenth Century," in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, ed. Dana Robert (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), 22–23; and Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 29.

[15]William Carey, *An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens in Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered* (Leicester: 1792). Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 70; Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, 40; and Bernd Holtwick, "Licht und Schatten. Begründungen und Zielsetzungen des protestantischen missionarischen Aufbruchs im frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Weltmission und religiöse Organisationen*, ed. Bogner, Holtwick, and Tyrell, 225.

[16]Johannes Christian Hoekendijk, *Kirche und Volk in der deutschen Missionswissenschaft*, trans. Erich-Walter Pollmann (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1967), 23–24. Of the fifteen missionaries recruited by the Church Missionary Society between 1804 and 1813, only three were English-speakers. See Porter, *Religion versus Empire?* 56.

their states and regions.[17] Other mission societies founded in the nineteenth century, in particular the Berlin Mission, adopted a "mild Lutheranism" in an attempt to balance their Reformed and Lutheran supporters.[18] Still, some mission societies asserted more distinctive confessional identities. The Leipzig Mission's hostility to Lutheranism informed its institutional organization throughout its history. The society's board members regularly debated the society's relationship with "backsliding" congregations and synods that had or appeared to have abandoned a pure Lutheran liturgy.[19]

Though the German mission community's oldest and most influential mission societies were Lutheran and Reform, denominational matters held little sway over the movement's shared definition of Protestantism. Whatever theological aggravations a given mission society might have felt, they were almost exclusively directed toward the established church hierarchies rather than other mission societies. Over time the movement expanded and further diversified and, by 1914, the German Protestant mission movement included Baptist, Seventh-Day-Adventist, and "liberal" Protestant societies as well. Mission leaders worked carefully to include all of these groups within the larger organizational framework, and there is little evidence that any disagreements about theology affected missionaries' commitment to internationalism.

Missionswissenschaft

At the heart of the German Protestant mission movement were the publications and practitioners of Protestant *Missionswissenschaft* (Mission Studies). And at the center of Missionswissenschaft was the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*. The editorship, led by Gustav Warneck, established the journal to awake sympathy for mission among educated Germans while improving the rigor and character of mission itself. Warneck declared in the inaugural issue that the journal would bring to missionaries' attention those "culturally and religiously historical, geographic, ethnological, and similar questions" that bore upon the "evangelization of the peoples." The *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* and Missionswissenschaft were directed by the leading lights of German mission work toward the furtherance of the Christian Gospel, over and above more particularistic concerns of colonial development or empire building.[20]

When it began publication in 1874, the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* joined a crowded field of missionary periodicals in Germany and across the mission nations. These mission journals drew upon diverse source material to produce

[17] Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika*, 9–10.

[18] Ibid., 14.

[19] Paul Fleisch, *Hundert Jahre lutherischer Mission* (Leipzig: Verlag der Evangelisch-lutherischen Mission, 1936), 3.

[20] [Gustav Warneck], "Dic cur hic? Unser Programm," *AMZ* 1 (1874): 1–4.

texts designed to reach a broad range of people in order to rally support and stimulate donations.[21] These texts had originally been viewed as close cousins of books, but by the end of the nineteenth century, they were yet another example of the many magazines and digests that made up a significant portion of middle-class life.[22] In Germany and elsewhere, mission societies published periodicals to cover a wide array of topics within the mission field and to appeal to a wide range of interests. These periodicals sought to educate supporters of a given mission society about more than just its activities. To provide such extensive coverage, mission periodicals frequently reprinted, paraphrased, or reported on other journals' content.[23] In general, mission societies were able to proclaim significant publication counts, often in the hundreds of thousands, and which, according to the *Missionswissenschaftler* Julius Richter, brought in millions of pounds for mission societies in Britain alone.[24]

The *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, the central print locale for the development of a Protestant mission ideology, was both a part of this general mass of mission periodicals and a distinctive publication. While most mission periodicals did not hold strictly to denominational distinctions, the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* belonged to a very small pool of mission publications in Germany that operated independently of any specific church or mission organization. It was published by a producer of religious works and had a circulation of 2,600 by the end of the 1880s and a peak of 3,000 subscribers in 1912.[25] This number is misleading, however, since there was likely considerable sharing of issues among mission supporters, which was common for such periodicals. Like other periodicals of the genre, the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* drew reports from other mission societies' publishing ventures and was a similar source for other journals. Additionally, the journal's unique position as the dominant source of intellectual investigation and conversation about mission work and mission politics meant that the reprinting of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*'s material extended the influence of the journal's internationalist mission vision beyond the journal's own subscribers.[26] Furthermore, the journal's remarkably consistent message line on the correct

[21] Terry Barringer, "Why are Missionary Periodicals [Not] So Boring? The Missionary Periodicals Database Project," *African Research & Documentation* 84 (2000): 33.

[22] Felicity Jensz and Hanna Acke, "Introduction," in *Missions and Media: The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Felicity Jensz and Hanna Acke (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), 9.

[23] Terry Barringer, "What Mrs. Jellyby Might Have Read. Missionary Periodicals: A Neglected Source," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 4 (2004): 48.

[24] Julius Richter, "Die heimatliche Missionsarbeit in England und Deutschland," *AMZ* 25 (1898): 265.

[25] Joachim Kirchner, *Das deutsche Zeitschriftenwesen. Seine Geschichte und seine Probleme*, vol. 2 (Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1962), 278. The 1912 number appears in *Sperlings Zeitschriften-Addressbuch*, 1912, s.v. "Missions-Zeitschrift, Allgemeine."

[26] For more extensive discussion of missionary periodicals, see Jensz and Acke, eds., *Missions and Media*.

relationship between missions and the state kept missionary internationalism a continually updated topic with which readers could engage.

The journal thus provides an invaluable tool for evaluating the views of mission leaders in Germany. Furthermore, its place in the network of mission publishing suggests the extent of those leaders' influence. Overwhelmingly the contributors to the journal represented the elite of the German mission movement. These included the mission scholars Gustav Warneck and Julius Richter; the leaders of mission societies such as Karl Axenfeld and Franz Michael Zahn; and academics with a distinct missionary interest, such as the linguist Carl Meinhof. In fact, the editorship of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* during this period demonstrates the deep links the journal possessed with the mission movement in Germany. Editor Gustav Warneck and his son Johannes had both worked for the Rhenish Mission Society, and both men would take up positions as academic faculty in Halle and Bethel respectively; Franz Michael Zahn served as director of the North German Mission Society; Charles Buchner, editor of the journal from 1900 to 1908, served on the *Missionsdirektion* (Mission Directorate) for the Brüdergemeine; Julius Richter was affiliated with the Berlin Mission Society and eventually joined the theological faculty at the University of Berlin; and another founding editor, mission theologian Theodor Christlieb, was on the faculty of theology at the University of Bonn. These men represented a particular, educated approach to mission activities and theory that interpreted the universalist message of Christianity as demanding an internationalist theology and structure for Germany's mission movement. The institutional positions of these men extended beyond their immediate academic or professional positions. In addition to their roles as scholars and administrators, a number of the men whose ideas are considered in this article were also represented in other national mission bodies.

In particular, the Ausschuß, the national organization of German Protestant mission societies, operated as an effective national organization of missionaries in Germany. The Ausschuß was founded in 1886 at another major institution of German mission life, the Bremen Continental Mission Conference. By the mid-1890s the Ausschuß was the main liaison between the German mission societies and the German imperial government. The organization's founding secretary and leading light was Gustav Warneck. Its leadership would also include Zahn, the Berlin Mission leader Karl Axenfeld, and other important figures of German mission work. In most of the major institutions of political activity for Germany's Protestant missionaries, the Missionswissenschaftler predominated.

The leaders of the German mission movement overwhelmingly agreed that their work as Christian messengers arose from a divine source. Missionary theologians and leaders judged that the "Great Commission" in the Book of Matthew, which directed Christians to bring the Gospel to all peoples, superseded any and

all of the other motivations that fed colonial expansion.[27] In particular, politics in all its forms—inter-power rivalry, the false idol of the nation—state, and the meanness of public policy—was, at least intellectually, seen as a menace that would undermine missionaries' duty to evangelize all peoples. At the same time, as Thorsten Altena and others have pointed out, Germany's missionaries saw both the modern state and modern capitalism as threats to Christian values in Germany and abroad.[28] The suspicion and fear excited by modernity, as the missionaries perceived the concept, reinforced German Protestant missionary intellectuals' commitment to internationalism. To missionaries, modernity encapsulated a number of developments with which they were not completely comfortable. On the one hand, missionaries embraced the spread of railroads, steamships, and telegraphy for their practical role in bringing more people into the reach of the Gospel.[29] On the other hand, German missionary figures' deep-seated suspicions of the Enlightenment and the effect of industrial capitalism on traditional communities solidified their strong ambivalence toward "modernity."

When the missionary leadership chose to articulate their opposition to nationalist politics in greater detail, they highlighted three specific concerns. First, missionaries' interpretation of the Gospel and Epistles rendered any theological or ethnological segregation of humanity, other than a basic distinction between Christians and non-Christians, invalid. This conclusion meant that from at least the 1870s onward, missionary intellectuals maintained that no other human goal could possibly outweigh a truly Christian evangelism. Thus, they rejected nationalist politics as inconsequential when weighed against mission work. Second, missionary leaders rejected politics as generally corrosive to missionary endeavor. In their view, the worldly concerns of colonial administration, economic development, and national loyalty held the dangerous potential to lead mission work and workers astray. And, finally, in missionary leaders' view, should missionaries manage to maintain a completely autonomous missionary enterprise, the mission societies still needed to keep themselves as clear as possible of international colonial competition. If missionaries and mission societies supported the territorial ambitions of the colonial powers, then they would be unable to stand outside the conflicts among colonizing powers that would

[27] Matthew 28: 16–20.

[28] Thorsten Altena, *"Ein Häuflein Christen mitten in der Heidenwelt des dunklen Erdteils." Zum Selbst- und Fremdverständnis protestantischer Missionare im kolonialen Afrika, 1884–1918* (Munster: Waxmann Verlag, 2003), 917–18. Pakendorf, "Berlin in Afrika, oder der historische Ort der deutschen Mission," 473–75. Werner Ustorf discusses how the old trading houses of the Hanseatic cities of northern Germany joined with missions against the threat of "big capital" during the period of high imperialism; see Ustorf, ed., *Mission im Kontext*, 23.

[29] Karl Axenfeld, "Weltevangelisation und Ende," *AMZ* 38 (1911): 253–54. On the role of technology in the expansion of European imperial capabilities and territorial control, see Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

almost certainly follow. Political crises would unduly disrupt missionaries' loftier purposes. Warneck and the other intellectual and political leaders of the German Protestant mission movement worked consistently, for practical and principled reasons, to keep missionary activities and ideology free of national "corruption."

The Primacy of Evangelization

German missionary leaders argued from the very beginning that Christian loyalty must always supersede any other obligation or commitment; mission could never be allowed to blend fully with politics. Missionaries took the Great Commission as the justification for the most basic practice of their faith, the support and promotion of missionary work among Christian and non-Christian peoples.[30] Out of devotion to their purpose, missionary authorities did not tolerate any other entity, concept, or group siphoning away one iota of support. This was the most forcefully argued of all missionary views and one that shaped every other element of German Protestant missionary activity. German missionary leaders occasionally acknowledged their role in some larger European (i.e., Christian) task of civilizing the uncivilized, but balked at any direct association with political or economic conquest.

An early defense of the primacy of mission's religious purpose came from a leader of the oldest German missionary church, Ernst Reichel of the Hermhuter Brüdergemeine. In 1886, *Missionsdirektor* Reichel argued that missionary leaders must protect the missions' "godly, . . . international, and . . . [politically] independent character." And, he emphasized, "Colonization and mission must remain cleanly separate from one another," even when religious interests seemed to coincide with secular goals.[31] In Reichel's opinion, the European effect on colonized peoples could be either positive or negative, a dichotomy between "Jesus" and "the devil" in Reichel's words.[32] Missionaries, as bastions of the positive effect of European culture, had to maintain their autonomy in order to preserve the relative purity of their endeavor. Reichel cautioned Germany's mission societies that "colonies serve the spread of power, the expansion and prosperity of the earthly fatherland. Mission serves the spread of a kingdom that is not of this world, and that advances the power and honor [of Jesus Christ]." To Reichel the ultimate goal of Christian mission must be the "saving of heathen souls through the Gospel" and the "forming heathen [of] peoples into Christian peoples."[33]

[30] Gustav Warneck, "Missionsmotiv und Missionsaufgabe nach der modernen religionsgeschichtlichen Schule," *AMZ* 34 (1907): 3, cited in Ulrich Berner, "Religionsgeschichtliche und Mission. Zur Kontroverse zwischen Ernst Troeltsch und Gustav Warneck," in *Vom Weltbildwandel zur Weltanschauungsanalyse. Krisenwahrnehmung und Krisenbewältigung um 1900*, ed. Volker Drehsen and Walter Sparn (Berlin: Akademik-Verlag, 1996), 109.

[31] E[rnst] Reichel, "Was haben wir zu thun, damit die deutsche Kolonialpolitik nicht zur Schädigung, sondern zur Förderung der Mission ausschlage?," *AMZ* 13 (1886): 49.

[32] Ibid., 40–42.

[33] Ibid., 42–44.

At the Saxon Provincial Mission Conference in Halle in 1891, Warneck echoed Reichel's principles.[34] Warneck's text was then reprinted by the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* that same year, illustrating the multiple venues from which missionary leaders disseminated their vision for the German mission movement. "Jesus Christ," Warneck told his listeners and readers, "is as the founder of mission without doubt also the highest mission authority; his judgment [is] thus authoritative on the mission project." And, according to Warneck, the biblical teachings of Jesus emphasized that evangelization ought to be governed by the dictates of education and enlightenment rather than any technocratic or bureaucratic plans for colonized peoples. Warneck argued that missionaries should continue the work of Jesus and reveal God's love through teaching and sacrifice to all peoples and not exclusively in service to the German Empire.[35]

Dissociation from the German Empire made a lot of sense to missionary leaders at the time. To them, the colonial state was just another manifestation of dangerous trends in contemporary society and culture. Warneck reminded his readers that "civilization" did not and could not "bring Christian faith." He counseled his audience to be skeptical of the colonial state and its supposed "civilizing mission." As he put it, "Just like happiness, contentment, and virtue . . . belief in the Gospel is not dependent upon a particular degree of civilization." Since the missionary enterprise and Christian evangelization were not dependent upon the advancement of "modernity," Warneck argued, Germany's Protestant missionaries had no obligation to adhere to the requests and demands of secular political and economic groups.[36] Missionaries needed to remain autonomous, and Warneck's segregation of Christian mission from the secular "civilizing mission" was a cornerstone of the antinationalist position of Germany's Protestant missionaries.[37]

Warneck's and Reichel's views reflected the general mood of missionary leaders regarding the appropriate relationship between their work and the national project of building Germany's colonial empire. But the most reasoned and detailed critique of nationalist pressure came from Franz Michael Zahn of the North German Mission Society. Zahn, by the 1890s a thirty-year veteran of mission, was a well-known skeptic of Germany's colonial plans.[38] In 1896

[34]Though called "provincial," the Saxon Mission Conference was, in fact, a national organization and gathering that drew mission leaders and secular colonialists from across Germany.

[35][Gustav] Warneck, "Die Aufgabe der Heidenmission und ihre Trübungen in der Gegenwart," *AMZ* 18 (1891): 99–101.

[36]Warneck, deeply involved in German intellectual life, likely would have been familiar with the growing critique of modernity that began to appear in European culture at that time. For a discussion of this cultural moment and its prevailing currents, see Suzanne Marchand and David Lindenfeld, eds., *Germany at the Fin de Siècle: Culture, Politics, and Ideas* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004).

[37]Warneck, "Die Aufgabe der Heidenmission," 111.

[38]Horst Gründer, "Deutsche Missionsgesellschaft auf dem Wege zur Kolonialmission," in *Imperialismus und Kolonialmission*, ed. Bade, 68–69; Jürgen Gunther, "Die Bedeutung der Station Peki für die Missionsstrategie," in *Mission im Kontext*, ed. Ustorf, 250; Loth, *Zwischen Gott und*

he penned a theological critique of nationalism's central tenets. His critique had been precipitated by the ongoing efforts of German nationalists to restrain German mission resources solely to serve German colonies.[39] In Zahn's opinion, nationalism was little more than an intellectual edifice built on shifting sands.

In Zahn's view, the biblical origins of human difference as described in the tale of the Tower of Babel made it a "moral imperative" for Christians to respect human diversity. He argued that an attempt to attach essential characteristics to any group of people, such as the Germans or the English, would be an error. As he put it, "National character is always becoming, and its development takes place and is influenced not only from the inside out but also from the outside." The mobility of peoples and the fluidity of state boundaries proved that every people of "world historical significance" was also a "mixed *Volk*." God's intent, Zahn felt, was that all humanity concern itself more with Christian faith and practice than with the relative superiority or inferiority of any culture or history. After all, Zahn argued, "One gets a correct image only when one places national virtues beside national failings," and it was in the fighting of a nation's own weaknesses that a Christian community matured.[40]

It was only an "immoral patriotism" that did not recognize the truth of human commonality. Only a "sickly overemphasis of national feeling" could cause one to move away from this communitarian purpose. Therefore, mission's duty was to help bring together the diversity of humanity into one community, to create unity in Christian salvation. This glorious future, Zahn warned, would be undermined by nationalism, and an "emphasis on nationality in mission would be a deplorable regression" from the progress already achieved by the mission movement.[41] The real future of Germany's missionaries, Zahn maintained, required an embrace of the international brotherhood of Protestant Christians, which would help to tear down the false barriers of human difference. Zahn reminded his readers that "the highest service to God [*Gotteswerk*] of mission [was] not . . . service to national egoism," but rather being "dutiful to Christ."[42]

Reichel's, Warneck's, and Zahn's arguments for the intellectual, theological, and spiritual superiority of missionary work over and above colonial political motivations held strong for nearly four decades. Their rhetorical commitment to the primacy of evangelization overruled calls for a more economically or nationally motivated policy. To the early missionary leaders, mission work was

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Kattun, 59; and Gustav Menzel, *Die Bethel-Mission. Aus 100 Jahren Missionsgeschichte* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1986), 11–12.

[39] F[riedrich] M[ichael] Zahn, "Nationalität und Internationalität in der Mission," AMZ 23 (1896): 62.

[40] Ibid., 49–52.

[41] Ibid., 54–61.

[42] Ibid., 67.

a moral project through and through. Warneck insisted that "the salvation of souls remain[ed] the soul of mission work."[43] The pursuit of souls for Christian salvation was extra-political and extra-national. For the missionary leaders of the nineteenth century, mission priorities could not be constrained by worldly matters.

International Mission Conferences

German missionary leaders' resistance to nationalist pressures and their devotion to a more open community provide historians with a useful perspective on cultural and intellectual connections within the Atlantic world. Germany's Protestant mission community applied its internationalism to its relations with other mission communities and, in particular, with the Anglophonic mission communities of Great Britain and North America. The British mission movement provided German Protestant missionaries with a powerful model and a promising ally in their work to evangelize the world. German missionaries' enthusiastic participation in international missionary conferences provides the most tangible proof that the missionaries' imagined international community was nevertheless real to Germany's evangelizing Protestants.

By 1900, missionary associations and supporters had been connected with organizations of common purpose outside the German lands for at least a century. These connections eventually created a layer of international mission conferences and conventions that settled neatly over the top of long-running local and regional conferences in Germany. The international gatherings bound German Protestants into a network of evangelical groups and organizations that were international in scope and cosmopolitan in outlook.

For Germany's Protestant missions, collaboration among mission societies was a fundamental activity. The most complete organized form of collaboration held within Germany was the Continental Mission Conference, also known as the Bremen Conference. Started in 1866 and repeated at roughly five-year intervals thereafter, the Bremen Conferences were guided by principles that were formally articulated in 1909.[44] The declared principles of the Continental Mission Conference were designed to "strengthen the unity of spirit and nurture personal relationships through the discussion of current theoretical and practical mission questions" at quinquennial meetings of "Protestant mission societies from the European continent." The associated mission societies would work together to protect their common interests and promote, whenever possible, a unified expression of continental mission "togetherness."[45] The program of any given

[43]Warneck, "Die christliche Mission und die überseeische Politik," 164–65.

[44]William Richey Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations: A History of the International Missionary Council and Its Nineteenth-Century Background* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 67.

[45]"Leitsätze zu den Vorträgen der XII. Kontinentalen Missions-Konferenz, Bremen, 6. bis 10. Mai 1909," (n.d., [1909?]), Unitätsarchiv Missionsdirecktion (hereafter UA.MD) 573.

Bremen Conference was always focused on practical or tactical discussions germane to the work of Germany's mission societies.[46] The gatherings in Bremen were, at least in part, international affairs, though Germans made up the majority of attendees.[47] The Bremen Conference also appealed to interested parties in the German government; representatives of the Prussian *Kultusminister*, the Colonial Secretary, and Chancellor Otto von Bismarck regularly attended.

The Protestant missionaries of Germany were pleased with the support their prosaic concerns received at the Bremen Conferences. But from the beginning, Germany's Protestant missionaries were eager to expand their movement and its contacts beyond the European continent. They criticized early international conferences in England for their practical focus, and argued that international missionary gatherings should provide broad, strategic fora for the development of a globally coordinated international mission movement. Gradually the German missionaries' vision for the international conferences became dominant, but only after three international mission conferences of significance had been organized in Britain and the United States. Germans' critiques of these conferences illustrate German expectations. The satisfaction German missionary leaders felt about the 1910 World Missionary Conference revealed German Protestant missionaries' internationalist passions in conferential form.[48]

The first significant effort at a truly international mission conference was the 1878 General Missionary Conference in London. Attendance from English mission supporters was "less than the combined attendance of the various mission societies' annual celebrations" across England; as a result, the conference was generally a disappointment for missionaries in Germany and elsewhere. A report in the Basel Mission journal observed, "For the motivation of mission interest and the spread of mission knowledge in wider circles, this conference did not amount to much."[49] Though the London Conference had been a failure, the author concluded, it should not serve as a negative mark against the hopes of international cooperation and the "blessings of Christian community."[50] Warneck, writing in the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, expressed hope that this first attempt at an international mission conference would be succeeded by subsequent and more successful gatherings. Representing the general German

[46]"Eine bedeutsame Missions-Konferenz," *AMZ* 12 (1885): 545.

[47]For example, in attendance at the 1884 conference were representatives of every German foreign mission, along with leaders of Danish, Dutch, Swedish, and Norwegian Protestant mission societies. That same year, key German attendees included Friedrich Fabri, Reinhold Grundemann, Karl Plath, and Ernst Reichel, as well as other less notable leaders of the Protestant mission movement. Gustav Warneck was unable to attend because of illness. See "Sechste kontinentale Missions-Konferenz in Bremen. 20.-23. Mai 1884," *AMZ* 11 (1884): 309.

[48]Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, 15–16 and 48–50.

[49]"Die allgemeine Missionskonferenz in London," *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Neue Folge* 23 (1879): 41–42.

[50]Ibid., 49.

attitude, Warneck suggested future international conferences be directed toward, as he described it, "thoroughly talk[ing] through a single important topic," rather than a diverse program of minor or specialized subjects, a position with which the Basel Mission Society's *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* agreed.[51] To improve on the quality of conversation, Warneck also argued that the conference should be more exclusive, more "professional." And to encourage the general populace's mission zeal, educational "general assemblies" could be colocated for mission supporters.[52] German missionaries did not expect the international conferences to deal with the tactical and practical concerns of missionaries (how to organize missionary schools, fundraising in the *Heimat*, etc.), but rather to bring together missionaries to shape grand strategies for international mission effort.[53]

Ten years later a second conference was held in London. The most comprehensive assessment of the 1888 Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World came from Alexander Merensky, whose work in British South Africa made him one of the best-known German missionaries. Merensky celebrated the size of the conference and its success in bringing together missionary leaders from both sides of the Atlantic for the first time. In his judgment, the conference demonstrated the durability and value of the "decennial conference" for missionaries around the world and had expanded on the potential of the 1878 Missionary Conference.[54] According to Merensky, the Centenary Conference had introduced Germans to the strengths of the American mission movement while simultaneously providing the rest of the mission world with exposure to German missionaries' superior academic knowledge. The conference was painted by Merensky as a grand gathering of international significance. The conference attendees had functioned across confessional and national divides to form a "coalition for a grand global struggle."[55] Merensky's article marked one of the first appearances of what became a commonplace description of Protestant mission as a three-legged stool, i.e., as an international project supported on three legs: the British, American, and German mission movements.[56]

Warneck added his imprimatur to Merensky's hearty endorsement. Like Merensky he was pleased that "this time [as opposed to the 1878 Conference] special gatherings of experts" were organized for the discussion of theoretical and

[51] "Die allgemeine Missionskonferenz in London," *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Neue Folge* 32 (1888): 25–28.

[52] [Gustav] Warneck, editorial afterword to [August] Schreiber, "Die allgemeine Missionsconferenz in London vom 21.-26. October 1878," *AMZ* 5 (1878): 579–80.

[53] "Bericht über die Verhandlungen der achten kontinentalen Missionskonferenz zu Bremen in der Himmelfahrtswoche 1889," *AMZ* 16 (1889): 2.

[54] A[lexander] Merensky, "Die allgemeine Missionskonferenz in London vom 9.-19. Juni 1888," *AMZ* 15 (1888): 401–02.

[55] Ibid., 543–44.

[56] Ibid., 403.

practical missionary questions. He hoped this trend would continue and the international conferences could narrow their focus to "especially current questions" such as "the position of mission to contemporary colonial politics, . . . the international importance of mission, [and] the challenges of Protestant mission with regard to the growing Roman [Catholic] aggression"—all three items of universal concern to Protestant missionaries whatever their nationality.[57] Warneck implored the organizing committee for the next international conference to include "*fewer* topics but a *more exhaustive* practical treatment [of those topics] and a wider space for discussion, and an exclusion of [superficial] rhetoric."[58] Warneck's suggestions were intended to make the international conferences into venues for the formulation of the grand strategy of international evangelization.

Though German representatives were few at the 1900 Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, the extensive German-speaking diaspora in the United States helped to keep the German mission movement supplied with reports of the next international conference. One such report in the *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* of the Basel Society declared that the New York Conference was the "greatest ecumenical mission conference" that had inaugurated a new "mission century."[59] In New York, once again, Germans celebrated the triumvirate of American, British, and German Christianity; "America, Germany, and England are the only Christian lands in possession of the Bible. Upon them rests the great, holy duty to bring God's Word to the rest of the world."[60] Instead of national governments, the missionaries' commitment was to "the Lord whose kingdom is not of this world."[61]

The *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, Gustav Warneck, and Alexander Merensky all agreed that the mission conference in the Empire State had achieved great things. In a letter sent to the gathering and read by the prominent American missionary Judson Smith, Warneck celebrated the cooperation among missionaries.[62] According to the German Missionswissenschaftler, Protestant missionaries needed to come together and share their practical wisdom and systematically work together

[57]Merensky reported on the main themes of the London Conference: mission methods, medical mission, instruction and education, women's mission work, organization and leadership of congregations, mission and literature, cooperation with the metropolitan church, missionary comity, and the relationship of trade and diplomacy to mission. Ibid., 479.

[58][Gustav Warneck], editorial afterword to ibid., 409–10. Emphasis in the original.

[59][Paul A. Menzel], "Die allgemeine Missionkonferenz in New York. 21. April bis 2. Mai.," *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, Neue Folge* 42 (1900): 344.

[60]The challenge of defining the Christian world and the mission sphere would nearly condemn the 1910 Edinburgh Conference to a premature death over whether to include mission work among Christian, but not Protestant, peoples. Eventually the conference agreed on a division that placed all Christians on one side of the mission project and all "heathens" on the other. See Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), esp. 49–72. [P.] Menzel, "Die allgemeine Missionskonferenz," 351.

[61][P.] Menzel, "Die allgemeine Missionskonferenz," 354–55.

[62]Ibid., 353.

to evangelize all the continents. The New York Conference had supported that goal. Warneck's urge to participate in the conference, even from afar, demonstrated the growing utility that Germans saw in these international gatherings.[63] Merensky, unlike Warneck, attended the New York Conference.[64] He wrote that the conference was a "wondrous, hope-awakening sign for the future of Protestant mission work," and that it was "a victory of mission interests."[65] In German mission leaders' eyes, the general esteem for international conferences grew in direct proportion to the gatherings' relative success in aiding in the collective action of Protestant missionaries of every country.

The 1910 World Missionary Conference and the Continuation Committee

In 1906–1907, German mission representatives met to organize a statement of Germany's proposed contributions to and expectations of the next international conference, set for Edinburgh in 1910.[66] In May 1908, the German mission societies sent deputations to a German meeting to compile a shared proposition for the Edinburgh Conference. The German mission societies proposed that the Edinburgh Conference take on major international themes of Protestant mission work, specifically the "encroachment of Islam in Africa and the defense against it," and "alcohol in West Africa, and a resolution against opium."[67] The assembled also made suggestions for greater cooperation across borders, including the creation of an international mission library and the standardization of a statistical rubric for

[63][Gustav] Warneck, "An die Allg. Missions-Konferenz in New-York," *AMZ* 27 (1900): 201–03.

[64]Minutes of the Komitee of the Berlin Mission Society (December 12, 1899), Archiv des Berliner Missionswerk, Berliner Missionswerk (hereafter BMW/bmw 1)/48, Item XI.

[65]A[lexander] Merensky, "Die allgemeine Missionskonferenz in New York vom 21. April bis 1. Mai 1900," *AMZ* 27 (1900): 316.

[66]German missionary leaders' enthusiasm for the international mission conferences eventually meant that during the planning stages for the 1910 conference, around 1906–1907, German missionaries considered pushing for the 1910 conference to be held in a German city. Support ultimately dissipated as it became increasingly apparent to German mission leaders that pushing too strongly for a German conference location might prove fatal to the whole enterprise, so the German leadership shifted support to Edinburgh; the enthusiasm of a significant portion of the German mission movement for the World Missionary Conference demonstrated, however, the strong support for the international mission conferences that had developed over the decades of the late nineteenth century. For evidence, see Paul Otto Hennig to Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß (December 5, 1906), UA.R 15.A.73.c, 12/5/1906; Theodor Öhler to Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß (December 20, 1906), BMW/bmw1/2184, 5–6; Gottlieb Haussleiter to Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß (December 21, 1906), BMW/bmw1/2184, 7; Paul Schwartz to Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß (December 28, 1906), BMW/bmw1/2184, 8–9; Alexander Merensky to German Protestant mission societies (January 7, 1907), UA.R.15.A.73.c, 4; and Brüdergemeine to Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß (n.d., [October 10, 1907]), BMW/bmw1/2184, 2–3.

[67]Minutes of the Deputierten der deutschen Missionsgesellschaften vor Vorbereitung des Edinburger Missionskongresses (May 18, 1909), UA.R.15.A.73.c, 25, Item 1.

recording and studying mission work.[68] The minutes of that meeting clearly revealed the intentions and expectations of German missionaries that the international conferences should be strategic and collaborative. At an October 1908 meeting of the Ausschuß, Julius Richter celebrated the interest that the British and Americans had shown in German assistance "like never before." This good will required a lively participation by Germany, he continued, and Warneck quickly seconded that notion.[69] For both men the international conferences provided invaluable opportunities for cross-pollination among the Protestant mission communities.

When the World Missionary Conference closed on June 23, 1910, after ten days of lectures, seminars, and prayer meetings, Germany's missionary leaders felt they had witnessed the apotheosis of Protestant internationalism. As one of the German movement's leaders, Paul Otto Hennig of the Brüdergemeine, put it, the conference was the "most important gathering since the Reformation."[70] He described a gathering of all the national mission movements, "men from the missionary battlefront, and beside the sons of the Old World [were] members of a new Christianity: Indians, Japanese, Chinese . . . even . . . a Negro!"[71] Other German missionaries reveled in the unity of Protestants gathered in the Edinburgh Assembly Hall as a direct continuation of the gradual renewal and perfection of Christianity begun by Luther in 1517.[72] One, Walther Trittelvitz, felt that at Edinburgh, the ancient tradition of Christian unity had been resurrected by the diverse representatives of Protestantism seated together in daily communal prayer and consultation.[73] According to many attendees and the mission press, national and denominational differences had fully surrendered to communal mission spirit that summer in Edinburgh.

Hennig experienced his ten days in Edinburgh as proof of the universal power of Christianity; he declared the conference's 1,200 attendees representatives of the "entire Christian world."[74] Trittelvitz of the Bethel Society wrote that for ten

[68]Ibid., Item 2.

[69]Minutes of the Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß (October 27, 1908), Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle, August Franck Stiftung, Archiv des Leipziger Missionswerks Dänisch-Hallescher Mission (AFSt/ALMW-DHM) II.27.1.15.I, 3, Item II.

[70]P[aul] O[tto] Hennig, "Der Weltmissionskongreß in Edinburg," *Missionblatt der Brüdergemeine* 74 (Aug. 1910): 197.

[71]Ibid., 208. There was only one indigenous black African Christian in attendance at the Edinburgh Conference: Mark C. Hayford from Britain's Gold Coast Colony. See Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference,* 13.

[72]In the *Jahrbuch der vereinigten norddeutschen Missionskonferenzen*, the Edinburgh Conference was identified as a direct answer to the 1910 "Borromaeus Encyclical" issued by Pope Pius X, which marked the 300th anniversary of the canonization of a famed critic of the Reformation, Carlo Borromeo. See "Der Edinburger Missionskongreß," *Jahrbuch der vereinigten norddeutschen Missionskonferenzen* (1911): 12.

[73]W[alther] Trittelvitz, "Die Tage von Edinburg," *Beth-El* 2 (1910): 190.

[74]There were no non-Protestant delegates at the conference. Hennig, "Der Weltmissionskongreß," 197–98.

days, Edinburgh was the "spiritual center of the Earth, the capital city of Christendom."[75] The *Jahrbuch der vereinigten norddeutschen Missionskonferenzen (Yearbook of the United North German Mission Conferences)* called the Edinburgh gathering the "most important event" in modern mission history.[76] Hennig evoked the globe-spanning reach of the conference by noting that journalists sat in specially reserved seats with quick access to express telegraphs and postmen so that they could "transmit the latest news of the Congress to every corner of the world."[77] The great mass and diversity of attendees at the mission conference made clear that Germany was but one piece of the international mission movement. The *Jahrbuch* agreed and celebrated the attendance of German missionary leaders in Edinburgh and the honors conferred on them by the British.[78] The Germans were not alone in their experience. For all attendees, whatever their background, the Edinburgh Conference was an intoxicating religious experience that left most participants feeling they had partaken of a profound spiritual event.[79]

The key event of the Edinburgh Conference for German Protestant missionaries was the creation of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference. The Continuation Committee was empowered by the delegates in Edinburgh to organize the next international mission conference in 1920 and to pursue other missionary interests in the intervening decade; this new body was itself an embodiment of the ecumenicalism of a wished-for future, and had been "seconded by a Presbyterian, supported by a Methodist and a German pastor, and acclaimed by the Bishop of Durham, a Quaker, and many others."[80] The supposed Protestant unity of the Conference was transmitted by Hennig, who described the communion on the final Sunday:

> I found myself beside . . . a cleric of the Scottish state church, . . . a Baptist missionary out of distant India, . . . one or another of the German delegates, . . . and in the pew opposite me an Indian cleric and his . . . wife, both in their national dress. Beside him a Japanese woman, in the background the black face of a Negro. We celebrated communion with one another, the repast that the Lord bequeathed to his Church.[81]

And Trittelvitz, representative of the strongly nationalist Bethel Mission, which was the closest of the missions to the secular colonial movement, celebrated the

[75] Trittelvitz, "Die Tage von Edinburg," 184.
[76] "Der Edinburger Missionskongreß," 1.
[77] Hennig, "Der Weltmissionskongreß," 202–06.
[78] "Der Edinburger Missionskongreß," 2.
[79] Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, xxi, 88–90.
[80] Hennig, "Der Weltmissionskongreß," 209–11.
[81] Ibid., 212.

Edinburgh Conference as proof of Protestants' "fighting camaraderie [*Waffenbrüderschaft*] against a shared enemy, against heathendom and Islam."[82]

While the leadership and participants in the Edinburgh Conference were well pleased with the gathering, it is also important to consider the reception of news about the conference in Germany. Many, according to Richter, saw that "German prestige [could be] promoted through German mission." Richter hoped the success of the conference would be a sign of a new era, a new recognition for German missionaries' labors.[83] To Richter, a man whose influence in German mission circles was growing daily, the Edinburgh Conference opened new possibilities for German and international mission. The cooperative structures formed and launched at Edinburgh promised a renewal of the international program of evangelization. The establishment of the Continuation Committee had been the "high point" of the Edinburgh Conference.[84] Three years later, at the 1913 Bremen Conference, Richter's enthusiasm remained undiminished. He told an audience that the Edinburgh Conference was the "greatest, most unforgettable occasion in Protestant mission culture," and every delegate at the conference would remember the "charm and magic" of that "holy day" as one of the most valuable memories of his or her life.[85]

Paul Otto Hennig of Herrnhut joined Richter in sharing the joyful news out of Edinburgh. He reported to an English colleague that he had toured Germany in the months following Edinburgh and "found everywhere the most hearty reception."[86] Later, Hennig elaborated, "Edinburgh showed us challenges like never seen by God's Church. The Lord [had] opened wide the gates of the world."[87] The Edinburgh Conference had created in Hennig and among other mission leaders a tangible sense of international purpose.

Shortly after the formation of the new Continuation Committee, Richter began to tout the contributions Germany could make to it. Germany's model of national association among missionary organizations, the Ausschuß, needed a counterpart in England so that the "chains of union" could be forged. In addition, Germany's well-developed system of academic and practical missionary training should be transmitted to the American and British mission societies for a general improvement of global evangelism. Richter proposed a unified statistical collection and a global effort to influence public opinion through the daily press, as well as the creation of an "international mission journal." Finally, he hoped that

[82]Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*, trans. Sorcha O'Hagan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119. Trittelvitz, "Die Tage von Edinburg," 188.

[83]Julius Richter, "Die Wirkungen der Edinburger Weltmissionskonferenz auf das kontinentale Missionsleben," *Verhandlungen der Kontinentalen Missions-Konferenz* 13 (1913): 12–13.

[84]Julius Richter, "Das Continuation Committee," *AMZ* 38 (1911): 375.

[85]Richter, "Die Wirkungen der Edinburger Weltmissionskonferenz," 9.

[86]Paul Otto Hennig to W. J. Oldham (January 19, 1911), UA.MD 575.

[87]*Mitteilungen aus der General-Synode von Jahre 1914*, vol. 2 (Herrnhut: Druck von Fr. Lindenbein, 1914), 41. See also Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 7.

this grand international system of evangelical governance could create a more specialized international commission that would help to intercede between Protestant mission societies—whatever their ostensible nationality—and the various colonial and national governments.[88] This idea was supported by the leaders of the Continental Mission Conference. Key German mission leaders Theodor Öhler and August Wilhelm Schreiber backed Richter's proposal in a letter to the members of the Continental Mission Conference, organizers of the Bremen Conferences.[89] Richter jumped with both feet into the expanding international movement and demonstrated the enthusiasm for internationalism that existed in Germany and that was being fed by an international mood after 1910.

At its February meeting in 1911, the Ausschuß delineated its expectations for the new international mission commission. The commission, the Ausschuß felt, should serve the general interests of the international mission movement by caring for individual missions' needs. This could be done if the international commission concentrated on "societies whose rights [had] been interfered with by governmental procedures." The commission should also promote the general interest of the mission societies in matters of the reduction of the spirit trade; abolition of the opium trade; promotion of international treaties on the protection of indigenous peoples; opposition to slavery, the "coolie" trade, and the like; as well as by eliminating "infringements upon the rights of Christians and ensuring the interests of mission schools with regard to government policy in the mission territories." In short, the international commission should pursue activities in the global sphere that the Ausschuß itself pursued in Germany.[90]

This general enthusiasm for the international mission movement meant that many in the German movement had rekindled an earlier desire for an international conference to come to German soil.[91] Less than a year after the Edinburgh meeting, leading German missionaries sought to arrange a German host city for the next international conference. The Continuation Committee undertook the planning for the 1920 World Mission Conference immediately after the Edinburgh Conference closed. The Canadians proffered Toronto as a host city, but the Ausschuß felt that a location on the European continent

[88]Richter, "Das Continuation Committee," 376 and 378–381. In May 1911, the same year Richter published his ideas, the Continuation Committee resolved that there would not be a special commission formed to deal with mission societies' relations with foreign governments. It did resolve, however, to serve as best it could to assist in matters that "in the judgment of any national committee imperatively call for some international action." See "Resolutions of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference (May 22, 1911), UA.MD 575.

[89]Öhler and Schreiber to member societies of the Kontinentale Missions-Konferenz (December 19, 1910), UA.MD 573.

[90]Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß to member mission societies (February 16, 1911), BMW/bmw1/1779, Item 2.

[91]See footnote 66 above.

would be better suited, and Öhler led the presentation of its case for a continental host city to the German mission societies. The Ausschuß's argument featured four major points. First, Protestant mission had three wings: American, British, and continental—Merensky's three-legged stool of international mission restated with a different metaphor. The 1900 Conference had been in New York, the 1910 one in Edinburgh, so the 1920 meeting should therefore convene somewhere on the continent. Second, continental mission culture had a unique character with special "gifts and strengths": a continental host city would allow these to come to their fullest potential. Third, if the mission conference were held in Toronto, attendance from the continent would be very low, and as a result, the conference would be a purely Anglo-Saxon affair. The Edinburgh Conference had shown, by contrast, that a European location was no hindrance to North American attendance. Finally, by placing the conference on the continent, Christian missionaries would place "scientific and practical work" at the center of the goals of mission by recognizing the importance of the continental (i.e., German) traditions of mission work.[92] Öhler's proposition received support from both the Berlin Mission's governing *Komitee* and the Missionsdirektion of the Moravians.[93] Soon both the Ausschuß and the Bremen Conference of 1913 endorsed Germany as a host nation.[94]

Karl Axenfeld, Mission Director of the Berlin Mission, produced another endorsement of Germany as host nation for a world mission conference just a month before Germany's declaration of war on France and Russia in 1914. This proposal met with such approval from the rest of the Ausschuß that parts of it were reproduced in whole in a memorandum that the Ausschuß submitted to the Continuation Committee on July 31, 1914. According to Axenfeld, only Germany among the continental mission nations possessed large mission fields in every region of Protestant mission work around the world. He argued that Germany had fought for its political unity and had become a global power "overnight." Holding the 1920 Conference in Germany could support the victory of German unity and Christian development and help bring the full strength of Germany into alliance with the international mission community.[95]

As already mentioned, Axenfeld had become an influential member of the German mission movement and the Ausschuß duplicated his ideas for the 1920 Conference in its "Expert Opinion of the German Mission Council on the

[92]Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß to member mission societies (April 1, 1911), BMW/bmw1/2186, 1–2.

[93]Minutes of the Committee of the Berlin Mission Society (May 2, 1911), BMW/bmw1/56, Item 2; La Trobe to Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß (May 6, 1911), UA.MD 460.

[94]Deutschen Evangelischen Missionsausschuß to member mission societies (May 14, 1912), BMW/bmw1/8334; "Gutachten des deutschen Missions-Ausschusses über die nächste Welt-Missionskonferenz und ihre Tagung in Deutschland" (July 31, 1914), BMW/bmw1/8334.

[95]Karl Axenfeld, "Die nächste Weltmissionskonferenz" (July 9, 1914), BMW/bmw1/2186, 39–44.

Next World Mission Conference and its Meeting in Germany." German missionary leaders also preserved Axenfeld's argument that the next mission conference should be a strategic meeting. The topics covered at the Edinburgh Conference (e.g., developing indigenous churches, mission school policy, medical mission) were important but threatened to "schematize and flatten mission work." The Ausschuß proposed concentrating on broader themes, ones less likely to be distorted by local political and cultural conditions in mission fields—in other words, strategic and broadly theoretical issues of Christian mission.[96] The guns of August would drown out German calls for a German host city for the 1920 World Missionary Conference; the hostilities of 1914–1918 would also put a final end to German missionaries' internationalist ideology. The excitement felt about the 1910 Edinburgh Conference nevertheless strengthened many German missionaries' hopes for an international community of Protestant Christians collaborating to create a heavenly kingdom.

Conclusion

German missionaries' Protestant internationalism was an alternative adaptation to the dislocations and anxieties of globalization during the late nineteenth century. German missionaries, already skeptical of industrialization, urbanization, commercialization, and secularism before the establishment of the *Kaiserreich* in 1871—let alone the creation of a German colonial empire in 1884—found in their internationalism a ready-made response to the difficulties presented by a shrinking world. If World War I was an "escape forward" for the old regime in Wilhelmine Germany, then missionary internationalism might also be considered an "escape forward" for Germany's missionaries—a leap into a global world to forestall the intrusions of nationalism into their evangelical project. But German missionaries did not construct a false ideal to justify their response to globalization. Their internationalism was sincere and consequential. Missionary intellectuals and leaders in Germany fashioned and adhered to a remarkably consistent ideology of missionary internationalism into the twentieth century.

The findings of this study belong to a growing literature on Germany's transnational and global history during the nineteenth century.[97] Beyond the

[96]"Gutachten des deutschen Missions-Ausschusses über die nächste Welt-Missionskonferenz und ihre Tagung in Deutschland" (July 31, 1914), BMW/bmw1/8334.

[97]Russell Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Dirk Bönker, "Global Politics and Germany's Destiny 'from an East Asian Perspective': Alfred von Tirpitz and the Making of Wilhelmine Navalism," *Central European History* 46, no. 1 (March 2013): 61–96; David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*; Christian S. Davis, *Colonialism, Antisemitism, and Germans of Jewish Descent in Imperial Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012); Sara Friedrichsmayer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, *The Imperialist Imagination: German*

historiography of Germany's nineteenth century, other corporate groups found themselves between loyalties in the decades before World War I. Scholars who have studied the history of internationalism argue that scholarship on nationalism inappropriately ignores the international context of the nation-state.[98] In fact, John Boli and George M. Thomas have argued that the tensions between the nation-state and the various forces of transnational groups strengthened both the state and transnational structures, supporting the view of myself and others that, like the colony and the metropole, internationalism and nationalism are mutually constitutive.[99] In this context, Akira Iriye has argued that groups of people have historically striven to create alternative communities bound together by cultural interests. To the extent that a national community can be "imagined," as Benedict Anderson argued, Iriye posited that the international community must also be "imagined." The history of the Protestant mission movement, socialism, Catholicism, and, interestingly, Pan-Africanism all confirm the significance of international communities to transatlantic and global history and the bonds that German Protestants could imagine with Protestants of many stripes and colors around the world.[100]

Colonialism and its Legacy (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Deborah Neill, *Networks in Tropical Medicine: Internationalism, Colonialism, and the Rise of a Medical Specialty, 1890–1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012); George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[98]Micheline R. Ishay, *Internationalism and its Betrayal* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), xv.

[99]John Boli and George M. Thomas, *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1. On the necessity of treating the metropole and colony as one field, see Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Laura Ann Stoler (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 1–56; an example of this approach with missionaries is Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002).

[100]On international socialism, see, for example, Kevin J. Callahan, *Demonstration Culture: European Socialism and the Second International, 1889–1914* (Leicester: Troubador Publishing, 2010); Michael Forman, *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement: The Idea of the Nation in Socialist and Anarchist Theory* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Kerstin S. Jobst, *Zwischen Nationalismus und Internationalismus. Die polnische und ukrainische Sozialdemokratie in Galizien von 1890 bis 1914. Ein Beitrag zur Nationalitätenfrage im Habsburgerreich* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz Verlag, 1996); and Susan Milner, *The Dilemmas of Internationalism: French Syndicalism and the International Labour Movement, 1900–1914* (New York: Berg, 1990). The literature on Catholicism is limited but clearly indicates a promising research direction. See Christopher Clark, "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars," in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-century Europe*, ed. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11–46; Patrick J. Houlihan, "Local Catholicism as Transnational War Experience: Everyday Religious Practice in Occupied Northern France, 1914–1918," *Central European History* 45, no. 2 (2012): 233–67; and Ian Linden, *Global Catholicism: Diversity and Change*

German missionaries' commitment to the priorities of Protestant universalism, as they saw it, meant that they consistently chose an internationalist course even when pressured by powerful and influential nationalist voices within Germany. These nationalist voices, part of a general movement that included influential organizations such as the *Alldeutscher Verband* (Pan-German League) and the Navy League, and less extensively researched organizations such as the Army League and the Eastern Marches Society, have received more attention from historians of Germany.[101] The German Protestant mission societies matched many of these organizations in membership, however, and outstripped all of them, except perhaps the Colonial Society, in devotion to colonial questions. This would be less significant had not so many historians of Germany's nineteenth-century political history identified colonialism as an important component of the conservative Prusso-German state. Missionary internationalism raises important questions about the apparent successfulness of policies of *Sammlungspolitik* pursued by German chancellors from Otto von Bismarck into the twentieth century. If the socially conservative, anti-Catholic, and antisocialist leaders of the Protestant mission movement could not be motivated by a nationalist program of colonial development, then the effectiveness of such a program at drawing in Germany's Protestant population also needs to be questioned.

The Protestant missionaries of Germany occupied an influential position in the international missionary conferences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their participation points to a Protestant missionary movement that was able to wield far more influence within and outside Germany than has been credited to it up to this point. Missionaries' close entanglement with the colonial state in the German colonies and the colonial administration in the German metropole meant that missionaries' Protestant universalism and internationalist sentiments had an important influence on Germany's colonial culture. Missionary leaders' influence, paired with their opposition to statist and economic

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since Vatican II (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). On Pan-Africanism, see Tunde Adeleke, *Unafrican Americans: Nineteenth-century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1998); and Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*, trans. Ann Keep (New York: Africana Publishing, 1974). On the "imagined" bonds of community between African-Americans and Africans, see Milfred C. Fierce, *The Pan-African Idea in the United States: African-American Interest in Africa and Interaction with West Africa* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993).

[101] A sampling of this literature includes Volker R. Berghahn, *Der Tirpitz-Plan. Genesis und Verfall einer innenpolitischen Krisenstrategie unter Wilhelm II.* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971); Roger Chickering, *We Men Who Feel Most German: A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886–1914* (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1984); Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, *The German Army League: Popular Nationalism in Wilhelmine Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Barry A. Jackisch, *The Pan-German League and Radical Nationalist Politics in Interwar Germany, 1918–39* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2012); and Richard Wonser Tims, *Germanizing Prussian Poland: The H-K-T Society and the Struggle for the Eastern Marches in the German Empire, 1894–1919* (New York: AMS Press, 1966).

colonialism, demand that scholars of Germany's colonialism consider more carefully the relationship between German Protestantism, German nationalism, and German colonialism. Missionaries were not servants of German colonialism; they were far more interested in an international movement of Protestant evangelization than in any program of German *Weltpolitik* or other program of imperial expansion and development.

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