

‘We carry the joyous news that has made us free’

NEW ZEALAND MISSIONARIES, THE BOLIVIAN INDIAN MISSION AND GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT, 1908–1930*



ON A WEEK NIGHT in late 1929 a crowd of people jammed into Auckland’s Baptist Tabernacle at the top end of Queen Street for the annual graduation ceremony of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute (NZBTI).¹ As a climax to the proceedings a large map of the world was raised at the front of the auditorium, from where multi-coloured streamers were thrown out to individuals in the audience. These were then connected to various parts of the map. In the words of one observer, the streamers ‘connected relatives and friends with loved ones who had left all and followed the Lord Jesus to the great beckoning fields of India, China, Islands of the Pacific, Africa, Palestine, and South America’.² Included on the map were the names of four men and four women graduates working amongst Bolivia’s Quechua Indians, under the aegis of the Bolivian Indian Mission. The graduates were the most recent of 26 New Zealanders who had worked with this organization (or its antecedents) since 1899, and were amongst at least 77 who had worked as missionaries in South America by 1930. Altogether, between 1860 and 1930, at least 740 people went overseas to serve as New Zealand Protestant missionaries, two-thirds of whom were women. Drawn from a broad spectrum of Protestant denominations including Presbyterians, Brethren, Baptists, Methodists and Anglicans, they went to a diverse range of destinations — particularly India, the South West Pacific, China and South America. As their numbers increased, the missionaries were dependent upon a growing raft of churches, organizations and individual supporters.³ By the 1920s missionary support and involvement were central to the priorities, rhetoric and self-identity of many New Zealand churches and church members.

A form of national ‘myth’ exists that New Zealand has had one of the highest rates of Protestant missionary recruitment worldwide.⁴ This notion probably dates from the 1950s and 1960s, when it appears that missionary numbers noticeably increased. The relative lack of comparable international studies (particularly rigorous statistical analyses of movements in individual countries) and the inconsistency of contemporary statistics make it virtually impossible to ascertain the validity of the ‘myth’ for the pre-World War II period. International studies do indicate, however, that New Zealand trends reflected the accelerated growth of missionary sentiments and activity amongst European and Anglo-American Protestants more generally at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵ Pre-1945 scholarship tended to assess this movement in positive or at least neutral terms, adopting a eurocentric grand

narrative approach epitomized by the magisterial *oeuvre* of the American historian Kenneth Scott Latourette.⁶ Subsequent scholarship was often dismissive of paternalist and subjective approaches to mission history and, therefore, dismissive of the whole field of enquiry.⁷ Post-1945 scholarship has tended to be progressively more revisionist, critical, reflective, nuanced and interdisciplinary. It has also benefited from the emergence of more recent academic discourses focusing on a combination of class, gender, colonialism, nationality and ethnicity.⁸ International scholarship has also been strengthened by studies that have usefully dissected the complexities to be found in different temporal, spatial and cultural contexts, or that have sought to highlight how the movement's roots differed geographically within specific sending nations.⁹

Against this wider backdrop, a number of significant historical works by New Zealand and Australian historians have discussed the particular geographical contexts in which missionary activity occurred.¹⁰ Foreign missionary activity from New Zealand, however, has until recently been less than satisfactorily dealt with.¹¹ On the one hand there are numerous organizational histories, biographical or autobiographical works, and narratives covering the broad spectrum of New Zealand overseas missionary work. Whilst valuable, many of these studies lack a critical or reflective edge and are not always sufficiently attentive to the contexts within which their subjects operated. On the other hand, New Zealand historians have mostly either ignored or simply been unaware of the foreign missionary dimension in New Zealand's history.¹² Since the mid-1990s, however, a number of research theses have emerged that more usefully reflect current historiographical concerns — particularly women's history, Pacific history and culture contact, and the interface between Europeans and twentieth-century nationalist movements.¹³ Using the conceptual and analytical language of feminist, gender and postcolonial studies, these studies have engaged extensively and thoughtfully with existing New Zealand missionary archives, realistically locating the missionary phenomenon within a wider set of historical and historiographical contexts. As decentring discourses, they have helped particularly to draw out the ways in which missionary activity and support were an important expression of first wave feminism in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New Zealand.

It is possible that this historiographical elision that exists in the New Zealand context results from historians not knowing what to do with a phenomenon that now appears so anachronistic. Various aspects of past missionary thinking and activity do not sit easily amongst the sentiments, sensibilities and sensitivities of the early twenty-first century. It is perhaps an easy option therefore to dismiss it as esoteric and marginal. Yet as J.G.A. Pocock has suggested, one of the historian's tasks is not 'to show that belief systems are ridiculous, but to discover why they were not ridiculous once'.¹⁴ In other words, the very strangeness of the past should act as a stimulant to further excavation and interpretation of its strangeness — a premise underlying much that has been recently innovative in cultural history. More profoundly, New Zealand's overseas missionary history has been implicitly marginalized because other concerns have been deemed to be far more central. Prime amongst these, in recent decades, is what Erik Olssen calls the 'principle of nationality' that has 'operated as a controlling device' for how New Zealand history is to be interpreted and represented.¹⁵

This has been understandably integral to the larger quest for antipodean self-understanding. Yet that very quest, increasingly attentive to the discourses of globalization and pluralism, is inherently fraught if pursued within such a singular and insular paradigm as 'national identity' or 'nationhood'. If taken as normative, it risks further marginalizing those groups and cultures that do not so easily come within its purview.¹⁶

The notion of 'national identity' formed one of the initial planks underlying my preliminary research into New Zealand's early Protestant missionary movement. Amongst other things, this research sought to discern the ways in which a maturing movement was indicative of a more clearly defined national self-awareness emerging amongst churches and churchgoers, and to examine the extent to which the local movement contributed anything identifiably unique to the wider international missionary movement. It became increasingly clear, however, that this research assumption was somewhat misplaced. Missionary involvement and support seemed to indicate a mindset that was distinctly transnational. Its participants were people whose identities and self-definition did not fit neatly into such categories as 'nationhood'. These were people who thought and lived their lives in global terms, as much as they also worked, lived, studied and played in their own particular antipodean localities. If the 'national identity' paradigm is the only one available to make sense of this then the prognosis is less than cheery because missionaries and their supporters become just another historiographical minority. They are left at the margins because they are irrelevant to it, or because they do not easily fit or, indeed, because their presence in the historical record is uncomfortably subversive of this prevailing paradigm.¹⁷

A fruitful way forward has been provided by Peter Gibbons in his recent plea for a more decentred approach that de-emphasizes the unhelpfully discursive notion of 'national identity'.¹⁸ In his search for alternative 'explicatory frameworks', Gibbons suggests that there might be much to gain from a combination of macro and microhistorical perspectives that, in turn, focus on New Zealand's place in the world, the 'world's place in New Zealand', and the particularities that arose historically with respect to gender, class, ethnicity, geographical location and community type. Amongst other things, he suggests that we might more effectively 'explore the convergences of experiences in these parts of the world with experiences of peoples in other parts of the world, emphasizing the exchange and accumulations and redistributions of material culture'.¹⁹ This is an inherently dynamic and comparative approach that recognizes the importance of understanding the material, cultural and social exchanges that took place. 'It is through trade that peoples meet, whether actually or vicariously and within and between and through these contacts ideas, values and attitudes are exchanged and adjusted along with the goods. Though a very materialist perspective on the world, it does not ignore non-material aspects of life.'²⁰

Using the Bolivian Indian Mission (BIM) as an example, this essay suggests that the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century missionary movement offers an alternative example within which Gibbons's argument might be further teased out. On the one hand, the BIM was representative of other contemporary denominational and non-denominational organizations and of

the sentiments expressed, at least until the 1920s. On the other hand, its origins and early support were almost exclusively New Zealand based. Gibbons's 'explicatory framework' may provide another way by which to understand and assess the significance of the missionary phenomenon in the context of New Zealand history.

A brief narrative of the Bolivian Indian Mission's origins and early development previews some of the themes relevant to this discussion.²¹ The BIM, which was formally constituted in 1908, effectively evolved over the previous nine years out of two pre-existing missions to South America — the Toronto-based South American Evangelical Mission and, later, the Melbourne-based Australasian South American Mission.²² Central to this narrative were two southern New Zealanders, George and Mary Allan. George was the son and grandson of Scottish settlers, who had emigrated in 1842 and established a network of farms in South Otago and Southland.²³ Less is known about Mary Allan's (née Stirling) background, except that she lived in or near Wyndham, in central Southland, and met George whilst he was a labourer on his brother's Wyndham farm. New Zealand interest in South America in the 1890s intersected with growing international interest, especially amongst North American Protestants.²⁴ George and Mary's personal interest was first aroused around 1895 during their involvement in a Presbyterian Christian Endeavour group, and was further fed by reading Lucy Guinness's book *The Neglected Continent*.²⁵ Their sense of vocation came later, in 1898, whilst training at Angas College in Adelaide. They subsequently applied to and were accepted by the South American Evangelical Mission, and were instrumental in establishing support committees in Melbourne and Dunedin. Between May and December 1899 six New Zealanders, including George and Mary, left to work with this mission,²⁶ initially settling in the Argentine. A further three were added between 1903 and 1905. In 1903 George and Mary relocated to Bolivia to focus specifically on work amongst the Quechua Indians.



Figure 1: The Original New Zealand Group to the Argentine in 1899.²⁷
(Ernest Heycock, Charles Wilson, Mary Allan, George Allan)

George and Mary eventually formed the BIM in 1908, after the previous mission ventures had effectively collapsed. The operation and ethos of the BIM were consciously modelled on the China Inland Mission (CIM), as an evangelical faith mission with a self-perceived mandate to work specifically amongst Bolivia’s Indians.²⁸ Whilst control was vested in the Bolivian Field Council, Australasian support and interest were fostered through a Dunedin-based Home Council, the members of which George Allan knew and respected.²⁹ The Dunedin Council initially formed the hub of a small network of local committees based in Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Invercargill that had, by 1916, extended to a further five North and South Island localities.³⁰ Whilst missionaries and finances came particularly from Otago and Southland, the geographical parameters of New Zealand interest and support widened significantly in later years. By the 1920s George Allan and other BIM speakers had a platform at a variety of larger national forums — especially at the annual Christian conventions held at Pounaweia (South Otago) and Ngaruawahia (Waikato), and at the New Zealand Bible Training Institute in Auckland.³¹

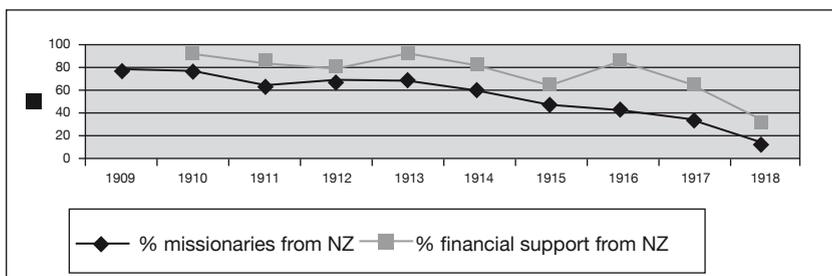


Figure 2: New Zealand Support and Involvement in the Bolivian Indian Mission, 1909–1918.

Recruits and financial support came predominantly from New Zealand up to the Great War (Figure 2).³² However, in 1917 George Allan carried out a concerted recruitment campaign in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, and from this point onwards American missionaries became dominant. By 1930 they comprised almost 65% of the mission’s workforce. American finances also became much more important from the 1920s. The arrival of Australian and British missionaries further contributed to the increasingly international makeup of the BIM. George and Mary continued to dominate the leadership and direction of the BIM right up until their deaths in 1939 (Mary) and 1941 (George). In their obituaries they were reverently and warmly referred to as the ‘mother’ and ‘father’ of the BIM.³³

With respect to Gibbons’s thesis, the BIM, at the simplest level, materially linked New Zealand with the wider world. Three examples may suffice to demonstrate this. First, the BIM acted as a conduit through which New Zealand currency flowed overseas. The financial sources are fragmentary, but are suggestive nonetheless. In the early phase, up to 1906, the Dunedin Committee remitted a total of just over £2000 to Bolivia. Between 1910 and 1917 at least another £2000 was sent.³⁴ Initially, significant financial support came from a few unidentified benefactors, probably of Otago and Southland origin. By the

1910s, however, it appears that financial support was more widely spread. This trend was replicated on a larger scale. When other missions are also taken into account, by the mid-1920s up to £20,000 was sent annually by New Zealand churches and individuals to support missionaries, capital projects and various relief programmes.

Secondly, material linkages can be discerned in the range of cultural artefacts brought back to New Zealand by returning missionaries. Dunedin enthusiasts farewelling Isabel Elder back to Peru in 1926, for example, were treated to a popular hymn sung in Spanish by the ex-pioneer BIM missionary Charles Wilson.³⁵ More generally, public meetings, youth rallies, women's events and missionary exhibitions were common venues at which missionaries materially introduced the exotic colour and vivacity of the otherwise inaccessible 'other'. In the pre-World War I period this was epitomized by the 1910 Missionary Exhibition, held at Dunedin's Knox Presbyterian Church. Over the space of three days the Dunedin public listened to missionary speakers, saw and heard presentations in other languages and viewed a wide range of displays depicting life in various parts of the world.³⁶ Whilst attendance numbers were not cited, reports noted that the halls were continuously packed with visitors. The displays were constituted from at least 968 items donated by individuals and groups — some belonging to missionaries, others privately owned by individuals who had previously bought them from missionary retail outlets or at publicity events.³⁷ New Hebridean shell beads, sacred stones, bows and arrows, clubs, and clothing sat alongside Chinese opium-smoking apparatus, carved ivory ornaments, a geomantic compass, an Indian idol car, Congolese animal skins, witch doctor's charms and execution knives.

One-off events such as the Exhibition were not the only means by which the missionary movement introduced exotic material culture into New Zealand. Presbyterian women, from at least the 1880s, regularly bought arrowroot from the New Hebrides and distributed it through congregational channels. This was a revenue-raising venture by New Hebridean Christian communities which had a direct and long-lived market amongst New Zealand Presbyterian missionary supporters.³⁸ Similarly 'oriental depots' run by the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union imported and sold-on a great range of material goods from 'mission field' countries. Profits were redirected back into Presbyterian missionary projects. By the mid-1920s up to 62 women acted as retail agents for these depots, and the evidence suggests that those buying goods were not only Presbyterian churchgoers.³⁹ In some respects these outlets and institutions prefigured the many Save the Children Fund and Trade Aid shops that are now such a familiar part of the New Zealand retailing landscape.

Thirdly, and perhaps most significant of all was the volume and wide range of international literature introduced into New Zealand through missionary agency. Most missions had their own magazine which kept supporters informed and publicized appeals for financial aid. The BIM was no exception, printing and distributing its own bi-monthly magazine from 1911. In the early years subscriptions totalled around 225, comprised mainly of Otago and Southland residents.⁴⁰ However, by the 1920s the *Bolivian Indian* was a firm fixture. It was read internationally, driven editorially by George Allan and carried articles

written by its missionaries. In the wider New Zealand context, however, this was simply the tip of the iceberg. All denominations had their own missionary magazines, or regular missionary inserts, that drew on both New Zealand and overseas sources. Furthermore, substantial public and private missionary libraries existed that held a wide range of international titles. The Presbyterian Foreign Missions Committee administered a sophisticated missionary library that grew to well over 800 volumes by the late 1920s. Perhaps more astonishing was the wide-ranging personal library of Samuel Barry, an Auckland Baptist missionary enthusiast. In 1916 he made his collection of nearly 800 missionary volumes available to the public through the Auckland Sunday School Union.⁴¹ Advertisements for retail bookshops in denominational newspapers provide a further indication of the domestic demand for imported missionary titles. By 1910 significant numbers of churchgoers, especially women, were involved in formal missionary study circles using sophisticated educational literature produced both locally and abroad.⁴² The net effect of this literature, amongst other things, was the reinforcement of stereotypical images of non-European peoples — a phenomenon that was also common for the broader international missionary movement.⁴³ In very general terms non-Western women and children, for example, were often cast in a negative light as heathen, benighted, wretched, helpless, down-trodden people who needed the religious, educative and curative technologies of the West. Such literature also served to highlight the socio-economic needs of women and children in particular.

The BIM, as a representative organization, thus illustrates the ways in which New Zealand was simply one site on an international pathway along which material goods and information travelled. To restrict discussion to material elements, however, is to miss out on underlying subtleties. The BIM was just as much indicative as it was representative. It pointed to the profound ways in which many New Zealanders’ perceptions of and attitudes to the world were shaped by distinctly international influences. Borrowing from the French *Annales* historians, the BIM was indicative of an underlying and pervasive transnational Protestant missionary *mentalité*.⁴⁴ This is a useful concept in the context of the present discussion because it focuses attention on how people thought (as opposed to the content of their thought) and it helps to explain their response to the world through involvement as missionaries and missionary supporters.

In effect the BIM was both the inheritor and exemplar of a largely imported missionary *mentalité*, which had dual historical roots in the conversionist emphases of nineteenth-century British evangelicalism and in Enlightenment optimism about human progress and the socially-transformative power of Christianity. From the 1890s it was further shaped by a range of Anglo-American influences, with the impact of American conservatism being most keenly felt from the 1920s. It was profoundly theological by nature and, whilst cast within a broadly evangelical framework, was noticeably variegated in how it was defined and expressed until at least the end of World War I. Its core theological construction included such elements as: God as Creator and Redeemer (of both individuals and societies); the comprehensive sinfulness of humanity (regardless of geographical location, race or ethnicity); the

overarching, grace-filled love of God; the responsibilities and duty of God's redeemed people (the Church) to be agents of global salvation, liberation and enlightenment; and the eventual eschatological consummation of the Kingdom of God. For individuals this theologically-shaped missionary *mentalité* was perceived through increasingly privatized spiritual lenses. The consequent spirituality emphasized an individualized or personal Higher Calling, consecration and surrender, useful and empowered service and sacrificial commitment. The so-called 'great commission' (of Matthew 28:19–20 or Mark 16:15) was interpreted as a call to individual believers, from which no one was exempt.⁴⁵ Missionary motivation issued out of this complex mix of internalized theological and spiritual imperatives. At the same time it intersected with contemporary imperialist sentiments and was often differentiated along lines of gender and doctrine.⁴⁶

This was the wider matrix within which the Christian faith and missionary calling of BIM missionaries was shaped. George and Mary Allan, for example, were raised in rural Presbyterian churches in Otago and Southland, in an atmosphere pervaded by evangelical revivalism.⁴⁷ Their early faith had been further enlivened by involvement with Christian Endeavour — a late nineteenth-century American youth movement that was readily adopted by many New Zealand denominations from the early 1890s. Christian Endeavour emphasized conversion, a consecrated life and outward-looking sacrificial service. Global in outlook, missionary support and participation were high on its agenda. It was in this context that the Allans first perceived both the needs of South America and a calling to train for Christian ministry. George confided to his sister in 1895 that it was a Christian responsibility to 'show forth [Jesus's] wondrous love' to those who did not know it and that, despite the task's enormity, 'our Saviour knows our weakness and has promised to strengthen us'.⁴⁸ In 1909, at a supporter's meeting in Wellington, Mary Allan spoke further:

I am glad that we are going back Out there you look into the face of thousands, and in none does one see the light which alone can bring liberty to the soul, and joy and peace of mind. We carry the joyous news that has made us free. I feel pleased and honoured that God had called us to the work again. Those people do not know the Lord Jesus, although they have images of Him. Cruelty and illtreatment rules there. We know what a change it makes in one's life when Jesus comes in bringing peace and gladness. How much more then does it mean to these people whose circumstances are so entirely different to ours!⁴⁹

These sentiments endured in the ongoing development of the BIM's work. The emphasis was upon conversion because it was perceived that the Bolivian Indians were devoid of personal religion, and because it was thought that their social regeneration issued primarily from personal regeneration. Therefore, unlike many other missionary organizations worldwide, the BIM never undertook large-scale medical work. Rather, emphasis was laid upon setting up schools for children, itinerant village evangelism and church planting, indigenous lay theological training, literature distribution and especially upon the translation of the Bible into the Quechua language.

If Gibbons's macrohistorical approach encourages a materialist interpretation

of New Zealand's place in the world, then the example of the BIM emphasizes that other profound, non-materialist concerns were also important. By focusing on theology and *mentalité* this essay argues that late colonial New Zealanders were importers, consumers and reshapers of international modes of thought and consequent practice. In this respect the BIM's example indicates the need for two qualifications to Gibbons's original thesis. The first qualification is that emphasis on New Zealand's place in the 'world economic system' requires the historical microscope to be refocused to discern nuances within that system. The BIM, as a representative mission, lends support to the contention that New Zealand was not globally isolated, but rather that it was securely located on the main oceanic 'highways' and firmly linked to an 'archipelago of urban centres'.⁵⁰ More specifically, it indicates that there were significant linkages within two particular regions — Australasia and the Pacific Rim. In the pre-World War I era a vibrant Australian Protestant environment fed directly into New Zealand's missionary enthusiasm and involvement.⁵¹ Australian church and missionary leaders influenced early foreign missionary ventures from New Zealand in the 1880s and 1890s. A range of Australian missionary speakers and training institutions in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide were also influential from the 1890s. Some of the impetus for New Zealand women's missionary support, especially Presbyterian, came from New South Wales and Victoria. Yet the BIM's origins and early development provide evidence of a two-way trans-Tasman relationship. Its missionaries were certainly trained in Australia until the founding of the NZBTI in 1922 and until 1906 Melbourne was its administrative locus. Yet George Allan was instrumental in fostering enthusiasm for the mission in both Australia and New Zealand, and encouraged the administrative shift from Melbourne to Dunedin in 1908. More generally, over succeeding decades a number of New Zealanders took up executive positions in various Australian-based denominational and non-denominational missions. In effect, Australia and New Zealand formed two corners of a well-travelled triangle connecting the two sets of colonies with the wider world. Evidence from New Zealand's missionary movement suggests that this Australasian relationship endured well beyond Australian Federation in 1901, in ways that historians have not previously noted.⁵²

The influence of the United States of America, however, is a more neglected element in the historiographical purview. Whilst there is general agreement that American cultural influences date principally from World War II, there is also evidence of an earlier set of influences. Colin Brown, for example, suggests that American influences on the development of New Zealand Christianity can be traced back to at least the 1860s.⁵³ Both the BIM narrative and the wider New Zealand missionary movement bear this argument out because America was emerging in this period as the dominant missionary force. Christian Endeavour was a formative element from the mid-1890s. In 1896 the American missionary statesman John R. Mott introduced the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions to New Zealand tertiary students. This movement proved crucial for a number of young people who would eventually go on to significant missionary service and leadership. Women's missionary groups also found resonance and linkages with sister groups in the United States, where it is estimated that

upwards of 2 million women were actively engaged in missionary support by 1910.⁵⁴ News and articles from American sources were increasingly given space in denominational and missionary literature. Prior to World War I the American-based Laymen's Missionary Movement had a brief but concentrated impact on New Zealand's Presbyterian and Baptist men. For the BIM another important influence emerged in the years after 1918, when George Allan found ready support and acceptance amongst conservative evangelical American churches and training institutions.⁵⁵

By the 1920s, the BIM and other missionaries accepted the growing dominance and influence of America. In practical terms they proceeded to steam and horse trek their way along the axes of a new regional triangle, linking New Zealand directly with both South and North America. It should be noted, however, that the American influence itself was subject to wider forces. Especially before World War I, American missionary activity was an integral part of a larger Anglo-American endeavour. Andrew Porter rightly draws attention to the notion of the 'Atlantic System' in which American missionary involvement was a vibrant extension or variant of the missionary impetus emanating from Britain and continental Europe. Similarly, Andrew Walls suggests that American dominance in this period was a logical and final extension of the more general cultural, religious and political global dominance of Europe. Either way New Zealand, albeit from a distance, was intricately tied into or implicated in that system.⁵⁶

The second qualification concerns Gibbons's contention that macro and micro historical perspectives of New Zealand history might converge '*inter alia* with material culture, especially the consumption of goods'.⁵⁷ Whilst the BIM narrative adds credence to the notion of converging macro and micro perspectives, it once again suggests that 'material culture' can only constitute one point of convergence. Geography, popular religion and missionary enthusiasm mark other possible convergence points. One example may suffice. Otago and Southland provided much of the BIM's early support. The region provided half of its 19 New Zealand workers between 1908 and 1930, along with a number of unsuccessful applicants, and continued to figure in the statistics after 1930. This, however, was only part of a larger picture. Of New Zealand's 740 missionaries up to 1930, at least 39 (plus another 28 applicants) came from Southland alone. Over half came from the farming valleys radiating out at a distance of up to 20km from Gore, in southern central Southland. This small area also rated highly for its financial support to Presbyterian foreign missions. However, enthusiasm in Southland was spread across the denominations, and an enduring interest was vested in a range of missionary organizations. This was a region influenced by revivalism and evangelistic activities since the 1880s. Popular religion was further nurtured by Christian Endeavour, the Bible Class movement, annual conventions at nearby Pounawea and, from the early 1920s, strong links with the NZBTI in Auckland.⁵⁸ If New Zealand was integrally linked to a set of 'world systems', which influentially shaped how New Zealanders understood, thought about and related to the wider world, then the dynamics of that system need to be analysed at the level of specific geographical regions and communities. In other words macro

and micro historical perspectives converge in the churches, country halls, kitchens and living rooms of individuals and families — the evidence of which must be painstakingly excavated from parish and congregational records, family journals, correspondence and private diaries. There is much yet to be understood, then, concerning the intricate relationship between enduring but localized popular and enthusiastic religion, missionary support, cultural practices, gender and individual or communal values. Amongst other things it will be necessary to ask how these were shaped by a pervasive missionary *mentalité* and, ultimately, how they were nationally and globally linked.

In conclusion, this essay returns to the notion of ‘identity’ because it provides a useful gauge by which to assess provisionally the significance of the missionary phenomenon for wider historiographical concerns. It is here that the Southland example is also apposite. Margaret Allen, in her exploratory study of late nineteenth-century Australian Baptist women missionaries in India, draws attention to an apparent paradox. She argues that the identities of these women were highly contestable, as they variously identified themselves as ‘British, English, South Australian, colonial, Australian, white, Christian and Baptist’.⁵⁹ If Southlanders were asked how they primarily identified themselves in that same period their responses may have been just as varied, as would those of other contemporary New Zealand missionaries and their supporters.

Allegiance and identity were multi-dimensional elements that were ambiguously interwoven. Early BIM missionaries, for instance, were New Zealand-born but genealogically close to the migration process. Both George and Mary Allan were only one generation removed from their settler ancestors. It is unclear in what terms they would have primarily described themselves. It is quite possible, however, to detect a pioneering theme interwoven through the early narrative of their mission to Bolivia. Up to 1918, the BIM had the feel of a small, close knit, pioneering family embarking on another adventure into the rugged unknown. Prospective missionaries of this period were instructed, for example, to include things like ‘a few instruments for extracting teeth’, a ‘garden hoe and rake’ and ‘several yards of steel fencing wire’ for stretching wire bed mattresses. They were also told to master the art of horse riding.⁶⁰ In this early period George looked simultaneously to Australia, New Zealand and England for support. By the 1920s, however, the New Zealanders involved had a more urbane, sophisticated air about them. Their inspiration was now just as likely to be American in origin as British or antipodean. Yet during the 1920s the sense of ambiguous identity remained, and is hinted at in the pages of the mission’s magazine the *Bolivian Indian*. Bi-monthly missionary lists continued to categorize the New Zealanders as ‘British’ up until 1928, when the category changed to ‘New Zealand’.⁶¹

When the BIM data is placed within the context of the wider New Zealand missionary movement of this period, the following general picture emerges. Allegiance and identity were multi-dimensional, simultaneously embracing such descriptors as ‘New Zealand’, ‘British’, ‘Empire citizen’, ‘settler’, ‘female’ and ‘male’, as well as more particular denominational and regional labels. In a sense all of these were held in tension, but for many Christians they were also framed within a wider set of allegiances that were theological and

spiritual by definition.⁶² Consequently, many New Zealanders saw themselves as world citizens whose primary allegiance was to the all-embracing Kingdom of God. As such they had a deeply ingrained sense of theological connectedness with and obligation to the rest of the world. This indicated that there was an important spatial dimension to the late colonial missionary *mentalité*. As a result many missionary supporters and participants, as world citizens, had a comparatively well-informed and nuanced understanding of the wider world. At the same time this contributed to the world becoming spatially differentiated, in the popular mind, along lines of race, culture and religion. The world was conceptually broken up into 'the great beckoning fields' and these fields were invariably a synonym for the non-European and non-Christian regions of the world. The frequently used phrase 'regions beyond' accentuated this sense of spatial, cultural, religious and physical dissonance and reinforced the prevailing binary construction of Christendom and heathen non-Christendom. Whilst the basic distinction was between those 'saved' and 'unsaved',⁶³ the popular construction of potentially racist and demonstrably eurocentric anthropological hierarchies was not an unexpected outcome.⁶⁴ New Zealand, Australia and the West were perceived to be at the global centre, whilst the other regions were on the periphery. In this sense identity was intertwined with prevailing imperialist and nationalist views of the world.⁶⁵ This was particularly noticeable during such conflicts as the South African War and World War I. The Rev. John Takle, a NZBMS missionary in India, for example, invoked both imperial and theological imperatives in a speech to the New Zealand Baptist Union in 1916.⁶⁶ New Zealand settler Christians may not all have seen themselves as colonizers or imperialists. Yet at heart they identified with the Christianised West (particularly but not exclusively with the British Empire) and were therefore firmly and comfortably enmeshed within prevailing power structures.

The New Zealand missionaries of the Bolivian Indian Mission, and those in the many other organizations of the same period, may never rock the historiographical boat nor loom large in the historical record. Yet as the practice of historical inquiry becomes increasingly decentred and as historians explore more fluid and dynamic explanatory paradigms, it becomes obvious that there is much to be gleaned from what were once thought of as the margins. In recent decades missionaries and their ilk have occupied the margins and it has been difficult for many historians to know what to do with them. This essay argues, amongst other things, that analysis of the missionary movement provides one way of moving towards a more dynamic and less nationally-bounded historiography. The missionary movement also usefully contributes to an understanding of the evolution of social and cultural identities (of which religion is intrinsically and inseparably a part), and of the ways in which New Zealand's fortunes have been intricately tied in with those of the wider world. The Allans and other missionaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were most obviously people of their times, whose lives occupied and traversed a mental landscape that now seems strange and foreign. They did so with largesse of spirit and an apparent naivety that both seem somewhat staggering in hindsight. At the same time they were global citizens before

their time. Their lives and actions prefigured the interchange of culture and commodities that characterizes the present era of globalization. They sought to influence the world for good, through the Christian message. In the process they helped to bring the world to New Zealand and the West to the world. The past they represent may be a ‘foreign country’⁶⁷ yet in a shrunken world, in which New Zealanders have always been willing or adventurous globetrotters, its very strangeness is surely an invitation for further exploration.

HUGH MORRISON

Rotorua

NOTES

*An earlier version of this article was presented at the 2003 New Zealand Historical Association Conference in Dunedin. I am grateful to the two anonymous referees for their helpful comments and to Bob and Marcia Arnold (SIM International Resource Centre, Charlotte, North Carolina, USA) for their hospitality and professional help.

1 Founded by the Rev. Joseph Kemp in 1922, the BTI (as it was popularly known) became an important educational focus for the conservative evangelical community of interwar New Zealand.

2 *Reaper*, 7, 11 (1929), p.269.

3 Up to 1930 New Zealanders were engaged as missionaries by an estimated 54 denominational and non-denominational mission societies or organizations. Of these, 23 were specifically Australasian in origin and the remainder was largely British based.

4 Peter Lineham, 'Missions in the Consciousness of the New Zealand Churches', *Stimulus*, 7, 2 (1999), pp.33–39; in turn quoting from R.L. Roberts, 'The Growth of Inter-Denominational Mission Societies in New Zealand', MA dissertation, University of Auckland, 1977, p.90.

5 Representative studies that offer comparable analyses include: R.C. Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876–1914*, Toronto, 1990; Angelyn Dries, OSF, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, New York, 1998; Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874–1914*, Honolulu, 1989; Valentin H. Rabe, *The Home Base of American China Missions, 1880–1920*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978.

6 Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols, London, 1938. This approach was later mirrored in Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed., London, 1986.

7 Andrew Porter, 'Church History, History of Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise since the Late Eighteenth Century', *Church History*, 71, 13 (2002), pp.556–8.

8 Representative scholarship includes: C.P. Williams, "'Not Quite Gentlemen": An Examination of "Middling Class" Protestant Missionaries from Britain, c. 1850–1900', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31, 3 (1980), pp.301–15; Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven, 1984; John and Jean Comaroff, 'Through the Looking-glass: Colonial Encounters of the First Kind', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 1, 1 (1988), pp.6–32; Nicholas Thomas, 'Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in Early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34, 2 (1992), pp.366–89; Jane Haggis, "'A heart that has felt the love of God and longs for others to know it': Conventions of Gender, Tensions of Self and Constructions of Difference in Offering to be a Lady Missionary', *Women's History Review*, 7, 2 (1998), pp.171–92.

9 Representative works include: William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Missionary Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago, 1987; Catherine Hall, "'From Greenland's Icy Mountains . . . to Africa's Golden Sand": Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender and History*, 5, 2 (1993), pp.212–30; Andrew Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism" and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780–1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25, 3 (1997), pp.367–91; Peggy Brock, 'Mission Encounters in the Colonial World: British Columbia and South-West Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, 24, 2 (2000), pp.159–79.

10 Representative examples include: Patricia Grimshaw, "'Christian Woman, Pious Wife, Faithful Mother, Devoted Missionary": Conflict in Roles of American Missionary Women in 19th Century Hawaii', *Feminist Studies*, 9, 3 (1983), pp.489–521; W.N. Gunson, 'The Theology of Imperialism and the Missionary History of the Pacific: A Review Article', *Journal of Religious History*, 5, 3 (1969), pp.255–65; David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849–1942*, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1978; G.A. Oddie, "'Orientalism" and British Protestant Missionary Constructions of India in the Nineteenth Century', *South Asia*, 17, 2 (1994), pp.27–42; Stuart Piggin, 'The Reflex Impact of Missions on Australian Christianity', in M. Hutchinson and G. Treloar, eds, *This Gospel Shall be Preached: Essays on the Australian Contribution to World Mission*, Sydney, 1998, pp.7–26; Angus Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1964; J.A. Salmond, 'New Zealand and the New Hebrides', in Peter Munz, ed., *The Feel of Truth: Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History*, Wellington, 1969, pp.113–35.

11 A programmatic statement on the possible trajectories of New Zealand mission historiography by Allan Davidson marked a turning point in this state of affairs. Allan K. Davidson, 'The New Zealand Overseas Missionary Contribution: The Need for Further Research', in Allan K. Davidson and Godfrey Nicholson, eds, *With All Humility and Gentleness*, Auckland 1991, pp.41–50.

12 This has also been the case in New Zealand's religious historiography, and reflects a general reluctance on the part of many historians to consider the broader role of religion in New Zealand's social and cultural history. See John Stenhouse, 'God's Own Silence: Secular Nationalism, Christianity, and the Writing of New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 38, 1 (2004), pp.52–71. More recently there are indications that religion and the missionary movement is being reinserted into the historiographical purview. See, for example: Allan Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1991 (which effectively integrates discussion about foreign missionary activity and support); Caroline Daley, *Girls and Women, Men and Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886–1930*, Auckland, 1999, pp.91–112; John Stenhouse, 'God, the Devil and Gender', in Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law, eds, *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890–1939*, Auckland, 2003, pp.313–47.

13 See particularly: Matthew Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China, 1912–1949*, Auckland, 1995 (based on his MA thesis from the University of Auckland); E. Johnston, "'Cannibals Won for Christ": Oscar Michelsen Presbyterian Missionary in the New Hebrides, 1878–1932', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1995; Diane Rixon, 'New Zealand Mission and Nationalism in the Punjab: The Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand in the Punjab and their Encounter with Indian Nationalism Between 1910 and 1932', BA (Hons) dissertation, University of Otago, 1997; Rachel Gillett, 'Helpmeets and Handmaidens: The Role of Women in Mission Discourse', BA (Hons) Research Essay, University of Otago, 1998; Lisa Early, "'If we win the Women": The Lives and Work of Methodist Missionary Women in the Solomon Islands, 1902–1942', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1998; Brooke Whitelaw, 'A Message for the Missahibs: New Zealand Presbyterian Missionaries in the Punjab, 1910–1940', BA thesis, University of Otago, 2001; Sarah C. Coleman, "'Come over and help us": White Women, Reform and the Missionary Endeavour in India, 1876–1920', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2002.

14 J.G.A. Pocock, 'Tangata Whenua and Enlightenment Anthropology', NZJH, 26, 1 (1992), p.29.

15 Erik Olssen, 'Where to From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', NZJH, 26, 1 (1992), p.70.

16 Peter Gibbons suggests that such an approach amounts to an act of implicit cultural colonization, not just constituting historical representations 'but *practices* with real and continuing consequences'. Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', NZJH, 36, 1 (2002), p.14.

17 This concern was signalled in 1979 when Ian Breward questioned the appropriateness of using a 'framework of national history' for the writing of New Zealand religious history. He argued instead that nineteenth-century religion might more usefully be seen as 'an extension of the histories of British churches'. Ian Breward, 'Religion and New Zealand Society', NZJH, 13, 2 (1979), p.141.

18 Peter Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', NZJH, 37, 1 (2003), p.39.

19 *ibid.*, pp.39–46, 47.

20 *ibid.*, p.41.

21 An extended version of this narrative can be found in Hugh Morrison, "'It is our Bounden Duty": The Emergence of the New Zealand Protestant Missionary Movement, 1868–1926', PhD thesis, Massey University, Albany, 2004, pp.96–106.

22 To date there is only one formal history of this mission, written by the daughter of its founders. See Margarita Allan Hudspith, *Ripening Fruit: A History of the Bolivian Indian Mission*, Harrington Park, New Jersey, 1958. In the early 1960s the BIM was renamed the Andes Evangelical Mission and later, in the early 1980s, was subsumed within an American-based organization called SIM International.

23 This is recorded fully in James Allan Thomson, *The Tairi Allans and Related Families: A Page out of the Early History of Otago*, Dunedin, 1929. This book, in turn, was the main source for initial chapters in Hudspith's history of the BIM. My thanks to Hugh Kidd for alerting me to this book.

24 Latourette, V, pp.101–25. As late as the 1880s South America was secondary to regions like

East and South Asia on the Protestant agenda. For example: Rev. James Johnston, ed., *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, London 1888*, 3rd ed., New York, 1888, I, pp.352–8. From the mid-1890s, however, missionary literature began to focus more on the Latin American continent, using language that both condemned Roman Catholic influences and lamented the extent of the perceived ‘heathen darkness’. For example, D.L. Pierson, ‘South America’, *Missionary Review of the World*, 8, 11 (1895), pp.851–4, and map facing p.801.

25 Hudspith, p.11; George Allan, ‘A Letter from Australia’, *South American Messenger* (SAM), 2, 3 (1898), p.36. See also H. Grattan Guinness, *Lucy Guinness Kumm: Her Life Story with Extracts from her Writings*, London, 1908, pp.11–12.

26 *Otago Witness* (OW), 20 April 1899, p.63; SAM, 3, 6 (1899), p.213; SAM, 3, 7 (1899), pp.237–8.

27 Hudspith, between pp.16, 17.

28 ‘Bolivian Indian Mission Principles and Practice, 1908’, Minutes of the New Zealand Council of the BIM, 1908–1916, Box 5; and ‘Principles and Practice of the Bolivian Indian Mission, 1927’, in Minutes of the Field Conferences of the BIM, 1913–1945, [Bound Volume], Bolivian Mission Archive (BIM), SIM International Resource Centre, Fort Mill, South Carolina, USA.

29 This committee particularly drew on members of Dunedin’s Farley Street Brethren Assembly, which had a wide and enduring interest in foreign missions. See Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the SAEM, 1899–1908, 5 April 1899, Box 5, BIM Archives; and N. Paterson, *The Church in York Place Hall: Some Notes on its Early History*, Dunedin, undated, photograph facing p.16.

30 *Tahuantin Suyu*, 1, 2 (1911), p.14; *Bolivian Indian* (BI), January 1916, inside cover.

31 *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), 20 June 1908, p.11; *New Zealand Baptist* (NZB), March 1909, pp.298, 300; NZB, April 1909, p.315; NZB, September 1921, p.110; *Outlook*, 33, 3 (1926), pp.27–28; *Reaper*, 4, 3 (1926), p.78; *Reaper*, 4, 4 (1926), p.107.

32 Listing of Bolivian Indian Missionaries, 1909–1945 [hand written booklet], ‘General Personnel Information’, Box 9, BIM Archives. Financial figures were extracted from annual Mission Accounts statements published in *Tahuantin Suyu*, 1911–1914 and the *Bolivian Indian*, 1915–1918.

33 ‘Obituary’, BI, 3, May–June (1939), pp.138–40; ‘Obituary’, BI, 1, January–March (1942), pp.3–6.

34 Correspondence of the Dunedin and New Zealand Committee of the SAEM, the ASAM, and the BIM, 1900–1913; *Tahuantin Suyu*, 1911–1914 and the *Bolivian Indian*, 1914–1930.

35 OW, 12 October 1926, p.51.

36 ‘Official Handbook, Grand Missionary Exhibition’, Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand (PCANZ) Archives, Dunedin; *Outlook*, 23 August 1910, p.8.

37 Material evidence for this sits in our family home — in the form of three wooden carved jewellery boxes from India, bought by a grandparent in 1903 at a public missionary event in Dunedin.

38 Alexander Don, *Light in Dark Isles: A Jubilee Record and Study of the New Hebrides Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1918, pp.44–46.

39 Annual Report of the South Island Oriental Depot, 1924–1925, PWMU South Island Oriental Depot Minutes, 1924–1930, Box AF3/1, PCANZ Archives.

40 Aitchison to Allan, 16 December 1911, Correspondence of the ASAM/BIM, 1905–1913, Box 5, BIM Archives.

41 ‘Library Catalogues, 1905–1925’, Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archives. Such collections were replicated in other Western ‘missionary sending’ nations of this period. For example, see Terence Craig, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography*, Leiden, New York and Koln, 1997, p.xi.

42 Morrison, pp.122–5.

43 See, for example, Joan Brumberg, ‘Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870–1910’, *Journal of American History*, 69, 2 (1982), pp.347–71; Janaki Nair, ‘Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in Englishwomen’s Writing, 1813–1940’, *Journal of Women’s History*, 2, 1 (1990), pp.8–34; Judith Rowbotham, ‘“Hear an Indian Sister’s Plea”: Reporting the Work of Nineteenth-Century British Female Missionaries’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 21, 3 (1998), pp.247–61.

44 The concept itself involves an emphasis upon ‘collective attitudes’, on ‘unspoken or unconscious assumptions, on perception [and] on conscious thoughts or elaborated theories’, and a ‘concern with the structure of beliefs . . . with categories, with metaphors and symbols, with

how people think as well as what they think’. See Peter Burke, ‘Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities’, *History of European Ideas*, 7, 5 (1986), p.439.

45 This, again, was a hallmark of the entire international missionary movement of this period. David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Missions*, New York, 1991, pp.339–41.

46 This statement summarizes extensive discussion in Morrison, pp.201–33. Missionary motivation is an enormous and complex topic in its own right. The literature is extensive and the topic is better understood in terms of specific historical, cultural and geographical contexts. Useful and nuanced summaries of the international missionary movement’s relationship with British imperialism can be found in: Andrew Porter, ‘Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm and Empire’, in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume 3, The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1999, pp.222–46; Norman Etherington, ‘Missions and Empire’, in Robin Winks, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume 5, Historiography*, Oxford, 1999, pp.303–14.

47 Robert Evans and Roy McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, Paihia, 1999, pp.58–62; Peter J. Lineham, *There We Found Brethren: A History of Assemblies of Brethren in New Zealand*, Palmerston North, 1977, pp.96–102.

48 George Allan to Jean, 20 January 1895, in ‘Allan Correspondence, 1895–1925’, George and Mary Allan Personal Collection, Box 11, BIM Archives.

49 ‘Farewell address in St John’s Presbyterian Church, Wellington, 21 April 1909’, in ‘Allan Correspondence, 1895–1925’, George and Mary Allan Personal Collection, Box 11, BIM Archives.

50 Gibbons, ‘The Far Side of the Search for Identity’, pp.41, 44.

51 For a protracted discussion of Australian evangelicalism see Stuart Piggin, *Spirit of a Nation: The Story of Australia’s Christian Heritage*, Sydney, 2004.

52 For example, James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, 2001, pp.46–52.

53 Colin Brown, ‘The American Connection: The United States of America and Churches in New Zealand’, in Maurice Andrew et al, eds, *Religious Studies in Dialogue*, Dunedin, 1991, pp.153–62.

54 Gerald Anderson, ‘American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission, 1886–1886’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (IBMR), 12, 3 (1988), p.102.

55 He was, by this stage, firmly entrenched in his opposition to liberalizing tendencies in wider Protestantism, and therefore found strong allies amongst conservative evangelical Americans. This intransigent position was evident from at least 1916. BI, April 1916, pp.3–4.

56 Porter, ‘Church History’, pp.568–76; Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, New York, 1996, pp.223–7.

57 Gibbons, ‘The Far Side of the Search for Identity’, p.45.

58 See note 47 and also Georgina McDonald, *The Flame Unquenched: Being the History of the Presbyterian Church of Southland, 1856–1956*, Christchurch, 1956, pp.58–59, 116–25.

59 Margaret Allen, ‘“White Already to Harvest”: South Australian Women Missionaries in India’, *Feminist Review*, 65, Summer (2000), p.98. In arguing this she is drawing on a recent body of literature on the contestable identities of men and women in colonial and imperial contexts.

60 ‘Bolivian Indian Mission Outfit Instructions’ and ‘How to Get to Bolivia from New Zealand’, Miscellaneous Documents, Box 9, BIM Archives.

61 BI, 1922–1928; BI, January–February 1928, back cover.

62 That this was so more generally than is hinted at in Rosalind McClean, ‘“How we prepare them in India”: British Diasporic Imaginings and Migration to New Zealand’, *NZJH*, 37, 2 (2003), note 4, p.147.

63 For a wider discussion on the problematic nature of Edward Said’s ‘Orientalism’ thesis, when applied to missionary thinking and practice, see G.A. Oddie, ‘“Orientalism” and British Protestant Missionary Constructions of India in the Nineteenth Century’, *South Asia*, 17, 2 (1994), pp.27–42.

64 There is an apparent paradox within this essay, in that it is suggested that missionary supporters were both relatively well informed about the non-Western world and yet consumers and purveyors of stereotypical representations of that world. At this stage, admittedly dealing in generalities, this essay suggests that this paradox should stand. Missionary supporters potentially knew a lot about the world (geography, peoples and cultures) and about the increasingly complex global issues of this period. Yet it seems that this knowledge was often framed in such a way that implicit anthropological hierarchies were still accepted as the norm. Furthermore this knowledge

did not exist on its own merits, but was subordinated to or used for a greater purpose — the Christianization of non-Christian peoples. Again, however, the truth of this is much better teased out with respect to particular contexts and to this end there is much still to be done for the New Zealand context. A useful model is to be found in: Thomas, ‘Colonial Conversions’; and in Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994, pp.105–42.

65 These complexities are helpfully introduced in: Adrian Hastings, ‘The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism within Twentieth-Century Missionary Christianity’, in Brian Stanley, ed., *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2003, pp.15–33.

66 ‘The Inspiration of the Imperium in India’, NZB, November 1916, pp.210–14.

67 This phrase borrows from the imaginatively titled book by David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, 1985.