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# Swiss-German Protestant Women in Mission: The Basel Mission (Nineteenth to Twenty-first Century)

*Heike Walz*

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Pietism,<sup>2</sup> a movement of spiritual awakening within the Reformed churches in German-speaking Switzerland, and the Lutheran churches in Germany,<sup>3</sup> profoundly shaped the work of Protestant missionaries' from the Basel Mission.<sup>4</sup> Many years ago, as I undertook vigorous youth work in my home village in Southern Germany, I too found the spirit of Pietism attractive. Later, as I studied theology and became acquainted with the negative aspects of European colonial mission history, I began to ask critical questions: why was the spread of the gospel combined with the imposition of European civilization, its cultural, political, and economic power?

This view too was later challenged. When I was involved in "mission in solidarity"<sup>5</sup> between the global North and South, I served as a young pastor at the Presbyterian Women's Centre Abokobi in Ghana. The late Rev. Rose Akua Ampofo delivered a sermon, the contents of which surprised me: She gave thanks to my grandmothers and grandfathers who had come to Ghana as missionaries to spread the gospel! Ghanaian Christians had experienced God's mission through the ambivalent European mission. "Women's work for women," a concept of women in mission, is one of the seeds to have germinated in God's mission. During the past years, as I served the Evangelical Mission Society in Basel (*mission 21*) by teaching theology in Buenos Aires in Argentina,<sup>6</sup> I worked within the tensions created by the

persistence of old mission methods and development of new models such as “partnership in mission.” In truth, however, my experience of living side by side with the people often extended beyond such formal patterns. For me, ambivalence itself provides a hermeneutic key for reflecting on the experiences of the Swiss-German women engaged in foreign mission treated in this essay. In short: my own story mirrors the various approaches to mission held in German-speaking Europe today.

While the fields of business, politics, astronautics, the military and even football teams have a particular “mission” today, in the church life of German speaking Christians and—most of all—in foreign mission, there exists a widespread hesitancy to use the term “mission” at all.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, even pastors are reluctant to have any association with mission due to the perception that mission is a movement of manipulation and the imposition of an ideology.<sup>8</sup> Instead, they argue: “Do not bother others with your faith; respect personal beliefs as everybody’s private affair.” In Germany, this attitude results from secularization, the privatization of religion, and the pluralist society. It has also to do with the shameful history of the propaganda and manipulation that occurred during Nazism and the Holocaust. Furthermore, some sectors of the society disguise xenophobia with the language of a “Christian leading culture” in an effort to curtail the development of a multireligious society. Hopefully, reluctant attitudes toward the imposition upon others of one’s own world view and belief system will help avoid a repetition of the violent history of European colonial mission and political and economic “missions” to peoples in the South.

The Evangelical and Pentecostal wings of the Christian church, both in Germany and abroad, focus especially on church growth and expansionist forms of mission to call individuals to a radical “born again” conversion experience. Yet, “mission,” in the sense of the communication of the good news of the gospel, has in recent years become important for the Evangelical Church in Germany,<sup>9</sup> not only because of the significant decline in church membership, but also because Christian institutions, Christian culture and language have become remote to people particularly in East Germany.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the rich ecumenical resources drawn from Global Christianity have not been directed to the question of “mission” in Europe. Nor has the agency of women in mission been considered pivotal. But new concepts of mission have emerged, such as “mission as hermeneutics of the Other,” which includes respect and empathy toward religion and culture of the Other, “mission as living together,”<sup>11</sup> “mission as

interreligious dialogue,"<sup>12</sup> "mission in a pluralist society,"<sup>13</sup> and "doxological mission."<sup>14</sup>

The history of women missionaries has attracted attention since the 1990s,<sup>15</sup> with the implementation of gender policies in both Swiss and German mission societies. Gender studies in mission<sup>16</sup> are less frequent, and studies on masculinities in mission<sup>17</sup> almost do not exist at all. In the perspective of German speaking feminist theology, "mission" is perceived as connected with an authoritarian, triumphant, violent, overall powerful and patriarchal understanding of God and Christianity. Of course, feminist theologies themselves show a "missionary drive" as far as the spread of emancipation, liberation, and gender equality is concerned. Few theologies of mission from women's and feminist angles have emerged so far.<sup>18</sup>

My approach has partly been influenced by discussions with the feminist postcolonial criticisms of mission developed by Musa W. Dube, Kwok Pui-lan, and Mrinalini Sebastian,<sup>19</sup> but I am aware that theologians in non-English speaking contexts (especially in Latin America) largely resist the application of Anglophone postcolonial theories to their distinct contexts.<sup>20</sup> Their critique is, rather, focused on "Empire" and "neoliberal globalization." While migration studies, politics of migration and asylum,<sup>21</sup> and gender studies in theology have assumed feminist postcolonial perspectives, these insights have had little to no impact on German-speaking mission studies. Thus I am not sure if I am able to fully resist explicit or implicit images of "the Third-World-Woman"<sup>22</sup> in this essay. I am challenged to practice self-criticism with regard to privileges, whiteness, power relations, socio-economic hierarchies and binary symbolic oppositions between "European" and "non-Western" people.

Therefore, I will look for contradictions between "European mission ideals" promoted officially and the concrete actions of missionaries from Europe and their interlocutors. European women's mission would have been impossible without encounters, co-operations, theological, and linguistic discussions and negotiations with African, Asian, Latin American, and Pacific women and men. The latter were missionaries themselves and made a greater contribution to the mission enterprise than the foreigner did.

The case study will focus mainly, but not exclusively, on the Basel Mission from the nineteenth until the twenty-first century, that is, to *mission 21* today. This is one of the most important mission societies in German-speaking parts of Europe.<sup>23</sup> Drawing on the rich documents and photographs available in the Basel

Mission Archive, good research exists that deals with women sent by the Basel Mission.<sup>24</sup>

## **2. Historical Background in Switzerland and Germany in the Nineteenth Century**

Four aspects shape the historical background of women in mission in Germany and Switzerland in the nineteenth century: the Protestant mission movement, gender perceptions of women and men in society and church, women's emancipation movements, and colonialism. A new epoch of the Protestant mission history started in the nineteenth century. There was such an incredible boom of the mission movement across all Protestant denominations that the famous founder of mission studies, Gustav Warneck (1834–1910), described it as the “century of mission.”<sup>25</sup>

The “Inner Mission” or “Home Mission,” developed by Johann Heinrich Wichern (1808–1881) in 1848, addressed the poor and sick people at home. It aimed at a rebirth or awakening of Christianity by setting up Sunday schools and Christian education, as well as homes for uncared children, rescue missions for prostitutes and drunkards, nurseries, asylums for strangers and social work with prison inmates. Inner Mission was a Protestant response to the social problems and the pauperization caused by rapid industrialization.<sup>26</sup> Women played an important role as deaconesses. They stepped in the “Inner Mission” as social workers among poor, sick, and elderly people and women in childbirth. Bible reading and spiritual support was part of their mission.<sup>27</sup>

The “Inner Mission” was connected with the “External Mission” to spread “the good news of the Gospel” to the people in Asia and Africa. Some women had already been sent abroad by the Moravians in the eighteenth century, but only in the nineteenth century was a “women's mission movement” initiated. At the beginning, missionaries' wives were sent abroad. Educated, unmarried women missionaries were included in the missionary project by the 1840s. This developed to its height between 1880 and 1920.<sup>28</sup>

The women's mission movement was rooted in the concept of two separated *gender* characters for women and men in the bourgeois society and the church. Women were considered as passive and emotional, and men as active and rational. Women had to dedicate their lives to the private sphere of the house, the family and motherhood, while men worked in the public

spheres of politics and industrial work.<sup>29</sup> Yet within this binary opposition of the private and public sphere, women, especially when they were unmarried or widows, were increasingly expected to accomplish tasks as mothers and caretakers outside the house, the task of “mothering within the extended family.”<sup>30</sup> Socioeconomic changes caused by industrialization and women’s emancipation movements provoked the establishment of female professions such as teachers, nurses, secretaries, or accountants. The bourgeois liberal movement called for higher education, access to universities and the right for women to vote. Confessional Protestant and Catholic women’s organizations participated as well, though their profile was more conservative.<sup>31</sup>

The German-speaking mission movement had begun before the rise of colonial empires, but, with the rise of these empires, the mission enterprise soon shared in the colonial and imperial spirit and became stamped by the European feeling of superiority.<sup>32</sup> Women participated actively in colonialism by supporting their husbands who were serving as colonial officers, missionaries, and as active members of colonial associations at home. Nevertheless, white European women fulfilled complex and contradictory roles, being perpetrators, victims, and critics in German colonies.<sup>33</sup> Their relationships with African and Asian women were also contradictory and ambivalent.<sup>34</sup>

### **3. Case Study: Contradictions within Women’s Missionary Work of Basel Mission**

Two concrete examples will be presented as case studies: the stories of women who, in serving as missionary wives or unmarried missionaries, struggled with contradictions inherent in their mandate. To situate them in their historical context, I will give a rough overview on five periods and models of understanding women’s missionary work within the Basel Mission.

#### *3.1 Five Periods and Models of Understanding Woman’s Role in Mission*

Founded in 1815, the Basel Mission originated as a Protestant interdenominational mission society, supported by the Lutheran Church of Württemberg in Southern Germany and the Reformed Churches in Switzerland. Mission work was constantly promoted by the journal “Protestant Heathen Messenger,” by annual reports and mission feasts, and by supporting groups.<sup>35</sup> In Basel,

wealthy citizens were involved in transnational trade and interested in expanding commerce. In 1956, more than about 2500 male missionaries had been trained in theology and handicraft work (printing, textile manufacturing, weaving) in order to create employment opportunities for the local people abroad. At the beginning of the First World War (1914–1918), the Basel Mission had become the largest mission society in German speaking Europe.<sup>36</sup> The Reformed Church and the Pietistic movement were closely collaborating in Basel.

During the first period until the 1840s, the Basel Mission sent out only men as missionaries. For the Committee of the Basel Mission (the direction), the problem was that these men wanted to get married or were already engaged. So Inspektor Christoph Gottfried Blumhardt (1779–1838) formulated the “principles of marriage” in 1837. According to these, male missionaries could marry with the permission of the Committee. Missionaries’ wives were considered helpers, but rarely called “missionaries.”<sup>37</sup> Usually, the missionary brides knew their future husband only by photographs and the exchange of letters.<sup>38</sup> Many women hoped to break out of the limited space of their homes, to explore foreign countries and to realize themselves by working for the Kingdom of God. Missionary wives were housewives and enablers of their husband’s work. They represented the mission house in their respective mission stations in Africa or Asia. They were to exemplify high standards of housekeeping and the European Christian ideals of monogamous marriage, the family and womanhood. Normally they employed African or Asian women, who assisted them in managing the household.

As “helpers” they usually filled gaps, teaching “female” skills,<sup>39</sup> without either remuneration or an official status within the missionary society.<sup>40</sup> The impact of missionaries’ wives was immense, however, because only women were allowed to meet local women in their living spheres inside the houses, e.g. *zenanas* in India. This presented an opportunity for missionaries’ wives to introduce local women to the Bible outside of male control.

The second period is marked by the controversial decision to send out unmarried female missionaries. North American and British mission societies served as a model for other European mission societies.<sup>41</sup> The Anglo-Saxon concept of women’s mission for women became introduced to the European continent. In 1841, Inspektor Ludwig Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann (1808–1873) published his programmatic text “The education of the

female sex in India. A call for Christian women in Germany and Switzerland."<sup>42</sup> He argued that the Christian faith had contributed to the advancement of the status of women in the West. He considered "heathendom" and "superstition" as the main reasons for the "slavery of the female sex"<sup>43</sup> in other parts of the world. "White women saving brown women from brown men," as postcolonial feminist theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (\*1942) later described it.<sup>44</sup>

The Women's Association of the Basel Mission was founded in 1841. While the Women's Mission Committee consisted of thirteen women, men remained in charge, as was typical in other women associations of the Inner Mission. In 1842, the first two female teachers were sent to India.<sup>45</sup> Women in Basel were engaged with policy making, fundraising, public speaking, and supporting one or several women missionaries. The Basel Women's Mission Committee connected with other women mission associations in England, Geneva, Berlin and "female mission friends" in Germany and Switzerland.<sup>46</sup> But, in the following years, the Women's Mission Committee, became increasingly powerless. It was only in 1901 that Women's Mission was re-established as a separate organization, now under the leadership of the women themselves.<sup>47</sup>

Some unmarried women were active as teachers, especially from the 1850s to the beginning of the nineteenth century, but missionaries' wives were the main actors during that time.<sup>48</sup> Records show that even some missionaries' wives and widows did not agree with sending out unmarried women.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the Basel Mission hesitated to send unmarried women abroad until the beginning of the twentieth century. This was also the case in the Netherlands<sup>50</sup> and in Norway.<sup>51</sup> However, the "woman missionary" was transformed into a profession with salary, old-age pension, a regular theological training and medical formation by the end of the nineteenth century.

The International Mission Conference in Edinburgh 1910 marks the beginning of the third period. The two women delegates, Elise Raaflaub (1878–1944) and Johanna Metzger (1876–1956) from the Basel Mission, were impressed by the agency and theological contributions of English female missionaries to the Conference. Johanna wrote a forty-page record in which she recommended that a sisters' institute for the preparation of female missionaries be founded. The Edinburgh conference provoked a radical change of mind in Basel: in 1911, the Sisters' Institute was founded and more women received solid training to become missionaries.<sup>52</sup> While the Basel Mission's women's

missionary work was stagnant during the First World War, it flourished again in the years 1920–1940. A secretary for women's mission was established in 1928 and occupied by Dorothee Sarasin (1894–1968) until 1964.<sup>53</sup> Various German missionary societies amplified their co-operation, for example, by establishing a working group of German Evangelical women in mission in 1925 that formed part of the German Evangelical Mission Council.<sup>54</sup>

Because of the Second World War, during the fourth period, the women's missionary movement suffered a decline in its activities. In 1966, the Basel Mission renewed its regulation, which meant dissolving the Basel Women's Association and integrating it into the Basel Mission as the Commission for Women's Work. The idea was to create a "partnership between man and woman in the direction" of the Basel Mission.<sup>55</sup>

The fifth period since the 1990s shows a paradigm shift from women's issues to gender mainstreaming in development organizations, fostered by the legislation of the European Union. Mission 21, like other German missionary societies, established the Women's and Gender Desk in 2001.<sup>56</sup> Basel Mission and *mission 21* underwent a process of structural transformation toward "partnership at eye-level" with their partners abroad.<sup>57</sup> Efforts were made to foster a mutual exchange of historical views, theological perspectives, and visions between women from the South and North as "sisters from two worlds,"<sup>58</sup> but also via South-South networking between women from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

### 3.2 *The Ideal of European "Christian Motherhood" While sending Children Back to Europe*

Missionaries' wives had to embody the "Christian" ideal of good motherhood, which included the comprehensive and "ordered Christian education" of their children. Coincidentally, they often had to send their children back home as early as age five or six. If the children could not live in the household of some family members or friends in Europe, the mission society took care of them via "missionaries' sons' boarding schools" or the "missionaries' daughters' institutions." This was a common practice at the Basel Mission<sup>59</sup> and in other missionary societies like the Rhenish Mission<sup>60</sup> and the Northern German Mission.<sup>61</sup>

The Basel Mission released a "children's regulation" in 1853 only after Inspector Josef Josenhans (1812–1884) sent a twenty-six-page paper to the missionaries abroad outlining arguments

in favor and against two options: It would either be necessary to build boarding schools in India for all missionaries' children, or to develop girls and boys institutes in Basel. Most of the missionaries agreed with the second option, which was also the favored option of the home base in Basel.<sup>62</sup>

The children's regulation reflects the dualistic division between "pagan" education and the "Christian spirit." Schooling had to be based on German-Swiss culture and language and in correspondence with the missionary tradition. The Basel Mission argued against bringing up the children in schools on the mission fields due to the potential of being "poisoned" by the "bad influence" of "pagan" customs or even being sexually seduced by "pagans."<sup>63</sup>

Gender divisions are obvious as well. Missionaries' wives were not allowed to educate their sons. Neither, however, could the male missionaries do it because they had to dedicate themselves to mission full-time. Femininity was constructed as being a good wife and mother. By contrast, the focus of the male missionary's masculinity rested not in being a good husband and father, but in being a missionary.<sup>64</sup> Similar gender divisions applied to the education of girls and boys. Only boys were given a higher level of education at the middle of the nineteenth century. Girls were educated for their future life as wives in the household. As such, a basic knowledge in reading, writing, calculating, history, and geography was sufficient.<sup>65</sup>

Sending their children back to Europe was painful for both mother and father. Some missionaries' wives wrote in their "diary of the children" about the trauma of letting their children go. In Johanna Ritter's (1884–1970) words: "We as mission people could only be something for our children for a short time."<sup>66</sup> She could neither experience how her children were growing up, nor influence their education. She could only expect seeing them during furlough in Europe after some years.<sup>67</sup>

"Mission children" often suffered from a cultural shock when they came back "home."<sup>68</sup> But was it their home? Often they had difficulties adapting themselves to the rigid system of the Swiss and German children's homes, nor was their "mother tongue" German. Sometimes they dreamed of free adventures in the bush under African's hot sun.<sup>69</sup> Separation and alienation between parents and children were but one of the sacrifices the missionaries assumed "for the mission."<sup>70</sup> Missionaries' wives were "relieved" from the care for the elder children. Their life was expected to belong entirely to the mission.<sup>71</sup> Today we would say that mission children had to live in "patchwork families."

Today, this separation of the family seems to be contradictory to the “Christian ideal of family,” because living together in the extended family was self-evident in Germany and Switzerland—as it was also the case among African and Asian peoples.<sup>72</sup> Maybe the mothers of mission children at that time did not always interpret the separation as a contradiction, but as an unquestionable sacrifice.<sup>73</sup> However, while “brotherhood and sisterhood” were promoted in mission, children turned out to be an obstacle. Missionaries’ wives had to represent the model of “Christian motherhood,” but had to renounce being mothers for their own children.

The last generation of these “children of mission” is, today, about seventy years old. In the main, they have felt traumatized by the separation from their parents and by their experiences of being outlandish and strange during their whole life. Until today, many of them keep in touch with other “children of mission” and come together in workshops held for “mission children” at *mission 21* to exchange experiences. Some of them travel to the country of their childhood, to retrace the footsteps of their forebears and to meet descendants of their indigenous caretakers.<sup>74</sup>

### 3.3 *The Ideal of European Whiteness and Black African Women Missionaries as Key Actors*

The Basel Mission considered white European women as key actors in the mission task, but engaged black Africans from the Caribbean because many European missionaries had died on the Gold Coast. African American Christians founded a Black Atlantic Missionary Movement, arguing that Christianity and modernity had come to Africa also through an “African” movement searching for a “black African” Christianity.<sup>75</sup> However, the “universal Christian community” of the Basel Mission did not promote a full communion between whites and blacks, and especially not interracial marriage, as we will explore now using the example of Catherine Mulgrave (1827–1891).

Catherine Mulgrave was a Moravian returnee and the Basel Mission’s first women teacher at the Gold Coast.<sup>76</sup> Her interesting biography shows the intertwinement of gender, race, and class questions, but also her pioneer work and key role as a female missionary. As it is possible to trace her own voice only in few letters written by herself, scholars must rely on the letters and reports from others, mainly male missionaries.

Catherine was born in Angola as a daughter of a Christian family, but kidnapped by slave traders at the age of six. During a storm, the ship overturned off the coast of Jamaica where slaves had already been declared free. The Governor of Jamaica, the Earl of Mulgrave, took care of Catherine and his wife educated her. After the couple had left for England, Catherine was educated in a boarding school run by Moravian missionaries, received training as a schoolteacher and worked in her profession.

When George Thompson (1819–1889), originally from Liberia and the first black African missionary of the Basel Mission, came to Jamaica searching for Christianized blacks in the Caribbean, Catherine and George came to know each other. After their marriage, Catherine moved to Christiansborg (today Accra) in Ghana. They had two children, but in 1849 Catherine divorced George due to his extramarital relationships. While George went back to Liberia, Catherine remained at the mission station and worked as a schoolteacher. Her reflections about her future, but also her devotion and faithfulness to her vocation are expressed in a letter to Inspektor Josenhans in 1850: "I know that I ought not to consult my own ease, the question should be, how can I be useful in the world? I hope I shall be directed by the Lord. Oh that God would use me as an instrument whether it be in the domestic circle or in arduous teaching of the young."<sup>77</sup>

Conflict developed between Catherine and the Basel Mission when she married Johannes Zimmermann (1825–1876), a white missionary, in 1851. Amongst other aspects, this marriage afforded a solution for her economic problems and the difficulties in maintaining herself and her children on her small salary as missionary teacher. Mulgrave and Zimmermann affronted the marriage rules because they married without permission of Basel Committee and because interracial sexual contact and marriage were prohibited. "Policy in the mission at that time discouraged even casual social interaction between Africans and Europeans, if it appeared 'too familiar'."<sup>78</sup> Surprisingly, the Basel Mission did not dismiss Johannes Zimmermann despite this "willful breach of the rules." They did, however, stipulate that he "was no longer to consider himself a European citizen and that he must never expect to bring Catherine or their children to Europe."<sup>79</sup> Johannes Zimmermann had prior knowledge of this potential consequence. In his letter to the Basel Mission Committee, he declared that Africa was "his new home." He even named his marriage with Catherine as a "marriage with Africa."<sup>80</sup> Apparently his wish "to be to the Africans like an

African" had to do with his experience of a life-threatening illness and his healing by an African healer, while Basel Mission had not given him permission to return to Europe for treatment. Though the case of Catherine and Johannes Zimmermann is an exception, it demonstrates that European missionaries did occasionally cross over racial barriers.

During this period, racist discourses were reinforced in the Basel Mission due to the "scientific racism" that drew on theories of social evolution. Some scholars argue that anthropologists reinforced the already existing theory of the "curse of Ham"<sup>81</sup> by supporting scientific racism. Interpretations of Catherine's marriage to Johannes illustrate how race issues (her 'scandalous' interracial marriage) intersect with gender issues (remarriage is better for her as compared to remaining a divorced woman) and with class issues (she is not considered a "simple village girl," but a Christian European "civilized" and educated woman).<sup>82</sup> Catherine's mission work in Ghana shows that she "represented a template for an 'African' Christian womanhood in the Basel Mission."<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, she developed a self-contained conceptualization of women's missionary work. On several occasions, mission records regard her as a key person for the mission work in Ghana. Local missionary brothers in Ghana supported Catherine's marriage with Johannes Zimmermann because they feared losing her to a rival Methodist Mission.

In fact, Catherine developed a wide range of women's missionary activities as a married, divorced, remarried, and finally widowed female missionary. Catherine was mother of two children from her first marriage, a daughter (Rosina, born 1844) and a son (George born 1846).<sup>84</sup> As a mother and missionary's wife, Catherine also served as a missionary. She founded a girls' school in Christiansborg in 1843. Records concerning her school were all-over positive and it was acknowledged by the Basel Women's Association in 1847. Moreover, Catherine was an evangelist among women as she formed regular meetings of women's groups. Most likely Catherine adopted the Moravian model of women's classes independent of men. Already in 1848, she was familiar with the local language Ga and with Ghanaian customs. After her marriage with Johannes Zimmermann in 1851, Catherine was not only in charge of her girl's school, but also assisted him in his linguistic work. In 1852, she became the housemother of the new boarding school of the catechist-teacher training seminary established by her husband. In 1854, she established a prayer meeting for women. During the following years, Catherine continued these

activities in Christiansborg, Abokobi, and Odumase. Catherine also had five more children with Johannes Zimmermann.<sup>85</sup>

Though Johannes Zimmermann was not permitted to travel to Europe, in 1872 the couple received the order to travel to Basel because the Basel Mission thought that Johannes Zimmerman had to be "resocialized." Supposedly, he had become "too African." In 1876, Catherine's husband died during another visit to Germany. Catherine came back to Christiansborg as a missionary widow. Records refer to her as "our spiritual mother" because of her engagement in classes and house visits. She also had assisted in the deathbed conversion and baptism of a former male servant of the missionary Andreas Riis (1804–1854).<sup>86</sup>

Catherine Mulgrave served as a schoolteacher and transmitter of civilizing mission of Christian middle-class womanhood, and as an evangelist, linguist, housemother, mistress of the domestic sphere, manager of the mission household, a precursor of today's "women's fellowships" in Ghana, and as a spiritual mother, maybe in some way anticipating the future female pastor's service. Most of her woman's missionary work took place within the context of her intercultural marriage. Today we would say she was a migrant, a bridge builder, or an "in-between" person linking European white and African black settings. Being shaped by European Moravian piety and the "Basel Mission's order," she engaged with (what we would call today) "contextualization" and "inculturation" of European Christianity in Africa, namely within a tri-continental dialogue between her origins, the Caribbean, and the local customs in Ghana.

In some ways, the missionary work of Catherine and Johannes did not maintain the clear distance between "heathen" African settings and European "Christian" spaces, for example, with respect to the mission station and clothing. It would be interesting to know the ways in which Catherine brought European Christian ideas and cultural traditions into dialogue with religious traditions from Angola, Jamaica, or Ghana. Speculation on this point, however, is difficult, as the sources do not provide much information. After Catherine's death in 1891, her daughter Auguste also served the Basel Mission in Ghana. But there was a good deal of confusion over how she should be classified: was she a Ghanaian teacher or a European missionary? Catherine and Auguste seem to be early examples of what we call "transculturation" today. Their lives represent an encounter of cultures, and clear differences between them are difficult to discern.<sup>87</sup>

#### **4. Critical Analysis of the Case Study from Women's Perspective and Conclusions**

A critical analysis of the case study shows a contradiction between the ideal of European women's emancipation and its reality. Salvation, liberation, and emancipation from the "slavery of the female sex" (Johannes Hoffmann) in the South was the aim, but the "civilizing women's mission" was countered by obvious gender barriers within the Basel Mission, the Swiss-German society, and the churches themselves at that time. The ideal of opposite gender characters between women and men led to gender hierarchies so that men even became leaders of the Women's Mission Association in Basel. While Basel women missionaries wanted to bring "good news" of women's education and emancipation to women in Africa and Asia, their own gender barriers and limits within a more or less "masculinized" concept of mission remained invisible. The question has to be left open to what extent European female missionaries were themselves aware of these ambivalences.

Contradictions and gaps between "the ideal and the reality" have been identified with regard to motherhood and fatherhood as well. While promoting feminine ideals of "good Christian motherhood," missionaries' wives had to send their own children back to Europe. Ideals of Christian masculinity did not encompass "good fatherhood." However, this joint venture between "maleness" and "mission" was also thwarted by the urgent need of women missionaries to share their faith with African or Asian women, and thus with their families. One can even talk about a gendered "two classes" missionary agency: Female missionaries had to follow men in the mission field, without competing with them regarding a similarly qualified preparation for their dedication in the mission field (for example, knowledge of local languages), without leadership in worship and the administration of sacraments. They and the local women had to stay "feminine" in order not to transform themselves and the locals into "half-men."<sup>88</sup> Male missionaries were supposed to live their family life in correspondence to their calling. Women missionaries were expected to subordinate their missionary calling to their marriage since marriage was esteemed as the highest and final calling in a woman's life. Independent women's missionary work was limited to single women.

The idea of the "European female missionaries' whiteness" was sidelined by the urgent need of black African women who could cope much better with the climate in Ghana than

the missionaries from Europe. This is another example for the co-operation with locals or "repatriates" to communicate more persuasively that Christianity is black and African. Even if interracial marriages and officially excepted love relationships remained an exception, such deviations from the norm pointed to the vision of Christian community between blacks and whites beyond ethnic and race barriers. The distance and the gaps between the mission society in Basel and the "lived mission" with its appropriators, for example, in Ghana, could sometimes break off the rigid Pietistic order and open up new ways of intercultural encounters.

My critical analysis also includes a German-speaking historiography of women in mission. I discovered four approaches that can reflect in which way hermeneutical approaches to historiography of women in mission have changed during the last decades.<sup>89</sup> The first approach focuses on narratives and biographies of European women in mission abroad. Since women in mission are still marginal in standard works on European mission history,<sup>90</sup> these authors see their main duty as making visible daily life stories of European women in mission. However, a critical analysis of the concepts of women's missionary work and the interactions with local people is mostly omitted.<sup>91</sup> An overall positive view of female missionaries (as "heroines") has been overcome, but the authors hover on the edge between appreciating European women's mission as "gospel bearers" in spite of "gender barriers"<sup>92</sup> and criticizing the dark sides of their agency.

The second approach interprets European women missionaries' history as a feminist emancipation story.<sup>93</sup> Emphasis is laid on the chances foreign mission offered to European female missionaries to develop their talents, to serve as pioneers, to "empower" women in Africa or Asia, and sometimes even to fulfill tasks in the mission country, which would have been impossible for a woman in Switzerland or Germany at that time. However, this approach sometimes tends to overlook the asymmetry in power relations and negotiations between European women missionaries and women in Africa and Asia.

Here the third approach comes in. It explores intercultural encounters between European women and the women appropriators of Christian faith.<sup>94</sup> It assumes that non-European women were not merely receiving or responding, but rather "actors" of mission, contributing, resisting, and negotiating with their European counterparts about religion, Christianity, femininity and masculinity, womanhood and manhood, and so forth.

Thus, it becomes a question of how to explore these intercultural encounters, negotiations, co-operations and conflicts took place and the results.

The fourth approach presents an explicit gender approach in order to analyze the intertwinement of women's and men's gendered lives and relationships in mission, though men's studies in mission remain rare.<sup>95</sup>

Each approach is still necessary. It is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to include each of the four approaches in one research work. However, future German-speaking research work on women in mission should place special emphasis on the third and fourth approaches. It remains a future challenge to deal with the tension between the invisibility of the *herstory*<sup>96</sup> of European women doing mission and a self-critical, postcolonial and gendered view on the intercultural encounters between European and non-European women missionaries.

## 5. Questions for Discussion

1. How do you perceive the interactions and relationships between Swiss-German women in mission with the local people, especially women?

2. What can be learned, in your opinion, from the positive and negative aspects and the contradictions of the Basel women's missionary work for women engaged in mission today?

## 6. Recommendations

The contradiction between the European understanding of mission as "sending emancipation" to African and Asian women, and the simultaneous ignorance regarding gender, race, and class barriers, along with the incomplete emancipation of women in their own context, has served to exploit women's emancipation for "civilizing mission." Therefore I will give two examples of German-speaking feminist missiology willing to change this paradigm.

Katja Heidemanns questions the sending model of mission and prefers a concept of mission as listening and receiving. Thus, mission is interpreted in relational dimensions, not, however, in a romanticizing sense. Relationship and connectedness also include a local and global responsibility for structural injustice: "participation in God's mission requires identifying what is death healing."<sup>97</sup> God's mission is understood as the active presence of the Holy Spirit, the *ruah*, who gives strength to the

“exhausted, burnt out and breathless”. Heidemanns calls this a “missiology of risk.”<sup>98</sup>

For Marion Grau<sup>99</sup> “rethinking mission in the postcolony” also means moving “toward a reciprocal resolute articulation and practice of Christian faith.” That is why she uses a “poly-dox” methodology for missiology: missionaries and their interlocutors create “theological friction” as they negotiate religious, cultural, sexual, and socioeconomic aspects of their faith, which are embedded in power and gender.<sup>100</sup>

Thus, contemporary feminist missiologists explore the epistemological questions of missiology. They look carefully at the baggage we carry with us. My recommendation for a feminist missiology in Europe is to continue this exploration of how to overcome a missiology of control over people, land, resources, and gender relations, which has been dominant in European mission history.

## 7. Conclusion

This essay emphasized the contradictions and ambivalences between the proclaimed ideals of European women’s mission and the lived reality on site. In today’s ecumenical encounters of European women with women in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific, it is important to deal with one’s own gender, class, and race barriers in Europe. However, it remains fascinating to see how God’s spirit *ruah* blows, especially when our foremothers and forefathers in mission subverted official policies of gender, race, and class by living their faith, their joys and afflictions together. May this spirit always renew intercultural encounters between North-South and South-South in the future.

## Further Reading

Waltraud Ch. Haas and Ken Phin Pang, *Mission’s History from the Woman’s Point of View* (Basel: Basel Mission, 1989).

Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Practice and Discourse* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999).

Dagmar Konrad, *Missionsbräute, Pietistinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Basler Mission* (Münster, New York, München, Berlin: Waxmann, 2001).

Ulrike Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood: The Basel Mission in Pre- and Early Colonial Ghana* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009).

Heike Walz, Christine Lienemann-Perrin and Doris Strahm, eds., *Als hätten sie uns neu erfunden. Beobachtungen zu Fremdheit und Geschlecht* (Luzern: Edition Exodus, 2003).

Christoph Schnyder, *Macht teilen. Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen der Basler Mission und ihren Partnern um Strukturen und Visionen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lembeck, 2009).

## Endnotes

1. I am grateful to Christine Lienemann-Perrin, Dagmar Konrad, and Henning Wrogemann for their most valuable comments to earlier drafts of this article. I owe special thanks to my colleague John Flett for editing the article with regard to English style.

2. Pietism is a religious reform movement within Lutheranism, which combines the Reformed emphasis on personal faith and heartfelt devotion ("heart religion" against "head religion," as the founder Philipp Jakob Spener said in the seventeenth century). Later it became concerned with education and social work. The Moravian Church is connected with Methodism and profoundly influenced by Pietism. Pietism has persisted until the twenty-first century. Today the term is often used for religious expressions of inward devotion and moral purity, see Ulrich Gäbler, ed. *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert: Geschichte des Pietismus Bd. 3* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

3. The term "Swiss-German women" encompasses both Swiss-German women from Switzerland and German women from Germany.

4. In 2001, the Basel Mission joined four other missionary societies, which formed together the Evangelical Missionary Society Basel (mission 21). Since 2007, the Basel Mission, the Evangelical Mission in the Kwango area, the Moravian Mission and the South-Africa Mission have combined to support the associations of mission 21, see [www.mission-21.org](http://www.mission-21.org) (August 05, 2011); see Christoph Schnyder, *Macht teilen: Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen der Basler Mission und ihren Partnern um Strukturen und Visionen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lembeck, 2009).

5. This is an allusion to the new name "Evangelical Mission in Solidarity (ems)," which the former "Association of Churches and Missions in the South-western of Germany (ems)" adopted in June 2010, see [http://www.doam.org/archiv/textea/ems/2010\\_zeichen\\_en.pdf/](http://www.doam.org/archiv/textea/ems/2010_zeichen_en.pdf/) (August 05, 2011).

6. I was teaching Systematic Theology at *Instituto Universitario ISEDET* in Buenos Aires from 2005 until 2009, see [www.isedet.edu.ar](http://www.isedet.edu.ar) (August 05, 2011).

7. See Henning Wrogemann, *Den Glanz widerspiegeln. Vom Sinn der christlichen Mission, ihren Kraftquellen und Ausdrucksgestalten* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lembeck, 2009), 20-29.

8. During the formation of *mission 21* there was a controversial discussion concerning whether the term "mission" should be part of the name of the new missionary society.

9. The *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD)* is, in English, the "Evangelical Church of Germany." "Evangelical" church means that these are Protestant regional churches. The EKD is a federal union of twenty-two Lutheran, Reformed, and united regional churches and carries out joint tasks with which its members have entrusted it, see [http://www.ekd.de/english/about\\_ekd.html](http://www.ekd.de/english/about_ekd.html) (August 05, 2011).

10. Less than 20 percent of the German population belong to the regional protestant church in Saxony and Thüringen (*Evangelische Kirche in Mitteldeutschland*). Not-practicing church members citizens are often the "normal" case, see *Evangelische Kirche in Mitteldeutschland, Kirchliches Leben*

in *Zahlen. Statistische Übersichten 2008* (Magdeburg: Landeskirchenamt der EKM), 2009, 7, in [http://www.ekmd.de/attachment/aa234c91bdabf36adbf227d333e5305b/3d1549f64c5e11dfa501ad2640f166a866a8/Kirchliches\\_Leben\\_in\\_Zahlen\\_EKM\\_2008.pdf](http://www.ekmd.de/attachment/aa234c91bdabf36adbf227d333e5305b/3d1549f64c5e11dfa501ad2640f166a866a8/Kirchliches_Leben_in_Zahlen_EKM_2008.pdf) (August 05, 2011).

11. See Theo Sundermeier, *Den Fremden verstehen: Eine praktische Hermeneutik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

12. See Christine Lienemann-Perrin, *Mission und interreligiöser Dialog* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

13. See Andreas Feldtkeller (ed.), *Mission in pluralistischer Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Lembeck, 1999).

14. See Wrogemann, *Den Glanz widerspiegeln*.

15. There is quite a wide range of investigations in German, but I restrict myself to mention some works written in English, see Ulrike Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood: The Basel Mission in Pre- and Early Colonial Ghana* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009); Julia Besten, et al., eds., *Sisters from Two Worlds: The Impact of the Missionary Work on the Role and Life of Women in Namibian Church and Society* (Köln: Rüdiger Koppe, 2008).

16. See Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Practice and Discourse* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999); Heike Walz, Christine Lienemann-Perrin, and Doris Strahm, eds., *Als hätten sie uns neu erfunden. Beobachtungen zu Fremdheit und Geschlecht* (Luzern: Edition Exodus, 2003).

17. See Michael Weidert, «Solche Männer erobern die Welt»: *Konstruktionen von Geschlecht und Ethnizität in den katholischen Missionen in Deutsch-Ostafrika 1884–1918* (Trier: Dissertation Universität Trier, 2007), in [http://ubt.opus.hbz-nrw.de/volltexte/2007/439/pdf/Dissertation\\_Michael\\_Weidert\\_FB\\_III\\_Solche\\_M%C3%A4nner\\_erobern\\_die\\_Welt.pdf](http://ubt.opus.hbz-nrw.de/volltexte/2007/439/pdf/Dissertation_Michael_Weidert_FB_III_Solche_M%C3%A4nner_erobern_die_Welt.pdf) (August 5, 2011).

18. See section 6.

19. See Laura E. Donaldson and Pui-lan Kwok, *Postcolonialism, Feminism, and Religious Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Musa W. Dube, “Go therefore and make Disciples of All Nations (Matt. 28:19a). A Postcolonial Perspective on Biblical Criticism and Pedagogy,” in *Teaching the Bible: The Discourses and Politics of Biblical Pedagogy*, ed. Fernando Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert (Maryknoll: New York, 1998); Mrinalini Sebastian, “Reading Archives from a Postcolonial Feminist Perspective: Native Bible Women and the Missionary Ideal,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2003); Heike Walz, “Die Dritte-Welt-Frau? Geschlechterdifferenz im Scheinwerfer der Kritik postkolonialer Denkerinnen,” in *Als hätten sie uns neu erfunden. Beobachtungen zu Fremdheit und Geschlecht*, ed. Heike Walz, Christine Lienemann-Perrin, and Doris Strahm (Luzern: Edition Exodus, 2003).

20. Often Latin American theologians working on (feminist) postcolonial critique live as migrants in the USA, see, for example, Nancy E. Bedford, “Making Spaces: Latin American and Latina Feminist Theologies on the Cusp of Interculturality,” in *Feminist Intercultural Theology: Latina Explorations for a Just World*, ed. Maria Pilar Aquino and Maria José Rosado-Nunes (Maryknoll/New York: Orbis Books, 2007).

21. See, for example, Maria do Mar Castro Varela and Nikita Dhawan, *Postkoloniale Theorie: Eine kritische Einführung* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2005).

22. See Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,” in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indianapolis, 1991).

23. Because of lack of space it will be scarcely possible to indicate similar tendencies in other German-speaking or European missionary societies. A broader view on women in mission in Eastern, Middle-Eastern, and Southern Europe remains a future project. I need also to omit reference to Roman Catholic women in mission.

24. See the digitized photographs in [www.bmpix.org](http://www.bmpix.org) (August 05, 2011).

25. See Michael Sievernich, *Die christliche Mission. Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2009), 91.

26. See Ursula Röper, ed., *Die Macht der Nächstenliebe. Einhundertfünfzig Jahre Innere Mission und Diakonie (1848–1998)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007).

27. See Christa Diemel and Eva Hurst, "Gehilfinnen und Gefährtinnen: Basler Frauen in Wohltätigkeit und Mission," in *Mit Geld, Geist und Geduld. Frauen und ihre Geschichte zwischen Helvetik und Bundesstaat*, ed. Yvonne Brüttsch, et al. (Bern: eFeF-Verlag, 1998), 102-105.

28. See Eulenhöfer-Mann, *Frauen mit Mission. Deutsche Missionarinnen in China (1891–1914)* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010), 60-62, 97-98.

29. See Karen Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere': Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas. Neue Forschungen*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1976).

30. See Diemel and Hurst, "Gehilfinnen und Gefährtinnen," *ibid.*, 105.

31. See Ute Gerhard, *Frauenbewegung und Feminismus. Eine Geschichte seit 1789* (München: Beck, 2009).

32. See Sievernich, *Die christliche Mission. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 91-92.

33. See Mariann Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner, eds., *Frauen in den deutschen Kolonien* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2009).

34. See Martha Mamozai, "Einheimische und 'koloniale' Frauen," in *Frauen in deutschen Kolonien*.

35. Since 1828, male missionaries of the Basel Mission were sent to the Gold Coast (Ghana), to India (since 1834), to Hong Kong and Southern China (since 1846), to the German colonies in Cameroon (since 1886) and to Northern Togo (since 1912) (see Rennstich 2000, 309). In 1972, it started missionary work in Latin America and in 1973 in Sudan.

36. Karl Rennstich, "Mission—Geschichte der protestantischen Mission in Deutschland," in *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert. Geschichte des Pietismus Bd. 3*, ed. Uwe Gäbler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 309. More than half of the missionaries were originally from Southern parts of Germany, but the central office was in Switzerland (see *ibid.*, 311). During the period of Nazism in Germany, the Basel Mission was part of the Confessing Church, which resisted Nazism. After the Second World War (1939–1945), the German wing of Basel Mission was founded in 1954 (*ibid.*, 309).

37. See Waltraud Ch. Haas, *Erlitten und erstritten. Der Befreiungsweg in der Basler Mission 1816–1966* (Basel: Basileia, 1994), 21-26.

38. See Dagmar Konrad, *Missionsbräut: Pietistinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Basler Mission* (Münster, New York, München, Berlin: Waxmann, 2001).

39. For "Gehülfin" in German, see Annemarie Toepperwien, *Seine "Gehülfin": Wirken und Bewährung deutscher Missionarsfrauen in Indonesien 1865–1930* (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2004).

40. With regard to the Dutch Missionary Society, see Rita Smith Kipp, "Why Can't a Woman Be More like a Man? Bureaucratic Contradictions in the Dutch Missionary Society," in *Gendered Missions*, 153.

41. See Vera Boetzing, *“Den Chinesen ein Chinese werden“: Die deutsche protestantische Frauenmission in China 1842–1952* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2004), 90.

42. Ludwig Wilhelm Friedrich Hoffmann, *Die Erziehung des weiblichen Geschlechts in Indien* (Stuttgart: Liesching, 1841).

43. *Ibid.*, 4.

44. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Women Speak?” in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 93.

45. See Haas, *Erlitten und erstritten*, 30. Eleven unmarried women missionaries and 151 missionaries’ wives served for the Basel Mission in 1900, see *ibid.*, 44 and 200.

46. See Diemel and Husr, “Gehilfinnen und Gefährtinnen,” 105-109.

47. Haas, *Erlitten und erstritten*, 42, 46, 58, and 200.

48. See Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood*, 35-73.

49. See Haas, *Erlitten und erstritten*, 28-29.

50. See Kipp, “Why Can’t a Woman Be More like a Man?” 153-55.

51. See Line Nyhagen Predelli and Jon Miller, “Piety and Patriarch: Contested Gender Regimes in Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Missions,” in Huber and Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions*.

52. See Christine Keim, “Aufbruch der Frauen in Edinburgh 1910,” *Interkulturelle Theologie. Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2010): especially 57-63.

53. See Christine Keim, *Frauenmission und Frauenemanzipation: Eine Diskussion in der Basler Mission im Kontext der frühen ökumenischen Bewegung (1901–1928)* (Münster: LIT, 2005), 71-73. Afterward, Dr. Béatrice Jenni, Ruth Epting, Marie Claire Barth, and Johanna Eggimann held this office.

54. “Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen evangelischen Frauenmission,” see Keim, “Aufbruch der Frauen in Edinburgh 1910,” 64.

55. See Haas, *Erlitten und erstritten*, 74.

56. See <http://www.mission-21.org/de/mission-21/unser-missionswerk/frauen-und-gender/> (accessed 05.08.2011). Rev. Rose Akua Ampofo from Ghana was in charge of the Women’s and Gender Desk from 2002 until 2003. It became vacant after her fatal accident in Peru. Since 2005, Dr. Meehyun Chung has served as Director.

57. Other examples are the Council for World Mission (CWM), the United Evangelical Mission (UEM), the Association of Churches and Missions in South Western Germany and even earlier since the 1960/70s the *Communauté Évangélique d’Action Apostolique* (CEVAA).

58. See Besten, et al., eds., *Sisters from Two Worlds*.

59. See Konrad, *Missionsbräute*, 315-21. Currently, Dr. Dagmar Konrad works on a research project about childhood in the context of Basel Mission (nineteenth to twentieth century) from a cultural studies’ perspective, as she told me personally. The research project is supported by the Department of European Ethnology of Basel University and financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF).

60. See Annemarie Töpferwien, *Heimgeschicht. Ein Bericht über Kinder von Missionaren der Rheinischen Mission* (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2008).

61. See Eulenhöfer-Mann, *Frauen mit Mission: Deutsche Missionarinnen in China (1891–1914)*, 110-12; Kipp, “Why Can’t a Woman Be More like a Man?” 153.

62. See Konrad, *Missionsbräute*, 315-16.

63. See *ibid.*, 316; Töpperwien, *Heimgeschicht*, 16.
64. See Konrad, *Missionsbräute*, 317.
65. See Töpperwien, *Heimgeschicht*, 19-42.
66. Konrad, *Missionsbräute*, 320 (translation HW).
67. See *ibid.*, 316; Ilse Theil, *Reise in das Land des Todesschattens: Lebensläufe von Frauen der Missionare der Norddeutschen Mission in Togo/ Westafrika (von 1849 bis 1899)—eine Analyse als Beitrag zur pädagogischen Erinnerungsarbeit* (Berlin: LIT, 2008), 112.
68. Contemporary migration studies have established research on “third culture kids,” see David C. Pollock and Ruth E. van Reken, *Third Culture Kids: The Experience of Growing up among Worlds* (Yarmouth, ME, London: Intercultural Press, 2001). Further research is necessary to investigate whether there are similarities between them and the mission children in the past centuries.
69. See Töpperwien, *Heimgeschicht*, 43-62.
70. See *ibid.*, 108.
71. See *ibid.*, 128. During the Nazi Regime in Germany, the directors of the children’s homes attempted to keep the missionaries’ children away from the Nazi propaganda, at least in the region of the Mission House in Barmen (see *ibid.*, 88). Since 1933, the Mission Society had to cope with financial problems. During the Second World War (1939–1945), it was difficult for the children and their parents to maintain communication. After the war, in 1948, the last missionaries’ children’s home was closed (see *ibid.*, 41-42).
72. Theil, *Reise in das Land des Todesschatten*, 112.
73. Dagmar Konrad investigates about this issue in her research project as she told me in an email contact.
74. With respect to contemporary “mission children,” see Klaus Hampe, “Zuhause—was ist das? Missionarskind zu sein, ist ein Schicksal mit aussergewöhnlichen Herausforderungen und Chancen,” *Auftrag*, no. 2 (2011).
75. See Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood*, 110.
76. The following section about Catherine Mulgrave draws on the research works of Predelli and Mill, “Piety and Patriarchy,” 83-87; Konrad, *Missionsbräute*, 235-52; Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood*, 110-33. Page references will be indicated only when direct citations from these texts are used.
77. Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood*, 242; Konrad, *Missionsbräute*, 78.
78. Predelli and Miller, “Piety and Patriarchy,” 84.
79. *Ibid.*
80. See Konrad, *Missionsbräute*, 248-49.
81. The “curse of Ham” refers to a story told in Genesis 9:20-27. Ham’s father Noah places a curse on Ham’s son Canaan because he had seen Noah naked when the latter was drunk in the tent. The “curse of Ham” has been used to justify racism and enslavement of black African people (especially in North America), who were believed to be descendants of Ham.
82. See Predelli and Miller, “Piety and Patriarchy,” 86-87.
83. See Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood*, 111.
84. See *ibid.*, 116-18.
85. Johanna was born in 1852, Johannes in 1854, Auguste Amalia in 1858, Gottfried in 1861, and Christoph in 1866; see the picture of the family in *ibid.*, 130.
86. See *ibid.*, 131.

87. "Transculturation refers to processes of translation, adaptation, redefinition and appropriation engendered by the encounter between people of different cultural and religious backgrounds," see Klaus Hock, "Religion als transkulturelles Phänomen: Implikationen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmas für die Religionsforschung," *BThZ*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2002), 82.

88. See Kipp, "Why Can't a Woman Be More like a Man?" 154-55.

89. My aim is to highlight the strengths (and sometimes weaknesses) of each approach, but not to establish a sort of hierarchical "ranking list." Certainly this is a rough pattern, some authors combine two approaches.

90. See Andreas Eckl, "Grundzüge einer feministischen Missionsgeschichtsschreibung: Missionarsgattinnen, Diakonissen und Missionsschwwestern in der deutschen kolonialen Frauenmission," in *Frauen in deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Mechthild Leutner (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2009), 132.

91. See, for example, Theil, *Reise in das Land des Todesschatten*; Töpferwien, *Seine "Gehülfin"*; Haas, *Erlitten und erstritten*.

92. Dana L. Robert, *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002).

93. See, for example, Keim, *Frauenmission und Frauenemanzipation*; Doris Kaufmann, *Frauen zwischen Aufbruch und Reaktion: Protestantische Frauenbewegung in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München, Zürich: Piper, 1988); Haas, *Erlitten und erstritten*.

94. See, for example, Konrad, *Missionsbräute*; Besten, et al., eds., *Sisters from Two Worlds*; Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womenhood*; Boetzingler, "Den Chinesen ein Chinese werden"; Mirjam Freytag, *Frauenmission in China: Die interkulturelle und pädagogische Bedeutung der Missionarinnen untersucht anhand ihrer Berichte von 1900 bis 1930* (Münster, New York: Waxmann, 1994); Huber and Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions*; Kaufmann, *Frauen zwischen Aufbruch und Reaktion*.

95. See, for example, Huber and Lutkehaus, eds. *Gendered Missions*. I have partly tried to implement the fourth approach in the case study about Catherine Mulgrave and Johannes Zimmermann. As scholars from Asia, Africa and Latin America write their history of women in mission in this study book, we agreed that I would not implement the third approach.

96. The term "herstory" (instead of "history") is used here (like women's studies do) as an alternative form of historiography which emphasises particular experiences of women.

97. See Katja Heidemanns, "Missiology of Risk? Explorations in Mission Theology from a German Feminist Perspective," *IRM*, vol. 93, no. 368 (2004), 108.

98. See *ibid.*, 111.

99. Marion Grau comes originally from Southern Germany. She is Associate Professor of Theology at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific in Berkeley, USA.

100. Marion Grau, *Rethinking Mission in the Postcolony: Salvation, Society, and Subversion* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2011), 38-45, 288.