

REACHING THE UNREACHED SUDAN BELT:  
GUINNESS, KUMM AND THE SUDAN-PIONIER-MISSION

by

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## Summary

Reaching the unreached Sudan Belt: Guinness, Kumm and the Sudan-Pionier-Mission

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This missiological project seeks to study the role of the Guinnesses and Kumms in reaching the Sudan Belt, particularly through the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* (SPM) founded in 1900.

The term *Sudan Belt* referred to Africa between Senegal and Ethiopia, at that period one of the largest areas unreached by Christian missionaries. Grattan Guinness (1835–1910) at that time was the most influential promoter of faith missions for the Sudan. The only initiative based in Germany was the SPM, founded by Guinness, his daughter Lucy (1865–1906), and her German husband Karl Kumm (1874–1930). Kumm has undeservedly been forgotten, and his early biography as a missionary and explorer in the deserts of Egypt is here brought to light again.

The early SPM had to struggle against opposition in Germany. Faith missions were considered unnecessary, and missions to Muslims untimely by influential representatives of classical missions. The SPM was seeking to reach the Sudan Belt via the Nile from Aswan. The most promising figure for this venture was the Nubian Samuel Ali Hiseen (1863–1927), who accomplished a scripture colportage tour through Nubia. Unfortunately, he was disregarded by the first German missionary, Johannes Kupfernagel (1866–1937).

When the SPM failed to reach the Sudan Belt due to political restrictions, Kumm and the SPM board were divided in their strategies. Kumm planned to pursue a new route via the Niger River, seeking support in Great Britain rather independently. The SPM, holding on to Aswan, dismissed Kumm, and began to decline until it made a new start in 1905, but for a long time remained a local mission work in Upper Egypt. The *Sudan United Mission* however, founded by the Kumms in 1904, did indeed reach the Sudan Belt.

An analysis of the SPM reveals its strengths and weaknesses. The SPM grew out of the Holiness movement and shared the urgency, which made faith missions successful, but also was the SPM's weakness, as it suffered from ill-preparedness. The SPM innovatively gathered together single women from the nobility in a community of service for missions under its chairman, Pastor Theodor Ziemendorff (1837–1912).

## Key Terms

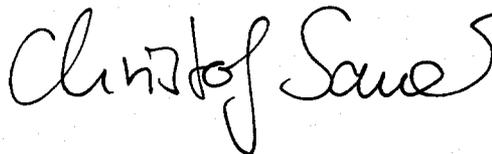
Missiology; Mission history – Protestant; Interdenominational faith missions; Sudan-Pionier-Mission; Sudan-United-Mission; Africa; Sudan Belt; Egypt; Aswan; Nubia; Germany; Hessen-Nassau; Wiesbaden; Osterode am Harz; Great Britain; United States of America; Missionary biography; Henry Grattan Guinness; Lucy E. Guinness; H. Karl W. Kumm; Theodor Ziemendorff; Samuel Ali Hiseen; Gustav Warneck; Missionary objectives; Female missionaries; Indigenous missionary workers; Missionary methods; Missionary cooperation; Missionary conflicts; Mission among Muslims

## Statement of Authorship

I declare that

Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt: Guinness, Kumm and the Sudan-Pionier-Mission

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Clintof Sauer". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

## Preface

In 2000, the *Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten (EMO)* in Germany, which is researched under its earlier name of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* in this thesis, celebrated its centenary. In 2004, the *Sudan United Mission*, today called *Action Partners* in Great Britain, and other branches in several countries will do the same. Both mission agencies were founded to reach the unreached Sudan Belt in the heart of Africa. The events which led to the founding of these two mission agencies have largely been forgotten today and have been little researched, owing to their international nature. In addition, the source material is spread over Germany, Great Britain and the United States and is not easily accessible to those who are not familiar with both English and German. But it is worthwhile to remember the beginnings of these mission agencies and their founders Grattan Guinness, Lucy Guinness-Kumm and Karl Kumm. In the writing of mission history, these mission promoters and pioneers, as well as the SPM, have received less than their fair share of commentary. Thus, this present study seeks to fill an obvious gap, contributing to a fuller understanding of the development of faith missions in Germany in general and of the historiography of Christian missions in the Sudan Belt in particular.

I would like to thank all those who were in some way involved in my lengthy research. When my research in the archives of the SPM started in 1992, I was the librarian of the EMO. Professor Niels-Peter Moritzen in Erlangen graciously agreed to supervise the Master's dissertation of this graduate who suddenly had to earn another degree to speed up his acceptance into the ministry, and EMO gave me special leave for the project. When the Lutheran Church in Württemberg, only a few months later, issued my call to the assistant pastorate there, the degree was no longer necessary, and the project had to be put on hold in order to fulfill my duties with EMO.

I thank Professor Moritzen for his encouragement to pursue the research later, as a doctorate, even though, owing to his retirement, he was no longer available as supervisor. I am grateful that my teacher and paternal friend of many years, Professor Peter Beyerhaus, Tübingen, was willing to take me on as a doctoral student in 1994, even though my subject had more of an historical emphasis than was his own preference. His assistant Dr. Werner Neuer gave much encouragement and good advice on historical research and the organization of a dissertation. I valued the bi-annual weekends for the doctoral students of the *Institut für Missionswissenschaft* very much. I thank the personnel department of the Lutheran Church in Württemberg for giving me a part time position in 1995 and half a year of unpaid leave in 1999, and by so doing allowed me to make progress in my research and writing. I am thankful to my superiors who encouraged me to undertake the necessary travels by allowing a flexible work schedule.

After some time it became evident that the source material for the original outline was so voluminous, and consequently time consuming to decipher and to transcribe from outdated handwriting, that the scope of my research had to be refocused on the origins of the SPM. When it became apparent that the nature of the source material and the descriptive approach chosen by me would not yield the results expected of a more dogmatic-analytical study, Professor Beyerhaus was very generous to allow me to seek a transfer. I am most thankful that Professor Johannes Reimer agreed to become my promoter and speedily arranged my transfer to the Department of Missiology at UNISA, and that Dr. Klaus Fiedler, who had accompanied my research most intensively from the very beginning by detailed advice and criticism, became the co-promoter. They encouraged my decision to shift then from writing in German to writing in English, in order to present the findings to a wider readership, particularly in Africa, even though English is not my mother tongue. After I finished the first draft in late 1999, the relocation of our family to Africa made the completion of the thesis wait for 2001. I am thankful to my present employer for having given me the opportunity to finalize my thesis as part of my professional duty.

In financial terms, my research was made possible through the support of, foremostly, my

parents, donations from friends, a bursary and a loan from the *Arbeitskreis für Evangelikale Theologie*, and a bursary from the *Arbeitskreis für Evangelikale Missiologie*. Travels to Egypt and Great Britain were sponsored by the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Missionswissenschaft* and the *Referat für Mission und Ökumene der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Württemberg*. I had the privilege of being included by the *North Atlantic Missiology Project* in its consultation in Pasadena in 1998, where I could present my research on Grattan Guinness (cf. Sauer: NAMP).

I appreciate the cooperation of the libraries and archives which were opened to me, and of the individuals who supplied me with material out of their private collections, who answered my requests and who offered me hospitality on my travels. I have recorded them, where appropriate, in special sections of the bibliography. It was a special privilege to be allowed unreserved access to the archives of EMO, and even to borrow much of the material needed for my research over a lengthy time span. Regina Keinath of the *Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen* helped me privately with library matters and photocopying.

The many individuals who have helped me during my research and in my travels are too numerous to name and my heartiest thanks go to all of them. But Dr. Ulrich Ehrbeck and my father, who helped me to transcribe outdated handwriting for countless hours and weeks, deserve special mention. This equally applies to Hannelore Nehls for suggestions on style, David Levey for a professional job in editing the text, to Heinrich Ottinger for overcoming the intricacies of a well known software program and the processing of the layout, to Robert Xeller for implementing the maps, to Manfred Jung for the layout of the tables, as well as to the volunteers who typed and proofread the texts of the appendix, and to my assistant Inken Behrmann whose first job it was to help me hand in the manuscript on time.

I also thank all those who have read parts or all of the manuscript and for their suggestions, in particular Eberhard Troeger, Gerald Lauche, and my parents. Valuable insights from members of the academic and missiological community are credited in the footnotes.

A special word of thanks goes to my dear wife Andrea and to our children, who have been bearing with me, and with the sacrifices that were necessary to bring this project to completion. Above all, I give thanks to my Lord Jesus Christ, who gave me strength, and whose command to go to the unreached brought about the history to which this thesis is committed: reaching the unreached Sudan Belt.

Christof Sauer – November 25, 2001

N.B.:

I have chosen to adopt the conventions of American English rather than of British English, because having lived in the USA for a year, American English is more familiar to me. Terminology in languages other than English is put in italics in the main text. The same applies to geographical terminology, except for the terms most frequently used and for well known geographical names, capitals and countries, such as Nile and Niger, Aswan, Nubia, Egypt, Wiesbaden and Eisenach. The spelling of Arabic and Nubian terminology is a matter of differing conventions. For Arabic I have usually chosen to follow the well known English writing of place names. For the Nubian, which is not officially written yet, I follow the transliteration agreed upon by a Nubia consultation of EMO in June 2001 in Wiesbaden.

Concerning reference techniques, I was exempted from employing the Harvard method generally used at UNISA, because I had already written most of my thesis before transferring to UNISA.

The *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions* (Baker 2000) would have been a most valuable tool to guide my research, had it been published earlier. But unfortunately, it arrived in my hands too late to influence my text, even though I refer to relevant articles in footnotes.

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## Abbreviations

ABM	Archiv der Basler Mission
AEM	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Evangelikaler Missionen (Association of evangelical missions)
AfeM	Arbeitskreis für evangelikale Missiologie (Association of German speaking evangelical missiologists)
AM	American Mission in Egypt [Presbyterian]
AMZ	<i>Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift</i>
BKKL	<i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
BDCM	<i>Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions</i>
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
Cf.	confer
CIM	China Inland Mission
CM Liebenzell	Chinas Millionen
<i>CM London</i>	<i>China's Millions</i>
CM	Chrischona Mission
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSCNWW	Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, Edinburgh
CSM	Central Soudan Mission (Brooke)
CSM	Central Soudan Mission (Harris)
DCA	<i>Dictionary of Christianity in America</i>
DOM	Deutsche Orient-Mission
<i>DOM</i>	<i>Dictionary of Mission (1997)</i>
<i>EDWM</i>	<i>Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions (2000)</i>
<i>ELThG</i>	<i>Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde</i>
ELTI	East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions (also known as Harley College)
EMO	Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten
ETF	Evangelisch-Theologische Faculteit (Heeverlee / Leuven)
fn	footnote
FRAS	Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society
<i>IBMR</i>	<i>International Bulletin of Missionary Research</i>
<i>IMN</i>	<i>The Illustrated Missionary News</i>
<i>IRM</i>	<i>International Review of Mission(s)</i>
KM	Kieler Mission
KSPM	Kansas Soudan Pioneer Mission
LIM	Livingstone Inland Mission
<i>LuL</i>	<i>Licht und Leben</i>
LZW	Lexikon zur Weltmission (Neill, Moritzen, Schrupp)
MRW	The Missionary Review of the World
NA	<i>North Africa</i>
NAM	North Africa Mission
NsHStAHann	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover
OAA	Osteroder Allgemeiner Anzeiger
PA	Private Archives (followed by the name of the owner)
<i>RB</i>	<i>The Regions Beyond</i>
RBMU	Regions Beyond Missionary Union
s.a.	sine annum = no year given

SENM	Schweizer Evangelische Nilland Mission
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, London
SP	<i>Sudan Pionier (journal)</i>
SPM	Sudan-Pionier-Mission
StAOsterode	Stadtarchiv Osterode
SUM	Sudan United Mission
SUNM	Sudan and Upper Niger Mission (of CMS)
TCDCB	<i>Twentieth-Century Dictionary of Christian Biography</i>
UA	Universitäts Archiv
UB	Universitäts-Bibliothek (University Library)
UMI	University Microfilms International
UNISA	University of South Africa, Pretoria
VELM	Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission (Erlangen)
VKW	Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft (Bonn)
WCE 2001	<i>World Christian Encyclopedia, second edition 2001</i>
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association



# 1 Introduction

Reaching the unreached<sup>1</sup> with the Gospel of Jesus Christ has been a major motive for Christians ever since the times of the Apostle Paul. It was always Paul's ambition "to preach the Gospel where Christ was not known" (Romans 15:20). A statement found in the book of the Prophet Isaiah<sup>2</sup> encouraged him in this endeavor, and many Christians since: "Those who were not told about him will see, and those who have not heard will understand" (Romans 15:21). Again and again during the history of the Christian Church, the necessity of reaching the unreached has motivated the followers of Jesus Christ to initiate missionary movements beyond existing geographical, ethnic and social borders.

## 1.1 Subject

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the three major unreached areas were the interior of China, Central Africa and the Sudan Belt.<sup>3</sup> Reaching the unreached Sudan Belt is the subject of the work which is presented here. There were different attempts in the direction of the Sudan Belt with varying success, e.g. by the Church Missionary Society and other classical<sup>4</sup> and denominational missions. The particular missionary movement, though, which had the largest share in this endeavor were the interdenominational faith missions.<sup>5</sup> The Guinness family played a crucial role in faith missions in Africa. Therefore, my work will research their importance in the thrust

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- 1 See Klaus Fiedler: *Ganz auf Vertrauen. Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen*. Gießen / Basel: Brunnen, 1992, pp. 276–282, "Das theologische Konzept der unerreichten Gebiete", for a theological discussion of the term *unreached areas*. Cf. Donald R. Dunavant: "Unevangelized". In: *EDWM*, pp. 980ff., and Robertson McQuilkin: "Reached and unreached mission fields". In: *EDWM*, pp. 808f.
  - 2 Isaiah 52:15: "So he [God's servant] will sprinkle many nations, and kings will shut their mouths because of him, for what they were not told, they will see, and what they have not heard, they will understand." (NIV).
  - 3 Cf. Harlan R. Beach: *Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions. Vol. 1, Geography*. New York: SVM, 1901, p. 495, on "fields practically unoccupied".
  - 4 For a historical typology of Protestant missions explaining the term *classical missions* and *faith missions*, etc. see Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions. From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa*. Oxford: Regnum et al., 1994, pp. 11–31.
  - 5 The classical missions were followed by the "post-classical" missions, of which the faith missions form the major group (cf. the chart in Fiedler, 1994, p. 12). Whereas many define faith-missions by their attitude to finances (because of their faith in God, not appealing publicly for funds), I follow Fiedler's historical definition: Faith missions are those missions which directly or indirectly relate to Hudson Taylor and his mission principles. – For a more detailed discussion of the origins and characteristics of faith missions, see Chapter 2.1; on the faith missions in Germany, see Chapter 5.1. – Cf. Klaus Fiedler: "Glaubensmissionen". In: Karl Müller / Theo Sundermeier (eds): *Lexikon Missionstheologischer Grundbegriffe*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1987, pp. 131ff.; "Faith Missions". In: *Dictionary of Mission. Theology, History, Perspectives*. Ed. by Karl Müller et al. New York: Orbis 1997, pp. 158–161 (editor's translation and revision). – Cf. Ralph R. Covell: "Faith Missions". In: *EDWM* 2000, pp. 353ff., for a North American perspective on faith missions.

towards reaching the Sudan Belt. More particularly, I will focus on the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, which is the only German based initiative among their manifold ventures.

In this, Lucy (née Guinness) and Karl Kumm were the most important people involved. The events I intend to study here took place between the years 1887 and 1905. The earliest years of this period were characterized by many different attempts to reach the unevangelized Sudan Belt. The period of 1900 to 1905 is characterized by the Kumms' efforts. In both periods, successes were very limited, but foundations for later successful ventures were laid.

## 1.2 Present State of Research

The term *Sudan Belt* or simply *Soudan* at that time denoted an inland area of Africa enclosed by the Sahara in the north, Ethiopia in the east, the Congo Basin in the south and coastal areas further in the west.<sup>6</sup> To my knowledge there has been no recent research covering these attempts to reach the Sudan Belt.<sup>7</sup> One reason might be that the area is no longer seen as an entity. Consequently the term "Sudan Belt" is no longer in common use, and has not been replaced by any other unifying term for today's nations in the area.<sup>8</sup> Existing research is limited either to the mission history of today's political entities, such as Nigeria<sup>9</sup> or Sudan,<sup>10</sup> or regions or people groups thereof, or to individual missionary attempts and organizations.<sup>11</sup>

Surprisingly little research has been done on the Guinness family: From a missiological point of view, the best representations of the Guinneses' contribution to Christian world mission are

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6 See map "The Sudan Belt" and Chapter 2.2 for a more detailed definition of the geographical area.

7 Neither my own intensive bibliographical research nor the current mission and church histories of Africa do give an indication of this: Elisabeth Isichei: *A History of Christianity in Africa*. London: SPCK, 1995; John Baur: *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa. An African History 62–1992*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 1994; Adrian Hastings: *The Church in Africa 1450–1950*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

8 The term Sahel is not an exact equivalent and covers only part of that region, namely "that region of savannah grassland immediately to the south of the desert proper" (Kevin Shillington: *History of Africa*. London: Macmillan, 1995, p. 80).

9 E.g. E.P.T. Crampton: *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* [MA Cambridge]. Zaria 1975 (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London: Chapman), 251 pp., chapter 3 "Early European Missionary Activity"; E.A. Ayandele: *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842–1914. A Political and Social Analysis*. London: Longman, 1966.

10 William B. Anderson / Andrew C. Wheeler (eds.): *Faith in Sudan Series*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1999ff.; Philip Legge Pitya: *History of Western Christian Evangelism in the Sudan: 1898–1964*. [PhD Boston 1996]. Ann Arbor: UMI Microform 9617017, 791 pp. – concentrates on the Church Missionary Society, the United Presbyterian Mission, and the Roman Catholic Mission; Gunther Hermann: *Die Missionsgeschichte des Südsudans von 1898 bis 1964 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen zwischen Regierung und Mission und des Bürgerkriegs im Südsudan von 1955 bis 1972* [DTh Munich 1974] – focuses on the relationship between government and missions. Cf. also John Gay Yoh: *Christianity in the Sudan. Overview and Bibliography*. Amman, Jordan: Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, 1996, 52 pp.

11 The *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission* of Graham Wilmot Brooke within the CMS is probably the most widely researched subject in this field. See Chapter 2.4 for more details.

Klaus Fiedler's studies *The Story of Faith Missions*, 1994,<sup>12</sup> and *Ganz auf Vertrauen. Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen*, 1992.<sup>13</sup> Until scholarly biographies on the Guinneses are written, their place is taken by the well-researched, though not scholarly, work on the wider Guinness family by Michele Guinness: *The Guinness Spirit. Brewers and Bankers, Ministers and Missionaries*, 1999.<sup>14</sup> She acknowledges making use of some of my findings on the Kumms and the SPM, in revising her earlier publication: *The Guinness Legend*, 1990.<sup>15</sup> Existing scholarly articles on Grattan Guinness focus on other aspects of his life's work than his missionary work.<sup>16</sup>

Karl Kumm's life and work have been researched for two biographies and a scholarly study. The Dutchman Jan Harm Boer published his dissertation *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context – A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission*, in 1979.<sup>17</sup> He focuses on the *Sudan United Mission* (SUM), founded in 1904 by the Kumms after the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*. Boer's account on the time in Karl Kumm's life before the founding of the SUM does not go beyond earlier popular works.<sup>18</sup> Thus, it is not relevant for most of my study.

In 1994, the Australian church historian Peter Spertalis desired to set straight the reproach, of being a colonialist, which was raised against Kumm by Jan Harm Boer. Spertalis published *Karl*

12 Oxford: Regnum, 1994, 428 pp., here particularly pp. 34–40. For more references throughout the book, see its index.

13 Gießen: Brunnen, 1992, 605 pp.

14 London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999, 525 pp.

15 London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991 [1990], 330 pp. The acknowledgement is found in Michele Guinness 1999, p. xvi.

16 Frederick Hale: "British and American Millenarianism in Norway during the breakthrough of modernity". In: *Fides et Historia* 19 (1987), pp. 35–50; Stanley D. Walters: "The world will end in 1919. Daniel among the Victorians". In: *The Ashbury Theological Journal*, 44 (1989), pp. 29–50 (on Grattan Guinness' eschatology); Alan P.F. Sell: "Harley College and Its Congregational Alumni". In: Alan P.F. Sell: *Commemorations. Studies in Christian Thought and History*. Cardiff/ Calgary, Alberta, Canada: University of Wales Press, 1993, pp. 275–300; Scott M. Gibson: "A.J. Gordon and H. Grattan Guinness. A case study of transatlantic evangelicalism". In: *Pilgrim Pathways*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1999, pp. 303–317. – The two most recent entries in dictionaries are complementing each other: Gary Lamb: "Guinness, Henry Grattan (1835–1910)". In: *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000, pp. 420f.; and Jocelyn Murray: Guinness: "Henry Grattan (1835–1910)". In: *BDCM* 1998, pp. 268f.; though Murray erroneously attributes a journey to Congo in 1910 to Grattan Guinness, confusing him with his son Harry.

17 Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979, 530 pp. – A strong critique was published by fellow SUM missionary Harry Boer: "Missions and Colonialism" [Review of Jan H. Boer: *Missionary Messengers*, 1979], in: *The Reformed Journal*, March 1981, pp. 21–24, refuting the claim of colonialism as anachronistic. Cf. the review by J. Scheuer in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 103 (1981), p. 601. – Jan Harm Boer later published an abbreviated and popularized version of his dissertation: *Missions. Heralds of Capitalism or Christ?* Ibadan, Nigeria: Day Star Press, 1984, 208 pp.

18 Cf. Boer 1979, pp. 112f., 118–124. The two popular works are: Irene Cleverdon: *Pools on the Glowing Sand – The Story of Karl Kumm* [Foreword by Samuel M. Zwemer] Melbourne: The Specialty Press, 1936, 194 pp., and Lowry Maxwell: *Half a Century of Grace. A Jubilee History of the Sudan United Mission*. London: SUM [ca. 1954], 330 pp. – Boer did however engage in correspondence with Karl Kumm's sons, who were still alive then. Copies of this correspondence were available to me, but do not pertain to Karl Kumm's youth.

*Kumm – Last of the Livingstones*, a sympathetic but critical biography.<sup>19</sup> As with Boer, he used the archives and publications of the Sudan United Mission (SUM) in Bawtry, GB.<sup>20</sup> Though this biography provides documentation, it is written without any scholarly claims and without direct access to the German sources.

The most extensive biography on Karl Kumm, on which all other authors rely, was commissioned five years after Kumm's unexpected death, by his second wife, Gertrude Cato. She had returned to her home country, Australia, and recruited her school friend Irene Cleverdon for this task. Gertrude Cato told her what she had learned from Karl Kumm in 18 years of marriage. Kumm's own books were also available, some of which contain short autobiographical passages.<sup>21</sup> Cleverdon tried to fill gaps in the biography by asking Kumm's sister Mathilde in Germany about memories of certain events and the family history.<sup>22</sup> Thus was published, in 1936, the popular biography *Pools on the Glowing Sand – The Story of Karl Kumm*, which focuses on the family perspective. It gives something of an impression of hagiography, and is augmented at some points by imagination, as was usual at the time.

Both biographies of Karl Kumm, by Cleverdon and by Spartalis, contain documented events as well as no longer verifiable oral traditions. In particular, the accounts of Karl Kumm's youth in Germany, England, and Egypt sometimes remain very vague, are partially erroneous, and contain gaps. Among the general biographical reference works quite a number have researched and included an article on Karl Kumm.<sup>23</sup> The most reliable in German can be found in Degener's *Wer*

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- 19 Peter James Spartalis: *Karl Kumm. Last of the Livingstones. Pioneer, Missionary, Statesman*. [Epilogue by Eberhard Troeger. With a German summary by Christof Sauer.] Edition afem – mission scripts, Vol. 2, Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1994, 116 pp. – Review by J.H. Boer in *IBMR* 22 (1998), p. 90.
- 20 Spartalis used source material from the North Africa Mission, which Kumm served from 1897 to 1900, only where Maxwell 1954, pp. 21–24, quoted it.
- 21 Particularly Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*. 1910, pp. 19–25, 91f., 138, 161.
- 22 The letter, with eleven questions from Cato to Mathilde Wegener, dated 1935 is preserved (Private Archives of Heidi Büttner, Hamburg: Letters 1904–1935, No. 83): “My dearest friend Mrs. Cleverdon is undertaking my darling Karl's life, as I am not free to do so this year, on account of work .... She has given me certain questions to ask for as she has drafted the first chapter of Karl's early life. The book will not be a large one so will not need many details.”
- 23 Entries in reference works on Karl Kumm include: “Kumm, Herm. Karl Wilh., Dr. phil.” In: *Wer Ist's? Unsere Zeitgenossen*. Hermann A.L. Degener (ed.), Berlin: Hermann Degener, <sup>3</sup>1908, pp. 761f. – This is the most reliable dictionary entry in German. Kumm is mentioned in this German *Who's Who* from the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition in 1908 until the 10<sup>th</sup> edition in 1935, but no longer from the 11<sup>th</sup> edition in 1951 onward. – “Kumm, Herman Karl William”. In: *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1967 (Reprint of J.T. White, New York edition), pp. 323–24. This is the best article in English, but the German SPM is not mentioned. – The descendants of Kumm allege that an entry in *Who's Who in the World* exists, but the publication could not be located. – Goodwin, John: “Kumm, Hermann Karl Wilhelm (1874–1930)”. In: Stephen Neill *et al.* (eds.): *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*. London: USCL Lutterworth Press, 1970, p. 330. The birthplace is incorrect, and the whole article rather imprecise, based only on Cleverdon and Maxwell. – German translation: *Lexikon zur Weltmission*. Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1975, p. 304. The year of death is misprinted. – Lohmann, Hartmut: “Kumm, Hermann Karl W.” In: Bautz (ed.): *Biographisch-*

*Ist's?*, Berlin <sup>3</sup>1908, and the best article in English was published in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*.

Concerning the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, there have been no scholarly studies on its inception and establishment. There are only two Master's dissertations on other periods in the SPM history, one dealing with the Swiss Branch becoming independent in 1937,<sup>24</sup> and the other with questions of the past decade.<sup>25</sup>

The historiography of the SPM consists of a few popular booklets written for jubilees of this mission. J. Held wrote the earliest and most reliable for the period under research: *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermision. Rückblick auf die ersten 25 Jahre der Sudan-Pionier-Mission 1900–1925*.<sup>26</sup> As he began to serve the SPM only from 1913, this is not an eyewitness account. Nevertheless, his book is based on a careful study of the sources done by Anna Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, who had been involved at the home base in Wiesbaden since the establishment of the SPM there.<sup>27</sup> Thus, this publication is necessarily weak on the inception of the SPM. Later SPM publications do little more than summarize Held's report, concerning the period being researched here.<sup>28</sup>

*Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*. Hamm 1975ff., Vol. 4, p. 812. Rather imprecise, and ranging from distanced to derogatory in tone. – Murray, Jocelyne: "Kumm, (Hermann) Karl Wilhelm". In: Gerald H. Anderson (ed.): *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Mission*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Macmillan Reference Division, 1998, p. 378. The birthplace of Kumm and the founding date of the SPM are incorrect. The article contains much inaccuracy and the author used neither Boer nor Spartalis. – Fiedler, Klaus: "Kumm, Karl Wilhelm (1874–1930)". In: *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000, pp. 548 f.

24 Peter Moor: *Die Entwicklung zur Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Schweizer Evangelischen Mohammedaner Mission mit der Basler Mission von 1937 bis 1939*. Akzessarbeit [this is an equivalent to a Master's dissertation] im Fach Kirchengeschichte. Begleitet durch Prof. Dr. Rudolf Dellsperger. Eingereicht bei der Evang.-theol. Prüfungskommission des Kantons Bern. Gwatt / Bern, 1993, 77 pp. – A copy can be found in the library of the EMO, Wiesbaden.

25 This study is still confidential.

26 Wiesbaden: Verlag der Sudan-Pionier-Mission, 1925, 88 p.; cf. p. 3. The period being researched is described on pages 5–25.

27 Held, 1925, p. 3 acknowledges: "Besonderen Dank bin ich I.D. Prinzessin Anna Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen dafür schuldig, daß sie mit größter Sorgfalt alle Akten der älteren Zeit durchgearbeitet und, wo diese lückenhaft waren, nach dem Gedächtnis ergänzt hat, da sie von Anfang an die Dinge miterlebt hat." These typescripts are still preserved and bear a handwritten comment by a later author (Unruh): "Sehr wichtig! Das zuverlässigste Material, das wir haben." They bear the headings: "Material zu einer Geschichte der Sudan-Pionier-Mission von 1900–1904" (15 pp.) and simply "1904–1914" (pp. 16–27) (EMO Archives, Green Folder, "Berichte EMO A/1 Wiesbaden"). I quote her name simply as *Hohenlohe*, as the full name would be too cumbersome, and the documents as *Material*.

28 Margarete Unruh: *Fünfzig Jahre evangelische Missionsarbeit unter Mohammedanern*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Evangelischen Muhammedaner-Mission, 1950, 79 pp., here pp. 11–17; second revised and expanded edition 1955 with the title: *Auftrag und Wege einer Mohammedanermision*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Evangelischen Mission in Oberägypten, 64 pp.; Eberhard von Dessien, Ulrich Ehrbeck, Eberhard Troeger: *Wasser auf dürres Land. 85 Jahre Sudan-Pionier-Mission – Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Evangelischen Mission in Oberägypten, 1985, 111 pp., here pp. 9–15. The only exception is Eberhard Troeger: *Evangelium im Mittleren Osten. Die Arbeit der Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten im Rahmen der evangelischen Missionsbewegung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der EMO (forthcoming in

German and English missiological literature does at times mention the SPM. I have surveyed the most important general and Protestant mission histories published since 1900, as well as surveys on Egypt and on the Middle East in German and in English.<sup>29</sup> Gustav Warneck, who was very critical of the SPM (see Chapter 5.7.1), classifies the SPM as a mission agency among Muslims (Mohammedanermision). In his *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen*,<sup>8</sup> 1905, he reports, with an exclamation mark, that the SPM wanted to advance from Aswan via Khartoum to the Galla country with two missionaries only.<sup>30</sup> The United Presbyterian missionary Charles R. Watson published two handbooks on Egypt in its relation to the Christian missionary enterprise *Egypt and the Christian Crusade* (1907)<sup>31</sup> and *In the Valley of the Nile* (1908),<sup>32</sup> where the SPM receives mention in a small paragraph covering a third of a page. The year 1901 is given as the year of its inception. It is noted that: "The Mission has not been able, for lack of funds to extend its work". In 1908, Julius Richter mentions the SPM in *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*, the second volume of his general Protestant mission history. He presents the SPM as a mission agency exclusively devoted to the Nubians from its beginnings.<sup>33</sup> Le Chatelier (1912), the French equivalent of Richter, mentions the SPM in the statistics only.<sup>34</sup>

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2002, 350–400 pp.), who makes use of my research and portrays the SPM history in the context of Middle Eastern mission and church history.

- 29 The coverage was more detailed concerning German works because of the greater probability of the treatment of a small German missionary society in it, than in an English publication. In English, only the most extensive works were consulted, as the meager results there did not promise further findings in smaller volumes. The bibliography on mission history by Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Part I* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995, pp. 229–236, 240–243, and pp. 7f. for encyclopedias and dictionaries) has been used selectively as a checklist.
- 30 P. 147. Warneck adds that the SPM had been going through several crises. Warneck had dealt with the SPM previously in a little more detail in his journal *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (cf. Chapter 5.6). The sixth edition of Warneck's mission history had appeared in 1900 before he could mention the SPM. The seventh edition in 1901 gives a short critical mention of the founding (p. 140). The seventh and other editions also appeared in English translation: *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time*. New York etc., 1902.
- 31 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of N.A., 288 pp., here p. 202. The SPM is also mentioned in the statistics, p. 274.
- 32 Subtitle: *A Survey of the Missionary Movement in Egypt*. New York etc.: Fleming H. Revell, 249 pp., here p. 201.
- 33 Richter was the great German historiographer of Protestant mission at that time and Professor of Mission Studies at the University of Berlin. His mission history, *Allgemeine Evangelische Missionsgeschichte*, appeared at Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. The second revised edition appeared in 1930, 294 pp.; the SPM is referred to on pp. 250–252. Richter writes on p. 251: "Die Arbeit war von Anfang an auf die Nubier angelegt". Richter could not refrain from a derogatory tone in calling Guinness a "bekanntem rhetorischen englischen Missionspionier" (p. 250, meaning something like: "well known oratorical English missions pioneer"). In the English version, some chapters have been totally rewritten: *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*. Edinburgh/London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910, 435 pp.
- 34 A. le Chatelier (ed.): *La Conquête du Monde Musulman. Missions Évangéliques Anglo-Saxonnes et Germaniques*. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Nov. 1912). Paris: E. Leroux, 1912, 327 pp. This massive volume is basically a summary and translation from a number of English and German surveys, books, and journals (cf. the review in IRM 1912, pp. 359f.).

In the monumental work of Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (1944), one phrase only is to be found mentioning the SPM in seven pages on Egypt, based on Watson and Richter.<sup>35</sup> Wilhelm Oehler's history of German Protestant mission, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Mission* (1951) devotes two of 900 pages to the SPM. It gives the best presentation of the SPM to be found in any general mission history, but it does not give any sources on the SPM, though they existed. Unfortunately, the description of its inception is exclusively based on Warneck's article against the "new missions".<sup>36</sup> Oehler focuses on the fact that the SPM had never reached the Sudan and that women dominated it.<sup>37</sup> All other and later mission histories either make no more than a bare mention of the SPM, such as Gundert 1903,<sup>38</sup> Schlunk 1925,<sup>39</sup> Richter 1941,<sup>40</sup> Westman and Sicard 1960/1962,<sup>41</sup> Brennecke 1961,<sup>42</sup> and Flachsmeier 1963,<sup>43</sup> or they do not mention the SPM at all, such as Mirbt 1917,<sup>44</sup> Frick 1922,<sup>45</sup> Gensichen 1961/1976,<sup>46</sup> Neill 1964,<sup>47</sup> Raupp 1990,<sup>48</sup> and Müller and Ustorf 1995.<sup>49</sup> This gap can partly be

35 Vol. VI: *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia. A.D. 1800 – A.D. 1914*. New York/London: Harper, p. 27: "The Sudan Pioneer Mission, from Germany, was begun in 1901 and, until the Sudan should be opened, found a foothold in Upper Egypt".

36 Cf. Chapter 5.6.

37 Vol. II: *Reife und Bewährung der deutschen evangelischen Mission 1885–1950*. Baden-Baden: Wilhelm Fehrenholz, 1951, pp. 57–58, 267, 420–421. The only footnote refers to a report by E. Kellerhals on his journey to Egypt (*Jahrbuch Mission*, 1939, pp. 28ff.).

38 Hermann Gundert: *Die evangelische Mission: ihre Länder, Völker und Arbeiten*. Calw / Stuttgart, <sup>4</sup>1903, pp. 38, 237.

39 Martin Schlunk: *Die Weltmission des Christentums. Ein Gang durch neunzehn Jahrhunderte*. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1925, 250 pp., here pp. 146, 212, 233. Schlunk classified the SPM with the missions of "Erweckung und Absonderung" (revival and separation) and maintained that it was explicitly founded for the conversion of Muslims: "Nordafrika: ... Eigentliche Mohammedanerarbeit geschieht nur durch die [NAM] ... und in noch sehr geringem Umfang von der ausdrücklich für die Zwecke der Mohammedanerbekehrung gegründeten deutschen Sudan-Pionier-Mission, die im Süden Ägyptens, in Assuan, einen nach dem Sudan gerichteten Vorposten hat" (p. 212). The text remained practically unchanged in the second revised edition in 1951: *Die Weltmission der Kirche Christi*, Stuttgart: Evang. Missionsverlag, pp. 205, 335, 363.

40 Julius Richter (ed.): *Die Deutsche evangelische Weltmission in Wort und Bild*. Nürnberg: L. Liebel, 1941, 346 pp. Cf. Theodor Oestreicher: *Die Welt des Islam*, pp. 87–92, here p. 92, characterizing the SPM as a mission among Nubians.

41 Knut B. Westmann/Harald von Sicard: *Geschichte der christlichen Mission*. München: Kaiser, 1962, 336 pp. The Swedish original appeared in 1960.

42 Gerhard Brennecke (ed.): *Weltmission in Ökumenischer Zeit*. Stuttgart: Evang. Missionsverlag, 1961, pp. 125, 156. The section on the Middle East was written by Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, pp. 123–131. Hertzberg gives particular mention to the work of the SPM among the sick and women.

43 Horst R. Flachsmeier: *Geschichte der Evangelischen Weltmission*. Giessen / Basel: Brunnen, 1963, pp. 301, 450, 501.

44 Carl Mirbt: *Die evangelische Mission: eine Einführung in ihre Geschichte und Eigenart*. Leipzig, <sup>4</sup>1917.

45 Heinrich Frick: *Die evangelische Mission: Ursprung, Geschichte, Ziel*. Bonn / Leipzig, 1922, 445 pp.

46 Hans-Werner Gensichen: *Missionsgeschichte der neueren Zeit*. (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch, Vol. 4, Section T.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961, <sup>3</sup>1976, 66 pp.

47 Stephen Neill: *A History of Christian Missions*. London, 1964, <sup>2</sup>1986. German translation: *Geschichte der christlichen Missionen*. Erlangen, <sup>2</sup>1990. Neill is still considered as the best general English survey of mission history (Jongeneel 1995, Vol. 1, p. 230), but a British perspective dominates his work.

48 Werner Raupp (ed.): *Mission in Quellentexten*. Erlangen / Bad Liebenzell, 1990, 479 pp.

understood from the sheer number of missionary societies and the ever-increasing subject matter to be described in mission history. In addition, the SPM always remained one of the smaller missions in Germany.

But a major reason for the neglect of the SPM was its being part of the group of faith missions, which were marginalized. The focus and emphasis of German mission historiography was and still is on the classical missions. Before 1990, we find virtually no missiological work, written in the German language, particularly dealing with any faith mission.<sup>50</sup> Even in the Anglophone world the dissertations on faith missions or their founders were few in number before then.<sup>51</sup> The study by Bacon on the principles of Hudson Taylor has for many years been the only scholarly monograph on the subject of faith missions that goes beyond dealing with any specific faith mission.<sup>52</sup> This situation has been changed by the groundbreaking research of Klaus Fiedler in his voluminous dissertation on the history and ecclesiology of faith missions in Africa in 1991,<sup>53</sup> published in 1992 as *Ganz auf Vertrauen. Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen*. The revised and shortened English version of his work, *The Story of Faith Missions* (1994, 2<sup>nd</sup> 1994), fills a gap in research in the Anglo-Saxon world as well. Being a survey and a systematic study, it obviously could not present the details of the histories of individual faith missions.

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- 49 Karl Müller / Werner Ustorf (eds.): *Einleitung in die Missionsgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995, 291 pp. This collection of regional essays on mission history is eclectic and does not cover the modern mission history of Egypt.
- 50 The one earlier work that happens to deal with several faith missions because they contributed to the subject under research is Uwe Feigel's doctoral dissertation [Kiel 1987/88], *Das evangelische Deutschland und Armenien. Die Armenierhilfe deutscher evangelischer Christen seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Kontext der deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989, 344 pp. Feigel deals with the *Deutsche Orient-Mission* and the *Armenienhilfswerk* of Johannes Lepsius, the *Hilfsbund für christliches Liebeswerk im Orient* (Ernst Lohmann), and partially the *Christliche Blindenmission im Orient* (Ernst J. Christoffel) and the *Schweizer Armenienfreunde* as far as these had to do with the Armenians. Only the *Hilfsbund* and the *Blindenmission* are considered faith missions according to the categories of Fiedler.
- 51 Klaus Fiedler lists them in his article "125 Jahre Glaubensmissionen: Ihre Geschichte als Herausforderung", in: *Missionswerke ohne Spendenkampagnen, idea dokumentation* 9, Wetzlar, 1991; John Gratton: *The Relationship of the Africa Inland Mission and its National Church in Kenya between 1895 and 1971* [PhD New York University 1973] Ann Arbor: UMI, 1974; David p. Sandgren: *The Kikuyu, Christianity and the Africa Inland Mission*, [PhD University of Wisconsin-Madison 1976] Ann Arbor: UMI, 1976; Edvard Torjesen: *A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of his Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism* [PhD International College, Los Angeles 1984] Ann Arbor: UMI, 1985; Wendell W. Price: *The Role of Women in the Ministry of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* [DMiss San Francisco Theol. Seminary 1977]. Cf. also the discussion of the missiological research on faith missions in Fiedler: *Ganz auf Vertrauen*, 1992, pp. 47–51; and Bernd Brandl: *Die Neukirchener Mission*, Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1998, pp. 5–7.
- 52 Daniel W. Bacon: *From Faith to Faith: The Influence of Hudson Taylor on the Faith Missions Movement*, [DMiss Deerfield 1983] Singapore: OMF, 1984.
- 53 Klaus Fiedler: *Das Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen und ihrer Kirchen in Afrika – Ein Beitrag zu den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer interdenominationellen Ekklesiologie*. ThD Heidelberg, 1991, 436 pp.

Among the more detailed research on German faith missions published since 1990, Schmidt made the first contribution by describing the history of one specific faith mission.<sup>54</sup> Then Andreas Franz compared the influence of Hudson Taylor on eight German faith missions working in China.<sup>55</sup> Bernd Brandl made a particularly foundational contribution by researching the history of the first faith mission in Germany, founded in 1882, which became a prototype for the later faith missions: *Die Neukirchener Mission. Ihre Geschichte als erste deutsche Glaubensmission* (1998).<sup>56</sup> Both Franz and Brandl were students of Fiedler. Furthermore, Christa Conrad<sup>57</sup> researched the role of women in several faith missions and Andreas Baumann<sup>58</sup> described the history of a forerunner of the faith missions. Even though the scholarly studies on German faith missions are slowly growing in number, they are still comparatively few.<sup>59</sup> A more comprehensive history of all German faith missions is still outstanding.<sup>60</sup>

Considering research on the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, the work by Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen*, devotes a fair degree of interest to the SPM, based on published and unpublished source material from the SPM.<sup>61</sup> As his study is an analytical one, he could of course only focus on certain characteristics of the SPM, such as the special role of women, particularly those of nobility. Two further pieces of research are also relevant to the SPM: The biography of Karl Kumm written by Peter J. Spartalis (1994) deals with a section of the history of the SPM on twelve of its

54 Norbert Schmidt: *Von der Evangelisation zur Kirchwerdung: Die Geschichte der Marburger Brasilienmission* [ThD Erlangen, 1990/91]. Marburg: Francke, 1991, 389 pp. In part he carries out a comparison with another mission.

55 Andreas Franz: *Mission ohne Grenzen. Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen* [ThD Evangelical Theological Faculty in Leuven, Belgium, 1991]. Giessen / Basel: Brunnen, 1993, 357 pp.; summary in English pp. 340–357.

56 ThD Evangelical Theological Faculty in Leuven, Belgium, 1997. Schriftenreihe des Vereins für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte, Vol. 128. Köln / Neukirchen Vluyn: Rheinland-Verlag / Neukirchener Verlag, 1998, 517 pp.; summary in English pp. 508–517.

57 Christa Conrad: *Der Dienst der ledigen Frau in deutschen Glaubensmissionen. Geschichte und Beurteilung*. (edition afem – mission scripts, Vol. 12), Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1998, 137 pp.; summary in English pp. 120–132. Conrad's MA dissertation at Columbia International University, Korntal German branch, 1993, deals with the ministry of single women in the New Testament and in five German faith missions, all working in China except for WEC.

58 Andreas Baumann: *„Die Apostelstraße“. Eine außergewöhnliche Vision und ihre Verwirklichung*. [MA Columbia Biblical Seminary – German branch, Korntal, 1997]. Giessen / Basel: Brunnen, 1999, 180 pp. The Chrischona Mission under Spittler, which pursued the “Apostles' Highway”, was a forerunner of the faith missions.

59 Further titles of the “edition afem” series mentioned above have touched on and are expected to contribute in the future to the historiography of German faith missions.

60 Cf. the plea by Klaus Fiedler: “It is Time to Write the History of German Speaking Evangelical Missions”. In: Stephan Holthaus / Klaus W. Müller (eds.): *Die Mission der Theologie. Festschrift für Hans Kasdorf zum 70. Geburtstag*. (Edition afem – mission academics, Vol. 5). Bonn: VKW 1998, pp. 136–151.

61 Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen*, 1992. The SPM is mentioned on pp. 35, 38, 40, 77, 90, 110, 150, 167, 172, 183, 185, 291, 293, 302, 312, and 328.

pages.<sup>62</sup> Unpublished research by Oliver Drescher<sup>63</sup> in 1998 on faith missions among Muslims also devotes 3–4 pages to the SPM, which are exclusively based on printed source material from the SPM. Up to the present, these three relatively short contributions have been the most extensive and comprehensive representations of the history of the SPM in any scholarly work.

Only a few of the encyclopedias and dictionaries dealing with missions have a separate entry on the SPM. In 1904, the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Missions*<sup>64</sup> is the first to mention the SPM, including a short treatise. Next is the *Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions: The Agencies* in 1967 that contains separate articles on the two SPM successors, the EMO in Germany and the SENM in Switzerland, written by their respective leaders.<sup>65</sup> Whereas the Roman-Catholic German dictionary on churches, sects, missionary societies and para-church organizations by Gründler in 1961<sup>66</sup> and the more recent missiological dictionaries in German, Neill<sup>67</sup> (1971) and Rzepkowski<sup>68</sup> (1992) do not have any entry on the SPM / EMO, two other reference works do. Reimer's dictionary of evangelistic and missionary associations in the German-speaking world in 1991 gives a detailed self-presentation of the status quo of the mission.<sup>69</sup> The most up to date entry on the EMO, with a concise history, appeared in 1992 in *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde*, a dictionary focusing on Pietism and Evangelicalism in Germany.<sup>70</sup>

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- 62 Peter J. Spertalis: *Karl Kumm – Last of the Livingstones. Pioneer, missionary, statesman.* (edition afem – mission scripts, Vol. 2), Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1994, 116 pp., here pp. 9–21.
- 63 Oliver Drescher: *Der Beitrag der "Neuen Deutschen Missionen" zum christlichen Zeugnis unter Muslimen 1895–1914.* Preparatory paper for MTh, Department of Missiology, UNISA, presented to Prof. Dr. J.N.J. Kritzinger and Dr. Johannes Reimer. Giessen, January 1998, 31 pp., here pp. 16–19, and 24–25 in passing.
- 64 Henry O. Dwight / H. Allen Tupper Jr. / Edwin M. Bliss (eds.): *The Encyclopedia of Missions.* New York / London, <sup>2</sup>1904, pp. 265, 812.
- 65 Burton L. Goddard (ed.): *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions: The Agencies*, a publication of the Faculty of Gordon Divinity School. Camden, London, Toronto, 1967, p. 270, entry 507 by Willi Höpfner, and entry 1163 by Hans Merklin. Höpfner only erred about the first name of Kumm.
- 66 Johannes Gründler: *Lexikon der christlichen Kirchen und Sekten, unter Berücksichtigung der Missionsgesellschaften und zwischenkirchlichen Organisationen.* Wien / Freiburg / Basel, 1961, 2 Vols.
- 67 Stephen Neill (ed.): *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission.* London: Lutterworth Press, 1971; German version: Stephen Neill / Niels-Peter Moritzen / Ernst Schrupp (eds.): *Lexikon zur Weltmission.* Wuppertal / Erlangen: R. Brockhaus / Verlag der Evang.-Luth. Mission, 1975.
- 68 Horst Rzepkowski: *Lexikon der Mission.* Graz etc.: Styria, 1992.
- 69 Ingrid Reimer (ed.): *Evangelistisch-missionarische Werke und Einrichtungen im deutschsprachigen Raum. Einzeldarstellungen – Übersichten – Adressen.* Stuttgart: Christliches Verlagshaus, 1991, pp. 188f. [written by Eberhard Troeger]. *Handbuch der evangelistisch-missionarischen Werke, Einrichtungen und Gemeinden: Deutschland – Österreich – Schweiz; eine Publikation der Evangelischen Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen – EZW.* Reinhard Hempelmann (ed.), in cooperation with Ingrid Reimer, Ulrike Liebau. Stuttgart: Christliches Verlagshaus, 1997.
- 70 Eberhard Troeger: "Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten (EMO)". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde.* Vol. 1. Ed. by Helmut Burkhardt / Uwe Swarat. Wuppertal / Zürich: R. Brockhaus, 1992, p. 581.

Some reports of Christian travelers deal with the SPM at more length, but they are neither scholarly, nor do they specifically attempt to write the SPM's history. They mostly just provide a description of the momentary status quo. In 1910, the German Julius Boehmer devotes 15 pages to the SPM in his survey of religions and missions in Egypt, *Kreuz und Halbmond im Nillande*.<sup>71</sup> In 1928, the German delegation to the world mission conference in Jerusalem visits Aswan and publishes an account thereof in their report.<sup>72</sup> In 1938, Emanuel Kellerhals, being field inspector of the successor organization to the SPM, publishes a report about a visit to Egypt, devoting some pages to the SPM.<sup>73</sup>

Summarizing the history of research and publication, it is obvious that according to scholarly standards the SPM has been researched only partially and selectively. There is neither a full scholarly documentation of its history nor specific research about its inception which has been based on primary source material. In mission historiography, the SPM has received less than its fair share up to now. Thus, this present study seeks to fill an obvious gap, contributing to a fuller understanding of the development of faith missions in Germany in general and of the historiography of Christian missions in the Islamic world in particular.

### 1.3 Sources

Source materials on the different Sudan missions are diverse. Thus, they will be mentioned as needed in the respective chapter. The bulk of the materials used in this study are sources relating specifically to the SPM, which are introduced here. First, however, specific material about the background of the Guinness and Kumm families needs to be introduced.

Primary sources on the Guinness family include a wide variety of materials. These will be considered in detail in the appropriate chapters, particularly in Chapter 2. The source most often used in my study is *Regions Beyond*, the journal the Guinnesses had been publishing since October 1878. For the years from 1874 to 1878 its place is taken by the monthly *Illustrated*

71 Lic. theol. Dr. phil. Julius Boehmer was Pastor in Fürstenfelde (Neumark) and a member of the *Deutsches evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes in Jerusalem*. His survey bore the subtitle: *Nach Studienreisen und Reisetudien*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1910, 156 pp., here pp. 104–114.

72 Gottfried Simon: "Evangelische Mission an den Ufern des Nils". In: Martin Schlunk (ed.): *Von den Höhen des Oelbergs. Bericht der deutschen Abordnung über die Missionstagung in Jerusalem*. Stuttgart: Evang. Missionsverlag, 1929, pp. 17–19.

73 Emanuel Kellerhals: *Im Land der ewigen Sonne. Reisebilder aus Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Ev. Muhammedaner-Mission, 1938, 93 pp.; pp. 69–78, 85f. Kellerhals was inspector for Africa of the *Basle Mission*, with which the SPM had entered into a partnership at that time.

*Missionary News*.<sup>74</sup> Scores of books and brochures written by Henry Grattan Guinness, his wife Fanny, and their children Lucy, Geraldine, and Harry have been utilized. Biographies on every family member are available, authored by other members of the family.

Valuable additional material was provided from the *Grattan Guinness Family Archives* by Michele Guinness, which, besides material inherited from Grattan Guinness's second wife Grace, is the fruit of global research for her publications on the Guinnesses. The Archives of *The Regions Beyond Missionary Union*, which kept the files of the Guinnesses' *East London Training Institute*, were partially destroyed during the Second World War. The remains of the Archives, which are deposited at the *Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World* in Edinburgh, were used as far as they could be located at the time of my visit.

Primary sources on the Kumm family, beyond the biographies mentioned in the research section above, include Karl Kumm's books and publications in periodicals, and source material located in local, ecclesiastical and private archives at Markoldendorf and Osterode, the *Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv* at Hannover, the *University Archives* of Heidelberg, Jena, and Freiburg, the mission archives and periodicals of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* (Wiesbaden), the *North Africa Mission* (Loughborough, GB), the *Regions Beyond Missionary Union* (Edinburgh, GB), the *Liebenzell Mission* (Bad Liebenzell) and the *China Inland Mission* (Gerrards Cross, GB). In addition the private archives of the descendants of Karl Kumm and his father Wilhelm in Germany, USA, and Australia, as well as of relatives of Kumm's first wife, Lucy, in Great Britain were used and some of the descendants interviewed.<sup>75</sup> Nowhere else have all these sources been previously evaluated together. They will be introduced in more detail in Chapter 3.

The archives of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, further referred to as EMO Archives, are well ordered. A detailed list of the material used is given in the bibliography. The unpublished primary material on the period under research fills about eight folders. Handwritten letters form

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74 Henry Grattan Guinness had taken over editorship of this monthly from January 1874 to about May 1878. Probably his wife Fanny was doing the editorial work under his name. – See Appendix II for a more detailed description of the Guinnesses' involvement in this journal.

75 See the family tree of the Kumms in Appendix II. – The descendants of Karl Kumm's two sons from his first marriage live in the USA and were interviewed there (some by telephone): (Fred) Frederick Guinness Kumm in Irvine, California, (Bill) William Howard Kumm in Washington DC, Joceline Anne Alexander in Pennsylvania and their cousin Karl(o) Kumm in Seattle, Washington. The son of Karl Kumm's second wife, Frederick John Cato Kumm (born 1925), is still alive and was interviewed by telephone in Australia. The only descendants of Karl Kumm's father Wilhelm living in Germany are the grandchildren of his daughter Mathilde. They form three branches, and in each branch a key person was interviewed: Dr. Albrecht Kühner in Grömitz, Heidi Büttner, a teacher, in Hamburg and Ernst-Friedrich Ischebeck, an engineer, in Ennepetal. From the Guinness family the author Michele Guinness answered my questions on the Guinnesses. She lives in Lancaster, GB, and is married to a grandson of Henry Grattan Guinness, Karl Kumm's father in law.

the bulk of the material. Much of the correspondence preserved is unilateral only: The letters of Kumm to the SPM during his travels are available, as well as the letters of different field workers in Egypt to the home base, but not vice versa. There are the minutes of the SPM board meetings, though incomplete, beginning in October 1900, as well as the circulars from the chairman, Ziemendorff, to the board members between the irregular meetings. The originals of the board correspondence before October 1902 have been lost, but could be partially replaced by their extensive reproductions, excerpts, and summaries presented in a typescript by Princess zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen on *Material zu einer Geschichte der SPM von 1900–1904*. Among the files on the SPM personnel are only a few regarding the very first workers, though a handwritten autobiography by Samuel Ali Hiseen, the first national worker, is available.

A major published primary source is the journal *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* starting October 1900, later named *Der Sudan Pionier* from February 1901, and appearing monthly since then. Among the books published by the SPM, all appeared later than the period under research, but some partially pertain to it.

Another primary source, though more remote from the actual events, is a whole collection of manuscripts, typescripts and brochures on Ziemendorff and the whole array of diaconal and evangelistic activities fostered by him in Wiesbaden. More information is contributed by promotional publications of the SPM, such as their early typed and printed circulars to friends, as well as brochures, booklets and pamphlets.

The material available in the EMO Archives has been supplemented through visits to numerous other archives, which are listed in the bibliography. This particularly pertains to the early Sudan Missions, as well as to the persons of Henry Grattan Guinness and Karl Kumm.

## 1.4 Approach

I approach the subject and the sources purely as a missiologist and not necessarily as a historian. Thus, this study is conceived as missiological research into mission history. My own position is that of a Lutheran Evangelical and I treat the subject from a friendly perspective. I am trying to describe the history “from within”, trying to understand what motivated its proponents. As I have been working as a librarian and theologian for the SPM / EMO for a period, I have had privileged access to the sources.

A major objective of my research presented here is to secure knowledge on the subject in question, which has not been scientifically secured yet, and to make it more accessible where

access to the originals is deemed difficult. Therefore I attempt to be as encompassing of the sources at my disposal, as possible. The most important and representative source documents are reproduced in the appendix.

I aim to write a comprehensive account of the inception and establishment of the SPM in the context of the attempts by Guinness and Kumm to reach the unreached Sudan Belt. Analytical sections in the descriptive chapters and a chapter of analysis complement this descriptive approach. Much of the account is guided by questions mentioned at the beginning of each section. The overall questions are: What really led to the founding of the SPM? What really happened in its first five years? What did the protagonists contribute to the furthering of the evangelization of the Sudan? And more specifically: What were the underlying causes for the failure of the early SPM to really reach the Sudan geographically? Thus, the original source material of the SPM is the starting point for my account, though great care has been taken to countercheck it and to obtain additional information from other sources wherever possible.

The research has led me beyond Germany to the original sites in Egypt and to archives and libraries in Great Britain and the United States, as well as in Egypt. As some of the publications quoted here are very rare, I have attempted in the bibliography to identify the location of the copy used. Except for the library of the SPM / EMO in Wiesbaden, my first resource was the University Library in Tübingen, Germany.

The handwritten source material on the SPM in Gothic script has been partially transcribed and summarized. It has been indexed according to major events and subjects. Several parallel chronologies have been constructed from the material at hand. During the process of writing, details have been repeatedly counterchecked from the originals.

The readers I have particularly in mind, besides the academic and missiological communities, are the workers and friends of the former SPM, and of the other missions mentioned. Equally, Christians in Egypt are likewise kept in mind. Those interested in the study of faith missions will find this the first contribution on the history of a German faith mission in an Islamic context. Students of the life of Karl Kumm will gain insight into his, so far little known, early biography. The study might be also useful to those interested in church history in Hessen-Nassau and surroundings, as this is the area in Germany where the SPM eventually found its home base.

Keeping an international and mixed readership in mind, I have taken care to explain terminology and phenomena known to Germans or to missiologists only. The main text has been presented in such a way that it is intelligible to a reader who only knows English. Spelling and

style follow the usage of American English. German quotes were translated by me into English. Where the original wording was of particular importance, or better reflected the tone and mood, the German original has been given in the footnotes. A number of maps has been produced in order to visualize the geographic realities and to locate otherwise little known place names.

## 1.5 Outline

Chapter 1 introduces the attempts to reach the “unreached” Sudan Belt at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while Chapter 2 researches the role of the Irish visionaries and promoters of mission, Henry Grattan and Fanny Guinness, and their daughter Lucy, in the numerous Protestant missionary endeavors in this regard. What was their vision? How far can it be traced in their publications? Which endeavors did they inspire or support? What was the objective outcome of these ventures?

To set the stage, the role of the Guinnesses in the emergence of a new type of mission agency in Africa, the faith mission, has to be described. Faith missions have to be defined in the wider context of mission history. After describing the Guinnesses' vision of reaching the unreached Sudan Belt, I examine the individual missionary attempts, which they inspired or supported, analyzing the particular role which the Guinnesses played in each case. Before the year 1900, there were four different ventures: The Guinnesses supported the independent *Central Soudan Mission* of S.C. Wilson and G.W. Brooke on the Congo River (1887/88) and the *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission* of G.W. Brooke and J.A. Robinson on the Niger River in connection with the *Church Missionary Society* (1889–1892) in England. Grattan Guinness provided the main impulse for founding the *Kansas Soudan Pioneer Mission* (1889) within the Kansas YMCA, which was targeting the Western Sudan. In addition, the Guinnesses supported the independent *Central Soudan Mission* of H.G. Harris (1891), which ventured to enter the Sudan by various routes. With all these initiatives having failed, political developments in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan were propitious for the development of plans for a Sudan mission via the Nile River in Egypt. These plans were intertwined with the romance of Lucy Guinness and Karl Kumm, a German missionary in Egypt, who eventually became the co-founder of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* (SPM).

Chapter 3 is therefore committed to recounting Karl Kumm's life up to the founding of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* as accurately as possible. The origin of Kumm, and particularly his childhood and youth from 1874 to 1900, have until now been insufficiently researched. For a better understanding of the SPM's history, we need to find answers to the following questions: What were Karl Kumm's ambitions and motivations? Who or what influenced him? What missionary

training and experience did he have? This leads to a description of Kumm's formative years in Osterode, Germany (1874–1895), including his family background and conversion. Then follow his call to missionary service with the British based *North Africa Mission* and preparations for missionary training, particularly at the Guinnesses' *East London Training Institute*. My particular interest is to find out whether Karl Kumm had a missionary vision for the Sudan which was independent of that of the Guinnesses. The recounting of Kumm's missionary service with the *North Africa Mission* in Egypt (1898–1900) lends itself to studying his ever widening excursions and expeditions into the Libyan Desert and the development of his personal vision for missionary service. This culminates in the question whether the plans of the NAM and Karl Kumm did fit together and why Kumm ultimately left the NAM. The choice before him was to follow his felt call to the Sudan, or to return to the Nile Delta and to help inaugurate a stationary work of the NAM among the Fellaheen?

Before the focus narrows down to the history and analysis of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* in Chapters 4 to 7, the missionary context in Egypt needs to be briefly described. What was the political and religious situation in Egypt around 1900? What was the history of organized Protestant missionary efforts in Egypt before 1900? Which territories in Egypt did these cover and on which religious and ethnic groups did they focus? Was there a legitimate place for any new missionary agency?

Chapter 4, then, sets out to recount the founding of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* in Egypt. The SPM was founded rather spontaneously on the mission field, on January 11, 1900 in Aswan by Grattan Guinness, his daughter Lucy and her fiancé Karl Kumm. It was not established at a home base first. However, there certainly must have been a plan, which I attempt to reestablish from the sources, before describing the actual developments. What was the objective of this new missionary endeavor? Which route and base were chosen? What were the target areas and target groups? Which missionary methods were considered? Where was the support and personnel to come from? What were the goals and expectations for the development of this mission? In the first months of the SPM, the three people involved appeared in different constellations: first Grattan Guinness alone with his daughter Lucy, then the Guinnesses together with Kumm, and finally Karl and Lucy Kumm on honeymoon in Aswan. How did their personal plans fit together? And how did their plans fit into the context of existing missionary work and churches in Aswan? The rest of the chapter is devoted to Samuel Ali Hiseen, the first missionary of the SPM. Why was Grattan Guinness so sure that he was the right man to evangelize Nubia? It is important to know the previous 37 years in the life of Samuel Ali Hiseen, in order to understand the role he

played in the SPM. What were his qualifications, and what position was he given in the SPM? His first assignment, a Bible colportage tour through Nubia in 1900, is studied in detail. What were the objectives and how well were they accomplished?

Chapter 5 traces the establishment of the SPM in Germany, where Karl and Lucy Kumm had moved in the meantime. The need of a home-base for the new SPM was obvious. Grattan Guinness and the Kumms had agreed that the SPM would be largely manned and financed from Germany. Where did they turn for support? What was the state of interdenominational faith missions in Germany and of mission agencies working among Muslims? Which parts of the world did these serve, and were any of them suitable to take on the SPM? For some time Grattan Guinness and the Kumms hoped that the *Chrischona Mission* near Basle, Switzerland, would adopt the SPM. On what basis was this hope founded, and how did the board of this mission agency react? When nothing came of it, who were the people finally gained as promoters, board members, and supporters of the SPM? And how were structures and a base for the SPM established? A particular interest is accorded to the board members pastor Julius Dammann in Eisenach, where the first office of the SPM was established, and pastor Theodor Ziemendorff, his wife Adelheid, and their *Marienhau*s for single ladies of nobility in Wiesbaden, where the office later moved. At the end of the first year of the SPM, on December 30, 1900, the first missionary team was sent out from Germany to Aswan, Egypt: Johannes and Martha Kupfernagel, and two assistants accompanying them. – Who were these first missionaries? Before looking at their work in Egypt, the criticism, which the SPM had encountered in Germany from its outset, must be analyzed. Who was the major critic, Gustav Warneck? What were the objects of criticism? How did the promoters of the mission agency answer the criticism about the strategy for reaching the Sudan Belt, about the founding of a new mission agency, and about Kumm himself as well as about “foreign influence”? A careful reconstruction and an analysis of the criticism, as well as of the responses given, reveals that it was not so much the SPM in particular that was criticized.

Chapter 6 deals with the crises that did not wait long to befall the young mission agency. With the arrival of the first German missionary party in Egypt, the SPM had entered a new period. It was dominated by the setting up of a base in Aswan. What had not been much more than plans, was to be realized now. This period, which extends to the departure of all early missionaries from Aswan by August 1904, is actually divided into two periods by the dismissal of its founder, Karl Kumm, by the SPM board in October 1902. Thus, I have divided my narrative accordingly into the following three parts: early problems, dismissal of Kumm, and decline and new beginnings afterwards. I chose to present the events chronologically, as the development of

different aspects is closely intertwined. For the earlier period, the two outstanding questions are: why the German missionary Kupfernagel and the Nubian missionary Samuel were in almost permanent conflict, and which events caused crises for the field and the home base of the SPM? The ensuing separation of the SPM from Karl Kumm is portrayed from two complementary perspectives: chronologically as a growth of alienation, and analytically in an examination of the critical factors, which brought about the separation. What were the charges raised against Kumm? Were they justified, or were diverging opinions on mission strategies and methods the real reason? A closer analysis of the multiple factors of conflict and of the shifting arguments will reveal hidden reasons for the break, which were not publicly stated. The months and years afterwards were a period of decline for the SPM, paralleled by growing preparations for the sending out of new missionaries. The missionary Kupfernagel was attempting new methods in Aswan, but was increasingly becoming frustrated and looking for other employment. The mission board was looking for direction: Should the SPM continue its work in Aswan, or should it relocate to some other field? To make matters worse, Samuel's children were abducted by his Muslim relatives, making missionary work in Aswan impossible for him. Once again Kupfernagel put Samuel's integrity in question. Were Kupfernagel's allegations true, or was he rather increasingly disqualifying himself? How could the SPM continue and overcome all these problems? How could it part from Kupfernagel and start again with new missionaries? In fact, in late 1903, new missionaries started preparing in Wiesbaden and were sent out in late 1904, starting a new epoch in the history of the SPM.

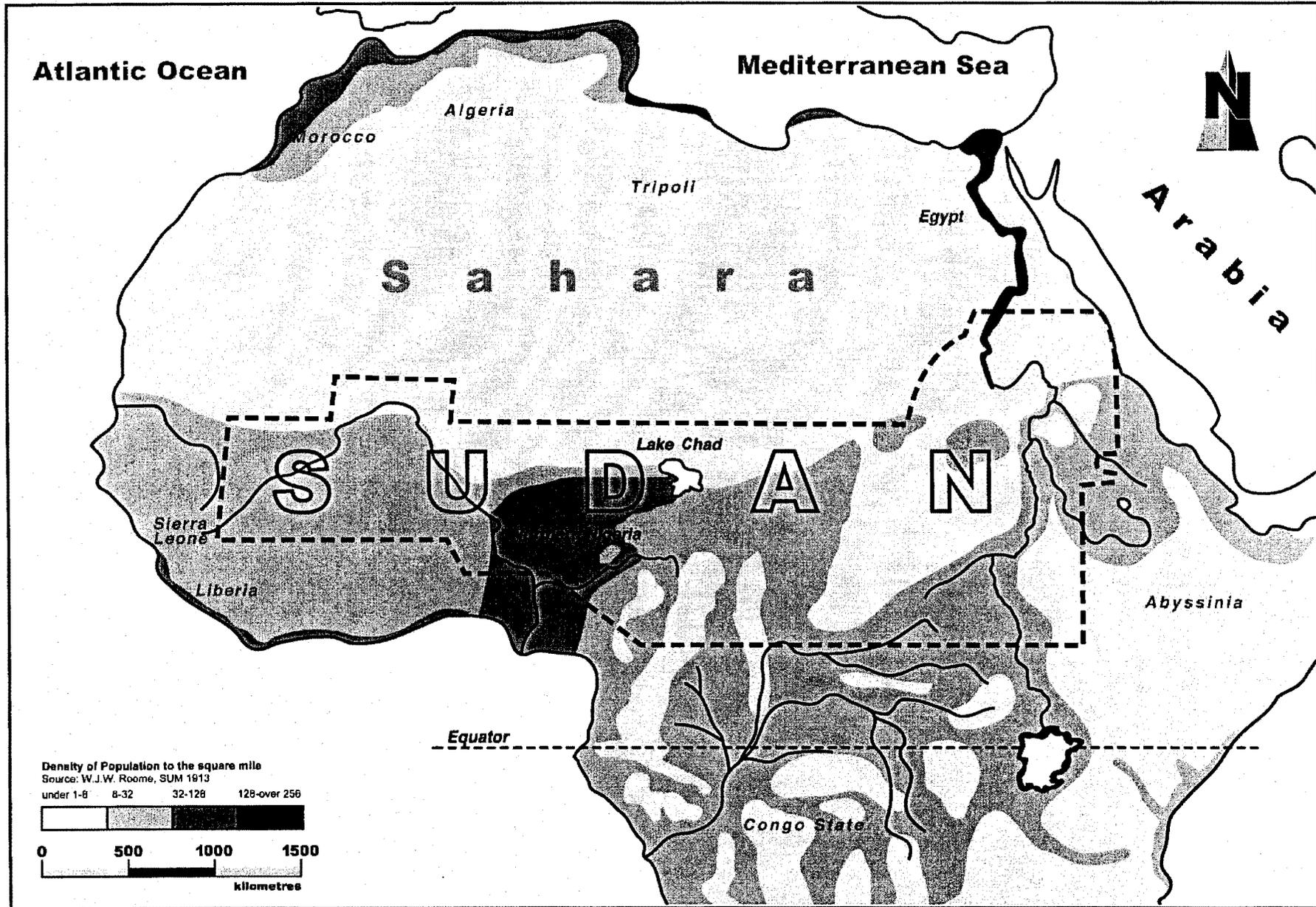
In Chapter 7, I attempt a missiological analysis of the SPM in terms of its structural strengths and weaknesses. The topics in this chapter were chosen for their helpfulness in describing the SPM, in particular its peculiarities, and because of the availability of documentation. Thus no preconceived grid out of a missiological textbook has been applied. Rather, five major subjects which impressed me in the source material will be presented. Firstly, what were the missionary objectives? Which geographical area, which ethnic and religious groups were targeted and reached? Secondly, concerning missionary personnel, what were the roles and positions of those Christian employees of the mission agency who had a direct share in the missionary work of the SPM? How were they treated? What terminology was used for them in the publications of the SPM? Turning to the women: Which roles were assigned to women on the field and at home? Thirdly, I examine missionary methods: How far were the methods initially conceived, e.g. translation work, schools, evangelism, literature colportage, and medical work, put into practice? How continuously were these methods used? Which were their advantages and disadvantages? Did

these methods have an evangelistic focus? Which methods dominated? Were the individual methods and their collective effect rather casting the net wide, or trying to make progress with a limited number of individuals? Fourthly, I look at the external relationships of the SPM. How well did cooperation work, regarding the differing denominational backgrounds of missionaries, members and supporters? To which degree did the SPM cooperate or compete with other mission agencies at the home base and on the field of service? Which principles did the SPM apply regarding cooperation? How did the SPM perceive other missions and vice versa?

Chapter 8 returns to the opening vision: How can the unreached Sudan Belt be reached? The twofold outcomes of the Kumms' two different strategies for advancing into the Sudan Belt with missionary work are compared. Which strategy was successful? Which river finally provided access to the Sudan Belt? The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission's* vision of reaching the Sudan via the Nile River failed and was changed. For political reasons, the Nile River failed to become the access route to the Sudan. The SPM abandoned its vision, and transformed itself into a stationary mission initially working in Aswan and slowly adding other stations in Upper Egypt. The Sudan vision was replaced by the vision of reaching the Nubian people. The SPM did not reach the Sudan Belt proper until 1954 (Swiss) and 1979 (German) and consequently was renamed as the *Evangelical Mission among Muslims*, dropping the term Sudan from its name. The *Sudan United Mission's* vision of reaching the Sudan Belt via the Niger and Benue Rivers, was, however, realized. The missionary work not only expanded into northern Nigeria, but became truly international by the establishment of branches in several western countries, each of which were assigned new fields in unreached areas. Some large churches came into existence through this missionary work. Eventually work was also started in the Anglo Egyptian Sudan. This was possible in the south of the Anglo Egyptian Sudan only, because political expediency equally kept the SUM out of the Northern Sudan, as it had done with the SPM.

Finally, Chapter 9 summarizes and presents the conclusions which I draw from researching these moving attempts to reach the unreached Sudan Belt. Which role did the faith missions play in reaching the Sudan Belt? How can the specific roles of the Guinesses, of the Kumms, and of Samuel Ali Hiseen be defined? What are the main lines in the early history of the SPM and which phases can be distinguished? What were the ultimate reasons behind the crisis of the early SPM until its new start in 1905? What are the characteristics of the SPM?

# The Sudan Belt and the Demography of Africa



## 2 Henry Grattan Guinness and Lucy Guinness and the Opening of the Sudan Belt to Protestant Missions (1887–1900)

The Irish couple, who were promoters and visionaries of mission, Henry Grattan and Fanny Guinness, and their daughter Lucy, had a crucial role in the numerous Protestant missionary attempts to enter the “unreached” Sudan Belt at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. What was their vision? How far can it be traced in their publications? Which attempts did they inspire or support? What was the objective outcome of these ventures? To my knowledge, these specific questions have not been researched coherently yet.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 The Guinness Family and their Importance for Faith Missions in Africa

Henry Grattan Guinness<sup>2</sup> (1835–1910) stems from the great Irish Guinness clan, to whose banking and brewing branches he added a no less respectable Bible and mission branch.<sup>3</sup> In his youth, he had wanted to become a missionary in Argentina. When he married Fanny Fitzgerald<sup>4</sup> (1832–1898) in 1860, he had already achieved great popularity as an interdenominational itinerant evangelist in the 1858/59 revivals in Ireland, Great Britain, and North America. Originally affiliated to a congregational church, he joined the Plymouth Brethren,<sup>5</sup> to whom his wife be-

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1 This is not surprising, as to answer these queries involves two continents in the West (with sources in more than one language), and more than half a dozen of today's countries in Africa. But I am most fortunate to be able to build on a decade of ground-breaking research by Klaus Fiedler on the history of faith missions in Africa, which also covers to some degree most of the individuals and organizations treated here, though not coherently. (Klaus Fiedler: *The Story of Faith Missions*. Oxford: Regnum, 1994, 428 pp.; Klaus Fiedler: *Ganz auf Vertrauen. Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen*. Gießen: Brunnen, 1992, 605 pp.) In addition I could use a number of scholarly treatments on particular aspects of “Sudan missions”, though most do not focus on the vision of reaching the Sudan Belt. Existing scholarly articles on Grattan Guinness focus on other aspects of his life's work, and are referred to in Chapter 1.2.

2 He was usually called Grattan Guinness. Jocelyn Murray: “Henry Grattan Guinness”. In: *BDCM* 1998, pp. 268f., partly confuses him with his son Harry. Fiedler 1992 and 1994 provides a better analysis of the Guinneses' role in mission history. – Cf. Harry Guinness (ed.): *In Memoriam: H. Grattan Guinness. DD, FRAS. A Compilation of Memoirs Edited by His Son*. RBMU, 1911.

3 Scholarly biographies on the Guinneses have not been written yet, but in the meantime their place is taken by the well-researched (though not scholarly) work on the wider Guinness family by Michele Guinness: *The Guinness Spirit. Brewers and Bankers, Ministers and Missionaries*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999, 525 pp. She acknowledges making use of some of my findings on the Kums and the SPM, in revising her earlier publication: *The Guinness Legend*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991 [1990], 330 pp. – What remains of the archives of the RBMU, the Guinneses' mission, is held by the *Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World*, New College, Edinburgh.

4 Lucy Guinness: *Enter Thou. Pages from the Life Story of Fanny Guinness*. RBMU [1899] = *RB* Jan.- Feb., 1899.

5 Fiedler 1994, p. 25. The Brethren, as part of a wider *Restorationist Revival*, strive for restitution of the original church (through representation) in the end-time. To the outsider they may appear very exclusive. Their rejection of any set forms of ecclesiastical institution, e.g. of ordination or leadership through pastors, hampered the effectiveness of their missionary efforts. Cf. Klaus Fiedler: “Post-classical Missions and Churches in Africa – Identity and challenge to missiological research”. In: *Missionalia* 23 (1995), pp. 92–107. A scholarly book on

longed. Even when joining an independent church in East London in 1875, “in theological terms, they were still close to the Brethren, but had left them from a desire to give preference to missionary effectiveness over doctrinal correctness”.<sup>6</sup>

The gifts and tasks of the couple were complementary: He was a theologian and visionary, an evangelist and teacher, whereas she was a popular author, editor, preacher, and a mission and school organizer. She was his best counselor, the translator of his theological thoughts into understandable books.<sup>7</sup> She was the down-to-earth organizer of the dreamer and fast-paced visionary.<sup>8</sup> Their contributions to missions<sup>9</sup> cannot be separated. It is only because Grattan Guinness seemed to have played the larger role concerning the Sudan missions, that he features more prominently in this chapter than his wife Fanny. This is partly due to the fact, that he was the one traveling more frequently, and that Fanny Guinness died during the period under report.

In 1866, the Guinnesses had invited Hudson Taylor<sup>10</sup> (1832–1905), the founder of the *China Inland Mission* (CIM), to an evening study class, which they had been organizing in Dublin. When subsequently they wanted to join the CIM, Taylor proposed to them instead, that they should engage in training missionaries for the “regions beyond” missionary reach.<sup>11</sup> This they eventually did after 1873, through their *East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions* (ELTI). This institution opened up missionary training to a new social class: those, who were not able to afford it, and who generally did not possess the academic qualifications required by other

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the Brethren movement is Frederick Roy Coad: *A History of the Brethren Movement. Its Origins, its Worldwide Development and its Significance for the Present Day*. Exeter, 1968.

6 Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 74f., and 1994, pp. 38, 59 n 26, 178 on the denominational development of the early faith mission leaders. The independent churches were: *Edinburgh Castle*, Thomas Barnado's Mission Hall in Stepney Green, and later when they moved, Archibald Geiki Brown's *East London Tabernacle*, a Baptist church, that left the Baptist Union in 1887.

7 Grattan Guinness' theological writing focused on eschatology: *The Approaching End of the Age*. Frome / London 1878, New York 1881; *Light for the Last Days. A Study Historical and Prophetical*. London 1886, <sup>2</sup>1917; *Romanism and the Reformation from the Standpoint of Prophecy*. London 1887; *The Divine Programme of the World's History*. London 1888; *Creation Centered in Christ* (2 Vols.). London 1896; *Key to the Apocalypse; or, The Seven Interpretations of Symbolic Prophecy*. London 1899; *History Unveiling Prophecy; or Time as an Interpreter*. New York 1905.

8 Michele Guinness 1991, p. 187; less clear 1999, p. 255.

9 When Henry Grattan Guinness died in 1910, the *First World Missionary Conference* was in session in Edinburgh. The assembly rose in silence when John Mott read the telegram announcing his death, and recognized his huge contribution to world mission (Michele Guinness 1999, p. 405).

10 For literature on James Hudson Taylor, cf. *BDCM*, pp. 657f., and J. Herbert Kane: “J. Hudson Taylor”. In: *Missions Legacies*. 1994, pp. 197–204.

11 Cf. Mrs. H. Grattan [Fanny] Guinness: *The Regions Beyond; or the Story of our Fourth Year at the East End Training Institute, and at Hulme Cliff College, Curbar*. London [1877], [further quoted as Guinness: *The Regions Beyond* 1877] p. 158: “It was for the benefit of the regions beyond (2 Cor. 10,16), that the Institute was established ...”. Fanny Guinness relates the influence of Taylor also to his publications: “Twelve years ago our thoughts were afresh strongly turned to missionary subjects, by a little pamphlet entitled ‘*China, its Spiritual Needs and Claims*’, by the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, M.D.” (Ibid, p. 11).

institutions. It became the model for the worldwide Bible School movement.<sup>12</sup> Until its closing in 1915, the ELTI had trained about 1,500 students, the majority of whom became missionaries.<sup>13</sup> They primarily staffed the missions founded by the Guinnesses, or other faith missions. Often Grattan Guinness presented them with calls from unreached fields, which repeatedly led to the founding of new missions. It was the “regions beyond”, the areas unreached by the preaching of the gospel, to which this family dedicated their lives.<sup>14</sup> Though their varied interests spanned the globe, their main contribution was in Africa.

In Africa alone at least seven missions owed their existence quite directly to the Guinnesses, not counting more indirect influences or smaller and temporary initiatives:<sup>15</sup> the *Livingstone Inland Mission*<sup>16</sup> (1878) in Zaire, which in 1885 spun off the *Svenska Missionsförbundet*, the *North Africa Mission* (1881), the *Qua Iboe Mission*<sup>17</sup> (1887) on the Calabar Coast of Nigeria, the *Congo Balolo Mission* (1889) founded by their son Harry, which became part of their *Regions Beyond Missionary Union* in 1899, the *Kansas Sudan Pioneer Mission* (1889), which became the *Sierra Leone Mission* of the *Christian and Missionary Alliance*, and also led to the *Gospel Missionary Union*, the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* (1900) in Nubia, and finally the *Sudan United Mission* (1904) in Nigeria. All of these were part of the faith mission movement.

The faith missions are best understood within the historical typology of the Protestant missionary movement developed by Klaus Fiedler,<sup>18</sup> according to which each revival movement

12 Klaus Fiedler: “Aspects of the Early History of the Bible School Movement”. In: *Festschrift Donald Moreland. The Secret of Faith. In Your Heart – In Your Mouth*. Marthinus W. Pretorius (ed). Heverlee Leuven: Evangelische Theologische Fakulteit, 1992, pp. 62–77.

13 Sell, Alan p. F.: “Harley College and Its Congregational Alumni”. In: Alan P.F. Sell: *Commemorations. Studies in Christian Thought and History*. Cardiff / Calgary, Alberta, Canada: University of Wales Press, 1993, pp. 275–300.

14 Guinness: *The Regions Beyond* 1877, p. 159, gives reasons for their concentration on the “regions beyond”: (1) overwhelming need of missionaries; (2) responsibility to help, because ability is there; (3) love calling for actions; (4) better possibilities of travel, more information, and opening of these areas have increased the responsibility to evangelize such regions; (5) the approaching coming of the Lord.

15 These are taken out of a flow chart, a chronological table, and a map by Fiedler 1994, pp. 36, 39f., and 72, on Fanny and Grattan Guinness and the advance of the faith mission movement in Africa.

16 The LIM was founded by the Rev. Alfred Tilly, Cardiff, who had asked the Guinnesses for missionaries. In 1880, Fanny Guinness became its secretary. In 1884, the LIM was handed over to the *American Baptist Foreign Missionary Union*. Cf. Fiedler 1994, pp. 37–39.

17 Grattan Guinness had suggested to one of his students at the ELTI, Samuel A. Bill, that he go to the Calabar Coast in Nigeria as an independent missionary, which resulted in the establishment of the *Qua Iboe Mission* (Fiedler 1992, p. 74; 1994, p. 37).

18 The typology, together with a helpful diagram, was first presented by Fiedler in 1989: “Die religionsgeographische Relevanz der evangelikalen Glaubensmissionen in Afrika”. In: K. Rudolph / G. Rinschede: *Beiträge zur Religions / Umwelt-Forschung*. (Geographia Religionum, Vol. 6), Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1989, pp. 201–224; then in 1991 in his dissertation (Heidelberg): *Das Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen und ihrer Kirchen in Afrika – Ein Beitrag zu den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer interdenominationalen Ekklesiologie*. 436 pp.; and then published in Fiedler 1992, pp. 12–35; summarized as: “Die Vielfalt der evangelischen Missionsbewegung – Der Versuch einer historischen Typologie”. In:

brought forth new missionary movements. Among the three large movements, consisting of pre-classical (e.g. *Moravian*), classical (e.g. *American Board, CMS, Basle*), and post-classical missions (among others Independent, Brethren, Pentecostal, Charismatic), the faith missions form the major subdivision of post-classical missions. They were brought forth by the *Holiness Revival*<sup>19</sup> of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, among whose great evangelists and preachers were D.L. Moody (1837–1899),<sup>20</sup> C.H. Spurgeon (1834–1892),<sup>21</sup> and Grattan Guinness. More specifically, according to Fiedler's definition by historical criteria, the faith missions are those missions, whose origin or whose principles can be traced back directly or indirectly to the *China Inland Mission (CIM)* founded in 1865 by Hudson and Maria Taylor.<sup>22</sup>

Hudson Taylor (1832–1905) originally had not planned to found a new mission. Only when he was unable to persuade the existing China missions to expand beyond the “ports of treaty” to the interior, did he found the CIM. He was driven by two theological convictions. He was convinced that all those, who did not believe in Christ, were eternally lost, and that the return of Christ could only take place after the saving Gospel of atoning grace had been preached to all peoples.<sup>23</sup> Both convictions demanded a faster expansion of missionary work, more effective methods, and a much larger number of missionaries in comparison to “classical” mission work.<sup>24</sup> The CIM was much more than a new missionary society among others; it ushered in a totally new missionary movement alongside the existing ones.

The faith missions were in particular characterized by their interdenominational nature, which extended much further than that of the classical missions. The name *faith missions* was given to them by representatives of the classical missions, because they stressed the role of faith in God in securing the funding of their missions, refusing to incur debts, and often not making their needs known to people. The founders of these faith missions wanted to reach the areas still unreached

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*Evangelikale Missiologie* 7 (1992), pp. 80ff.; rendered in English in: Fiedler 1994, p. 11–31; now revised (without diagram), and supplemented with a case study on Malawi, in: *Missionalia* 23 (1995), pp. 92–107.

19 The emphasis of the Holiness revival was on conversion and personal holiness. Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 207–246; and Fiedler 1994, pp. 210–246, on faith missions and the Holiness movement.

20 *BDCM*, pp. 470f.: “Moody made a preaching tour of major British cities during the years 1873 to 1875”.

21 *ELThG*, p. 1890. Spurgeon preached from 1843 to his death in 1892 at the London Park Street Baptist Church, which built the Metropolitan Tabernacle with 5,000 seats to accommodate the growing congregation. Visitors regularly came to the evening service, but that is reported as an average of 6,000 in attendance.

22 Fiedler 1994, p. 11.

23 On the relevance of the belief in the uniqueness of Jesus Christ, and the lostness of all men without Christ, cf. Klaus Fiedler: “Die Bedeutung der Einzigartigkeit Jesu Christi für die Theologie der evangelikalischen Glaubensmissionen”. In: Thomas Schirmacher (ed.): *Kein anderer Name. Die Einzigartigkeit Jesu Christi und das Gespräch mit nichtchristlichen Religionen. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Peter Beyerhaus*. Nürnberg: Verlag für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 1999, pp. 297–308. First published in: Rolf Hille / Eberhard Troeger (eds.): *Die Einzigartigkeit Jesu Christi als Grundfrage der Theologie und missionarische Herausforderung*. Wuppertal / Zürich: R. Brockhaus, 1991, pp. 153–166.

by the Gospel, they recruited personnel and support in new strata of society, and were inspired by spiritual truths, which had before been neglected. They did this with their own, differing principles,<sup>25</sup> among other actions granting equal possibilities to single women as to men, to be pioneer evangelists as well. They stressed the precedence of evangelism over institutional work, such as education or medicine, and missionaries were members, instead of employees, of the mission.

Numerous missionary societies in different Western countries were subsequently founded through the direct influence of Hudson Taylor, or according to his principles. The Guinness family was second in importance only to the Taylors regarding their influence on early faith missions. They transferred the concept of faith missions, which Taylor had originally developed for China, to Africa.

The four Guinness children who reached adulthood all shared in the activities of their parents, becoming missionaries or mission directors themselves. It was Lucy Guinness<sup>26</sup> (1865–1906), who shared most in the Sudan vision. She was centrally involved in the founding of two of the Guinneses' Sudan missions (SPM 1900 and SUM 1904). Even before then, succeeding her mother as the editor of the journal *The Regions Beyond* in 1888, she had propagated for more than ten years the missionary need in the Sudan Belt.

## 2.2 The Vision of Evangelizing the Unreached Sudan Belt

In 1875, there were still four great areas in Africa unreached by Christian missions: Central Africa, to which Livingstone had drawn attention; the Congo Basin, made accessible to Europe by Stanley's famous journey;<sup>27</sup> Muslim North Africa; and in between there lay the largest, and in many respects most inaccessible unreached area of all, the *Sudan Belt*.<sup>28</sup>

*Sudan* is Arabic, and means *Land of the Blacks*.<sup>29</sup> It was the geographical name then in use for the area between five and twelve degrees north of the Equator, between the Sahara in the

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24 Fiedler 1994, pp. 33–34.

25 The principles of the CIM are summarized in Fiedler 1992, pp. 66f., and Fiedler 1994, p. 33.

26 Henry Grattan Guinness: *Lucy Guinness Kumm. Her Life Story. By her Father...With Extracts from her Writings*. London: Morgan & Scott / Bow: RBMU, 1907, 93 pp.

27 Stanley's famous 999-day-long journey led him across the continent from East Africa to the mouth of the Congo. Henry Morton Stanley: *Through the Dark Continent*. 2 Vols. London, 1899.

28 Fiedler 1992, pp. 104ff.; 1994, pp. 71f. The term *Sudan* always means *Sudan Belt* in this thesis, if not otherwise specified.

29 *Sudan* is derived from the plural adjective *sudd* (the Black), supplemented by the local suffix for countries – *aan*. – William Carey, in his famous *Enquiry*, 1792, used the term “Negroland” for the western and central section of the Sudan Belt. Cf. the German translation of the *Enquiry*, which for the first time identifies the geographical and ethnological terminology used: William Carey: *Eine Untersuchung über die Verpflichtung der Christen, Mittel einzusetzen für die Bekehrung der Heiden*. Translated and edited by Klaus Fiedler and Thomas

north, and Guinea (the West African coastal area), and the Congo Basin in the south, extending from the Senegal in the west, to Ethiopia in the east. It consisted of three principal parts: the region of the Niger was called *Western Sudan*, the region around *Lake Chad*, *Central Sudan*, and the regions immediately to the west of the Upper Nile formed the *Eastern Sudan*.

According to Grattan Guinness, by 1887 “no thorough-going attempt has yet been made either to explore or to evangelize this vast, populous and wonderful region”, which to the Western world remained a “terra incognita”. In an article about the Sudan in 1887 Guinness went on to describe the Sudanese kingdoms one by one, closing each paragraph with the exclamation: Among all these “there is no Missionary of the Gospel”.

The article concluded in an appeal for missionary work in the Sudan Belt: “What a call there is from all this region for light and knowledge! How the ignorance, the sins, the sorrows, the slavery of these neglected negro races call aloud and call unceasingly for help and healing! Who will hearken to this call? Who will go for God and for his Christ to these neglected millions? Can we not hear the cry from Bornu, from Adamawa, from Wadai, from Sokoto, from Gando, from Messina, from Bambarra, from Songhay, the cry of millions of neglected men and women calling on the Church of God, ‘Come over and help us?’”<sup>30</sup>

This article in 1887 was the first time the Guinnesses devoted a whole article to the Sudan. But when did their vision for the Sudan originate? The earliest indication to be found in *Regions Beyond*, the journal the Guinnesses had been publishing since October 1878, is a short comment in December 1880 on the plan of a *water road*<sup>31</sup> from the Atlantic to Timbuktu (Mali).<sup>32</sup> Such a connection to the Sudan, “a country which is entirely unevangelized, and at present virtually inaccessible”, would make its evangelization possible, and open a new market for England.<sup>33</sup> The priority of Africa in the Guinnesses’ minds was obvious, documented but a few pages further:

“We fully believe, that no part of the world has so strong a claim on the energies of the Christian Church at this time as the continent of Africa, and especially its central regions; and that

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Schirmacher. With an English list of geographical identifications. (edition afem – mission classics, Vol. 1). Bonn: VKW, 1993, p. 53.

30 H. Grattan Guinness: “The true home of the Negro”. In: *RB*, July 1887, pp. 10–14. Karl Kumm later delineated the boundaries of the Sudan Belt with the precision of a geographer on maps in his books about the Sudan.

31 The idea of Mackenzie’s enterprise at *Cape Juby* (at the southern tip of today’s Morocco, facing the Canary Islands) in connection with the *North West African Company Ltd.*, was to use the *Wady el-Jub* as an entrance for a canal through the Sahara desert.

32 As Mackenzie is not mentioned in the dictionary by Anthony G. Hopkins: *An economic history of West Africa*; his project must have been soon forgotten.

33 *RB*, Dec. 1880, p. 100. Selim Zeytoun, an ELTI graduate, reported on Mackenzie’s venture, and the editor, Fanny Guinness, commented on it.

every man, woman, and child who loves the Lord Jesus Christ, and longs in proof [sic!] to keep His commandments, ought to take some part or other in the great task of giving the gospel to this new world".<sup>34</sup>

The Guinneses had already pleaded for Africa in the monthly *Illustrated Missionary News*<sup>35</sup> in 1876: "What has the Christian Church done for poor bleeding Africa?" Except for the missions on the coasts, and advances into the interior from the South of Africa and by S.A. Crowther<sup>36</sup> on the Niger, "the whole continent, as regards Christian effort, is an utter blank".<sup>37</sup> Exploration, development, and missionary work were hindered by the lack of reliable ways of transport.<sup>38</sup> Thus, there was not much to report about, but the existing occasions were always used to emphasize the need of evangelizing the Sudan. The Guinneses told about plans of the *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* to advance from Gambia to Timbuktu in 1877,<sup>39</sup> and about the political developments in the Eastern Sudan.<sup>40</sup> They were particularly interested in new inroads into the Sudan, such as the road under construction for the Anglo-Egyptian army from Egypt to Khartoum,<sup>41</sup> or the plans for a railway from Suakim (Red Sea) to Berber (North-Eastern Sudan).<sup>42</sup>

These references to the Sudan Belt in the Guinneses' periodicals from 1876 onwards do not indicate, whether they gained their "Sudan vision" from anybody else. However, the Guinneses had been in touch with people from the Sudan Belt, who personified the need of this region. In 1862, they had traveled in Egypt, and had employed a Nubian cook, when crossing the Sinai desert.<sup>43</sup> Among their numerous foreign students at the ELTI, there had been at least two from the Sudan Belt, and with both of them, they had had intense relations: the Nubian Samuel Ali

34 *RB* 1880, p. 107.

35 Henry Grattan Guinness had taken over editorship of this monthly from January 1874 to about May 1878. Probably his wife Fanny was doing the editorial work under his name. – See Appendix II for a more detailed description of the Guinneses' involvement in this journal.

36 See Chapter 2.4 for Crowther's expeditions and the *CMS Niger Mission*.

37 "The Map of Africa". In: *IMN*, Sept. 1876, p. 101. This short note was commenting on an Africa issue of the *Church Missionary Gleaner*.

38 *IMN*, Sept. 1877, p. 104 "The Great Want of Central Africa".

39 Cf. Guinness: *The Regions Beyond* 1877, p. 90.

40 *RB*, April 1884, p. 51: "Abyssinia and the war in Soudan"; p. 89: "A group of Soudanese soldiers"; – *RB*, May 1885, pp. 86–96: "The Soldier Missionary. Charles George Gordon", who is quoted (p. 88): "I would give my life for those poor people of the Soudan".

41 *RB*, May 1885, pp. 66–72: "The Gospel in North-Eastern Africa", by A.K. [the author must be a member of the ELTI, due to the content]. He hoped that the road would one day be used by messengers of peace, "... till the wide provinces of the Soudan shall be evangelized, and the Nile missionaries meet those at work on the Great Lakes and the Congo. At present, as far as we can ascertain, no direct Missionary work is being carried on in the Egyptian Soudan and the neighbouring regions, but the need is pressing."

42 *RB*, May 1885, pp. 64f.

43 *IMN*, July 1877, p. 78. Nubia forms the northernmost section of the Eastern Sudan.

Hiseen in 1876, and the Dinka Salim Wilson in 1882–1886.<sup>44</sup> The outbreak of war in the Sudan in 1882, and the death of General Gordon in Khartoum in 1885 might have given their concern further momentum, but unlike the majority of British Christians, these events were definitely not the origin of the Guinneses' concern.<sup>45</sup> The Sudan Belt was part of their agenda for the “regions beyond”, but only in 1887, did it reach the top priority position, when the Guinneses became involved in some of the earliest attempts at missionary exploration of the Sudan. From then on, they not only reported on the different missionary ventures for the Sudan, but again and again they also wrote long descriptive articles on the Sudan itself, often giving detailed information, and calling emotionally for its evangelization:

“We plead for these neglected millions ... Awake, O selfish, sleeping, forgetful Church ... and give Thyself in the name of JESUS CHRIST to the tremendous task of evangelising at last this greatest and most populous of all the wholly neglected and benighted regions on the surface of the globe.”<sup>46</sup>

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44 For Samuel, as he called himself, see Chapter 4.3, and H. Grattan Guinness: *Evanhelizing [sic!] in Nubia*, 1900, p. 1 (reproduced in Appendix D). Guinness had published Samuel's earlier life as *Ali's Adventures*, possibly as a publication for children [this supposition could not be verified]. For Salim see: *RB*, May 1885, p. 72; and “Current Institute News”. In: *RB*, July 1887, pp. 26f.

45 C.W.M.: “The Evangelization of Khartoum and the Soudan”. In: *RB* 1899, pp. 310–313. [The author could not be identified.] He reports that English Christians had prayed for the Sudan for 15 years, that is since about 1884. Since the victory of the British at Omdurman in 1898, the evangelization of the Sudan had held a high priority for some English Christians.

46 Henry Grattan Guinness: “The Soudan”. In: *RB*, Jan. 1890, pp. 17ff., here p. 19. (The later article in *RB* 1902, pp. 330–332 is identical, but abbreviated by two passages); L.G. [= Lucy Guinness]: “Central Soudan”. In: *RB*, Nov. 1888, pp. 349–352; Lucy E. Guinness (ed.): “The Soudan”, *Regions Beyond* Helpers Union Prayer Roll Papers, No XV, published in: *Regions Beyond*, Sept./Oct. 1894, pp. 329–335, essentially picks up the contents of her father's articles.

## Fanny and Grattan Guinness

1832	Fanny Fitzgerald born in Southern Ireland
1835	Henry Grattan Guinness born in Cheltenham
1853	Conversion of Grattan Guinness
1857–1860	Evangelistic work in the context of the 1859 revival in North America, Great Britain, and Ireland
1860	Marriage
1862	Travels to Egypt and Palestine
1866	Meeting Hudson Taylor
1867–1872	Evangelistic work, especially in Paris, France
1873	East London Training Institute
1874–1878	Editorship of <i>The Illustrated Missionary News</i>
1878–	Publication of <i>The Regions Beyond</i>
1889	Honorary Doctorate of Divinity for Grattan Guinness
1889	Kansas Sudan Pioneer Mission
1892	Stroke of Fanny Guinness
1897	Travels to India and China (Grattan)
1898	Travel to North Africa (Grattan)
1898	Death of Fanny Guinness
1899	Regions Beyond Missionary Union brings together missions connected to ELTI in one organization
1899	Travel to Egypt and Palestine
1900	<b>Sudan-Pionier-Mission, Aswan</b>
1902	Sudan Pioneer Mission, GB (to become Sudan United Mission in 1904)
1903	Marriage to Grace Hurditch
1910	Death of Grattan Guinness

### 2.3 Supporting the Central Soudan Mission of S.C. Wilson and G.W. Brooke on the Congo (1887/88)<sup>47</sup>

The freed Dinka slave Salim C. Wilson<sup>48</sup> (1859–1946) was probably the major reason why the Guinnesses started to support this venture. He is purposely mentioned first in the heading, even though Graham Wilmot Brooke (1865–1892) dominated the *Central Soudan Mission* (CSM) from the outset. Salim Wilson<sup>49</sup> had been trained at the ELTI in 1882–1883 and 1884–1886 with the hope that he would one day return to the Sudan, evangelizing “in his own area”.<sup>50</sup> Already in 1884 Guinness had asked Salim to accompany him on a lecture tour for the sake of the war-torn Sudan through the north of England, where Salim appeared on the platform as a Dinka chief in a leopard skin.<sup>51</sup> But upon leaving the college in June 1886 Salim found no way to pursue his vision of evangelizing his Dinka people until he was put into contact with Graham Wilmot Brooke by

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47 The primary sources on the CSM are the reports published in *Regions Beyond*, and the publication of the *North Africa Mission*, supplemented by the autobiographies of Salim Wilson (see below). – The CSM has not been much researched and is only dealt with in articles relating to Salim Wilson and Graham Wilmot Brooke. – The only scholarly articles on Salim Wilson are written by a British historian, who also extensively used Brooke's papers (see below), and tried to analyze Salim's relationship to Brooke: Douglas H. Johnson: “Salim Wilson. The Black Evangelist of the North”. In: *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21 (1991), pp. 26–41; D.H. Johnson: “Divinity Abroad: Dinka Missionaries in Foreign Lands”. In: *Vernacular Christianity. Essays in the Social Anthropology of Religion Presented to Godfrey Lienhardt*. Wendy James / Douglas H. Johnson (eds.), New York: Lilian Barber, 1988, pp. 170–182. Unfortunately, Johnson does not seem well acquainted with the history of the Guinnesses or the *North Africa Mission*, as he transmits Wilson's imprecise memory of names without interpretation or correction (see below). – The primary sources on Brooke are his own papers, accession No. 82 of the CMS Archives in Birmingham University Library, F1–F5, containing his journals on Algeria, the Congo, and the Niger [which were not available at the time of research], as well as his letters. These are referred to only as far as they are reflected in *Regions Beyond* and *North Africa*. The best short biographical draft on Brooke, and the most thorough and sympathetic scholarly investigation of Brooke's motivation, while focusing on the “Niger-purge”, is: Andrew N. Porter: “Evangelical Enthusiasm, Missionary Motivation and West Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century. The Career of G.W. Brooke”. In: *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 6.1 (1977), pp. 23–46. – To Porter I also owe hints on later publications related to Brooke. Porter did not use the periodicals *Regions Beyond* or *North Africa*.

48 Salim C. Wilson's autobiography is published in three heavily edited versions (I have been unable to establish whether the original has been preserved): Hatashil Masha Katish [alias Salim Wilson]: *Jehova-Nissi. The Life Story of Hatashil-Masha-Katish of the Dinka Tribe, Soudan*. Birmingham: Caswell, <sup>2</sup>1901 [1889]; Salim Wilson: *I Was a Slave*. London: Stanley Paul, [1939].

49 *Hatashil Masha Katish* was born in 1859 as son of a *Gok Dinka* chief, had become a slave at the age of twelve, and after being freed by one of General Gordon's agents three years later in 1875, was employed as servant by the CMS missionary Charles T. Wilson, who took him to England in 1880. After his conversion to Christ, he took on the name of his benefactor at his baptism on August 28, 1882, being called Salim Charles Wilson. In *Regions Beyond*, his first name is spelled *Sélim*, and his Dinka name *Hetterchele Macher Kistheshe*. I refer to him as *Salim*, to better distinguish him from his benefactor Charles T. Wilson.

50 A.K. [probably a staff member of ELTI]: “The Gospel in North-Eastern Africa”. In: *RB*, May 1885, pp. 66–72, here p. 72; and “Current Institute News”. In: *RB*, July 1887, pp. 26f.

51 Salim reports in his autobiography: “The war broke out in the Soudan, and I was asked by the superintendent to assist in a lecture tour in the north of England”. They visited most principal towns and cities and drew large audiences (*I was a Slave*, p. 236). The superintendent referred to must have been none other than Grattan Guinness, for he was by title “Principal” of Cliff College, and as a renowned evangelist and Bible teacher, was often on lecture tours.

his host Edward H. Glenny, Honorary Secretary of the *North Africa Mission* (NAM).<sup>52</sup> Twenty-two year old Brooke and twenty-eight year old Salim agreed on the same day to venture out together to the Dinka in the Sudan, via the Congo River, for Brooke “had been sometime seeking just such a helper”. This way Brooke, being an outsider to the ELTI, was included by the Guinnesses with Salim in the farewell meetings for the missionary graduates in April 1887, which also earned him his first of many mentions in their periodical *Regions Beyond*.<sup>53</sup>

Of course, Graham Wilmot Brooke<sup>54</sup> was no stranger to the Guinnesses, or to evangelical circles,<sup>55</sup> despite his young age. Hoping “some day to go to Central Africa in the service of Christ”, he had used his 1884 Summer holiday as a nineteen-year-old medical student to gain experience by purposely traveling alone to Algeria. He undertook a 9-day-expedition into the desert beyond the Atlas Mountains, and subsequently visited the first station of the young *Mission to the Kabyles* (later NAM) in *Djemaa Sahridj*. His report was prominently featured in the

52 To the Guinnesses this happened “in the providence of God”, and “unexpectedly”, probably because they themselves had in vain been searching for a way. (RB, July 1887, p. 27; cf. Johnson 1991, p. 33, for reasons why later the CMS was not ready to send out an English-educated African). Salim had, after a visit in Birmingham, lectured in London “on his own account”, working for the YMCA and the *British Women's Temperance Journal*. He reports in his autobiography of staying at the house of the “honorary secretary of the African Mission” in 1887. To my mind the most plausible identification is Edward Glenny, because (1) he bore this title in relation to the *Mission to the Kabyles and other Berber Races* founded in 1881, and renamed *North Africa Mission* in early 1888, and (2) he was closely acquainted with Brooke, and supported the resulting effort after the two had come together. Salim recounts: “While I was there he made a call one day upon Mr. Graham Wilmot Brooke, whose youthful zeal, courage and devotion to the Lord's work had already made his name famous in all the churches”. Salim was invited for dinner, and before they parted, they had definitely decided to set off for the Soudan. (Wilson, *I was a Slave*, 1939, p. 236). Salim seemed suitable, because he was speaking Sudanese Arabic, Dinka, and “a smattering of other languages gathered in the slave camps of the Sudan” (Johnson 1991, p. 28).

53 RB, July 1887, pp. 26f.

54 Graham Wilmot Brooke was born on February 23, 1865 at Aldershot into an illustrious Protestant family of Irish and Scottish roots. His father was the Lt. Col. Robert Wilmot Brooke of the Sixtieth Rifles, and his uncles were the Rev. H.E. Brooke, a well-known figure at *Mildmay* (famous Christian centre), and Rob Roy of canoeing fame. An accident in 1880 left him lame for about three years, and he failed an army examination, which made him give up his plans for a military career. He soon became known for his missionary interests. According to Stock, he had been stirred by his contact with General Gordon in 1881 “to reach the heart of Mohammedan Africa” (Eugene Stock: *The History of the Church Missionary Society. Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*. London: CMS, 1899, Vol. III, p. 362). Brooke proceeded to study medicine from October 1883 in London. Stock described him in retrospective as “a young man of extraordinary capacity and great spiritual fervour”, who would have been a great Lay Secretary of the CMS (Stock III, p. 395). – Brooke was obviously publicized in popular Christian journals such as *The Reaper*, which gives details on Brooke and his previous training (“The Muslims of the Sudan”, Dec. 1888, pp. 235f.). Brooke's biography later also found its way into the collection of R. Buckland: *The Heroic in Missions*. 1894.

55 In 1886 Brooke successfully contributed to fostering interest in the Sudan in certain circles, e.g. in a *Manchester Committee* (CMS G3/A3/05 L.K. Shaw – CMS, Dec. 5, 1892, writing on request of the *Manchester Sudan Committee in Connection with the CMS*: “The interest of the Manchester Committee in the ‘Mohammedan Sudan’ began in the years 1886+1887 through personal intercourse and subsequent correspondence with the late Graham Wilmot Brooke and the Rev. J.A. Robinson”), or at the *Mildmay* conference 1887 (Porter 1977, p. 39). Glenny of the *Mission to the Kabyles* reports of a “Committee ... [which] had been studying how the Sudan could best be reached”, before which Brooke put his plan of reaching the

first issue of the *Occasional Bulletin*<sup>56</sup> of that mission, of which Grattan and Fanny Guinness were co-founders and board members.<sup>57</sup>

Brooke's trip 500 miles (ca. 800 kilometers) inland along the Senegal River<sup>58</sup> into the Western Sudan during the following Summer vacation did not receive the same attention, but it was later considered as an exploratory measure for reaching the Sudan belt.<sup>59</sup> Elsewhere it was claimed, that Brooke had also considered using the Nile as an entrance route to the Sudan.<sup>60</sup>

Guinness had pleaded for financially independent Christians to become self-supporting missionaries,<sup>61</sup> and Brooke fell into that category. With Brooke also belonging to the Holiness movement,<sup>62</sup> and sharing a common missionary vision with the Guinneses, they had more than

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Sudan via the Congo (J. Rutherford / Edward H. Glenn: *The Gospel in North Africa*. London: Percy Lund, Humphries, 1900, p. 219). December 1886 found Brooke evangelizing in London.

56 The editor introduced Brooke's report as follows: "He hopes some day to go to Central Africa in the service of Christ, and thought this holiday trip in the North might give him valuable experience, especially if he went alone". His expedition to a desert oasis started in *Biskra* where the road ended about 250 km off the Mediterranean coast. The statement in *RB* 1890, p. 85, that he crossed the *Atlas Mountains* in Morocco is probably a confusion of memory, facilitated by the enormous length of this mountain range. Brooke showed himself a good observer, and reflected on an appropriate mission strategy for reaching the different people groups. He pleaded for fulfilling "Christ's last most urgent command" in Algeria "at our doors", where this was much easier, than in wilder and unhealthier parts of Africa. "Tunis, Algeria and Morocco are recommended to invalids" (Graham Wilmot-Brooke: "A Visit to Algeria and the Sahara". In: *Occasional Paper*. Mission to the Kabyles and other Berber Races of North Africa (ed.), Dec. 1884, pp. 6-9).

57 Mr. and Mrs. Grattan Guinness retired from the NAM Council in 1887 because they were moving away from London to *Cliff College* (Sheffield), and frequent traveling made attending difficult. Nevertheless, they were still acting as referees, being consulted on special occasions (*North Africa*, April 1888, p. 178).

58 Measured as bee-line on the map, this trip could have led him beyond today's borders of Senegal, maybe up to *Kayes*, where today the railway and the Niger meet. But the river has many bends, which means that Brooke probably only got half as far, if the distance given relates to the length of the river. Attempting to reach the Western Sudan via the Senegal makes sense at least theoretically, because the water divide between the Senegal and the Niger was regarded as the western border of the Sudan. The sources of the two rivers are relatively close to each other compared to the length of the rivers. *RB*, July 1887, p. 15, reports of a peace treaty, and of the building of a railway on the Upper Senegal.

59 Brooke's journey on the Senegal is mentioned, e.g., in "The Greatest River of the Great Soudan" [Niger]. In: *RB*, March 1890, pp. 82-86; [probably written by Fanny or Henry Grattan Guinness, because of a reference to their own journey on the Nile.] It is not known to me, whether there exists a journal written by Brooke on this trip. (Porter 1977 does not identify any.)

60 Lewis Grout: "Mahdism and missions in the Soudan". In: *MRW*, Oct. 1890, p. 757.

61 Henry Grattan Guinness: "An Extensive View from a Mountain Summit". In: *RB* 1886, pp. 36f. This was a review of George Smith's *Century of Protestant Missions* (Nisbet: London) adding the reviewer's own suggestions of new methods for speeding up missionary work: "People of independent means should enlist in the work of foreign missions to a far larger extent than they do. The great difficulty that hinders multitudes from engaging in the work, the lack of means, is no obstacle to them. ... They can go without being sent. If they wish for the help and guidance of a society they can easily obtain it. ... If such prefer going out independently, they can still secure company and co-operation by taking others with them; ... Wealthy firms and families might found their own [missions]. We have known some who do this, but very few. Yet it seems a most natural and right thing, that those who cannot go out as missionaries themselves, should send forth into heathendom and sustain representatives who may supply their lack of service."

62 For the analysis of Brooke's holiness background see Porter 1977, pp. 36-40.

one reason for supporting his plans.<sup>63</sup> In April 1887 they wrote: "We are earnestly hoping to see missionary effort started shortly in THE SOUDAN, that immense and utterly evangelized [sic! should read: un-evangelized] region of Central Africa". They proclaimed, in their typical pioneering spirit: "we want to do for the Soudan what we were permitted to do for the Congo country – help establish in it the first Christian mission."<sup>64</sup> They hoped that the *Central Soudan Mission* of Brooke and Salim would become this first Christian mission in the Sudan Belt.

This mission endeavor was a private venture of the financially independent Brooke, with as little organizational structure as was necessary to fund Salim.<sup>65</sup> It was supported by the NAM<sup>66</sup> and by the Guinneses<sup>67</sup> through regular publication of news, without taking any responsibility for the venture. Brooke later explained that he did not join any existing mission agency then, because of the uncertainty of the venture, and because his goal lay "hopelessly outside the sphere of any existing mission".<sup>68</sup> He originally aimed to reach the *Dinka* area of the Central Soudan<sup>69</sup> via the *Congo* River and any of its northeastern tributaries. However, as these were one after

63 Their common missionary vision was, in my opinion, to evangelize the unreached, particularly in Central Africa, and by this to precede the European traders. (Porter 1977, p. 24, states that Brooke's ideas were common.) In *RB*, March 1890, pp. 82–86, Guinness deplores the fact, that only the traders, and not the missionaries, used the exploration of the Niger. Another reason for supporting Brooke might have been his choice of route. The Guinneses had helped to provide missionaries for the *Livingstone Inland Mission* of Alfred Tilly on the Congo in 1878 (cf. D. Lagergren: *Mission and State in the Congo*. 1970, p. 35), with which they still felt strongly connected, even though it had been turned over to the *American Baptist Missionary Union*. Brooke did indeed visit these stations.

64 The mission agency they had helped to establish in the Congo was the *Livingstone Inland Mission* (Mrs. H. Grattan Guinness: *Special Annual Number of The Regions Beyond; being a review of the twelfth and thirteenth years of the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions*, 1887, Vol. 8, pp. 72f.).

65 Donations were reported with every article in *North Africa*, and after a year, when the Congo venture had ended, a full balance of the cash account was given (Oct., pp. 224f.). It totaled about 100 Pounds. These were almost exclusively used for Salim's expenses, of which the passage to the Congo cost 30 Pounds, and traveling on the Congo 60 Pounds. The donors obviously received a free subscription to the journal *North Africa*. Brooke came out at his own expense, and most probably also paid for Salim's return passage. A letter to his father told of a cheque of 30 pounds; equaling the fare between Congo and Liverpool (April 17, 1888, Wilmot Brooke Mss, F5 bd13, May – October 1888, quoted by Johnson 1991, p. 40).

66 Edward H. Glenny started advertising *The Central Soudan Mission* in his journal *North Africa* in October 1887, p. 158: "We are not responsible for it, but gladly give our pages to record its progress. We have every confidence in our brother and his helper, and can cordially commend them and their work to the prayerful interest of our readers. The hon. director of the work at home is the Rev. C.G. Grubb; the hon. secretary, Miss M.G. Brooke, Tyndale Lodge, Bromley, Kent; the hon. treasurer, Lt. Col. R. Wilmot-Brooke, Southelms, Shortlands, Kent." Further reports on the *Central Soudan Mission* appeared in 1888: Jan., pp. 173f.; April, p. 189; July, p. 206; Oct., pp. 224f.

67 The Guinneses also pledged that they would report about the *Central Soudan Mission* in their larger and more widespread journal *Regions Beyond*. They did this even beyond Brooke's death in 1892, and mingled Brooke's reports with much editorial comment on the Sudan: Dec. 1887, p. 48; 1888, pp. 29, 58, 90, 121, 140, 160 (with a map), 349–352; 1889, p. 118; 1890, pp. 82–86, 119–124, 273, 407; 1892, pp. 172, 202; 1893, pp. 373–375.

68 Brooke to Lang, Nov. 30, 1889, CMS G3 A3 L3, Letter book 1886–1881, p. 171.

69 The *Dinka* area lies in today's Southern Sudan, on the Western tributaries of the White Nile. Salim's tribe of the *Gok* had its territory between *Rumbek* and *Tonj*. For a mapping of the boundaries of the *Dinka* territory, and the different *Dinka* tribal groups, cf. Godfrey Lienhardt: *Divinity and Experience. The Religion of the Dinka*.

another reported impassable due to fighting, while the party had already set out, Brooke, upon the advice of other explorers, redirected his goals to *Ali Kobo*, the southernmost Arab settlement known.<sup>70</sup> This lay beyond *Bangui* and the *Zongo Rapids* on the *Ubangi*, the only major northward tributary of the *Congo* which they had not attempted to travel yet. Later, when negotiating with the CMS, he declared *Bagirmi*, much further north, as the goal of the *Congo* venture.<sup>71</sup> In any case, the primary object of the journey was “to reconnoître the country from the evangelist’s point of view”, and “to begin evangelisation at once”, itinerating in the area reached.<sup>72</sup>

They set out on July 14, 1887 from Liverpool, arrived at the mouth of the *Congo* on August 20, and eventually reached the furthest mission station *Equatoria* on December 2, 1887, about where the *Ubangi* enters the *Congo*. However, the venture proved to be a gradual disillusionment for both its members. When Salim finally realized that it would never lead him even close to the *Dinka*, and that he could not continue working with Brooke, he started on a return journey to England on April 18, 1888. Brooke, who agreed to his parting, made another attempt at going up the *Ubangi* by canoe, but came to realize after 160 miles that there also, fighting prevented him from reaching his goal. In his public analysis of June 4, 1888, he focused on the outward reasons, which “indicate the unsuitability of the *Congo* route for a long time yet as the principal highway for evangelists to the Central Soudan”. The European colonial powers had become involved with fighting the Sudanese tribes, which he had explicitly chosen for their lack of experience of conflict with Europeans; no European steamer intended going anywhere close to the Sudan for many months, and transport by canoe was tedious and threatened by cannibalism. In addition he realized that he had greatly underrated the difficulties posed by the transportation bottle neck of the falls on the *Lower Congo*, for his barter goods were still below that point. Therefore he had decided in the middle of May 1888, that instead of waiting or taking great risks, he would “recognise that this route is closed at present and ... lose no time in setting off to find the right one”. This he hoped to find in the *Niger* and *Benue* rivers, by which he planned to reach *Yola*, the capital of the Soudan kingdom *Adamawa*, by the end of the year on his way to England.

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Oxford: Clarendon, 1961, pp. 3 and 8. For the eventual spread of Christianity to the *Dinka*, cf. Marc Nikkel: *Dinka Christianity*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 2001.

70 NA, Jan. 1888, p. 174, quoting Brooke’s letter from Stanley Pool, October 2, 1887; and NA, April 1888, p. 189, quoting Brooke’s letter of December 8, 1887.

71 Graham Wilmot Brooke – Lang [of CMS] November 30, 1889, CMS G3 A3 L3 Letter book 1886–1891, p. 171.

72 NA, Jan. 1888, p. 174 (quoting letter of Oct. 2), and NA, April 1888, p. 189, editorial comment and letter of Dec. 8, 1887. Cf. Porter 1977, p. 38 and footnote 87, for the “hasty” missionary methods of Brooke, caused by his pre-millennial eschatology. “I ... should be inclined to frame any missionary plans with a view to giving the simple gospel message to the greatest number possible of ignorant heathen in the shortest possible time”.

There, in *Adamawa*, he planned “a series of short, simple evangelistic trips in the following summer”.<sup>73</sup>

The arguments were taken up by Lucy Guinness in a summary report on Brooke's travels in *Regions Beyond*, November 1888, commenting in friendly fashion that within God's plans “apparent failure is often a part of success”, and that “the long delay was a time of teaching”. Prayer was requested for “the brave hearted and lonely pioneer of the future Mission”, and for the “Great Land for which he lives and labours”. Lucy Guinness focused on the needs of the unreached Sudan, and the necessity of reaching it with the Gospel, letting her article culminate in the challenge: “God help us each to do our part towards the salvation of sin-bound, Saviourless Central Soudan!”<sup>74</sup> Of course, the Guinnesses must have known about the internal problems of the venture by then, at least through Salim, who had returned by July 7, 1888, to London. Salim later reported in his autobiography on disagreements in doctrine because of changes in Brooke's theological views,<sup>75</sup> and that Brooke did not respect his wish of reaching his *Dinka* people.<sup>76</sup> Brooke, on the other hand, alludes to some wrong done by Salim in a letter to his father, at the same time confessing privately to his journal, that he had made “many mistakes about the journey”,

73 Letter of June 4, at Stanley Pool, printed in *NA*, Oct. 1888, pp. 224f. Concerning the European steamers, which were not made available to Brooke despite a number of different promises, Brooke might not have known yet, what the explorer Dr. Sims had written to his father from Stanley Pool on April 25, 1888: “The French Commissaire and Free State Officials and Dutch House have all decided not to take your son to the Mobangi [Ubangi] Falls, and not to leave him anywhere except where there are white men and an establishment, and so it is quite certain he will not accomplish what he may have planned. No one will let him run into danger.” (*NA*, July 1888, p. 206.) In addition, the official attitude of the Congo Free State to Protestant expansion was rather restrictive.

74 *RB*, Nov. 1888, “Central Soudan”, pp. 349–352, here p. 352.

75 “Mr. Brooke had been for some time gradually changing his theological views, and we were no longer able to see eye to eye in matters of doctrine” (Wilson, *Jehova-Nissi*, p. 73, and *Life Story*, p. 251). Also: “I felt at the time he was rather hard upon me, but ... if he erred, it was in judgment and not in heart” (*Jehova-Nissi*, 2. ed., but excised in *I Was a Slave*, 1939). A theological conflict between Salim and Brooke seems very possible to me, against Johnson, who considers this “too great a claim on our credulity” (Johnson 1991, pp. 26–41, here p. 30). Firstly, because the tropical climate increases irritability and emotional reactions, as other travelers reported. Secondly, Brooke had taken many books along (e.g. *Brainerd's Diaries*; cf. Porter 1977), which well might have changed his theological position. Thirdly, he seemed to regard Salim's theological training as deficient, and Salim as needing “more of a grasp of [sic!] accurate statement of the Gospel” (*NA* 1888, p. 224), and fourthly because Brooke tended to extremes in spiritual matters as later history on the Niger would show.

76 “Nor could we agree in our ideas as to what ought to be done when we found ourselves unable to get to the Soudan ... Had it been possible for us to reach my own People, I should have gone at any risk. It would have been the joy of joys to me to have declared the Word of life to the Dinka, the Niamin [Azande], or the Bongo Peoples; but I knew nothing of the languages of the Peoples whose countries Mr. Brooke wished to penetrate. Thus we were compelled to part. ... It sorely tried my faith and was a bitter disappointment to my long-cherished hopes of preaching the Gospel in my native country” (Wilson, *Jehova-Nissi*, p. 73, and *Life Story*, p. 251). – In the delirium of a fever attack, Brooke had also once threatened to shoot Salim (*I was a Slave*, 1939, p. 244). Salim Wilson maintained his vision for his people, still claiming in 1905 desire and readiness for returning to his country “under a reliable society”, should such opportunity offer itself (Wilson – Bible Society, Feb. 2, 1905, Bible Society Archives, quoted by Johnson 1991, p. 31). However, he remained in England, became known as “the black evangelist of the North”, married his widowed landlady in 1913, and died of old age in 1946.

including one concerning Salim, and that he had to give up “all those premature plans [of] organizing big work”.<sup>77</sup>

It seems that from the outset there had been different understandings of the exact geographical goals, of the interpretation of these goals when obstacles would arise, and of the “equality” of Salim with Brooke. Besides the combination of maximum goals with minimum experience, the two particularities of the *Central Soudan Mission*, private initiative and bi-racial composition, added to its stumbling blocks. Things were not defined as clearly in this independent mission, as they usually would be in an established organization, and intercultural tensions were added to the other difficulties.

Whatever the state of things might have been, the Guinnesses continued to remain loyal to Brooke even in his new plans, being less critical than the missionary explorer on the Congo, George Grenfell (1849–1906), who commented that Brooke must discover “that wings of faith are not the ordained means of crossing continents”.<sup>78</sup>

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77 Concerning Salim, Brooke wrote to his father: “You will see all the particulars about him in the journal. Treat him as if nothing wrong had been done by him ...” (April 17, 1888, Wilmot Brooke Mss, F5 bd13, May – October 1888, quoted by Johnson 1991, p. 40.) Unfortunately the passage in Brooke’s journal, which could explain the nature of the alleged wrong done by Salim, is carefully excised – probably for good reason by the family of Brooke. It might have been rather unfavorable for Brooke (cf. Johnson 1991, p. 30). Right after Salim’s departure Brooke wrote: “I feel sure this action is of the Lord, & I hope that Salim’s return may undo the last of my many mistakes about the journey, for I now feel quite free of all those premature plans organizing big work, & brought face to face with the simple preaching of the gospel” (Wilmot Brooke Mss, F 3/3, ‘Copy of Graham’s journal of voyage up river Mobangi April – May 1888’, quoted by Johnson 1991, p. 30).

78 Grenfell – Baynes, April 18, 1888, Baptist Missionary Society – Archives (Regent’s Park College, Oxford, GB), quoted by Ruth M. Slade: *English-speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State, 1878–1908*. Brussels: Academie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1959, p. 129. To be fair to Grenfell, this should be complemented by what he wrote on June 23, 1888, having enjoyed Brooke’s company for four weeks: “He is exceptionally well-informed, and is certainly very talented. ... Mr. Brooke has learned many things during his short Congo experience”, e.g. throwing off “wrong notions, and arrive at what I feel is a just estimate of the problem he attempted”. (Quoted by G. Hawker: *The Life of George Grenfell, Congo Missionary and Explorer*. London 1909, pp. 266f.) Grenfell’s own attempts to “press further along the upper Congo and its tributaries ... were thwarted by the Congo State authorities”, as Leopold II, king of Belgium, did not want to allow expansion of missionary work to the Sudan. Cf. Brian Stanley, *BDCM*, p. 261; and Brian Stanley: *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792–1992*. London 1992, to whom I owe this suggestion, and a transcript of Grenfell’s letter of April 18, 1888.

## 2.4 Supporting the Sudan and Upper Niger Mission of G.W. Brooke and J.A. Robinson on the Niger (1889–1892)<sup>79</sup>

The Guinneses followed the reasoning of Brooke that his newly chosen route via the *Benue* branch of the Niger seemed “the only open door” to the Sudan Belt: “It is impossible to enter the Soudan from the east; the difficulties of penetrating from the Congo on the south proved insuperable; the Sahara is virtually an impassable barrier on the north, and the west consequently seems the only open door”.<sup>80</sup> In fact, it seems that Brooke had become an important source of their information on the Sudan belt. Brooke visited the Niger on his way home from the Congo in September 1888, discussing his plans with the Secretary of the *CMS Niger Mission*, John Alfred Robinson<sup>81</sup> (1859–1891). He obviously did not reach his remote goal of *Yola* on the upper *Benue* river, as fever made him return to Britain in October 1888.

He approached the CMS with his plan “to go up the Niger as an independent missionary to the Hausa nation, but in close association, if permitted, with the C.M.S. Mission.”<sup>82</sup> Brooke would pay his own expenses, and he planned to settle at the furthest CMS outpost in *Kipo Hill*, to study *Hausa*, and to establish friendly relationships with the Muslims, especially with the Emir of Nupé.<sup>83</sup> The CMS consented, and Brooke, accompanied by Hugh Shaw from Cambridge,<sup>84</sup> left for the Niger on March 16, 1889. The Guinneses acknowledged “his resolute and persevering self-consecration to the Soudan” as “one of the proofs that God is now working in a special manner to send the Glad Tidings to the utmost parts of the earth”. They expressed their “strongest sympathy with his work”, and had every hope that he would succeed this time.

Brooke returned in October 1889, married, joined the CMS as *Honorary Lay Missionary*, and proposed together with John Alfred Robinson, to form a *CMS Soudan Mission*. They also

79 Sources and secondary literature are the same as for the *Central Soudan Mission* on the Congo. Most of the other literature concerned with Graham Wilmot Brooke rather one-sidedly deals with the *Niger purge*. On this most researched chapter of West African church history, Hastings gives a short summary, and the scholarly literature: Adrian Hastings: *The Church in Africa 1450–1950*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994, pp. 388–393. The fullest account of the Niger controversy is given by C. Peter Williams: *The Ideal of the Self-governing Church*. Leiden: Brill, 1990.

80 *RB* 1889, p. 118.

81 On Robinson cf. Frieder Ludwig: “The making of a late Victorian missionary. Evangelical, intellectual and imperialistic [sic!]: John Alfred Robinson, the ‘purger of the Niger Mission’”. In: *NZM Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 47 (1991), pp. 269–290.

82 Brooke – Lang, Nov. 30, 1889, CMS G3 A3 L3 Letter book 1886–1981, p. 171, and “proposed Upper Niger work 1888” CMS G3 A3 P3 *Precis Book* 1887–1897, pp. 31ff.; recounted in Stock III, p. 362; cf. Porter 1977, p. 25. The reason why he linked himself with the CMS is not analyzed by the secondary literature. Probably he was dependent on them for hospitality, at least until he could get further up the Niger.

83 *RB* 1889, p. 118, for all further quotes in this paragraph.

84 I was unable to find out whether this Cambridge student was related to Leonard K. Shaw of the *Manchester Sudan Committee*.

suggested serious reform plans for the *Niger Diocese*. The CMS consequently divided their *Niger Mission* into a *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission* (SUNM) for Brooke's party, focused on Muslims, and a *Delta and Lower Niger Mission*, focused on pagans, which remained under the jurisdiction of the old Bishop Crowther.<sup>85</sup> Brooke recruited two further Cambridge graduates, and a party of six set out on February 7, 1890 to *Lokoja* as their base of work.<sup>86</sup>

The role of the Guinnesses was that of sympathetic reporters, quoting from the more extensive reports which Brooke had published in his *CMS Sudan Mission Monthly Leaflets* since 1890, and in the official CMS periodicals, *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, and *Church Missionary Gleaner*.<sup>87</sup> Another group more closely involved with Brooke than the Guinnesses was the *Manchester Sudan Committee*, headed by Mr. Leonard K. Shaw, which covered "a considerable part of the expenses".<sup>88</sup>

Even though the CMS had already made concessions to the reformers, these still felt they had to "pull down" and to "root out" before building up, "sweeping out" the *Lokoja* church according to their standards of holiness. Besides the proper work of the *Upper Niger Mission* in language learning, preaching, Bible translation, medical work, and expeditions in their area, Brooke and Robinson were heavily involved in the *Delta and Lower Niger Mission* as members of the finance committee. There they exhausted their energies in the *Niger purge*, dismissing many of the evangelists from Sierra Leone.<sup>89</sup> In addition, they tried to convert the whole CMS on the Niger and at home, from the methods of classical missions exemplified by Henry Venn (1796–1873), to the faith mission methods practised by Hudson Taylor.<sup>90</sup>

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85 Extract from Minutes of General Committee of Dec. 9, 1889, on "Sudan and Upper Niger mission 1889", CMS G3 A3 P3 Precip Book 1887–1897, p. 47.

86 The team consisted of Brooke (barely 25 years old), his wife Margarete (a cousin of his), Rev. John Alfred Robinson (almost 31) as joint leader with Brooke, Eric Lewis (26) and his sister Lucy (28, with two years experience in Algiers with Lilius Trotter), and Dr. Charles Forbes Harford Battersby (25; a son of the founder of the Keswick conventions). They are listed with a minimal biography in the *CMS Register of Missionaries 1804–1904* (s.a., printed for private circulation) under numbers 1148, 54, 1044, 1140, 143, 1139 in the order mentioned above. Porter 1977 analyses their background as "Keswick type holiness spirituality and Cambridge evangelicalism" (Cf. Porter 1976).

87 The *Sudan Mission, C.M.S. Monthly Leaflets* are interspersed in the G3/A3/0/1889–90 and 1891–92 files of the CMS Archives, and reached about 21 issues after Brooke's death. Before these, Brooke had published six monthly letters (Leaflet 1, Jan. 1890), and "a sketch of the events that preceded and led up to the opening up of this work on the Niger" had been published "in the July number of the *Cloughton Church Messenger*, ... E. Griffith & Son (Publishers), Caxton Works, Birkenhead" (Leaflet 10, Sept. 1891).

88 Only Brooke and Battersby paid for themselves. Stock III, p. 363. Cf. a letter by L.K. Shaw to CMS, Dec. 5, 1892; CMS G3/A3/05 pointing to the origins of the committee (see above).

89 Cf. Ayandele, E.A.: *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842–1914. A Political and Social Analysis*. London: Longman, 1966.

90 This interpretation of Williams ("From Church to Mission ...", 1986) might be missing a further element: The idea of self-supporting independent missions, which was possibly propagated more by the American Methodist Episcopal missionary bishop William Taylor (1820–1902) than by Hudson Taylor. Hudson Taylor would not

Concerning the “Sudan vision”, it is necessary to question why Brooke did not focus on his goal of the Sudan, but was instead distracted by the reform of a presumably stagnant existing mission. Why was he not satisfied with the niche they were given for their innovative principles? Owoh and Porter explain that the reform had been “a strategic necessity” to Brooke. “C.M.S. work on the Niger led by men with their own plans for the north” constituted an obstacle in his way, because they had differing principles of missionary work.<sup>91</sup> However, it seems to me rather, that Brooke's and Robinson's way into the interior was unexpectedly blocked by the unfriendly reaction of the *Emir of Nupe* to a “missionary” letter by Robinson.<sup>92</sup> This might have forced them to confine their activities to *Lokoja* for longer than they had planned. Probably they felt that the unfavorable state of the local church was an obstacle to their witness.<sup>93</sup>

The Guinnesses, while abstaining from comments on the *Niger purge* (as far as I can see), were fascinated by Brooke's practising of the faith mission principles they too were propagating: adapting to the local population in food, clothing and dwelling, abandoning government protection in order to share the lot of their converts, and focusing on “simple preaching”. Brooke, on the other hand, was heavily influenced by the pre-millennial eschatology which the Guinnesses propagated in a stream of literature.<sup>94</sup> The implied urgency of world evangelization, combined with Brooke's military background and holiness zeal, resulted in an unpleasant impatience with obviously imperfect local conditions, and led to over-severe measures to counter them.

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have acted like Brooke. Cf. Klaus Fiedler (whom I thank for this suggestion), 1992, pp. 96–100; Fiedler 1994, pp. 53f. On William Taylor see *BDCM*, p. 660.

91 A.C. Owoh: *C.M.S. Missions, Muslim Societies and European Trade in Northern Nigeria, 1857–1900*. MTh Aberdeen, 1971, quoted by Porter 1977, p. 34. However, if the church had been at *Lokoja* for 37 years, and had not been advancing much, why should Brooke fear competition? The other argument of “preceding the traders”, here represented by the *Royal Niger Company*, relies on a statement Brooke had already made in 1886. Moreover, if it were true, why should this necessitate a church reform instead of an energetic move forward? More detailed knowledge of the Brooke's private papers (which I could not consult) seems necessary, than the secondary literature does open up, beyond the papers of the *Niger Mission* (which I did see). It is true that Bishop Crowther had been on three expeditions up the Niger between 1841–1859. However, he was an old man in his eighties when Brooke was most active. – Crowther's expeditions were reported in: *Journals of the Rev. James Frederick Schön and Mr. Samuel Crowther Who, with the Sanction of Her Majesty's Government, Accompanied the Expedition up the Niger in 1841 on Behalf of the Church Missionary Society*. London: Frank Cass, <sup>2</sup>1970 [1842]; *Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and Tshadda Rivers Undertaken by Macgregor Laird in Connection with the British Government in 1854 by The Rev. Samuel Crowther*. London: Frank Cass, <sup>2</sup>1970 [1855]; *The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger. Journals and Notices of the Native Missionaries Accompanying the Niger Expedition of 1857–1859 by the Rev. Samuel Crowther and the Rev. John Christopher Taylor, Native Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society*. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, <sup>2</sup>1968 [1859].

92 *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Feb. 1891, p. 111. Quoted by Ludwig 1991, p. 287.

93 If Brooke and Robinson had already foreseen from the beginning that their plans could not be realized within the old missionary system, one could ask why Brooke had associated with the CMS in the first place, and soon after even joined it? Brooke must have misjudged his possibilities of reforming an old mission. However, did he have any other choice on the Niger than to join the existing mission?

What became of the *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission*? The number of their members was successively diminished by death, sickness, and resignation. Robinson died on June 25, 1891, and Brooke on March 5, 1892. In an extended tribute to Brooke, the Guinnesses called for volunteers, who would “press on through the door already open into the vast Soudan”.<sup>95</sup> However, hardly one year after Brooke's death, the SUNM was dissolved as a separate organization within the CMS, even though volunteers were still accepted for the Sudan.<sup>96</sup> “For the time”, as Stock writes, “the new mission was at an end”.<sup>97</sup> For the Guinnesses, the *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission* kept the honor of being the first in their time of having seriously tried to enter the Sudan by the Niger River for missionary purposes.

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94 Cf. Stanley D. Walters: “The world will end in 1919. Daniel among the Victorians“. In: *The Ashbury Theological Journal*, (44) 1989, pp. 29–50.

95 “Graham Wilmot Brooke, of the C.M.S. Soudan Mission“. In: *RB* 1892, pp. 172–177, 202–211; here p. 211.

96 Williams: “From Church to Mission“. 1986, p. 408, footnotes 130–132. Bishop Hill, the successor of Crowther, was not fond of faith mission principles. Cf. also: C. Peter Williams: *The Ideal of the Self-governing Church*. Leiden: Brill, 1990.

97 To Williams (1986, p. 408) the SUNM was an “unsuccessful experiment”, and to Ludwig (1991, p. 290) an outright “failure”, resulting in “spiritual imperialism”. Nevertheless, Robinson's death triggered a *Hausa Association*, founded in his memory in 1891, of which his brother Charles was the first “research student” (Cf. Andrew N. Porter: “The Hausa Association: Sir George Goldie, the Bishop of Dover, and the Niger in the 1890s“. In: *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 7 [1979], pp. 149–179; Charles Henry Robinson: *Hausaland, or Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Soudan*. London 1896; C.H. Robinson: *Specimens of Hausa Literature*. Cambridge 1896; C.H. Robinson: *Nigeria, Our Latest Protectorate*. London 1900). – The CMS had a *Northern Nigeria Mission* known as *Hausaland* from 1900 on. (Cf. F. Deaville Walker: *The Romance of the Black River. The Story of the C.M.S. Nigeria Mission*. London: CMS, 1931; *Ina Za Ka? Being an Attempt to Answer the Question, Whither Goest Thou? By Missionaries at Zaria. With Reference to the C.M.S. Hausa Mission*. London: CMS, 1930; E.P.T. Crampton: *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. [MA Cambridge] Zaria, 1975; Shed N. Adiele (ed.): *The Niger Mission. Origin, Growth and Impact 1857–1995*. Aba, Nigeria: Isaeco, 1996).

## 2.5 Founding the Kansas Soudan Pioneer Mission (1889)<sup>98</sup>

Between Brooke's return from the Congo in October 1888, and his new start for the Niger, Guinness had traveled to Boston, USA, on January 12, 1889, for some missionary matters.<sup>99</sup> He had hoped to return within six weeks, but then felt called to stay on, to further missionary interests in the USA. He believed that missionary responsibility lay largely on the shoulders of the English-speaking Protestants, and he saw untapped resources in the vast USA, whereas he knew of the limitations in the comparatively small British Isles.<sup>100</sup>

Besides other activities,<sup>101</sup> he was mobilizing for missionary work in the Sudan with no little success.<sup>102</sup> At a *Summer Bible School*, the convention of the secretaries and delegates of the YMCA in Kansas, his call for the Sudan was answered by action. He reported home on June 24, 1889, that through the participants, "the YMCAs of the whole State have been secured for pioneer mission work in the Soudan. ... I have formed among them a *Pioneer Soudan Mission*."<sup>103</sup>

98 The primary sources are the extensive reports in *Regions Beyond*, supplemented by additional information in *The Missionary Review of the World*, edited by A.T. Pierson. – Concerning scholarly work, Hopkins, the historian of the American YMCA, focused on, and shared the YMCA National Association's perspective, whose archives he used (C.H. Hopkins. "The Kansas-Sudan Missionary Movement in the YMCA, 1889–1891". In: *Church History* 21 [1952] pp. 314–322; C.H. Hopkins: *History of the YMCA in North America*. New York 1951, pp. 350–355, 765). – Dana Lee Robert: *Arthur Tappan Pierson and Forward Movements of Late-Nineteenth-Century Evangelicalism*. PhD Yale 1984, 444 pp., pp. 267–271, treats the *Kansas Sudan Movement* from Pierson's perspective. To be published as: "*Occupy Until I Come*": *A.T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. – The research on the early history of the CMA, which eventually took over the work of the KSPM in Sierra Leone, is rather vague: Robert L. Niklaus / John S. Sawin / Samuel J. Stoesz: *All for Jesus. God at Work in the Christian and Missionary Alliance Over One Hundred Years*. Camp Hill, PA: Christian Publications, 1986; George Palmer Pardington: *Twenty-five Wonderful Years, 1889–1914. A Popular Sketch of the Christian and Missionary Alliance*. London: Garland, 1984 [Reprint of New York: Christian Alliance Publishing, 1914]. – There are some dissertations on Simpson and CMA: Daryl Westwood Cartmel: *Mission Policy and Program of A.B. Simpson*. MA Kennedy School of Missions of Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1962; Ernest Gerald Wilson: *The Christian and Missionary Alliance. Developments and Modifications of Its Original Objectives*. [Ph.D. New York University] Ann Arbor: UMI, 1984. – Missiological literature on Sierra Leone mostly ignores the Kansas SPM.

99 Guinness went to negotiate with A.J. Gordon (1836–1895) of the *American Baptist Missionary Union* (ABMU) about the extension of their stagnating *Congo Mission*. They had taken over the *Livingstone Inland Mission* from the Guinneses, who wanted to see it move inland.

100 *RB* 1889, pp. 181ff., on the journey to USA.

101 He attempted recruiting Black Americans in the Southern States for missions in Africa. Next, he was invited to arouse the Baptist congregations to support new missionaries for the Congo (*RB* 1889, pp. 220f., 295), and was busy with the planning of two new *Missionary Training Institutes* according to the model of his ELTI (*RB* 1889, pp. 296f.).

102 A gathering of pastors in Chicago, which he had addressed at the end of February 1889, published a resolution, calling the American churches to the evangelization of Africa, especially "of the seventy millions in the Soudan, where at the present time not one Christian missionary is to be found" (H.G. Guinness: "Notes of a Journey to Mexico". In: *RB* 1889, p. 182).

103 "Our Absent Director, and His Work in America" by Mrs. H. Grattan Guinness. In: *RB* Oct. 1889, pp. 294–309, here pp. 297f. Guinness had only arrived for the closing days of the one-week conference, preaching at least three times "on preparing the way for the Lord". He had a Congolese lad with him, N'koiyo, who had studied at the ELTI, and was then attending an African American college in the US (pp. 220, 295f.). Guinness worked with him on translating books into his Congolese language between speaking engagements.

The Kansas State YMCA had grown exceptionally<sup>104</sup> in the previous three years under its *State Association Secretary*, George S. Fisher (1856–1920).<sup>105</sup> He had doubled the number of groups to sixty-four, and developed the largest state YMCA staff and budget in the whole USA. Fisher was a gifted evangelist, who led many to faith, and spread holiness theology and spirituality in the YMCA, not only in Kansas, but also as a much sought after speaker in the neighboring states. As the Kansas YMCA was willing to do anything for the spread of the Gospel, Guinness' missionary call at the end of their convention fell on ready ground.<sup>106</sup> Quite a number of YMCA secretaries volunteered to become missionaries, and others became supporting members of the new missionary movement. Guinness immediately structured the missionary movement into local "missionary support groups", and started touring Kansas and neighboring states, speaking at further YMCA conventions, and forming branches of the Mission in every town he visited. The new Sudan Mission movement was to be an undenominational pioneer movement of young men in particular, based in the Western States, in which nothing had been done for missions yet. The members should extend the movement themselves.<sup>107</sup> Each branch had its secretary and treasurer, the mission movement had a president, and Guinness was the *Honorary Director of the Foreign Department*, and hoped to "thus be able to guide its work in Africa".

His plan was to link the Kansas YMCA "as a whole, with mission work, and with that of the Soudan enterprise especially". This was heavily opposed by the National YMCA Association, which saw this as a violation of their established policy, of sending YMCA workers abroad only on invitation by the missionaries in the area, for specific YMCA work only, and channeled only through the national office, in order to keep good relations with missions abroad, and churches at

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104 Hopkins 1952, pp. 315f.

105 *BDCM*, p. 212.

106 The ground was prepared in spiritual terms at an informal prayer meeting on May 12, 1889, at the home of Arthur Tappan Pierson (1837–1911) in Philadelphia, editor of the widely read *Missionary Review of the World*, together with three YMCA secretaries, who were attending an international YMCA meeting in the city. These were Fisher and Nash, responsible for the YMCAs in Kansas and Nebraska, and the local YMCA secretary of St. Paul, Minnesota, Rev. Thomas C. Horton. Their petition was the coming of the kingdom of God, the spread of the gospel, and that God would use *them* in a remarkable way to give a new impulse to world evangelization. The results were quite unexpected, compared by Pierson to a prairie fire and a rushing torrent. Interestingly, Grattan Guinness happened to be holding "missionary and gospel meetings" in Philadelphia in parts of May 1889! Pierson asserts the leading role of Guinness in initiating the KSPM. Pierson himself stayed involved by giving advice, and defending the KSPM in his *Missionary Review*. (*RB* 1889, pp. 295, 220; A.T. Pierson: "The Soudan Pioneers". In: *Missionary Review*. June 1890, p. 472, October 1890, pp. 792f. – Cf. Dana L. Robert: *Arthur Tappan Pierson and Forward Movements of Late-Nineteenth-Century Evangelicalism*. PhD Yale, 1984, pp. 267–271).

107 The new Sudan Mission movement was to be: "1. PIONEER, to prepare the way in the field, and to start churches and YMCA's that are doing nothing, in mission work. – 2. WESTERN, for these great States West of the Mississippi, with Kansas City as their centre. – 3. A YOUNG MEN'S movement especially (though women may join). – 4. UNDENOMINATIONAL and Evangelical. – 5. SELF-EXTENDING and SELF-

home. To Guinness and Fisher the evangelization of the unreached, where there were no missionaries were to issue an invitation, was of such urgency, that it had priority over established policies.<sup>108</sup>

Kansas City was sought out as the location of a missionary training institute for the volunteers.<sup>109</sup> A new periodical *The Soudan*,<sup>110</sup> an eight-page broadsheet with leading articles by Guinness, was brought to the press in October 1889, just in time for the first interstate YMCA convention for Kansas, Oklahoma, and the Indian Territory Association, held in Topeka, Kansas. Of the 900 delegates present, seventy volunteered for foreign mission work, deeply moved by the addresses of the designated missionary party.<sup>111</sup> Guinness had hoped that the first group of missionaries would go out in the Autumn, and thought of going with them, "at all events as far as England, and probably all the way". He wanted to settle them in, and "to see the actual prospects of self supporting work in Liberia and on the Congo" (the two perceived entrance gates to the Sudan), and he wanted "light as to what we ought to attempt in the Soudan".<sup>112</sup>

However, things did not proceed as speedily as this. Guinness returned to England alone on December 16, 1889, only to set out again to the USA on February 5, 1890, together with his daughter Lucy, "in the interest of the Sudan region".<sup>113</sup> The first pioneer of the Kansas mission party, E. Kingman, arrived in England just in time to join Brooke and his CMS Sudan party to the Niger in February 1890, sharing their voyage up to Sierra Leone.

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SUPPORTING; that is, each member promises, first to pray for the Mission; secondly, to give to its support; and thirdly, to secure another member" (*RB* 1889, pp. 300f.).

108 Other conflict areas between Fisher and the national YMCA leadership were his introduction of holiness spirituality in the YMCA, and his corresponding attempt to run the YMCA by faith mission principles (cf. Hopkins 1952 and 1951).

109 *RB* 1889, p. 421. From the reports it seems that the plans did not materialize in Kansas, whereas the Mission Training Institutes in Boston and in Minneapolis were opened with the participation of Guinness.

110 The periodical could not be located. – *MRW* gives a notice on its appearance, with the title *The Soudan and Regions Beyond*, Guinness as the editor, and as its objective "to disseminate information regarding the Soudan, and like territories awaiting the missionary and evangelist; also, to report the development of the Kansas Pioneer Soudan Mission, and the movements of the missionaries" (*MRW*, April 1890, p. 286). – Grattan Guinness mentioned, that it was in the press "and Mrs. Needham will see it through" (*RB* 1889, p. 422). Guinness mentioned a George Needham, who would be at the upcoming conference (*ibid*), and a former ELTI student, William Needham, whom he visited before April (*RB* 1889, p. 119). – It is unclear how many issues appeared. I assume the publication had soon been discontinued, either with the separation of the KSPM from Guinness, or with the transfer of the Sierra Leone work to the CMA.

111 Among the official speakers, D.L. Moody and Robert Speer were the main supporters of the Kansas Sudan movement (Robert 1984, p. 267), as Guinness had lost his voice, and was unable to speak most of the time, until shortly before the close of the convention (*RB* 1889, p. 423).

112 *RB* 1889, p. 421. Guinness obviously still thought that the missionaries would be able to work for their own living in Africa (cf. Fiedler 1994, pp. 53f. for the concept of "industrial missions").

113 *RB*, March 1890, pp. 79ff.

This was a slight deviation from the originally envisaged operation base of Liberia.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, the goal remained the same: the *Mandingo* country in the southern part of the Western Soudan.<sup>115</sup> The choice of this particular goal was, if not inspired, then at least confirmed by the French Captain Binger's expedition in precisely that area from 1887 to about 1889.<sup>116</sup> What were the reasons for their choice? Firstly, the Western Soudan had not yet been attempted by any mission, whereas the CMS, through Brooke, now planned to reach the *Hausa* of Central Soudan, and the Eastern Sudan was controlled by the *Mahdi*,<sup>117</sup> and thus out of the question. Secondly, they were convinced that the Western Soudan, being such a large area, had to be entered from two sides, from the Niger and from the west. With Brooke on the Niger, it seemed safe to start on the other side. Third, as no mission agency in England seemed to have either funds or personnel to attempt the Western Soudan, it was the right place for an American group to go. Fourth, the Mandingo area had a strategic position between Islam and existing Christian mission stations on the coast. To the Guinnesses the *Mandingo* seemed "perfectly open to the Gospel", and should be speedily evangelized before they became Muslims.<sup>118</sup> They were considered ready "to spread and champion new ideas", once converted to either side, and it was believed that they would become ambassadors of the new faith "in their long and distant trading expeditions". The competition between Islam and Christian mission over the adherents of African Traditional Religions was a recurring subject in *Regions Beyond*.<sup>119</sup>

Early in 1890, the other members of the *Kansas Sudan Pioneer Mission* (KSPM) had reached New York, and with no advance warning, turned up at the independent *Gospel Tabernacle* Church of the famous preacher and mission-innovator A.B. Simpson.<sup>120</sup> Simpson (1843–1919)

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114 Guinness had written about Liberia and Upper Congo as operation bases on June 24, 1889, from Kansas (RB, Oct. 1889, p. 298). Before Brooke issued his invitation, Guinness had secured the use of the house of former president Roberts in Monrovia, Liberia, for the missionaries in transit to Banana, Sierra Leone (RB 1889, p. 221, and MRW 1889, p. 924).

115 The other goal initially mentioned, the Upper Congo goal, was never heard of later. The two missionaries from St. Paul, Missouri had intended "going to the Upper Congo country, to prepare the way for *The Upper Congo Missionary Colony*, which had recently been organized at St. Paul" [YMCA], responding to Grattan Guinness' call for the Congo (MRW, June 1890, p. 473).

116 An article on "The Mandingo Country, Western Soudan" in RB, April 1890, pp. 139–141, evaluates the results of this expedition for the planned missionary work. The Guinnesses had read Binger's report in the geographical journal *Petermanns Mitteilungen*. They only mentioned, when the expedition had started.

117 Cf. *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*. London 21992: "Mahdi, al-", p. 129; "Mahdi, Abd al-Rahman, al- (1885–1959)", pp. 129f.; "Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmad, al- (1848–1885)", p. 130.

118 RB, March 1890, pp. 79f.

119 Cf. the later article "Shall Islam rule in Africa?" by Lemuel C. Barnes, America, in RB 1891, pp. 204–210, 269–278, 314–317.

120 Simpson, from Ontario, Canada, had experienced his conversion in 1858 under the influence of Grattan Guinness. Ordained as a Presbyterian pastor in 1865, he integrated holiness theology in his faith and was filled with the Holy Spirit in 1874, and in 1881 was rebaptized and experienced faith healing of heart trouble. He then founded the independent *Gospel Tabernacle* in New York, from which he conducted various mission, healing,

also headed the "Christian Alliance", an organized movement similar to their Kansas movement, and the *International Missionary Alliance*, which later combined to form the fellowship and missionary movement *Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA)*.<sup>121</sup> According to CMA sources,<sup>122</sup> the Kansas missionaries had arrived with neither money nor training, but were rich in sacrificial spirit and missionary zeal. They were given hospitality until their passage was secured, and they could sail for Sierra Leone on May 15, 1890.<sup>123</sup> George Fisher, still state secretary of the Kansas YMCA, was practically the home secretary of the new movement, and supplied Guinness back in London with information.<sup>124</sup>

There was no notice in *Regions Beyond* that before February 1890, the KSPM missionaries had chosen to sever their connection with Grattan Guinness. Only the abruptly dwindling frequency and length of reports on the KSPM in *Regions Beyond* witnessed to the fact.<sup>125</sup> Three of the reasons were published by the KSPM.<sup>126</sup> Firstly the Kansas missionaries had the impression that Guinness "did not seem to be able to handle the details of this movement". This was an obvious fact. None, who knew Guinness well enough, should have expected him to handle details.

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and social ministries. Being hindered from becoming a missionary himself, he thrust his energies into the "home base" activities for world missions. In 1880 he published the first illustrated mission magazine in North America, *The Gospel in All Lands*. He founded the *New York Missionary Training College* in 1882, and in 1887 the *Christian Alliance* as a Holiness movement, and the *Evangelical Missionary Alliance* as the corresponding interdenominational mission. Both merged into the *Christian and Missionary Alliance*, which under Simpson's leadership was the largest premillennial faith mission in America (*BDCM*, p. 622; Fiedler 1992, p. 78–80; Fiedler 1994, pp. 41f.; cf. Gerald E. McGraw: "A.B. Simpson 1843–1919". In: *Mission Legacies*. Gerald H. Anderson (ed.). New York, 1994, pp. 37–47 for literature).

121 On the CMA cf. Niklaus 1986, and other sources quoted at the beginning of this section.

122 Niklaus 1986, p. 83.

123 The nine "Kansas missionaries" then in Sierra Leone were the leader, Eliphathet Kingman, and Mrs. E. Kingman (Topeka), Charles L. Helmick (Marion), F.M. Gates (Topeka), Miss Jennie Dick (Kansas), John E. Jaderquist and Warren J. Harris (St. Paul, Minnesota), Roy G. Coddling (Hastings College, Nebraska), and Mr. James Trice (a Black American from Durham, South Carolina). Except for the last two, they had been YMCA / YWCA workers. (The names are given in *RB* 1890, pp. 309f., and *MRW* 1890, p. 615; Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 304–305, for the later fate of those who survived. Niklaus 1986, pp. 87ff., reports on Jaderquist.)

124 *RB*, August 1890, pp. 310–312. It was reported that the missionary movement "has at present no stated organization, either at home or in the field". At this stage, the venture shared the shortcomings of independent missions, and the non-church missions of the Brethren movement: lack of organization and missionary effectiveness, which faith missions overcame (cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 30–32, 101, and Fiedler 1994, pp. 24f.).

125 There were short notices about new missionary replacements, and a chain of missionary stations all the way to the Niger (*RB* 1894, pp. 330, 334; *RB* 1899, p. 62). The missionary work did indeed advance quickly to the border of the Sudan, but the large intervals between the stations threatened its existence. Only in 1917 did the French colonial powers allow the missionaries to advance to Timbuktu. This advance made the chain of stations in Sierra Leone unnecessary, because in the meantime there was a better route from Conakry into Guinea. Therefore, the CMA officially abandoned their Sierra Leone mission in 1935, but in 1945, it was followed by the related *Missionary Church Association*, which led to the small *Sierra Leone Missionary Church* (Fiedler 1992, p. 112; Gilbert W. Olson: *Church Growth in Sierra Leone. A Study of Church Growth in Africa's Oldest Protestant Mission Field*. Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1969; David Barrett: *World Christian Encyclopedia*. Oxford 1982, pp. 609ff., on Sierra Leone).

126 In the editorial notes of the *MRW* a communication by E.S. Walton, Topeka, Kansas, of the KSPM dating February 3, 1890 was reproduced (*MRW*, June 1890, pp. 472f.).

The other two reasons are harder to understand. It was claimed, secondly, that the leaders of the missionary training institutes founded by Guinness all belonged to the same denomination (Baptist). Thirdly, Guinness seemed to have been influenced by those who thought it necessary to accommodate themselves to the critical position of the National YMCA towards the Kansas movement. Guinness felt unable to accept money for the KSPM, which was contributed by the mission bands (within the YMCA) in Kansas.<sup>127</sup>

Relationships remained friendly,<sup>128</sup> but tragedy struck the venture in Sierra Leone. The next report in *Regions Beyond* was a devastating one: Three of the missionaries had already died in July 1890, and a fourth soon after. They had refused customary medical precautions. Their deaths were deplored by the Guinnesses as tragic and unnecessary, making A.B. Simpson responsible for having led them to this radical position on faith healing.<sup>129</sup> However, Simpson claimed that, though he believed in faith healing, he would give no instructions in this matter to missionaries, but would leave everybody free "to use or not to use medical aid as they are led of the Lord and can individually trust Him".<sup>130</sup> The five surviving missionaries in Sierra Leone joined the *Christian and Missionary Alliance* of Simpson in 1892, and simultaneously transferred the KSPM work to the CMA, while Fisher in Kansas left the YMCA, and founded the *World's Gospel Union* in early 1892, which was called the *Gospel Missionary Union* after 1901.<sup>131</sup> The KSPM was the first "Sudan-Mission" Grattan Guinness had initiated himself, and it was the one most extensively reported about in *Regions Beyond*. It had started out with the largest missionary party, but it also cost the highest number of lives.<sup>132</sup>

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127 The information given in the journal is quite cryptic: "After conference with persons in other parts of the country [those influenced by YMCA headquarters?], the doctor [Grattan Guinness] concluded that he could not accept, for the Soudan mission, money contributed by the mission bands of our State" [even though he had initiated them within the YMCA] (*MRW* 1890, p. 473). In the power struggle between local and national control in the YMCA, Guinness must have got on the wrong side, in the view of the Kansas missionaries.

128 This is witnessed to by the friendly letter of G. Fisher to Guinness on June 25, 1890, reproduced in *RB*, August 1890, pp. 311f., and equally by the official statement of the KSPM, reproduced in *MRW*, June 1890, p. 473.

129 A lengthy article on "Faith Healing and Missions" by Henry Grattan Guinness appeared in *RB* 1890, pp. 411–420, 465–470.

130 A.B. Simpson: "Editorial". In: *The Christian Alliance and Missionary Weekly*. Nov. 1890, p. 274; quoted by Niklaus 1986, p. 88.

131 Manuscripts on the early history of GMU are unpublished: George C. Reed: *The Gospel Missionary Union*. Kansas City: GMU, 1959, 25 pp.; R.J. Reinmiller: *Gospel Missionary Union. Early History*. Smithville, Missouri, 1964. – Dennis H. Phillips: "The American Missionary in Morocco". In: *The Muslim World* 65 (1975), pp. 1–20, summarizes early GMU history. Cf. also Fiedler 1992, p. 81; and Fiedler 1994, p. 43. – On the GMU in general cf. *DCA*, pp. 489ff., and D.P. Shidler: *Exploits of Faith*. 1982.

132 It cost 30 lives until 1914, according to Pardington 1914, pp. 126–129. C.H. Robinson of the *Hausa Association*, summarizing the latest research on Malaria in 1900, stated, that "Sierra Leone has earned the title 'the white man's grave', entirely owing to the prevalence of malaria fever" (Charles H. Robinson 1900, p. 170). Pierson mentions that even some of the early pioneers, who received the best medical treatment, and took precautions, became victims of Malaria (*MRW*, April 1891, p. 256).

## 2.6 Supporting the Central Soudan Mission of Hermann G. Harris (1891)<sup>133</sup>

This independent British mission effort under the protection of the *Pentecostal League*<sup>134</sup> received only minor support from the Guinesses, but it nevertheless did receive some. Founded in early 1891,<sup>135</sup> the *Central Soudan Mission* (CSM) originally sought to use the caravan routes through the Sahara, leading from the Mediterranean towns of Tunis, Tripoli, and Benghazi – in today's Tunisia and Libya – to the Central Soudan.<sup>136</sup>

Under the leadership of Hermann G. Harris, a former *Salvation Army* evangelist from Weston-super-Mare,<sup>137</sup> a base in Tripoli had been formed, where in 1893, six missionaries were learning Arabic and Hausa.<sup>138</sup> They could even report the conversions of one Arab and two Hausa. When they failed to travel more than 400 miles into the interior,<sup>139</sup> two of the party attempted in March 1893 to reach *Lake Chad* from the south, via *Niger* and *Benue*, from a base in *Lokoja* (Nigeria). The two missionaries Edward White and Thomas Holt happened to meet A.B. Simpson in London before departure, who commented: “They are attempting the most hazardous journey of

133 The main primary sources are the scarce reports in *Regions Beyond*, supplemented by additional information in *The Missionary Review of the World*, edited by A.T. Pierson. – No literature produced by the Central Soudan Mission, nor any scholarly treatment, could be discovered – which is not surprising for a failed independent mission. Nevertheless, the CSM is mentioned in some of the accounts summarizing missionary efforts in Nigeria, e.g. F. Deaville Walker: *The Romance of the Black River. The Story of the C.M.S. Nigeria Mission*. London: CMS, 1931.

134 The Pentecostal League of Prayer, under the leadership of Reader Harris, belongs to the Holiness movement (Fiedler 1992, p. 155 n 54; 1994, p. 181; cf. David McCasland: *Abandoned to God. The Life Story of the Author of 'My Utmost for His Highest'*. Grand Rapids, MI 1993; German translation: *Oswald Chambers. Ein Leben voller Hingabe*. Stuttgart-Neuhausen 1994, p. 149. – A council was organized by 1984 with Mr. R. Caldwell, London, as secretary and treasurer; therefore, the mission was also referred to as *Central London Mission* (*MRW*, May 1894, p. 387 [unless this is a typo]). By 1895, a “home department” was organized under the supervision of Dr. and Mrs. Fallon, formerly working in Nyasaland (*MRW*, Aug. 1895, p. 619).

135 H. Harris and Edward White departed on February 10, 1891. They had backing in Bolton, Lancashire, England, where the YMCA forwarded funds, donated for them (*MRW*, July 1891, p. 556; March 1892, p. 238).

136 There were others who had considered this route, as it had been the starting point for travelers to *Lake Chad*, such as Denham and Clapperton: (1) “A committee of those interested in Missions [which] had been studying how the Soudan could be best reached” – but they did not choose this route. (2) Glennie of NAM had visited Tripoli in 1887, and the station at Tripoli was specially founded in 1889 “as being a possible stepping stone to missionary work in the Soudan” (Rutherford 1900, p. 219). Miss M.F. Harris, the sister of Hermann Harris, was a missionary of the NAM in Tunis (*MRW*, 1891, p. 556).

137 Harris had applied to the *North Africa Mission* in November 1890, but then withdrew. He was said to have gone to Tunis as an independent missionary (NAM: Candidate Cases, No. 226).

138 Among these were Edward White, Mr. Loynd, and Thomas Holt. Salim Wilson, of the late *Central Soudan Mission*, had accompanied two of the missionaries to Tripoli in 1893 (Letter by Salim Wilson, dated February 2, 1905, Bible Society Archives, London, quoted by Johnson 1991, p. 31: “In 1893 he accompanied two men from Bolton on an independent mission to North Africa ... Tripoli. On return from this brief mission ...”).

139 Walker 1931, p. 177.

modern missions".<sup>140</sup> However, the *Royal Niger Company*<sup>141</sup> prevented them from ascending the *Niger*, and White died of fever after seven weeks of detention. Holt returned to England, and planned "to go out again with five others" in October 1893.

One of the Guinneses' students then studying medicine, S.W. Gentle-Cackett, wanted to join, and a pamphlet "containing full particulars of the Mission" was advertised under his address at Harley House (ELTD). The missionaries followed the faith mission principles, and in addition aimed to be self-supporting.<sup>142</sup> The missionary methods applied in North Africa, as well as in Nigeria, combined medical mission work with active evangelization and the distribution of Scripture portions.<sup>143</sup>

The *Central Soudan Mission* was mentioned again in *Regions Beyond* in September 1894, without giving any news, and then no more.<sup>144</sup> Walker reports of four "youthful members of that band" who tried the *Niger* route, of which one died at the mouth of the *Niger*, two returned after several hundred miles, and a fourth, who had reached *Kano*, was murdered on his way back by robbers in the *Yakoba* country.<sup>145</sup>

In January 1896 we find two former missionaries "of the late *Central Soudan Mission*" applying to the *North Africa Mission*.<sup>146</sup> It seems that the CSM had come to an end in 1895.<sup>147</sup> Harris himself relocated to Alexandria, Egypt for some time,<sup>148</sup> before returning to England.

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140 A.B. [Albert Benjamin] Simpson: *Larger Outlooks on Missionary Lands, Descriptive Sketches of a Missionary Journey Through Egypt, Palestine, India, Burma, Malaysia, China, Japan and the Sandwich Islands*. 1985 [1894], p. 25.

141 Thomas Holt had some strong words on the infamous role of the *Royal Niger Company* in a letter to A.T. Pierson, August 7, 1894: "The route via Niger River is only closed to missionaries by the intolerant rule of the chartered company – namely the *Royal Niger Company*, who have signed treaties with the Mohammedans of the Soudan, saying that they will give no facilities to missionaries trying to enter for work among Mohammedans; this is evidenced by the fact, that, though the company refused us passages up river in their steamers, they would even have helped to support us if we would have bound ourselves to confine our efforts to the pagans on the lower Niger" (Published in *MRW*, January 1895, p. 61).

142 "The Mission makes no personal appeals to the public or to individuals for money, but looks directly to God for the supply of all its need, and the missionaries aim to support themselves if possible among the people to whom they go by labouring with their own hands". ("Sixty Millions of Soudanese". In: *RB*, 1893, p. 375. – Unless otherwise mentioned all information is drawn from this article. Cf. *IMN* 1892, p. 87: "A new road to the Soudan". – Self-support is not part of the original faith mission idea. That is the idea of independent missions, at least partly (cf. Fiedler 1992, p. 30; 1994, p. 24).

143 *MRW*, Feb. 1894, p. 147.

144 "The Soudan". In: *RB*, Sept. – Oct. 1894, p. 334.

145 Walker 1931, p. 177.

146 North Africa Mission: Candidate Cases [Jan. 1890 – Aug. 1898]. No. 383 and 384 were J.J. Cooksey and his wife, who "retired in 1911 to join A.M.E.C."; No. 385 was Herbert Ephraim Webb, "unsectarian, formerly Baptist". They all came from Bristol, and went to Sousse together on December 10, 1896.

147 In August 1895, the *MRW* still reported about the organization of a home department of the CSM (*MRW*, August 1895, pp. 619f.).

148 Glenny reported in 1900, that the CSM no longer existed, "though its leaders are now residing in Alexandria" (Rutherford 1900, p. 222).

After he had failed in running a school in England, he applied in 1903 and 1904 to the Sudan United Mission, but was not accepted, because he would not work with missionaries who did not believe in faith healing as the only medicine ordained by God.<sup>149</sup> He published a volume with Hausa stories and a dictionary in 1908, where he introduced himself as having been engaged for “eight years ... as a missionary among Arabs and Hausas in Tripoli, Tunisia, the Algerian Sahara, and Egypt”.<sup>150</sup> Karl Kumm later called the plans of CSM “over-enthusiastic and day-dreaming under prevailing conditions”.<sup>151</sup> The involvement of the Guinnesses in furthering the CSM was very low, and in comparison, A.T. Pierson seemed to have had a closer attachment to that mission.<sup>152</sup>

## 2.7 Developing Plans for a Sudan Mission via Egypt (1899–1900)

From 1895 to May 1898, for various reasons, the Sudan did not receive the same attention any more in the Guinnesses' *Regions Beyond*.<sup>153</sup> Then political developments in the Eastern Sudan led to renewed interest. The victory of Sir Herbert Kitchener at *Atbara* was seen as paving the way for civilization.<sup>154</sup> That Khartoum, the “gate of Africa”, had fallen into British hands, was seen as a providential sign. A report on the fall of the *Mahdi* in 1898 culminated in the appeal: “Let us pray new Missions here into existence!”<sup>155</sup> The Nile valley, the long-closed door to the Sudan and Central Africa, now seemed open for missionary advance.

After the death of his wife Fanny in late 1898, Grattan Guinness and his daughter Lucy were in need of a change, and traveled to Egypt and Palestine on January 3, 1899.<sup>156</sup> At the end of

149 *Minutes of British SPM 1902–04* (SUM Box 1.1), November 2, 1903, and May 24, 1904. Cf. Fiedler 1994, p. 181, who takes Harris as an example of the troubles faith missions had, when trying to define the limits of their policies towards “particular doctrines”. Harris had been an adherent of John Alexander Dowie of Zion, Illinois (ibid).

150 Hermann Gundert Harris: *Hausa Stories and Riddles, with Notes on the Language, Etc., and a Concise Hausa Dictionary*. Weston-super-Mare: Mendip, [1908], foreword.

151 “Schwärmerisch und phantastisch”. *Minutes SPM*, October 25, 1900.

152 A.T. Pierson, who spent long stretches of time in England from 1891 on, claimed “intimate friendship” with Harris and White (*MRW* July 1891, p. 556), and Harris visited him while back in England (*MRW*, March 1892, p. 238). The reports in *MRW* are far more detailed than in *RB*, and span a period from the inception of the CSM in 1891 to at least 1895.

153 The Guinnesses were busy with the *Congo Balolo Mission*, founded by their son Harry in 1889, and with the unification of their multiple activities under the umbrella of the *Regions Beyond Missionary Union* (RBMU) in 1899. Lucy Guinness was busy with a *Regions Beyond Helpers Union* (since 1892), and Fanny Guinness had a stroke in 1892, which reduced her capacities. Grattan Guinness traveled to India in 1896, with his daughter Lucy, to China in 1897, which focused his mind on Asia for the subsequent period, and to North Africa in 1898 (*RB* 27, Dec. 1906, p. 517).

154 “The Shillooks”. In: *RB* 1898, pp. 312–314.

155 “An Imperial Road”. In: *RB* 1898, pp. 347–349.

156 *Enter Thou = RB*, Jan. 1899, p. 84: “Ere these pages reach our friends, Dr. Guinness, sen., who is much in needing change of scene and work, will be on his way to Egypt. Miss Guinness, who accompanies him, has

their journey, they traveled for a week from Alexandria to the *Oasis of Fayoom* on May 12, with Karl Kumm of the *North Africa Mission* as their guide, interpreter, and general protector. The subsequent love story between Lucy and Karl led to an appointment in Upper Egypt at the beginning of the next year. While the Guinneses returned to England, Kumm stayed in Egypt.

Back home, Grattan Guinness voiced his renewed interest in the Sudan belt at the annual mission festivities. The principal of *Harley House* (ELTI) reported: "It is easy to see, that his eager eyes are fixed longingly on the new door that has opened into Central Africa, the door of the Nile valley." Grattan Guinness told of "great opportunities that stretch out pleading hands to the Christians of the world". He mused: "How often in my travels throughout the world I have come to the point where the light of the Gospel found its limits; where I seemed to be standing on the edge as it were, looking out into the black abyss of heathen darkness."<sup>157</sup>

Karl Kumm<sup>158</sup> was no stranger to the Guinneses. In 1896, he had studied at *Harley House* (ELTI). After meeting the Guinneses again in May 1899, he proceeded to Upper Egypt in the fall, and went exploring the old caravan route to *Lake Chad* via the western oases of *Charga*, *Dachla*, and *Bâris*. Upon return, he came to meet Lucy and her father as promised. They proceeded to Aswan, and when Karl and Lucy were engaged on January 11, 1900, the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* (SPM) was founded.

This rather spontaneous founding of the SPM was received with some consternation by Grattan Guinness' co-directors of the *Regions Beyond Missionary Union*.<sup>159</sup> The RBMU had been suffering deficits for several years. This might explain why there appeared few reports in *Regions Beyond* about the SPM, after the initial one on its founding.<sup>160</sup>

There were some "firsts", compared to earlier Sudan ventures in the founding of the SPM. It was founded in the field, with a support body being recruited later. It was the first which implemented the Nile strategy. It was the first venture, which was to involve Germany. To the Guin-

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been a good deal overstrained by the last two months of sorrow and labour, coming immediately after the production of her book *Across India*."

157 "Midsummer at Harley House" (S.L. Mead, Principal of Harley House). In: *RB* 1899, pp. 345-348. Cf. the vision of "messengers of peace", entering the Sudan on the road built for the army along the Nile (*RB*, May 1885, p. 72; quoted above).

158 The life of Karl Kumm, and the founding of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* are discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 4, with all the references given there.

159 His son Harry Guinness wrote in his *RBMU Directors Minute Book, 1903[0!]-1908*, p. 1 (held at CSCNWW, Edinburgh): "We determined to send a special letter to my Father in Egypt on the subject of his relation to the newly proposed Mission of Mr. and Mrs. Kumm. We earnestly felt that no one Director ought to have the power to initiate and conduct any new Miss[ion] apart from the approval of his Co-directors + of the General Advisory Council of the Union."

160 *RB*, April 1900, pp. 167f., "Marriage of Miss Lucy Guinness".

nesses, it was the first Sudan mission, the field base of which they had visited, and which actively involved other members of the family than Grattan. His role would focus on getting the mission work started on the field, and on securing a home base.

## 2.8 Conclusion

There were three stages, or perhaps more accurately three types, of the Guinness family's involvement with the evangelization of the Sudan Belt: reporting, supporting, and founding missions.<sup>161</sup>

1. Reporting: The Guinneses were firstly reporting about the unreached Sudan, and calling for action, before anything was done. They continued both these activities, while progressing in involvement.

2. Supporting: They supported those attempts to reach the Sudan, which they were exposed to or in contact with, and reported about them (Brooke's *Central Soudan Mission*, Brooke's *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission*, Harris' *Central Soudan Mission*).

3. Founding: They founded Sudan Pioneer missions together with others, and reported about them (*Kansas Soudan Pioneer Mission* and *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* in Egypt).<sup>162</sup>

Grattan Guinness' personal role in the above Sudan missions was primarily that of a visionary and founder: he acted when he felt the time was ripe to do something for the evangelization of the Sudan, even though at that moment it was not clear whether it could be done successfully. This is why others called his efforts hasty.<sup>163</sup> In some cases he invested much time and energy in the founding of these missions, but he regularly withdrew after the initial phase. His share in the reporting was limited to stating the need, issuing the call, and describing the founding he was involved in.

Reports on ongoing work were usually presented by his wife Fanny, and later by their daughter Lucy. Grattan Guinness always got others to do the missionary work in the target area, and was never in the field (except for Egypt). He never claimed a monopoly of the Sudan vision. He supported other Sudan missionary pioneers because he shared the same basic vision, even though he might disagree with them in some particulars.

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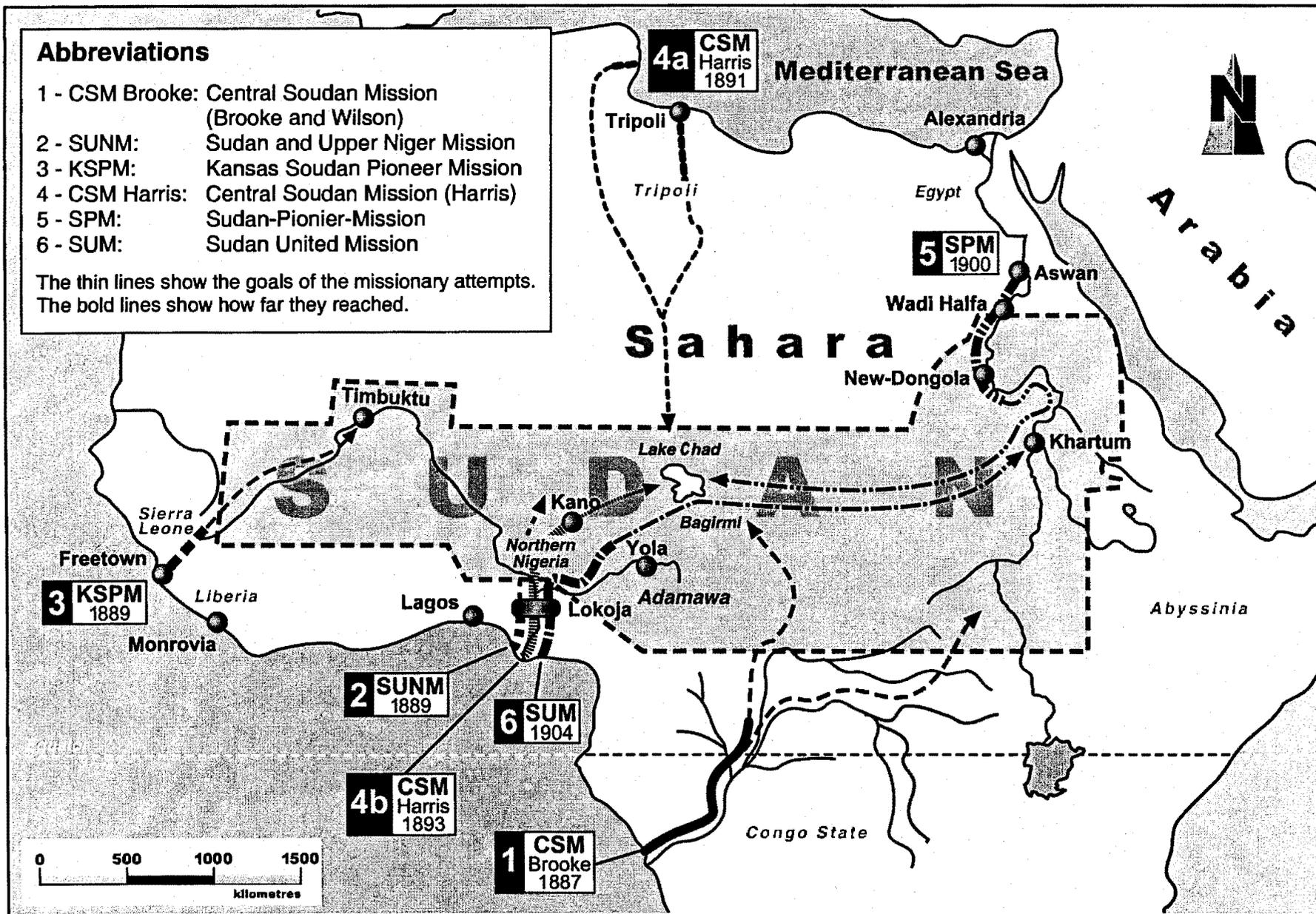
161 See table for a synopsis of the Sudan missions, in which the Guinneses were involved.

162 In 1904, Grattan Guinness also participated in the founding of the *Sudan United Mission* by Lucy and Karl Kumm.

163 See Chapter 5.7.1 for Gustav Warneck's criticism.

By 1900, the earlier Sudan missions which the Guinnesses supported, had failed. The one that Grattan Guinness had initiated personally (KSPM), had chosen to go on without him, and was struggling to reach the Sudan. However on the Nile, doors seemed wide open for a new initiative, which would involve the Guinnesses more deeply than ever before: the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*.

# Access Routes of the Sudan Missions Supported by the Guineesses



## The Sudan Missions Supported by the Guinnesses

Mission	Key People	Support Base	Section of Sudan	Route / River	Geogr. Goal <i>People group</i>	Degree of Success
<b>CSM</b> 1887	Brooke Salim Wilson	Great Britain	Eastern	Congo Ubangi	Bagirmi <i>Dinka</i>	failed 1888
<b>SUNM</b> 1889	Brooke Robinson	Great Britain	Central	Niger	Adamawa <i>Hausa</i>	failed 1892
<b>KSPM</b> 1889	Fisher Kingman	Kansas, USA	Western	Sierra Leone	Timbuktu <i>Mandingo</i>	failed in 1890; as CMA, reached Sudan in 1919
<b>CSM</b> 1891	Harris	Great Britain	Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• through Sahara from Tripolis</li> <li>• Niger</li> </ul>	Lake Chad <i>Hausa</i>	failed ca. 1896
<b>SPM</b> 1900	Karl & Lucy Kumm	Germany	Eastern	Nile from Aswan	Nubia <i>Nubians</i> <i>Bisharin</i>	became local; entered Sudan in 1928
<b>SUM</b> 1904	Karl & Lucy Kumm	Great Britain	Central	Niger	Bauchi Hills, Wase <i>Hausa</i>	succeeded and multiplied

## The Role of the Guinnesses in the Founding of Sudan Missions

<b>Mission</b>	<b>Type of Interaction</b>	<b>Level of Reporting</b>	<b>People or Bodies more involved in Support</b>
<b>CSM Brooke</b>	farewell	some	direct supporters NAM, Glenny
<b>SUNM</b>	corresponding	intensive	Church Missionary Society Manchester Sudan Committee (A.T. Pierson)
<b>KSPM</b>	vision founding = recruiting	intensive - until dissociation	A.B. Simpson; since dissociation from Guinness
<b>CSM Harris</b>	intending to supply worker	low	Pentecostal League A.T. Pierson
<b>SPM</b>	vision founding on field searching for home base	low, initial only	Karl & Lucy Kumm
<b>SUM</b>	supporting founding of home base	low, initial only	Karl & Lucy Kumm

### Abbreviations

CSM = Central Soudan Mission

SUNM = Sudan and Upper Niger Mission

KSPM = Kansas Sudan Pioneer Mission

SPM = Sudan-Pionier-Mission

SUM = Sudan United Mission

## Chronological Table of the Guinnesses' Involvement in Sudan Missions (1876–1910)

Year	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10																		
<b>Events in the lives of the Guinnesses</b>	◆first mention of Sudan Belt													◆lecture tour on Sudan										◆first article on Sudan					◆Lucy editor of Regions Beyond (1888–1899)					†Fanny Guinness					◆trip to Egypt					†Lucy Kumm					Grattan Guinness †				
<b>Political Events</b>																								†General Gordon					◆fall of the Mahdi																								
<b>CSM</b>																								◆Algeria					◆Niger																								
Brooke's other travels																								◆Senegal																													
<b>SUNM</b>																																																					
<b>KSPM</b>																													CMA										→														
<b>CSM Harris</b>																													?																								
<b>SPM*</b>																													◆Kumm dismissed										→														
<b>SUM**</b>																																							→														

### Abbreviations and Symbols

CSM = Central Sudan Mission		= existence of mission	◆ = Event
SUNM = Sudan and Upper Niger Mission		= involvement of the Guinnesses	→ = continued
KSPM = Kansas Sudan Pioneer Mission	*	= The Kumms remain involved till dismissal	? = end date uncertain
SPM = Sudan-Pionier-Mission	**	= Involvement of Grattan Guinness; the Kumms remain involved for life	† = Death
SUM = Sudan United Mission			
CMA = Christian Missionary Alliance			

### 3 Karl Kumm: A Missionary Pioneer for the Sudan Belt (1874–1900)

Grattan Guinness' importance to faith missions in the Sudan was later surpassed by that of his son in law, Karl Kumm. Kumm's whole involvement focused on the Sudan, while Guinness was interested in many other mission fields as well.

The origin of Kumm, and particularly his childhood and youth from 1874 to 1900, have until now been insufficiently researched.<sup>1</sup> In the accounts of the SPM history, he suddenly appears “out of the fog”. In view of Kumm's importance for the SPM, the purpose of this chapter is to recount his life up to the founding of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* as accurately as possible. For a better understanding of the SPM's history, we need to find answers to the following questions: What were Karl Kumm's ambitions and motivations? Who or what influenced him? Which missionary training and experience did he have?

#### 3.1 Formative Years at Home, in School, and Military Service (1874–1895)

Hermann Carl William Kumm<sup>2</sup> was born on October 19, 1874 in Markoldendorf near Einbeck, on the fringe of the *Weserbergland* mountain range.

##### 3.1.1 Parents<sup>3</sup>

Karl Kumm was the fourth child of the innkeeper, and retired *Stabswachtmeister*, August Friedrich Wilhelm Kumm,<sup>4</sup> and his wife Johanna Karoline Wilhelmina (Minna), neé Kistenbrügge.

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1 See Chapter 1.2 Present State of Research.

2 Karl Kumm's first and middle names were variously spelled and used during his lifetime: *William* was translated to *Wilhelm* during a certain period with respect to the name of the German Kaiser, while in the US it became *William* again. In school and within the family, he was called by his nickname *Willie*. *Carl* changed to *Karl* when Kumm became an adult. As an author, Kumm gave his name as *H.K.W. Kumm* or *H. Karl W. Kumm*. I will call him *Karl Kumm* without variance.

3 The genealogist of the German Kumms was Dr. Martin Kühner (1898–1984), Müllheim. He wrote two short manuscripts: *Nachrichten über das Geschlecht Kumm aus Pöhlde* (quoted as *Nachrichten*, PA Helmut Stolze, Pöhlde), *Das Geschlecht der Pöhlder Kumm* (quoted as *Das Geschlecht* – this document includes all the Kumm's name bearers in Pöhlde; PA Ischebeck), and a family tree of the descendants of Wilhelm Kumm with his paternal ancestors over four generations (PA Dr. Albrecht Kühner, Grömitz). Further information about these ancestors is provided by a five generations' long genealogical table for Maria Amanda Pauline Wegener, married Kühner, who was the youngest daughter of Karl Kumm's youngest and only married sister, Mathilde. It was compiled during the *Third Reich*, and is kept in the private Archives of her son Dr. Albrecht Kühner, Grömitz. In the rolls of the *Garde-Kürassier-Regiment*, it is mentioned that the father of A.F.W. Kumm had three children (*Stammrollen*, Hann. 48aI Nr. 827, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover [NshStAHann], according to a letter by Börner [NshStAHann] – Sauer, July 7, 1998; P 25589-B8-). The younger son, Ludwig Aug. Chr. Kumm (1833–1903), inherited the parental farm (*Das Geschlecht*). The other child must have been a girl, as her name is not registered on the tables available.

He was baptized on November 28, 1874.<sup>5</sup> His father (June 29, 1831 – November 5, 1905) was one of three children born to a peasant in the village of Pöhlde,<sup>6</sup> and was the first to move beyond the village, where their ancestors had lived and married over a period of at least three generations.<sup>7</sup> Wilhelm Kumm served for almost 20 years in the Hannoverian Army in the *Garde-Kürassier-Regiment* in Northeim, and reached the rank of *Stabswachtmeister*. Thus, he was part of the staff of 13, who oversaw the regiment of 500 soldiers.<sup>8</sup> He had been introduced personally to his beloved King George V. of Hannover,<sup>9</sup> and had received several decorations.<sup>10</sup> On August 22, 1861,

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4 As he was known as Wilhelm Kumm, I will use this name throughout.

5 The entry in the Parish Register in Markoldendorf for November 30, 1874, does not mention the previous profession of the father, but does additionally give the time of birth (at 5 o'clock in the morning), and as godfathers, the hotel-owner Wilhelm Mey, and the keeper of the station buffet Hildebert Hoppe, both resident in Herzberg (close to the birthplace of Wilhelm Kumm), and as the pastor baptizing the infant, Superintendent Große, Einbeck. The baptism probably took place in the *St. Marien-Chapel*, which is only a few steps away from the *Ratskeller*, and not in the huge neo-gothic *Martinskirche*, which was rebuilt 1867–1869 (Theodor Müller, Markoldendorf – Sauer, Oct. 10, 1998, p. 3).

6 Pöhlde lies close to Herzberg and 16 km south of Osterode am Harz.

7 The professions of the ancestors of Wilhelm Kumm are given as “farmer” (*Bauer, Ackermann*) over three generations, with the exception of his great-grandfather on the maternal side, who was a clerk (*Kurfürstlich Hannoverscher Licentschreiber*). Wilhelm Kumm's great-great-great-grandfather Andreas Kum(m) was a corporal in the cavalry of Oberst von Rauchhaupt around 1664 (Kühner: *Das Geschlecht*, and *Family Tree of A.F. Wilhelm Kumm*). Kühner reports (*Nachrichten*, p. 3): “Nach einer mündlichen Familientüberlieferung soll der in Pöhlde ansäßig gewordene Stammvater Andreas Kum(m) aus Pommern bzw. Schweden stammen”. The name *Kumm* supposedly comes from Sweden originally, and had been introduced to Pommern by a Swedish soldier, who stayed after the *Thirty Years War*. Kühner writes: “Der Name Kumm ist in Pommern weit verbreitet und vermutlich stammt der Corporal K. auch von dort. Das Wappen KUMM enthält einen Anker, der auf die Fischerei oder Schifffahrt – wohl der Ostsee – hinweist” (*Das Geschlecht*). On the Kumms' coat of arms (the originality of which is not proven), there is the note “aus Pommern”, together with the year 1450. The coat of arms can also be found on the outside wall of the cathedral in Osnabrück, and was used by Karl Kumm as his *Ex Libris*.

8 Kumm had been recruited on October 1, 1874, as a 16-year-old, for an initial ten year period. As *Stabswachtmeister* (staff patrolman) he had reached the highest position he could reach without having attended officers' school. Before that, he was a corporal (successive grades: simple, second class, first class), then *Bereiter* (the officer who breaks in a horse) and later responsible as quartermaster (*Quartiermeister*) for the provisions of the fourth Schwadron (*Stammrollen*, Hann. 48aI Nr. 826; 827, resp. Nr. 30; 7 and 9, NsHStAHann). According to oral family tradition, he was considered the best rider of the Hannoverian Army (Kühner, *Nachrichten*, p. 4). Cf. also the obituary for Wilhelm Kumm, in: *Osteroder Allgemeiner Anzeiger (OAA)* No. 131 of Nov. 7, 1905; and Cleverdon 1936, p. 3, based on a letter by Karl Kumm's sister Mathilde. Concerning the *Garde-Kürassier-Regiment* (cavalry) in Northeim, cf. Victor von Diebitsch: *Die Königlich Hannoversche Armee auf ihrem letzten Waffengange im Juni 1866*. Bremen: Heinsius, 1897, pp. 13–31. This regiment consisted almost exclusively of volunteers. Only those were taken, who could provide for their military horse when on extended vacations at home. These were generally the sons of the more well to do farmers (pp. 29–31).

9 Obituary in *OAA*, No. 131 of Nov. 7, 1905. Cf. PABüttner: Cato – Wegener 1935: “Karl so often spoke of his Father's friendship with the blind King of Hannover, who knew Father's step when he heard it”. Cf. Mathilde Wegener's response to the request for details: “He was introduced to the King, and during the presentation, the blind King fingered the tall strong man and rejoiced at the wonderful growth of this light-coloured Saxon. Always he recognised him by feeling [touch]. The parents have kept the love of their king and his family for ever” (Cleverdon 1936, p. 3). – The connection to the royal court by personal presentation to the king was something very special for someone not belonging to the aristocracy. Wilhelm Kumm must have had high-ranking benefactors. Kühner documented oral family tradition (*Nachrichten*, p. 4): “Der letzte König von Hannover hätte ihn besonders geschätzt und zum Offizier ernennen wollen. Da die Offiziersstellen in der Regel vermögenden Adligen vorbehalten waren, hätte Kumm abgelehnt”.

he married Wilhelmina [Minna] Kistenbrügge (April 19, 1842 – May 8, 1923) in Alfeld (Leine), who came from the neighboring hamlet of Hörsum.<sup>11</sup> Her ancestors were also small farmers (*Köhner*)<sup>12</sup> almost without exception.<sup>13</sup>

The defeat of the Hannoverian Army in the war with Prussia after the battle of Langensalza on June 27, 1866, caused Wilhelm Kumm to retire from the army in December 1866.<sup>14</sup> The annexation of the kingdom of Hannover by Prussia had made officers “homeless in their own country”.<sup>15</sup> As Kumm wanted to remain loyal to his king, and therefore refused to enter the Prussian army,<sup>16</sup> he thus lost his military profession. Those who did not join the army of Prussia, nor were of independent means, got themselves into a very unfavorable situation, because army pensions were rather low. As a rule, army volunteers served up to the age of 42, and hoped then to apply successfully for a post in civil service.<sup>17</sup> Wilhelm Kumm, who was 35 years old, pro-

10 NsHStAHann, Hann 48aI Nr. 827: Wilhelm Kumm received the *Allgemeine Ehrenzeichen* (general award of honor) and the *Silberne Wilhelms-Medaille* (Wilhelm's medal in silver).

11 Hörsum, near Alfeld, lies 34 km northwest of Northeim, and 20 km north of Markoldendorf. Some notes on Minna Kistenbrügge's ancestors are contained in a letter by Gutta and Gitta Becker, Goslar – Mrs. Ischebeck, August 14, 1960, 2 pp., and on two identical postcards with diverging comments, that show the farmhouse of the Warneckes and the village of Hörsum (PA Ischebeck, Ennepetal).

12 Cf. Heinz-Georg Röhrbein: *Quellenbegriffe des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*. Hildesheim 1991, p. 44.

13 *Genealogical table for Maria Amanda Pauline Wegener* (PA Dr. Kühner, Grömitz).

14 NsHStAHann: Hann. 48aI Nr. 827: “Abgangs-Ursache und Datum: Infolge des Schr. des Gen. Lts. v. Arentschildt [Commanding General of the Hannoverian Army] de 28.12.66 verabschiedet d. 9. Decbr. 1866”. On Dec. 27, 1866, an order of the former King George V. of Hannover was published by General von Arentsschildt, according to which all officers and related ranks would be liberated from their oath of allegiance, and be dismissed upon application (Klaus Dieter Kaiser: *Die Eingliederung der ehemals selbständigen norddeutschen Truppenkörper in die Preussische Armee in den Jahren nach 1866*. Inaugural-Dissertation, Berlin 1972, pp. 40–46, here p. 46). Prussia had given the officers, and comparable ranks, a deadline until January 15, 1867, to apply for admission to the Prussian Army (Kaiser, p. 45). Karl Kumm's recollection, “Father went out with a sword and came back with a walking stick” (PABüttner: Cato – Wegener 1935, Nr. 83), could be a pointer to a war injury. However, as Kumm was not named in the official register of the war-wounded (Diebitsch, p. 369), this probably did not lead to any incapacity for service. In a British obituary of Karl Kumm it was said that “his father ... had been penalised after the war”, because he had fought against Prussia in 1866, and that Kumm “had no sympathy with Germany, at whose hands he and his people had suffered”. But the latter statement poses the question, how much of it has its origin in any anti-German sentiments of the British author in 1930 (“Dr. H. Karl W. Kumm”. In: *The Lightbearer* [SUM-GB] 1930, pp. 104ff).

15 Diebitsch 1897, pp. 333–341.

16 Cleverdon 1936, pp. 4f., possibly based on the report by Mathilde, quoted above.

17 Diebitsch 1897, pp. 333–341: “Die hannoversche Offiziersfrage” (the matters relating to the Hannoverian officers). After capitulation, the non-commissioned officers (*Unteroffiziere*) continued to receive their remuneration, even though they were put on leave of absence. Only a few remained in the garrisons, to take care of the business. Probably Wilhelm Kumm belonged to this group, due to his special task (cf. Diebitsch 1897, p. 321).

bably landed in a crisis by the breaking off of his career. He moved to Markoldendorf<sup>18</sup> with his family, where he ran a pub with little joy or success.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.1.2 Childhood

Karl Kumm recounted a happy childhood. According to his biographer, he grew up with “Christian precept and example”.<sup>20</sup> Probably this was particularly due to the influence of his mother, and her family.<sup>21</sup> Whereas Karl Kumm called his father a “noble gentleman”, who had trained him in obedience,<sup>22</sup> he characterized his mother as a “wise, patient, god-fearing” woman. According to her daughter Mathilde, “the centrum [sic!] of her life was love and providing for others”.<sup>23</sup>

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18 On Markoldendorf, cf.: Hans Mirus: *Die Chronik der Stadt Dassel. Von der Grafschaft bis zur Gebietsreform 1974*. Hildesheim: Kommissionsverlag August Laux, 1981, pp. 174–198: “Der Flecken Markoldendorf”.

19 The keeping of the inn and several years of residence in Markoldendorf are witnessed to by the entries in the baptismal register of Markoldendorf (1874 for Karl and 1880 for Mathilda). On May 6, 1966, Dr. Martin Kühner, Müllheim, referring to family tradition, wrote to the NsHStAHann: “Nach seiner [Wilhelm Kumms] Verabschiedung soll er den Ratskeller in Markoldendorf betrieben, dabei aber wenig pekuniären Erfolg gehabt haben” (Börner – Sauer, July 7, and August 4, 1998; cf. an almost identical statement in *Nachrichten*, p. 4). In Markoldendorf there were only two other such establishments in private possession, besides the *Ratskeller*, which was owned by the municipality (Gemeindearchiv Markoldendorf: *Findbuch*, p. 105, No. 185 “Pachtkontrakt Ratskeller 1867”; the lease itself is not available. Müller, Markoldendorf – Sauer, May 27, 1998. Cf. also the file: NsHStAHann: Hann. 74 (Amt) Einbeck Nr. 1899: “Die Verpachtung des Ratskellers zu Markoldendorf von Ostern 1841 bis dahin 1886, desgleichen der Verkauf des Ratskellers 1885”; the names of the tenants were not given there). Two reasons were suggested for the failure of his pub. The local population would have preferred the other two pubs kept by their own kin. On top of that, the village suffered heavy unemployment (particularly of the numerous linen weavers), and a population loss of 13 % between 1860 and 1885. The Kumms did not seem to have had friends in the village, as all the godfathers or godmothers of Karl and Mathilde Kumm, at their baptisms in Markoldendorf, were either family, or from outside Markoldendorf (Theodor Müller, honorary archivist, Markoldendorf – Sauer, personal discussion on October 14, 1998, and letter of Dec. 21, 1998). According to family tradition, the innkeeper Kumm was supposed to have been “his best guest himself” (Dr. Kühner – Sauer, interview, May 13, 1998). Concerning a possible job as a teacher, which is mentioned in family tradition, no evidence is available (cf. *Programme des Osterroder Realgymnasium*, StAOsterode).

20 Cleverdon 1936, pp. 6–9.

21 In Cleverdon's account about the ancestors, the grandfather of his mother, Johann Georg Warnecke (1782–1853) stands out as a wise man and “a true Christian”. He had become mayor of his village when just 20 years old, and held that position for life. He protected his village during the Napoleonic unrests through clever action. His family Bible was kept in honor by his descendants (Cleverdon 1936, p. 3). Karl Kumm's maternal grandparents, Kistenbrügge, had moved from Hörsum to Osterode late in their lives, and died there in 1898 and 1900 respectively (Genealogical table of Maria Wegener; Document for the Golden Wedding; both PAKühner; cf. OAA, No. 40, April 5, 1900, p. 4, death notice of Heinrich Kistenbrügge).

22 Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*. 1910, p. 21: “Descending from a military family, obedience was inborn”. In the Hannoverian Army even more emphasis was placed on obedience than in other armies. However, private intercourse followed the “gentleman-ideal”, and included reciprocal respect, and care by the superior (Diebitsch 1897, pp. 29–31).

23 Cleverdon 1936, p. 14, quotes Mathilde Kumm, who also said: “She went home with bold faith in God”. Calling the father “wise and pious”, in contrast, seems rather to be a euphemism of the biographer.

Karl Kumm had three sisters, and one brother. Amanda, Pauline, and Alfred were his elders, and probably had a share in raising him.<sup>24</sup> His sister Mathilde was five years younger than he was.<sup>25</sup>

On July 5, 1880, the Kumm family moved from Markoldendorf to Osterode am Harz, which is situated 35 kilometers to the east.<sup>26</sup> This upcoming town, close to Wilhelm Kumm's birthplace Pöhlde, had seen considerable development in the 19<sup>th</sup> century through industrialization, and a railway connection. It had become the political, administrative, and economic center of the southwestern section of the Harz area, and had grown to about 6,500 inhabitants.<sup>27</sup>

The Kumm family must have won much respect in Osterode. This is suggested by the fact, that Wilhelm Kumm, at his death in 1905, was honored with a special obituary in the local newspaper. This accolade was usually reserved for people of higher standing.<sup>28</sup> The playmates of Karl Kumm included the children of dignitaries.<sup>29</sup> In administrative documents of Osterode Wilhelm Kumm is always referred to as a pensioner ("Rentier"). According to family tradition, he was supposedly also trading with horses.<sup>30</sup> The family was probably not wealthy, as they lived in

24 Karl Kumm's sister Amanda was by 12 years his elder (1862–1936), Pauline by 11 years (1863–1932), and Alfred by eight years (1866–1934). They were all born in Northeim (cf. *Family Tree of A.F. Wilhelm Kumm*, PA Dr. Kühner).

25 Mathilde Kumm (1879–1936) was born in Markoldendorf, where she was baptized on February 12, 1880 (excerpt from church register Markoldendorf, of May 28, 1998).

26 StAOsterode: Bestand I ÜF Nr. 61, p. 1131; his 18-year-old sister Amanda is not mentioned there, and had probably already left home by that time.

27 Jörg Leuschner: "Osterode – Politisches, verwaltungsmäßiges und wirtschaftliches Zentrum des Südwestharzes von 1807 bis 1918". In: Jörg Leuschner (ed.): *Osterode. Welfensitz und Bürgerstadt im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1993, pp. 321–486, here p. 395. Osterode became a *Kreisstadt* (administrative center of a district) in 1885 (p. 342). Wilhelm Kumm's birthplace Pöhlde lay about 16 km away, in the run down area of Herzberg, which became part of the *Landkreis* (district) of Osterode.

28 This suggestion was made by town archivist Ekkehard Eder, Osterode, in a letter of May 13, 1998 to the author. The obituary in the *Osteroder Allgemeiner Anzeiger*, No. 131 of Nov. 7, 1905, honors the *Stabswachtmeister a.D.* Wilhelm Kumm as "a well known gentleman in our city, who has won many friends by his excellent character, his keen mind, and his faithful heart". When Karl Kumm's reports of his travels in Egypt were published anonymously in this newspaper (April 9, 1898, No. 42), reference was made to a "respected Osterode family". Already in 1883, the 52-years-old "pensioner" Kumm was mentioned alongside with teachers, industrialists, senators, and officials among the 36 sponsors (out of about 165 parents) for a *Luther-fund* of the Osterode *Realgymnasium*. He donated the minimum amount of one *Mark*, like most of the others (*Programm ...* 1883/84, No. 303, p. 1).

29 One was the son of the *Landrat* (district governor), the other the son of a merchant (see below on his friends).

30 The tradition does not specify whether this happened in Markoldendorf and / or in Osterode (Personal information by Dr. Kühner, Grömitz, May 17, 1998). The fact is very plausible, because of Kumm's longstanding experience in the cavalry. In his Northeim Regiment, Wilhelm Kumm had even been the *Bereiter*, who was responsible for the buying of horses, and riding them in for the first time (NsHStAHann: *Stammrollen*, Hann. 48aI Nr. 30 resp. 7; cf. Diebitsch 1897, pp. 29–31). In Osterode, he could well have traded with the haulage contractors of the Harz, who had haulage firms from the Oberharz all the way to Saxony (Rudolf Herrfahrtd, Garbsen – Sauer, Dec. 1998. Herrfahrtd used to be superintendent in the church district of Osterode and is thoroughly familiar with local history.)

rented accommodation.<sup>31</sup> The children were supposedly earning the money for their school fees themselves, by giving private lessons to others.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.1.3 School

At Easter 1881, Karl Kumm began attending pre-school.<sup>33</sup> The parents aimed to educate their children well.<sup>34</sup> As Karl Kumm was motivated and gifted, he attended the *Realgymnasium* of Osterode. His brother Alfred<sup>35</sup> already attended there, together with an average of 165 pupils.<sup>36</sup> Thus, Karl Kumm belonged to the future elite of the small town, qualifying for university entry.<sup>37</sup>

Because of his pleasant personality, and his commitment to others,<sup>38</sup> he had many friends.<sup>39</sup> Due to his giftedness in rhetoric, he was often the center of attention in his later school years.<sup>40</sup>

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- 31 The Kumms first rented an apartment (from July 5, 1880 – July 1, 1881) in the inn *Deutsches Haus* (building No. 422, later Dörgestraße 13), belonging to the cattle dealer August Schalitz (StAOsterode: 1 ÜF Nr. 61, p. 1131, and Nachlaß Schimpf Nr. 126). Later they moved to Jöddenstraße 78/79 (*Adreßbuch Osterode 1900*, p. 24; since 1889, the building had belonged to the *Osteroder Konsumverein*; today this is Aegidien-Straße 8). The *Auenstraße* was given as the address of the house of mourning in 1905 (death notice of Wilhelm Kumm, see above). This information was provided by Stadtarchivar Ekkehard Eder, Osterode, in his letters of May 13, June 16, and August 5, 1998. The missionary register of the CIM noted the parental address of Pauline Kumm in 1894 with a divergence in the number of the house as: “Egidien Str. 6” (OMF Archives, according to letter of M.G. Dainton – Sauer, August 20, 1998)
- 32 Karl Kumm later remembered a “simple home-life” (Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*, 1910, p. 19), which is confirmed by family tradition on the German side, which recounts the earning of school fees (Personal information Dr. Kühner, Grömitz, May 19, 1998). The school fees at the *Realgymnasium* amounted to between 60 and 120 German Marks during the school days of Karl Kumm, depending on the grade (Eder – Sauer, June 16, 1998; cf. OAA No. 16 of Feb. 25, 1893, and StAOsterode, Bestand 1, Nr. 11 IX Nr. 13 von 1880).
- 33 CV of Karl Kumm. File on the doctorate of “Kumm, H. Karl Wilhelm, 1903”, Universitätsarchiv Freiburg, B31/155 J 6297 (microfiche in possession of author): “er [Karl] besuchte von Ostern 1881 bis Ostern 1894 zunächst die Vorschule”. In 1883, Karl Kumm is registered in the pupil’s list of “Vorschule A, Abteilung I” (= 3<sup>rd</sup> grade) (*Programm des Realgymnasiums zu Osterode am Harz ... 1883/84*, p. 53; StAOsterode, Bestand 1 L IX Nr. 7 c). The lists of the years 1881/82 and 1882/83 are not preserved in the StAOsterode.
- 34 Cleverdon 1936, p. 5: “The parents themselves had cultivated minds and took it as a matter of course that their children should develop intellectually. Karl was high-spirited and gifted ...”. In the Hannoverian Army, the education of the non-commissioned officers was furthered. The *Garde-Kuirassier-Regiment* did this through a *Schul-Commando* (Diebitsch 1897, pp. 29–31). Probably Wilhelm Kumm gained some education this way.
- 35 *Programm des Realgymnasiums zu Osterode am Harz für das Schuljahr 1883/1884* (StAOsterode 1 L IX Nr. 7 c, p. 54).
- 36 Cf. the *Programm des Realgymnasiums Osterode a.H.* between 1883/84 and 1893/94.
- 37 Eder – Sauer, August 5, 1998: “Wer im Raum Osterode im 19. Jahrhundert eine höhere Schulbildung anstrebte, war auf das Realgymnasium bzw. die Höhere Töchterchule angewiesen, da es in unserer Region zum damaligen Zeitpunkt keine anderen gleichwertigen Bildungseinrichtungen gab. Es hätte daneben lediglich die Möglichkeit gegeben, sich in einer größeren Stadt einschulen zu lassen, was natürlich eine Unterbringung in einer Pflegefamilie bzw. in einem Internat vorausgesetzt hätte.”
- 38 The young Karl Kumm once saved the life of Georg Habenicht, who had broken into the ice of a lake in winter. In so doing, he risked his own life, as he was just recovering from diphtheria, and was still too weak to participate in playing with others (Cleverdon 1936, p. 1). This son of the Osterode merchant Habenicht was about two to three years younger than Karl Kumm, as he took his Abitur in 1897 (*Programm des Realgymnasiums ... 1914*, p. 20).
- 39 At the time of Karl Kumm’s death, his sister Pauline still remembers the names of his friends, Robert Lotze (Sept. 2, 1875 – April 25, 1965; army career as engineer, *königlich preußischer Major a.D.* – StAOsterode A H

The vivacious boy had a healthy self-esteem,<sup>41</sup> and was driven by an exploring spirit,<sup>42</sup> which came to full blossom in excursions through the forests and mountains of the Harz that he undertook alone or together with others. He collected butterflies, beetles, bird's eggs, plants, and minerals.<sup>43</sup> In retrospect, he recounted how he was already prepared in his youth for his travels in Africa: "I had three ambitions, namely, that I might learn to ride well on horseback, swim well, and shoot well."<sup>44</sup> At school, history and mathematics were his favorite subjects. The scientific subjects also fascinated him, culminating in all sorts of experiments, and private study with books at home. The modern languages French and English "had no terrors" for him, whereas Latin was "a trial to the flesh".<sup>45</sup>

His interest in Africa was awakened by his teacher Johann Heinrich Sternberg<sup>46</sup> (1850–1919), who was the son of a missionary, who had supposedly served in Africa.<sup>47</sup> The pupils actively

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- 11.1 "Familie Lotze"), and Albrecht Rottländer (son of *Landrat* Rottländer). The sister attested to the friendly, warm-hearted, and amiable nature of Kumm (Handwritten obituary by Pauline Kumm, p. 1, PABüttner).
- 40 Cleverdon 1936, p. 13: "Already in the last years in school, he was known as a boy with much oratorical endowment. Often when the pupils had a conference about something during the pause (recreation) Karl had to be their speaker. Then he made one of his inspiring speeches, which were finished by ravaging applause." At the *Sedanfeier* of the *Realgymnasium* in 1893, Karl Kumm, as *Oberprimaner*, was allowed to give the only free speech among five contributions (*Programm* No. 303, 1893/94, p. 25). At the *Luther Plays*, in honor of the 400th birthday of Martin Luther on November 10–11, 1883, the nine-year-old Karl Kumm played the character of Luther with great enthusiasm. The details of these celebrations are to be found in: *Programm des Realgymnasiums zu Osterode a.H. ... 1883/84*, pp. 1–14.
- 41 "On one of the virgin pages of his English note-book, he wrote: 'works by H.K.W. Kumm'" (Cleverdon 1936, p. 6).
- 42 "If you will deign and understand psychologically Karl's development, you must know the explorer faculties which already lived in the boy" (Mathilde Wegener, quoted by Cleverdon 1936, p. 12).
- 43 Cleverdon 1936, pp. 6–9.
- 44 When about 14 years old, he learned how to shoot, whereas he had little opportunity for riding and swimming (Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*, 1910, p. 19). Probably he learned to ride during his time in military service. There are also amusing anecdotes told about his hunting adventures as a twelve year old (pp. 91f.).
- 45 Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*, 1910, p. 20, and Cleverdon 1936, pp. 12f. The curriculum of the *Realgymnasium* consisted of Religion, German, Latin, History and Geography, Chemistry and Mineralogy, Observation of Nature (Biology), French, English, Mathematics, Arithmetics, Physics, Physical Education, Drawing and Singing (This is a cumulation of all subjects mentioned in the *Programm des Realgymnasiums zu Osterode am Harz über das Schuljahr 1893/94*, p. 2).
- 46 Cleverdon 1936, p. 12, erroneously reported about a teacher by the name of *Steinberg*. Heinrich Sternberg was a teacher (later professor) at the *Realgymnasium* in Osterode, among ten other colleagues. He taught Karl Kumm for four years, from 1887/88 to 1890/91, mostly in physical education, but also in religion. In the *Quarta* and *Untertertia*, Sternberg was the class teacher (*Ordinarius*) of Kumm, and taught the class additionally in Latin, respectively German (StA Osterode Bestand 1 L IX Nr. 7 b,c,d; *Programme der Realschule 1. Ordnung / des Realgymnasiums in Osterode über die Schuljahre 1879, 1886/87–1890/91, 1892/93, 1893/94, 1908/09*). Sternberg was a member of the church council of the Protestant *St. Jakobi Parish* at Osterode (OAA No. 16 of February 7, 1899). He died on Dec. 27, 1919 (Eder – Sauer, May 13, June 16, and November 30, 1998).
- 47 Johann Heinrich Sternberg was born in *Moozufferoore*, East India [today: *Muzaffarpur, Bihar State*]. His birthdate is unknown. The birthplace is given divergently as *Moozufferpool* by Martin Granzin: *Die Neubürger der Stadt Osterode am Harz 1600–1919* (Göttingen 1978, p. 354). His parents were the missionary August Sternberg, and his wife Luise, born Brinkopf. The father had died in *Moozufferoore*, East India before 1919 (Eder – Sauer, November 30, 1998). I could not establish whether he had ever served in Africa. He could not be identified in the archives of five Protestant missionary societies, which had been working both in India and in

participated in the discussions about some of the explorers in Africa at that time,<sup>48</sup> Gustav Nachtigal,<sup>49</sup> Wissmann,<sup>50</sup> Karl Peters,<sup>51</sup> and Emin Pasha.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.1.4 Conversion

On March 30, 1890, Karl Kumm celebrated his confirmation as a 15-year-old boy in the *St. Aegidien* Church in Osterode.<sup>53</sup> “Theology forming one of the necessary subjects of the college curriculum, ... [Karl] Kumm studied it as a very interesting philosophical work, but eventually ‘got tired of it, hated it, and denied all that which stood in it’.”<sup>54</sup> He decided to enjoy life as long as he could, for he believed that death would end it all. Some years later he confessed, that he could not find “inner peace” then. He was also irritated by the fact that his sister Pauline was about to become a missionary to China.<sup>55</sup> He asked himself, why she, who knew and had learned as much as he,<sup>56</sup> did not come to the same conclusions as he did.<sup>57</sup> Probably at the beginning of February

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Africa (*Basle Mission, Moravian Mission, Leipzig Mission, Herrmannsburg Mission, and Gossner Mission* in Berlin).

48 Cleverdon 1936, p. 12, recounts the memories of Karl's sister Mathilde. Kumm also referred to these explorers (besides many others) in his later writings.

49 The German Dr. Gustav Nachtigal crossed the Sudan, from *Lake Chad* to the Nile from 1869–1874, as the first white man to do so. Kumm printed his route, next to his own, on a map (Kumm: *The Sudan*, 1907, p. 44 and appendix), and honored him as “without doubt one of the, if not the most fruitful African explorer”, and for giving Germany her colonies in the Cameroons and German South-West Africa (Kumm: *From Hausaland*. 1910, p. 2). Nachtigal published his journeys in: *Sahara und Sudan. Ergebnisse sechsjähriger Reisen in Africa. In den Jahren 1868–74*. Berlin, 1879.

50 Wissmann is later mentioned by Kumm as one of the early explorers of the Congo around 1883 (Kumm: *African Missionary Heroes*. 1917, p. 95).

51 Karl Peters (1856–1918) is the only one who finds no further mention in Kumm's books. This may be due to his treatment of the Africans. His Swahili name was *Mbono wa Damu*, the bloody hand. Peters was the founder of the *Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Ostafrika* (1886), and of the German Colony in East Africa. I thank Klaus Fiedler for the identification. Cf. Julius Richter: *Geschichte der Evangelischen Mission in Afrika*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1922, pp. 574n, 629.

52 *Emin Pasha* (Dr.med. Eduard Schnitzler, born 1840) is referred to by Kumm, as one of the renowned researchers of Africa, whom he could not portray, for reasons of space and time in his book *African Missionary Heroes* (1917).

53 Parish Register Osterode; Eder – Sauer, May 13, 1998.

54 The following is equally based on Kumm's retrospect on his youth, when presenting himself in the journal of the *North Africa Mission* (“Our New Workers”. In: *NA*, Jan. 1898, p. 7).

55 She had wanted to become a missionary to China since 1887, but at first did not obtain the permission of her father (“Schwester Pauline Kumm” [obituary]. In: *Chinas Millionen*, Bad Liebenzell, 1932, pp. 106–109).

56 It is not known what kind of education Pauline Kumm had had. However, she must certainly have learned some English, and have achieved the qualifications for being a teacher and a governess. In Markoldendorf, the small village school could not offer much, and when the family moved to Osterode, Pauline was already 17 years old and thus probably did not attend school there for long – if at all. Her sister Amanda had left home at 18 years of age. The pupil's lists of the *Höhere Töchterchule* in Osterode, called the *Luisenschule*, are not extant in the municipal archives of Osterode (Eder – Sauer, August 5, 1998). Concerning this girls' school, cf. Friedrich Armbrrecht: “Die Höhere Töchterchule in Osterode”. In: *Heimatblätter für den süd-westlichen Harzrand*. Heft 40/ 1984, pp. 118–133.

57 *NA*, March 1898, p. 27.

1894, shortly before the departure of his sister to China,<sup>58</sup> his spiritual search reached a climax, and Karl Kumm experienced a conversion. At a meeting with a missionary of the *Basle Mission*,<sup>59</sup> he was so touched by the “simple but forcible” message, that he not only gave up his skeptical ideas, but also came as “a humble penitent to the Saviour”.<sup>60</sup> Possibly this “Basle missionary” was no less than the renowned evangelist Elias Schrenk, who had served the *Basle Mission* in West Africa from 1859 to 1872.<sup>61</sup> This “trailblazer for evangelism”, and first itinerant evangelist in Germany, had in fact been speaking from January 29–31, 1894 in Halle at a missions conference.<sup>62</sup> It might well be, that Pauline Kumm, who had herself experienced a conversion in England seven years earlier, had persuaded her searching brother to accompany her to the meeting at Halle.<sup>63</sup> To Karl Kumm, the speaker might have been of special interest as a former traveler in Africa.

58 Pauline Kumm arrived back in London at the latest on February 24, 1894 (cf. *China's Millions*, London, April 1894, pp. 55f.), and departed for China on March 2, 1894.

59 A *Missionfest* of the church district of Osterode on Sunday, September 10, 1893, had been the first for 15 years. It does not match the description, as there was no missionary of the *Basle Mission* speaking, but rather the missionaries Brunotte (*Leipziger Mission*, India), Schmitt (*Moravian Church*, Suriname) and Pastor Isermeyer (Hildesheim, *Inner Mission*) (*OAA* No. 80 of Aug. 31, 1893, and No. 86 of Sept. 14, 1893). A confusion with Basle missionaries can be excluded, as there were none by these names (ABM, Jenkins / Purtschert – Sauer, August 19, 1998).

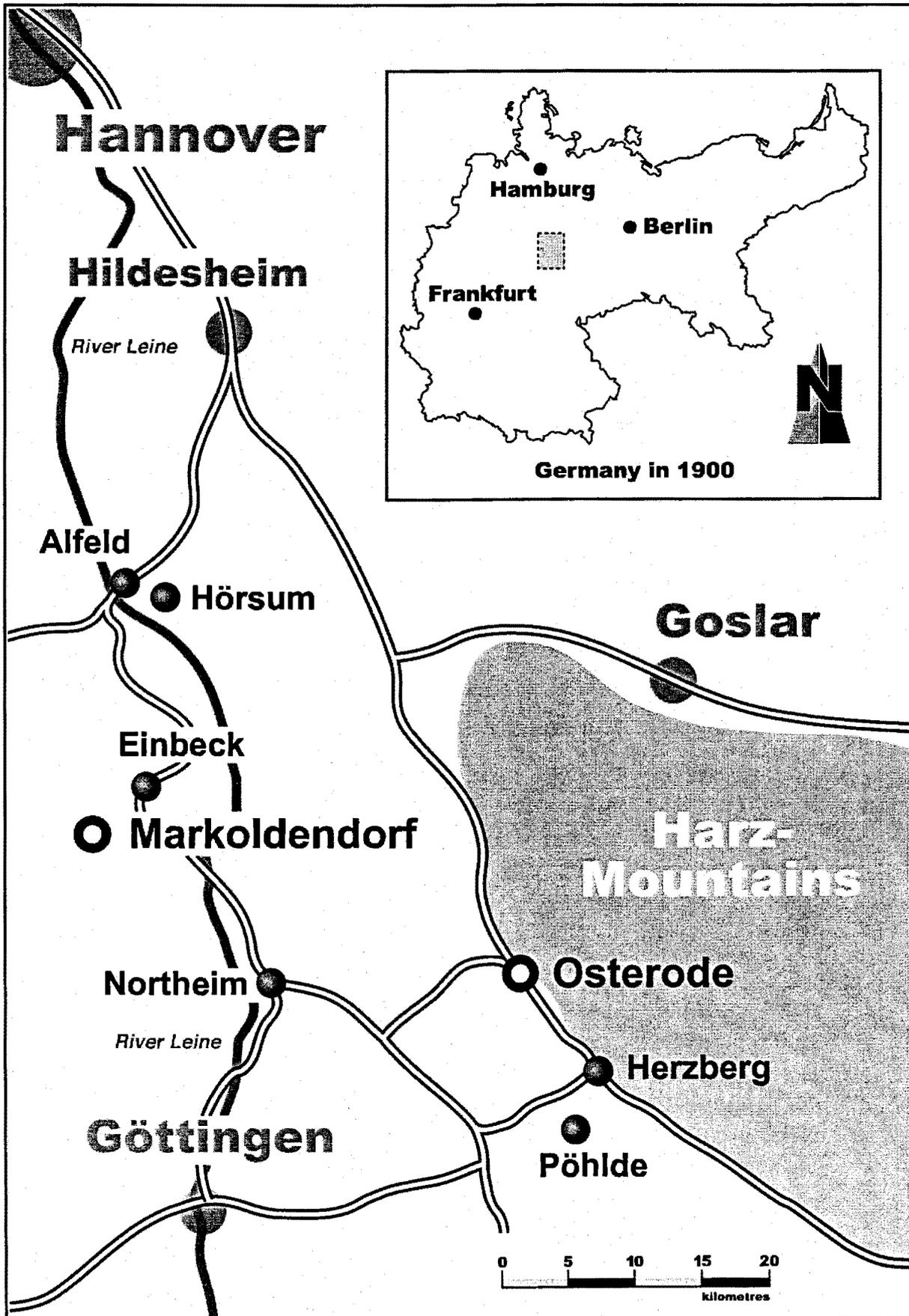
60 “Our New Workers”, *NA*, Jan. 1898, p. 7.

61 Elias Schrenk: *Ein Leben im Kampf um Gott*. Stuttgart, 1936, pp. 60–88. I owe the suggestion of Schrenk to the archivists of the *Basle Mission*. They think that the *Basle Mission* hardly operated that far north in Germany. In their archives there is no evidence for any meeting in Osterode, or neighboring localities (ABM, Jenkins / Purtschert – Sauer, August 19, 1998). The publication, which gives the account of Kumm's conversion, was directed at an English readership. The name of a German evangelist would not have meant much to them. Thus, the editors could have correctly called Schrenk just a *Basle missionary*. This indeed he had been earlier, and he had even been on a fundraising tour to England for the founding of a *Basle Asante Mission* in 1874/75 (Schrenk 1936, pp. 141ff.). There could also have been a reluctance to give the name of the preacher, as the conversion was not primarily seen as his effort, but as the intervention of God. The description of the preaching style as “simple but forcible”, would fit Schrenk, whose preaching had been described as “*kraftvoll und volksnah*” (Schrenk 1936, p. 217). Of course, this could have fitted many another evangelist – but there were no others in Germany at that time.

62 Hermann Klemm: *Elias Schrenk*. Wuppertal 1961, p. 631. This was the first time since the start of his activities as an evangelist in Germany in 1886 (Schrenk 1936, p. 178) that Schrenk had preached in that area. It also remained the only time until 1905, when he preached in Dresden, and then regularly at the conferences in Wernigerode and Blankenburg (“Verzeichnis der von Elias Schrenk in den Jahren 1884 bis 1913 gehaltenen Evangelisationswochen”; Klemm 1961, pp. 626–642). Schrenk's subsequent stay in Leipzig on February 1–2, 1894 can be ignored here, as in Leipzig he had been speaking exclusively to pastors and other church workers on “Inner Mission and Evangelism” in the *Vereinshaus der Inneren Mission* (Klemm 1961, pp. 346f.).

63 The evidence points to a direct participation of Pauline Kumm in the events surrounding Karl's conversion: he mentions her explicitly, and uses her departure to China for dating it. Probably Schrenk had been known to Pauline Kumm through the Holiness circles she frequented, and by publications of this movement. Pauline Kumm, as a missionary ready for departure, must have had a natural interest in missions conferences. The distance between Osterode and Halle was no hindrance, as Schrenk reported that listeners came from far to attend his evangelistic campaigns (Schrenk 1936, p. 204).

# The Home of the Kumms



### 3.1.5 Church Background

The necessity of a personal conversion, as it was being taught in *Pietistic* and *Holiness Revivals*, had neither been taught in Kumm's Lutheran home, nor in religious education<sup>64</sup> at school, nor was it preached in church. His forebears had been Lutherans for generations, like the majority of the population at Osterode. For every 25 Protestant pupils, there was only one Catholic, and one or two Jews.<sup>65</sup> When the Kumms moved to Osterode, the church life (*Kirchlichkeit*) of the Protestants there had heavily declined, due to multiple changes of pastors, and extended periods of vacancy. The pastor of *St. Aegidien*, Eduard W.A. Ubbelohde, had worked remarkably hard in gathering and reviving his congregation, and particularly supported social efforts. It was in his parish that the Kumms lived. Therefore, it seems probable that this young and dynamic pastor had confirmed Karl Kumm.<sup>66</sup> Whether he had any further influence on Karl Kumm, is beyond my knowledge. Equally little is known about the successor of Ubbelohde, Pastor Johannes G.A.W. Voigt, and his colleague Dr. Bernhard M. Mauff.<sup>67</sup>

Pietistic revivals at Osterode in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had been suppressed by the magistrate.<sup>68</sup> There seem to have been no circles of the *Fellowship Movement* at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at Osterode.<sup>69</sup> The negative reaction of the father, Wilhelm Kumm, to the conversion of his daughter Pauline in England suggests that the emphasis of *Pietism* and the *Holiness movement* on

64 The curriculum for religious education, in the *Unterprima*, included teaching on the early revival movements (Spener's Pietism and the Moravians), in the context of church history. However, the free church currents in church history, such as Methodists, Baptists, and Irvingians, who equally taught conversion, were labeled as "modern sects" (*Programm des Realgymnasiums ... 1892/93*, p. 39).

65 *Programm ... 1893/94*, p. 27.

66 The residential addresses of the Kumms (see above) all lay in the parish of *St. Aegidien* (Eder – Sauer, August 5, 1998).

67 Wolfgang Müller: *Die Kirchen und Klöster zu Osterode (Harz)*. Osterode a.H. 1952, pp. 155–157, and pp. 116–119, contains short biographies of the pastors of Osterode. Also cf. Ed[uard] Ubbelohde: *Aus vier Jahrhunderten. Bilder aus der Geschichte der St. Aegidiengemeinde zu Osterode a.H.*, Osterode 1891, pp. 184ff. The meagerly salaried pastor's post was only a transitional stage for many young pastors, who, after a few years, would move to parishes that were more renowned. Many people were indifferent towards the church.

68 Jörg Leuschner: "Der Pietismus im Harz" [end of 17<sup>th</sup> century – 1807]. In: Jörg Leuschner (ed.): *Osterode*, 1993, pp. 306–309. – Cf. Rudolf Ruprecht: *Der Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts in den hannoverschen Stammländern*. Göttingen, 1919.

69 The *Landeskirchliche Gemeinschaft* in Osterode was only founded around 1933 (Hans-Jürgen Rösler, Osterode – Sauer, Dec. 15, 1998). There were also *Seventh-Day Adventists* and *Jehovah's Witnesses* recorded at the time of the *Third Reich* (Leuschner 1993, pp. 514–516) with 50 members each in Osterode. The *Evangelisch-Freikirchliche Gemeinde* (Baptist) and the *Free Evangelical Church* (since about 1958; today: *Freie Evangelische Gemeinde, Haus Kompaß*) were only established after the Second World War (Eder – Sauer, August 5, 1998). – Concerning the province of Hannover, a survey of the *Fellowship Movement* in Germany in 1903 stated: "In der Provinz Hannover sind nur wenige innerkirchliche Gemeinschaften innerhalb der Landeskirche zu finden." (Chr. Dietrich and Ferd. Brockes: *Die Privat-Erbauungsgemeinschaften innerhalb der evangelischen Kirchen Deutschlands*. Stuttgart: Buchhandlung des Deutschen Philadelphiaver eins, 1903, p. 70).

personal conversion of the individual to Jesus Christ, was foreign to him.<sup>70</sup> Equally, support of missionary societies was very weak in the Harz area.<sup>71</sup>

### 3.1.6 Choosing a Career

At Easter 1894, Karl Kumm finished his 13 years of schooling as a nearly 20-year-old boy with the *Abitur* at the Osterode *Realgymnasium*.<sup>72</sup> He was thus entitled to matriculate at any philosophical faculty, or to write the entrance exams for modern languages, mathematics, physics, and natural sciences,<sup>73</sup> while other studies required an additional examination in Latin and Greek.<sup>74</sup> In addition, various careers in engineering or administration were open to him. According to the school documents, Karl Kumm chose the career of an army officer.<sup>75</sup> What he did during the following half a year, from the end of school at Easter 1894 to September 29, 1894, is not documented.<sup>76</sup> We know little more about his ensuing military service “from Michaelis [September 29] 1894 to Michaelis 1895”, and why he terminated this career after only one year.<sup>77</sup> There is an

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- 70 “Als sie [1887] den Eltern schrieb, daß sie den Heiland gefunden hätte, war der Vater gar nicht erfreut und schrieb ihr, sie solle sofort heimkommen.” Only when she had found a new position, “ließ er zu, daß sie noch in England blieb”. (*Chinas Millionen [CM]*, Liebenzell, July 1932, p. 106. The date is mentioned in *CM*, Liebenzell, January 1901, p. 4).
- 71 Herrfahrdt – Sauer, Dec. 1998, claims that, according to his research, the *Hermannsburg Mission* and the *Leipzig Mission* did not have many groups in the Harz area supporting them.
- 72 The *Abitur*, or *baccalaureate*, is the equivalent of an American High School Diploma, plus 1–2 years of College. “Übersicht über die Abiturienten im Schuljahr 1893–94, B. Ostern 1894”. *Programm ... 1893/94*, p. 28. The class size in the last grade numbered five boys. Karl Kumm had attended the *Realgymnasium* for ten years, and had taken two years for the *Untertertia*. Possibly this was due to his being ill with diphtheria, which according to Cleverdon (1936, p. 12) had interrupted his studies once. Written examinations for the *Abitur* started on January 29, 1894; the oral exams took place on March 5 (*Programm ... 1893/94*, p. 25).
- 73 The admission of graduates of a *Realgymnasium* to university studies in the other subjects was only granted as from November 1900 (Leuschner: “Das Schulwesen von Osterode 1807–1918”. In: Leuschner (ed.): *Osterode*, 1993, p. 423).
- 74 “Erst durch Ablegung einer Ergänzungsprüfung im Lateinischen und Griechischen an einem Gymnasium erlangt der Realgymnasialabiturient sämtliche Berechtigungen des Gymnasialabiturienten” (*Programm ... 1893/94*, pp. 33f.).
- 75 “Übersicht über die Abiturienten im Schuljahr 1893–94, B. Ostern 1894” (*Programm ... 1893/94*, p. 28). The *Reifezeugnis für die Prima* entitled one to enter the career of an army officer (*Programm*, p. 34).
- 76 Cleverdon also had to ask: “What did he do between leaving school and going to England?” (PABüttner: Cato – Wegener, 1935 [undated]), and could not obtain any further details on this period. Cleverdon must have believed that Kumm had taken up university studies in Summer 1894, before his military duties, as she commented concerning events in Fall 1895 (Cleverdon 1936, p. 18): “He had not completed his philosophical course”. The nearest universities were Göttingen and Leipzig (Jena is ruled out; see below). If this were true, an explanation would have to be found as to why Kumm did not refer to these studies in his application for the doctoral examination, or when matriculating in Heidelberg in June 1901. (More on his studies below.)
- 77 Kumm wrote in his CV: “Letzteres [das *Realgymnasium* Osterode] verließ er Ostern 1894 mit dem Zeugnis der Reife, genügte seiner einjährigen Dienstpflicht von Michaelis 1894 bis Michaelis 1895 ...” (Promotionsakte, Universitätsarchiv Freiburg, p. 1). Anyone who successfully completed the first year of the *Unter-Sekunda* was admitted to the one year long voluntary military service (“einjähriger-freiwilliger Militärdienst”; *Programm ... 1893/94*, p. 34). – An inquiry into the location of Kumm’s military service at the Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover did not produce any evidence (Börner, NsHStAHann – Sauer July 7, 1998; P 25589-Bö-).

obvious discrepancy between diverging accounts about whether Kumm really intended to start a military career and then quit after only one year, or whether he merely fulfilled his duty of one year's service. Possibly Karl Kumm had changed his life's plans due to his conversion, at a time when his choice of profession was already registered in the school's files. Regarding the time of his military service Kumm only reported that his newly found faith had been proven true, and that he found strength in reading the Bible.<sup>78</sup>

Out of the adventurous, openhearted lad, coming from a military family in Osterode am Harz, had come a young man interested in Africa, ready for university, and at the beginning of his professional career. Through Christian faith, his life had gained a new, yet unforeseen dimension.

### 3.2 Preparations for Missionary Service in England

Having completed his military service, Karl Kumm "determined to seek a situation in England, and thus perfect his knowledge of English".<sup>79</sup> Thereby he followed the footsteps of his sister Pauline, who had worked in England for almost a decade as a teacher and governess. At the same time, he had the opportunity to widen his horizon far beyond what was possible to his father.<sup>80</sup> While in search for work, Kumm was a guest of his young friend Stanley Moore in Southgate, Middlesex near London. Moore had been a guest of the Kumm family before that for a few months, when learning some German during Kumm's final school years. Pauline Kumm had been a governess<sup>81</sup> in the family of the former China missionary, Rev. C. George Moore.<sup>82</sup> Karl Kumm's search for

78 "... the young convert had to face the difficulties and temptations of military service; but the Bible, before so hated, was read and fed upon in a new manner, thus maintaining and invigorating his spiritual life." (NA, March 1898, p. 27).

79 "Our New Workers", *North Africa* (= NA), March 1898, p. 27.

80 Between the different places of residence (and marriage) of Wilhelm Kumm, Pöhlde, Northeim, Alfeld, Markoldendorf, and Osterode the largest distance is 55 km. Adding Langensalza (the place of battle), Karl Kumm's father probably never got farther from his birthplace than 110 km, even though in comparison to his ancestors he was comparatively well traveled. An exponential increase in mobility within two generations can be observed here.

81 Cleverdon 1936, pp. 13–16. A survey on Pauline Kumm's life, and her time in England, is given in the obituary "Schwester Pauline Kumm", in: *CM*, Liebenzell, July 1932, pp. 106–109; cf. also *CM*, Jan. 1901, p. 4. Pauline Kumm went to London as a teacher in 1883, had changed employment in 1887, stayed in Brussels for a short time, and then returned home. The three years with the Moore family probably must have been between Easter 1888 and approximately the middle of 1893, as Karl Kumm was a Senior (*Primaner*, from Easter 1891 to Easter 1894), when Stanley Moore attended school together with him in Osterode. If what Cleverdon translates as "Senior" more specifically means *Oberprimaner*, they attended school together in 1893/94 and Pauline's employment with the Moores was in the years 1890–93. In the pupils' lists of 1892/93 and 1893/94, Stanley Moore is not listed; those of 1891/92 were not available (StA Osterode: *Programme...*; Eder – Sauer of Aug. 5, 1998). – As S. Moore attended the school only for a few months, he was not necessarily listed.

82 Cf. Moore ["by his son"]: *Heartily Yours. The life-story of Charles G. Moore (Missionary C.I.M.; Editor "Divine Life" and "Experience"; Founder and Editor "Bright Words"; Co-Editor "Out and Out"; Acting Editor "Life of Faith" 1894–1910.)* Harrogate: Out and Out, [1921], 63 pp.

employment was of little success, and he had already set the day for his return to Germany, when he experienced a call, which totally changed his plans for the future.<sup>83</sup> This call is only documented by secondary sources. However, these are well established, as they are independent of each other.<sup>84</sup>

### 3.2.1 The Call to Missionary Service

In October 1895,<sup>85</sup> Karl Kumm, together with his friend Stanley Moore, attended an evening meeting at a nearby *mission hall*.<sup>86</sup> This non-denominational mission hall was funded by a circle of businessmen, who invited renowned missionaries and evangelists as speakers there.<sup>87</sup> On that evening, J.J. Edwards was the speaker. He had already worked with the *North Africa Mission* in Morocco for seven years.<sup>88</sup> The calls to conversion, to perfection in holiness, and to missionary service, which were usual at such meetings of the Holiness movement,<sup>89</sup> resounded in Kumm's heart. He felt called by his Lord Jesus Christ to missionary service in Africa, and for him he was willing to go.<sup>90</sup> This was another decisive step in his development. The missionary profession,

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83 *NA*, March 1898, p. 27.

84 The more ancient source is the self-presentation of Karl Kumm in the journal of the NAM. Though this is edited, it must be based on a submission by Kumm, which was quoted verbally in part ("Our New Workers", *NA*, March 1898, p. 27). The second source consists of Stanley Moore's memories almost forty years after Karl Kumm's visit. These had been requested by Cleverdon through Gertrude Cato in 1935. They are only available as far as Cleverdon edited and commented on them (Cleverdon 1936, pp. 17f.). Obviously, Cleverdon in Australia had not consulted the British journal *North Africa*. Otherwise, she would not have given such a divergent version of the events from the one presented there.

85 *NA* 1898, p. 27.

86 "Mission halls" were often founded by people converted or revived through evangelistic campaigns by D.L. Moody. The mission halls were intended to reach people who were not attending church. Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 223, 298; Fiedler 1994, pp.

87 Cleverdon 1936, p. 17.

88 While, according to the more ancient source, "Mr. Edwards" was the speaker (*NA* 1898, p. 27), Moore in Cleverdon (1936, p. 17) named the honorary secretary of the NAM, [Edward H.] Glenny. With Maxwell (s.a. [ca. 1954], p. 21), and against Cleverdon and Spartalis (1994, p. 9), clear priority has to be given to the more ancient source. It was written with only a brief time having elapsed since that event, and with more intimate knowledge of the people involved. Edwards had become a missionary of the NAM in Tangier, Morocco, in 1888 and later worked in Casablanca (Rutherford 1900, pp. 200; 203).

89 Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 210–238; Fiedler 1994, pp. 210–246: "faith missions and the holiness movement".

90 The sources give divergent interpretations of this experience, either as a call to missionary service only (and possibly as an experience of sanctification), or additionally as a conversion. As all were using a somewhat coded language, it is difficult to gain precision. The presentation of Kumm in *NA* 1898, p. 17, needs to be given priority, as the source closest to the event. As it reports an earlier conversion through a *Basle missionary*, the experience in Britain is solely described as a call to missionary service: "Here [at the meeting of the NAM], he felt, was indeed the reason of his non-success [in getting a job] – the Lord wanted him for His missionary service, and to that service he would go." Cleverdon, on the other hand, quoted two sources. Mathilde Kumm recalls: "In this time, his [Karl Kumm's] life got a new direction. He became conscious that God claimed the whole life for His service" (Cleverdon 1936, p. 13). This could be classified purely as a call. But the memories of Stanley Moore were told by Cleverdon in a way, as if the event had been a conversion and a call to missionary service simultaneously: "as the challenge was thrown out – Karl Kumm 'made the double response' of giving his heart to God and his life to Africa" (Cleverdon 1936, p. 18). The concurrence of the sources lies in

which he had regarded merely as a task for others until then, now became a calling for him personally.<sup>91</sup>

Two years earlier his father had still objected to his sister Pauline becoming a missionary, arguing that he had not let “his daughter be educated, and let her learn so much, in order that she should go to the Chinese now”.<sup>92</sup> Only when Karl Kumm had almost bled to death through an accident, while playing [possibly around 1893], did his father change his mind: “Our child has almost died just outside our door, whereas I had thought I could protect my daughter, by not letting her go to China ... Now you may go”.<sup>93</sup> As Karl Kumm now no longer envisaged a military career like his father’s,<sup>94</sup> his father had possibly expected that he would now turn to a regular profession or study further, as his brother Alfred<sup>95</sup> had done. All the more remarkable was the spontaneous decision of the 21-year-old boy “to giving his heart to God and his life to Africa”, which in his impulsive manner, he put into practice immediately. In November 1895, his application was received by the *North Africa Mission* (NAM) in Barking, London; on November 28, he returned the candidate's questionnaire, and on January 7, 1896, he was accepted by the mission's committee.<sup>96</sup>

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the call to missionary service in Africa. If the experience were to have had a double meaning, in addition to a calling to missionary service, the most likely interpretation would be an experience of sanctification, understood as an increase in devotion of one's life to Christ, over against an initial conversion.

- 91 He was somewhat acquainted with the profession of a missionary, not only through his former teacher Sternberg, and the above named *Basle missionary*, but also, more closely, through his sister Pauline, who, by that time, had been in China already for one and a half years.
- 92 Pauline Kumm was sent out to China on March 2, 1894, and served with the *China Inland Mission*, mainly in the province of *Kiang-su*, partly as leader of a mission station, until returning home on Sept. 10, 1900 owing to the *Boxer Rebellion*. Then she joined the *Liebenzeller Mission* on April 1, 1901, and worked in *Changsha*, Province of *Hunan*, from September 1904 to November 1909. From 1911 to 1929 she was *Stadtmissionarin*, resp. *Gemeinschaftsschwester*, in different places in Southern Germany. She died on June 3, 1932 in Bad Liebenzell, and is buried there (cf. *CM*, London, passim, April 1894 – Oct. 1900; *CM*, Liebenzell, passim, 1900–1909; Biographical notes in the file “Kumm, Pauline”, Archives of the Liebenzeller Mission, Bad Liebenzell). The information from Bad Liebenzell was kindly provided by the archivist, Sister Ilse Szaukellis.
- 93 “Unser Kind ist vor unserer Tür fast gestorben, und meine Tochter wollte ich selbst bewahren und sie nicht nach China gehen lassen ... Du darfst gehen” (*CM Liebenzell*, July 1932, p. 107). Karl Kumm's mother seemed to be more open to missions. In her first letter to Pauline in China, she wrote nothing of her parting pain, but began the letter with a little folk song: “Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen, den schickt er in die weite Welt [Those to whom God will show real favor, He sends out into the wide world]” (Cleverdon 1936, p. 13).
- 94 Possibly Karl Kumm had entered the career of an army officer only for the sake of his father (Personal information by Dr. Kühner – Sauer, April 13, 1998).
- 95 Alfred Kumm was at that time already 29 years old, and had entered the career of an official at the customs department. In 1899, he was *Provinz-Steuer-Directions-Sekretär* in Hanover, and became *Oberzollinspektor* and *Rechnungsrat* respectively before retirement (Postcard Karl Kumm – *Provinz-Steuer-Directions-Sekretär* Alfred Kumm, Nov. 24, 1899; and death notice of Alfred Kumm, Hannover, Dec. 13, 1934; PABüttner). – His elder sister Amanda was a faithful support of her mother, and according to family tradition, later managed the household of her brother Alfred, who had remained a bachelor (Personal information by Heidi Büttner – Sauer, June 28, 1998; cf. Cleverdon 1936, p. 11).
- 96 North Africa Mission: *Candidates Cases*, Jan. 1890 – Aug. 1898, Case No. 380. “Name: Hermann Karl Wilhelm Kumm; Address: 74 Mayes Road, Wood Green, N.; Date of application: November 1895; P. & P.

The NAM had been founded in 1880 on the suggestion of Grattan and Fanny Guinness, by bringing together the young entrepreneur Edward H. Glenny with the aged missionary to Algeria, George Pearse.<sup>97</sup> This missionary society belonged to the movement of interdenominational faith missions, which was inspired by Hudson Taylor, and adhered to his missionary principles.<sup>98</sup> Around 1895 it had almost 80 missionaries<sup>99</sup> working in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, and in Egypt, where missionary work had been taken up in 1892. It had advanced into territory not yet occupied by other missions, was expanding, and had a great need for young missionaries.<sup>100</sup>

### 3.2.2 Missionary Training

In January 1896, Kumm eagerly began his missionary training. For several months, he attended *Harley House* (ELTI), which had been founded by Grattan and Fanny Guinness in London's densely populated East End. The proximity to the destitute strata of society in the docks, slums, and workers' dwellings, was purposefully chosen. It provided an ideal training ground for future missionaries.<sup>101</sup> At *Harley College*, the largest missionary training institute of the time,<sup>102</sup> numerous missionaries of the NAM had been trained. The Guinneses had been board members of the NAM for many years.<sup>103</sup> *Harley College* must have been very accommodating towards Kumm,

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sent / Questions sent: 27/11/95 – Returned 28/11/95; Age: 21; Nationality: German; Denomination: German Protestant; Single / Engaged / Married [status]: Single; Employment: Student & Soldier; Referees: 1. Rev. C.G. Moore, Beulah Lodge, New Southgate, N.; 2. G.L. Wood Esq., Oakleigh Park, Whetstone, N.; 3. J.H. Smeeton Esq., 39 Brunswick Avenue, New Southgate, N.; Papers sent [to referees]: 14/12/95 – Returned: 16/12/95; Date of acceptance: Jan. 7th, 1896; Departure: Tuesday Jan. 18th, 1898; Location: Alexandria; Remarks: went to Harley January [18]96.” (NAM Archives, Loughborough)

97 Rutherford 1900, pp. 135–139 “The Origins of the North Africa Mission”.

98 Cf. Rutherford 1900, pp. 151–159 “Reorganisation of the Mission”. In addition, in explaining its financial principles, the NAM repeatedly referred to the CIM as its example, e.g. in *NA*, Nov. 1895, p. 132.

99 *NA*, Sept. 1896, p. 104: The NAM missionaries numbered between 77 and 79 from 1892–1896. The “Annual Report” in *NA*, Oct. 1895, p. 128, suggests a number of about 90 missionaries, including candidates. 42 of the missionaries were completely funded by specific donations from friends, some others partially, and another 42 were funded from the general budget of the mission.

100 *NA*, Sept. 1895, p. 104, and Jan. 1898, p. 3, in view of Egypt: “It is most desirable that an increased number of well-qualified brethren and sisters should be found to take up work there.”

101 J.S. Morris: “The Curriculum at Harley College”. In: *RB* 17 (1896), pp. 41–45. The following information on the curriculum is taken from the report of the rector, who died in August 1895. According to *RB* 19 (1898), p. 16, the curriculum during the following years, when Kumm attended *Harley College*, was the same. Cf. Alan P.F. Sell: “Harley College and its Congregational Alumni”. In: Sell: *Commemorations*. Calgary, Canada 1993, pp. 275–300; particularly p. 286f.

102 *RB* 1893, p. 168. At the time of Kumm's departure, 1,000 graduates of the *East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions* had already entered missionary service (*RB* 1898, p. 33). In addition, a number of Germans had graduated from the college, e.g. prospective missionaries of the *Neukirchener Mission* in British East Africa (cf. *RB*, annual lists of graduates in July, also *RB* 1894, p. 416; and Brandl 1999, pp. 49).

103 The close connection is also evidenced by other facts: The journal of the NAM contained appeals to support this college, e.g. in *NA*, Sept. 1895, p. 107. In March 1898, *Regions Beyond* reported that already 32 missionaries of the NAM had been trained there (*RB* 19 [1898], p. 114). Concerning the Guinneses' role as co-founders of the NAM, cf. “The late Dr. Grattan Guinness”, *NA*, Aug./Sept. 1910, No. 63, pp. 121–123. The

as he was allowed to enter in mid-term. Term time usually extended from late Summer until July 1, of the following year.<sup>104</sup> The individual curriculum was tailored according to the specific needs of the students.<sup>105</sup> Usually the students would first attend the country branch at *Cliff College* for the initial year. However, Kumm straight away attended the classes of the second and third course at *Harley College*. The missionary training college emphasized three essential elements: the care of one's personal spiritual life, thorough study, and evangelistic outreach. The general curriculum consisted of six areas of study: knowledge and exposition of the Bible, [systematic] theology, homiletics, and preaching exercises, basics in medicine, "general studies",<sup>106</sup> and missions. Probably Kumm attended the majority of the lectures, but he might well have done without parts of the "general studies".<sup>107</sup> As a graduate of a German high school, he was one of the more educated members of the student body, which also included workers and sailors. Kumm lived in a fellowship of spiritual life and learning together with about 36 students from different nations and churches.<sup>108</sup> The training institute did not adhere to the specific teachings of any particular denomination, but most of the lecturers belonged to non-conformist churches.<sup>109</sup> Thus, Kumm's spiritual horizon was widened beyond his Lutheran origins. He learned to work together

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Guinnesses' move to *Cliff College* led to their withdrawal from the board of the NAM, due to the long distances involved in attending board meetings (*NA*, April 1888, No. 12, p. 178).

- 104 *RB* 19 (1898), p. 16. Correspondingly, Kumm was mentioned separately in *RB*, and not in a row with other graduates.
- 105 *RB* 19 (1898), pp. 33, and 20 (1899), p. 30. Cf. Henry Grattan Guinness: "The Training of Missionaries", *RB* 9 (1888), pp. 232–237, 262–268, where he is presenting his philosophy of training. Everybody should be able to get the training he needed. Information on the daily round is given in *RB* 17 (1896), pp. 41–45.
- 106 There, courses were offered in English, Literature, Geometry, Algebra, basics in Natural Sciences, Greek, Ancient History, and on the Geography of the most important mission fields. Beyond that, specialized language courses were offered as electives in *Congo Balolo*, Chinese, French, Latin, and Hebrew (*RB* 17, 1896, pp. 42–44).
- 107 The certificate, which Kumm obtained at *Harley College*, and which he presented, when registering for his doctoral exams in Freiburg later, was not kept there, and is probably not extant (cf. Promotionsakte "Kumm, Karl", University Archives, Freiburg).
- 108 *RB*, Jan. 1896, p. 34. The origins of the students during the year 1896/97, which followed after Kumm's full time attendance there, were, besides Great Britain: Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Armenia, India, and Africa (Zambezi and Congo); in addition there were some Jews (*RB* Nov. 1896, p. 486). More detailed information on the life of the students could well have been preserved in the monthly student journal of the College *The Harley Record*, if it still existed at that time. It appeared for the first time in 1890/91, containing 60 pages (cf. *RB* 1892, p. 144), but could not be found anywhere, as the archives of *The Regions Beyond Missionary Union*, which kept the files of the ELTI, were partially destroyed in the Second World War. The remains of the archives are deposited at the *Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World*, Edinburgh, but could not all be located at the time of my visit there.
- 109 *RB* Jan. 1897, pp. 5–6. Among the (part-time) teachers were: Rev. George Downs Hooper (a Baptist, who was using A.A. Hodge's *Outlines* as textbook in systematic theology), Rev. James Douglas (Baptist; Bible knowledge and Theology), Rev. F.B. Meyer, G.H.C. MacGregor, and Mr. Cosbie C. Brown (Tutor). The board of the college consisted of three Baptist Pastors, and one Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregationalist, Wesleyan, and Anglican each. The Rector J.S. Morris died in 1895, and the College only found a permanent successor in 1901. In the meantime, Grattan Guinness nominally bore this title, his son Harry Guinness was *Vice-Principal*, and later, Silas Mead served as *Acting Principal* (cf. Alan P.F. Sell: "Harley College and its congregational alumni". In: Sell: *Commemorations*. Calgary, 1993, pp. 275–300, here pp. 284–286).

with Christians from the different Protestant denominations, which he did with conviction from then on.

In the context of the usual evangelistic outreaches, Kumm worked among sailors in Poplar and Ratcliffe Highway.<sup>110</sup> This was in the interest of the NAM as well, which demanded some experience and probation at home, before departure, as all missions did.<sup>111</sup>

For “a further year”, probably from late Summer 1896,<sup>112</sup> Kumm continued to attend only the weekly theological lectures at *Harley College*. His emphasis then was on the introductory course in Arabic of the NAM in Barking.<sup>113</sup> The NAM had set up a training home for missionaries on probation in Barking, where in Kumm's time a further 14 candidates were learning by living together, and receiving an introduction to missionary work.<sup>114</sup>

After his time in London, which ended in Summer 1897, Kumm spent almost five months at the Baltic coast. There he evangelized successfully among fishermen under the superintendence of the Countess Schimmelmänn.<sup>115</sup> There his missionary fervor had to stand the test of practice,

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110 Possibly these activities were pursued during the Summer break in 1896 (cf. *NA* 1898, p. 27). Every Wednesday afternoon, the students went on organized house-to-house visitation. The students had on average visited 41 houses in one year, had preached 45 sermons, and had exercised in street-preaching 11 times. (These figures are calculated by dividing the overall figure given, by an estimated 40 male students; cf. *RB* 17, 1896, p. 45.)

111 In *NA*, Sept. 1895, pp. 105f. an article by H. Grattan Guinness on “Missionary Candidates and their Training” was published, where he placed special emphasis on the value of “open air preaching”, as this would come closest to the demands of missionary service.

112 Term time at *Harley College* extended from the beginning of October to the end of June of the following year (*Midsummer Dismissal* on July 2, 1897, beginning of next term on Oct. 4, 1897; *RB* 8 [1897], pp. 350, 418). The various sources only give the approximate length of Kumm's training, without giving precise dates. The meager information in *RB* 9 (1898), p. 114, was as follows: “Mr. W. Kumm, who left in January [1898] for work in Egypt, spent a year at the Institute, and also while studying Arabic during another year at Barking attended the Harley theological lectures every week.” The journal of the NAM was not much more precise: “Several months at Harley College; work among the sailors at Poplar and Ratcliffe Highway; the usual course of Arabic at Barking, which has been rather lengthened by a visit of nearly five months to the stormy coast of the Baltic” (*NA* 1898, p. 27). Glenny wrote: “Mr. Kumm ... spent a year in England for the study of Arabic”, and gave the general length of probation time in Barking as about one year (Rutherford 1900, p. 235; *NA*, Oct. 1899, p. iv, reports of a “first year's exam” in Arabic). Kumm himself wrote in retrospect, on March 30, 1898, that he “had devoted himself to the diligent study of Classical Arabic since two years” (*OAA*, No. 44 of April 16, 1898). The sources cannot be completely harmonized. If the five months in the Baltic, at the end of 1897, were deducted from the two years mentioned above, then either the first, or the second “year” given, must have been considerably shorter. A one-year's course in Arabic, beginning in July or August 1897, would match a stay of “several months” at *Harley College*.

113 His teacher in Arabic was Mr. Milton Marshall, a missionary of the NAM, who had returned from service in Algeria and Tunisia for health reasons, and knew as much Arabic as could be learned during one term (Rutherford 1900, p. 241 and *NA*, Oct. 1899, p. iv). Kumm's colleague Upson reports that this measure of Arabic proficiency helped him to recognize a sentence in colloquial Arabic and trace it back to classical Arabic, once arrived in Egypt. (Arthur T. Upson [Abdul-Fady]: *High Lights in the Near East. Reminiscences of Nearly 40 Year's Service*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, [ca. 1932], p. 21).

114 *NA*, Jan. 1896, p. 4: In 1895, in Barking, a *Training Home for Missionaries on Probation* had been set up. In December 1895 there were 14 missionary candidates living there.

115 *NA* 1898, p. 27: “... on the stormy coasts of the Baltic. Here, under the superintendence of the Countess Schimmelmänn, our brother came into continual contact with the fishermen, and the heartiness with which they

and he could gather experience in cross-cultural evangelism. Probably Kumm then visited his parents, at Osterode, to say good-bye, before setting out on January 18, 1898 from London via Marseilles to Egypt.<sup>116</sup>

### 3.2.3 Kumm's Missionary Vision and the Sudan

In view of Kumm's later interest in the Sudan Belt, the question arises whether his "Sudan vision" already had its roots in his time in England. According to Kumm's own report, just a little later, his interest then was rather focused on the [North African] desert population: "Even when I was still in England a voice seemed to say to me 'I have prepared the people of the desert for my Gospel – go and preach it to them'."<sup>117</sup> In contrast, he dated his interest in the Sudan Belt to the year 1898, that is after his departure for Egypt.<sup>118</sup> Some have guessed that Kumm had already been enthused for the Sudan at *Harley College* by its director Grattan Guinness,<sup>119</sup> but there is no evidence for this assumption. Certainly it was known to Kumm that the Sudan had not been entered by Protestant mission agencies yet. The Sudan, as all unevangelized areas, found mention at the weekly afternoons of prayers for worldwide missionary work.<sup>120</sup> In addition, there had been articles on the Sudan in the journal *Regions Beyond*, edited by the Guinness family.<sup>121</sup> This and other journals served as teaching materials in the mission class.<sup>122</sup> Then, the biographies of the

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flocked on board to speak to him, and the great regret they evinced in wishing him 'good-bye', testify to his having won many a heart, we believe, not only to himself, but to his Lord and Master." – Schimmelmänn, then 43 years old, was a pioneer of missionary and diaconal work for women. Cf. Adeline Gräfin Schimmelmänn: *Streiflichter aus meinem Leben am deutschen Hofe, unter baltischen Fischern und Berliner Sozialisten und aus dem Gefängnis*. Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1898; quoted by Christa Conrad: *Der Dienst der ledigen Frau in deutschen Glaubensmissionen. Geschichte und Beurteilung*. Bonn: VKW, 1998, pp. 46f.

116 The date of his departure was registered in the entry on Kumm in the Candidates' Cases of the NAM. Cf. also OAA, April 16, 1898, and NA, Feb. 1898, p. 15. Maxwell (p. 21), and subsequently Spartalis (p. 11) erroneously give January 11 as the date of departure, confusing it with the date of the engagement two years later.

117 Kumm wrote this in a report on Nov. 3, 1898, after an expedition into the Sahara (SUM Archive).

118 "I have been interested in the Sudan since 1898", Kumm wrote in the preface to his account on the crossing of the Sudan in 1908/09, *From Hausaland to Egypt through the Sudan*, London 1910, p. 4. As he described expeditions of others in that context, he might have limited this statement to his activities in exploring the caravan routes to the Sudan while in Egypt, without ruling out earlier interest in reports about the Sudan Belt. However, this is guesswork only, in contrast to more explicit statements of Kumm at that time.

119 E.g. Cleverdon 1936, pp. 18–19.

120 RB 17 (1896), pp. 41–45.

121 The last article concerning the Sudan in *Regions Beyond* appeared in October 1894, and the next only in 1898 (pp. 277, 312–314, 347–349), that is after Kumm's departure for Egypt. Kumm owned this journal personally, as an *Ex Libris* (H. Karl W. Kumm) in the copy of *The Regions Beyond and Illustrated Missionary News 1884* in the archives of the *Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World*, Edinburgh, shows. However, this does not prove that he already possessed it before his departure to Egypt, as he might have bought it later, or received it from his wife Lucy Guinness.

122 RB 17 (1896), p. 44. Other journals in use most probably included: *The Illustrated Missionary Review* (edited by the Guinneses in earlier years), the periodicals of the Anglican *Church Missionary Society*, and the journal *North Africa*. A great number of missionary periodicals was scanned for the editorial work on the *Regions Beyond*, which might also have been available to the students.

“heroes” connected with the Sudan, General Gordon<sup>123</sup> (killed in Khartoum in January 1885) and Graham Wilmot Brooke<sup>124</sup> (died on the Niger in 1892) must have been general knowledge. Any direct influence by Guinness on Kumm was only possible from afar while he was staying at *Harley College*. The Guinnesses since 1888 had no longer lived in London, but rather at *Cliff College*, Curbar, Derbyshire, at the country branch of the missionary training institute. Grattan Guinness only occasionally came to London.<sup>125</sup> In addition to this, Grattan Guinness was abroad in India from November 21, 1896, together with his daughter Lucy, and then in China, until mid 1897. In the subsequent period, Grattan Guinness' thoughts focused on these regions of the world.<sup>126</sup>

Another influence could have been exerted by the founder-director of the NAM, Edward H. Glenny, in whose proximity Kumm lived for a year in Barking.<sup>127</sup> He had once supported Brooke, and belonged to a “Sudan Committee”.<sup>128</sup> However, prior to all new initiatives, his obligation was to secure the ongoing work of the NAM.

Looking back over the two years under scrutiny here, it may be seen that Kumm's general interest in Africa had been transformed into a calling to missionary service in Egypt. He had joined the *North Africa Mission*, had received training in missions, theology, English, Arabic, and practical evangelism, and had proven that he was able to cooperate in interdenominational and cross-cultural evangelism.

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123 In *RB*, Gordon was honored by a lengthy article: “The Soldier Missionary. Charles George Gordon” (*RB* 6 [1885], pp. 86–96). Gordon was a great hero to Kumm, at least later (Spartalis 1994, pp. 3f.), who paid a respectful visit to Gordon's statue in Khartoum in 1909 (and a picture of which he reproduced in his book “The Sudan”, page i; cf. also Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*, 1910, pp. 239f.). General Gordon, a devout Christian, used to be Governor of the Sudan and was sent back to Khartoum to evacuate Anglo-Egyptian troops in 1894. When Khartoum fell and Gordon was killed, because the relief troops didn't arrive in time, there was an uproar among the British public. Political and colonial ambitions and Christian missionary concerns seemed very much intermingled, producing such terms as “soldier missionary”. On the death of Gordon, cf. Marlowe 1965, pp. 148–152.

124 Brooke was honored in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, and in the *Church Missionary Gleaner*, and his biography appeared in a collection by R. Buckland on *The Heroic in Missions* (New York, 1894). Kumm mentioned Brooke in his different surveys on the attempts to reach and open the Sudan Belt to missions (*The Sudan*, 1907, p. 35; *Khont-Hon-Nofer*, 1910, pp. 162f.), and even devoted a whole chapter to him in his book on *African Missionary Heroes and Heroines* (New York 1917, pp. 27–40).

125 E.g. on October 2, 1896, for a session of the *Advisory Council* of the Institute (CSCNWW: *Minutes of Harley Institute / College 1896–1910*, p. 2), and on Nov. 13–21, 1896 (*RB* 27, Dec. 1906, pp. 517, 527).

126 *RB* 27, Dec. 1906, p. 517.

127 On Glenny's residence in Barking, cf. Rutherford 1900, pp. 240f.

128 Cf. Rutherford 1900, p. 219.

### 3.3 Missionary of the North Africa Mission in Egypt (1898–1900)

“Two years and a half I spent in Egypt in the study of Arabic, in work among Moslems, and in itineration in the delta and oases of Fayoum, Charga, Dachla, and Beeris”, Kumm wrote in retrospect.<sup>129</sup>

From the start, Kumm recorded his observations and experiences in his diary, which unfortunately is not preserved. He sent lengthy reports to his mission,<sup>130</sup> and extracts from his diary to the newspaper *Osteroder Allgemeiner Anzeiger* in his hometown. There, these were printed as “Letters of an Osterode citizen from the land of the Pharaohs”, in the Saturday issue of the newspaper, in lieu of a serialized novel.<sup>131</sup> The readers were so enthused, that they asked for these to be continued, when Kumm at times could not keep up with writing.<sup>132</sup> Later, Kumm published notes taken during this period in a journal of geography,<sup>133</sup> some retrospective remarks in his books,<sup>134</sup> and wrote a manuscript<sup>135</sup> on his first great expedition, which remains unpublished. Out of all these sources a vivid picture, and a chronology, of Kumm's years as a missionary in Egypt can be reconstructed.

129 Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*. 1910, p. 19. The spelling of Egyptian place names follows today's usage (as used in the *Map of Egypt* by Kümmerli & Frey), except for verbal quotes. Divergent spelling by Kumm is sometimes given in brackets.

130 Two of the handwritten reports to the NAM have been preserved in the archives of the SUM – quite an unexpected location! These and other reports were edited, and partially published in the journal *North Africa* from 1898 to 1900.

131 “Briefe eines Osteroder Kindes aus dem Land der Pharaonen”. The seven contributions were published anonymously according to the wish of the author, and in a numbered sequence, from April 9, 1898 to September 2, 1899. All of these “letters” in the *Osteroder Allgemeiner Anzeiger* have been identified in the (incomplete) holdings of the *Stadtarchiv Osterode*, and in a private collection by the courtesy of the owner of the newspaper, Hans-Hubert Giebel, Osterode. In these reports of Kumm, very detailed descriptions of his observations, travels, and explorations dominated, though his Christian conviction and missionary motivation were shining through.

132 “Die aus unserem Leserkreise an uns gerichteten Wünsche, den geehrten Verfasser doch zur Fortsetzung seiner interessanten Aufzeichnungen zu veranlassen, ließen sich leider nicht früher erfüllen, da die Zeit des kühnen Reisenden anderweitig zu sehr in Anspruch genommen war.” (*OAA*, No. 18 of Feb. 11, 1899).

133 H.K.W. Kumm: “Die südliche Karawanenroute von der Oase Charga nach Dachla (Darb-Er-Rubari)”. In: *Petermanns Geographische Mittheilungen* 48 (1902), pp. 110–112. The entry on an article by Kumm with the related title “Die südliche Karawanenstraße von der Oase Charga zur Amons-Oase Siwa”, which was equally noted by H. Lorin (*Bibliographie géographique de l'Égypte*, Vol. I, Cairo 1928, p. 375, No. 5392), suffers from a bibliographical error, as it gives exactly the same reference as for the above article. It could not be verified in this journal.

134 The references are given in detail in the respective instances.

135 H. Karl Wilhelm Kumm: *Ein Ausflug in die Oasen der Lybischen Wüste*. January 1900, vi, 88 unnumbered sheets. The manuscript was discovered in the private archives of the Ischebeck family, Ennepetal, during my research, and had been completely unknown till then. A detailed description and evaluation of the manuscript is given in the appendix.

### 3.3.1 The North Africa Mission in Egypt

On Tuesday, January 25, 1898, Karl Kumm arrived in Alexandria, where he was met at the harbor by fellow missionaries, whom he already knew from England.<sup>136</sup> After two years of preparation he had finally reached the African continent. Now the missionary candidate at home had turned into a missionary in training on the field. What faced him in the harbor city Alexandria, with its 300,000 inhabitants?

The NAM had extended its missionary work to Egypt in April 1892, due to the stimulus of its board member, the retired General F.T. Haig, who had traveled the Near East.<sup>137</sup> Haig saw that up to then, the existing missionary societies had hardly reached the rural population of the Nile Delta, numbering four million. At that time, only a single American missionary was stationed in the Nile Delta outside the cities of Cairo and Alexandria. In addition, the NAM, as a mission agency explicitly focusing on Muslims, felt challenged by the fact that hardly one percent of the converts in Egypt were from a Muslim background, but most had been orthodox Copts. Thus, the NAM set up a station in Alexandria with five missionaries. It was under the direction of William Summers, who already had five years of experience in Morocco. At this main station in Alexandria, all new arrivals of the NAM were introduced into the ministry. When Kumm arrived, set structures of missionary work had already developed. The initial medical work was relinquished again in 1896, due to the illness of the doctor. Instead, weekly meetings with *Laterna Magica* projections were offered. These attracted so much interest that entrance had to be regulated by issuing tickets. In addition, daily evening services were held for serious seekers, after which the missionaries were most often engaged in lengthy discussions on matters of faith. From Alexandria, the missionaries regularly undertook evangelistic journeys by boat, train, and donkey, into different parts of the Nile Delta. Besides proclaiming the Gospel as appropriate in the respective context, Bible parts and tracts were distributed or sold. In Alexandria, single female missionaries of the NAM ran a small girls' school, and upon the invitation of the *Kaiserswerth* deaconesses,<sup>138</sup> one missionary began visiting the Arab-speaking patients in their hospital. Evangelistic efforts among Europeans were largely confined to British soldiers and seamen, among whom several conversions were registered.<sup>139</sup> At the end of 1897, the NAM in Alexandria was

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136 Kumm reported vividly on his one week's journey, which took him from London by train and ferry via Paris and Marseilles, and from there with a French steamer to Alexandria (*OAA*, No. 44, April 16, 1898, second sheet, Letter I).

137 Cf. Rutherford 1900, pp. 227–232; also for the following section.

138 Cf. Chapter 3.4.2.

139 Kumm also reports about Germans and Swiss, who came to faith in Christ by interaction with him (*NA*, Sept. 1898, p. 107).

established enough to open an out-station in *Rosetta*, 72 kilometers northeast of Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile, with Miss Ada Watson and Miss Van der Molen. With Kumm's arrival, the number of NAM missionaries in Alexandria had grown to eight, though the leading couple spent most of that year on furlough.<sup>140</sup> The other five fellow missionaries – one single and two couples – were still in the process of perfecting their Arabic, as they had only arrived between two months and two years earlier.<sup>141</sup>

Why had Kumm been sent to Egypt by the NAM, and not to one of the other stations in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia or Tripoli? Egypt, as the spiritual center of Islam, was regarded as the one field among those of the NAM which particularly needed educated missionaries and university graduates. They were expected to use their abilities in translation work, evangelism, and in encounters of an apologetic nature with educated Muslims. Karl Kumm seemed to fit into this category among the candidates available. A thorough knowledge of the Arabic language was a prerequisite for that task.<sup>142</sup>

### 3.3.2 Learning Arabic

Thus Kumm “plunged into the mysteries of Arabic” right away – on the first day after his arrival.<sup>143</sup> This was the major task of the new missionaries, at least during their initial year. Besides this, he participated in the evangelistic meetings organized by the other missionaries. This workload required a much-disciplined schedule. Kumm recalls:

“The daily round of a missionary probationer in Africa”:<sup>144</sup>

5 a.m.	Rising and bath in the sea; Private Bible-reading and prayer;
7 a.m.	Common breakfast and family worship;
8–11:30 a.m.	Study of Arabic;
11:30 a.m.	Lunch;

140 Mr. and Mrs. Summers returned to Alexandria in September 1898 (*NA*, Nov. 1898, p. 128 “Annual Report Egypt”, and p. 32).

141 The list on the “Location of Missionaries”, regularly given on the inside cover of *North Africa*, also registered the first arrival of the missionaries on the field (e.g. *NA*, Nov. 1899, p. iv; and Dec. 1899, p. iv). Kumm's fellow missionaries were (arrival in brackets) Mr. William and Mrs. Summers (leader), Mr. W. and Mrs. Dickins (Feb. 1896), Mr. C.T. Hooper (Feb. 1896), Mr. W.T. Fairmann (Nov. 1897) and Mrs. Fairman (Feb. 1896). Later were added Mr. A.T. Upson (Nov. 1898; later leader of the *Nile Mission Press*), Miss K.E. Float and Miss B.M. Tiptaft (both Oct. 1899).

142 “Egypt therefore presents a rare field for educated men, student volunteers, and others, who would here find an outlet for their abilities in translation work, evangelizing, or grappling with the difficulties of an intelligent audience in one of the grandest languages of the world” (*NA*, Oct. 1898, p. 128; cf. also *NA*, Sept. 1897, p. 99, and Jan. 1898, p. 3).

143 *NA*, April 1898, p. 47.

144 W. Kumm: “The daily round’ of a missionary probationer in Africa”. In: *NA*, Sept. 1898, p. 107.

12–2 p.m.	Rest;
2–4:30 p.m.	Study of Arabic / reception of individual Arabic guests;
4:30–6:30 p.m.	walk for either business in town or to the sea side;
6:30 p.m.	Dinner and family worship;
8–10:30 p.m.	Evangelistic meeting (except for Saturdays).

Two months after arrival in Egypt, Kumm wrote that in spite of two years of diligent study of classical Arabic, he was only very insufficiently capable of following a conversation.<sup>145</sup> Thus, an Arabic visitor, of whose fast speech he had not understood a word, told him: “behold a man, who knows English, French, and German, and does not understand our easy Arabic! Wonderful, wonderful!”<sup>146</sup> The Arabic lessons were filled with reading the New Testament in classical Arabic, and with exercises in colloquial Arabic with the Syrian assistant Ayoub. At times, Kumm used the afternoons for visits in the villages and Bedouin camps round about Alexandria, together with Ayoub. They offered the Bedouins gospels, and Kumm had much joy in this. In doing so, he realized that the Bedouins were much more receptive than the city dwellers.<sup>147</sup> Thus, his language study went hand in hand with evangelistic conversations and Scripture colportage. About April 1898, Kumm spent “some time” in the city of *Damanhur* (60 kilometers south-east of Alexandria), where his fellow probationer Fairman then stayed. Probably he was equally seeking to deepen his Arabic, far away from other speakers of English. Possibly, this language immersion was part of the regular schedule for missionary probationers.<sup>148</sup> A note by Kumm on March 30, 1898, points to this: “It will be my next task to acquire Arabic on my travels as soon as possible”.<sup>149</sup> However, he had plans far beyond this, already in May 1898, hoping to be able to get to the *Oasis of Jupiter Ammon*,<sup>150</sup> which lay at the border of the unexplored regions, and to learn

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145 OAA, No. 44, of April 16, 1898.

146 “First experiences of our new workers”. From Mr. W. Kumm. In: *NA*, April 1898, p. 47.

147 Kumm: “Early days in Alexandria”. In: *NA*, June 1898, pp. 70f. Here, Kumm described a visit at a Bedouin encampment near Sidi Gaber, to which they walked for one and a half hours and returned by railway.

148 In *NA*, June 1898, p. 63, it was reported: “Mr. W. Kumm has gone to Damanhour for a time to stay with Mr. Fairman.” Before, on April 7, Kumm began a visit to Rosetta, which was 5 hours by train from Alexandria (OAA, No. 62, May 28, 1898). On June 14, 1898, he wrote from Alexandria (OAA, No. 94, Aug. 13, 1898, supplement) – Concerning the reconstruction of dates it must be taken into consideration that the printed reports lagged behind the events at least for one week, and often up to two months. – Fairman had gone to Damanhur on January 24, and planned to stay there for two to three months, because there he would be forced to speak Arabic. A further congruence between Fairman and Kumm, which points to standardized forms, was the respective sending in of their “First Report” two months after arrival (*NA*, April 1898, p. 47).

149 OAA, No. 55, April 16, 1898, second sheet. This letter was written on March 30, 1898 in Alexandria, and it is not probable that Kumm had left Alexandria for a lengthy period earlier.

150 There is no evidence that Kumm ever reached this Oasis of Siwa. Only in the erroneous bibliographic entry is the *Oasis of Siwa* mentioned again: “Die südliche Karawanenstraße von der Oase Charga zur Amons-Oase Siwa”, bibliographic entry in H. Lorin (*Bibliographie géographique de l'Égypte*, Vol. I, Cairo 1928, p. 375, No. 5392).

*Tamashek*, the language of the *Tuareg* nomads, there.<sup>151</sup> However, first he escaped the heat of the Summer by camping with a tent on the Mediterranean beach at *Abukir* from mid-July to September. He spent time with the *Fellaheen*, and the Bedouins, and observed their lives. He was rather optimistic about the possibility of winning these Bedouins for the Christian faith, as they were not as fanatical as other Muslims were.<sup>152</sup>

### 3.3.3 Journey to Kirdâsa

The next journey, which led Kumm to the border of the desert, did much more than improve his colloquial Arabic. Finally, he had some extended contact with Bedouins away from European influence. He felt his missionary calling to the people of the desert confirmed, and he wrote enthusiastically: "Now at last I have had a look upon those dear people and upon the vast desert Sahara, which is for me the promised land".<sup>153</sup> On October 3, 1898, nine months after his arrival in Egypt, Kumm had departed from Alexandria on his first journey without any European companion. The Summer heat, during which the missionary activities partially came to a standstill, was nearing its end. Kumm's goal was to find a temporary residence in the Bedouin settlement of *Abu Rawâsh* (*Abu-El-Roash*). It consisted of mud huts, and lay west of Cairo, and north of the pyramids of Gizeh. However, when no room was available for him there, he rented the back room of a store, close to the *Fellaheen* village of *Kirdâsa*. The 1,500 inhabitants of the village were all Muslims, with the exception of a few Coptic families. In contrast to Alexandria, there were no Europeans living there, except his Greek landlord. Thus, he heard nothing but Arabic for the whole day, which was of course the main purpose of his stay. Just as in Alexandria, he adapted to local customs in clothing. There, he wore a "tarbush" headgear like the Arabs,<sup>154</sup> in *Kirdâsa*, he wore a *caftan* and a *turban*, like the *Fellaheen*. The people liked his manners, and Kumm was pleased with the easy access he found to them. The reason for his adaptation in matters of clothing, he

151 OAA, No. 62 of May 28, 1898, third sheet, Letter II, written in Alexandria on May 5, 1898: "Sobald ich des Arabischen ein wenig mehr mächtig bin, werde ich mich D.V. nach der Oase von Jupiter Ammon begeben (nur etwa 10 Tagesreisen von hier, und doch schon an der Grenze des erforschten Gebietes), um daselbst zuerst die Sprache der Tuareks, Tamashek zu erlernen". He later realized that he had more contact with the *Beni Arab* (Bedouins dwelling in the Libyan desert) than with the *Tuaregs* (OAA, No. 18, Feb. 11, 1899, Letter V).

152 OAA, No. 112, Sept. 24, 1898, second sheet, p. 3, Letter IV, written on August 30, 1898 in *Abukir*: "Diese Beduinen ... sind im Großen und Ganzen nicht so fanatisch, wie die übrigen Muhammedaner und würden, wenn der richtige Apostel käme, wahrscheinlich leicht zum Christentum übergewonnen werden."

153 "Even while I was still in England a voice seemed to say to me: 'I have prepared the people of the desert for my Gospel – go and preach it to them'." (SUM Archive: Report from W. Kumm. NAM, Alexandria Egypt, Nov. 3/98, *Amongst the Freeborn of the Desert*, 15 pp.). My account is based on this primary source, and not on the printed version of this report in *NA*, Jan. 1899, pp. 2f., which in part was heavily edited, and omitted the confirmation of Kumm's call, which was so essential to him.

154 *NA*, Sept. 1898, p. 107.

found in the New Testament.<sup>155</sup> In this, he followed Hudson Taylor's example.<sup>156</sup> Equally, Kumm adapted to local customs regarding food, when he was a guest, even though it cost him quite some self-denial.<sup>157</sup> During his stay, Kumm attended to the Fellaheen as well as to the Bedouins. When he had treated daily the intensely inflamed hand of the local major (*Omdi*), and it really was cured, others flocked to him for medical care. During his last two weeks in the village, he had to attend to about 20 patients every morning. This way he found open ears among the people, when he subsequently used to sit in front of his house, had someone read from the Arabic Bible, and then explained it. The gospel booklets offered then were gratefully accepted. Kumm came to the conviction: "Amongst those natives nothing truly [sic!] will open the door for the gospel so widely as medical work".<sup>158</sup> Right from the beginning, Kumm sought close contact with the Bedouins. He visited them in their tents, read to them from the Bible, and had long conversations with them. He was fearless and trusting and had one of the Bedouins lead him through the desert on day tours. Through this guide, he came to know the leader of a caravan, who had adopted Christian convictions by reading the New Testament, and was spreading these convictions. The caravan leader often talked with Kumm, and entreated him repeatedly to accompany his caravan to the *Oasis of Siwa*. There would be no one else who could tell the residents of the oasis about "the way of salvation". One can feel from Kumm's report, how much he would have liked to respond to this request. However, he had to decline, because he did not feel quite prepared for that yet. Probably he was thinking about his mastery of Arabic, which needed further perfecting.

But to Kumm it seemed only a question of time<sup>159</sup> till he could join a caravan to advance further into the desert, as the end of his report made evident: "Pray ..., that soon some brethren may come out here to enter into those open doors. ... I feel that my call has been confirmed to go and work amongst the Freeborn of the vast Sahara, to uplift the banner of the cross, where Christ's name is unknown. If these man [sic!] are won for the Saviour they will make the best missionaries to the Moslems."

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155 "becoming all things to all men" (1 Corinthians 9, 22).

156 Cf. Fiedler 1992, p. 67; 1994, p. 33, who summarizes one of the principles of the CIM, (No. 9): "Missionaries identify as far as possible with the culture of their host country. As a sign of this identification they wear Chinese dress."

157 Kumm wrote on the invitation to a festivity by the mayor (*Omdi*) in his report (p. 10): "Our host supplying me with the best tit-bits which he tasted first and then handed to me. I would have been most impolite not to have seemed extremely delighted with this process. The feast extended over about 2 hours, which I can assure you were two very painful ones for me. But at last all was over."

158 Report, p. 8. Looking back on December 2, 1898 he wrote: "Ja, wenn nur erst die wahren Prediger kämen, und nicht Zänker und Leute, die mit sich selbst nicht im Klaren sind. Die Araber haben scharf denkende Köpfe, die nach dem wie, warum, weshalb fragen, doch wo man ihnen Rede steht auf ihre Fragen, da sind sie gern bereit sich überzeugen zu lassen." (OAA, No. 18, Feb. 11, 1899, Letter V).

159 "Yet it was only a short look and I had to come away again to abide the Lord's time" (Report Nov. 1898, p. 1).

Kumm's report culminated in a poem and appeal:

“Let us go forth the call is clear.  
 Come over and help us! Sounds on our ear.  
 Shall the Freeborn perish in darkness and night?  
 Shall the Bedaween never know Christ and the light?  
 Oh lend us your hand! To the work while 'tis day!  
 Turn not away!”<sup>160</sup>

Kumm's second year in Egypt as well remained under the undertaking – at least initially – to further perfect his Arabic skills through intensive contact with the indigenous population.<sup>161</sup> Kumm always used his excursions to the Bedouins, to advance further south to the oases of the *Western or Libyan Desert*.

### 3.3.4 Journey to the Oasis of Faiyûm

On February 13, 1899, Karl Kumm embarked on a journey to one of the oases, a journey which was planned to take several months. His first goal lay 300–400 kilometers south of Alexandria, the largest oasis of Egypt, the *Faiyûm*.<sup>162</sup> This “garden of Egypt” had attracted him for a long time, and was the next resting place for caravans, south of where he had already been previously.<sup>163</sup> This vast “green zone” then consisted of one town, and 82 villages with more than 1,000 inhabitants each, 300,000 overall. There Kumm wanted to gather information about the caravans to the oases of *Farâfra*, *Dâkhla*, and *Khârga* in view of further, and farther expeditions. His companion this time was to be Mr. Swan<sup>164</sup> from Belfast, a member of the *Egypt Mission Band*. However, due to sickness, they had to part after only a few days.

At the end of the railway track, at the northern central village of *Sinnûris* (2,500 inhabitants), Kumm, together with a hired servant, pitched his tent for a good two weeks. From there he surveyed this part of the oasis on horseback or donkey, sometimes staying out overnight: “Day by day I wandered through palm woods, fields, meadows and desert, until after about 14 days I knew the

<sup>160</sup> *Report*, p. 15. This passage of the report was omitted in the journal of the NAM.

<sup>161</sup> The secretary, Glenny, commented on the journey of Kumm: “The main purpose of their visit was the further acquisition of the language by close contact with the people” (*NA*, July 1899, p. 81).

<sup>162</sup> The *Faiyûm* is actually a half-oasis fed by Nile water.

<sup>163</sup> The following section is based on the two reports of Kumm: “Letter ... VI.” *OAA*, No. 76 of July 1, 1899 (second sheet); and “On the borders of the desert”, *NA*, July 1899, pp. 81f.

<sup>164</sup> It is not indicated whether it was T. Edward Swan or George Swan, both among the seven members of the *Egypt Mission Band*, who had arrived in Alexandria in 1898. (Kathleen L. Hamilton: *At Thy Disposal*. London: EGM 1944, pp. 15f.) Cf. the note on this mission at the end of the chapter.

northern part of the Fayoum as my own pocket.”<sup>165</sup> On March 3, Kumm moved on to the southwestern fringe of the oasis, to the village of *Nazla* (8,000 inhabitants, 18,000 with surroundings), where the desert caravans stopped, which was a six-hours-camel-ride away. Kumm overcame the initial reluctance of the population after a few days by his friendliness. After ten days of exploration in the area he called together some of the sheiks and caravan leaders he had befriended. He introduced them to his plans to set out immediately, if possible, to the *Oasis Farâfra*, about 460 kilometers away.<sup>166</sup> Only their united and reasoned refusal to accompany him, prevented his immediate departure. The indigenous population usually did not cross the desert during the growing heat of the summer, and feared the fever season, which was to start in *Farâfra* within 14 days. Both factors were even more threatening to a white man, and constituted a valid reason for Kumm to postpone his plans until milder weather would come in the fall. So, he followed their invitation to explore surrounding villages and desert ranges instead, together with his advisers. Some of his excursions during the following 11 days led him to ruins and archeological sites, where he carved his name into the limestone between the names of two famous explorers.<sup>167</sup> Kumm's stay had been marked, as the one in *Kirdâsa* before, by medical help and conversations on faith issues with the visitors always gathering around him. He was also in contact with the Coptic-Orthodox and Evangelical Christians in *Sinnûris* and their spiritual leaders. In *Nozzle* the Muslim school teacher, and the *sheik* of the largest mosque, were among his discussion partners. After about five weeks, around March 26, and somewhat earlier than initially planned, Kumm returned to Alexandria. He had again been able to advance further south into areas where no NAM missionary had been before, though he did not get as far as he had hoped initially.

### 3.3.5 Duties with the NAM

In May 1899, Kumm attended the NAM field conference on the occasion of the visit of the *Hon. Secretary* Mr. Glenny in Alexandria.<sup>168</sup> The missionaries were in the main deliberating on the future development of the NAM in Egypt, and on a strategy for ministry. They resolved to make

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165 OAA, No. 76 of July 1, 1899, Letter VI. A postcard sent from *Faiyûm* to his brother Alfred on February 24, 1899, has been preserved (PABüttner, Hamburg).

166 If the caravan averaged a speed of 4 km per hour (which Kumm reported on a later expedition), then this distance would require 11–15 days with 8–10 hours of traveling one way. Even on horseback without luggage, as on an excursion to *Qârûn*, at least 7 days would have been necessary.

167 In *Kasr-el-Qârûn (Dionysias)*, where Kumm thought the castle to be a temple of Isis, he carved his name into the portal, between those of the famous explorers Gerhard Rohlfs (1831–1896) and “Burton” (OAA, No. 76 of July 1, 1899); probably the Egyptologist James Burton (1788–1862, cf. *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 1995, p. 76), and not Richard F. Burton (1821–1890), the explorer of the sources of the Nile.

the preaching of the Gospel among Muslims their main task, and to pursue it “in the most direct manner possible”. Institutional work through schools and other agencies should be left to other missions in favor of concentrating on “purely spiritual work”.<sup>169</sup> This should be pursued by as much evangelistic itineration throughout the Delta area as possible. To this end, it was decided to open a new station in *Shîbîn-El-Kôm*, which was the capital of the densely populated province of *Minufîya*, and occupied a strategic position.<sup>170</sup> In April 1899 Summers, the leader of the NAM work in Egypt, had undertaken an exploratory journey there.<sup>171</sup> Possibly Kumm was assigned to this new station at this conference.

### 3.3.6 Meeting the Guinnesses

On May 7, 1899, Grattan Guinness and his daughter Lucy arrived in Alexandria after a three-months-journey through Palestine. They stayed there for a week, and first of all visited the NAM. Guinness preached at one of the Arabic evening services of the NAM.<sup>172</sup> For a journey to the *Oasis Faiyûm*, which was to be undertaken on May 12, the Guinnesses were still in search of a knowledgeable guide and interpreter. Thus it happened that Kumm accompanied them, as he was the only one among the NAM workers, who had previously visited the *Faiyûm*.<sup>173</sup> During their journey together, Lucy Guinness and Karl Kumm, who was nine years younger,<sup>174</sup> fell in love with each other.<sup>175</sup> Kumm accompanied father and daughter Guinness on to Cairo and Alexan-

168 Glenn's visit in Alexandria (cf. his report in *NA*, August 1899, pp. 88f. without any dates) must have taken place from May 2–9, 1899 according to my reconstruction, as it overlapped with the presence of the Guinnesses from May 7–12.

169 “Annual Report 1898/99”. *NA*, Oct. 1899, p. iv: “During the visit of our Hon. Secretary we held a Conference of all our missionaries in order to decide, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, on a more definite plan of operation for evangelising Egypt. We considered the claims of school-work and other agencies, and recognised their high value, yet we felt that we as a Mission must commit ourselves in a definite way to the one work of preaching the Gospel to the Moslems of Egypt, and that, too, in the most direct manner possible. We feel, therefore, specially led to invite the sympathy and co-operation of all Christians who appreciate the value of purely spiritual work.”

170 *NA*, Aug. 1899, p. 88: “I had an interesting conference with the workers, and we concluded that it was most desirable to keep direct evangelistic work well to the front, and, as far as possible, to itinerate throughout the Delta. To this end, it was proposed to open a new station in the autumn in a very thickly populated district ...”.

171 W. Summers: “Report of work for the month of April”. *NA*, July 1899, p. 82.

172 *NA*, Aug. 1899, p. 82. Cf. also Cleverdon 1936, pp. 28ff.

173 Lucy Guinness wrote home on May 12, 1899: “In a quiet evening light, we are travelling south through Egypt once more, Father and I together. We left Alexandria this morning after a very busy week there, and are going (D.V.) for a few days to see ‘the Garden of Egypt’, an oasis called Fayoom, on the edge of the Sahara. Mr. Kumm, one of the North African Mission workers is with us. He is the only one of their men in Egypt who has worked in the Fayoom and comes as guide and interpreter and general protector.” (Cleverdon 1936, p. 29).

174 Lucy was 33 years old then, and Karl 24 years.

175 Cleverdon (1936, p. 30) reported that Lucy Guinness was still “adjusting herself to life after the shock of a broken love-affair which had absorbed her”. In fact this had been an engagement, which was witnessed by an entry into the minutes of the RBMU: “Dr. Guinness tells that Mr. Hoste had become engaged in marriage to Miss Guinness, and would be prepared to co-operate in the work of the Institute.” (CSCNWW Edinburgh:

dria, where the Guinnesses took a steamer back to Europe. Karl and Lucy agreed to meet again the following year in Luxor, and deepened their relationship by correspondence. During these days of traveling together, they had probably talked about Kumm's plans of exploring the caravan routes into the Sudan as well as about Grattan Guinness' newly kindled enthusiasm for his long cherished concern of opening the Sudan Belt to Protestant missions. After the defeat of the *Mahdi* in the Eastern Sudan, a missionary advance seemed to become imminent. Possibly, Guinness had a decided influence on the shifting of Kumm's calling from the people of the desert to the Sudan Belt. In any case, at this encounter the foundations for the future common endeavors of the three, in the Spring of 1900, were laid.<sup>176</sup>

### 3.3.7 The Urge to the Heart of Africa

Only on June 14 did Kumm find time to write down his report for the *Osteroder Allgemeiner Anzeiger* about his first journey to the *Faiyûm*, which lay already two months in the past. There his exploratory spirit (*Aufbruchsstimmung*), and his steadily growing drive into the heart of Africa were reflected: "When I left home, I longed for foreign lands. Abroad I went, and further I was attracted afar to the Dark Continent. Africa I reached, and its inland lured me with its mysterious secrets. My urge I followed, and ventured inland. But further, always further, it lures, draws, and attracts, and only in the new there lies satisfaction." Where this desire came from, he could not tell. But he saw himself sharing the fate not only of Alexander the Great and Columbus, but also of the Apostle Paul, who wanted to preach the Gospel also to those who lived in "the regions beyond" of what had been reached up to then (2 Corinthians 10:16).<sup>177</sup>

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*Minutes of Harley Institute / College 1896–1910*, First meeting of the Advisory Council of the Institute, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1896, p. 5; Michele Guinness, Lancaster – Sauer, Feb. 22, 1998, confirms that this was Lucy: "It was a disastrous engagement broken off, that's why Grattan Guinness took her off to Sudan [it was rather India] so suddenly!"). Her fiancé was Dixon Edward Hoste, who later became Hudson Taylor's successor as General Director of the *China Inland Mission*. On his life cf. Phyllis Thompson: *D.E. Hoste. A Prince with God. Hudson Taylor's Successor as General Director of the China Inland Mission 1900–1935*. London: China Inland Mission 1947; as referred to by Franz 1993, p. 110.

176 There are no primary sources, which would enlighten us on the precise interconnection of the motivations of the three. Cleverdon writes on this time, without quoting any source: "Dr. Grattan Guinness had, years before, been moved by the need and neglect of the Sudan and now, with political conditions pointing to an open door, a younger man had arisen ... Karl Kumm had come to feel the need of the Sudan as a burden laid on him by God. ... he won his greatest ally ..., when beneath the palm trees in Egypt's garden, he showed Lucy Guinness what was on his heart" (Cleverdon 1936, p. 31). The fact that the Sudan was on Lucy Guinness' heart too, is shown by her articles since 1888 (cf. *RB* 1888, pp. 349–352 and 1894, pp. 329–335).

177 My translation into English tries to reproduce the poetic style of this statement: "Als ich die Heimat verließ, da sehnte ich mich in's Ausland. In's Ausland ging ich und weiter zog's mich fernhin zum dunkelen Erdtheil. Afrika erreichte ich, und das Innere lockte mich mit seinen mysteriösen Geheimnissen. Meinem Drange folgte ich und begab mich in's Innere. Doch weiter, immer weiter lockt's, drängt's und zieht's, und nur im Neuen liegt Genugthuung. ... Den wahren Grund zum Trieb in's Weite, auch heute hab' ich ihn noch nicht ergründet. Nur

But first of all, Kumm had to carry out his duties with the NAM, and itinerated in the Nile Delta for three weeks in June and July 1899 with his assistant Ayoub. His report witnessed to "glad and happy service" in devoted evangelistic work.<sup>178</sup> After that, from July 30 till August 1, Kumm participated in the first *Conference of Christian Workers* in Egypt, held at Schutz, Alexandria. This was followed by a Summer camp in *Aboukir Bay* during August and the first week of September, where missionaries of *Egypt General Mission*, the *North Africa Mission*, and some missionaries of the *Church Missionary Society* spent their holiday together, using it for further discussions.<sup>179</sup> However, at the same time Kumm felt the urge to the regions beyond.

### 3.3.8 Expedition to the Oasis of Khârga<sup>180</sup>

At the end of October 1899,<sup>181</sup> at the beginning of the cooler season, Kumm, together with the German Paul Krusius,<sup>182</sup> set out anew for an expedition. Instead of resuming the previously postponed journey to the oasis of *Farâfra*, he ventured further south. He attempted to penetrate into the Eastern Central Sudan, by following an old caravan route, setting out from Assiut in the Nile valley.<sup>183</sup> Through this first more extensive expedition,<sup>184</sup> he wanted to explore how the population of the oases and the nomads of the desert could best be evangelized, besides engaging

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eines weiß ich, daß er in mir lebendig ist, und mich weiter treibt." (OAA, No. 76 of July 1, 1899, second sheet, Letter ... VI). "The lure of Africa" is also referred to by Kumm much later in his biographical sketch of David Livingstone: "The lure of Africa had caught him – the lure of a work worth doing, the biggest work that a young man who strives to follow Christ can attempt." (Kumm 1917, p. 173).

178 "Beautiful days they were of glad and happy service ... Yours about the Master's business, W. Kumm" (SUM Archive: *North Africa Mission ... July 14, 1899*; Kumm: "Light for a dark land", *NA*, Sept. 1899, p. 107). Kumm visited 13 towns and villages on his itineration, which took place between June 15 and July 14, 1899. On the first date, Kumm was still in Alexandria, writing the report on his earlier journey to the *Faiyûm* (OAA, No. 76 of July 1, 1899); on the second, he had returned to Alexandria, writing the report on the itineration in the Delta (SUM Archive).

179 *Blessed be Egypt*, Oct. 1899, pp. 14–16.

180 The most extensive account of the whole expedition to Khârga, Dâkhla, and Bâris is: Kumm: *Ein Ausflug in die Oasen der Lybischen Wüste*. January 1900, vi, 88 unnumbered sheets.

181 On October 28, 1899, Kumm wrote a postcard from Alexandria to his brother, thanking him for birthday greetings (PABüttner). On November 10, he had already recorded observations near the *Oasis of Khârga* (Kumm: *Versuch*, 1903, p. 16). The distance required at least 7 days of travel, as observed above.

182 Paul Krusius was mentioned by name by Kumm as his traveling companion (Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, p. 71; cf. Cleverdon 1936, p. 36). He was a young merchant. There is no indication, whether he was residing in Egypt, or on a visit (cf. Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 3). In the Fall of 1900, Krusius became secretary to the treasurer of the SPM in Eisenach. After philological and theological studies and taking his doctoral degree, he was a missionary of the British SUM from 1911 to 1914 in Nigeria (Personnel list in: *The Lightbearer*, Nov. 1914, p. 149). There are no further details known about his origin.

183 Kumm: "Vom Haussaland nach Ägypten durch den Sudan. Vorläufiger Bericht über meine Afrikadurchquerung 1908/09 [with map]". In: *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1910, p. 84. "In 1899 I visited the southern oases of the Libyan desert, and thought then of following the Darb-el-Arbain towards Darfur, but nothing came of this" (Kumm: *From Hausaland to Egypt*, 1910, p. 4).

184 Kumm counted this journey among his expeditions in or through the Sudan Belt, as he called his next journey in 1904 his second larger expedition (Kumm: "Vom Haussaland ...". In: *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1910, p. 84).

in the usual colportage of Scripture and preaching of the Gospel.<sup>185</sup> Kumm also took very detailed notes on population statistics, climate, geography, and archeology, which he later used for scholarly publications.<sup>186</sup>

After five days of traveling from Assiut, Kumm and Krusius reached the Oasis of *Khârga*, which was the first major station for the caravans to the Sudan. They were, together with the German-Egyptian officer Gärtner, whom they met there, the only Europeans that had been visiting *Khârga* for several years.<sup>187</sup>

### 3.3.9 Expedition to the Oasis of Dâkhla<sup>188</sup>

After several days, Kumm impulsively used the opportunity to accompany the caravan of the local doctor for a three weeks' trip to the Oasis of *Dâkhla*, which lay 200 kilometers to the east.<sup>189</sup> He left his companion Krusius behind with servants and tents, setting out only with the commodities most needed. The organizers of the caravan decided to take the longer, but more comfortable route, the *Darb-Er-Rubari*, which up to then had hardly been traveled by any European.<sup>190</sup> After four days of riding on his camel, Kumm reached the oasis, which then had about 17,000 inhabitants. In a report sent from there to the NAM, Kumm described the oasis as one of the most beautiful places he had ever seen. He reported that he was providing some Bibles for the "few hundred people" who could read.<sup>191</sup> Some of them were the remaining faithful of an ancient Christian community at *Dâkhla*, whom he secretly gathered for a service.<sup>192</sup> During his stay, he toured almost all the villages of the oasis, as was documented on a map he published with his later scholarly report. In that report, he also conveyed the demographic and economic data he had

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185 NA, Jan. 1900, p. 3.

186 In a leading German geographical journal, *Petermanns Geographische Mittheilungen* (Vol. 48, 1902, pp. 110–112), Kumm published an essay in 1902 on: "Die südliche Karawanenroute von der Oase Charga nach Dachla (Darb-Er-Rubari)". In his doctoral dissertation Kumm equally made use of his notes (Kumm: *Versuch*, 1903, pp. 16, 61).

187 Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, p. 22.

188 The information given in Kumm, *Ausflug*, 1900, pp. 31–60, is supplemented by H.K.W. Kumm: "Die südliche Karawanenroute von der Oase Charga nach Dachla (Darb-Er-Rubari)". In: *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen* 48 (1902), pp. 110–112.

189 Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, p. 32.

190 The other caravans, "welche von Europäern begleitet waren, wählten bisher fast ohne Ausnahme die nördlich kürzere ... Route, Darb-El-Ein (Quellenstraße)" (Kumm: "Die südliche ...". 1902, p. 110). Cleverdon's statement (1936, p. 7), that he was the first white man "who traversed ... the Southern caravan route between Charga and Dachla", cannot be proven, and has been probably created by oral tradition.

191 NA, Jan. 1900, p. 11: "Mr. Kumm writes from here on November 28th ... There are a few hundred people in this Oasis who can read, and for these Mr. Kumm was providing some Bibles".

192 Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, p. 58.

gathered.<sup>193</sup> An “unknown route to *Wadai*”, as he called it on his map, attracted him further towards the Sudan. However, from the southernmost place of the oasis, *Moot*, he only managed to get as far as eight kilometers, and then was compelled to return. Cleverdon, too, recounts that he tried to discover an old caravan route from *Dâkhla* to *Lake Chad*. On the way back to *Dâkhla*, his Arab guide lost the way. For some hours they seemed to be lost in the desert. Only the howling of a dog led them back across some difficult sand dunes to the first village in the oasis of *Dâkhla*.<sup>194</sup> After about three weeks, and 500 kilometers on camel back, Kumm returned to *Khârga*. There the message reached them that the *Mahdi Abdallah*, who had terrorized the Sudan, was dead.<sup>195</sup>

### 3.3.10 Expedition to Bâris

Kumm and Krusius only rested for less than a week, and then a further journey took them to the southernmost settlement in Egypt, even beyond *Barîs* (*Beriis*), which lay about 100 kilometers south of *Khârga*, the central place of the extended oasis. “In the neighborhood of *Beriis*” he discovered an ancient Egyptian temple, which had been transformed into a Christian cathedral, as the inscriptions showed.<sup>196</sup> These inscriptions were of such historic interest that Professor Adolf Deissmann in Heidelberg later published them.<sup>197</sup> After about 12 days, they returned to *Khârga*, where they spent Christmas. There too, they gathered the last faithful of what used to be an important Coptic congregation long ago. The service in the evening around the lit Christmas tree under the stars of the sky, was the first these Christians had celebrated for many years. They joyfully received Bibles and New Testaments as Christmas presents. When the Muslim Bedouins,

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193 The map “Die Verbindungswege zwischen den Oasen Dachla und Charga. Von H. Karl W. Kumm” and the statistics of the *Oases of Khârga and Bâris* (as of January 1900) and the *Oasis of Dâkhla* (December 1899) are contained in: Kumm: “Die südliche ...”. 1902, pp. 111f.

194 Cleverdon, 1936, p. 32.

195 Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, p. 69.

196 “In 1899 I discovered interesting monuments in the southern parts of the oasis of Charga in the neighborhood of *Beriis*. An old Egyptian Temple had a propylon built on to it by the Romans with a Latin inscription. After the Romans came the Christian era, and the Pharaonic-Roman temple was turned into a Christian Cathedral. The heathen altar and the gods had been removed, and their places taken by the Table of the Lord. On both sides of this table were inscriptions on the wall drawn in red, remarkably well preserved; and inscriptions in Greek and an inscription in later Hieroglyphics, to the effect that this Temple had been consecrated to the service of Jehovah and Jesus by a bishop. It was dated early in the second century.” (Kumm: *Khont-Hon-Nofer*, 1910, p. 161).

197 Adolf Deissmann: *Ein Originaldokument aus der Diokletianischen Christenverfolgung*. Tübingen / Leipzig: Mohr 1902, pp. 2, 26 (note 66). I owe the identification of this publication to my friend Volker Manz, librarian in Berlin. Cleverdon 1936, wrote (p. 31): “Down in these oases he collected Roman coins and at *AERis* [sic!], discovered an ancient temple on whose walls were Greek inscriptions, which were of such historic interest that a professor at Heidelberg had them published.”

watching outside this circle, desired the holy book too, a meeting was held for them the next morning.<sup>198</sup>

On January 1, 1900, Kumm and Krusius set out on the return journey to Luxor. The two *Ababde* Bedouins whom they had hired as guides freely related their experiences as slave raiders and smugglers in the Sudan.<sup>199</sup> The caravan was dissolved near Luxor on January 7, 1900. Probably in Luxor,<sup>200</sup> or in Aswan,<sup>201</sup> Kumm met Lucy Guinness and her father, as promised. He had longed for that day and the commencing new phase of his life many times during his journey.<sup>202</sup>

### 3.3.11 Conclusion: Kumm at the Crossroads

How did the further plans of the NAM and Karl Kumm fit together? Why did Kumm leave the NAM shortly afterwards? He was expected back in mid-January in Alexandria from his desert journey,<sup>203</sup> and was supposed to join his colleagues Hooper and Upson, who had started the new station at *Shîbîn-El-Kôm* in the Nile Delta. Evangelistic work in the city and itineration in the province awaited him there.<sup>204</sup> However, Kumm felt increasingly drawn to the Sudan, and had developed activities of exploration and travel which extended far beyond the usual itineration of his colleagues in the Nile Delta.<sup>205</sup> His exploring nature did not seem compatible with being bound to a mission station and its restricted sphere of ministry.

At the beginning of his work in Egypt, Kumm could still hope that the NAM would expand its activities to the Bedouins, the Sahara, and even to a section of the Egyptian Sudan. After all, the NAM had supported G.W. Brooke since 1884 in his different attempts to reach the Sudan Belt.<sup>206</sup> Moreover, the NAM had opened a new mission station at Tripoli, in view of possible

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198 Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, pp. 29f.

199 Cleverdon, 1936, p. 32; cf. Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, p. 86.

200 Cleverdon, 1936, p. 32: "So in the first month of the new century, from the oases, across the mountains, past the tombs of the kings, Karl Kumm came to Luxor and found Lucy Guinness awaiting him." This is also suggested, though not explicitly stated, in Kumm, *Ausflug*, 1900, p. 78.

201 Thus the eyewitness Grattan Guinness: "we met at Assuan ..., Dr. Kumm coming in from an evangelistic tour among the Arabs of the Sahara to visit us there." (Henry Grattan Guinness: *Lucy Guinness. Her Life Story*. London, 1907, p. 17).

202 Kumm: *Ausflug*, 1900, pp. 38, 70, 77.

203 *NA*, Feb. 1900, p. 15.

204 C.T. Hooper and A.T. Upson: "New work in the Nile Delta", *NA*, Jan. 1900, p. 10; and Glenny "To the friends ...", *NA* 1900, p. 3.

205 Kumm had no little share in the fact that the NAM could report of far more evangelistic itineration in its annual report for 1898/99, than ever before in its history in Egypt ("Annual Report: Egypt". In: *NA*, Oct. 1899, p. iv).

206 Cf. *Occasional Paper of the Mission to Kabyles* [later NAM], Dec. 1884, pp. 6-9; up to *NA*, Oct. 1888, p. 225.

steps towards the Sudan.<sup>207</sup> In October 1897 – before Kumm's departure for Egypt – the supporters of the NAM had been informed about the re-conquest of the Eastern Sudan by the Anglo-Egyptian army, and its opening up for missionary work.<sup>208</sup> In November 1898, specified donations for the Egyptian Sudan were received, and the NAM called for workers and further funds for this field.<sup>209</sup> In December 1899, this appeal was repeated. But even though the NAM would have liked to advance to the Eastern Sudan, it was short of workers and funds. In addition, priority was given to the consolidation of the existing work.<sup>210</sup> If Kumm had not known this until then, he might have received this news, or the January issue of the journal *North Africa* by that time, through Lucy Guinness, when he met her. However, probably the missionaries of the NAM were aware that the NAM would not be able to expand towards the Sudan. Thus, Kumm was at the crossroads: Should he follow the call he had felt to the Sudan, after having gotten so much closer to it by all his explorations? Or should he – at least temporarily – return to the Delta, and help inaugurate a stationary work among the Fellaheen in the Nile Delta? During the first days of 1900, the decision was taken.

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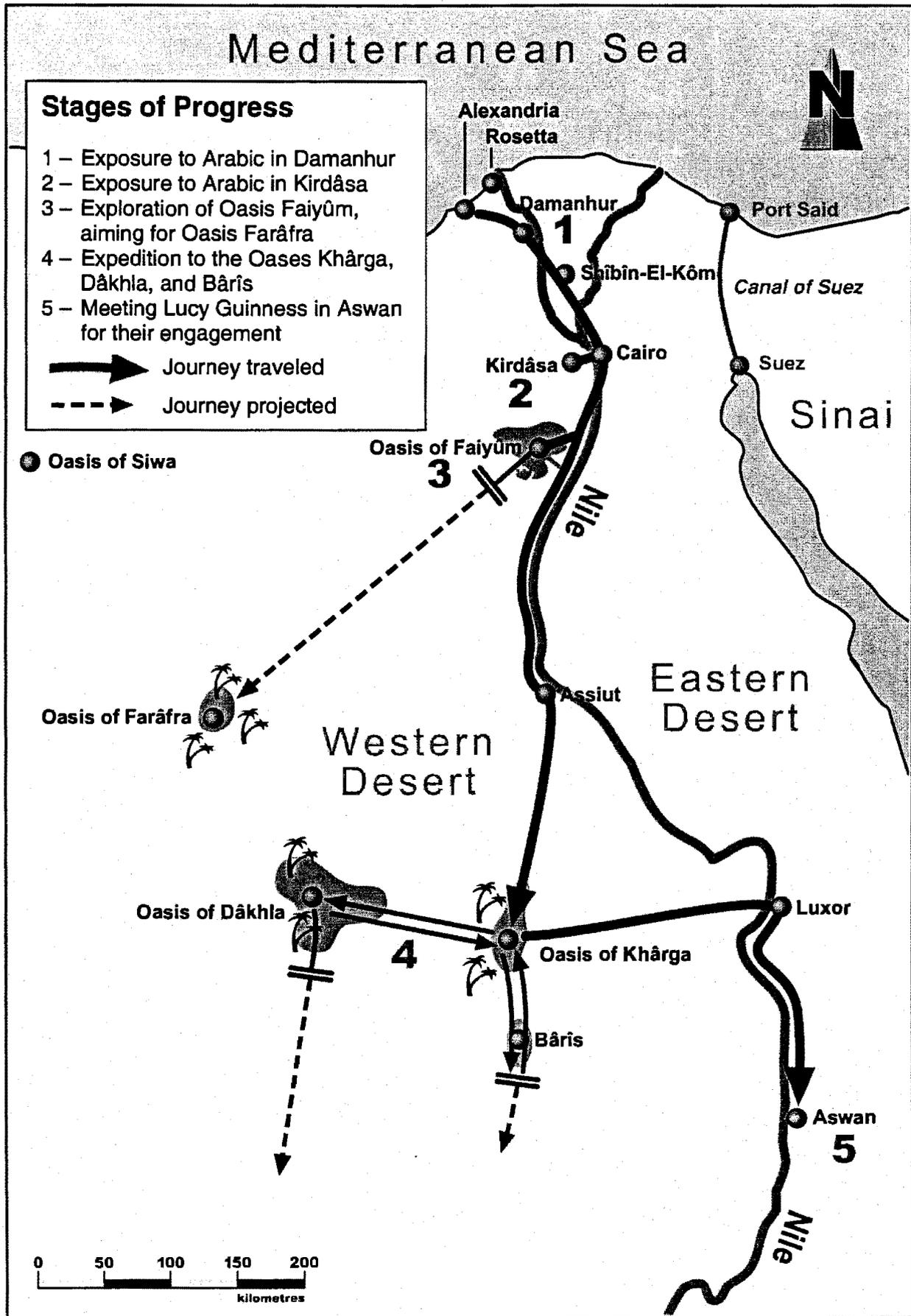
207 Rutherford, 1900, pp. 219–222. The NAM never did get beyond Tripoli, because of the political situation, but the caravans which were leaving for the desert could be reached.

208 *NA*, Oct. 1897, p. 127: Annual Report, Egypt: “the reconquest of the Soudan is making Egypt both large and more populous, and opening doors that have been closed to Gospel effort”.

209 *NA*, Nov. 1898, pp. 132f..

210 Glenny: “To the friends ..., Barking December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1899.” *NA*, Jan. 1900, p. 3: “Some of our friends are very anxious that we should seek to enter [the Egyptian Sudan], now freed from Moslem rule, with as little delay as possible, and £ 100 has been given us in view of this work, but for the present there is not much that we can do, for want of a more adequate supply of qualified labourers. We must, therefore, urge again, as we have said so often before, that earnest prayer be offered for the raising up and sending forth of more men; at the same time, it is of the first importance that the work already in existence in the field should be maintained and strengthened both in *personnel* and financially. The last month has again been one of financial scarcity ...” [*Italics in NA*].

# Karl Kumm in Egypt 1898–1900



### 3.4 The Missionary Context in Egypt<sup>211</sup>

#### 3.4.1 The Political and Religious Situation in Egypt around 1900

Egypt<sup>212</sup> is a desert country, except for the areas watered by the Nile, and by some artesian fountains in oases. The economy was almost totally dependent on agriculture irrigated by the Nile water. Thus, the overwhelming majority of Egypt's population lived, and lives, in the Nile Delta, and a fraction dwells along the Nile south of Cairo. The settled area shows the shape of a funnel with a curly hose attached, being a thin ribbon of land on both sides of the Nile. The country was divided into 14 provinces.<sup>213</sup> The southernmost and largest province, by the name of *El Hudud*, extending from *Edfu* to the border of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at the second Nile cataract in *Wadi Halfa*, was dominated by Aswan as its major city.

In 1882, Egypt<sup>214</sup> had been occupied by British troops subduing the *Arabi Pasha rebellion* against the corrupt and luxurious government of Egyptian dynasties. Nominally, Egypt was still under the Sultan of Turkey, and paying dues to him. The government was made up of Egyptians, led by the *Khedive*. However, in all important decisions the opinion of the British representative had to be respected. The real administrative work was done by British officials, who were put by the side of the Egyptian ministers. Thus the British Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent, Lord Cromer (in service 1883–1907) was the most powerful person at the time in Egypt. The British were trying to establish their sense of order in a bankrupt country.

The population amounted to almost 10 million at the census of 1897, with religious affiliation popularly given as 90 % Muslims and 10 % Christians.<sup>215</sup> Islam had come to Egypt in AD

211 Surveys on the missionary context in Egypt around 1900, and earlier mission history, are given from a British perspective in: Montague Fowler: *Christian Egypt, Past, Present, and Future*. London: Church Newspaper Company, 1901. – An American perspective is given by: Andrew Watson: *The American Mission in Egypt*. Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1898 [<sup>2</sup>1904], chapters 1, 2, and 18. – Charles R. Watson: *Egypt and the Christian Crusade*. Philadelphia: United Presbyterian Church of North America, Board of Foreign Mission, 1907, 284 pp.; which is more detailed than his popular volume: *In the Valley of the Nile. A Survey of the Missionary Movement in Egypt*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908, 249 pp. – For a German perspective, cf. Julius Richter: *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*. Güterloh: Bertelsmann, 1908 [<sup>2</sup>1930], who summarizes English literature in chapter 5A on Egypt.

212 Cf. Fouad N. Ibrahim: *Ägypten. Eine geographische Landeskunde*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996.

213 Cf. the map of Egypt in Watson 1898, before the preface.

214 Cf. Watson 1904, pp. 461–464 “Present political state of Egypt”; John Marlowe: *A History of Modern Egypt and Anglo-Egyptian Relations 1800–1956*. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, <sup>2</sup>1965.

215 E.g. John Giffen, quoting the 1897 census: Edwin M. Bliss, et al. (eds.): *Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York, 1900. Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions ... April 21 to May 1*. New York:

640, with the victory of the Muslim Arabs over Byzantine Christians in Egypt. By 829, after a series of uprisings, the Christian Copts had already become a minority, declining further to 10 % of the population in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The Sunni tradition of Islam<sup>216</sup> was the state religion and the source of law. The *Al-Azhar-University* in Cairo, training Islamic scholars and leaders, was the most influential Islamic center. The Egyptian school system was dependent on this training institution. The famous *Sheik of Al-Azhar* at the time, Muhammad Abdu (?–1905), was attempting to prove the modernity of Islam, whereas the rural population was more conservative.

The Christian minority, which was almost exclusively Coptic Orthodox,<sup>217</sup> had experienced a period of blossoming in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, making its percentage increase again to about 18 % by 1900, if one includes “crypto-Christians”, who declared themselves Muslims at the census, but practiced faith in Christ.<sup>218</sup> Many Copts would acquire property, and became rich. Through superior education, and studies in Europe, a Coptic elite of lawyers, doctors, teachers, and government officials was formed. The Copts had liberties which they had not enjoyed since the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This was the context of the early Protestant missionary efforts in Egypt.

### 3.4.2 Protestant Missionary Efforts in Egypt before 1900<sup>219</sup>

The first such missionary efforts in Egypt aimed at reviving and reforming the Coptic Orthodox Church. After the lone German pioneer Peter Heyling<sup>220</sup> (ca. 1634), who soon moved on to Ethiopia, came *Moravian Brethren*<sup>221</sup> from Germany in 1752. Due to their small number, and heavy opposition, their work ended in 1782, and left no visible traces. In 1818, the *British and*

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American Tract Society / London: Religious Tract Society, s.a., Vol. 1, p. 439. For detailed statistics of the census, cf. Fowler 1901, pp. 283–285.

216 On Islam in Egypt, in addition to the above surveys, cf. Andrew Watson: “Islam in Egypt”. In: Zwemer / Wherry / Barton (eds.): *The Mohammedan World of To-day. Being Papers read at the First Missionary Conference on Behalf of the Mohammedan World held at Cairo April 4<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup>, 1906*. New York: Flemming H. Revell, 1906, pp. 21–39.

217 On the Coptic Orthodox Church, cf.: Iris Habib el Misri: *The Story of the Copts*. Middle East Council of Churches 1978, 584 pp.; Aziz Atiyah (ed.): *Coptic Encyclopedia*. 8 Vols. New York: Macmillan, 1991.

218 For statistics, cf. *WCE 2001*, Vol. I, pp. 250f. Barrett calculates 7.5 % professing Christians, and 11.1 % crypto-Christians in 1900.

219 The focus is on the major contributors, in addition to persons and agencies relevant for the history of the SPM.

220 Peter Heyling (1607 – ca. 1652) had set out to Egypt, to “reawaken the derelict churches of the Orient to genuine evangelical life”. In 1634, he moved on to Ethiopia, where he spent most of his life (Cf. Werner Raupp: “Heyling, Peter”. In: *BDCM*, 1998, p. 292).

221 Cf. Theodor Bechler: *Die Herrnhuter in Ägypten und ihr Vorstoß nach Abessinien. Evangelisation und Mission der Herrnhuter Brüder in Ägypten im 18. Jahrhundert*. Hefte zur Missionkunde, No. 32. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1936, 88 pp. – The German Moravians were joined by the American John Antes (1740–1811) in 1768. Cf. J. Taylor Hamilton: “Experiences of the First American Missionary in Egypt”. In: *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 12 Part I (1938), pp. 26–39.

*Foreign Bible Society*<sup>222</sup> started a depot in Alexandria, adding others in Cairo and Port Said. Next, in 1825, the *Church Missionary Society*<sup>223</sup> sent five German missionaries from the *Basle Mission Seminary* to Egypt, in the context of their extensive missionary scheme for the Mediterranean.<sup>224</sup> Others joined them, but the efforts did not have the success that might have been expected, and in 1862 the CMS too abandoned their work.

In 1854, the *American Mission of the Associate Reformed Church in the United States of America*<sup>225</sup> (later the *United Presbyterian Church*) entered Egypt.<sup>226</sup> This mission agency grew rapidly, and became the largest and the dominant Protestant missionary force in Egypt. By the turn of the century, it could claim to have founded “the largest native Protestant body in the Near East”.<sup>227</sup> It covered 60 of 76 districts of Egypt (not counting the oases), with the view of reaching the whole country. The chief missionary methods used were: evangelistic tours, schools, Scripture publication and distribution, *Zenana* work (women), Sunday schools, teachers' and theological seminaries, medical and hospital work.<sup>228</sup> In view of the difficulties in reaching Muslims, more than half of the missionary effort of the AM was directed to Copts. However, if one considers the amount of work done, the AM might possibly have reached more Muslims than all the other mission agencies together. It was hoped that the growing Coptic Evangelical [Presbyterian] congregations would be “preparing the way for the in gathering of the Mohammedans amongst whom they live”.<sup>229</sup> In the first forty years, 1854–1894, altogether 75 Muslims were baptized.<sup>230</sup> In con-

222 William Canton: *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. London: John Murray, 1904, Vol. II, pp. 275–292; James Moulton Roe: *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1905–1954*. London: BFBS, 1955, pp. 174–187 on Egypt. Cf. Fowler 1901, p. 280.

223 Cf. Eugene Stock: *The History of the Church Missionary Society*. 3 Vols. London: CMS, 1899; Constance E. Padwick: *Home Building in Egypt. A Record of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in Egypt*. London: CMS, 1924, 37 pp.

224 Among them was Samuel Gobat, who later became Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. The *Mediterranean Mission* grouped CMS missions in Malta (1815), Egypt, Abyssinia, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Palestine, “to revive the Eastern Churches”, and “through them evangelize the Mohammedans”. Cf. CMS: *Handbook for Workers. Outline Histories of C.M.S. Missions*. Vol. 1, London: CMS, 1905, p. 108.

225 The offices of the mission were in Philadelphia, USA.

226 The histories of the AM are as follows: Andrew Watson: *The American Mission in Egypt 1854 to 1898*. Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1904 [1898], 487 pp., and: E.E. Elder: *Vindicating a Vision. The Story of the American Mission in Egypt 1854–1954*. Philadelphia, Pa.: The United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1958, 336 pp. There has been little scholarly analysis of this history; cf. Stanley H. Skreslet II: “The American Presbyterian Mission in Egypt: Significant factors in its establishment”. In: *American Presbyterian* 64 (1986), pp. 83–95.

227 Skreslet 1986, p. 83.

228 *The Forty-fifth Annual Report of the American United Presbyterian Mission in Egypt for the Year 1899*. Cairo [1900], 79 pp. There were 70 indigenous workers (preachers), 50 “harim” workers, 325 teachers, 28 colporteurs and 8 shopmen. In 184 schools there were 14,246 pupils enrolled.

229 E.g. in the American Mission schools, one out of four students was a Muslim, two were Copts, and one was a Protestant. Overall, almost 3,200 Muslim pupils were enrolled. In 30 out of 180 schools the majority of the pupils were Muslims (45<sup>th</sup> annual report 1899, pp. 5–9 and 16–18 “Work among Mohammedans”).

trast to the CMS, the AM had no reservations in founding its own indigenous Presbyterian church with converts from the Coptic Orthodox. By 1900, the AM had 49 missionaries in nine stations from the Nile delta all the way up to Luxor. In 1905, the Presbyterian congregations formed the *Nile Synod*.<sup>231</sup> Several small groups split off from the Presbyterian congregations and synod.<sup>232</sup> The *American Mission* regarded itself as the first (successful) mission agency in Egypt, and the entrance of the CMS and the NAM into “a field so long occupied by us”, was considered “a breach of mission comity”.<sup>233</sup>

All other missionary efforts in Egypt were small, in comparison to those of the *American Mission*. The project of C.F. Spittler's *Chrischona Mission* to form an *Apostles' Road*,<sup>234</sup> a chain of missionary stations from Alexandria to Abyssinia, each named after an Apostle, and staffed with self-supporting artisans, only lasted from 1860 to 1875.<sup>235</sup> The hospitals, run by *Kaiserswerth* deaconesses in Alexandria<sup>236</sup> and Cairo,<sup>237</sup> confined their work to Christian charity, but they asked missionaries to preach to their hospitals' patients. The Protestant schools for Muslims in Cairo, opened by Mary Louisa Whately<sup>238</sup> in 1861, were left in charge of the CMS after her death.<sup>239</sup>

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230 Richter 1930, p. 246, quoting A. Watson, without giving a reference. An additional 75 converts from Islam were added 1895–1907.

231 E.E. Elder: “The Evangelical Church in Egypt”. In: IRM (1937), pp. 514–525.

232 In 1869 the missionary Pilkerton, who had adopted the ideas of the *Plymouth Brethren* left the AM and Egypt (cf. Watson 1904, pp. 273–277, for the perspective of the AM). The congregations won by him since his return in 1875 were later supplied with a missionary from Canada by the Holiness Mission, and belong to the *Christian Brethren (Exclusive)*. (cf. WCE 2001, Vol. 1, p. 255).

233 Watson 1898, p. 407.

234 Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782–1867) from Basle, supported by J. Ludwig Krapf (Korntal), and Bishop Samuel Gobat (Jerusalem), had the intention to strengthen the connections between the *Pilgrim Mission St. Chrischona* and her mission field in Abyssinia. The stations were closed down for health and financial reasons, and their work was partially turned over either to the AM or to local expatriate communities. (Andreas Baumann: “Die Apostelstraße“. *Eine außergewöhnliche Vision und ihre Verwirklichung*. Gießen: Brunnen 1999, 180 pp).

235 Pastor H.W. Witteveen's *Zendinggemeente* in Ermelo, Holland, supplied two missionaries for the *Apostle's Road* in 1865. In 1870 a small Dutch mission was successfully established in Kaliub in the Nile Delta, later funded by the *Association for the Spreading of the Gospel* (1886), Den Haag (cf. Baumann 1999, pp. 119–121). The *Ermelo Mission* in turn asked the *Neukirchener Mission* for some missionaries for Kaliub, who were sent out in 1884 (cf. Bernd Brandl: *Die Neukirchener Mission*. Köln 1998, pp. 125f.).

236 Theodor Fliedner, the founder of deaconess motherhouses, came to Egypt in Winter 1856/57 for health reasons. This led to the founding of the hospital in Alexandria. (Martin Gerhardt: *Theodor Fliedner*. 2 Vols. Kaiserswerth 1933/1937).

237 The hospital was founded in 1881, jointly by the German, Swiss, British, and American expatriate communities in Cairo, who asked the *Kaiserswerth* deaconesses to run it (Richter 1930, p. 252).

238 Mary Louisa Whately (1824–1889), the daughter of the Anglican Bishop of Dublin, initially came to Egypt for health reasons. (Cf. Patricia S. Cale: “A British missionary in Egypt. Mary Louisa Whately”. In: *Vitae Scholasticae* 3 (1984), pp. 131–143. E.J. Whately: *The Life and Work of Mary Louisa Whately*. London: Religious Tract Society, s.a., 159 pp.; and her own popular works: *Ragged Life in Egypt* [1862], *More About Ragged Life in Egypt* [1864], and *Among the Huts in Egypt. Scenes from Real Life*. [London 1871]).

239 “Egypt”. In: *The Encyclopedia of Missions*, 1904, p. 222.

Miss Whately's appeals to the CMS, and the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, led to renewed missionary activity by the CMS in Egypt.<sup>240</sup> Again a German missionary, F.A. Klein, made the start. Hospitals,<sup>241</sup> schools, and itinerant evangelism in Cairo and the Nile Delta were added later. The CMS worked at both reviving the Coptic Orthodox Church and converting Muslims.<sup>242</sup> In 1898, a new effort of direct evangelistic work among educated Muslims was started by Douglas Thornton<sup>243</sup> and W.H. Temple Gairdner.<sup>244</sup> The latter became the most prominent CMS missionary in Egypt. The CMS maintained the second largest Protestant missionary force in Egypt.<sup>245</sup> All other efforts were tiny in comparison.<sup>246</sup>

Thus, Protestant missionary work in Egypt was geographically focused on Cairo, the Nile Delta, and the Nile valley up to Luxor. The AM, having its center in Assiut, was dominating in all respects, concerning personnel, finances, converts, congregations, and geographic spread. The majority of missionary work was directed to the large Coptic Orthodox Christian minority. The share of efforts focusing on the Muslim majority population was quite smaller. These were represented by a fraction of the efforts of the AM, in addition to the CMS, and a few small missions, such as the *North Africa Mission*<sup>247</sup> (1892), and the *Egypt Mission Band*<sup>248</sup> (1898). Such was the missionary situation, which the Guinnesses and Kumm found in Egypt at the start of 1900.

240 Fowler 1901, p. 251.

241 The Medical Mission of the CMS actually ran the largest mission hospital in the world. Cf. F.O. Lasbrey: *These Fifty Years. The Story of Old Cairo Medical Mission from 1889 to 1939*. Old Cairo: CMS, 1939, 125 pp.

242 The number of Muslim conversions to the Church of England recorded in 1899 were "two adults and four school pupils". (Fowler 1901, p. 252)

243 W.H.T. Gairdner: *D.M. Thornton. A Study in Missionary Ideals and Methods*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908, 283 pp.

244 Cf. Michael Thomas Shelley: *The Life and Thought of W.H.T. Gairdner, 1873–1928. A Critical Evaluation of a Scholar-Missionary to Islam*. PhD Birmingham 1988, 381 pp.

245 In 1904 the CMS had 5 stations with 28 missionaries in Egypt, ran 5 schools and seminaries with 483 students, and its hospital work had 864 in-patients and 25,359 outpatients. (CMS: *Handbook for Workers. Outline Histories of C.M.S. Missions*. Vol. 1, London: CMS, 1905, p. 144).

246 In 1895 the *Peniel Missionary Society* started working in Egypt, which led to the *Free Methodist Church* (Fiedler 1994, p. 93; *WCE 2001*, I, p. 255). – The *Christian Brethren (Open)* came to Egypt in 1869 (*WCE 2001*, I, p. 251; cf. A. Pulleng et al.: *Turning the World Upside Down*. Eastbourne: Upperton Press / Bath: Echoes of Service, 1972, pp. 528–531; Fred A. Tatford: *The Restless Middle East*. [That the World May Know, Vol. 1]. Bath: Echoes of Service, 1982, pp. 32f.). – The Seventh-Day Adventists began their work in 1879 (*WCE 2001*, I, p. 255; cf. Baldur Ed. Pfeiffer: *The European Seventh-Day Adventists Mission in the Middle East 1879–1939*. Frankfurt: Lang, 1981).

247 In 1892 the *North Africa Mission* extended its work in North Africa to Alexandria in Egypt (cf. Rutherford / Glenn 1900, and see the beginning of this Chapter).

248 In 1898 the *Egypt Mission Band* (later *Egypt General Mission*) from Ireland established missionary work among Muslims in the Nile Delta. The earliest history of the EGM is: George Swan: *Lacked ye anything? A Brief Story of the Egypt General Mission*. London: EGM, 1913, 88 pp. [<sup>2</sup>1932, 101 pp.]. The latest history, before expulsion of the missionaries: Irene Naish: *Wonders in Egypt. The Story of the Egypt General Mission*. London 1951, 58 pp. – Incorporated into *MECO – Middle East Christian Outreach* (cf. UK Christian Handbook).

## Karl Kumm (1874–1930)

### Early Years and Training

1874	Karl Kumm born in Markoldendorf, Germany
1880	Family moves to Osterode am Harz
1881–1894	School in Osterode
1894 Feb.	Conversion
1894 Feb.	Sister Pauline departs for China as CIM missionary
1894–1895	Military service
1895	Job-hunting in Southgate, England
1895 Oct.	Call to missionary service with the North Africa Mission
1896	Missionary training at ELTI, London
1897	Arabic studies with the NAM, Barking
1897 Fall	Evangelism on the Baltic Coast

### In Egypt with the North Africa Mission

1898 Jan.	Arrival in Alexandria, Egypt
1898 Oct.	Journey to Kirdâsa
1899 Feb-Mar.	Journey to the Oasis of Faiyûm
1899 May	NAM field conference in Alexandria
1899 May	Accompanying Grattan and Lucy Guinness to Faiyûm
1899 June-July	Evangelistic itineration in the Nile-Delta
1899 Oct.-Dec.	Expedition to the Oases of Khârga, Dâkhla, and Bârîs with Paul Krusius

### Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Germany

1900 Jan. 11	Engagement to Lucy Guinness <b>Founding of Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Aswan</b>
1900 Feb. 3	Marriage in Cairo Honeymoon and missionary work in Aswan
1900 April	Return to Germany via Switzerland
1900 May-June	Inquiries at St. Chrischona
1900 July	Speaking at Keswick
1900 Aug-Sept.	Touring Germany with Grattan Guinness
1900 Oct.	Touring Switzerland and Germany
1900 Oct.	First "board meeting" of the SPM in Eisenach Move to Eisenach
1900 Nov.	Move to Wiesbaden
1901 Feb. 26	Birth of Henry Kumm
1901 Mar.-May	Travel to Aswan and Nubia
1901 Jun.-Jul.	Studies in Heidelberg
1901 Aug.-Oct.	Residence in Cliff House, and deputation in Great Britain
1901 Oct.	Residence in Jena, Germany:
1902 Feb.	Studies and deputation
1902 Feb. 22	Completion of manuscript of doctoral dissertation on Nubia
1902 May-Sep.	Residence in Cliff House and deputation in Great Britain

1902 May 14	Sudan Conference in Cliff
1902 May 27	Birth of Karl Kumm, jun.
1902 June	Establishment of an English Branch of the SPM
1902 Sep.-Jul. 1903	Residence in Jena, Germany: further studies
1902 Oct. 2	Dismissal by the SPM board

### **Sudan United Mission in Britain**

1902 Nov. 13	Founding of a British Sudan Pioneer Mission in Sheffield
1903 July	Doctoral Exams in Freiburg, Germany Return to Great Britain
1904	Studying Hausa in Tripoli
1904 June 15	Official Founding of the Sudan United Mission Director of SUM
1904 July-Dec.	Establishment of first SUM missions station in Nigeria British Citizenship
1906	SUM branch in USA
1906 Aug. 11	Death of Lucy Kumm, Northfield, USA
1907	SUM branch in South Africa
1909	Crossing Africa from the Niger to the Nile
1912	Plans for a German branch of the SUM
1912	SUM branches in Australia and New Zealand
1912	Marriage to Gertrude Cato, Melbourne, Australia

### **USA**

1914	Emigration to New Jersey, USA, due to World War I Secretary of SUM-US American Citizenship
1924	Resignation from SUM
1925	Move to Pacific Beach, California because of ill health Cultivating passion fruit
1930 Aug. 22	Death

## Protestant Mission Agencies in Egypt before 1900<sup>1</sup>

Year	Agency	Church founded	Comments / Focus
1752– 1782	Moravian (German)	-	Tried to revive the Coptic Orthodox Church
1818	British and Foreign Bible Society	-	
1825– 1865	Church Missionary Society	-	
1854	American Mission (Presbyterian)	Coptic Evangelical, Nile Synod (1905),	focused on Copts and Muslims
1860– 1875	Chrischona Mission's Apostle's Road	-	support route to Abyssinia
1857– 1881	Kaiserswerth Hospitals	-	Alexandria Cairo
1861	Mary L. Whately's schools in Cairo	-	turned over to American Mission in 1901
1865	Witteween's chain of mission stations	-	plan failed
1869	Shism from American Mission (Pilkerton)	Christian Brethren (Exclusive)	Canadian Holiness Mission (1870)
1871	Dutch Mission in Kalioub (Witteween)	?	Association for the Spreading of the Gospel (1886)
1878	Brethren	Christian Brethren (Open)	
1879	Seventh-day Adventist Mission	Seventh-day Adventist Church	
1882	Church Missionary Society	Anglican Church	1889 focus on Muslims
1892	North Africa Mission	?	Muslims
1895	Holiness Mission (Canada)	Faith Church <sup>2</sup>	
1895	Peniel Missionary Society	Free Methodist Church	
1898	Egypt Mission Band (Egypt Gen. Mission)	?	Muslims

<sup>1</sup> With an emphasis on the German contribution and on faith missions.

<sup>2</sup> WCE 2001, I, p. 255, lists EFM (USA), presumably *Evangelical Faith Mission*, as the other founding mission.

## 4 The Founding of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Egypt

The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* (SPM) was founded rather spontaneously on the mission field, on January 11, 1900 at Aswan. It was, unlike many other mission agencies, not planned and established at the home base first. However, there certainly must have been a plan, even though it might not have been written down at that time. Therefore, I have chosen to describe the plan first and then the actual developments.

### 4.1 The Plan of Karl Kumm for Evangelizing the Sudan Belt

The task here is to deduce this initial plan from what the founders had published months later, until the end of 1900. I assume that both are essentially identical, and that not much has been modified. I call it “the plan of Karl Kumm”, simply because in public, it was identified with his person, as he later was its main promoter in Germany. However, I recognize that it was also the plan of his wife Lucy and of his father-in-law Grattan Guinness, and I will equally use what these have published. What then was the objective of this new missionary endeavor? Which route and base were chosen? What were the target area and target groups? Which missionary methods were considered? Where was the support and personnel to come from? What were the goals and expectations for the development of the SPM?

The initial objective of the SPM is repeated verbatim many times in the flyers and journals: “The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* is an attempt to be obedient to the last commission of our Saviour and to spread the Kingdom of the Lord in those parts of Central Africa which have not been reached by any other missionary society up to now.”<sup>1</sup> The term “Central Africa” is used interchangeably with *Sudan*, and thus the next phrase in that document aims for the “Christianisation of the Sudan”.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to earlier attempts by other mission agencies, another route is chosen to access the Sudan: the Nile River. This route is regarded as much healthier than the others, because it avoids the deadly climate of the West African coast. Means of transport by railway and steamer have been established recently beyond Egypt up to Khartoum. The victory of the Anglo-Egyptian army

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1 Flyer *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900], p. 1 (German – translation C.S.).

2 Flyer *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900], p. 1.

over the *Mahdi* has put this area under the political influence of a European power, and has made travel possible again.<sup>3</sup>

For a base and point of departure on this route, the town of Aswan is praised as “the newly opened Nile door to Central Africa”.<sup>4</sup> In fact, this frontier town, which still holds the terminus of the Egyptian railway, was generally considered the “gate to the Sudan”.<sup>5</sup> There was no other large town on the Nile further south in Egypt, where Europeans could live. During the Winter season, it was a popular health resort. Its climate was considered among the healthiest in the world.<sup>6</sup> It was from Aswan that the SPM wanted to enter the Sudan. However, which area, and which among the many peoples of the vast Sudan, did the SPM target in particular? There are two geographical areas which find special mention: the region of the Upper Nile extending south from Aswan to Khartoum and the kingdoms of *Kordofan*, *Darfur* and *Wadai*.<sup>7</sup> The latter kingdoms extend on the route between Khartoum and *Lake Chad*. In fact, the first investigation tour planned by Karl Kumm for Fall 1900 was to cover exactly this area, from Aswan via Khartoum to *Lake Chad*.<sup>8</sup> However, often enough, prayerful thoughts extended to the “regions beyond”, all the way across the Central Sudan to the Niger River.

As a first step, the people groups closest to Aswan came into view: the Nubians and the *Bisharin* Bedouins. Nubia, which extends from Aswan half way to Khartoum, was immediately covered by a Bible colporteur, and was highlighted in the first detailed reports.<sup>9</sup> The nomadic *Bisharin* were of special interest to Karl Kumm, who tried to learn one of their languages.<sup>10</sup> They were initially gathered – among others – in a school in Aswan.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, a hierarchy of target areas and groups could be established: After starting among the Nubians and *Bisharin*, the SPM wanted to explore and to extend as soon as possible to Khartoum, and from there to *Kordofan* and *Darfur* as the major target areas. However, on its agenda were not only these parts of the Eastern and Central Sudan, but also the whole of the unevange-

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3 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 25, 1900, pp. 8–10.

4 *Regions Beyond*, April 1900, p. 168. This is the first report published after the founding of the SPM.

5 Printed circular, Feb. 26, 1901 (English).

6 *SPM Minutes* Nov. 15, 1900, p. 8. It was healthy only in winter, as later painful experience would show.

7 *Flyer Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900], p. 1; Typed circular Sept. 24, 1900, p. 3; *SPM Minutes* Nov. 15, 1900 “Organisation und Grundsätze”, pp. 14f., § I; Zimmerlin additionally mentions *Wadai* in his report about Grattan Guinness' speeches at *Chrischona* (Blum-Ernst 1951, p. 14).

8 Typed circular, Sept. 24, 1900, p. 2 (English). This trip was postponed (*Flyer Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900]) and never made. Only in 1909 was Karl Kumm able to cross the Sudan in the other direction – from the Niger to the Nile. Cf. Karl Kumm: *From Hausaland to Egypt through the Sudan*. London 1910.

9 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, and “Tagesanbruch in Nubien?”, *SP* 1900, No. 2, pp. 9–17.

10 *RB* 1900, p. 167. Kumm later even wrote a *Bisharin* grammar.

11 Printed circular, Feb. 26, 1901, p. 1: “the wild Bishareen of the desert ... whom we specially hoped to reach have largely forsaken the school”.

lized Sudan Belt.<sup>12</sup> And as if this were not enough, the wedding card of the Kumms contained a sweeping appeal for prayer for all the unevangelized regions in view from Aswan: westward the Sahara, eastward from the Egyptian Desert to Southern Persia and *Beluchistan*, and of course the Sudan Belt itself, with a population estimated between 50–100 million at that time.<sup>13</sup> This attitude is well summarized in the modern slogan, “think globally – act locally”.

The missionary methods were focused on four avenues: “1) Working on the translation of the Bible and other good books in some of the still unknown 100 languages and dialects of the Sudan. 2) Schools for children and adults. 3) Evangelism. 4) Colportage work.” It was hoped that missionary doctors would soon supplement these efforts. However, their work, though respected as an important means to further missionary work, was not considered as on an equal level with the former four methods, but only as “a helping hand”.<sup>14</sup>

Concerning the home base and personnel, the SPM was expected “to be largely staffed and financed from Germany”.<sup>15</sup> Either the new missionary effort was to be adopted by an existing mission agency, or, if this were not successful, a new mission agency should be formed.<sup>16</sup> Since Karl Kumm was a native German, Germany seemed the better choice for a home base. Guinness felt that Germans could more easily win the confidence of Muslims in Sudan, as Germans had no colonies in Muslim areas, and had not been at war in the Sudan, unlike Great Britain.<sup>17</sup> There might also have been a financial logic: The Guinnesses only knew too well that existing mission agencies in Great Britain were having a hard time in raising their support and could not take up additional work.

The speedy establishment of a home base and a rapid development of the new SPM were expected – at least during the first few months. Kumm expected to raise enough funds, and to win and send several young men as missionaries to the Sudan, already in Fall 1900, and to start on an expedition through the major target areas of *Kordofan* and *Darfur* to *Lake Chad*, during the

12 The printed circular of Feb. 26, 1901, additionally mentions the kingdoms of *Wadai*, *Bagirmi*, *Adamawa*, *Bornu*, *Kanem*, *Sokoto*, *Nupé*, and *Gando*, the desert tribes, and settled peoples such as the *Dinkas*, *Shillooks*, and *Bagarra*.

13 *RB* April 1900, pp. 167f. (English) – see Appendix I for full text; Flyer *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900] in German. This approach and the phrase “From the last light-point on the Nile we write to you”, remind one of Lucy Guinness’ earlier survey articles in *Regions Beyond* portraying mission stations as white points on a black map of Africa and of other maps, drawing lines from a particular spot, across unreached areas, to the next missionary presence.

14 Flyer *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [1900], p. 1, and *SP* No. 1, Oct. 1900, p. 7 (both German – translation C.S.).

15 *RB* April 1900, p. 167.

16 *Material*, p. 1. Possibly, Grattan Guinness had thought about the *Chrischona Mission* from the beginning, because of its earlier involvement with the “Apostles’ Road” through Egypt. *Chrischona* seems to have been the first place to which Guinness and the Kumms went together in Europe.

17 Held 1925, p. 7.

Winter season.<sup>18</sup> The founders of the SPM were convinced that political circumstances would make an approach to the Sudan via the Nile possible, and that in Aswan the Sudan “lay before their door like an open book”.<sup>19</sup> However, the SPM did not develop as quickly and easily as it had been founded.<sup>20</sup>

## 4.2 The Founding of the SPM in Aswan (January – April 1900)

Is it true, as some have maintained, that a founding date of the SPM cannot be given – just as with “a true African birth”?<sup>21</sup> Was the SPM really founded with unreasonable haste, as others criticized later?<sup>22</sup> Or was there more planning to the process than first impressions show? There are not many documents on this period, but quite a number more than the archives of the SPM hold, and more than what was available to earlier historians of the SPM.<sup>23</sup> These sources contain only few precise dates. Thus, I am trying to reconstruct a logical sequence of events, while enabling the reader to distinguish between my reconstruction and the facts, established by the sources – at least when consulting the footnotes.

The meeting of Karl Kumm and Lucy Guinness in Upper Egypt, as well as their marriage, must have been planned months ahead. Plans must have been finalized, before Kumm left on his desert tour at the end of October 1899. For Kumm had most probably not been able to receive any mail afterwards, until reaching Luxor in the beginning of January 1900.<sup>24</sup> However, already on December 20, he told residents of the Oasis *Beeris* that his bride was waiting for him on the Upper Nile, and he was given a young gazelle as a present for her.<sup>25</sup>

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18 *Letter 1* of the SPM claims: “They [the volunteers] are here, ready to go” (p. 3). At the date of writing, September 24, 1900, “outfits” for the first few missionaries were expected by October 1, 1900.

19 *SP* Oct. 1900, p. 4.

20 *Flyer Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900], p. 2.

21 Held 1925, p. 6.

22 Warneck: “*Missionsunternehmungen*”. 1901, p. 184. See Chapter 5.6 for a detailed analysis of the criticism.

23 In addition to the sources mentioned in Chapter 4.1, the most important are partial descriptions of the events by Grattan Guinness (*Evanhelizing [sic!] Nubia*, 1900; *Lucy Guinness Kumm – Her Life Story*, 1907, pp. 17–19) and by Samuel Ali Hiseen in his *Autobiography* written around 1910. The letters by the first German missionary of the SPM, Kupfernagel, from 1901 to 1903, also claim to contain authentic information on the founding period – mostly negative, and not reported otherwise. However, this source can only be used very carefully, for several reasons: Kupfernagel was no eyewitness of these events. Furthermore, Kupfernagel was strongly biased against Karl Kumm, as were his informants, some of whom were not eyewitnesses either. He did not countercheck this information with Kumm, but on the contrary, used it against him. Finally, his denigration of another member of the SPM, Samuel Ali Hiseen, did not prove very reliable later. It revealed, rather, a certain pettiness of character and a tendency to major on the past faults of others.

24 Kumm 1900, p. 77: Kumm was anxious to reach Luxor in order to collect his mail on January 5, 1900, as he had “not heard from Europe for weeks”. And in fact, there was “a heavy bundle of correspondence” awaiting him. He also expected to be “reunited with his beloved” on that day.

25 Kumm 1900, pp. 38, 70, 78.

#### 4.2.1 Grattan Guinness alone with his Daughter Lucy

Grattan Guinness had been evangelizing in Berlin, Germany, for ten days in December 1899.<sup>26</sup> If this was at the very beginning of the month, Guinness and his daughter Lucy might well have arrived at Aswan on December 19, and have spent Christmas there. Guinness only briefly interrupted his evangelistic speaking engagements in Europe, to travel to Egypt.<sup>27</sup> Most probably, he did not only have the giving away of Lucy in mind. It is very likely that he also came with the preconceived intention, as well as some funds,<sup>28</sup> to start some kind of missionary initiative, which would take advantage of the opening up of the Sudan. This had been on his mind since his journey to Egypt one year earlier. Once arrived in Aswan, he quickly went about the realization of his plans. During their stay in Aswan, “the condition of the *Bishareen* of the neighboring desert, and of the Nubians, whose country begins [there] ... attracted their attention.”<sup>29</sup>

He ventured to open a school for them in Aswan. An American lady had promised to pay the rent for two years.<sup>30</sup> Guinness also sought advice from the church of the *American Mission* in Aswan, as to who would qualify as a teacher for his planned school. He was pointed to Girgis Yacoub from *Esna*, who had previously been a teacher at the *American Mission's* school there. Girgis Yacoub was about to move away again from Aswan, because of the heat. Therefore, he only answered Guinness' call after some initial reluctance.<sup>31</sup> Guinness rented a building for the school and arrangements were made for its commencement on January 12, 1900.<sup>32</sup>

26 *RB* 1900, p. 10.

27 Guinness was considering further invitations to other revival centers of Germany (*RB* 1900, p. 10). These were probably a result of his speaking at the *Blankenburg Conference* in August 1899, and of traveling in *Saxony* and *Bohemia* (*RB* 1899, pp. 404, 437).

28 Paying the salaries of a teacher and an evangelist, as well as renting a school, and attempting to buy property, all required some funds. The sources do not tell, whether Guinness met the American sponsor of the school earlier, or only in Aswan (*Material*, p. 1).

29 Guinness 1907, p. 17.

30 *Material*, p. 1. Possibly, this sponsor is identical with Mrs. McCelure of New York, who sponsored tuition for Nubian students from *Elephantine* (Kupfermagel – SPM, Feb. 1, 1902).

31 Von Blücher – SPM, April 24, 1902, presents the history of Girgis Yacoub. He had left the *American Mission School* in *Esna*, because he did not receive the requested raise in salary after his marriage. He then went to Aswan, to work as a contractor. Girgis was warmly recommended to Guinness by the evangelist Musa. The missionaries' assistant, Miss Henriette von Blücher, later claimed, that he was “lured” into the SPM by Guinness and Kumm, and that Guinness had painted glowing pictures concerning the future development of the mission agency and of his salary, in order to overcome his reluctance. Girgis himself seems to have talked about the “fascinating influence” Guinness had on him (von Blücher – SPM, April 25, 1902). The heat and provinciality of Aswan is still an obstacle today, in winning educated Egyptian workers from further north for the mission hospital. Generally, no Egyptian from the lower provinces would move further south voluntarily.

32 Guinness 1907, p. 18. The date is given by Kupfermagel – SPM, Oct. 2, 1902. It seems improbable to me that Kumm was involved from the beginning, since he arrived in Aswan at the earliest only four days before the opening of the school.

Concerning the Nubians, Guinness also enquired whether there was a teacher acquainted with their language. He was told about a Christian Nubian, called Ali Hiseen, who was working at the Post Office of the barrage works at *Schellaal*, a few miles across the desert. Without delay, Guinness went there and asked for Ali Hiseen. After a moment, the Nubian recognized that the tall, white haired gentleman was his former teacher at Harley College in London. Then Guinness, too, remembered his former student. Samuel Ali Hiseen<sup>33</sup> immediately followed Guinness' invitation to Aswan. There, probably in the presence of Lucy Guinness,<sup>34</sup> Samuel told about "the neglected condition" of his people, and his own experiences since leaving Harley College. He longed to return to evangelistic work among his people.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, he did not hesitate when Guinness suggested that he should leave his job at the post office, and enter the work for which he was trained.<sup>36</sup> According to his recollections, Samuel entered the services of the SPM in February 1900.<sup>37</sup>

In early January, it was time for the Guinnesses to travel down the Nile to Luxor, for the rendezvous with Karl Kumm, whom they expected back from his desert journey.<sup>38</sup> Grattan Guinness used the waiting time for visits with the *American Mission* in Luxor.<sup>39</sup> The person responsible for the area up to Aswan was Dr. Murch. Guinness asked him, whether and why the *American Mission* was not working among the *Bisharin* and Nubians. The response was that they had enough to do with the Copts. Dr. Murch encouraged Guinness to realize his plans for a mission school in Aswan, as long as he limited it to Muslims, particularly *Bisharin* and Nubians. For the *American Mission*

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33 As he is a Nubian, I find it most appropriate to spell his third name the Nubian way (Hiseen), and not in an arabized form (Hussein or Hissein) as others have done. I thank Gerald Lauche for this suggestion (Lauche – Sauer, August 11, 1992). – For purposes of reference, his adopted baptismal name of Samuel is used, as this is the identifier. To refer to him as Hiseen, following the western use of quoting by family name, is inappropriate, as it would actually mean calling him by the name of his grandfather.

34 Guinness is writing this whole passage in the "we"-style, but mentions no other party by name. As Samuel Ali Hiseen also mentions only Guinness as his visitor at the post office, I assume that only Guinness went there, and that Lucy stayed in Aswan. (Guinness 1900, pp. 1f.).

35 Guinness 1900, pp. 1–2; the version given by Samuel Ali Hiseen in his *Autobiography* is more detailed, but essentially identical.

36 Samuel: *Autobiography*, p. 185.

37 Samuel – SPM, Aug. 26, 1902.

38 There is no order of events given. But I assume that the initiation of a missionary work and the organization of a school needed more time than the few days between Kumm's return from the desert and his engagement to Lucy. There are two competing locations given for the rendezvous: Aswan (Guinness 1907, p. 17) and Luxor (Cleverdon 1936, p. 32). I assume that Luxor was the planned location, because of the note in Kumm's manuscript about his desert tour (Kumm 1900, p. 77). But Aswan is not wrong, as they spent most of their time together there.

39 The discussion was later related by Dr. Murch to the SPM missionary Kupfernagel, who reported it to his board (Kupfernagel – SPM, Nov. 23, 1901). There is no precise reference to any date. But the report gives the impression that Guinness already intended to found a school in Aswan, but had not yet done so. On the other hand, Dr. Murch did not gather from the conversation that this mission agency should be under the direction of Kumm, which suggests that Kumm had not arrived yet.

had its own school in Aswan, and the Guinneses' school was not to take on any children of Copts or members of the Presbyterian Church. Guinness promised to keep this comity agreement.

#### 4.2.2 The Guinneses together with Karl Kumm

On the evening of Friday, January 5, 1900, Karl Kumm reached Luxor, having left his caravan behind. He hurried to get to the post office to collect his mail, and had to return to his caravan the same night. It is probable that he met the Guinneses as expected – but briefly.<sup>40</sup> On Sunday, January 7, his caravan disbanded in Luxor, and his German travel companion, Paul Krusius, left him.<sup>41</sup> Kumm then traveled south to Aswan, and would have arrived on the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup>. The Guinneses might have gone ahead, or traveled together with Kumm.

Now, their new phase of life began, which they had anticipated<sup>42</sup> for some time: Karl Kumm and Lucy Guinness became engaged on Thursday, January 11, 1900 in Aswan. They joined their hands, by the Nile, over the clasped hands of two *Bisharin*.<sup>43</sup> This had symbolic significance: They joined their lives for a common mission in Africa.<sup>44</sup> Lucy later described that day, saying: “We stood for Christ in Africa. What can we do for Him in Africa?”<sup>45</sup> Thus, the founding date of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, for them, coincided with their engagement.

The two *Bisharin* were Kumm's assistants, from whom he was learning the language, collecting vocabulary and grammar.<sup>46</sup> They might well be the two *Ababde* Bedouins,<sup>47</sup> whom Kumm had hired to lead his caravan back from the Oasis of *Khârga* to Luxor. Kumm had won them as friends. On their journey, he had listened to their stories, and had asked one of them to sing some of their old war songs.<sup>48</sup> They might have accompanied Kumm to Aswan for his language studies.

40 Kumm (1900, pp. 77f.), expected “to be united with his beloved on this day”. Cleverdon 1936, p. 32, writes that Kumm found Lucy Guinness awaiting him in Luxor.

41 Kupfernagel once regretted in writing to Krusius, that Krusius had only come as far south in Egypt as Luxor, and did not know the conditions in Aswan (Kupfernagel – Krusius, May 9, 1901).

42 Kumm 1900, p. 38. Kumm was reveling during his desert tour about the “close goal of a new epoch in life”.

43 Guinness 1907, p. 18, and Cleverdon 1936, p. 34. If they stayed at the Cataract Hotel, the engagement might well have taken place on the terrace overlooking the Nile, one of the most romantic spots of Aswan.

44 Guinness tellingly describes the engagement from a mission perspective: “we were led to begin in the above-mentioned way this new mission among them [the ‘neglected people of the Sudan’, e.g. Nubians and *Bisharin*]. It was on this occasion that I gave my consent to my daughter's marriage with Dr. Kumm. As a token of this consent their hands were joined above the clasped hands of two of the Bishareen ... From this time onward to her death Lucy gave herself heart and soul to the evangelization of the Sudan” (Guinness 1907, p. 18).

45 Cleverdon 1936, p. 34, quotes from a letter of Lucy Kumm.

46 Cleverdon 1936, p. 34. Guinness also tells about Kumm having collected “from the Bishareen a vocabulary of the principal words of their language” (Guinness 1907, p. 17).

47 Grattan Guinness might have confused their ethnic origin.

48 Kumm 1900, pp. 73f.: “Diese Beduinen wurden später noch meine besten Freunde”. The name of the leader of the caravan was Muhamed (p. 77).

According to Grattan Guinness, Karl Kumm had “become profoundly interested in the *Bisharin* Arabs of Upper Egypt”.<sup>49</sup>

How did the plans of the Guinneses and of Karl Kumm fit together? Kumm had his focus on the *Bisharin*, and had been exploring caravan routes to the Sudan. His heart was with the “freeborn of the desert”, and his adventurer spirit was drawn to venture further into the heart of Africa. Lucy Guinness had devoted her literary talents<sup>50</sup> to missionary work and had been publishing the needs of the Sudan. She had always wanted to become a missionary herself.<sup>51</sup> Lately, she had reviewed Andrew Watson's history of the *American Mission* in Egypt.<sup>52</sup> This might have been part of her personal preparation for Egypt. Her father, Grattan Guinness, wanted missionaries to enter the Sudan. In Aswan, he initiated the beginnings of a missionary work which was focusing on the nearest and nevertheless unreached peoples of the Sudan, the *Bisharin*, and Nubians. Somehow, all this fits together. The new missionary endeavor was his “wedding present” to Lucy and Karl Kumm.

One day after the engagement, on Friday, January 12, the school was opened, with Girgis Yacoub as teacher.<sup>53</sup> The three Europeans must soon have ventured to Cairo for the wedding, which took place only three weeks later. They must have been busy with wedding preparations. The papers had to be prepared at the German Consulate. For the rest of January, Kumm probably also worked on the manuscript for a German book on his desert tour, entitled *An expedition into the Oases of the Libyan Desert*.<sup>54</sup>

At that time, Kumm's relationship to the *North Africa Mission* seems to have deteriorated. He had probably been on leave<sup>55</sup> for his desert trip, was expected back in Alexandria in mid-January,<sup>56</sup> and was supposed to reinforce the newly opened station at *Shîbîn-El-Kôm* in the Delta,<sup>57</sup> to where his belongings had already been transported.<sup>58</sup> This had already been made

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49 *RB* 1900, p. 167.

50 Cf. the table on Lucy Guinness for her publications.

51 *RB* 1900, p. 167.

52 *RB* Nov. 1900, pp. 441–447.

53 Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 2, 1902.

54 The book manuscript, which I discovered in the archives of descendants of Kumm's sister Mathilde, is written in German and illustrated for publication. The title page bears the date “January 1900”, which most probably refers to the writing of the manuscript after the completion of the journey. The 94-page manuscript has most probably never been published and bears the title: *Ein Ausflug in die Oasen der Lybischen Wüste* (See Appendix II for a more complete description).

55 Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 2, 1902: “Für die Reise war er als Hilfsmissionar der NAM länger beurlaubt”.

56 *NA* Feb. 1900, p. 15.

57 Hooper / Upson: “New work in the Nile Delta”. *NA*, Jan. 1900, p. 10, and Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 2, 1900.

58 According to Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 2, 1902, Kumm's colleague Hooper had transported Kumm's personal property to *Shîbîn-El-Kôm* at his own cost.

public by the NAM in its journal. With the new ventures which Grattan Guinness had started in Aswan, and Kumm's heart drawn much further south, the old plans of NAM for him, drawn up in May 1899, definitely were neither attractive nor suitable for him. Maybe he was uncertain how to tell the NAM. This might explain why Kumm informed and invited his superior at the NAM in Alexandria by cable, only one day before his wedding. Understandably, none of the NAM workers came. At least, this is what Kupfernagel later gathered from Karl Kumm's former superior at NAM, the Rev. W. Dickins. We must be careful about this source though, because both were severely biased against Kumm.<sup>59</sup> However, if they are right, Karl Kumm had neither asked his board for the prescribed permission to marry, nor respected the proper form to ask for dismissal. Both supposedly had to be done three months in advance.<sup>60</sup> Possibly, Kumm only resigned from NAM after his marriage – or his action was taken as a resignation.<sup>61</sup> Kumm might still have hoped that the NAM would co-opt the new venture, but this did not happen. We only know that the head of the NAM published on February 14, 1900, that Kumm had resigned.<sup>62</sup> As Kumm was the son-in-law of one of the co-founders of the NAM, namely Guinness, the director, Glenny, probably just let him go.<sup>63</sup> However, at least some of the NAM personnel in Egypt felt offended by Karl Kumm, and spread their disapproval among missionaries in Egypt.

Thus, the wedding of Karl Kumm and Lucy Guinness on February 3, 1900, took place without his former missionary colleagues of the NAM. The legal ceremony was held at the German Consulate, followed by the service at the *American Mission's* Church. Rev. Andrew Watson<sup>64</sup> married the couple, assisted by Grattan Guinness. There were further missionaries attending the wedding, who later gained celebrity: Douglas Thornton and W.H.T. Gairdner, who played the

59 According to Kupfernagel, Dickins had said literally, concerning the missing applications for marriage and dismissal: "Wie kann ein Mann, der so jeder göttlichen Ordnung ins Gesicht schlägt, ein solches Glaubenswerk ... leiten". – He seems to have forgotten, that these procedures were human regulations! Additionally, he commented "with assurance", concerning Kumm's plans of gaining a PhD: "Ich kann Sie versichern, daß Mr. Kumm nie den Doctor machen wird, wenn es dabei auf seinen Fleiß, seine Ausdauer und seine Kenntnisse ankommt". (Kupfernagel – SPM, July 13, 1902). At least in this case, time proved that he was wrong.

60 Kupfernagel – SPM, July 13, 1902, and Oct. 2, 1902.

61 According to the NAM's *Annual Report* for Egypt, Kumm resigned after his marriage (NA Oct. 1900, p. 129).

62 NA March 1900, p. 27.

63 Glenny later wrote to Ziemendorff, "daß allerdings Herr Kumm ohne Kündigung aus der Missionarstellung ausgeschieden sei, als er Miss Guinness heiraten wollte" (Ziemendorff – SPM board members, Sept. 18, 1902, quoted in *Material*, p. 12).

64 A first name is not given. But it must have been Rev. Andrew Watson DD (?–1916), who entered Egypt in 1861 with the *American Mission* and was their historiographer. His son Charles R. Watson (1871–?) only joined the *American Mission* in 1902 as corresponding secretary and later founded the *American University in Cairo* (Cf. *Cyclopedic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America*. By William Melancton Glasgow. Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1903, p. 610; and *The 45<sup>th</sup> Annual Report ... for the year 1899*. Cairo 1900, p. 3).

music for the hymns. For tea, Kumm had invited 200–300 British soldiers, to whom he had been acting as chaplain for a short time earlier.<sup>65</sup>

After the wedding, Grattan Guinness must soon have left Egypt, as he was reported evangelizing in Berlin again in mid-February 1900.<sup>66</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Karl and Lucy Kumm on Honeymoon in Aswan

The Kumms returned to Aswan for their honeymoon, which was spent on missionary work. They had two rooms on one of Cooks' discarded Nile steamers by the name of Kitty, which anchored at the *Corniche el Nil*, the quay avenue.<sup>67</sup> Probably this was the most economic lodging which was sanitarily acceptable.

During the following eight or more weeks, the Kumms were busy with a diversity of activities, besides sending wedding cards. They discussed plans for the SPM. Having surveyed properties already before their marriage,<sup>68</sup> they now tried to purchase for the SPM one of the nicest properties available on the quay road in Aswan. However, this failed for the time being, due to their lacking funds and the exaggerated financial expectations of the owner.<sup>69</sup> Kumm might also have surveyed the surrounding villages, particularly where Nubians lived.<sup>70</sup> Probably he also continued his language studies with the *Bisharin*, working on vocabulary and grammar.

The school, directed by Girgis Yacoub, was under Kumm's direct supervision. Kumm and Girgis daily met for prayer.<sup>71</sup> The school initially was also attended by some *Bisharin*, but they do not seem to have stayed long.<sup>72</sup> A girls' school was also founded, which was directed by Zame-

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65 Guinness 1907, pp. 18f. briefly, and Cleverdon 1936, p. 34 more in detail.

66 *RB* 1900, pp. 271–274. The note found in Guinness' purse gives diverging months: "Jan: Cairo Lucy's marriage – establishment of Soudan Pioneer Mission; Feb.: Karnack; Mar.: Cairo to Marseilles" (PA Michele Guinness). This is less precise, and therefore less reliable, as the wedding took place in February. A stop in *Karnack* (near Luxor) was a possibility on the way down from Aswan to Cairo, or as a short trip after the wedding.

67 Cleverdon 1936, p. 34. Samuel Ali Hiseen – SPM board, April 29, 1903, records the name of the ship. The Kupfernagels tried to find accommodation on the hotel boat "Setty" (probably misspelled) in January 1901, but it was no longer available (Kupfernagel – SPM, Jan. 16, 1901).

68 Kupfernagel – Kumm, Feb. 7, 1901, tells of a property Grattan Guinness had cast his eye on earlier.

69 Samuel – SPM, April 29, 1903.

70 In his curriculum vitae for his doctoral dissertation, Kumm writes that he was active in geographical research in Nubia: Er "hielt sich vom Januar 1898 bis April 1900 in Ägypten auf, woselbst er sich mit den orientalischen Sprachen beschäftigte und in Nubien und den südlichen Oasen der Libyschen Wüste in geographischer Hinsicht tätig war" (Kumm 1903, p. 66).

71 Von Blücher April 24, 1902: "Herr Kumm hat dann in den 3 Monaten tägliche Gebetsgemeinschaft mit ihm gehabt. Später änderte er [Kumm] sein Benehmen Girgis gegenüber völlig, ohne, daß andere einen Grund dafür sehen können."

72 Kupfernagel – SPM, Nov. 23, 1901, claims that they had only stayed as long as the supplies of bread and dates lasted, which Guinness had sponsored. Kupfernagel seems not to have understood that nomads had to eat something at school, since they could not go home for lunch like the townspeople.

rida,<sup>73</sup> the wife of Girgis Yacoub. She did not receive a salary, but kept the fees she collected.<sup>74</sup> When the Kumms left Aswan in April 1900, the little schools had 30 students.

Kumm was also busy preparing the colportage tour through Nubia, for which Samuel Ali Hiseen had been secured by Guinness. They must have spent quite some time together since February, when Samuel had joined the SPM. They discussed the goals of this journey and how Samuel was to realize them. These were: gathering information and statistics on Nubia, colportage of Bibles and tracts in Arabic, and gathering intelligence on the possibility of founding a mission station at *Dongola*.<sup>75</sup> All of these would serve the mission work. However, the degree of detail which Kumm required for the statistics, indicates that Kumm already planned to use them for scholarly ambitions.<sup>76</sup> This he later did in his doctoral dissertation on the economic geography of Nubia.<sup>77</sup> In preparation for the colportage work, Kumm ordered Bibles at the *British and Foreign Bible Society* in Alexandria, which were sent to post offices along the route.<sup>78</sup> In addition, a certificate from the *Anglo-Egyptian War Office* in Khartoum was acquired, which put the traveler under protection.<sup>79</sup> Two donkeys were bought for the luggage. During these preparations, a warm relationship must have developed between Kumm and Samuel. Samuel was reported to speak very well of Kumm in January 1901,<sup>80</sup> and the Kumms praised Samuel as “our valued Nubian brother”, and “one of the most diligent and conscientious workers it has been our privilege to meet in any land”.<sup>81</sup> They seem to have treated him as a “fellow laborer”.<sup>82</sup> Legally, he was not a missionary, but an indigenous employee of the mission agency.<sup>83</sup> Samuel left Aswan on March 20, 1900 for his six-months-long journey up and down the whole length of Nubia.<sup>84</sup>

73 With this name she signed a letter to “dear honourable lady” [Mrs. Ziemendorff], May 16, 1903.

74 Kupfernagel – SPM, Feb. 1, 1901.

75 Samuel: *Autobiography*, p. 186.

76 Kumm himself had collected extensive statistics and observations during his tour through the oases of the Libyan desert, which he published in scholarly articles back in Germany (See Chapter 3.3 for details).

77 Kumm 1903.

78 Irrsich, BFBS – Th. Ziemendorff, July 8, 1902.

79 Samuel: *Autobiography*, p. 186.

80 Kupfernagel – SPM, Jan. 22, 1901: “Auch die Lehrer, besonders Samuel spricht mit großer Verehrung von ihnen.”

81 Circulars of the Kumms Sept. 24, 1900, and Feb. 26, 1901.

82 They use this term in their circular of Feb. 26, 1901.

83 Kupfernagel – SPM, July 19, 1903. For this reason, there was no diplomatic intervention when his children were kidnapped in 1903.

84 This is the date given by Guinness 1900, p. 1, and *SP* Nov. 1900, p. 11. The divergent date of April 25, 1900, in Samuel's *Autobiography* (186) might be due to an inaccurate memory, and is falsified by Samuel's own letter, giving his whereabouts between *Abu Hoor* and *Koschtanne* on April 11, 1900 (*SP* Nov. 1900, 13).

The Kumms left Aswan in April or early May 1900.<sup>85</sup> All the initiatives started “were just beginnings”.<sup>86</sup> Now, the Kumms needed to recruit a support base and laborers for “evangelizing the Egyptian Sudan and other needy places”. These were to come from Germany, as well as from other continental countries.<sup>87</sup> Their departure at that time certainly was preconceived from the outset for a further reason: the increasing heat made a stay in Aswan during the Summer undesirable and unbearable, at least for the frail health of Lucy Kumm.<sup>88</sup> – Looking back at the origins of the SPM, one could say that the SPM was not founded with unreasonable haste, but through the premeditated spontaneity of Grattan Guinness. It was then put under the responsibility of Karl and Lucy Kumm, who had been partly involved in the founding.

#### 4.2.4 Missionary Work and Churches in Aswan

In 1900 there was no Protestant missionary in permanent residence south of Luxor. In Aswan, the *American Mission* had a congregation under the leadership of an Egyptian evangelist, Musa, who was a convert from Islam. A school had been in existence for ten years, serving Protestant and Orthodox Copts. Missionaries from Luxor, at that time Dr. Chauncey Murch,<sup>89</sup> itinerated up the Nile by boat to Aswan at intervals, evangelizing and spreading Christian literature in Arabic.

There were a few other Protestant congregations in Aswan: The Anglicans had a Canon in Aswan during the tourist season, caring for the needs of the tourists. Among the Egyptian population, the Holiness Mission and the Adventists probably each had a congregation, or at least some adherents.

The only Christian missionaries stationed in Aswan were Roman Catholic.<sup>90</sup> In 1895, the *Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa*, Antonio M. Roveggio<sup>91</sup> (1858–1902) began the mission station in Aswan and built a large church. In 1900 there were several sisters and at least five brothers of the *Comboni Sisters and Brothers* resident in Aswan. They were ministering among the

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85 A more precise date is not available (Kumm 1903, p. 66). Cleverdon (1936, p. 35) has them move back to Europe “after a few months”. Von Blücher (April 24, 1902) reported of three months, during which Kumm and Girgis had met for daily prayer. Counted from the commencement of the school, these days would last until April 12. Counted from the return after the wedding, the departure would be around May 4.

86 Flyer SPM 1900, p. 1.

87 This is the way they are portrayed in *NA* March 1900, p. 77, and in the *Annual Report* of NAM, *Egypt*, *NA* Oct. 1900, p. 129.

88 Cleverdon 1936, p. 36.

89 *Cyclopedic Manual* 1903, p. 609. Dr. Murch and his wife Amelia S. entered the field in 1883.

90 Aldo Benetti: *Aswan 1894–1994*. Helwan 1993 [Imprimatur by *Pie Madri Della Nigrizia*, Zamalek, Cairo], 155 pp., [published as typescript].

91 Benetti 1993, pp. 81f. His successor in 1902 was the German Franz S. Geyer (1859–1943), cf. pp. 83f.

tourists and European workers at the dam construction site and were running a dispensary in *Shellaal* and a school in Aswan for the local population.

### 4.3 Samuel Ali Hiseen, the First Missionary of the SPM

“Only Ali Hisein answered to the sort of man we needed”.<sup>92</sup> Why was Grattan Guinness so sure that among the hundreds of administrative employees at the great Nile Barrage – Englishmen, other Europeans, Egyptians, Arabs, and Nubians – Ali Hiseen was the right man to evangelize Nubia? It is important to know the previous 37 years in the life of Samuel Ali Hiseen, in order to understand the role he played in the SPM. His life story, which has been published several times, also gives some clues to the conflicts he later had with the SPM-missionary Kupfernagel. The source basis is satisfactory. The most important sources are the published extracts of Samuel Ali Hiseen's letters from his colportage tour through Nubia,<sup>93</sup> his handwritten *Autobiography*,<sup>94</sup> and the doctoral dissertation of Karl Kumm,<sup>95</sup> which presents the survey of Nubia which Samuel had done.

#### 4.3.1 Samuel's Life before 1900

Mohammed ibn Ali ibn Hiseen, ibn Hassan, ibn Nassar, who was called Himméd Girem in Nubian, was born in 1863 in the small hamlet *Ficcikool*, at the southern end of the district *Abu Hoor* of Nubia, which is situated 50 miles south of Aswan.<sup>96</sup> When his mother, Amne Hassan Auwad, was divorced and married her third husband, Mohammed was raised by her mother Maryam. When he was about six years old, he ran away to Cairo, because he did not want to go to Qur'an School.<sup>97</sup> After four years of erratic life on the streets of Cairo and other cities of the Nile-Delta, he longed to get to Europe. He happily accepted an offer in early 1873, to go to Switzerland. The Geneva industrialist Théodore Necker (ca. 1830–1881)<sup>98</sup> had commissioned a

92 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 2.

93 His letters were quoted in Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, pp. 2f. and in “Tagesanbruch in Nubien?”, *SP* Nov. 1900, pp. 9–17.

94 I am quoting from the English manuscript of the first part of Samuel Ali Hiseen's *Autobiography* (unpublished, written about 1910). The page numbers of the published German translation are added with each quote (Samuel Ali Hussein: *Aus meinem Leben*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Sudan-Pionier-Mission, 1920).

95 H. Karl Wilhelm Kumm: *Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der wirtschaftsgeographischen Verhältnisse Nubiens von Assuan bis Dongola*. Gotha 1903.

96 Samuel: *Autobiography*, 1910, pp. I–II = Samuel 1920, pp. 7f.

97 Samuel 1910, p. 6 = Samuel 1920, p. 9.

98 Catherine Schneider – Sauer, Aug. 21 and Nov. 10, 2001, reports that the extant letters of Necker in the family archives in Satigny make no mention of Samuel. However, Théodore Necker was very much involved in the revival movement in Geneva and was a co-founder of the *Société Évangélique*, and attended the *General*

Swiss evangelist, Lavanchy,<sup>99</sup> to bring a Muslim boy from Egypt to Switzerland for schooling. He hoped that he would in due course become a Christian and a missionary among his people. Thus, Mohammed spent five years at a renowned boarding school in Peseux near Neuchâtel. After three years, he asked for baptism and took on the Christian name Samuel. In 1879, when he was 16 years old, his sponsor sent him to the missionary training college of Grattan Guinness in Great Britain.

First he learned English and studied Greek and Latin at Harley House, in London's East End. Then, he was sent to the country branch, Cliff College, near Sheffield in Derbyshire. Partly, it was for the milder weather, partly, to give him some experience in manual work on the fields. Cliff College specialized in training students for Africa, where some agricultural experience was considered useful. Thus, the afternoons were spent in gardening and agriculture. On Sundays, the students went preaching in the villages, in Sunday Schools, and once a month in the streets of Sheffield. Samuel was strengthened in his faith by this exercise, and gained valuable experience in preaching.<sup>100</sup> Some time after the Summer break, he was called back to Harley House, where he attended the lectures, and took part in Christian work among the poor in the East End. Most of his courses were focused on the Bible, but he also attended some general college classes.<sup>101</sup> Guinness commented very favorably on his progress in his studies and his "growth in grace".<sup>102</sup>

After a short interlude in Switzerland, in October 1880, Samuel was sent to Beirut for further studies.<sup>103</sup> First, he had to learn Arabic, and to prepare for later medical studies. During the Summer break of 1882, he gathered his first missionary experience among people of other faith: he evangelized among the Druze in Lebanon.<sup>104</sup> In the midst of this, he received notice of the death

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*Assembly of the Evangelical [Free] Churches* in Basel. Among his papers is a transcription of a speech he made in England on the oneness of the human race. It is interesting to note that he strongly rejected any concept of the superiority of the white race, at a time when anthropomorphic studies tended to prove that blacks were inferior to whites. He had a strong feeling for justice and fairness towards other people.

99 Lavanchy was from Morges, in the Departement Vaud, Switzerland. In a memorandum on the properties of the German Protestant Church in Cairo in 1928, it is mentioned that "in December 1872 the evangelist Lavanchie [sic!], a French Swiss, who then was in Cairo as a Winter tourist, applied through the medium of a certain Dr. Appia, to the German Pastor Trautvetter and to the German Consul General for the permission to officiate in the French language" in the German Protestant Church in Cairo. This was recorded as the first service held in French. (SOAS, Egypt Mission Property Trust, Box 1235, Miscellaneous Memoranda 1907/31).

100 Samuel 1910, p. 99 = Samuel 1920, p. 51.

101 He had also learned to play the violin, either in England or in Switzerland (Samuel 1910, p. 103 = Samuel 1920, p. 54). The goal of the studies was that a missionary should know something of everything. The curricula of Harley House and Cliff College in 1879 were probably about the same as described for 1876 in Mrs. H. Grattan [Fanny] Guinness: *The Regions Beyond; or the Story of our Fourth Year at the East End Training Institute, and at Hulme Cliff College, Curbar*. London [1877], pp. 32-36.

102 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 2.

103 Samuel 1910, p. 100 = Samuel 1920, p. 53.

104 Samuel 1910, p. 103 = Samuel 1920, p. 54.

of his sponsor, Théodore Necker. Thus, after 18 months in Beirut, he was called back immediately to Great Britain, by the sister of his sponsor, who was married to the rich industrialist Austey in Devizes, Wiltshire. Unfortunately, this family did not share the vision of Necker, though they were pious Plymouth Brethren. Nevertheless, Samuel considered it as his life's task to bring the gospel to his Nubian people.<sup>105</sup> Owing to his protest against being kept in England, he was sent back to Geneva, where he learned some Ophthalmology at the Rothschild Hospital. Finally, after a total of 11 years of training, mostly in Europe, he was sent back to Cairo in 1884. As usual, he had not been asked, but it was decided for him. He was promised to Miss Mary Louisa Whately, as a teacher for her mission school in Cairo.<sup>106</sup>

However, he left this school after six months, because he did not receive his salary, and worked for a few months at the Catholic school of a Syrian, named Amin.<sup>107</sup> Then his Nubian relatives discovered him, and under their pressure, he returned to his home district of *Abu Hoor* in Nubia in late 1884. This was not easy for him, because he had forgotten his mother tongue, feared the tremendous heat of Nubian summers, and the ruinous obligation of bringing presents for the whole district, as all were relatives.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, he mastered the challenge.

In *Abu Hoor*, Samuel became part of a very close society of simple peasants. After the initial month of celebrations, visits, presents, and counter-presents, he made up his mind as to how he could live among them. He adapted to their simple dress and food, and lived and worked as they did. In retrospect, he distinguished three phases.<sup>109</sup> In an initial stage, he tried to come as close as possible to them, in order to get to know their customs, and to study and understand their beliefs. He remained incognito as a Christian, leaving them in their belief that he was a Muslim. However, he did not share in their practices of Folk-Islam, such as visits at the graves of the saints.<sup>110</sup>

105 Samuel 1910, p. 106 = Samuel 1920, p. 56.

106 Samuel 1910, p. 107 = Samuel 1920, p. 56, gives an extensive report on his discussion with the headmistress about his unpaid salary. This was his first experience with missionary work in Egypt, and it was a negative experience of the treatment of indigenous workers by European missionaries. He did not know any other missionary work then, and therefore did not apply for work elsewhere, e.g. with the *American Mission*. – On Mary Louisa Whately, see the book by her sister, E. Jane Whately: *The Life and Work of Mary Louisa Whately*. London: The Religious Tract Society, s.a. [ca. 1890], 159 pp., and the countless popular books out of her own pen. She was born on August 31, 1824, daughter of Richard Whately, the Archbishop of Dublin. After a stay in Cairo in 1856 for health reasons, she started Christian schools and missionary work among Muslims there. She was well known in Christian circles, e.g. in 1878, a paper of hers on “English Mission Schools at Cairo” was read at the Mildmay Conference (*Conference on Foreign Missions, Mildmay 1878*, pp. 333–341). She had also traveled to Switzerland, e.g. in 1888. She died on March 9, 1890 (Whately, p. 148).

107 Samuel 1910, pp. 109ff. = Samuel 1920, p. 58. The only reason why he left there was that his conscience did not allow him to take over the teaching of religious instruction according to Roman-Catholic doctrine, when he was asked to do it.

108 Samuel 1910, pp. 118ff. = Samuel 1920, pp. 62f.

109 Samuel 1910, p. 143 = Samuel 1920, p. 77.

110 Samuel 1910, pp. 142f. = Samuel 1920, pp. 76f.

Though formally Muslims, they were very ignorant about Islam. Samuel himself only knew a little about Islam as he had read in books in Europe, which he deemed very insufficient. With growing understanding, reflection and more discerning selection started. He tried to point out to them where they were contradicting themselves. He withdrew from some activities in which before he used to participate, and started to come out more openly with his Christian confession. Finally, he was in a position to present the gospel to his Nubian compatriots. He sought to put forth the truth “clearly, distinctly, patiently, perseveringly and lovingly”.<sup>111</sup> In disputes with Muslim Sheiks and in individual discussions, he emphasized the role of mind and conscience. He argued logically, using the complete Qur’an as “Law”, and the complete Bible as “Gospel”: “By this way I lived among them – first show them their mistakes from their book – secondly show them the power which is found in Tourah & Injil to enable man to come to God for repentance, and receive from Him pardon of his sins through Jesus Christ”.<sup>112</sup>

He was careful to win their confidence, and to avoid any stumbling block in word or action. He bought back his inherited fields, which others had taken during his absence, instead of going to court for them. As soon as he revealed himself as a Christian, he not only had to suffer resistance and threats, but also an attack on his life, which he survived against all expectations. He was ready to forgive the attacker for Christ's sake, as against the urging of his relatives to sue the attacker. This behavior enabled him to live for about 15 years among his own. Finally, many came to him for counsel and help in their most secret matters.<sup>113</sup>

In 1896, an invitation by his friend, the missionary Lavanchy, to assist in an exhibition in Geneva, brought welcome fellowship and strengthening of his faith, after much loneliness. As he was in great need in those days, the financial support received, gave him economic relief for some time. Unfortunately, his wife died of Cholera just then, and he had to return in haste to Nubia. When his funds were depleted, he was forced to seek work in Cairo, leaving his household in the care of his sister. From June to September 1898, Samuel served as a *dragoman* (interpreter) of Colonel Rhod, in the war of the Anglo-Egyptian army against the *Mahdist* army of the Chalifa Abdullahi.<sup>114</sup> After the fall of Khartoum, on September 2, 1898, Samuel returned to Cairo, and from there went back to *Abu Hoor*, where he stayed for some time. In 1899, he found work with

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111 Samuel 1910, p. 143 = Samuel 1920, p. 77.

112 Samuel 1910, p. 169 = Samuel 1920, p. 89.

113 Samuel 1910, p. 165 = Samuel 1920, p. 87.

114 On the defeat of the *Mahdi* and the battle of *Omdurman*, cf. Peter M. Holt: *The Mahdist State in the Sudan 1881–1898. Its origin, development and overthrow*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970 [1958], 295 pp., and Marlowe 1965, p. 155. Among the many eyewitness accounts of the battles, cf. G.W. Steevens: *With Kitchener to Khartoum*. London etc.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, s.a., 384 pp.

the Egyptian postal service. After some weeks in Aswan, he was transferred to the post office of the Barrage construction site in *Shellaal*.<sup>115</sup> In Aswan, he was in fellowship with the Presbyterian Church of the *American Mission*. Thus in early 1900, some member of that church<sup>116</sup> pointed Grattan Guinness to the Nubian Christian, and Samuel joined the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* in February 1900.

### 4.3.2 Samuel's Qualifications and Position

Guinness had been looking for someone who spoke Nubian, and would be able to teach. However, in Samuel Ali Hiseen, he found much more. Samuel probably was the only Nubian Christian then, at least in Nubia. Far from being a new convert, he had been baptized 24 years ago. He had received a western education, spoke French and English fluently, besides Nubian and Arabic. He had received the kind of missionary training which Guinness thought best. He had missionary experience among his own people, and among the Druze. He had some medical knowledge, experience as a translator, and in teaching in his Nubian village. Beyond all these qualifications, Guinness had known and trained him personally, and even published the story of his youth.<sup>117</sup> Thus, there was mutual affection and trust. Above all, Samuel did not seem interested in just a job for his living. On the contrary, he longed to return to his calling, of evangelizing his Nubian people. Therefore, Guinness was convinced that "the Lord in his providence" had enabled him to discover "the sort of man we needed to help to bring the water of life into this moral desert."<sup>118</sup>

Thus, Samuel Ali Hiseen was not employed by the SPM as a teacher, as was Girgis Yacoub, but as an evangelist. He was given responsibility for evangelistic work, without supervision. He was to be on his own for six months, responsible for an assistant, funds, and printed material, and far from any help, on a colportage tour through Nubia. Therefore, I think it is justified to call Samuel Ali Hiseen "the first missionary" of the SPM. He had been trained as a missionary, and was doing the work of a missionary. He was the first to do evangelistic work in Nubia, even though he was not a missionary in the technical sense, i.e. of being sent from the home base of a missionary society.

115 Samuel 1910, p. 182 = Samuel 1920, p. 94.

116 This might have been either the evangelist Musa, or Girgis Yacoub, whom Samuel called "a native friend" (Samuel 1910, p. 185).

117 Guinness had published the story of Samuel's youth as "Ali's Adventures" (Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 1). This was possibly a publication for children. I could not verify it anywhere, neither as an article in the Guinnesses' journal *The Regions Beyond*, nor as a separate publication in the holdings of the British Library.

118 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 2.

### 4.3.3 The Colportage Tour through Nubia in 1900

Nubia extends about 500 miles along the Nile from *Chattara* (three train-stations north of Aswan) to *al-Debba* (a little south of *Old Dongola*),<sup>119</sup> covering about half the distance between Aswan and Khartoum.<sup>120</sup> The Nile valley usually is only 500–1,000 meters wide there, with the river itself taking up 200–400 meters. Therefore, arable land is scarce for the Nubians, who then subsisted on the cultivation of palm trees and small fields. The land was artificially irrigated, and was enclosed by barren deserts of sand and mountain plateaus.<sup>121</sup> Therefore, traveling up the Nile on one side, and back down on the other, would enable the traveler to survey the whole country. The area has its name from the majority population, the Nubians. They consist of two major linguistic groups. Those speaking *Kenuuzi/Dongolawi* are the *Kenuuz* and the *Dangala*, and those speaking what is summarized as *Nobiin*, are the Mahas,<sup>122</sup> Sukkot, and Fadija. Other smaller groups are the *Beja*<sup>123</sup> (to which belong the tribes of the *Bisharin* and the *Ababde*), and a minority of Aleqat Arabs.<sup>124</sup>

Nubia had become an Egyptian province in 1860. Since 1880, it had suffered from the ravages of the *Mahdi's* rule.<sup>125</sup> The population had been diminished to one fifth in the southern districts. There were 193,075 people registered in 1,059 villages.<sup>126</sup> With the *Mahdist* regime overthrown by the Anglo-Egyptian Army in 1898, a new era of development for Nubia could be expected.<sup>127</sup>

Thus, Samuel Ali Hiseen was sent to explore this land, to gather information and statistics, to spread Bibles and tracts in Arabic,<sup>128</sup> and to inquire about the possibility of founding a mission

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119 Old Dongola is in Arabic *Dongola al-ajuuza*, and is the former capital of the Christian kingdom of *Makuria*.

120 Today, much of it is covered by the new Aswan Lake. See map on Nubia.

121 Kumm: *Nubia* 1903, pp. 12f. Samuel Ali Hiseen describes Nubia in his *Autobiography* Part I, pp. 188–208 (= Samuel 1920, p. 96–107).

122 Samuel named the *Saidokko* besides the *Fadija*.

123 "Beja". In: *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*. London 1992.

124 Cf. Gerald Lauche: "A historical survey of the research on the Nile-Nubian languages". In: *Irki* 2 (2001) [forthcoming]; Gerald Lauche: *The Nubians – an Unreached People* (unpublished manuscript); Kumm: *Nubia* 1903, pp. 45–50 and Samuel 1910, pp. 190f. (= Samuel 1920, p. 100).

125 On the reign of the *Mahdi*, cf. Marlowe 1965, pp. 138–159.

126 These figures were presented by Kumm for the year of 1900 (*Nubia* 1903, pp. 50f.), whereas Samuel quotes around 60,000 souls according to the census of 1897 (Samuel 1910, p. 93 = Samuel 1920, p. 101).

127 Kumm (*Nubia* 1903, pp. 12f.) wrote: "Die Zeit des Mahdi-Aufstandes ist nun vorüber, und es scheint, als beginne auch für das Land der braunen Nubier eine neue Ära, ein neues Zeitalter der Erholung und Entwicklung [sic]."

128 It is unknown whether the Gospel of Mark in *Mahas-Nubian*, published in 1899 by the BFBS in Arabic characters was used. Only 1000 copies were printed, which lasted until a reprint in 1906. (Cf. Gerald Lauche: "A contribution to the history of K.R. Lepsius's translation of the Gospel of Mark into Mahas". In: *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille, No. 17: Actes de la VIIIe Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes. Lille 11–17 Septembre 1994. III Études*. Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle, 1998, pp. 127–133). What is known is that Kumm had ordered Bibles, Bible parts, and tracts from

station in *New Dongola (Urde)*.<sup>129</sup> He set out from Aswan on March 20, 1900<sup>130</sup> with a donkey, to reach his hometown *Abu Hoor* for final preparations. The districts in between were already known, and to be covered on the return journey.<sup>131</sup> During the three days at *Abu Hoor*, Samuel recruited a young man as his guide and travel companion. Ali Mohammed was an *Ababde*, 24 years old, and married. As he was a Muslim, Samuel taught him from the Scriptures during the whole journey, hoping he would become a Christian.<sup>132</sup>

For half a year, the two covered all five provinces<sup>133</sup> of Nubia on foot, with two donkeys carrying the luggage and scriptures. They set out on the more populous eastern bank of the Nile, to return on the western bank.

How well did they accomplish their objectives? As to the gathering of information and statistics for Karl Kumm, Samuel sent regular reports to Germany. He was to survey the country, find out population figures, the names of the tribes and their languages, their occupation and the economic productivity of the country. For this purpose he meticulously registered every town and village, the population, and traveling times. He counted every palm tree (the major economic factor), and every waterwheel (*sāqiya*). Kumm later presented these as orderly statistics in his doctoral dissertation.<sup>134</sup> Samuel also reported of whole regions depopulated and devastated by the war, with hundreds of towns and villages in ruins, heaps of bones of people and animals,

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Theodor Irrsich, the BFBS agent in Alexandria before Samuels journey, and that the SPM had received Gospels in Arabic by the *Trinitarian Bible Society*, London, before January 1901, for spreading in Nubia (*SP* 1901, p. 40; Irrsich – Ziemendorff, July 8, 1902). In October 1901, the *Sudan Pionier* reported, that Lepsius' translation in Latin script was not comprehensible in the area around Dongola, but the second edition of 1899 in Arabic script was understood by the "Berber", of whom several hundred lived in Aswan. Interestingly, the source for this information was not Samuel or Kumm, but Ibrahim Moussa, the evangelist of the *American Mission* (*SP* 1901, pp. 108f.).

129 New Dongola is Arabic *Dongola al-Urdi*, and was founded in 1811 by mammeluk refugees from Egypt. (Cf. "Dongola". In: *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*. London 1992, pp. 49f.)

130 This is the date given by Guinness (*Nubia*, 1900, p. 1) and *SP* Nov. 1900, p. 11. The divergent date of April 25, 1900 in Samuel Ali Hiseen's *Autobiography* (1910, p. 186 = Samuel 1920, p. 96) might result from inaccurate memory. It is shown to be false by a letter in which Samuel writes about being between *Abu Hoor* and *Koschtamne* on April 11, 1900 (*SP* Nov. 1900, p. 13).

131 Samuel 1910, p. 186 = Samuel 1920, p. 96.

132 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 4 and *SP* 1900, pp. 12, 15.

133 Kumm (*Nubia* 1903, pp. 55f.) splits Nubia into five provinces: 1) *Kons*, from Aswan to *Korosko*; 2) *Halfa*, from *Korosko* to *Wadi Halfa*; 3) *Hagar*, from *Wadi Halfa* to *Kosche*; 4) *Sukkot* and *Mahas*, from *Kosche* to *Urde (New Dongola)*; and 5) *Dongola*, from *Urde* to *Eddebba*.

134 Samuel reports on the assignment he was given in his *Autobiography* (p. 186 = Samuel 1920, p. 96). In his letters from his journey, he refers several times to reports which he had sent to Kumm (e.g. from *Korosko* and *Wadi Halfa*, cf. *SP* 1900, pp. 14f.). For the statistics see Kumm, *Nubia* 1903: Chapter 5 deals with the "watering of Nubia" (pp. 22–29) and chapter 6 gives the "statistics of date cultures in Nubia" (pp. 29–38).

fields once cultivated now covered by thick woods (sic!) and large numbers of palm trees dried up, or cut down.<sup>135</sup>

The second goal, evangelizing by distributing scriptures and tracts, was also successfully accomplished. Samuel chose his missionary approach wisely and tactfully in different situations. He tried to build relationships by emphasizing his Nubian origin, suggesting to his contacts: "I am a Nubian like you, and possibly we are relations [sic!], come take some news and give me some of yours".<sup>136</sup> He also told people that the mission agency planned to open schools for them, and to teach them. As the situations presented themselves, he used them for dialogue, e.g. he commented on excessive mourning in a village where the Sheik had died. When the great Muslim festival of *Dahia* [*al-Dahiyye*]<sup>137</sup> was celebrated, where the blood of a sacrifice was sprinkled on the top of every door, he explained that Jesus Christ was the meaning behind this sign. He read to them from the Bible and offered Bibles, different scripture portions and tracts. As the people were very poor, he had to give them away free, more often than selling them. The minority who could read, would then proudly read to the bystanders.<sup>138</sup>

Samuel and his companion were generally well received, with "willingness and interest". Only in the province of *Dongola* were people slow to respond and less open, which Samuel attributed to their ignorance. In some of these districts, he could not pass on a single scripture portion, because people were unable to read.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, all the printed material was distributed on the journey. The plan for opening schools was well received. The travelers were often asked: "Why do Christians trouble themselves about us? What profit do they get?"<sup>140</sup> However, in spite of politeness and partial interest, understanding was limited, and ended when the death of Jesus Christ and his atoning blood were mentioned. During the whole journey, Samuel did not meet a single Christian.<sup>141</sup>

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135 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 4, and *SP* 1900, p. 15. Samuel writes about "thick woods", but I assume he means thick brush.

136 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 5, and *SP* 1900, p. 16.

137 Reference is made to the great Muslim festival of sacrifice Id al-Adha. Cf. Mohammed Rashed: *Das Opferfest ('id al-adha) im heutigen Ägypten*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Vol. 215, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998, 237 pp.

138 All this can be taken from his reports on his journey, particularly in Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, pp. 3, 5, and *SP* 1900, p. 14. All the literature was in Arabic, as none was available in Nubian. Arabic was spoken by many Nubians as the commercial language (*SP* 1900, p. 11).

139 *SP* 1900, p. 10f., 15f. Those who claimed to be able to read a little were only capable of quoting a few verses from the Qur'an in Arabic, without understanding their meaning.

140 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 4 and *SP* 1900, p. 14.

141 *SP* 1900, p. 16.

However, the ultimate goal of the long and exhausting journey was the one purpose which was not achieved: When Samuel asked the local officials in *New Dongola*, whether it would be possible to open a mission school there, they refused, saying: "Still the people are not stable [after the *Mahdi* uprising], and have not yet quite understood what was submission". This was a heavy blow for Samuel, and he was rather upset.<sup>142</sup>

It is not surprising therefore, that Samuel writes halfway on their return journey at Wadi Halfa: "We are very, very tired in body and soul."<sup>143</sup> The whole journey had been extremely strenuous. It was carried out during the hottest season of the year. During the day, they were exposed to scorching heat, at night to cold wind, and at times, they were soaked by unusually heavy rains. Samuel reported becoming sick owing to this, at least once.<sup>144</sup> After his journey, his health was affected, and he complained about dental problems.<sup>145</sup> The time chosen for the journey might have been unwise. However, the urgency and enthusiasm of Guinness and Kumm had certainly "infected" Samuel. The new opportunity to follow his inner calling must have made him willing to undertake the proposed journey, in spite of foreseeable difficulties.<sup>146</sup>

He did the SPM a great service by his itinerating. He accomplished a pre-evangelistic covering of Nubia, and many Nubians heard the Gospel for the first time in their lives. He was praised by Guinness for doing his work "gently, wisely, patiently", and was considered the first to have brought the gospel to Nubia, after its Islamization in the Middle Ages.<sup>147</sup> His survey of the country was so detailed that it was not only useful for further planning of the SPM, but also for Kumm's academic work. Besides his special tasks, he was also working on a Nubian-Arabic-

142 Samuel 1910, p. 206 = Samuel 1920, p. 106.

143 *SP* 1900, p. 16 (translation C.S.).

144 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, pp. 2,4 and particularly p. 5. See also *SP* 1900, p. 15 on his sickness. Kumm (*Nubia* 1903, p. 17) reports of heavy rain on August 14, 1900, whereas there is sometimes no rain for 5–6 years. The sky is blue for almost the whole year – with the brightest sun. The hottest season of the year, according to Kumm (*Nubia* 1903, p. 16), lasts from mid-May to the end of July with an average of 48 ° centigrade maximum temperature.

145 Henriette von Blücher writes from Aswan (letter Jan. 17, 1902), that Samuel had told her that the colportage tour in 1900 had been very detrimental to his health. Kupfernagel – SPM, (letter of Feb. 24, 1901) reports that Samuel was sick in February 1901 for several weeks and had become very thin.

146 Samuel even mentions an advantage of the season in retrospect: The Winter harvest was just being gathered, thus providing food for the travelers and their donkeys, whereas in some years, there was nothing available (Samuel 1910, p. 187 = Samuel 1920, p. 96).

147 Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 2. On Nubian Church history, cf. Roland Werner: "The Cross has won. It always wins!" – The early Nubian Church and its faith." In: *Day of Devastation – Day of Contentment. The History of the Sudanese Church across 2000 Years*. Roland Werner, William Anderson, Andrew Wheeler. Faith in Sudan Series No. 10. Paulines Publications Africa: Nairobi, Kenya, Part I: pp. 21–120; and the SPM publications: Gertrud von Massenbach: *Nubien unter dem Kreuz. [Als Mohrenland noch christlich war ...]*. Wiesbaden: EMO, 1984 [ca. 1935], 88 pp.; Emanuel Kellerhals: *Eine untergegangene christliche Kirche. Entstehung und Untergang des Christentums in Nubien und unsere Missionsverpflichtung*. Basel: Basler Missionsbuchhandlung / Zürich: Schweizerische Ev. Mohammedaner-Mission, 1941, 62 pp.

English glossary, and started translating the Gospel of John into his mother tongue, *Kenuuzi-Nubian*.<sup>148</sup>

Toward the end of November, he returned to Aswan from his long journey. As all sources give a duration of six months for the journey, it could have ended in Samuel's hometown, *Abu Hoor*, where he might have rested for some time.<sup>149</sup>

The friends of the SPM in Germany were informed in detail, with a whole issue of *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* being devoted to a report on "Daybreak in Nubia?" Interestingly, the SPM's friends were not told that there had been a negative response to the main objective, that of opening a school in *Dongola* in the future. Rather, the future importance of scripture colportage was emphasized. Hope was stimulated that the day had dawned for the evangelization of Nubia.<sup>150</sup>

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148 Samuel had worked on his Nubian glossary probably from the beginning of the journey, and hoped to finish it before Kumm's return to Aswan, which he expected in October 1900 (Guinness: *Nubia*. 1900, p. 3). He might have been inspired by similar efforts of Kumm for the *Bishari* language. His translation efforts were already in process after the first third of his journey, in *Dongola* (Guinness, p. 4, and *SP* 1900, p. 15).

149 Samuel reports his return to Aswan "at the end of November" 1900 in his *Autobiography* (Samuel 1910, p. 209 = Samuel 1920, p. 107), while talking about a duration of six months (p. 202 = 1920, p. 104). But even with his erroneous departure date of April 25, 1900, there would be one month unaccounted for. In the November issue of *Der Sudan Pionier* (1900, p. 11), the Kumms reported that Samuel had just returned from his journey. This issue might have been published late in that month, as there was no December issue. But they also give a duration of six months for the journey, starting on March 20, 1900. Thus, the end of the journey would have been around September 20, 1900. Possibly, *Abu Hoor* and not Aswan was considered the end point of the journey, which would explain the one or two missing months.

150 The issue bore the title "Tagesanbruch in Nubien?", portraying a harvest scene on the title page, and quoting John 4:35: "Hebet eure Augen auf und sehet in das Feld, denn es ist schon weiß zur Ernte". In the introduction to the quotes from Samuel's letters (p. 11), the editor states: "Das Evangelium wurde ihnen seit dem Eindringen des Islams nie gebracht. Sollte denn nun der Tag für die Nubier angebrochen sein, wo ihnen die Botschaft der Erlösung gebracht wird? Mit Gottes Hilfe dürfen wir es hoffen." The letters of Samuel Ali Hiseen were considered a positive answer to this question.

## Lucy E. Guinness-Kumm (1865–1906)

### Early Years

- 1865 July Birth in Dublin  
1881–1882 Boarding school in Paris, France  
1883–1886 School in Australia  
1886 Author of the booklet *Only a Factory Girl*

### Mission promoter and editor in Great Britain

- 1888–1900 Editorship of *The Regions Beyond*  
Responsible for the “Evening School” of Harley House  
1889 Protests against the Liquor trade in Africa  
1889 Editor of *In the Far East. Letters from Geraldine Guinness.*  
1890 Speaking on missions in the USA for the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions  
1892 Establishment of the Regions Beyond Helpers Union  
1892 Speaking engagements in Northfield, USA and Keswick, GB  
1894 Author/ editor of *South America, the Neglected Continent*, which led to the sending of ELTI-students to Peru and Argentina as missionaries  
1896 Engagement to Dixon Edward Hoste, CIM  
1896 Author of booklet *To Help to Heal* (An appeal to pray for the Congo)  
1897 Traveling with her father to India (after breaking off the engagement)  
1898 Author of *Across India at the Dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, which led to the founding of the Bihar and Orissa Mission in 1899  
1898 Author of *Enter Thou. Pages from the Life Story of Fanny E. Guinness*  
1899 Travels to Palestine and Egypt with her father (a series of letters was published later by her childhood friend, Mrs. Ballington-Booth)  
1899 May Traveling to Faiyûm with Karl Kumm Return to Great Britain

### Mission founder in Egypt

- 1900 Jan. 11 Engagement to Karl Kumm in Aswan, Egypt  
**Founding of Sudan-Pionier-Mission**  
1900 Feb. 3 Marriage in Kairo  
Honeymoon and missionary work in Aswan

### In Germany and Switzerland

- 1900 April Return to Germany via Switzerland  
1900 May-Jun. Inquiries in Chrischona  
1900 Summer In Davos with her sister Geraldine and the Taylors  
1900 Oct. First “board-meeting” of the SPM in Eisenach  
Move to Eisenach  
1900 Nov. Move to Wiesbaden  
1901 Author of booklet *Ein Wort an die Frauen*  
1901 Feb. 26 Birth of Henry Kumm

### **Mission promoter in Great Britain again**

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 1901 June    | Move to her father at Cliff House, GB, organizing support for the SPM, as Karl moved to Heidelberg for studies |
| 1902         | Writing on the manuscript of a book on the Sudan   |
| 1902 May 14  | Sudan Conference in Cliff  |
| 1902 May 27  | Birth of Karl Kumm, jun.   |
| 1902 June    | Establishment of an English Branch of the SPM  |
| 1902 Oct     | Disconnection from the German SPM due to dismissal of her husband  |
| 1902 Nov. 13 | Founding of a British Sudan Pioneer Mission in Sheffield   |
| 1903         | Move to Castleton, Sheffield   |
| 1904 June 15 | Official Founding of the Sudan United Mission  |
| 1904–1906    | Editor of <i>The Lightbearer</i> , the periodical of the SUM   |
| 1906         | SUM-branch in USA and Canada   |
| 1906 July    | Writing <i>Our Slave State</i> , a manuscript on the Congo atrocities, which remains unpublished               |
| 1906 Aug.    | Plans to finish the book <i>The Sudan</i> , which her husband had begun writing                                |
| 1906 Aug. 11 | Death after short sickness in Northfield, USA  |

## Samuel Ali Hiseen (1863–1927)

### Early Years

ca. 1863	Birth in Ficcikool, Abu Hoor, Nubia
ca. 1868	Move to Edfu to live with grandmother
ca. 1869	Runs away to Cairo

### Training in Europe

1873	Follows offer to go to Europe, sponsored by the industrialist Th. Necker. Boarding school in Peseux, Neuchâtel, Switzerland
1875	Baptised according to his own wish and takes on name Samuel
1879	Receives training at ELTI, London and Cliff College, Sheffield
1880	Studies in Arabic and medicine in Beirut; evangelism among Druze
1882	Return to Great Britain because of death of sponsor
1883	Training in Ophthalmology in Geneva, Switzerland

### A Christian in Nubia

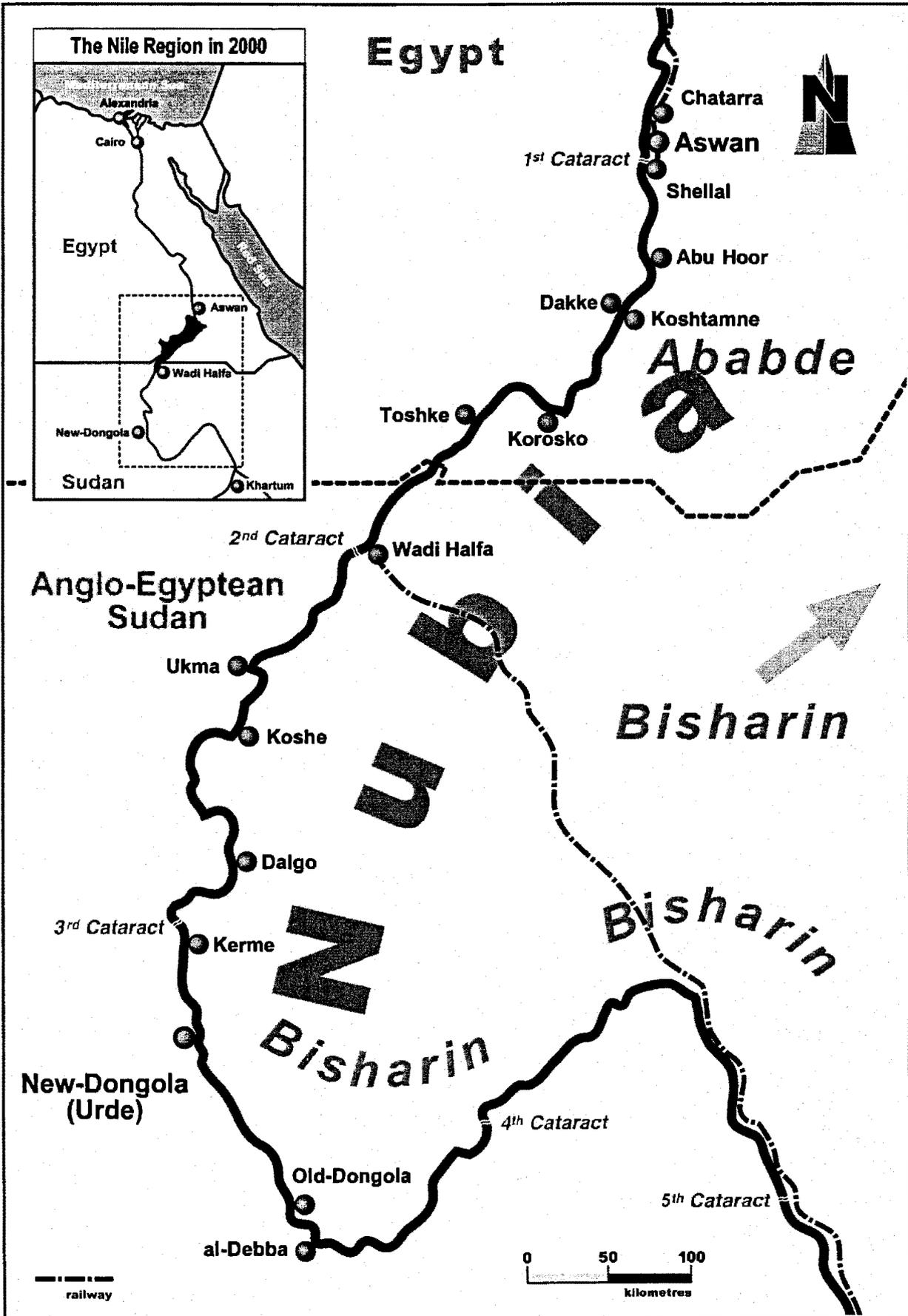
1884	Return to Egypt. For 6 months teacher at Miss Whately's schools in Cairo. Return to his home town Abu Hoor, Nubia
1887	Marriage, which brings forth three daughters and one son
1896	Death of his wife, while Samuel is away in Geneva Needs to seek work in Cairo to feed his family, leaves children in sister's care
1898	Participation in the reconquest of the Sudan as translator for the Anglo-Egyptian Army
1899	Work in Egyptian Postal Service in Aswan and Shellaal

### Serving the Sudan-Pionier-Mission

1900	Jan.	Meeting Grattan Guinness
	Feb.	Entered service of Sudan Pionier Mission
	Mar.-Sep.	6-months colportage journey through Nubia
	April	Translation of Gospel of John finished
1901	May	Own mission station in Guzaira
-1902	May	
	July	Manuscript of Kenuuzi-Arabic-English glossary finished
1902	May	Asks for dismissal or leave
	August	Return to Aswan
1903	July	Abduction of Samuel's four children Takes refuge in Alexandria
	Nov.	One daughter dies in Abu Hoor
	Nov.	Stay in Wiesbaden, Germany. Recovering from trauma; language teacher to new missionaries
1904	Dec.	Return to Aswan with the new missionaries

1905	Return of his two younger children Miryam and Abbas
1907	Assists in opening a new mission station in Daraw
1908	17-days-exploratory journey to Nubia with Enderlin
1909	Stay in Germany for Nubian translation work
1910	Writing of Autobiography, Part I
1912	Samuel's translation of the four Gospels in Kenuuzi-Nubian published
1912–1913	Translation of rest of the New Testament, except for four books.
1913	Printing of a Nubian textbook by Samuel in collaboration with Prof. Westermann
1913	Five-week-journey through Nubia, exploring future expansion of missionary work (thwarted by World War I)
1915–1924	Caretaker of the mission property during the forced absence of the missionaries due to World War I. Limited missionary work.
1918	Death of son Abbas, who was trained in the Presbyterian Seminary
1921	Marriage of daughter Marjam to Mr. Hamilton, BFBS
1924	Return of missionaries
1924–1925	Linguistic work with Prof. Heinrich Schäfer, with whom he collaborated since 1908
1926	Dictating of Autobiography, Part II
1928	March 8: Death in Aswan

# The Colportage Journey of Samuel Ali Hiseen in 1900



## 5 Establishment of the SPM in Germany

### 5.1 The Need for a Home Base

The need for a home base for the new SPM was obvious. Grattan Guinness and the Kumms had agreed that it would be “largely manned and financed from Germany”.<sup>1</sup> In all probability, they had set a date and a place where they would meet again to face this challenge together. For until then, Karl Kumm had been almost unknown<sup>2</sup> in his home country outside of his hometown of *Osterode am Harz*, whereas Guinness had a good reputation and connections in Christian circles in Germany.

Grattan Guinness had evangelized in *Berlin* in February 1900 with the Counts Andreas Graf von Bernstorff (1844–1907), Eduard Graf von Pückler (1853–1924), and Graf von Moltke. The former two were among the initiators of the first *Gnadau Conference* (*Gnadauer Konferenz* 1888) and among the fathers of the Fellowship Movement.<sup>3</sup> In August 1899, Grattan Guinness had been a featured speaker at the *Blankenburg Conference* of the *Evangelical Alliance*.<sup>4</sup> Already in 1892, his book *Light for the Last Days* had been translated into German by Countess Elisabeth von Gröben.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, Karl and Lucy Kumm set out for Europe at the end of April or the beginning of May 1900. They had had their “honeymoon”, the work in Aswan was started, funds were probably being depleted,<sup>6</sup> and the Summer heat in Aswan became increasingly unbearable. They probably boarded a steamer in *Alexandria*, which took them via *Port Said* to Palestine.<sup>7</sup> In *Jerusalem*, where they stayed for a few days, the first meetings for the SPM were held and the first gifts for the work received.<sup>8</sup> Then, in *Venice*, Italy, they visited Dr. Thomas Barnardo (1845–1905), a close friend of the Guinness family.<sup>9</sup> Their next verified whereabouts was in *Bern*, Switzerland.<sup>10</sup>

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1 *RB* April 1900, p. 167.

2 Paul: “Rückblick”. *AMZ* 1901, p. 28; and Gustav Warneck: “Die neuen deutschen Missionsunternehmungen”, in: *AMZ* 1901, p. 184 (quoted: “Missionsunternehmungen”).

3 Cf. Ohlemacher, in: *ELThG*, Vol. 1, pp. 232f. and Vol. 3, p. 1634.

4 Cf. *RB* 20 (1899), pp. 404 and 21 (1900), pp. 271–274.

5 *Licht für die letzten Tage. Eine historische und prophetische Studie*. Berlin: Deutsche Evangelische Buch- und Tractat-Gesellschaft, 1892, 365 pp. The translator had been a guest of the Ziemendorffs in Wiesbaden in 1898 (cf. Ohlemacher 1986, p. 274).

6 Kumm no longer received his support from NAM.

7 Lucy Kumm wrote (*Dear Friends* ..., Feb. 26, 1901, p. 2): “the Sudan has been represented by us personally in Egypt, Palestine, ... From the sacred precincts of Jerusalem, the crowded centers of Alexandria, the desert sands of Port-Said ... the plea of the Sudan has been carried ...”.

8 Lucy probably used the contacts of her journey to Palestine with her father in the previous year. Cleverdon recounts that a hat was passed round and returned “full of silver and gold” (Cleverdon 1936, p. 37).

9 Their audience was probably just a small group of the Protestant minority, possibly even an international Christian community of tradesmen and tourists in *Venice*. Barnardo was an early student of Guinness in Dublin

Possibly this was the place where they had arranged to meet with Grattan Guinness.<sup>11</sup> Guinness had spent the months since leaving Egypt evangelizing in Northern Europe, from *Berlin* to *St. Petersburg*, passing through Scandinavia and the Baltic countries.<sup>12</sup> According to his daughter Lucy, he had been “speaking for the Mission”.<sup>13</sup> In Bern, Grattan Guinness possibly was acquainted with Adolph Vischer-Sarasin (1839–1902),<sup>14</sup> or Professor Barth (1856–1912),<sup>15</sup> and

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- in 1865 (the year Lucy was born), and both wanted to join Hudson Taylor's *China Inland Mission*, but never did. They met again, when the Guinneses moved to London in 1872, where Barnardo, a medical doctor by then, was working among the destitute children. Barnardo was of Italian descent (cf. Michele Guinness 1990, pp. 83, 98; *The Lightbearer*, Aug./Sept. 1910, p. 180). On his life story see: TCDCB 1995, pp. 42f.; Mrs. Barnardo and J. Marchant: *Memoirs of the Late Dr. Barnardo*. 1907; and Emil Ernst Ronner: *Der Mann mit der Laterne. Das Leben Thomas John Barnardos*. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1982, 512 pp.
- 10 The only reference to their stay in *Bern* is given by Vischer-Sarasin (Minutes CM, June 19, 1900, item V), who mentions that Guinness and the Kums had come to *Bern* before going to *Chrischona*. They must have been there probably at least a week before May 18. For this date is their first verified presence at *Chrischona*, by which time they already had made a remarkable impression by their lectures. At *Bern*, Guinness might have spoken at the *Evangelische Gesellschaft* (C.H. Rappard from *St. Chrischona* spoke at their festivities in 1900, as reported by the *Berner Sonntagsblatt*. Cf. Dora Rappard 1910, p. 313).
- 11 A possible alternative for their meeting point could be *Lucerne*. It is mentioned on the list of places, where they had advertised the SPM before September 24, 1900 (Lucy Kumm: *Letter 1*, September 24, 1900, p. 1). *Lucerne* also lies on the train route from *Venice* to *Bern*.
- 12 Guinness started in *Berlin* in mid-February 1900 and went on to *Copenhagen*, Denmark. In mid-March, he crossed over to *Malmö*, Sweden and from there to *St. Petersburg*, Russia, where he spent a further month. In mid-April he went on to *Reval*, Latvia and from there crossed the Baltic Sea to *Helsingfors* (Helsinki), Finland, and went straight via Sweden to Switzerland. He had been meeting everywhere with Christian members of the nobility and royalty, and with leading Christian personalities. Most probably, he did not have time to visit his home in England, as he only reported in June about his “Sudan and Scandinavian travels” at *Harley House* (cf. *RB* May 1900, p. 175; and June 1900, p. 268, and Henry Grattan Guinness: “Evangelizing in Northern Europe”, in: *RB* July 1900, pp. 271–274).
- 13 Lucy Kumm, *Letter 1*, Sept. 24, 1900: “Since we were with you, my husband and Father have been travelling and speaking for the Mission: Dr Guinness at first alone in the great lands of Northern Europe ...”. Grattan Guinness himself, when reporting in *Regions Beyond*, only tells about his evangelistic work during that journey. But could he do otherwise in the journal, now edited by his son, which was (at least in part) to raise funds for the immense educational, missionary and social enterprise of the Guinneses? After all, his fellow directors had reprimanded him for founding the SPM.
- 14 Adolph Vischer-Sarasin (born Apr. 29, 1839 in *Basle*) was a merchant (*Großkaufmann*), who had worked for several years in China and had come into contact with an English Mission. In 1875, he was influenced by the holiness meetings in *Bern*. One day he laid down his profession and his honorary positions (such as *Consul of Italy*) in order to devote himself full-time to Christian work (Dora Rappard 1910, p. 190; Ohlemacher 1986, p. 79). He was on the board of *Chrischona* from 1875 till 1882, when he moved away from *Basle*. When returning to *Basle* in 1890, he joined again and was chairman until 1901. In 1897, he took up a leading position in the *Diakonissenhaus* in *Bern* (Klemm, p. 543). His place of residence in 1900 is given as *Bern* (*Philadelphia* 10, July 1900, p. 106), whereas according to Veiel (1940, p. 150) his move to *Bern* took place in 1901. Vischer-Sarasin died there on May 13, 1902 (Cf. Klemm 1961, p. 543). His father, or his father-in-law, seems to have been Adolf Sarasin, who was the editor of “*Der Christliche Volksbote*” and a member of the committee of the *Basle Mission* in the 1850s (cf. W. Hadorn: *Pietismus*. 1901, p. 500; Ohlemacher, p. 79, seems to confuse the two!).
- 15 Unfortunately, there is no further identification of him in the papers of the SPM. Most probably, he was the Professor of Theology Johann Friedrich (Fritz) Barth, the father of the famous theologian Karl Barth (then 14 years old). Fritz Barth (October 25, 1856 – February 25, 1912) was the outstanding conservative professor of theology in *Bern* at that time. He had been one of the last students of Johann Tobias Beck. After teaching at the *Evangelische Predigerschule* in *Basle* since 1886, founded to counterbalance liberal theology, he had been called to *Bern* in 1889 as the successor of Adolf Schlatter, sponsored by theologically conservative aristocrats. In 1895, he was appointed to a chair in church history but was also teaching New Testament. He was a scholar with a strong influence on his students, and with an open house for them. He was regarded as a representative of

had secured an invitation from one of them. These Christian leaders featured on the earliest advertising sheet of the SPM as the only addresses for donations besides Karl Kumm's home in *Osterode*.<sup>16</sup> Mr. Vischer-Sarasin then was the chairman of the board of the *Pilgermission St. Chrischona*, where the promoters of the SPM went next.<sup>17</sup>

## 5.2 Interdenominational Faith Missions in Germany and Missionary Work among Muslims

What did the missionary movement in Germany and adjacent German-speaking areas look like in the year 1900, when the founders of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* were seeking support? They must have asked themselves: Which mission agencies are in existence? Which parts of the world do they serve, and are any of them suitable to take on the SPM? In fact, as the Guinneses were promoters of the faith mission movement, they would have confined their efforts to the faith missions and the circles that were supporting them. Only in this context, could they hope for the necessary compatibility in theology, spirituality, and missionary methodology.

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*Positive Theologie*, and therefore must have had the trust of mission-minded Christians, even though he denied the virgin-birth of Jesus Christ. Since 1896, the family lived in *Claraweg No. 18*, where Guinness and the Kumms might have been their guests and were possibly given the opportunity to address Barth's students. Barth and Vischer-Sarasin were well acquainted, because Vischer-Sarasin was the chairman of the *Predigerschule* in *Basle* of the *Verein für Evangelisation und Gemeinschaftspflege* (D. Rappard 1910, p. 190). On Barth, cf. the biographical preface by Moritz Lauterberg in: Fritz Barth: *Christus unsere Hoffnung*, Bern: A. Francke, 1913, pp. I–XVIII (with portrait); Eberhard Busch: *Karl Barths Lebenslauf. Nach seinen Briefen und autobiographischen Texten*. München: Chr. Kaiser, 1975, pp. 13–32; *BBKL*, Vol. 1, p. 384; *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die evangelische Kirche* 39 (1912), p. 431.

16 It is the same as the hymn sheet described below. The address line reads: "Beiträge für die Sudan-Pionier-Mission bittet man zu adressieren an: Herrn Professor Barth in Bern, Schweiz, Herrn Vischer-Sarasin in Bern, Schweiz, oder den Reisesekretär Herrn H. Karl W. Kumm in Osterode a/ Harz, Deutschland." Missionary volunteers were also to address the above named.

17 The most plausible scenario to me is that Guinness had known Vischer-Sarasin previously and thought it best to approach the *Chrischona Mission* through him and therefore first arranged to meet in *Bern*. If that was not the case, Vischer-Sarasin at least then was acquainted with Guinness and the Kumms in *Bern*. As the chairman of the *Chrischona Mission*, he might have invited them to fill the vacancy at the *Bible home* of *Chrischona Mission*.

## German Faith Missions and Mission Agencies among Muslims by 1900

Faith Missions	Year of founding	Mission Agencies among Muslims
	1846	Chrischona's Brethren House, Jerusalem
	1852	Jerusalem Society
	1860	Schneller's Orphanage, Jerusalem
	1881	Hermannsburg Mission in Persia
Neukirchen Mission	1882	NM in Java and East Africa
German China Alliance Mission	1889	
	1893-95	Persia Mission of Faber
	1895 1896	Prayer Union (Lepsius) Deutsche Orient-Mission
Chrischona Branch of CIM	1895/97	
German CIM - Kiel Mission	1896-99	
	1896	Armenian Help Agency (Lepsius)
	1896	Deutscher Hilfsbund (Lohmann)
German CIM, Hamburg, (Liebenzell China Mission)	1899	
(Women's Missionary Union)	1899	
Sudan-Pionier-Mission	1900	Sudan-Pionier-Mission
	1900	Amirkhanianz, Eisenach
	1904	Carmel Mission, Palestine
	1908	Christian Mission to the Blind in the Orient (Christoffel)

### 5.2.1 Interdenominational Faith Missions

Around 1900, the interdenominational faith missions were an emerging movement in Germany, where well established classical missions were dominant.<sup>18</sup> Quite a number of faith missions had been founded due to the direct influence of Hudson Taylor or according to his principles.<sup>19</sup>

The first faith mission in Germany was the *Neukirchen Mission*<sup>20</sup> (*Neukirchener Mission*) founded by Ludwig Doll in 1882. It put into practice the missionary fervor that had already manifested itself in a general missionary journal published by Doll and a local orphanage opened by Doll. The first missionary candidates of the *Neukirchen Mission* were trained at the *East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions* of the Guinnesses in London. Its first field lay in *Java, Indonesia*.<sup>21</sup> An attempt in 1884 to send missionaries to Egypt to assist the Dutch *Ermelo Mission* in *Kaliub* did not result in permanent involvement. The missionary work there was not run according to faith mission principles, but *Neukirchen* wanted to remain a faith mission.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the missionaries Ferdinand Würz and Wilhelm and Alwine Weber moved on from Egypt to East Africa, founding *Neukirchen's Tana Mission* (1887).<sup>23</sup>

Even though Grattan Guinness had spoken at *Neukirchen's* conference in September 1899, and *Neukirchen's* missionary candidates for East Africa were trained at the Guinnesses' ELTI,<sup>24</sup> there was no basis for asking the *Neukirchen Mission* to take on the new SPM. *Neukirchen's* former brief involvement in Egypt was of no real benefit.

Representatives of the classical missions, like Warneck, thought that this one mission agency, the *Neukirchen Mission*, would suffice to serve the special interests of the whole

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18 The older classical missions were the *Basle Mission* (1815), *Berlin Mission* (1824), *Rhenish Mission* (1828), *North German Mission* (1836), and *Gossner Mission* (1836) (Lexikon zur Weltmission, 1975, p. 112). Gustav Warneck: "Die neuen deutschen Missionsunternehmungen". In: *AMZ* 1901, pp. 180–187, counted ten new missionary societies since 1880. Not all of these were faith missions, some were additional classical missions with particular denominational emphasis. Cf. Klaus Fiedler: "German Mission Boards and Societies". In: *EDWM*, pp. 387f.

19 Klaus Fiedler: "Der deutsche Beitrag zu den interdenominationellen Missionen [The German contribution to the interdenominational faith mission movement]". In: Hans Kasdorf / Klaus W. Müller (eds.): *Bilanz und Plan. Mission an der Schwelle zum Dritten Jahrtausend. Festschrift George W. Peters*. Bad Liebenzell: VLM 1988, pp. 184–199.

20 Bernd Brandl: *Die Neukirchener Mission. Ihre Geschichte als erste deutsche Glaubensmission*. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1998.

21 Brandl 1998, pp. 134–155.

22 Brandl 1998, pp. 125ff.

23 Brandl 1998, pp. 160–195.

24 Brandl 1998, p. 49; According to *Neukirchener Missions- und Heidenbote* 21, November 1899, column 201ff., Guinness spoke on September 22 and 23, and the conference lasted until September 24, 1899.

Fellowship Movement, in all of Germany [!], that had been brought forth by the revivals in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>25</sup>

However, successively, different German branches of the *China Inland Mission* and mission agencies associated with it came into existence. In 1889, the *German China Alliance Mission*<sup>26</sup> (*Deutsche China-Allianz-Mission* – DCAM) was founded at *Barmen*. The prayer group of the merchant Carl Polnick (1856–1919) was the founding body, the initiator was the Swedish evangelist Fredrik Franson (1852–1908),<sup>27</sup> and Hudson Taylor's appeal *To Every Creature* provided the decisive encouragement. The missionaries of the DCAM were seconded to the CIM to work under Taylor's personal direction. The DCAM was the first German mission agency associated with the CIM.

In 1895, two graduates of the *Chrischona Seminary* desired to join the CIM. Thus in 1897 the *Chrischona Mission*<sup>28</sup> (*Pilgermission St. Chrischona* – CM) in *Bettlingen* near Basle, Switzerland, entered a contract with the CIM and opened a *Chrischona Branch of the CIM*. This Swiss mission agency and training institute is situated in the border area next to Germany and attracted Germans. It was later to play some role in the history of the SPM.

In 1896, the *Kiel Mission*<sup>29</sup> (*Kieler Mission*) of Pastor Johannes Witt (1862–1934) was founded as the German branch of the CIM through the direct influence of Hudson Taylor. However, the connection was severed by the CIM in 1899 for reasons that had to do with the person of Witt. The KM became the *Kieler China Mission*, largely privately funded by Witt, and increasingly turning away from faith mission principles.

A new German branch of the CIM was founded in late 1899 in Hamburg, and Pastor Heinrich Coerper (1863–1936) was called as its leader.<sup>30</sup> In 1902 it moved to *Liebenzell* in the Black Forest, taking on the name of *Liebenzell China Mission (Liebenzeller China-Mission)*.<sup>31</sup>

25 Warneck: "Missionsunternehmungen". In: *AMZ* 1901, p. 183.

26 Andreas Franz: *Mission ohne Grenzen. Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen*. Giessen / Basel: Brunnen-Verlag, 1993, pp. 79–125, see particularly p. 89, on the decisive factors of the founding.

27 Edvard Torjesen: *A Study of Fredrik Franson: The Development and Impact of his Ecclesiology, Missiology, and Worldwide Evangelism* [PhD International College, Los Angeles 1984]. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1985.

28 Franz 1993, pp. 126–149.

29 Franz 1993, pp. 150–187.

30 Franz 1993, pp. 188–231. In April 1901, Pauline Kumm, the sister of Karl Kumm, transferred from the CIM to this German branch (p. 202). The statutes, (*Vereinsstatuten*), of the LM were only drafted on Sept. 7, 1903. There was also a confession of faith included (pp. 205f.).

31 In 1905, its status was changed to an associated mission of the CIM and in 1906, it took on Micronesia as a new field (see Franz, pp. 212ff., 218ff.).

In 1899 a *Women's Missionary Union (Deutscher Frauenmissionsbund – DFMB)*<sup>32</sup> was founded by some influential Christian women, Freda von Bethman-Hollweg, Jeanne Wasserzug, Countess Elisabeth von Waldersee, Jenny von Plotho, Hedwig von Redern, and Luise von Hochstetter, together with Pastor Ernst Lohmann (1860–1936).<sup>33</sup> The DFMB did not intend to be a missionary society. It was essentially a prayer union, which was recruiting and seconding female missionaries to mission agencies. Like the mission agencies mentioned above, its founders were strongly influenced by Hudson Taylor, and from 1908 to the communist takeover in China, the DFMB became an associated mission agency of the CIM and did actually have its own field in China.

Within this context, the SPM is to be regarded as the sixth faith mission founded in Germany.<sup>34</sup> However, there were many differences from the earlier German faith missions. The SPM's mission field lay outside of China and it was structurally less directly connected to Hudson Taylor. The SPM even added a new category to German faith missions. It was the first which was founded by Grattan Guinness. Internationally, the mission agencies connected to the Guinneses were the major group of faith missions,<sup>35</sup> whereas in Germany the SPM was an exception.

### 5.2.2 Mission Agencies among Muslims

From its inception, the SPM was categorized by classical German missiologists as a “mission agency among Muslims”.<sup>36</sup> Thus, a short survey of previous missionary activity among Muslims is in place here.

Protestant Christian efforts from Germany in Muslim countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were few and small, in comparison to missionary work among other non-Christians.<sup>37</sup> The largest and most

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32 Cf. Ursula Pasut: *Frauen in der Welt – Frauen in der Mission. Geschichte und Gegenwart des DFMGB*. Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1985; Conrad 1998, pp. 87–91.

33 Franz 1993, pp. 243–254. Jeanne Wasserzug and Luise von Hochstetter had founded a Bible School for women, *Bibelhaus Malche*, in *Freienwalde* in 1898 and were teaching there. Grattan Guinness was among the visiting speakers (Franz 1993, p. 235).

34 I do not count the *Women's Missionary Union*, as it only acted as a mission agency from 1908 onward, that is after the founding of the SPM. Nor do I count the *Hildesheimer China-Blindenmission* (1890) as a faith mission, as it grew out of a classical mission and set up branches in cooperation with the classical *Basle Mission* and *Berlin Mission* (Cf. Oehler 1951, Vol. 2, pp. 74ff.; against Georg Vicedom in *Lexikon zur Weltmission*, 1975, p. 112, who not only counts this agency, but even the *Bund freikirchlicher Gemeinden-Außenmission* [1890] as a faith mission, which is definitely a denominational classical mission, according to Fiedler's typology).

35 Fiedler 1992, p. 70.

36 Cf. Chapter 1.2.; e.g. Gustav Warneck 1905, p. 147.

successful work among Muslims, in numbers of conversions, was being done by the *Rhenish Mission* on its fields in Indonesia.<sup>38</sup>

Among the earliest efforts at missionary work among Muslims by German Protestants before the 19<sup>th</sup> century is Hans Ungnad Freiherr von Sonneck's (1493–1564) printing press for South Slavonian and Turkish literature in *Urach*.<sup>39</sup> There were successive missionary training institutes for oriental languages, such as a proposed *Collegium Orientale*<sup>40</sup> in Kiel (1670), or August Hermann Francke's *Collegium Orientale*<sup>41</sup> (founded 1702), and Johann Heinrich Callenberg's *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum*<sup>42</sup> (1728–1792), both in Halle. However, these initiatives were rather limited, to training or publishing.

Organized missionary work was undertaken by the *Moravians* in Egypt (1752–1782),<sup>43</sup> the *Caucasus Mission* of the *Basle Mission* in Persia<sup>44</sup> (1822–1835), and by the apologetic work of the German Karl Gottlieb Pfander<sup>45</sup> (1803–1865), who transferred from the *Basle Mission* to the CMS in order to be able to stay in his field of service.

37 Cf. Julius Richter: *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*. 21930, [English version of first edition only: *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910, 435 pp.] for a broad survey of mission history in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Egypt and Abyssinia, which does not overlook the contribution of German mission agencies. For a wider survey, with respect to time and geography, see James Thayer Addison: *The Christian Approach to the Moslem. A Historical Study*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, 365 pp.

38 Gottfried Simon: *Islam und Christentum im Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heidenwelt. Beobachtungen aus der Mohammedanmission in Niederländisch-Indien*. Berlin: Warneck, 1910 [1914], 348 pp. English Translation: *The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra*. London: Marshall, 1912, 328 pp.

39 Raupp 1990, pp. 49–51.

40 Raupp 1990, pp. 93–96.

41 Research so far comes to the conclusion that this institute had no missionary ambition but rather focused on linguistic studies of the Old Testament. Cf. Otto Podczeck: "Die Arbeit am Alten Testament zur Zeit des Pietismus – Das Collegium Orientale theologicum A.H. Franckes". In: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Reihe* 7 (1958), pp. 1728–1736.

42 The missionary activity of Callenberg was limited to the spreading of tracts in the Mediterranean area through traveling merchants, and to *Tartars* through German military in Russia. Cf. Johann Heinrich Callenberg: *Nachricht von einem Versuch die verlassenen Muhammedaner zur heilsamen Erkenntnis Christi anzuleiten*. Halle 61753; Christoph Bochinger: *Abenteuer Islam. Zur Wahrnehmung fremder Religionen im Hallenser Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Habilitation München, 1996; Christoph Bochinger: "Zur Geschichte des Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum (1728–1792)". In: *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 18 (1994), pp. 45–68; Christoph Bochinger: "Religiöse Fundamentalien in der Sicht Hallenser Pietisten. Auswahlkriterien fremdsprachiger Texteditionen im Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum". In: *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 19 (1995), pp. 23–32. I owe these hints to Christoph Rymatzki, whose study *Das Institutum Judaicum Johann Heinrich Callenbergs und dessen Freundeskreis. Gründung und Anfangsjahre 1728–1736*, DTh Halle/ Saale 2000, is due to appear in 2002, and is relevant concerning Callenbergs biography pp. 35–46, his plans for a literature mission among Muslims, pp. 66–69, and the independent missionary Andreas Ladebach, pp. 211–214.

43 Cf. Chapter 3.4.2, and Bechler 1936.

44 Cf. Richter 1930, pp. 61–64; Andreas Waldburger: *Missionare und Moslems. Die Basler Mission in Persien 1833–1837*. Basel: Basilea, 1984, 260 pp.

45 Cf. *BDCM*, p. 532; Christine Schirmmacher: *Mit den Waffen des Gegners. Christlich-muslimische Kontroversen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert; dargestellt am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung um Karl Gottlieb Pfanders*

Later work in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a diaconal or educational emphasis, even though missionary hopes were connected to it. Most of it focused on Palestine: The *Jerusalem Society*<sup>46</sup> (*Jerusalem-Verein*, Berlin, 1852) in several locations in Palestine, *Chrischona's Brethren House*<sup>47</sup> in Jerusalem, and Johann Ludwig Schneller's<sup>48</sup> (1820–1896) Orphanage near Jerusalem (1860). In addition, the *Hermannsburg Mission*<sup>49</sup> had opened a field in Persia in 1881, and the *Neukirchen Mission* (1882) was working partly among Muslims in Java and East Africa.<sup>50</sup> The failure of a highly publicised missionary venture to Persia (1893–1895), organized by the independent missionary, Pastor Wilhelm Faber,<sup>51</sup> loomed like a shadow over all new attempts at missionary work among Muslims undertaken from Germany.<sup>52</sup>

Shortly before the turn of the century, Christian interest in the West was attracted by the massacres of the Christian Armenians in Turkey since 1895. This led to Protestant relief efforts<sup>53</sup> from 1896, organized by the *Armenian Help Agency* (*Armenisches Hilfswerk*). This agency initially had two committees, one in Berlin with Pastor Johannes Lepsius<sup>54</sup> (1858–1926) as

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“*Mizân al-haqq*” und Rahmatullah Ibn Halil al-‘Utmânî al-Kairânawîs “*Izhâr al-haqq*” und der Diskussion über das Barnabas-Evangelium. [Diss. Bonn, 1992] Berlin: Schwarz, 1992, 437 pp.

46 Frank Förster: *Mission im Heiligen Land. Der Jerusalems-Verein zu Berlin 1852–1945*. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1991, 286 pp.; Siegfried Hanselmann: *Deutsche evangelische Palästina-Mission. Handbuch ihrer Motive, Geschichte und Ergebnisse* [Dr. theol. Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1971]. Erlangen: VELM, 1971, 252 pp.

47 Alex Carmel: *Christen als Pioniere im Heiligen Land. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pilgermission und des Wiederaufbaus Palästinas im 19. Jahrhundert*. Basel: F. Reinhardt, 1981, 204 pp.; Tanja Ludzuweit: *Die Anfänge der Pilgermission in Palästina 1846–1873*. Diplomarbeit Theologisches Seminar St. Chrischona, 2000.

48 Cf. *BDCM*, p. 601, and apart from the literature mentioned there: Samir Akel: *Der Pädagoge und Missionar Johann Ludwig Schneller und seine Erziehungsanstalten*. Bielefeld: W. Subir, 1978, 249 pp.

49 Cf. Richter 1930, pp. 208f. The work initially focused on a Lutheran reformation of two small parishes of the *Nestorian Church*, though Muslims were also targeted later.

50 See Chapter 5.2.1, and Brandl 1998.

51 Faber translated and published J.M. Arnold's: *Aufruf zu einer Mission unter den Mohammedanern*. Leipzig 1893; *Bericht über die Aussendung der ersten deutschen ... Missionare zu den Mohammedanern*. Leipzig: Akad. Buchhandlung W. Faber, 1894; and further books in his series *God will es!* Cf. Oliver Drescher: *Ist es Zeit? Der Einfluß der Eschatologie auf die Debatte um die Zeitgemäßheit einer Mission unter Muslimen 1895–1914*. MTh UNISA, Department of Missiology, 1998, pp. 28ff. “Das Scheitern der Persienmission Wilhelm Fabers” for an analysis.

52 Even Lepsius stated in 1897, in respect to Faber, that missionary work among Muslims in countries with a Muslim government did not seem to be the will of God (Studentenbund für Mission [ed.]: *Bericht über die Erste Allgemeine Studenten-Konferenz ...* Halle a.S.: SfM, 1897, p. 143).

53 Uwe Feigel: *Das evangelische Deutschland und Armenien. Die Armenierhilfe deutscher evangelischer Christen seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Kontext der deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989, 344 pp.

54 Lepsius was the son of the renowned founder of Egyptology, Richard L. Lepsius (who had even written a Nubian grammar!). He had been assistant pastor in Jerusalem from 1884–86. He was an influential speaker for the rising *Fellowship Movement* and *Evangelical Alliance* and was one of those initiating the *Deutscher Verband für evangelische Gemeinschaftspflege und Evangelisation* in 1897. He also edited several Christian journals such as *Das Reich Christi* (since 1898) and *Der christliche Orient* (since 1900). Cf. Jörg Ohlemacher, 1993, in: *ELThG*, pp. 1234f.; Werner-Ulrich Deetjen: “Ein deutscher Theologe im Kampf gegen den Völkermord”. In: *Theologische Beiträge* 23 (1993), pp. 26–44 (Lit.); Jakob Künzler: “Johannes Lepsius und die Mohammedanermision”. In: *Der Orient* 17 (1935), pp. 121–126. The first scholarly Lepsius biography is still

secretary, and one in *Frankfurt am Main*, chaired by Pastor Ernst Lohmann<sup>55</sup> (1860–1936). The two committees developed into two different institutions, one being the *Deutscher Hilfsbund für Christliches Liebeswerk im Orient*<sup>56</sup> (1896) in Frankfurt, the other the *Deutscher Hilfsbund für Armenien* or *Armenisches Hilfswerk*<sup>57</sup> in Berlin.

However, even before this, on September 29, 1895, while still a pastor in *Friesdorf am Harz*, Lepsius had founded a prayer union for mission work among Muslims, which by Easter 1896 had set up a mission agency among Muslims, the *Deutsche Orient Mission (DOM)*.<sup>58</sup> But it could not become operative, as Lepsius' energies were consumed by his *Armenisches Hilfswerk*, which was a separate organization. On May 11, 1900, the *Armenisches Hilfswerk*, whose relief work had consolidated into missionary work, took on the name *Deutsche Orient-Mission – Armenisches Hilfswerk* and adopted the program of the early DOM.<sup>59</sup>

In 1900, Lepsius' former co-worker Abraham Amirkhanianz<sup>60</sup> (1838–1913), who then was separated from the DOM, tried to establish his own mission agency for Muslims, based in

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in the making, by Prof. Hermann Goltz, who supervises the *Doktor-Johannes-Lepsius-Archiv in Halle*, and has written several articles on Lepsius. Cf. Hermann Goltz (ed.): *Deutschland, Armenien und die Türkei 1895–1925: Dokumente und Zeitschriften aus dem Dr. Johannes-Lepsius-Archiv an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Vol. 1: Katalog*. München: Saur 1998, 622 pp. Andreas Baumann is working on a DTh Thesis (UNISA) on “the missiological legacy of Johannes Lepsius”.

55 Cf. *BDCM*, pp. 407f.

56 Cf. *ELThG*, Vol. 1, p. 425; F. Schuchardt (ed.): *25 Jahre im Orient. Ein Gang durch die Arbeit des Deutschen Hilfsbundes für christliches Liebeswerk im Orient (1896–1921)*. Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag Orient, 1921, 204 pp.; Horst-Dieter Schultz (ed.): *Handelt bis ich wiederkomme. 1896–1996. 100 Jahre Deutscher Hilfsbund für christliches Liebeswerk im Orient*. e. V. Bad Homburg: DHB, 1996, 64 pp.

57 *Ex Oriente Lux. Jahrbuch der Deutschen Orientmission* [Berlin], 1 (1903), p. 9.

58 Cf. Schäfer p. 3; *Ex Oriente Lux* 1903, pp. 5f. “Der erste Aufruf ... Ostern 1896”. In 1897, a managing board was constituted, and a board of referees, which also included some people who later were also relevant for the SPM: Graf Eduard von Pückler (Berlin), Pastor Wittekindt (*Oberissigheim*), and Pfarrer Vischer-Sarasin (*Basle*). Its first area of work was in Bulgaria.

59 The story of the DOM, partly written by Lepsius himself, was edited by Richard Schäfer: *Geschichte der Deutschen Orient-Mission*. Potsdam: Missionshandlung und Verlag, Lepsius, Fleischmann & Grauer, 1932, pp. 3–36 (on the period until 1900). The only up to date and scholarly treatment limits itself to the Armenian question: Uwe Feigel: *Das evangelische Deutschland und Armenien. Die Armenierhilfe deutscher evangelischer Christen seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Kontext der deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989. See also Andreas Baumann: *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Orient-Mission*. Paper for CBS, Korntal Extension Center, 1995, 12 pp. The early documents of the DOM (1895–1915) were lost during the First World War (Schäfer 1932, p. 2); more were lost in World War Two. The remains (15 boxes) of the DOM Archives are deposited at the *Berliner Missionswerk* in Berlin.

60 Amirkhanianz (known as Amirchanjanz in Germany) was a highly talented missionary (multiple translations of the New Testament and the Qur'an) and Lutheran pastor of Armenian origin. He had been trained at the *Basle Mission Institute* and had worked under various societies in Turkey and the *Caucasus*. After years of exile in the *Ural*, he settled in Finland. From 1895 to 1900, he was working with the DOM in Bulgaria and Germany (Schäfer 1932, pp. 12, 25, 36; a short biography is given by Esser Amirkhanianz: “Abraham Amirkhanianz”. In: *The Muslim World* 29 (1939), pp. 394–400, here 398f.).

Eisenach.<sup>61</sup> The existence of three separate small “mission agencies among Muslims”, that is the DOM, Amirkhanianz' agency, and the SPM, led Warneck and others to the suggestion that these should fuse into one major body.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, the SPM did not have an easy start in Germany, because it was considered as a further competitor for mission funds and as a further small mission agency, which would be consuming energy and funds for its administration.<sup>63</sup> In addition, it was associated with two categories of mission agencies, which were seriously put in doubt by established mission agencies and their representatives. Faith missions were not really considered necessary, and missionary work among Muslims was not considered timely.<sup>64</sup>

### 5.3 Would the Chrischona Mission adopt the Sudan-Pionier-Mission?

Going to *St. Chrischona* seemed to have been the major goal of Guinness and the Kumms from the outset, as they stayed there for a lengthy period. They arrived at least several days before May 18, 1900.<sup>65</sup> At *St. Chrischona*, around a chapel dedicated to a medieval saint by that name, a “Bible school”<sup>66</sup> and small mission agency had been founded in 1840, to which the Guinnesses' *East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions* had a number of similarities.<sup>67</sup> Guinness and the Kumms were housed in the newly established, adjacent Bible and retreat centre *Zu den Bergen*, which is part of *St. Chrischona*. There, short Bible courses were offered annually for young men from mid-January to May and holiday guests were taken in summer.<sup>68</sup> Guinness

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61 He left the DOM, of which he was even a board member, and became an independent missionary, because to him, the DOM did not do enough to further the missionary work that was on his heart. The effort however was short lived in Germany, but found support in another country (Schäfer 1932, pp. 12, 25, 36).

62 Gustav Warneck: “Missionsunternehmungen“. In: *AMZ* 1901, p. 184.

63 Cf. Chapter 5.7.3.

64 Cf. Chapter 5.7; cf. Andreas Feldtkeller: “‘Die Zeit einer Mohammedanermision im Oriente ist noch nicht gekommen’. Motive eines Zögerns in der Mission des American Board und bei Gustav Warneck“. In: Dieter Becker / Andreas Feldtkeller (ed.): *Es begann in Halle ...*. Erlangen: VELM, 1997, pp. 87–105, here pp. 95–103.

65 Minutes CM, May 18, 1900, item IV. The following had already happened during their stay at *Chrischona* before May 18: They had been speaking about the Sudan, some students had been excited, and applied to be sent to the SPM. Some committee members had been able to listen to Guinness' and Kumm's speeches.

66 It was “a training institute for young men of different professions who, though unable to study for the ministry, would work for the spread of the gospel in other capacities”. They were sent out as preachers or as lay missionaries with other societies. Cf. H.W. Gensichen 1997, in: *BDCM*, p. 635.

67 Cf. Fiedler: “Aspects of the Early History of the Bible School Movement“. In: M.W. Pretorius (ed.): *The Secret of Faith*. Heverlee: ETF, 1992, pp. 62–72.

68 The house with 36 beds had been opened on June 1, 1899. There must have been a vacancy, as the first Bible teacher there during Winter 1899/1900, Pastor Fünfstück from Cleveland, Ohio, had left to resume a pastorate in America. His successor, Friedrich Veiel, *Stadtmissionar* at Frankfurt am Main, who was married to director Rappard's daughter Emmy, only arrived in June 1900 (Cf. Veiel 1940, pp. 146, 167).

and the Kumms were welcome guests, as they drew considerable numbers of visitors.<sup>69</sup> Additionally they might have filled in for the vacant Bible teacher's position.

What did Guinness and the Kumms hope to attain at *St. Chrischona*?<sup>70</sup> The *Chrischona Mission* was known for its former missionary venture in Egypt called the *Apostles' Road*.<sup>71</sup> In 1857, the founder of *Chrischona*, Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782–1867), together with the missionary explorer of East Africa, Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810–1881), had come up with the plan of a chain of mission stations from Jerusalem to *Abyssinia*. The purpose was to establish a reliable line of supply and travel through Egypt and Nubia for the *Chrischona* missionaries, who were working with other missionary societies in *Abyssinia* [Ethiopia] since 1856, and who were rather isolated. The stations were to be self-supporting, manned by artisans, traders, and farmers as missionaries, who would also do limited missionary work locally among the peoples along the Nile. The Nile River had the same strategic importance for this project as it had for the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* – it was the “door” to the area targeted.<sup>72</sup> Between 1860 and 1875, five of the twelve stations, planned and named after the twelve Apostles, had been in existence in *Alexandria*, *Cairo*, *Esneh / Aswan*, *Khartoum*, and *Matammah*. In *Aswan*, the station was called *St. Peter*, was manned only in 1866, was moved to *Esneh* in 1867, and turned over to the *American Mission* in 1868.<sup>73</sup> The stations were successively given up, as the main purpose for their establishment, the missionary work in *Abyssinia*, had ceased. In addition, deaths and sickness of missionaries, lack of funds, and political changes in Egypt were seriously hampering the work. Contrary to expectations, self support had never been attained, which put a lot of

69 Minutes CM, June 19, 1900, item V: Inspector Rappard reported to the board: “Die Teilnahme durch den Besuch von Dr. Guinness [sic!] u. Miss. Kumm sei auf *Chrischona* sehr rege. Es werde viel dafür gebetet ...”.

70 Guinness certainly had been long aware of *St. Chrischona* and had possibly even published about it in his journal *Regions Beyond*. But we have no evidence that he had either been there before, or was acquainted personally with any of its leading figures.

71 A summary account on the *Apostles' Road* and the *Chrischona Training College* had been published in the *Illustrated Missionary News* on July 1, 1871, p. 74, in the period before the Guinnesses were the editors. Krapf had edited at least one brochure in English: *Apostolic Highway: Dawn in Egypt*, 1865. The venture was well known, and strongly supported by the missionary philanthropist Robert Arthington (1823–1900) from Leeds (For this and all the following see the first extensive scholarly documentation of the whole enterprise, done by Andreas Baumann: “*Die Apostelstraße*”. *Eine außergewöhnliche Vision und ihre Verwirklichung*. Giessen / Basel: Brunnen-Verlag, 1999, 180 pp., here pp. 78f.).

72 “Wer einmal die Karte jener Länder [im Osten Afrikas] angeschaut hat, dem kann nicht entgangen sein, wie der wichtige Nilstrom mit seinen beiden Hauptzuflüssen eine so große Masse von Stämmen, Völkern und Königreichen durchzieht ... Ebenso zeigt uns ein einfacher Blick auf die Karte den Weg, auf welchem jenen Völkern Hilfe gebracht werden kann. Es ist der Nilstrom. ... Hier haben wir die Hauptthore [d.h. die beiden Nilarme]...” (Spittler and Krapf: “*Programm der Apostelstraßen-Mission oder einer Missionsposten-Linie von Jerusalem nach den Nil-Ländern und Central-Afrika im Allgemeinen, und nach Abessinien und den Galla-Ländern insbesondere*”, [1863], *St. Chrischona Archives*. Reprinted in Baumann 1999, pp. 145–150, here pp. 145f.).

73 Cf. Baumann 1999, pp. 78–81 on the *Aswan / Esneh* station. It was closed in 1868 because the mission in *Abyssinia* came to a temporary end after the imprisoned missionaries had been liberated (p. 91).

hardship on the missionaries and heavy debts on the *Chrischona Mission*, which almost went bankrupt because of them.<sup>74</sup>

One of the former missionaries of the *Apostles' Road*, Carl Heinrich Rappard (1837–1909), had become director of the *Chrischona Mission* in 1868 and was now the host of Guinness and the Kumms.<sup>75</sup> The *Chrischona Mission* was the only one in Germany which had done missionary work in Egypt in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, it seemed compatible with the Guinnesses' understanding of missionary work, as it had adopted faith mission principles<sup>76</sup> and was a stronghold of the Holiness movement. In 1895, it had already opened a German speaking branch of the *China Inland Mission* of Hudson Taylor.<sup>77</sup>

Therefore, Grattan Guinness felt that the *Chrischona Mission* was now particularly called “to enter the open doors of the Sudan” and to adopt the new *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*.<sup>78</sup> Leopold Edmund Zimmerlin (1877–1951), then a student of *Chrischona Seminary* and later a missionary of the SPM, relates in his autobiography that the students of the *Chrischona Seminary* were caught up by real excitement for these plans: “When after a lecture ... Guinness asked: ‘Who is willing to go and to serve the Lord there, if he is hearing the call of the Lord to work in these countries?’, and at the same time asked those responding to rise, then all brethren stood to their feet as one man, even the elderly, dear Inspector Rappard”.<sup>79</sup> A special prayer group for the

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74 Cf. Baumann 1999, pp. 91–109. This is an indicator that the CM had not been a faith mission initially, but was only transformed into a faith mission later by C.H. Rappard. One of the faith missions' principles was not to go into debt.

75 Carl Heinrich Rappard had been working in Alexandria and Cairo, Egypt, from 1865–1868. In 1874, he received strong impulses from the Holiness movement, when attending the Oxford conference of Pearsall-Smith. He was a teacher, evangelist, counselor, and editor of a Christian monthly. It is unknown whether he had met Guinness before. He had visited Great Britain in 1864/65. They might possibly have met at the *Blankenburg Conference* in 1899, even though Rappard was not a speaker then (only in 1902, 1903 and 1905). At least, they had a common friend in Friedrich Wilhelm Baedeker (1823–1906), who had been evangelizing together with both of them individually, once in *Basle* and once in *Berlin* (On C.H. Rappard, cf. his biography written by his wife Dora Rappard: *Carl Heinrich Rappard. Ein Lebensbild*. Basel / Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, [1910] Reprint 1983, 420 pp).

76 Fiedler (1992, p. 107 = Fiedler 1994, p. 73) classifies the *Chrischona Mission* as a precursor to the faith missions which started on the lines of classical missions (1840–1856) but had later adopted faith mission principles (Fiedler 1994, p. 28 n 3).

77 Cf. Franz 1993, pp. 126–149.

78 Minutes CM, May 18, 1900, item IV: Rappard reported: “Diese Freunde sind begeisterte Werber für die Sudan-Pionier-Mission u. meinen die P.M. [*Pilger Mission*], welche seiner Zeit die Apostelstraße ins Werk gesetzt habe, sei nun vornehmlich berufen, in die offenen Thüren des Sudans einzugehen, wo noch Millionen von Heiden u. Muhammedanern ohne Missionare seien.”

79 Alfred Blum-Ernst (ed.): *Leopold Edmund Zimmerlin 1877–1951*. Grosshöchstetten: SEMM [1951], pp. 14f. – (translation C.S.). The event is also referred to by Hohenlohe, numbering the students as 70 (*Material*, p. 1). Karl Kumm himself used this event as an illustration of the ability of Guinness to inspire enthusiasm: “I had the privilege of saying something, and then I translated for him. ... And out of the fifty-five, fifty rose.” (Karl Kumm: “In Memoriam. Address by Dr. Kumm on the occasion of the Memorial Service at Harley House, on May 30, to the late Rev. Dr. Grattan Guinness”. In: *The Lightbearer*, Aug/Sept. 1910, p. 180).

Sudan was formed among the students, meeting regularly from then on under the leadership of Zimmerlin. A special sheet with mission hymns for prayer groups was printed, with an advertisement for the SPM on the cover.<sup>80</sup> Guinness and Kumm gave a number of lectures to the whole *Chrischona Mission and Seminary* community. The extended stay also gave them the opportunity to hold meetings in *Basle* and possibly in other Swiss towns of the area.<sup>81</sup>

How, then, did the board of *Chrischona Mission* react to the proposal of adopting the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*? In three successive board meetings, it dealt with this issue (May 18, June 19, and July 17, 1900). The main proponents of the idea were Inspector Rappard and the chairman Vischer-Sarasin, whereas two other board members, H. Hermann<sup>82</sup> and Dr. Christ<sup>83</sup> were decidedly against the idea that the *Chrischona Mission* should take up activities in the Sudan. In the first meeting on May 18, it was Rappard who informed the board about the promotional activities of the SPM representatives and the enthusiastic response of some students. Some board members had listened to the lectures by Karl Kumm, whom they saw as the key figure. However, they had doubts whether he was "already competent to direct such a work". Nevertheless, the issue seemed remarkable and important enough to them, to wait for further guidance from the Lord.<sup>84</sup> This was a polite and spiritualized circumscription for "doing nothing", and it remained the bottom line of all further deliberations. At the next board meeting<sup>85</sup> on June 19, 1900, the chairman Vischer-Sarasin tried his best to ask, whether an unexpected suggestion by Pastor Ernst Lohmann, that the SPM and the *Deutsche Orientmission* should both fuse with *Chrischona Mission*, was the anticipated "guidance of the Lord" for the CM. However, further arguments against *Chrischona Mission's* participation in a Sudan Mission surfaced and dominated the decision. One was an internal problem of *Chrischona*: The board was unsure whether a promise which the CM founder Spittler had been urged to give to the *Basle Mission* in 1853, that

80 See Appendix I for a reproduction of this earliest printed document of the SPM available.

81 *Basle* is mentioned on the list of places covered before Feb. 26, 1901. The most probable community to receive Guinness would have been the *Verein für Evangelisation und Gemeinschaftspflege* and its *Evangelische Predigeranstalt* in *Basle*, of which Adolf Vischer-Sarasin was the President and major worker (Veiel 1940, p. 190). *Lucerne* might also fit in here. Lucy Kumm reports that "in beautiful *Lucerne* ..., and in many a Swiss home and college room [*Chrischona* and possibly *Bern*], men and women have joined hands to work with you and with us for the ... souls of the Sudan" (Lucy Kumm, Sept. 24, 1900).

82 The minutes quote a H. Hermann, who could not be identified. But possibly Joh.[annes?] Hermann from *Basle*, who was the treasurer of the CM until 1913 (Veiel, 1940, p. 153) is meant. He or his predecessor had to face the heavy debts of the CM after Spittler's death in 1868, largely due to the *Apostles' Road* project.

83 Dr. Hermann Christ, on the board since 1890, was a lawyer at *Basle* and lived in *Riehen*, right next to *St. Chrischona* (Veiel 1940, p. 149).

84 Minutes CM, May 18, 1900, item IV: "Diese Sache ist dem Committee aber doch bemerkenswerth und wichtig, u. wir sind bereit hinzugehen, wohin der Herr der Ernte uns sendet. Wir wollen seine deutlichen Winke abwarten."

*Chrischona* would confine itself to evangelistic work at home and to North America, was still binding. It took the board until November 1900 to clarify that they were no longer bound by this.<sup>86</sup> The other argument was a reflection of the widespread opinion on missionary work among Muslims, which also dominated in the CM board: "The time for the evangelization of Muslims had not yet come".<sup>87</sup> This was the lesson which the board member Dr. Christ drew out of the current missionary work among Muslims, particularly that of the NAM.<sup>88</sup> The deliberations were postponed to the board meeting on July 17, and the argument only became even more "spiritualized". "Even though the way to Khartoum may be open geographically, it was not yet obvious to the board of CM that the way to the hearts of the Muslims was open too".<sup>89</sup> This "theological rationale" for "doing nothing" was the deathblow to the request of the SPM founders.<sup>90</sup> It seems to me a rather "polite postponement" of the issue that the four graduating seminarians, who had applied to be sent to Aswan, were told they would need two further years of practical experience in Christian work at home.<sup>91</sup>

Already after the board meeting of June 18, Guinness and the Kumms, who probably still were at *St. Chrischona*,<sup>92</sup> must have been able to see that the odds were against their proposal. The alternatives left to them, were the proposal to fuse with the *Deutsche Orient-Mission*, or to establish their own home base for the SPM. Thus, they probably left *Chrischona* soon, as Grattan Guinness was expected at the graduation ceremony of *Harley House* on June 29 anyway.<sup>93</sup> The Kumms probably spent some weeks with Karl's parents at *Osterode am Harz*.<sup>94</sup> At the end of July, Karl Kumm was speaking in Great Britain at the *Keswick Convention* and in *Derbyshire*

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85 At this board meeting, the main discussion took place and the issue has the lengthiest entry in the minutes (Minutes CM, June 19, 1900, item V).

86 Minutes CM, Nov. 20, 1900, item III.

87 Gustav Warneck was a major proponent of this view. On this whole issue cf. Oliver Drescher: *Ist es Zeit? Der Einfluß der Eschatologie auf die Debatte um die Zeitgemäßheit einer Mission unter Muslimen 1895-1914*. MTh UNISA, Department of Missiology, 1998, 74 pp.

88 "Nach verschiedenen Erfahrungen, besonders auch der der Arbeiter der Nordafrikanischen Mission, müsse er der Ansicht sein, daß die Zeit für die Evangelisation der Muhammedaner noch nicht gekommen sei. Bis jetzt habe nur die medicinische Mission unter den Moslems einen Erfolg, u. der gehe nur so weit, daß die Moslems sagen: Ihr seid bessere und weisere Menschen als wir, u. es thut uns leid, daß ihr nicht ins Paradies kommt weil ihr keine Muhammedaner seid." (Minutes CM, June 19, 1900, item V).

89 Minutes CM, June 17, 1900, item III, as are all the further quotes from this board meeting (Translation C.S.).

90 In October 1900, Vischer-Sarasin had heard some unverified but unfavorable information about Karl Kumm. The CM board thus saw their "waiting attitude" justified (Minutes CM, Oct. 16, 1900, item III). The result of the research on that issue, which was to be presented at the next board meeting, is not mentioned there.

91 Those who had applied were: Conrad Bollinger, Christian Schlichter, Emil Walter, and Robert Wiechert.

92 Rappard reports about them in the present tense, which is an indication of their ongoing presence at *St. Chrischona*: "Die Teilnahme durch den Besuch von Dr. Guinness [sic!] u. Miss. Kumm sei auf *Chrischona* sehr rege. Es wird viel dafür gebetet ..." (Minutes CM, June 19, 1900, item V).

93 *RB* 1900, p. 366, "Institute Notes".

94 Cleverdon 1936, p. 36, relates: "That first summer they had happy times with the Kumms at Osterode".

and *Malvern*.<sup>95</sup> As Lucy had become pregnant at the end of May, and was not feeling well, she did not accompany her husband to England, but instead joined her sister Geraldine Taylor with husband Howard and father-in-law Hudson Taylor at *Davos*, Switzerland.<sup>96</sup> In early August 1900, Grattan Guinness and Karl Kumm returned to Germany, as Guinness would have two speaking engagements there, which could be used for promoting the SPM and for introducing Karl Kumm to Christian leaders in Germany.

#### 5.4 Gaining Julius Dammann as Promoter of the SPM

Guinness and Kumm attended the *Tenth German Christian Students Conference*<sup>97</sup> at Eisenach, August 9–13, 1900. Probably, Guinness had secured a late invitation from its leader, Count Eduard von Pückler<sup>98</sup> (1853–1924), with whom he had evangelized in Berlin in February 1900. Alternatively, Pastor Julius Dammann of Eisenach, who had been one of Grattan Guinness' fellow speakers at the *Blankenburg Conference* of the *Evangelical Alliance* in August 1899, might have introduced him. On the traditional “missions morning” of the conference, the 136 participants split into two parallel meetings. In the meeting dedicated to missionary work in Islamic areas, the representatives of the *Deutsche Orient-Mission* and of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* shared the pulpit. Possibly, one of the smaller mission meetings on the last day of the conference gave Guinness and Kumm an additional opportunity to recruit potential workers for the SPM. Cleverdon relates that Kumm was “always particularly successful” at student gatherings.<sup>99</sup>

95 Cleverdon 1936, p. 36, mentions *Keswick*. The conference, which was also attended by Dora Rappard from St. Chrischona, ended on July 30, 1900 (Emmy Veiel-Rappard: *Mutter. Bilder aus dem Leben von Dora Rappard-Gobat*. Basel: Brunnen Verlag, [1925] 1956, p. 123. Lucy Kumm (Feb. 26, 1901), also mentions Derbyshire (the county where *Cliff College* was located) and Malvern.

96 Cleverdon 1936, p. 36; Michele Guinness 1990, p. 244. Cf. the photograph of Lucy Kumm and Geraldine Guinness at Davos, in: Guinness: *Lucy Guinness Kumm*. 1907, p. 32a.

97 Reports on the conference appeared in Julius Dammann's weekly *Licht und Leben*: Otto Quast: “Die X. Deutsche Christliche Studentenkonferenz in Eisenach”. In: *LuL* 12 (1900), No. 34, Aug. 25, 1900, pp. 606–609; “Nachrichten über Gemeinschaftspflege und Evangelisation”. In: *Philadelphia* 10 (Sept. 1900), pp. 148ff. The following is taken from these sources. The conference was organized by the *German Christian Students' Union* (*Deutsche Christliche Studenten-Vereinigung*) which was founded in 1895. Cf. Karl Kupisch: *Studenten entdecken die Bibel. Die Geschichte der Deutschen Christlichen Studenten-Vereinigung (DCSV)*. Hamburg: Furche Verlag, 1964, p. 296.

98 Eduard Graf von Pückler was a lawyer who had quit public service in order to devote himself full-time to Christian work. His evangelistic and Christian social work in Berlin had quite some similarities to what the Guinnesses did in London's East End (Cf. Hedwig von Redern: *Berufen mit heiligem Ruf. Leben und Dienst des Grafen Eduard von Pückler nach Aufzeichnungen und Briefen*. Berlin: Deutsche Evangelische Traktat- und Buchgesellschaft, 1925).

99 Cleverdon, 1936, p. 36.

However, their interaction with some of the other speakers at the conference was probably more important than this. They had an opportunity to meet Dr. Johannes Lepsius, the director of the *Deutsche Orient-Mission*,<sup>100</sup> and his co-workers, the Pastors Abraham Amirkhanianz and Johannes Awetarianian<sup>101</sup> (?–1919). The latter were touring Germany in the interest of missionary work among Muslims, particularly in Bulgaria.<sup>102</sup> Probably, they were discussing a possible fusion of the SPM with the DOM, which had already been proposed in June by people interested in missionary work among Muslims.<sup>103</sup>

Yet, someone else became the most important figure for the SPM in these months. He was Pastor Julius Dammann (1840–1908), who lived in Eisenach. Already acquainted with Grattan Guinness, he quickly became their key resource person. Dammann was then 60 years old and had retired as pastor of the local Lutheran Church, in order to devote himself fully to his work as an evangelist and as the editor of the Christian weekly *Licht und Leben*<sup>104</sup> (founded 1889). He was

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100 See Chapter 5.2.2.

101 See Chapter 5.2.2. Awetarianian was a former Turkish Mullah, baptized by Pastor Amirkhanianz, and had worked for several missionary societies. When the plans of Pastor Faber for him failed, he was recruited for the DOM in 1899 and had accompanied Dr. Lepsius on a journey through the Orient. He married Helene von Osterroht and was sent to *Varna*, Bulgaria on Nov. 7, 1900 for ministry among Muslims (Schäfer 1932, pp. 24f., 36, 103). His autobiography is: Johannes Awetarianian: *Geschichte eines Mohammedaners, der Christ wurde. Von ihm selbst erzählt. Nach seinem Tode ergänzt von Richard Schäfer*. Potsdam: Missionsverlag, [1905] 1930, 176 pp.

102 Schäfer (1932, p. 36) reports, that they found ready acceptance in the Fellowship Movement. Particularly Awetarianian seemed to have been a very warm personality, who attracted many.

103 Vischer-Sarasin reported at the *Chrischona* board meeting on June 19, 1900, that at the *Gnadau Conference at Elmen* (near *Gnadau*; cf. *Philadelphia* 10, July 1900, p. 106) from June 5–7, 1900, there had been an unplanned consultation between Vischer-Sarasin, Pastor Ernst Lohmann (who had founded the “*Armenisches Hilfswerk*” together with Lepsius in 1896 and was the chairman of its *Frankfurt committee*), Pastor Zeller (probably Pastor Friedrich Zeller, from *Biesenrode*, the brother in law of Dr. Lepsius and a board member of the DOM – cf. Schäfer, p. 3) and “missionaries of the DOM who were touring Germany” (probably Amirkhanianz and Awetarianian). Later, Lohmann (1860–1936) had proposed in a letter (supposedly to Vischer-Sarasin), that the SPM and the DOM should both fuse with *Chrischona Mission* and that Lepsius should become professor at *Chrischona* for the training of missionaries among Muslims (Minutes CM, June 18, 1900, item V). The background for this suggestion might have been that both SPM and DOM were targeting the Fellowship Movement as supporters of the ministry among Muslims and that on the part of the DOM a lack of funds was looming on the horizon. The DOM closed its budget in 1900 with a deficit of 50,000 German Marks. As missionary work among Muslims was still novel, it might have been thought that one missionary society for the task would be sufficient, regardless of the different geographic fields targeted.

104 The weekly was founded in 1889 by Dammann. Pastor Ernst Lohmann, then Inspector of the *Evangelische Gesellschaft*, had a share in it. Through his weekly, Dammann had regularly reported about the *Rhenish Mission* and forwarded donations to them. The *Gossner Mission* and “the Armenians” were also benefactors of his editorial work (*LmL* 12, Dec. 15, 1900, No. 50, pp. 913f.). The weekly was turned over to the *Evangelische Gesellschaft* on March 30, 1905, and on April 1, 1906, Julius Dammann had to pass the editorship to Pastor Dr. Wilhelm Busch due to increasing sickness. The weekly had around 16,000 subscribers then; at its peak it had 20,000 (*LmL* 18 [1906], pp. 269–272, 282–284; *Darlegung der Verhältnisse von ‘Licht und Leben’ aus Anlaß der Übergabe an die Evangelische Gesellschaft für Deutschland in Elberfeld*. Printed as Manuscript [1906?], 24 pp., cf. p. 12).

one of the major leaders and spokesmen of the Fellowship Movement in Germany.<sup>105</sup> He must have been convinced of the plans of Guinness and Kumm, for in those two last weeks of August after the Eisenach conference, an office for the SPM was set up at Eisenach, very close to Dammann's home.<sup>106</sup> Kumm's former travel companion in Egypt, Paul Krusius, was doing the secretarial work in the office.

For the first time, the SPM had a permanent address.<sup>107</sup> Dammann probably also used his wide range of contacts to arrange the speaking tour by Guinness and Kumm during the subsequent weeks in some major towns of the surrounding area. From August 27 to 31, 1900, both Dammann and Guinness were scheduled speakers at the annual *Blankenburg Conference* of the *Evangelical Alliance*.<sup>108</sup> Possibly it was von Baedeker who had invited Guinness both in 1899 and 1900.<sup>109</sup> He was one of the initiators of the conference, but lived in Great Britain. In his lectures, Guinness focused on a biblical text, but in personal encounters, the newly founded SPM

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105 Dammann (born April 8, 1840, in *Warburg, Westfalia*) had studied theology at *Halle (Saale)* and Berlin, worked as a teacher and school director, and then became a pastor. He first served in some villages and then in *Siegen* (1879–1885), where in 1881 or 1882 he experienced salvation, and from then on closely participated in the local *Fellowship*. He became the leader of the western branch of the *Evangelical Alliance* in 1889 with its annual conference being held in *Hammerhütte, Siegen*. In his last pastorate in *Essen (Westfalia)* from 1885–1897, a revival came about due to his preaching. In 1897, he took early retirement on the counsel of his doctor, as his strength did not suffice for his pastorate. He moved to Eisenach on April 1, 1899, and continued his work as an evangelist and editor from there. He was also on the board of the *Deutscher Sängerbund*. He died on Dec. 10, 1908, at Eisenach. Cf. *BBKL*, Vol. 1, pp. 1285f.; Otto Hasselmann: *Pastor Julius Dammann – Volksmann, Seelsorger, Evangelist*. Schwerin: Fr. Bahn, 1930.

106 Dammann's home was in *Marienthal 20*, whereas the office lay on the opposite side of the valley, in *Marienthal 17* (See *LuL* 12 [1900], No. 47, Nov. 24, 1900, p. 853).

107 Lucy Kumm relates: "The S.P.M. – now nine months old – cannot live entirely in trains, ships, cabins, hotels, pensions, and hap-hazard lodgings, as it has been doing during our pilgrim life since its start last January. Correspondence and papers, reference books, on missions in general and on the whole immense Sudan, applications, cases, and communications, financial records of the work abroad and of swiftly multiplying Helpers Unions at home, ledgers, receipt books, donation lists, S.P.M. publications, and the increasing affairs of the work on the Nile – these things need other accommodation than our well worn cabin trunks and hand bags can afford" (*Letter 1*, Sept. 24, 1900).

108 There were two conferences of the *Evangelical Alliance* in Germany: one in the east in *Blankenburg*, since 1886, with strong Anglo-Saxon influence from the Holiness movement (Keswick), and the other in the west in *Hammerhütte, Siegen*, since about 1878, which was more "German" and closer to the mainline Protestant churches (Erich Beyreuther: *Der Weg der Evangelischen Allianz in Deutschland*. Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1969, p. 53). The announcement of the *Blankenburg Conference* was also published in *Licht und Leben*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Aug. 4, 1900, p. 560. The other speakers invited were: Dr. Baedeker, Graf Andreas Bernstorff, Prediger Eckert, Rev. Fuller Gooch, Pastor Jellinghaus, Oberstleutnant von Knobelsdorff, Pastor Dr. Lepsius, Pfr. Dr. Langmesser (*Davos*), Prediger Mascher, Rev. F.B. Meyer (GB), Prediger E. Millard, Rev. C.G. Moore, Pastor Paul, Pastor Stockmayer, Prof. Ströter, and Generalleutnant v. Viebahn.

109 Baedeker had founded the *Blankenburg Conference* in 1886 together with Anna Thekla von Weling (1837–1900) and lived in Weston-super-Mare. The hypothesis of his initiative in inviting Guinness would be made plausible by the fact that he also took Guinness on extensive evangelistic tours to Russia in both years (On Anna Thekla von Weling, cf. Werner Beyer: "Anna Thekla von Weling". In: Kern / Steeb / Steinacker: *Stimmen aus Bad Blankenburg*. Moers: Brendow, 1991, pp. 105–125).

was certainly a major subject.<sup>110</sup> At the conference, other prospective board members<sup>111</sup> for the SPM were gained.<sup>112</sup> The Lutheran Pastor Theodor Ziemendorff<sup>113</sup> (1837–1912) of Wiesbaden, was asked to join, because of his experience in training single women for Christian work.<sup>114</sup> He had equally initiated a wide range of local Christian activities and was the organizer of a Christian conference<sup>115</sup> for the whole region. He was widely known and respected and had been

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110 In Dammann's *Licht und Leben* (No. 37 of Sept. 15, 1900, pp. 656–660) there was no mention of other activities, but the whole report focused on the edificational content of the conference. The full report was published by Allianzhaus Blankenburg: *Fünfzehnte Allianz-Konferenz zur Vertiefung des Glaubenslebens. Vom 27. bis 31. August 1900*. Blankenburg: Allianzhaus [1900].

111 None was among the speakers at the conference. But Ziemendorff had been a speaker in 1898 (cf. Melle, s.a., p. 149).

112 Possibly the other board members were all persuaded by Dammann or through his intermediacy. However, this might also have been through Baedeker's help, or by Guinness directly. Guinness reported from the 1899 conference: "One of the most delightful features of the Conference was the social intercourse between the meetings" (RB 20, Nov. 1899, p. 404). Sources from Wiesbaden claim that it was Dammann who persuaded "his friend Ziemendorff" (Held, 1925, p. 9). This seems plausible, as both had been members of the *Deutscher Evangelisationsverein* since its founding in 1884 and had also been present at the consultation of the *Deutscher Evangelisationsverein* on April 13 and 14, 1887. Here the invitation to a conference in 1887 was issued, which was later termed "the first *Gnadau Conference*" of the Fellowship Movement (cf. Ohlemacher, 1986, pp. 61f.). Dammann had also been a guest in Wiesbaden (cf. guest book of Ziemendorff).

113 Theodor Ziemendorff was born on May 19, 1837, in Berlin, where he studied theology. In 1866, he married Adelheid von Diest. After pastorates in different locations, they moved to Wiesbaden in 1869, where they were active for the rest of their lives. The Ziemendorffs' work went far beyond the usual duties and achievements of a pastor and his wife. They saw the needs of the time, found contemporary forms for spiritual life, trained Christian lay people and were giving leadership and raising funds for ever new efforts: Their love for missionary work, ignited by Ziemendorff's mentor, Pastor Licht (editor of *Kleiner Sammler* for the *Gossner Mission*) as assistant pastor in *Gut Waecker* in 1865, led to their founding the *Basler Missionsverein*, a Helpers Union for the *Basle Mission* in Wiesbaden in 1870. As a result, the *Basle Mission* had a missionary in residence in Wiesbaden since then (Steitz 1977, p. 375). This was their favorite work and the stronghold of mission interest in Wiesbaden. Other local innovations were a mid-week Bible study, a Sunday school, a *City Mission*, work among the poor (*Armenpflege*), a soup kitchen, and an *Evangelisches Vereinshaus* (1879), which became the heart of multiple other ministries. Spiritually, Ziemendorff had been very encouraged by the *Brighton Conference* in 1876, where he gained new strength and joy. He was rather isolated among the Wiesbaden pastors for his support of the Fellowship Movement, emphasizing personal faith, holiness and charitable and evangelistic activities. The best sources on his life are: *Einige Notizen über den Lebensgang von Herrn Pfarrer Th. Ziemendorff* (EMO Archives, Green Folder "Berichte EMO A/1 Wiesbaden", item No. 2, 9 pp.) and Pastor Schübler: "Zum Gedächtnis Pfarrer Theodor Ziemendorff". In: *Kirchenbote für die ev. Gemeinden Wiesbadens*. April 1912, pp. 2f., and May 1912, pp. 1f. (EMO Archives, Green Folder "Berichte EMO A/1 Wiesbaden", item No. 18). On the *Evangelisches Vereinshaus* cf. Alfred Sommer: "Das Evangelische Vereinshaus in der Platterstraße". In: *Weltweite Hilfe. Zeitschrift des Diakonischen Werkes, Innere Mission und Hilfswerk, in Hessen Nassau*. Ed by. Evangelischer Presseverband für Hessen und Nassau. 15 (1965), No 4, pp. 41–45.

114 See below on the *Marienhaus*, a community of single ladies of nobility in the house of the Ziemendorffs, *Emserstraße 12*.

115 The conferences were called *Versammlung zur Förderung und Vertiefung des Glaubenslebens* and were held annually for three days in October. The committee consisted of Ziemendorff, Wittekindt, and Jellinghaus (see the earliest invitation preserved for Oct. 1902, EMO Archives, Green Folder C/2 "Heimatarbeit Wiesbaden"). The former missionary and pastor Theodor Jellinghaus (1841–1913) held a one-week Bible-course before or after each conference, if more than 30 participants registered (*Philadelphia* 10, Sept. 1900, III–IV, announced a course of two weeks in 1900 following the conference. On Jellinghaus cf. Ohlemacher 1986, pp. 164ff.).

host to a multitude of leaders of revival Christianity of all strands.<sup>116</sup> Ziemendorff seems to have been reluctant to join.<sup>117</sup>

Two further board members were gained before September 17, 1900, most probably at the *Blankenburg Conference*.<sup>118</sup> One was the Lutheran Pastor Otto Sartorius (1864–?)<sup>119</sup> from *Burghaun* (between *Hersfeld* and *Fulda*, later pastor in *Sterbfritz*, south of *Fulda*), who was a leading figure in the Fellowship Movement in the region of *Hessen-Nassau*. The other was the Lutheran Pastor Leopold Wittekindt<sup>120</sup> (1854–1923) from *Oberissigheim* (near *Hanau* in the Frankfurt region), who was the chairman of the *Hessen-Nassauischer Gemeinschaftsverein*. He

116 The guest book of the Ziemendorffs for 1881–1912 gives evidence of this (PA Pfarrer(in) Adelheid Ziemendorff [?–2000], Gießen, with a copy deposited at the EMO Archives. An excerpt is printed as Appendix No. 8 in Ohlemacher 1986, pp. 274–280).

117 Held (1925, p. 9) claims that Ziemendorff was reluctant, because he felt a conflict of loyalties as the founder of the *Wiesbaden Helpers Union of the Basle Mission* (founded in 1870) and because he shared the criticism of mission leaders against the new venture. He also seems to suggest that Dammann and Wittekindt were persuaded first, and Ziemendorff only later, because the former were too busy in the regional and national work of the Fellowship Movement, and in addition had no experience in training young people, in contrast to Ziemendorff. However, Held was no eyewitness; he diverges in his account from Hohenlohe (whose earlier manuscripts he used), and is less than precise in chronological order.

118 I cannot prove that they attended the conference. But the potential board members seemed to have been recruited before Kumm's arrival in *Davos* around Sept. 17, 1900 (*Letter I*, Sept. 24, 1900). Thus, there was very little time (two weeks) after the *Blankenburg Conference*. I assume that gaining a board member must have been based on a personal encounter with Kumm, Guinness, and/or possibly an intermediary. The sole use of letters seems rather improbable in comparison.

119 I could not find out whether there is a published biography of Sartorius. The information here is compiled from various sources. Sartorius must have been about the same age as his friend Leopold Wittekindt (see below). When he was an assistant pastor with his friend's father, Konstantin Wittekindt, in *Roßdorf* until 1892, and he traveled with Leopold to the *Gnadauer Pfingstkonferenz* in that year. He was one of the two pastors in the *Brüderrat des Hessen-Nassauischen Gemeinschaftsverbands* (cf. below: Roth 1924, pp. 8, 39, 64). From 1892 to 1901 he was Pastor in *Burghaun*, and from 1901 to 1909 in *Sterbfritz* (Lorenz Kohlenbusch: *Pfarrerbuch der evangelisch unierten Kirchengemeinschaft ("Hanauer Union") im Gebiet der Landeskirche Hessen-Kassel*. Darmstadt, 1938, p. 410). He was an SPM board member until 1913. He is last mentioned in the Sept./Oct. issue of the *SP* (No. 9/10), and not in the Nov. 1913 issue (No. 11). His name is only found in Ziemendorff's guest book after 1900. There was a single lady by the name of Emilie Sartorius in the *Marienhaus* in *Wiesbaden* (*Marienhaus*, 1891, EMO Archives, Green Folder W C/2 "Heimatarbeit Wiesbaden"). It is unknown, if she was related to Otto Sartorius, but she was none of his six children.

120 Leopold Wittekindt (born May 8, 1854 in *Mittelbuchen* near *Hanau*) had studied theology in *Marburg* and *Leipzig*. At the end of his first pastorate, he experienced a conversion. In 1888, he became pastor of the small Lutheran village parish of 300–400 members in *Oberissigheim*, where visits of parishioners in his house on Sunday afternoons with Bible readings issued in the founding of a Fellowship under his leadership. His itinerant preaching in the area of the *Wetterau* led to the establishment of other such groups as far as *Gießen*. He then became the key figure of the *Hessen-Nassauischer Gemeinschaftsverband* (chair of the *Brüderrat* for *Kassel* in 1894) and issued their periodical *Hessen-Nassauischer Gemeinschaftsbote* from 1899. He was also on the committee of the monthly journal *Philadelphia* (*Stuttgart*) from 1899. He was in close connection with the *Deutscher Verband für Gemeinschaftspflege und Evangelisation* (*Gnadauer Verband*, founded 1897). He joined the *Gnadau Conference Committee* in 1900 and became the first full time secretary of the *Gnadauer Verband* in 1903. He had attended the *Gnadau Conferences* since 1892, which were held annually at Pentecost. He was a member of the SPM board until his death on December 29, 1923 (*SP* 1924, No. 1). His biographer was Alfred Roth: *Leopold Wittekindt. Ein Kämpfer für das Königreich Jesu Christi*. Neumünster: Vereinsbuchhandlung G. Ihloff & Co., 1924. A good summary of his life is also given by Alfred Sommer in: Johannes Dreßler (ed.): *Zeugen für Christus*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985, pp. 221–231.

had been acquainted with Ziemendorff since 1892,<sup>121</sup> was a close friend of Otto Sartorius, and had volunteered to be a member of a board of reference for the new *Deutsche Orient-Mission* of Dr. Lepsius in 1897.<sup>122</sup>

During the two weeks before and the two weeks after the *Blankenburg Conference*, Guinness and Kumm had been “speaking for the Mission ... and addressed meetings in several leading centres”. This led to the formation of *Helpers Unions* in *Halle, Kassel, Eisenach, Hersfeld, and Salzungen*. Of these places, only Halle and Kassel were “leading centers”, but all lay within a radius of 140 kilometers around the SPM office in Eisenach and in or close to the *Thüringer Wald*.<sup>123</sup> The *Helpers Unions for the Sudan (Hilfsbünde)* were clearly modeled according to the concept of the *Helpers Unions*, which the Guinneses had set up since 1892 in Great Britain for the support of their large missionary enterprise.<sup>124</sup> All members of a *Helpers Union* were “promising to study the sphere, pray, work, and give regularly what they can”. They were seeking “to bind together an army of home workers”, who would accord the obligation to evangelize the non-Christian world “a first place in their lives and labour”.<sup>125</sup>

Thus, with a German promoter who was widely respected, an office installed, potential board members recruited, and the first *Helpers Unions* formed, Grattan Guinness had done his share in establishing a home base for the SPM in Germany. These were his last efforts for the SPM in Germany that are recorded. From now on, the main load lay on the Kums. By mid-September, Kumm had been long expected by his wife in *Davos*, Switzerland, where he arrived on September 17, 1900.<sup>126</sup> Grattan Guinness seems to have accompanied him.<sup>127</sup> The *Helpers Union* in *Luzern*, Switzerland, was probably formed on their way to *Davos*.<sup>128</sup> Afterwards, Guinness

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121 Wittekindt came to know Ziemendorff on Feb. 15, 1892 at the *Konferenz zur Vertiefung geistlichen Lebens und zur Förderung der Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen* hosted by Ernst Lohmann in *Frankfurt-Bockenhain*, which was gathering the emerging groups of the Fellowship Movement in *Hessen-Nassau* (Roth 1924, pp. 40f.). The first entry of Wittekindt in the guest book of Theodor Ziemendorff is found on April 18, 1893 (Reprinted in Ohlemacher 1986, p. 276).

122 Schäfer, 1932, p. 12.

123 Guinness had been traveling in *Thüringen, Saxony and Bohemia* in the previous year after the *Blankenburg Conference* (RB 20 [1899], p. 437 and pp. 405f. “Religious Liberty in Saxony”).

124 Harry Guinness: *These Thirty Years*. London 1903 = RB 24 (Jan. + Feb. 1903), pp. 92f. “Our Helpers: The ‘Regions Beyond’ Helper’s Unions”. A “Membership Card” of the RBHU was printed many times in the *Regions Beyond*, e.g. RB 15 (1894), p. 294.

125 Sept. 24, 1900, p. 1.

126 Michele Guinness (1990, p. 224) relates a letter, in which Lucy had been expecting her husband on the 10<sup>th</sup> already (probably September).

127 In *Letter 1* from *Davos*, of Sept. 24, 1900, Lucy talks of “three of us here”, referring to the workers of the SPM. But “here” might also refer to “Europe”.

128 *Letter 1*, Sept. 24, 1900, p. 1.

must have parted from the young couple. He passed Berlin,<sup>129</sup> certainly on the way to some new evangelistic task, and eventually returned to *Cliff College* in Great Britain.

## 5.5 Establishing Structures for the SPM

The outcome of Karl Kumm's one week's rest at *Davos* was the first *Circular* sent out by Lucy Kumm on September 24, 1900. It simply bears the title *Letter 1. Sudan Pioneer Mission, Davos. Sep. 24, 1900*. It is written in English and is addressed to "My dear Friend", which meant those who had sympathized with the SPM since its founding.<sup>130</sup> The letter relates the achievements and activities till then, such as the places visited in speaking about the Sudan, *Helpers Unions* formed, committee members and volunteers recruited, and about an encouraging expansion of the schools in Aswan. It tells of planned itineraries of Kumm in Europe, and the postponement of the expedition to *Lake Chad*, once projected for October 1900. Eisenach is presented as the "newly found [sic!] European head quarters", where the Kumms were planning to settle. Several appeals are included, such as one for the equipment of the office in Eisenach, funds for salaries of indigenous workers, and for prospective missionaries and their equipment. Prayer is requested for the forming of the committee, the drawing up of *Statutes and Principles and Practice*, and for publishing and speaking about the Sudan. The work, and the share which the friends might have in it, is presented eloquently – and with a slight tendency toward exaggeration.<sup>131</sup>

As from September 25, Karl Kumm was on another one-month-long promotional tour for the SPM – now without his father in law. It was to lead him to *Zürich, Bern, Luzern*, and possibly *Winterthur*<sup>132</sup> in Switzerland. In Germany the itinerary led to *Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Frankfurt*

129 On a note found in the purse of Grattan Guinness, it says: "1900 Sept. Berlin – in passing –" (PA Michele Guinness, Lancaster).

130 I take the reference to Guinness' travels in Northern Europe from February to April 1900 as a retrospective one. Otherwise the number of addressees would be too limited. The letter is typewritten, and was probably mimeographed. There is no German translation preserved, but there could well have been a similar letter to address the German speaking *Helpers Unions* and individual friends.

131 I detect an exaggerating tendency in the use of numbers and terminology: Lucy talks of three workers in Europe (Lucy, Karl and Grattan Guinness), even though Guinness was only devoting himself temporarily and part time to the SPM. She talks of five workers in Africa, which probably meant Samuel and his servant Ali, the teacher Girgis, his wife, and her brother, who had been hired as an additional teacher. 80 volunteers is a high number, when at the end only a few really applied. The number might have been arrived at by including all those who rose to the call at Chrischona – this is what Hohenlohe claims (*Material*, p. 1). Calling a small office established in Eisenach "European Headquarters" is either an exaggeration or a mighty step of faith. But one might consider the diversity of recipients of this letter, spread over Great Britain (for whom the Continent is "Europe"), Switzerland, Italy, Palestine and Egypt. Lucy might herself have spoken from a British or rather cosmopolitan perspective, and have used the term "European" in contrast to the "African" side of the work.

132 The manuscript is spelled thus: "He hopes to reach Zurich ... and *winter* in Switzerland at once D.V. and go on to ..." (*Letter 1*, p. 1 – italics C.S.). "*winter*" was probably a misunderstanding of *Winterthur*, when Karl laid

am Main, Wiesbaden, parts of *Hessen*,<sup>133</sup> and finally to Eisenach, where the first committee meeting was to take place. The most important stop probably was at Wiesbaden, the capital city of *Hessen*, where Kumm attended a regional Fellowship Conference organized by Ziemendorff from October 8–12. Kumm supposedly appeared dressed up “as an Arab Sheikh”.<sup>134</sup> The conference held in the *Vereinshaus* in *Platter Straße No. 2* was the annual highlight for the pietist or holiness Christians of Wiesbaden and surroundings. It was one of the manifold activities which Ziemendorff had developed at Wiesbaden. Kumm's stay at Wiesbaden gave an opportunity to Ziemendorff and his co-workers to get to know better Karl Kumm, and vice versa. Ziemendorff had been asked to take responsibility for the training of the female missionaries of the SPM, because of his experience with training single ladies of nobility in his own household. To have a close connection with the board of the SPM, he had agreed to become a member of the same.<sup>135</sup>

At the end of October, the Kumms took up residence at Eisenach, possibly in the home of Julius Dammann or in the same building as the office was located. They were hoping to terminate their living out of trunks and handbags, as they had done during the previous nine months.<sup>136</sup> Not only did the SPM need a permanent office, but also the family, itself expecting to grow, needed a permanent home. Now Julius Dammann started to open the pages of his evangelical weekly, *Licht und Leben – Evangelisches Wochenblatt*, to the SPM. *Licht und Leben* No. 42, on October 20, 1900, featured a five-page-insert with a separate heading: “*Sudan-Pionier-Mission. Gegründet Januar 1900. ‘Immanuel – Gott mit uns.’ No. 1. Centrale Eisenach, im Oktober 1900.*” Its major content is an article on the Sudan, “Der Sudan. Ein Blick auf das größte Blachfeld [sic!] der Erde”, which is a translated and edited version of Grattan and Lucy Guinness' articles in *Regions Beyond*.<sup>137</sup> In addition, the mission statement of the SPM was reprinted, a report about the status of the work in Egypt and at home was given, and together with the two Swiss gentlemen of the first advertisement sheet, two further referees were

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out his itinerary to his wife, who might not have been that familiar with Swiss geography and proper names of towns. Why should Kumm have spent the Winter in Switzerland?

133 Possibly *Siegerland*, where Kumm was invited again later?

134 This is the perspective of a biased source. Karl Kumm probably dressed like the Bedouins in Egypt, as he had done during his desert journeys. Thereby he wanted to arouse sympathy for and interest in some of the people groups whom the SPM wanted to reach.

135 Ziemendorff was encouraged to actively support the SPM by Mr. Sloan of the *China Inland Mission*, who visited Wiesbaden on October 23, 1900 (*Material*, p. 1).

136 Cf. *Letter 1*, p. 3.

137 The article reveals the authorship of Karl Kumm. Several passages are verbatim translations of “The Sudan” (*RB* Sept./Oct. 1894, pp. 329–335, particularly p. 329 and 334f.), though they are updated and comparisons are adapted to Germany.

mentioned: Pastor Dammann in Eisenach, and Erbgraf [Gottfried] von Pückler-Limpurg<sup>138</sup> (1871–1957) in *Gaildorf, Württemberg*. The Pückler-Limpurgs of *Gaildorf* were sponsors of the SPM all their life, because the sister of the countess, Anna Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, was connected to the SPM.

It was later claimed that Vischer-Sarasin and Count von Pückler-Limpurg had not been properly asked to give their permission that their names might be used for advertising the SPM.<sup>139</sup> Vischer-Sarasin supposedly even withdrew his signature.<sup>140</sup> This could be an explanation of why none of the referees were mentioned in the separately printed first issue of *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, which otherwise was almost identical in text to *Licht und Leben*.<sup>141</sup> Finally, the article in *Licht und Leben* remarked that Karl Kumm could be invited for speeches for the general furthering of mission interest or on the “newly opened Nile door to Central Africa”.

138 He should not be confused with Eduard von Pückler (1853–1924), Berlin, mentioned above, who stems from the *Silesia-Lausitz* line, branch *Silesia – Schedlau – Rogau*. Gottfried Wilhelm Maximilian Erbgraf von Pückler-Limpurg stems from the Franconian line (*Fränkische Linie*) and was born in *Burgfarnbach* near *Nürnberg* on April 20, 1871, thus being not much older than Karl Kumm. He had married Adele [Ada] Louise Mathilde Jenny Helene, daughter of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen and of Countess Anna von Giech (?–1909) on April 19, 1898. As the bride's mother was “suffering” and obviously unable to travel, the wedding had to take place in her sick-room in Wiesbaden (*Emserstraße 5*). This house was part of the *Evangelisches Hospiz* founded by Pastor Ziemendorff. The choir, led by the pastor's daughter, Hanna Ziemendorff, sang at the wedding. It was even claimed that Pastor Ziemendorff himself performed the ceremony (Unruh 1969, p. 27), but the printed sermon bears the name of Superintendent Frohner (Frohner 1898, p. 1). At least two sisters of the bride, Anna Luise and Marie Agnes, remained in Wiesbaden and were present when the SPM became connected with the Ziemendorffs. Count von Pückler and his wife surely stayed in contact with the sickly mother in Wiesbaden, and might possibly have been present at the Christian conference in Wiesbaden in October 1900 when Kumm spoke there. They reportedly supported the SPM and a number of further missions, such as the *Basle Mission*, a mission among the Armenians, and the *Deutsches Institut für ärztliche Mission in Tübingen*. They were particularly hospitable to missionaries on furlough, and founded a local *Missionskranz* in *Gaildorf* (a general mission's helpers union). (Cf. Hermann Strenger: “Die Limpurgische Residenz”. In: *Echo der Heimat, Heimatbeilage des Kocherboten*, Gaildorf 1958, pp. 1–4; reprinted in: *Begegnungen mit dem Haus Pückler und Limpurg. Erinnerungen von Gudrun Fritz*. Öhringen: Medienservice Walter Ammersdorfer, 1989; Hans König: *Graf Gottfried von Pückler-Limpurg 1871–1957. Ein Leben aus dem Glauben. Wohltäter für Stadt und Kirche*. Gaildorf: Graf von Pückler und Limpurg'schen Wohltätigkeitsstiftung, 1996; *Stammtafel des mediatisierten Hauses Pückler-Limpurg*, 1898, table 5 and 11, [UB Tübingen]; Margarete Unruh: “Anna Luise Prinzessin zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen”. In: *Nachrichten der Evang. Mission in Oberägypten*, 1969, pp. 27f.).

139 The criticism was recorded by Anna Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (*Material*, p. 1), who was the sister in law of Gottfried Graf von Pückler. Possibly, von Pückler was the missing sixth candidate for the board (*Letter I*, Sept. 24, 1900), and didn't join after all. Vischer-Sarasin definitely had been in favor of the SPM, but possibly Kumm had not asked again whether he could use his name for this particular appeal in *Licht und Leben*. Vischer-Sarasin might also have withdrawn, because of the rumors he had heard at the time of publication (cf. Minutes CM, Oct. 16, 1900, item III).

140 Warneck claims: “Wie mir bestimmt mitgeteilt worden ist, hat Herr Vischer seine Unterschrift zurückgezogen” (“Missionsunternehmungen”. In: *AMZ* 1901, p. 185, footnote 1).

141 Another reason for dropping the names of the referees might have been that now an office was functioning and the names of board members could be given instead. This was done in the first issue of *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, October 1900.

On October 25, the first “conference” of the SPM took place from 3 to 7 p.m. in Eisenach at the new SPM office, *Marienthal 17*. However, among the twelve participants were only three of the five designated board members.<sup>142</sup> Thus, the election of the board had to be postponed, and no decisions could be taken. Dammann presided over the meeting. He read two letters,<sup>143</sup> which were expressing criticism of the plans of the SPM, and asked Kumm to give a response. Kumm had prepared a response in writing and presented it personally.<sup>144</sup> Next, Kumm explained why Eisenach was chosen as headquarters for the SPM: 1) It is situated in the heart of Germany, and in an area where no other mission agencies are located; 2) it is the place of the student conferences;<sup>145</sup> 3) it is the first place where the SPM took root and is finding good support; 4) it is considered “a good field for testing missionary candidates”; and 5) the climate seems suitable for missionaries, who would seek a place for rest in the future. At the end of the meeting, the *Helpers Union* of Eisenach declared that they would guarantee support for the evangelist Samuel Ali Hiseen, whereas *Hersfeld* promised to provide for the teacher Girgis Yacoub. After the meeting, Johannes Kupfernagel presented himself as a missionary candidate. With the Board not yet functioning, Dammann and Kumm together decided to accept him.<sup>146</sup>

In October 1900, the SPM also started to publish its own journal, *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*,<sup>147</sup> which carried articles almost identical to those in *Licht und Leben*, but enhanced by illustrations.

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142 Those present were: Pastor Dammann, Pastor Sartorius, Karl Kumm, all three of whom were designated board members, Prediger Recht, representative of the Helpers Union in *Hersfeld*, *Stadtmissionar* Tietz, representative of the Helpers Union in Eisenach, and Paul Krusius, office worker of the SPM. They were equaled in number by women, who were listed separately: Mrs. Ziemendorff and Fräulein von Hahn, both from Wiesbaden, Lucy Kumm, Karl's sister Pauline Kumm (returned CIM missionary from China), Mrs. Dammann, and Miss Meffert (it is not mentioned that she was the representative of the Helpers Union of *Salzungen*. Cf. *SP* 1901, p. 54). Others had been invited, but were unable to come (*SPM Minutes*, Oct. 25, 1900, p. 1. The entry reaches to page 11. Pages with even numbers are left empty).

143 One letter was by Gustav Warneck, the other by a student of theology. Dammann quoted and answered both these letters in his questions column in *Licht und Leben* on Nov. 24, 1900 (Vol. 12, No. 47, pp. 852–854). The criticism included personal accusations against Kumm and a sharp criticism of his public appearance (*SPM Minutes*, Oct. 25, 1900). Negative rumors about Kumm had also reached the *Chrischona* chairman Vischer-Sarasin before Oct. 16, 1900 (cf. *Minutes CM*, Oct. 16, 1900, item III).

144 See Chapter 5.7 for a detailed analysis.

145 The conferences of the DCSV had been held at Eisenach from 1898–1900, but were moved to *Wernigerode* in 1901. This might not have been decided or known at that time (Cf. Kupisch 1964, p. 297 time table).

146 *Material*, p. 1. Kupfernagel later claims that he had learned about the SPM through Dammann's journal *Licht und Leben*, which first reported about the SPM on October 20, 1900 (*Missionar Kupfernagels Angaben zu den Personalakten*, Berlin Mission Archives, Kupfernagel I, p. 292a). As Kupfernagel had already planned to leave his position in Kassel and was about to be elected second pastor of the *Hessisches Diakonissenhaus* in Malheidenhad (Axenfeld – Pastor Scheffen, July 27, 1908, *ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 20a). Thus he already had his papers ready, and sent in his formal application to the SPM on October 22. On October 29, he wrote a letter referring to his acceptance by the SPM. Neither document is preserved.

147 Only three issues appeared under that name (No. 3/4 was a double issue for December 1900 and January 1901). As from February 1901, with issue No. 5, the monthly bore the name *Der Sudan-Pionier*. The first three issues were printed at W. Girardet, *Essen*, who was the printer of Dammann's *Licht und Leben*, whereas with No. 5 in February 1901, the printing was transferred to Ernst Röttger, a bookseller in *Kassel*. Röttger was a fellow

The first issue probably only appeared after the first conference of the SPM, as the names of the board members were mentioned there already. Even though they had not been voted into office yet, they were clearly designated, and only a formal procedure was lacking, which was to be made up for on November 15. Probably, the Kumms did not want to postpone the start of the SPM journal until then.

At Eisenach, not everything went well. Because of unforeseen problems with the Dammanns, Karl and Lucy Kumm had already moved to Wiesbaden, *Rosenstraße No.2*,<sup>148</sup> in November 1900.<sup>149</sup> Possibly, the frail nervous health of Julius Dammann played a role. He was unable to attend the founding board meeting on November 15 in Wiesbaden due to sickness. These were the first indications that the whole SPM would gradually move to Wiesbaden. There would only be one further board meeting at Eisenach (November 27, 1900). At the meeting in Wiesbaden on November 15, after a review of finances, the board was elected, even though again only three of the five candidates could be present. Most were from Wiesbaden this time.<sup>150</sup> The board consisted of Pastor Theodor Ziemendorff (Wiesbaden – chairman, 63 years old), Pastor Otto Sartorius (*Sterbfritz* – vice-chairman, ca. 45 years), Karl Kumm (Wiesbaden – traveling secretary, 26 years), Pastor Julius Dammann (Eisenach – treasurer and secretary, 60 years), and Pastor Leopold Wittekindt (*Oberissigheim*, 46 years). The latter two were elected in absentia. The task of the chairman Ziemendorff was supposed to be of a more representative nature, including the chairing of the meetings, while the major work was to be done by Kumm and Dammann.<sup>151</sup> All board members were part of the Fellowship Movement within the Protestant churches in Germany. Besides Kumm, they were all pastors and regional Christian leaders of

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member with Wittekindt in the local network of the Fellowship Movement for the church district of Kassel (*Brüdererrat im Konsistorialbezirk Kassel*) as early as 1894 (Cf. Alfred Sommer: "Leopold Wittekindt". In: *Zeugen für Christus*. Johannes Dreßler (ed.). Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985, pp. 221–231; p. 225).

148 This address later appears on private letterheads. Hohenlohe relates critically: "Wegen Schwierigkeiten mit Dammanns wohnen Kumms seit November 1900 in Wiesbaden, Rosenstr. 2, sehr anspruchsvoll und sehr genial. Die Wohnung war für ein Spottgeld von den Erben von Dr. Müller auf Grund der persönlichen Beziehungen zu Ziemendorffs zur Verfügung gestellt worden" (*Material*, p. 1).

149 There is no precise date or reason given by Hohenlohe (*Material*, p. 2). I assume that they moved before November 20, because Karl Kumm wrote four letters from Wiesbaden to Paul Krusius in Eisenach between November 20–29, which reveal that he was resident there. They might have arranged their move at the board meeting on November 15 in Wiesbaden, but they might also have moved there beforehand. As Krusius himself attended the meeting in Wiesbaden there was not much need for Kumm to correspond with him before the 20<sup>th</sup>.

150 Those attending were: Pastor Ziemendorff and wife, Pastor Sartorius, Karl Kumm and wife, designated missionary Kupfernagel (*Kassel*), Paul Krusius (Eisenach), and Miss von Hahn. In addition Dr. Baedeker was mentioned as a special guest and some unnamed friends of the SPM – probably residents in the Ziemendorff's house (*SPM Minutes*, Nov. 15, 1900, pp. 13ff.).

151 At least this is how it had been planned, according to Hohenlohe (*Material*, p. 1). According to Held (1925, p. 9), Ziemendorff was elected as President, because Dammann and Wittekindt were too busy with their work for the Fellowship Movement to take leadership of the SPM.

considerable renown – with Dammann being one of the most popular Christian figures in all of Germany.<sup>152</sup>

Finally, decisions could be taken. Next, the *Principles and Practice* were read, discussed and approved.<sup>153</sup> These had been prepared by the Kumms and breathed the spirit of interdenominational faith missions:<sup>154</sup> The SPM would welcome “true believers of all communities”, and missionaries were members and not employees of the mission agency.<sup>155</sup> Finally, after a few minutes of confidential deliberations, *Stadtmissionar* Johannes Kupfernagel from *Kassel* was officially accepted as a missionary of the SPM, designated for the station in Aswan.

A further issue of deliberation was the question as to whether the SPM should affiliate with an existing mission agency. In a letter to Pastor Ziemendorff, Dr. Johannes Lepsius, the director of the *Deutsche Orient-Mission*, Berlin, had proposed a union with his mission agency.<sup>156</sup> This had been under discussion in interested circles since April or May 1900. It had even been proposed that both DOM and SPM should fuse with *Chrischona*, and should train missionaries to Muslims there. Those present at the SPM board meeting viewed the matter in wider terms. They saw cooperation with the existing mission agencies within the Fellowship Movement as desirable. The issue was to be discussed with Dr. Lepsius in a separate consultation at the end of November. This took place on November 27 at Eisenach.<sup>157</sup> The result was an agreement to bring about a common organization of DOM and SPM. There was to be a common board with two separate departments, each taking responsibility for directing its own field. Further, it seemed

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152 Hasselmann 1930, p. 7.

153 The handwritten, mimeographed and corrected copy of *Organisation und Grundsätze der Sudan-Pionier-Mission* comprises 10 pages, and is attached in the SPM Minute Book on page 14. These *Principles and Practice* are reproduced in the Appendix.

154 In *Letter 1* on Sept. 24, 1900, Lucy announced the drafting of *Principles and Practice* as one of the next tasks. They had probably been made ready for the meeting on Oct. 25, 1900 already. Possible models from other mission agencies could have been from Great Britain: RBMU, NAM or CIM, and from Germany: *Chrischona Mission* or *Deutsche Orient-Mission*. As most of these documents are not preserved, a detailed comparison would be difficult. Possibly Hudson Taylor and Grattan Guinness were their advisors in *Davos*, though Taylor at that time hardly seemed capable of any mental work, owing to his nervous breakdown (Cf. Franz 1993, pp. 61f., 203f.).

155 *Organisation*, pp. 1f.: The mention of the *Evangelical Alliance* (“auf evangelischem Allianzboden”) in the original draft was replaced by “the Holy Scriptures and the Protestant Confessions”. This was probably due to the influence of the two Protestant pastors present. Missionaries were members and not employees of the mission, which was a particular mark of the faith missions (cf. Fiedler 1994, p. 33).

156 According to the minutes of the DOM, it was Ziemendorff who had taken the initiative and suggested a fusion of SPM with DOM. The board commissioned Dr. Lepsius already on November 7, 1900, to attend a meeting with the SPM board to gather the views of the SPM. (Extracts from Minutes of DOM, Nov. 7, 1900, p. 1a – BM Archives, Box 529, No. I.11.52 “Akte: Betr. Dr. Lepsius Deutsche Orient-Mission v. 1914–1956”, with loose inserts on 1900–1926, on pages 1a–1e and 1–17. – The original minutes are not preserved.)

desirable to share common structures, e.g. a training institute in Berlin, a journal, an annual summary of accounts, but separate treasuries and accounting, and a common representation at large conferences. This plan was to be reviewed again by both boards, before a final decision would be taken.

Something else evolved in November 1900, which was hardly visible in the minutes book, but which formed one of the characteristics of the SPM: a women's branch with its own board and treasury was founded.<sup>158</sup> The initial members were: Mrs. Adelheid Ziemendorff<sup>159</sup> (1832–1905, president) and her daughter Hanna<sup>160</sup> (1867–1933), Miss Hedwig von Hahn<sup>161</sup> (1860–1938, treasurer), Mrs. Luise Dammann<sup>162</sup> (ca.1843–?), Mrs. Lucy Kumm (1865–1906), and

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157 The SPM was represented by Ziemendorff, Dammann, Sartorius, Kumm, and Krusius; the DOM by Dr. Lepsius (*SPM Minutes*, Nov. 27, 1900, p. 17).

158 The *Frauenzweig* (women's branch) is first reported of in *SP* Jan. 1901, No. 3/4, p. 38. I follow the order of board members given there. Some early background is reported exclusively by Hohenlohe (*Material*, p. 2), who was a member of the women's board. Cf. also Unruh 1939, *Hedwig von Hahn*.

159 She was probably the eldest, being 68 years old. She was born as Adelheid von Diest on Jan. 10, 1832. After the death of her father, she had become governess in the house of her sister on the *Radensleben Estate / Mark*, who had married Mr. von Quast. The house was frequented by representatives of revival Christianity (Teremin, Knack, Gerlach, Mühlensiefen, and Toluck). Adelheid had attempted to become a deaconess in Berlin (*Diakonissenhaus Bethanien*), but her health was too weak and as a 33-year-old she became engaged to Theodor Ziemendorff. Yet she was an outstanding and strong willed personality, and developed an alternative model of service in her own house for single ladies, who had neither married nor become deaconesses. She took part in the work of her husband, much was done together, and some initiatives were largely her share. She died in Cairo on Jan. 9, 1905 (Cf. *Einige Notizen über den Lebensgang von Herrn Pfarrer Th. Ziemendorff*, 9 pp., EMO Archives, Green Folder: "Berichte EMO A/1 Wiesbaden", No. 2; *SP* 1905, No. 2, pp. 9, 19).

160 Hanna Ziemendorff was born in *Cremmen / Mark*. She remained single and was a leading personality in the diverse activities of the *Marienhaus* in Wiesbaden. Her interest in missionary work had first been focused on the work of the *China Inland Mission* and on the *Gold Coast (Basle Mission)*. She was one of the teachers of the female mission candidates, e.g. Elisabeth Gonnermann, teaching world-, church-, and mission history and the Bible. She died in Wiesbaden in 1933 (Cf. *Wasserquellen im dürren Lande*, No. 53, October 1933, pp. 1–16).

161 Hedwig von Hahn (born Jan. 21, 1860 in *Dresden*) was the daughter of Freiherr Adolph von Hahn, *Majoratsherr* in *Asuppen, Kurland (Latvia)* and of Countess Amalie von Keyserling. Her sickly sisters lived in the house of the Ziemendorffs, where she took care of them in Winter 1883/84. There, she was converted in 1884. She had trained as a teacher, but had not completed her studies due to the wishes of her parents, and had trained in sick-nursing instead. However, she found her life's work in the *Marienhaus* in Wiesbaden (founded about 1887), of which she was "the soul". She was also the founder of the female *Christian Endeavor (Jugendbund für Entschiedenenes Christentum)* in Wiesbaden, whose chairwoman for life she was. For the SPM, she became the official representative of the women's board on the general board, a major sponsor of the work, teacher and trainer of the young female missionary candidates, and editor of the *Sudan-Pionier* from October 1905 (*SPM Minutes*, Oct. 9, 1905, p. 58). In years beyond the scope of this research, she became the key person representing the SPM in Germany. She died in Wiesbaden on March 24, 1938 (Cf. Margarete Unruh: *Hedwig von Hahn. Ihr Leben und Wirken. Nach Quellen und Berichten zusammengestellt*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Evangelischen Muhammedaner-Mission, 1939, 71 pp.).

162 Luise Dammann (born Gehring, about 1843) had married the widower Julius Dammann on Sept. 15, 1878, as the widow of his brother, Dr. med. Carl Dammann (died 1868). She was an outstanding energetic personality, who strongly participated in the work of her husband. A home for "fallen girls" in *Essen (Magdalenenheim)* was largely her initiative. She must have been very hospitable, as the Dammanns had about 1,000 guests in one year! Cf. Otto Hasselmann: *Pastor Julius Dammann*. Schwerin: Verlag Friedrich Bahn, 1930, particularly pp. 20, 77, 165.

Princess Anna Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen<sup>163</sup> (1876–1969, secretary). They all lived at Wiesbaden with the exception of Mrs. Dammann. Moreover, they were all members of the Ziemendorff household or of their *Marienhaus* for single ladies,<sup>164</sup> with the further exception of Lucy Kumm. Their ages ranged between 24 and 68 years, averaging 43 years. The powers of the women's branch were not clearly delineated. Nevertheless, its independence was unproblematic, as they worked in the closest personal connection with Pastor Ziemendorff and became his major co-workers in the home affairs of the SPM. The collaboration of women on an equal level with men was not practiced in the classical missions. In addition, on the board of the SPM two members, Pastors Wittekindt and Sartorius, thought it “unbiblical” that women should become board members with equal rights. After the two initial meetings of the general board, no more names of women are recorded as among those present, even though they might have participated and shared in the discussions. Only from 1902 on was a representative of the women's branch

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163 Princess Anna Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen was born on June 25, 1876, as one of the eldest of five children of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (1826–1895) and Countess Anna (1849–1909, born von Giech) at the *Castle of Koschentin*, in *Upper Silesia (Lublinitz / Oppeln, today Koszecin)*. When her father died in 1895 and her mother fell chronically ill soon after, she accompanied her to Wiesbaden, where they lived in *Emserstraße 5*, which belonged to the *Evangelisches Hospiz*. This was one of the many ventures founded by Pastor Ziemendorff. Thus, she easily connected with the activities of the neighboring *Evangelisches Vereinshaus*. When Anna Luise's sister Ada was married to Count von Pückler in Wiesbaden on April 19, 1898, Miss Hanna Ziemendorff sang with a choir. The visit of Princess Anna Luise in the parsonage on the next day was the beginning of a lifelong friendship with Miss Ziemendorff and Miss Hedwig von Hahn. After the death of her mother in 1909, she joined the Ziemendorffs' *Marienhaus* in *Emserstraße 12*. She generously sponsored the SPM and later bought the house *Emserstraße 12* from Wilhelm Ziemendorff. The beginning of her active collaboration in local Christian activities in Wiesbaden, such as Sunday school, *Sonntagsverein*, ladies' Bible studies, and the training of female missionaries cannot be verified. In 1908 she was active in the founding of a Protestant bookstore in Wiesbaden. Her youngest sister Marie Agnes, who was also living with her in 1900, became a short term missionary of the SPM in 1911 and succumbed to fever and pneumonia near *Constantinople* in 1918. Princess Anna Luise worked through the archives of the SPM before 1925 and wrote valuable summaries [some originals have been lost since then] enriched by her own memory. She died on Feb. 21, 1969, at the age of 93 in the *Fransecky-Stift* in *Erbach*. The record on her life in the EMO-journal is not very extensive (Margarete Unruh: “Anna Luise Prinzessin zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen”. In: *Nachrichten der Evang. Mission in Oberägypten*, April 1969, No. 2, pp. 27f.) but further information could be taken from records concerning her sisters (cf. “Gedenkblatt für Prinzessin Marie Agnes zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen”. *SP* July / August 1918, pp. 25f.; König 1996, p. 81; Fritz 1989, p. 17; *Koszecin i Okoloce. Ray historyczny – ludzie – zabytki. Rok wydania*, 1994, pp. 13ff. [A local history of Koschentin in Polish language. A translation of relevant passages was kindly furnished by the *Graf von Pückler und Limpurg'sche Stiftungsverwaltung, Gaildorf*, through director Werner Volz].

164 The *Marienhaus* developed in 1879 out of the connections of Mrs. Ziemendorff with other families of nobility and out of her desire to give single ladies a meaningful task in life for the kingdom of God. She wanted to gather those, who were neither married nor wanted or were able to become deaconesses. They were to be able to contribute their gifts without being bound more than their common work necessitated. They were only a small core group of eight in 1899 (Hanna Ziemendorff, Hedwig von Hahn, Amélie von Massenbach, Lydia and Agnes von Hanenfeldt, Henriette von Blücher, Emilie Sartorius, and Martha Schwemmer). Many others joined them for limited periods of time. The full-timers all had to be of independent means, as there were no funds to employ them. They directed a large number of local volunteers in up to 20 different Christian ministries. Cf. Unruh 1939, pp. 22–25, reprinting parts of flyers of 1891 and 1899: *Das Marienhaus in Wiesbaden und seine Arbeit 1891/92*, 4 pp., *Dienet einander ... Marienhaus*. Wiesbaden 1899, 8 pp., *Arbeiten die vom Marienhaus*

allowed to officially participate in the general board meetings, owing to the wishes of the chairman, Pastor Ziemendorff.<sup>165</sup> Thus, the formation of the separate women's branch and board might have been a reaction against the official non-inclusion of women in leadership responsibility within the SPM.<sup>166</sup> The women's branch was the major sponsor of the SPM over many years. They also ran the training seminary for women, which had already begun work at the end of November.<sup>167</sup> Miss Elisabeth Gonnermann<sup>168</sup> (1871–1961) and Miss Henriette von Blücher,<sup>169</sup> who had both applied for service with the SPM in the fall, were the first to be trained there.<sup>170</sup>

More than any others, the Kumms were active promoters of the SPM. Karl Kumm kept a separate account for donations from Great Britain, he had papers of the SPM printed, had a logo for the SPM designed, answered an article on the SPM in a Sunday Paper, corrected manuscripts, and gave instructions to Krusius. He was incessantly traveling, speaking and taking collections for the SPM particularly in the *Siegerland*,<sup>171</sup> also going to *Erlangen* and possibly *Strasbourg*. He also evangelized in his home town Osterode, prepared the sending out of the Kupfernagels in *Kassel*, and he was using an invitation to *Marburg* to sound out the possibility of taking his

*ausgehen*, s.a., 3 pp., handwritten manuscript (all in: EMO Archives, Green Folder W. C/2 "Heimatarbeit in Wiesbaden").

165 Hohenlohe, p. 2.

166 Women's boards were a pattern of classical missions (see Beaver), while in faith missions., women were (at least in the beginning) regular board members. So a device from the classical missions was used to establish the equality otherwise usual in early faith missions (I owe this suggestion to Klaus Fiedler).

167 The date is given by Kumm as Nov. 29, 1900. They merely had to add some more mission specific content to the training, which they were already offering in the *Marienhause*, in addition to the annual Bible classes held by Pastor Theodor Jellinghaus, which were offered in that year from October 13–27. The curriculum was: "erstens: theoretischer Unterricht in Bibelkunde, Missionsgeschichte, Sprachen, etc., zweitens: praktische Anleitung in häuslichen Arbeiten, als Kochen, Nähen, etc. und drittens: Gemeindefarbeit; und findet im Marienhaus in Wiesbaden statt. Daran anschließend ist ein Pflegekursus vorgesehen, den zu unternehmen sich ein befreundetes Diakonissenhaus bereit erklärt hat." (Lucy Kumm: *Ein Wort an die Frauen*. Wiesbaden, s.a., p. 18).

168 (Martha) Elisabeth Gonnermann (born May 13, 1871, in *Archfeld* near *Herleshausen* in *Hessen-Nassau*) had lost her father in 1894 and been helping her mother at their farm until 1898. While working in *Mansbach* near *Hersfeld* in Summer 1899, she was converted. When attending the *Blankenburg Conference* in August 1900, she was invited by Pastor Theodor Jellinghaus to his annual Bible course in Wiesbaden in October (about Oct. 13–27). She then stayed on for two months, helping in the "Inner Mission" activities of the *Marienhause*. During this time, she felt called to missionary service with the SPM. She was sent out in 1904, married the leading missionary, Samuel Jakob Enderlin (1878–1940), in 1913, served until the death of her husband, and died in 1961. Cf. EMO Archives, file Elisabeth Gonnermann, "Curriculum vitae" and "Application Form"; *Material*, p. 1; Unruh 1942, p. 39. There was no detailed introduction of her in the *Sudan-Pionier*.

169 Miss Henriette von Blücher had been a member of the *Marienhause* since October 1894. She was sent out "after one year of special preparation" in October 1901 (*SP* Jan. 1902, pp. 2–8; her birth date is not given). For more on her life, see Chapter 6.1.3.

170 Cf. *Material*, p. 1, which mentions their applications. Lucy Kumm (*Ein Wort an die Frauen*. Wiesbaden, s.a., p. 18) tells of two women being trained.

171 He might have been introduced to contacts in the *Siegerland* by Dammann, who had been a pastor in *Siegen*, and was still the chairman of the *Annual Convention of the West German Branch of the Evangelical Alliance* held in *Hammerhütte*, *Siegen* (Cf. Hasselmann 1930, pp. 120, 163).

doctoral exams. While staying at home in Wiesbaden, *Rosenstraße 2*, his wife Lucy was not inactive. Besides the other activities mentioned above, such as the women's board, editing the journal and newsletters, she was writing a booklet for women and designed a collection box. All the activities of the Kumms described here, were merely what Karl Kumm mentioned in four short letters to Paul Krusius within nine days during November 1900.<sup>172</sup> More is not known.

During the month of November, the beginnings of the shift in the SPM's German center of gravity from Eisenach to Wiesbaden became clearly evident. Dammann was not able to fulfill the leading role Guinness had hoped for, and Eisenach, though formally the base, was more and more reduced to a malfunctioning office.<sup>173</sup> Meanwhile, Wiesbaden became the place where the majority of the co-workers of the SPM lived and where board meetings were held much more frequently than in Eisenach. There was a certain tension between assigned roles and reality, not only between Eisenach and Wiesbaden, but also between Dammann and Ziemendorff.

## 5.6 Sending out the first Missionary Team to Aswan

At the end of the first year of the SPM, on December 30, 1900, the preacher Johannes Kupfernagel with his family and a missionary's assistant,<sup>174</sup> Margarethe Hoffmann, were commissioned for the Sudan. They departed on December 31, accompanied by a Christian stucco-worker, Johannes Oltmann. This was the first "missionary team" of the SPM sent out from Germany.

Who were the Kupfernagels?<sup>175</sup> Johannes Kupfernagel was born on May 25, 1866 in *Anhalt-Schmidt*, Cape Colony, South Africa, as the son of an artisan missionary of the *Berlin Mission*.<sup>176</sup>

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172 Cf. Kumm – Krusius, Nov. 20, 22, 24[?], and 29, 1900.

173 In January 1901, Kumm writes to Krusius, that the Ziemendorffs strongly suggested that the office should be moved from Eisenach to Wiesbaden (Kumm – Krusius, Jan. 22, 1901).

174 The term missionary's assistant is unusual among faith missions. In fact, Miss Hoffmann was to be a servant (German *Dienerin*), who should help Mrs. Kupfernagel in her household.

175 The friends of the SPM were informed in a four-page article on "J. and M. Kupfernagel" (*SP* No. 3/4, Jan. 1901, pp. 32–35), which is our major source concerning the interests of the SPM in the biography of this family. Details are supplemented by a fragmentary *Familiengeschichte der Familie Johannes Kupfernagel, Pastor em.* (PA Dietrich Kupfernagel, Schwerin), which was written by his son Gottfried Kupfernagel in 1992/1973, based on a document written by Johannes Kupfernagel himself on August 1, 1933. Unfortunately this ends in 1890. There is further a seven-page letter by Gottfried Kupfernagel, written to EMO on October 15, 1990, giving a survey of the whole life of Johannes Kupfernagel (EMO Archives, file Kupfernagel). This is partly erroneous or confused, due to the great age of the author (87 years). The most recent *Familiengeschichte der Familie Dietrich Kupfernagel*, which is still in the writing, uses these sources and additionally reprints a number of articles by and on Johannes Kupfernagel and his father Andreas in the journals of the missionary societies, which they served, and tries to illuminate the background from secondary sources without claiming scholarly quality (used by the friendly permission of Dietrich Kupfernagel, *Schwerin*). Some letters by Johannes

When his plans to become a missionary in Africa with the *Berlin Mission* failed, he became a missionary of the *Gößner Mission* in India in 1890.<sup>177</sup> Most of the time, he did practical work in a lepers' asylum in *Purulia, Bihar*.<sup>178</sup> On October 15, 1893, he married Martha Heinzelmänn (1869–1931) from *Nimptsch in Silesia*.<sup>179</sup> When in 1895, after a year of repeated bouts of malaria, cholera and dysentery, he had not recovered well enough, despite a prolonged break, he was sent back home to Germany on May 21, 1895. The doctor thought that Kupfernagel would not see his home again.<sup>180</sup> At home, his board declared him definitely unable to return to India, despite his many pleas to be sent out again. Thus, since 1896, he found a new field of service as assistant pastor (*Stadtmissionar*) at *Kassel*.<sup>181</sup> When having regained his strength after an experience of faith healing, he desired with all his heart to become a missionary again.<sup>182</sup>

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Kupfernagel to the SPM contain autobiographical information. There was no personnel file on Kupfernagel preserved in the EMO Archives.

- 176 The parents were the mason Christian-Andreas Kupfernagel from *Beesen* near *Halle* (Nov. 25, 1823 – May 21, 1878) and Louise-Juliane-Amalie, born Grütznier (March 6, 1836 – Feb. 23, 1917), from *Strehlen* in *Silesia*. Andreas Kupfernagel was sent to South Africa in 1850, to work as a mission colonist at the *Pniel* station (*Orange Free State*). He was later called to build up the new stations *Gerlachshope* and *Botschabelo* and then transferred to *Anhalt-Schmidt* in the *Cape Colony*. The family returned to Germany in 1870, when cooperation with his superintendents became unbearable for A. Kupfernagel. He is supposed to have said: “Die Mission ist ein heiliges Gotteswerk, betrieben von sündigen Menschenkindern.” (*Familiengeschichte* 1973, pp. 1–10 and *Familiengeschichte* 1999, pp. 1–10).
- 177 He received his professional training as a rope maker in the house of his grandfather in *Strehlen*, who was the head of a *Moravian* assembly. Johannes Kupfernagel and his wife, Martha, were both converted through the ministry of the local Lutheran Pastor Pirscher around 1883. When living with his widowed mother in Berlin, Johannes Kupfernagel had been a frequent guest at the *Berlin Mission* house as a child and a young man. The family thinks that his application was refused because of the earlier conflicts of his father with the mission's director, Wangemann, while both were still serving in South Africa. J. Kupfernagel was then accepted at the *Gossner Mission Seminary* in Berlin, where he studied under *Missionsinspector* Prof. Plath from 1886–1890, following in the footsteps of his brother Heinrich (*Familiengeschichte* 1973, pp. 22–26).
- 178 The commissioning took place on September 8, 1890 (*Familiengeschichte* 1973, p. 26). Kupfernagel's reports appeared in the *Gossner Mission's* journal *Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde* until July 1895.
- 179 Martha Heinzelmänn was the daughter of the invalid war veteran August Heinzelmänn, who had moved from *Nimptsch* to *Strehlen, Silesia*, in 1881, where he became the custodian and bookkeeper of the Lutheran Church. Her mother, Ernestine Kunert, belonged to the *Moravian Church*. Johannes Kupfernagel had become acquainted with Martha Heinzelmänn in his youth in *Strehlen*. After 3 years on the mission field, he was allowed to marry by the *Gossner Mission* and he called his bride to India. After their wedding, he was transferred to *Charkardharpur* (ca. 100 km south of *Ranchi*).
- 180 *Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde*, July 1895, pp. 63f., “Nachrichten”. Johannes Kupfernagel did not take the usual *Chinine* against Malaria, nor any other medication, because of his personal belief that this was God's will (Gottfried Kupfernagel – EMO, Oct. 15, 1990, p. 4: “Vater war ein Mensch des Glaubens, also nahm er kein Chinin und andere Medikamente, denn Paulus hat auch keine Medikamente genommen”).
- 181 *SP* 1901, pp. 34f. He was employed by the *Verein für Innere Mission* and made assistant to the Senior Pastor, Heinrich A.T. Stenzel, and to the Junior Pastor, Carl O.L. Gonnermann, of the *Unterneustädter* Parish (Berlin Mission Archives, Personalia, Missionar Kupfernagel, Vol. I, p. 5a = 291a. The names and positions of the pastors were verified by Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel – Sauer, Aug. 24, 2001).
- 182 Kupfernagel, June 21, 1901: “Ich hatte es stets als einen Act des Kleinglaubens angesehen, daß ich damals dem Drängen des Arztes nachgab und Indien verließ. Umsomehr bat ich den Herrn mir nocheinmal Gelegenheit zu geben ... zu dienen unter den Heiden”.

However, no opportunity opened for him to realize his longing.<sup>183</sup> Hence, when reading the first news of the SPM in October 1900, in the issue of *Licht und Leben* on October 20, 1900, he applied without much hesitation to the SPM. He might have been aware of the new mission agency from Guinness' and Kumm's earlier visit to *Kassel* in August and September 1900. On October 22, he sent his application to Pastor Dammann,<sup>184</sup> and on October 25 he presented himself to the meeting of the designated board members at Eisenach. After being (provisionally?) accepted, it was not hard for him to get his papers and letters of recommendation together, as he was about to be elected as second pastor elsewhere.<sup>185</sup> On November 15, he was officially accepted by the (by then established) board of the SPM.<sup>186</sup> He later claims that he only had a short encounter with Kumm, before he met him again in Aswan in April 1901. Well meaning friends had even warned him about Karl Kumm.<sup>187</sup> In retrospect, Kupfernagel relates that he and his wife had already gained the impression that, "as far as it was concerning Kumm", the young SPM was not as well founded as it was supposed to be. Nevertheless, they "trusted the Lord and the brethren of the board" of the SPM.<sup>188</sup> Karl Kumm visited *Kassel* several times for the preparations concerning the commissioning service. Probably on November 24, he informed Paul Krusius at the SPM office about the foreseen date of the commissioning and of localities which he had inspected together with Kupfernagel.<sup>189</sup>

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183 Kupfernagel had already requested and received a letter of recommendation from his supervising pastor on February 28, 1899 (Berlin Mission Archives, Personalia "Kupfernagel", p. 5a = 291a).

184 This is no longer preserved at the EMO Archives, but must still have been available to Hohenlohe in 1925. She also quotes a letter from Kupfernagel of October 29, 1900, where he refers to his being accepted by the SPM (*Material*, p. 1).

185 The papers were returned to Kupfernagel at his request before his dismissal from the SPM. He used them again for his subsequent application with the *Berlin Mission*, in whose archives they are preserved (Berlin Mission Archives, Abt. II. Fach III K. Nr. 39, Akte 'Kupfernagel, Johannes', 2 Vols.) Volume I includes his application papers in a closed envelope. This volume includes 329 numbered sheets over the period of May 14, 1904 – June 7, 1907. Volume II with 104 sheets, extending from Sept. 8, 1908 – Oct. 8, 1919, also includes his official personnel form.

186 *SPM Minutes*, Nov. 15, 1900.

187 "Trotz der Abmahnung des mir wohlwollenden General-Superintendenten Lohr trat ich doch in jene Arbeit ein, der mir damals schon in ein Pfarramt helfen wollte, falls ich nicht nach Assuan ginge, und so das Entstehen einer neuen Missions-Gesellschaft verhinderte. Ich hielt mich aber für gebunden und ging." (Johannes Kupfernagel: *Curriculum Vitae 1932*. Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel, Gesamtkonsistorium Kassel – Personalakten, No. 673, p. 2). Lohr too was active with respect to foreign missions. Cf. Ernst Wittekindt: *Blätter der Erinnerung an Generalsuperintendenten, Oberhofprediger und Wirklichen Oberkonsistorialrat D. Wilhelm Lohr*. Cassel 1906.

188 At least, this is what Kupfernagel claims in retrospect, after the dismissal of Karl Kumm and after much disappointment with the SPM (Oct. 2, 1902, Report to the board, "Keine geringe Aufgabe ist mir zugefallen ...", p. 4).

189 Kumm – Krusius, undated letter [probably Nov. 24, 1900]. On December 4, Kumm stopped again at *Kassel* for one day (Kumm Nov. 29, 1900). Kupfernagel refers to the inspection of a hall in his retrospective report of Oct. 2, 1902, p. 2.

The farewell and commissioning festivities began with a prayer meeting on the evening of December 29.<sup>190</sup> On Sunday, December 30, 1900, at 3:15 p.m. “a larger number of mission friends” came to a farewell meeting at the new *Evangelisches Vereinshaus*.<sup>191</sup> The participants largely came from the *Fellowships* and *Youth Fellowships (Jugendbündnisse)*. Almost every board member of the SPM spoke in the program, which consisted of: Pastor Ziemendorff providing the introduction, an address by Pastor Dammann, a short appeal by Pastor Sartorius, farewell greetings by Missionary Kupfernagel, and a final word of “the first founder of the mission”, Karl Kumm, with some recent photographs from Aswan. In the evening at 6 p.m., there followed a service at the *Unterneustädter Church* which was overcrowded despite its 1,000 seats.<sup>192</sup> The liturgy was led by Pastor Heinrich A.T. Stenzel,<sup>193</sup> the junior pastor of the parish, Dammann preached, and Ziemendorff addressed the missionaries. The commissioning and the blessing with laying on of hands were given by the three pastoral board members<sup>194</sup> to Mr. and Mrs. Kupfernagel and their assistant, who remained unnamed in the report.<sup>195</sup>

The messages given, particularly that of Pastor Ziemendorff, clearly characterize the SPM as a faith mission. Its supporters were, in the majority, members of the Fellowships within the Protestant churches, which had their origin in the holiness revivals since 1870. Ziemendorff put strong emphasis on the fact that these “fellowship Christians” would remain in the Protestant Church and serve their local congregation. The report of the celebrations in the SPM journal also explicitly stated that the celebration was “of a character true to church and Bible”. The SPM

190 A lengthy and detailed report appeared in the journal *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* on “Die Abordnung der ersten Geschwister der Sudan-Pionier-Mission zu Kassel, am Sonntag, den 30. Dezember 1900” (*SP* No. 3/4, Jan. 1901, pp. 25–35), on which the following account is based.

191 The *Evangelische Vereinshaus* belonged to the *Verein für Innere Mission* (Kupfernagel's employer), a local manifestation of the Fellowship Movement (Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel – Sauer, Aug. 24, 2001). Kumm had reported on November 24, 1900, that the largest hall (*Parksaal*) in *Kassel* had been booked (Kumm Nov. 24, 1900). Possibly this was thought too large and the venue was changed. Kupfernagel made a critical remark about Kumm's behavior when in search for a hall, without giving any specifics (Kupfernagel, Oct. 2, 1902, p. 4).

192 Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel – Sauer, Aug. 24, 2001, confirmed the number of seats of the church. Kumm had reported earlier that he had booked the slightly larger *Garnisonskirche* in *Kassel*, which had ca. 1200 seats. (Kumm – Krusius, end of November 1900, probably Nov. 24, 1900; Langschieb Landeskirchliches Archiv, Kassel – Sauer, Nov. 19, 2001).

193 Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel – Sauer, Aug. 24, 2001.

194 Translation C.S. – Karl Kumm did not seem to have played a role in that service.

195 The assistant for Mrs. Kupfernagel was Margarethe Hoffmann, whom Karl Kumm had supposedly recruited at the “deaconesses house” (*Diakonissenhaus*) at *Kassel*. She did not have the status of a missionary, but was to lighten the load of Mrs. Kupfernagel. (Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 1.) Kumm wrote about a woman from *Gießen* in November (Nov. 24, 1900), who wanted to “go out”, but this might have been someone else, unless Hohenlohe errs. Mrs. Kupfernagel already had four children and was expecting her fifth in August 1901. A list of the children is given in *Familiengeschichte* 1973, p. 17b, but the birth dates of Frieda and Theodor are false. Martha Kupfernagel had not revealed her pregnancy in *Kassel*, because she feared criticism from other Christians about having too many children (Martha Kupfernagel – Mrs. Ziemendorff, June 4, 1901). It is unknown whether her pregnancy was revealed to the SPM before the departure.

itself was characterized as a “pioneer effort”, which wanted “to pave the ways for the gospel”. The area to be reached and not yet claimed for Christ, the Sudan, was highlighted over and over again. It was emphasized that “God wants missionary work among Muslims”, and that “Jesus also died for the Mohametans [sic!]”. The mission agency was to function “by faith alone” that God would provide what was needed for the support and the work of the missionaries.<sup>196</sup>

The missionary party<sup>197</sup> left *Kassel* very early in the morning of December 31, to board a steamer in *Triest* for Alexandria, Egypt.<sup>198</sup> Thus, one year after its founding, the SPM had its first German missionaries arriving in Egypt.

### 5.7. The Early Criticism of the SPM

The SPM was not founded without opposition. The first meeting of the key supporters of the SPM on October 25, 1900, had already had to deal with appeals to forego the founding of the SPM. Two letters were read, one of which was by the renowned missiologist Prof. Gustav Warneck from *Halle*. The other was by an unnamed student of theology. According to the *SPM Minutes*, they “expressed mistrust against the new work of the SPM, also contained personal accusations against brother Kumm and scrutinized the manner of his public appearance with sharp criticism.”<sup>199</sup> Unfortunately, these letters are no longer available.<sup>200</sup> The *SPM Minutes* only briefly summarize three major accusations against the SPM and reproduce verbatim the lengthy written declaration given by Karl Kumm in response. Fortunately, Julius Dammann paraphrased more extensively the content of the two critical letters in his “Question and Answers” column in his periodical *Licht und Leben*.<sup>201</sup> The official SPM response there, is augmented by further

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196 “Unsere Sache geschieht allein im Glauben. So lange der Herr durch seine Liebe in uns lebt, wir auch dem Br.[uder] Kupfernagel nicht fehlen, was zu seinem und der Seinen Unterhalt und zur Arbeit nötig ist. Wir vertrauen dem Herrn, Er wird uns nicht zu schanden werden lassen.” (“Die Abordnung ...”, *SP* No. 3/4, Jan. 1901, particularly pp. 26f.).

197 Another person traveled with the missionary party at his own expense. The stucco worker Johannes Oltmann wanted to try to find work in Alexandria or Cairo, to learn Arabic and possibly later to be of help to the mission in Aswan. The SPM journal mentioned that he might possibly later be employed as a colporteur (*SP* 1901, 38). This is confirmed in a letter by Oltmann (Oltmann – SPM [no day] March 1902), who claims that he had been recruited in Germany by Karl Kumm. Kupfernagel later claimed that “Dr. Guinness and Kumm had made it a matter of conscience to Oltmann, to go out” to the Sudan. (Kupfernagel, July 5, 1902, second letter.) Oltmann seems not to have been a member of the fellowship in Kassel which Kupfernagel served, as Kupfernagel then would not have been surprised about the limited usefulness of Oltmann later.

198 *SP* 1901, p. 43.

199 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 25, 1900, p. 1 (see Appendix I).

200 Most of Gustav Warneck's unpublished papers were lost shortly after his death (cf. Gensichen, in: *BDCM*, p. 718). It is unknown whether archives of Julius Dammann's correspondence still exist.

201 *LuL* 12 (1900), No. 47, Nov. 24, 1900, pp. 852ff., “Brief- und Fragekasten”.

personal statements by Dammann. Thus, we have two paraphrases of the criticism by the recipients and two responses to it.

I distinguish three major objects of criticism: 1) the Sudan strategy; 2) the founding of a new mission agency; and 3) Karl Kumm and “foreign influence”. There is little evidence on the charges leveled against Karl Kumm personally, whereas the questions which could be discussed publicly, are amply documented.

The criticisms will be isolated and verified here against publications of Warneck and other critics. In a further step, they will be confronted with the responses of the SPM, then and later. Special attention will be given to the question whether this criticism was specifically directed against Kumm and the SPM, or whether they were confronted with a general antipathy against the founding of new missionary societies, against particular Christian movements, or against certain mission strategies.

### 5.7.1 The major Critic: Gustav Warneck

The only critic mentioned by name in the *SPM Minutes* is Gustav Warneck<sup>202</sup> (1834–1910). For decades, he had not only been the leading missiologist in Germany, he was even considered the founder of the science of mission studies as such.<sup>203</sup> He was the founding editor of the major Protestant missiological journal (*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift – AMZ*), which had been his mouthpiece since 1874. He had, by then, published the sixth edition of his survey of the history of Protestant mission agencies,<sup>204</sup> and four of five volumes of the first comprehensive compendium on the science of missions ever written,<sup>205</sup> besides a large number of other missiological publications.

He certainly was the most influential and learned critic of the SPM. This justifies a concentration on him. He was then 66 years old. As “a veteran in missionary service”, with 30 years of research in the history and theory of mission, he felt that he had a right to criticize new

202 See Hans-Werner Gensichen: “Gustav Warneck”. In: *BDCM*, 1998, p. 718 for a first introduction to Warneck, and for a biographical and historical survey of his life: Hans Kasdorf: *Gustav Warnecks missiologisches Erbe. Eine biographisch-historische Untersuchung*. Gießen / Basel: Brunnen, 1990, 488 pp.

203 According to Kuberski, this title can be doubted and Karl Graul may have an even stronger claim to it (Jürgen Kuberski: *Mission und Wissenschaft. Karl Graul (1814–1864) und seine Missionstheologie*. DTh Evang. Theol. Fakultät Leuven (B), 1993, 323 pp. On Graul's relevance compared to Warneck, cf. pp. 136–141; cf. Klaus Fiedler: “Warneck, Gustav (1834–1919)”. In: *EDWM* 2000, p. 1006; A. Scott Moreau: “Graul, Karl (1814–64)”. In: *EDWM* 2000, p. 406.

204 Gustav Warneck: *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*. Berlin: Verlag von Martin Warneck, <sup>6</sup>1900 [1882], 385 pp.

ventures.<sup>206</sup> He initially confined his criticism to a personal letter to Dammann. Only “when private negotiations had no success”, and after a growing number of inquiries were directed to him, did he feel urged by his conscience to go public in March (?) 1901 in an article about the newly founded mission agencies: “*Die neuen deutschen Missionsunternehmungen. Ernste Bedenken den Freunden derselben zur Prüfung vorgelegt*”.<sup>207</sup> In this article, he devoted one page of seven to the SPM. In several of his earlier essays around the turn of the century, some of his arguments had already surfaced, since they were part of a general criticism of the emerging post-classical missionary movement.<sup>208</sup>

As the editor of the AMZ, Warneck also gave room to other critics of the SPM. In the annual review of 1900, Pastor Carl Paul voiced three serious concerns against the SPM.<sup>209</sup> However, Warneck's own deliberations were by far the most extensive.

### 5.7.2 Criticism of the Sudan Strategy

The authors of the critical letters to Dammann seriously warned him to avoid being involved with this “adventurous” affair. Dammann paraphrased their criticism as follows: “Up to now all attempts to begin a Sudan mission have failed and led to the loss of many precious lives. They could only think about it with trembling, that Germany would now let herself become embroiled with these immature projects. The plan was issuing from a known English agency [implying: with a bad reputation in the writer's eyes]. The whole project is unhealthy and would not consider ... [the] principle: ‘First consider, then dare’. The area taken into consideration is in reality inaccessible, would cause enormous costs, and [the project] could not be realized. They would

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205 Gustav Warneck: *Evangelische Missionslehre. Ein missionstheoretischer Versuch*. 3 Vols. In 5. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1892–1903.

206 This is the basis for Warneck to write an open letter on April 1, 1900, “An die Allg. Missionskonferenz in New York” [1900], in AMZ 1900, pp. 201–204.

207 AMZ 1901, pp. 180–187. He repeated the same arguments in an essay in 1905: “Die gegenwärtige Lage der dt. ev. Mission”. In: AMZ 1905, pp. 157–176. Further deliberations there on the mission agencies of the Fellowship Movement, concerning their ideas on the training of missionaries, the missionary task and methods, have little to do with the SPM.

208 “Die evangelische Mission an der Wende zweier Jahrhunderte (1800 u. 1900)”. In: AMZ 1900, pp. 3–12; “Ein Missionsmotto für das neue Jahrhundert”. In: AMZ 1901, pp. 3–7.

209 P.C. Paul: “Rückblick auf das Jahr 1900”. In: AMZ 1901, pp. 25–37, here p. 28. His opinion is as follows: Kumm is completely unknown in Germany and his plans are somewhat adventurous. The founding of new missions would lead to a fragmentation of the supporters of mission agencies in Germany, who have a primary duty to missionary work in the German colonies [rather than in the Sudan]. In addition, if the supporters of mission agencies within the Fellowship Movement were to found their own mission agencies, this would isolate them increasingly from mission supporters in the mainline church.

experience great disappointments.”<sup>210</sup> The *SPM Minutes* add: “The organizer of the SPM was accused of lack of knowledge in the matter”.<sup>211</sup>

All three charges: the immaturity of the project, the inaccessibility of the area and the ignorance of the initiator, can equally be found in Warneck's article against the “new mission agencies”: Warneck misses “methodical mission expertise and soberness” in the program of the SPM. Supposedly, this virtue is to consist of the knowledge of previous failures to reach the Sudan, because Warneck continues: “Up to now, all Sudan mission endeavors have failed, even the well organized one of the great English Church Missionary Society”. Obviously, Warneck considered the Sudan as inaccessible, at least for the time being: “As it seems, the hour for a successful Sudan mission has not yet come”.<sup>212</sup>

Kumm addressed all these charges in his response, except for the charge of “ignorance”, which he refuted implicitly by his knowledgeable presentation of previous efforts to reach the Sudan and by arguing for a more successful strategy, as follows:<sup>213</sup>

Kumm agrees, that the Sudan had been closed for missionary work until two years previously. However, he thinks that the obstacles have been overcome now. According to Kumm, the Sudan is only inaccessible, if one attempts to reach it via zones of deadly climate or via the enormous desert from *Tripoli*. These had been the two major reasons for the failure of earlier attempts. Now the healthy route along the Nile is “perfectly open” in three respects: physically, through the free movement of traffic, politically, by the disempowerment of the *Mahdi* and small local rulers, and also culturally (*in geistiger Hinsicht*). “The tribes on the Nile, as they observe progress in Europe, long for European culture and education and are asking for teachers.”<sup>214</sup> Therefore, according to Kumm, it is time for a mission effort to the Sudan.

210 *LuL* 12 (1900), pp. 852f. See Appendix I for the German original. The principle quoted is: “*Erst wägen, dann wagen*”.

211 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 25, 1900, p. 1.

212 Warneck 1901, “*Missionsunternehmungen*”, p. 184. Equally, Warneck then believed that the time for missionary work among Muslims had not yet come. Even if this does not seem to have played a role in his letter to Dammann, it originated from the same guiding principle. According to Warneck, God had set different “times” for the evangelization of different areas and religious groups of the world. Important indicators to gather the signs of the times were “open doors” vs. resistance, adverse political circumstances and strategic aspects. This system of Warneck's proved too rigid and schematic in retrospect. Cf. Andreas Feldtkeller: “*Die Zeit einer Mohammedanermision im Oriente ist noch nicht gekommen*”. *Motive eines Zögerns in der Mission des American Board und bei Gustav Warneck*“. In: Dieter Becker / Andreas Feldtkeller (ed.): *Es begann in Halle ...*. Erlangen: Verlag der Ev. Luth. Mission, 1997, pp. 87–105, here pp. 95–103.

213 *SPM Minutes*, pp. 3–9.

214 Kumm here refers to Dr. Gustav Nachtigall: *Sahara und Sudan*.

Now, Warneck does not question at all the necessity of missionary work in the Sudan. He sees expansion in Africa a “major task of Protestant mission in the coming century”.<sup>215</sup> However, unlike Kumm, he neither thinks the time had already come, nor does he see any urgency. On the contrary, his measure for all strategies of expansion is: “‘Slow and steady wins the race’, is God’s motto for mission”. Instead of succumbing to the temptation of limitless plans, “which press for the ends of the earth with the haste of a storm”, mission agencies should concentrate “on the great tasks of consolidation in the old mission fields”.<sup>216</sup> Only then, the call would be “forward, but with prudence and patience ... and on opened up lines of communication, which lead to open doors”.

Dammann favored the opposite strategy, using a quote from an inspector of one of the classical missions: “If the apostles had wanted to wait in taking the gospel to the heathen until the Jews would be evangelized, the heathen would not have had their turn in the apostles’ lifetime”.<sup>217</sup>

In addition to these “internal” arguments of mission strategy, the critics brought up an “external” argument against the Sudan mission: “Nowadays, when the mission agencies were under such attack publicly, one should not give reason for further justified attacks”.<sup>218</sup> This is what the SPM did in their eyes. On the part of the SPM no explicit answer was necessary, as in their view the Sudan was open.

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215 But Warneck (“Die evangelische Mission an der Wende zweier Jahrhunderte [1800 u. 1900]”. In: *AMZ* 1900, p. 7) sees much less urgency than Julius Richter, who wrote concerning North-East Africa in 1899: “Es wird eine große Aufgabe sein, durch energische und umfassende Inangriffnahme der evangelischen Mission in dem neuerschlossenen Gebiete dem ... Vordringen des Islam von Norden nach Süden einen wirksamen Damm entgegenzusetzen” (“Missionsrundschau. Nordafrika”. In: *AMZ* 1899, pp. 484–492, here p. 487).

216 Warneck (1900, New York, p. 203) confronts the watchwords of the student volunteer movement, ‘expansion’, ‘diffusion’ and ‘evangelization of the world in this generation’: “Gehet hin in alle Welt, lautet der Missionsauftrag, nicht: flieget hin; Eile mit Weile ist göttliche Missionslösung. Das Himmelreich ist gleich einem naturhaft wachsenden Saatfelde, nicht einem Treibhaus. ... Im Missionsprogramm spielt die Geduld eine große Rolle und zur Geduld gehört die Treue, die mit Ausdauer die großen Aufgaben des Ausbaus auf den alten Missionsgebieten erfüllt.” And further (“Ein Missionsmotto für das neue Jahrhundert”, *AMZ* 1901, p. 7): “statt zu uferlosen Plänen sich verleiten zu lassen, die mit Sturmeseile an die Enden der Erde treiben, [ist ihr die Aufgabe gestellt] daß sie sich daheim und draußen konzentriert ... Freilich dann auch vorwärts, aber mit Besonnenheit und Geduld, erst wägen, dann wagen, und auf erschlossenen Etappenstraßen, die zu geöffneten Türen führen.”

217 Dammann (*LuL* 12, 1900, p. 853) is quoting a mission sermon by *Missionsinspektor* [August] Schreiber (1839–1903) from *Barmen*, who frequently visited Warneck: “Wenn die Apostel hätten warten wollen, den Heiden das Evangelium zu bringen, bis die Juden evangelisiert wären, so wären die Heiden ihr Lebtag nicht daran gekommen”.

218 *LuL* 12 (1900), p. 853; cf. Warneck 1901, “Missionsunternehmungen”, p. 181.

### 5.7.3 Criticism of the Founding of a new Mission Agency

Independent of the area targeted, there prevailed a multi-faceted criticism against the founding of any new missionary society: “One should not fragment our mission circles ... The old mission agencies are complaining about the difficulties of raising funds for the ever growing work. Therefore, not more missionary societies, but fewer. One should not take away the means of the existing societies, and not intrude into their [home] areas, particularly not from England.”<sup>219</sup>

The major charge was that of fragmentation, which on the whole would weaken German mission agencies. This was a widespread argument, particularly used against the new faith missions which originated in the Fellowship Movement.<sup>220</sup> According to Warneck, the existing structures at the home base were almost a luxury and needed unification instead of multiplication.<sup>221</sup> New missionary initiatives should, as a rule, join the older and experienced missionary societies.<sup>222</sup> At least, the three new mission agencies among Muslims should unite into one body.<sup>223</sup> All this the SPM had tried or was in the process of trying, which Warneck might not have known.

The critics argue in the interests of the classical missions, who were calling for more workers and increased income, and some of which were suffering suffocating debts.<sup>224</sup> The SPM was seen as one of the intruders into the established home areas of classical missions, allegedly competing for funds from the same donors, whose capacities were not even considered sufficient for the classical missions.

This is strongly disclaimed, both by Kumm and Dammann: “The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* in no way thinks itself to be in competition to the existing German missionary societies”. On the contrary, they were convinced, “that with the growing spiritual life in Germany, new sources of support for missionary work would open up”.<sup>225</sup> They wanted to multiply the potential of

219 *LuL* 12 (1900), p. 853.

220 Cf. C. Paul: Rückblick, p. 28; Warneck 1901, “Missionsunternehmungen”, pp. 182f.; Julius Richter: “Das wirkliche Defizit”. In: *AMZ* 1902, pp. 216–226.

221 Warneck: “Die evangelische Mission an der Wende zweier Jahrhunderte (1800 u. 1900)”. In: *AMZ* 1900, p. 9.

222 Warneck 1900, New York, p. 203.

223 Warneck referred to the *Deutsche Orient-Mission* of Dr. Lepsius, the mission agency of Amirchanjanz, and the SPM (“Missionsunternehmungen”, 1901, p. 185).

224 Warneck 1901, “Missionsunternehmungen”, p. 183.

225 *SPM Minutes*, p. 9.

finances and personnel, and to recruit new supporters for missionary work.<sup>226</sup> The Ziemendorff's *Marienhau* in Wiesbaden could be a proof from experience that this was indeed possible.<sup>227</sup>

Dammann's additional arguments focus almost exclusively on the charge of competition. In his response, he claims that his periodical *Licht und Leben* continued to represent the interests of existing German mission agencies as before, particularly those of the *Barmen Mission*. No supporter should be taken away from any of these mission agencies. *Licht und Leben* would not become the exclusive periodical of the SPM, and would continue collecting gifts for all German missionary societies. Intrusion into the circles, e.g. of the *Barmen Mission* in *Rhineland* and *Westphalia*, would indeed be unfair. For this reason, the headquarters of the SPM had been set up at Eisenach, implying that no other mission agency had its home base in that area.

Dammann did not restrict himself to defense, but went on to the offensive: The mission potential of Germany had not reached its limit, and Germany was doing little for missionary work in comparison to Great Britain: "There are many unharvested fields in Christianity for mission agencies. All of Germany is coming up with 4–5 million [German Marks] for mission agencies and supports about 800 missionaries, compared to England with 32 million [German Marks] and 8,000 missionaries on the field."<sup>228</sup>

#### 5.7.4 Criticism of Kumm and "Foreign Influence"

The *SPM Minutes* reported personal accusations against Kumm and criticism of the manner of his public appearance. It is not clear whether the personal accusations referred to, stem from Warneck. His public criticism is more guarded here.

Warneck presents Kumm as a "foreigner in Germany", who is totally unknown, and who "has taken no roots among us", even though acknowledging his German birth.<sup>229</sup> Kumm's visits in circles of the Fellowship Movement were characterized by his charming rhetoric (*liebenswürdige Beredsamkeit*), which fascinated many, and "a totally English way" of winning his listeners. His connection with Guinness is a further negative factor in the eyes of Warneck, who considers Guinness as "a very busy, but enormously restless man, who is always hurrying to new enterprises and who is lacking wisdom or soberness [the Greek term *sophrosyne* is used]

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226 Cf. the similar reasoning of A.B. Simpson, who asked God "to raise up a great missionary movement that would reach the neglected fields of the world and utilize the neglected forces of the church at home, as was not then being done" (Hartzfeld: *The Birth of a Vision*. 1986, p. 222).

227 See above on Ziemendorff and the *Marienhau*. See also Bernd Brandl (1998, pp. 319f.), who observes that the Siegerland home base of the *Neukirchen Mission* existed to a large extent on fellowships started by *Neukirchen*.

228 *LuL* 12 (1900), p. 853.

regarding missionary matters. As it seems, he is not finding enough support any more in England for his ever changing projects.”<sup>230</sup> Thus, Kumm is marked as the representative of a foreign current in the missionary enterprise, incompatible with “German ways”, who is importing an “alien enterprise” from England.<sup>231</sup>

As the SPM was labeled an “English” initiative, Kumm opens his defense with the phrase: “The SPM is a completely German work”.<sup>232</sup> The critics of the SPM seemed to follow a nationalist principle in mission strategy: Germans should only support German mission agencies; German mission agencies should primarily work in German colonies (in addition to their historic fields); and no foreign mission agency should seek support in Germany and thus intrude into the home base of German mission agencies: “Our national [*vaterländischen*] mission agencies should be strengthened and German colonial areas should be more strongly occupied. Perhaps later on, one could penetrate into the Sudan from [the German colonial area of] Cameroon. ‘Licht und Leben’ should not follow in the paths of Grattan Guinness ... One should not take away the means of the existing societies, and not intrude into their [home] areas, particularly not from England.”<sup>233</sup>

Indeed, Warneck claimed elsewhere: “Even if the time had come for it, Germany does not have the obligation to undertake a Sudan mission. All guidance of God allots this task to England.”<sup>234</sup> Kumm responds that the Sudan was not only a sphere of interest for England, but also for Germany (*Adamawa at Lake Chad*) and for France. However, Kumm does not think in the categories of national missionary obligations. The only thing that matters to him, is that nobody seems able or willing to tackle a Sudan mission along the Nile.<sup>235</sup>

In the criticism of the SPM, there surfaces an antipathy against “England” and “English influence”.<sup>236</sup> These terms are used with negative undertones. Was there more to this, than national pride and cultural issues? I suspect that behind this contrast between Germany and England, a different conflict is hidden: that between classical missions and the emerging faith missions, and between the revival movements that brought them forth. Warneck was a representative of the classical missions in Germany, whereas Kumm had indeed received formative

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229 Warneck 1901, “Missionsunternehmungen”, p. 184.

230 Ibid.

231 Ibid.

232 *SPM Minutes*, p. 3.

233 *LuL* 12 (1900), p. 853. See German original in Appendix I.

234 Warneck 1901, “Missionsunternehmungen”, p. 184.

235 *SPM Minutes*, p. 9.

influences in England and clearly represented a faith mission. Warneck feared that “the new mighty current from abroad” would endanger the German missionary enterprise, and had already done so.<sup>237</sup> He had reservations about the Fellowship Movement fostering its own missionary societies. They would thus isolate themselves, and “rupture the band of unity, which is brought about among Christians of all shades, by jointly pursuing missionary work among the heathen”.<sup>238</sup> Moreover, if the adherents of the Fellowship Movement really needed their own missionary society, they would not have to found another one, as the *Neukirchener Mission* already represented their views.<sup>239</sup>

### 5.7.5 Conclusion

Basically, the critics said: There is the wrong person, pursuing the wrong goals, at the wrong time, with the wrong methods, in the wrong field, and from the wrong home base. Potential supporters, please take your hands off this enterprise, which is unsound and will be a complete disappointment and a costly failure. It is a threat and a nuisance to our well established German missionary enterprise. To this, Kumm and Dammann answered: The Sudan is unreached and the doors are open now via the Nile. No other mission agency can help in reaching it and we are not taking away any support from other mission agencies. “Laborers are ready to enter, and the command is: ‘Go, swift messengers!’ (Isaiah 18,2)”.<sup>240</sup>

Some of the criticism against the SPM was quite specific, but most arguments were directed against all faith missions. It seems that Warneck was not as up to date and well informed on the SPM as he could have been. However, he regarded the little information he had with a bias against faith missions and within his set system of mission theory.<sup>241</sup> The statements by Kumm

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236 Cf. Werner Ustorf: “Anti-Americanism in German Missiology”. In: *Mission Studies* 11 (1989), pp. 23–34, who focuses on Gustav Warneck.

237 Warneck 1901, “Missionsunternehmungen”, p. 181: “In der letzten Zeit ist aber von auswärts her eine Strömung auch bei uns mächtig geworden, die mit wachsender Zersetzung auch eine innere Gefährdung in unseren Missionsbetrieb zu bringen droht, ja schon gebracht hat, gegen welche die ernstesten Bedenken sich aufdrängen.”

238 Warneck 1901, “Missionsunternehmungen”, p. 186f. Warneck had commented very favorably on the importance for missions of the Holiness movement in its early years. There, missionaries and mission friends would find an inner motivation based on complete trust on the Holy Scriptures, personal faith and complete surrender to God (Gustav Warneck: “Die Bedeutung der sogenannten ‘Heiligungs-Bewegung’ für die Mission”. In: *AMZ* 2 (1875), pp. 422–426, 474–478). Nevertheless, he was later very critical when new mission agencies emerged out of the Holiness movement.

239 P. 183. The *Neukirchener Mission* was the first faith mission in Germany. See Brandl: *Die Neukirchener Mission*. 1998.

240 *SPM Minutes*, p. 9, and *LuL* 12 (1900), p. 854.

241 The same was the case in Warneck’s criticism of Johannes Lepsius and his *Deutsche Orient-Mission*, as Oliver Drescher convincingly shows: Warneck “hatte einseitige Informationen, an die er Maßstäbe anlegte, die nicht paßten, und dies vor dem Hintergrund einer unbewußten Voreingenommenheit seitens seiner eigenen Kultur”.

and Dammann did answer most of the criticism. However, Warneck kept up his criticism even after the publication of a response.<sup>242</sup> This influential opposition might have been a major obstacle to the SPM and a reason why it did not find as much financial support as was needed for a speedy advance of the missionary work.

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(Oliver Drescher: *Ist es Zeit? Der Einfluß der Eschatologie auf die Debatte um die Zeitgemäßheit einer Mission unter Muslimen 1895–1914*. MTh UNISA, Department of Missiology, 1998, p. 67). – Fiedler differentiates four reasons for Warneck's anti-faith-mission attitude in his more detailed analysis: historical, theological, methodological, and ecclesiological reasons. Warneck thought that the number of mission agencies from Germany had already reached fullness. He considered the eschatology of the faith missions as wrong theology, which led them to the wrong methodical emphases, like itinerant evangelism instead of organic church planting. Warneck also presupposes territorial churches [*Volkskirche*] as the standard form of church organization, which leads him to criticize the prevalence and position of women in faith missions, and the fact that most of the men were not ordained (Fiedler 1992, pp. 36–49, not in Fiedler 1994.)

242 Warneck might not have been that inaccurate in his perception that the early SPM was not as solid as it should have been. However, he used the wrong arguments. His warning about impending failure did indeed come to a partial fulfillment in 1904, but might he not have had a share in it?

## 6 Repeated Crises in the Early Work

With the arrival of the first German missionary party of the SPM in Egypt, the mission endeavor entered a new period, dominated by the setting up of a base in Aswan for German missionaries. The plans of Kumm were apparently to be realized. This period, which ended in August 1904 with the departure of all early missionaries from Aswan, is noticeably interrupted by the dismissal of the founder, Karl Kumm, in October 1902. Thus, I have divided my description of this period accordingly into the following three parts: early problems, dismissal of Kumm, and the decline of the SPM afterwards. I have chosen to present the events chronologically as the development of the different aspects is closely intertwined. There are some outstanding events, which I have used for subheadings, but they do not represent sub-periods. I will have to switch back and forth between the field in Egypt and the home base in Germany. Further, the board and Karl Kumm had their own, quite distinct, activities, with Kumm moving back and forth between Germany and England. In Egypt Kupfernagel and Samuel, too, were separate most of the time, in different locations. My description is mainly based on the ample source material of letters and minutes of that period, and I attempt to synchronize what the protagonists report.<sup>1</sup>

### 6.1 Early Problems in Aswan and Germany (January 1901 – September 1902)

From the time when the Kumms had left in Spring 1900, things had developed in Aswan. The boys' and girls' schools had expanded from 30 to about 60 students.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the teaching staff had grown to four teachers. Zamerida, the wife of Girgis Yacoub, was running the girls' school. Girgis had hired her brother, Habib Henain, as an additional teacher at the boys' school. Samuel Ali Hiseen, too, had been employed at the school after his return from the colportage tour in November.<sup>3</sup>

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1 In addition to the primary sources mentioned, I used a manuscript of Hohenlohe (*Material*), which preserves information which has since been lost.

2 According to Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, Jan. 17, 1901.

3 When the boys' school of the *American Mission* closed, Girgis accepted the boys into his school. Kumm had promised the same to the evangelist Musa of the *American Mission* as Guinness had promised to Dr. Murch in Luxor – to take only Nubians and *Bischareen*. However, when the *American Boys' School* closed due to the lack of a teacher, the students inquired with Girgis if they could be accepted at the SPM School. Girgis asked Kumm several times, but Kumm refused, until one day, Girgis interpreted an impatient answer as a “yes”, and Girgis accepted the students into his school. Girgis' prestige grew with the number of “his” students. This ambitiousness later caused additional problems for the Mission. It might also have been the reason why Kumm did not continue his close fellowship with Girgis.

### 6.1.1 German Missionaries Take Over

On January 6, 1901, the German missionary party arrived in *Alexandria*. When they tried to make some arrangements and to gather the furniture which Kumm and Krusius had left there, they were quite irritated by the mistrust they encountered on the part of the foreign and the missionary community.<sup>4</sup> On the evening of Saturday, January 12, they arrived in Aswan, where they booked in at the cheapest hotel. They started with their missionary work straight away. Already on Sunday afternoon, Kupfernagel held the first Sunday School. During the week, Mr. and Mrs. Kupfernagel and Miss Hoffmann all taught at the schools for one hour daily, from the start. In attempting to settle, they incurred many costly problems caused by inexperience, insufficient preparations, wrong expectations, misinformation, changed circumstances, and particularly by an insufficient budget for travel and monthly operation costs.<sup>5</sup> They found a house to rent, but they could not yet move out of the hotel due to the accumulated debts there which had to be settled first.<sup>6</sup> Kupfernagel felt somewhat abandoned and on his own.<sup>7</sup> At the school, he felt sufficiently competent and confident, to proclaim – after only five days – the necessity of changes in the curriculum and of close supervision of some of the lessons. Kupfernagel was also confronted with demands by the indigenous workers: Zamerida and Habib demanded a regular salary, Girgis wanted a raise in salary, and Samuel presented expenses from his former journey.<sup>8</sup> Less than two weeks after their arrival, on January 25, Mrs. Kupfernagel suffered a breakdown, because all their money was used up, and the mail had not brought the needed supply. The teachers had to help the Kupfernagels with food.<sup>9</sup>

The search for a suitable property and negotiations for its purchase extended until March 18. Samuel went away to his home village for almost four weeks. Habib, one of the teachers, was temporarily dismissed because he had beaten his sister Zamerida. Then all the Germans, with the exception of Mrs. Kupfernagel, successively were afflicted with a painful eye disease, which

4 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Jan. 28, 1901.

5 The merchant in Alexandria, who according to Kumm would act as their representative, was unwilling to do so. Kupfernagel's attempt to get the usual 50 % reduction for missionaries on the train fare failed, because he did not have the necessary letter from his mission agency. The economical hotel ship, which the Kumms had used, was no longer available, and they had to book a hotel (Kupfernagel – SPM board, Jan. 16, 1901). Their monthly budget was 1,000 German Marks. In Kassel they had already been warned that this would be insufficient (Kupfernagel – SPM board, Jan. 17, 1901).

6 Kupfernagel – SPM board, Jan. 16, 1901.

7 On the other hand Kupfernagel exhorts Kumm: "Lieber Bruder Kumm, lassen Sie den Mut nicht fallen, wenn einiges anders sich herausstellt und in der Wirklichkeit ist, als sie es vielleicht geplant und gedacht haben." (Johannes and Margarethe Kupfernagel and Henriette von Blücher – Karl Kumm, Jan. 22, 1901).

8 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Jan. 28, 1901, and Feb. 1, 1901.

9 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Jan. 28, 1901.

would take about two weeks to clear up. The first indications appeared that the health of Mrs. Hoffmann was poor.

Meanwhile, in Germany, the Ziemendorffs wished the SPM headquarters to be moved to Wiesbaden, because they were staffed with workers in Wiesbaden to a level that could never be attained in Eisenach.<sup>10</sup> The SPM journal, *Der Sudan Pionier*, was edited by Miss von Zitzewitz in Wiesbaden under the supervision of Pastor Ziemendorff, and was to appear monthly from February on.<sup>11</sup>

On February 26, 1901, Henry Kumm was born, the first child of Karl and Lucy Kumm. On the same day, the Kumms issued a printed letter to their friends. Lucy Kumm also published a brochure in German, *Ein Wort an die Frauen*, describing the great need for missionaries in the Sudan and challenging Christian women in Germany to become involved in the missionary efforts of the SPM.<sup>12</sup> On March 14, the board decided to ask Hermann Ulrich (?–1937), a merchant from Kassel, to join the board.<sup>13</sup> He was the secretary of the *Helpers Union* in Kassel, which provided the salary of Kupfernagel and was receiving regular reports from him.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the board decided to accept an offer by Miss Henriette von Blücher to buy the desired property in Aswan at her own risk and to let it to the SPM.<sup>15</sup>

### *Karl Kumm's Visit to Aswan*

At the board meeting on March 14, 1901, it was also decided that Kumm should travel to Aswan, as Kupfernagel seemed incapable of finalizing the purchase of the property.<sup>16</sup> Kumm left

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10 Kumm – Krusius, Jan. 22, 1901.

11 *SP* Jan. 1901, No. 3/4, p. 40, gives the name of Ziemendorff as responsible editor for the first time. In the two earlier issues, no editor was named. The editorial involvement of Miss von Zitzewitz is witnessed to by Hohenlohe (*Material*, p. 3) and by a list of the activities of the Marienhaus. Miss von Zitzewitz was certainly resident at Wiesbaden and possibly a member of the Marienhaus (though not mentioned in the booklet of 1899). She was active there, teaching English several times a week, as well as history and geography. She was also part of the leadership of the monthly *Basler Missions-Näh-Verein* and responsible for order at the YMCA building (*Arbeiten die vom Marienhaus ausgehen*, EMO Archives, Green Folder C/2, Heimatarbeit Wiesbaden). She became a member of the SPM women's board from Fall 1902 until 1904. I could not find out more about her.

12 Lucy Kumm: *Ein Wort an die Frauen. Von der Sudan-Pionier-Mission*. Wiesbaden: SPM s.a. [1901], 20 pp. Lucy Kumm is referring to information on the Sudan contained in the traveling reports of Nachtigal, Barth, Rohlf's, Junker, and others, and to the book of Slatin Pasha, *Feuer und Schwert im Sudan*.

13 *SPM Minutes*, March 14, 1900, p. 23. The first board meeting which Ulrich attended was held on July 16, 1901. He was a board member and sponsor of the SPM until his death on Nov. 5, 1937 (*Der Pionier*, Dec. 1937, p. 159). He lived in Kassel, Marktstraße 27. In the files on the SPM in the court in Eisenach his name is registered as Hermann Ulrich (Extract of Nov. 19, 1907, EMO Archives, Green Folder, B, "Satzungen und Protokolle ... 1902–1968", Item No. 9), while in the *SPM Minutes* his first name never features.

14 Cf. *SP* No. 6, March 1901, p. 54. On July 16, 1901, it was decided that Kupfernagel should send his monthly reports directly to the SPM (*SPM Minutes*, p. 35).

15 *SPM Minutes*, March 14, 1901, p. 23.

16 *SPM Minutes*, p. 22, March 14, 1901.

Wiesbaden four days later. However, on that same day, on March 18, Kupfernagel did finally sign the contract in Aswan.<sup>17</sup> The property was considered one of the nicest in Aswan, lying right on the Nile front, and it was the one which Kumm had already tried to purchase in the Spring of 1900. The enormous costs were sponsored almost exclusively by the ladies of nobility at the Marienhaus in Wiesbaden.<sup>18</sup>

Kumm probably arrived in Aswan on March 22, 1901, and stayed for several weeks. As commissioned by the board, he brought along Mr. Oltmann, who had stayed in Cairo. Oltmann was to work on the newly purchased house and property.<sup>19</sup> Kumm quickly realized that Samuel did not feel well treated by Kupfernagel. In addition, Samuel neither felt at ease as a teacher, nor did he get along well with Girgis. Thus, Kumm rather hurriedly set up a separate station for Samuel.<sup>20</sup> On April 15, 1901, a property was rented at *Guzaira*, a hamlet on a semi-island on the fringe of Aswan.<sup>21</sup> For the mission station in Aswan, setting up a Christian bookstore was considered.<sup>22</sup> Kumm also restored his friendship with the representatives of the *American Mission*. As he thought all the problems had been taken care of, Kumm used the remainder of his time for a one-week's journey up the Nile. Together with Samuel, he took the Nile Steamer from Aswan to *Wadi Halfa* and back. Samuel had hoped that they could travel as far as *Dongola*. They both considered this place as the next goal for the SPM beyond Aswan.<sup>23</sup>

Both Samuel and Kumm were also active linguistically. Samuel continued working on his glossary of Nubian, Arabic, and English, and on a Nubian Grammar. He had already finished his translation of the Gospel of John. Kumm had finished "the rudiments of a Bischareen Grammar" in manuscript.<sup>24</sup>

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17 Martha Kupfernagel – Kumm, March 21, 1901.

18 According to the *SPM Minutes*, p. 31 of July 16, 1901, the total costs for the purchase amounted to 28,375 German Marks, with an additional 1,979 German Marks for construction costs. Two-thirds of this was covered by loans amounting to 20,652.70 Marks. Henriette von Blücher provided 16,000 German Marks at an interest rate of 3.5 % (as of April 1, 1901), Hedwig von Hahn provided 4,000 German Marks (interest payable as of Jan. 1, 1901, rate not yet defined), and Pastor Ziemendorff supplied the missing 652.70 German Marks, which were to be paid back in monthly instalments of 100 German Marks.

19 Kumm – SPM, April 5, 1901.

20 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Dec. 20, 1901 in retrospect.

21 Lauche – Sauer, Nov. 8 and 15, 2001. Kenuuzi Nubians had settled on this semi-island already before the building of the dam in 1902. The original Nubian name was *Abinarti*, meaning "grass island". The meaning of the Arabic *Guzaira* is "little island". The location has previously been confused with *Gezira*, which means "island" and is immediately identified by locals with *the Elephantine Island* facing Aswan.

22 Kupfernagel – SPM, June 21, 1901.

23 Kumm – SPM, April 5, 1901.

24 *SP* April 1901, p. 62 and June 1901, p. 78.

At the end of his stay in Aswan, Kumm fell sick with appendicitis. After his return to Germany, he spent most of May in Wiesbaden to recuperate.<sup>25</sup> On May 29, 1901, he reported to the SPM board about his journey. The founding of the station in *Guzaira* was confirmed. Kumm announced that the costs for the rent would probably be completely sponsored “by an English lady”. At the same meeting, the statutes of the SPM were revised and accepted, and that day was defined as the date of the legal constitution of the SPM.<sup>26</sup> The registration of the SPM at the court (*Amtsgericht*) in Eisenach, which was the task of Pastor Ziemendorff, was only completed by October or November 1901.<sup>27</sup> The *Principles and Practice* needed to be revised and reprinted.<sup>28</sup> Six applications from potential candidates (No. 7–12) were processed. One candidate was considered incapable, and the others were encouraged to apply again after further training at either *Chrischona* or the *Johanneum* in *Wuppertal-Barmen*.<sup>29</sup> Ziemendorff was commissioned to publish the expectations of the SPM towards its candidates in the SPM journal.<sup>30</sup> Kumm was encouraged to take up doctoral studies, which were sponsored by the women's branch.<sup>31</sup>

### *The New Station in Guzaira*

Meanwhile in Egypt, Samuel took possession of his “farm” in *Guzaira* on May 1. At the end of the month, he collected his children from *Abu Hoor* to settle with him. He sold his possessions there, saying farewell to friends and family. He hoped that *Guzaira* would become “the mother of all stations” from which the missionaries would go out in the future.<sup>32</sup> It was expected that the station would be self-supporting through its agricultural produce.<sup>33</sup> However, after only two months, Samuel reported to Ziemendorff that the station had definite deficiencies. The basic goal, to work among Nubians, could not really be reached, because Samuel belonged to a different tribe from the residents. The soil was not fertile enough for self-sufficiency, and the climate was not suitable for the future residence of Europeans. At least Samuel's linguistic work

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25 Cleverdon 1936, p. 37.

26 *SPM Minutes*, May 29, 1901, p. 23. The text of the statutes is not contained in the minutes. As it seems, only § 12 was changed.

27 The entry at the *Amtsgericht Eisenach* is dated Oct. 7, 1901, whereas the *SP* Nov. 1901, No. 14, p. 119, speaks of November 7, 1901.

28 The first printing was in November 1900 (Kumm – Krusius, Nov. 20, 1900).

29 The *Johanneum* is a training institute for Christian workers, founded in 1886 by initiators of the Fellowship Movement (See *ELThG*, II, p. 1003).

30 I could not discover anything of that nature in the *SP* up to the end of 1904.

31 The sum is given as 1,000 Marks. This was the total sum for the whole period of study. The employment of Kumm as “traveling secretary” with a fixed salary, was postponed until the anticipated completion of his studies (*SPM Minutes*, p. 31).

32 Samuel – SPM, May 1 and 30, and June 9, 1901.

33 Most of the plans for self-supporting or industrial missions in the Guinnesses' tradition, or in the faith missions in general, never worked. Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 96–100; 1994, pp. 53f., for the concept of “industrial missions”.

progressed and he could send his manuscript for a Nubian dictionary to Kumm at the end of July 1901.<sup>34</sup>

### *Desperation in Aswan*

In Aswan, on the first days of May, Miss Hoffmann fell desperately ill and she had to be sent to *Alexandria* to recuperate. A three months' absence was expected to be necessary, but she returned after five weeks, though not being of much help to the Kupfernagels in her weakened state. Soon after the departure of Kumm, Mr. Kupfernagel began to write desperate letters to the SPM in Wiesbaden. A number of factors were taking their toll on Kupfernagel: He had been humbled by the fact that the supervision over Samuel was withdrawn from him. The increasing heat became unbearable, partly due to the inadequacy of the building and partly due to his hesitancy either to invest in artificial ventilation from the SPM's funds, or to take a holiday in cooler regions. The annual epidemic of Summer fever took the Kupfernagels by surprise, and in addition, Mrs. Kupfernagel was bitten by a scorpion. Most devastating must have been the news received by Kupfernagel on June 8 that the Sudan was closed to Christian mission agencies. Kupfernagel also became increasingly critical of the administration of the SPM in Germany. He expected the administrators to address the indigenous workers solely through him, which they did not always do. Needed funds often did not arrive in time; there were conflicts between Kupfernagel and the bookkeepers of the SPM; and his patience was strained by the delay in gaining permission for necessary construction work on the mission house and on the schools.<sup>35</sup> Unknown to the SPM board, around this time, Kupfernagel must have applied for the director's post at the *Syrian Orphanage* in Palestine, which he later withdrew out of loyalty to the SPM.<sup>36</sup>

In Germany, at a board meeting on July 16, 1901,<sup>37</sup> it was regretted that an immediate renovation of the mission houses in Aswan was held up by the lack of funds. However, the board recognized the urgent need for a capable, single missionary to be stationed in Aswan. Equally, a relocation of the German headquarters was requested by some members. However, as Krusius wanted to stay in Eisenach, relocation was not deemed desirable for the moment. Krusius wanted to prepare for university studies by making up for his missing matriculation examination. He

34 Samuel – Ziemendorff, July 2, 1901, and Samuel – Kumm, July 26, 1901.

35 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, May 9, and 23, June 8, 27, and July 11, 1901, and Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, May 15, June 4, 1901.

36 Kupfernagel – Richter, May 14, 1904 (Berlin Mission Archives, Kupfernagel Vol. I, p. 4). This is confirmed by the fact that two letters of reference were issued for Kupfernagel in August 1902. (Emilie Plath – Pastor, August 11, 1902, *ibid.*, p. 6; Pfarrer Gonnermann – Bruder, August 8, 1902, *ibid.*, p. 6a).

37 *SPM Minutes*, July 16, 1901, pp. 33–39.

gave up half of his salary, by which a candidate from *Barmen Mission*, Hermann Schnabel, was employed to do the bookkeeping under Krusius' supervision. In that summer, the first application from a female missionary candidate was received. She was Miss Lina Götte (1875–1954) from Wiesbaden, who was accepted, and she joined the Marienhaus for training.<sup>38</sup> She then worked in the office of the SPM under the direction of Miss Hedwig von Hahn.

### *Kumm in Heidelberg and England*

When Karl Kumm moved to Heidelberg in early June 1901, to take up his studies, his wife and child had moved into residence with Grattan Guinness at *Cliff College*, England.<sup>39</sup> Kumm registered for the remaining term in philology and studied English, geography, ancient history, and Arabic. He also spoke at different meetings in *Strasbourg*, *Kassel*, *Heidelberg*, and *Darmstadt*.<sup>40</sup> In early August, after the end of the semester, he moved to England, where he was delayed until the end of October.

Besides the family reunion, the purpose of his stay in Britain was research for his doctoral dissertation in London, advertising and collecting funds for the SPM in Great Britain, and taking advantage of the British advances in medicine for the removal of his appendix if necessary. Grattan Guinness had plans to make *Cliff* a base for German missionaries who needed to spend time in England, and a potential British branch of the SPM could have its headquarters there. Kumm was active in founding several *Helpers Unions* for the SPM in the area. They were to support some Germans who had been trained at *Cliff* and *Harley College*, and whom Kumm had in view for the SPM.<sup>41</sup>

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38 Lina Götte was born on Sept. 7, 1875, and came from a large family in *Hohenstein / Taunus*. They soon moved to Wiesbaden, where she went to school and learned bookkeeping as well as sewing. The evangelist Elias Schrenk was instrumental in her conversion. In 1894, she was among the first to sign the pledge of the newly founded *Christian Endeavor Youth Fellowship* in Wiesbaden. She was active there as an influential counselor among the girls, in Sunday school, at a gathering of children at the Christian Coffee Hall, and in the distribution of Christian papers. When accepted as a missionary candidate, she received missionary training for one and a half years together with Elisabeth Gonnermann. In addition to the secretarial work of the SPM, she also took care of the bookkeeping and the treasury from Oct. 1, 1902 onward. Due to her weak health, she was only sent out to Aswan in December 1907. From 1911 to 1914, she was entrusted with the direction of a new station in *Edfu*, which was exclusively staffed by female missionaries. After the interruption of missionary work by World War I, she worked in Aswan and *Daraw* again from 1925 to 1939. She died on March 31, 1954 in Wiesbaden (Cf. *Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten*, June 1955, pp. 3–6; *SP* Dec. 1907, pp. 91f.; CV 1907 in the file “Lina Götte”, Yellow Folder; and the list *Arbeiten die vom Marienhaus ausgehen*, Green Folder C/2, Heimatarbeit Wiesbaden).

39 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 3, and Cleverdon 1936, p. 37.

40 Kumm – Ziemendorff, July 4, and 29, 1901; Keßler, UA Heidelberg – Sauer, May 11, 1998.

41 Kumm – Ziemendorff, August 13, and October 8, 1901; Sudan Pioneer Mission: *General Summary of Accounts, Sept. 1901 to May 1903*.

A board meeting held at the end of August 1901 (in connection with the *Blankenburg Conference*) recorded the decision to move the administration and the correspondence address of the SPM to Wiesbaden, whereas the bookkeeping would remain in Eisenach. Board members also reported that complaints about Kumm's way of advertising the SPM or of recruiting were multiplying.<sup>42</sup>

### *Crisis in Aswan*

In Aswan, the month of August began with a trip by the Kupfernagels to *Alexandria* for the delivery of their baby. Theodor Kupfernagel was born there on August 5, 1901. Mr. Kupfernagel, returning to Aswan, had the girls' school renovated in Aswan and opened the new term of both the boys' and the girls' school. He asked the board to grant permission for the renovation in retrospect, as it had never been given. He also saw the need for a general policy decision on the goals and limits of the schoolwork.<sup>43</sup> At the end of August, Mrs. Kupfernagel returned to Aswan, which she was now able to regard as her home. Unfortunately, her daughter Lydia had contracted the contagious eye disease again and was infecting the family with a second cycle of the dreaded disease.<sup>44</sup> Regarding the missionary work, Johannes Kupfernagel hoped to reach out to *Abu Hoor*, the home town of Samuel, as most of the SPM's servants and construction workers came from there. He also proposed to the SPM board to establish a pharmacy, in addition to the sending of a medical doctor to Aswan. At the end of October, he complained that he had been without any response from Wiesbaden for two months. He had again run out of funds and the school was in a crisis.<sup>45</sup> The head teacher, Girgis, was requesting the dismissal of his brother in law, Habib, as a teacher, for reasons of incapability.<sup>46</sup> Kupfernagel also proposed to relocate the mission property, as he considered other properties, which he had suggested before the purchase of the present one, to be more suitable. In addition, he informed the board about a statement of Lord Cromer, that no missionary work south of *Wadi Halfa* and north of *Fashoda* would be allowed.<sup>47</sup> In late November 1901, Kupfernagel learned more about the circumstances of the founding of the SPM School, when the American missionary Dr. Murch from Luxor came to Aswan on itineration. Dr. Murch complained that, contrary to the promise of Grattan Guinness, the SPM had taken over the (Coptic) students of the *American Mission's* school in early 1900,

42 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 3, and *SP* Nov. 1901, p. 119; there is no entry in the SPM Minute Book.

43 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Aug. 7, and 29, 1901.

44 Martha Kupfernagel – von Hahn, Aug. 26, 1901.

45 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Sept. 19, and Kupfernagel – SPM board, October 2, and 29, 1901.

46 Girgis – SPM board, Oct. 31, 1901.

47 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, Oct. 29, 1901. Cf. *SP* 1902, p. 11.

which at that time had been without a teacher. Kupfernagel decided to return all Coptic boys at the SPM School to the *American School* at the end of the year.<sup>48</sup>

### *Addition and Removal of Staff*

On November 29, 1901, Miss Henriette von Blücher arrived in Aswan. She had been commissioned in Wiesbaden on October 20. She was a member of the Marienhaus and went out using her own means and on her own responsibility. For a long time, there had been the prospect of a missionary couple and several sisters being sent in Fall 1901, and of Pastor Dammann and Mr. Krusius from Eisenach coming on a visit to Aswan during the winter. However, these hopes were not fulfilled. The Kupfernagels learned more about the difficult situation of the SPM at home, from Miss von Blücher, in one week, than they had been able to learn from all the letters received since their departure from Germany.<sup>49</sup>

Habib, the teacher, was finally discharged at the beginning of December 1901. However, Kupfernagel was instrumental in opening a new locally sponsored school in *Daraw* for Habib. He did this without asking the SPM board and thought to present this fact to them as a “Christmas present”. He was surprised when he did not obtain their acknowledgement. In a somewhat contradictory manner, he counted *Daraw* among the stations of SPM missionary work, though officially the teacher Habib was no longer considered a worker of the SPM, but worked under Kupfernagel's personal direction.<sup>50</sup>

### **6.1.2 Kupfernagel and Samuel in Conflict**

In December 1901, Kupfernagel also presented serious accusations against Samuel Ali Hiseen: Samuel was no longer fellowshipping with the missionaries, he was working on Sundays, his children were not baptized, and he was still bearing his (Muslim) name *Mohammed*. Kupfernagel almost made a campaign out of his critical attitude to Samuel and kept at it, until he himself left the SPM. Kupfernagel felt called to investigate the “holiness” of the life of his indigenous coworker, whom he considered subordinate to himself.<sup>51</sup>

Samuel himself felt urged to write a long letter to Wiesbaden on the subject of “sanctification”. In a further “spiritual retrospect” on the year 1901, he referred to “personal

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48 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Nov. 23, 1901.

49 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, Dec. 5 and 7, 1901.

50 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 5, 1901, and Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 16, 1901.

51 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 7, 1901.

recognition of sin” and “repentance”. In addition, he regretted that he had found almost no time for visits in the villages, or for other missionary work, due to the demands of the agricultural work. He was discontented about the yield of the fields, as it was even necessary to buy additional feed for the animals. The construction work, such as producing thousands of clay bricks for a roof, also demanded his energy.<sup>52</sup> When Karl Kumm received news of Kupfernagel's accusations via the SPM office, he argued in favor of Samuel and against Kupfernagel. Kumm aimed at sending one or two missionaries to *Guzaira* and wanted to free Samuel for further literature colportage.<sup>53</sup>

### *Kumm in Jena*

Kumm had returned from England to Germany in late October of 1901 and settled in *Jena*. At the university there, he pursued further studies. He reported in mid December about having finished the first half of his dissertation. He started a local Fellowship Meeting (*Gemeinschaftsstunde*) with 18 participants, and preached at the local English Congregation. He also visited 15 universities during that winter, among others in *Leipzig*.<sup>54</sup> After Christmas, he spent a short two weeks in Great Britain with his wife. Lucy could now fully devote herself to writing a book on the Sudan,<sup>55</sup> as the Rev. Salt (at *Cliff College*) had been commissioned as a treasurer for the funds of the SPM in Great Britain.<sup>56</sup>

Early in the new year, Kumm responded to an inquiry from Ziemendorff, concerning a statement of Kumm in *Licht und Leben*, which is specified no further. Kumm maintained that he needed freedom of speech and countered that the other board members should also do something for the recruitment of new workers. He regretted that the *Helpers Union* in *Salzungen* had dissolved and that he had not heard anything about the others. Kumm mentioned visits to *Blankenburg*, *Eisenach* and *Leipzig* in January 1902.<sup>57</sup>

52 Samuel – SPM, Nov. 25, and Dec. 18 and 22, 1901.

53 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Dec. 20, 1901.

54 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Oct. 29, and Dec. 4, 1901. Cf. Hartleb, UB Archives Jena – Sauer, May 27, 1998.

55 She was actually never able to finish the manuscript, and the book was published by her husband, Karl Kumm: *The Sudan. A Short Compendium of Facts and Figures about the Land of Darkness*. London: Marshall, 1907, 224 pp.

56 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Jan. 13, 1902.

57 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Jan. 8, 1902.

### *Rearrangements at the Home Base*

At a board meeting on February 3, 1902,<sup>58</sup> the relationship between Wiesbaden and Eisenach was further regulated: The chairman, Ziemendorff, was additionally appointed as interim secretary of the SPM, whereas the post of the treasurer was left to Dammann. Kumm was to be employed as salaried “traveling secretary”, as soon as his family settled in Germany again. Ziemendorff was commissioned to inquire whether “the teacher Enderlin in Chrischona”<sup>59</sup> was still willing to be sent to Aswan. The board was urgently seeking a leader for the overall work in Egypt. Kupfernagel had already offered to step back into the second rank and was obviously no longer considered capable of leadership in Aswan. A renewed motion for the SPM to join the *Deutsche Orient-Mission* was rejected. In mid February, a new advertisement flyer for the SPM was published. It particularly called for a missionary doctor for Aswan. In England, Lucy Kumm had the annual accounts printed. On February 22, 1902, Karl Kumm finished his doctoral dissertation and handed it in.<sup>60</sup>

### *Conflicts in Aswan*

The new year in Aswan brought conflicts, confusion, and consternation. Kupfernagel denied that he was in conflict with Samuel, but continued criticizing him in the same letter, and raised the question whether indigenous workers were on equal level with the missionaries. Kupfernagel was also irritated that the board could show such little understanding for the German workers in the field.<sup>61</sup> The Kupfernagels became concerned about the health of Henriette von Blücher, who overstrained herself, and of Margarete Hoffmann. The Kupfernagels' children were also sick repeatedly.<sup>62</sup> Together, these missionaries asked the board to dismiss Oltmann, the construction helper, whereas Oltmann himself asked for employment as a colporteur.<sup>63</sup>

Samuel stopped construction work in *Guzaira*, as he disagreed with Kupfernagel as to how it should be done, and called for a decision to be made by the board. In February, he felt unhappy about the fruitlessness of the work in *Guzaira*. He had become thin, as had his cattle, if they had not already died. He thought donations were invested uselessly there. He was not unhappy when

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58 *SPM Minutes*, Feb. 3, 1902, pp. 40ff. This is the source for the whole paragraph, unless otherwise mentioned.

59 They confused him with Leopold E. Zimmerlin whom they had really intended to ask. Zimmerlin was a teacher at Chrischona and leader of the local prayer group for the Sudan (Blum-Ernst 1951, p. 15). Enderlin was about to finish his four years' training in Chrischona then (on July 27, 1902), and needed to do his one-year military service from Oct. 1, 1902 (CV Enderlin 1903, p. 1).

60 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Feb. 22, 1902. Kumm presumably first handed in his dissertation in Jena.

61 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Jan. 16, 1902.

62 Martha Kupfernagel – Kumm, Jan. 31, and Feb. 2, 1902.

Kupfernagel told him in March 1902 that his station, *Guzaira*, would be dissolved. However, he asked the board for definite instructions because he was not of one mind on the matter with Kupfernagel. Kupfernagel urged the board to give up *Guzaira* because it was not economical.<sup>64</sup>

### *Disorder at the Home Base*

Consequently, the board decided on its meeting on April 10, 1902, to give up the *Guzaira* station.<sup>65</sup> Further, the board disapproved of the engagement of Margarete Hoffmann to Mr. Antoni<sup>66</sup> in Aswan, and of the fact that it had only indirectly learned about it. The request of Kupfernagel to sell the property in Aswan and to transfer the SPM to the Sudan was deferred, as there was no basis for such a far-reaching decision. Concerning Oltmann, the board said that he should neither be dismissed nor employed as a colporteur. Concerning the home affairs, the last remnants of the "Eisenach headquarters" were dissolved: the bookkeeping was finally transferred to Wiesbaden too.

At the preceding General Assembly of the SPM on the same day, an accurate annual balance could not be given because of the disorderly bookkeeping in Eisenach. Kumm, who was supposed to report at the assembly, arrived too late, and could only subsequently reverse a vote of censure in the minutes, directed against him.<sup>67</sup>

Kumm spoke at a new *Helpers Union* and to students in *Darmstadt*, before leaving for England on April 28, 1902.<sup>68</sup> When he was gone, the board urged him to inform them about the projected date, when he would be definitely attaining his doctor's degree.<sup>69</sup>

### *Death in Aswan*

Around the same time, in Aswan, Miss von Blücher had written to the board, demanding the dismissal of Kumm. She also asked that the Kupfernagel family would be allowed to escape the Summer heat of Aswan. Kupfernagel did not feel that the board trusted him, and asked repeatedly for the return of his testimonials, which he had already requested a year earlier. He

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63 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, March 4, 1902; Oltmann – SPM board, s.a. [approx. March 1902].

64 Samuel – Kumm, Jan. 30, 1902; Samuel – SPM, Feb. 20, and March 16, 1902; Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, March 26, 1902.

65 This board meeting is recorded in the *SPM Minutes*, pp. 42ff.

66 Mr. Antoni was a former Roman Catholic monk, who had left his monastery in Cairo. His name seems to point to Italian descent (Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 5).

67 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 4f.

68 Kumm – Ziemendorff, May 12, 1902.

69 *SPM Minutes*, May 29, 1902, p. 45.

was disappointed about the board's earlier response concerning *Guzaira* and effectively wrote an ultimatum which called for the dissolution of the *Guzaira* station. Mrs. Kupfernagel was unwell, and the baby, Theodor, was very sick. On April 26, 1902, Theodor Kupfernagel died and was buried by his father.<sup>70</sup>

### 6.1.3 Field and Home Base in Crisis

#### *Samuel's Integrity in Question*

On May 1, 1902, exactly one year after its inauguration, the *Guzaira* station was dissolved.<sup>71</sup> Samuel temporarily remained there with his children. On May 14, he wrote to the board, applying for his discharge, or at least to be granted a leave of absence, as he was severely exhausted. However, the board suggested instead that he should possibly open the bookstore in Aswan, which had long been planned.<sup>72</sup> Kupfernagel had questioned Samuel again concerning the accusations brought forth against him. Samuel himself commented to the board that they did not know him personally and were thus unable to form a judgment of him. They were too far away, and he would not enter into a discussion of which he would not know the outcome. Instead, he asked them how he had supposedly compromised his faith. was supposed to have called in question his faith. Secondly, he argued that the use of his one-time name by others would not necessarily make him a Muslim. Kupfernagel reported to the board that Samuel wanted to be employed as an evangelist in *Abu Hoor*, and urged that Samuel should only be allowed to work under the supervision of a European missionary.<sup>73</sup>

#### *Summer Break 1902*

The month of May once again brought problems for the missionaries, because of the late arrival of their funds.<sup>74</sup> In June, everybody dispersed for their Summer vacations. The Kupfernagels, together with Miss von Blücher, were granted Summer leave in the Mediterranean. Kupfernagel still seemed reluctant to accept it, and only deemed it necessary because of the poor health of his children, which was quite costly to attend to. He claimed that the heat, even though it reached 55–60 °C at times, had become bearable through improvements on the building. However, his

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70 Von Blücher – Ziemendorff, May 25, 1902; Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, May 25, and 27, 1902.

71 The penalty for dissolving the contract, amounting to 840 German Marks, was paid by the women's branch (*SPM Minutes*, May 29, 1902, p. 45).

72 *SPM Minutes*, May 29, 1902, p. 45.

73 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, May 14, 1902; Samuel – SPM, May 14, 1902.

daughter was at the brink of death through dysentery and his wife was suffering from heart problems. On June 3, the German missionaries left for the Mediterranean. Only Margarete Hoffmann stayed in Aswan, as she was getting married on June 30, to Mr. Antoni.<sup>75</sup> Oltmann had been dismissed and was looking for a job in construction work in *Alexandria*.<sup>76</sup> The Kupfermagels went to *Abukir* at the invitation of Pastor Alfred Kaufmann, who was directing the German school in *Alexandria*, which the eldest son of the Kupfermagels attended. Miss von Blücher went to *Alexandria*, where she pursued her studies in Arabic. Before going on holiday, Kupfermagel for the first time proposed a specific new location for the SPM: the harbor town of *Suakin* on the Red Sea, from which one could advance inland to *Berber*. He felt that the *Bischareen* should be the group of people to be reached. He desired to go on an exploratory tour there after his holiday.<sup>77</sup> However, the board decided in July 1902 that missionary work among a nomadic people was not practical. Kupfermagel should stay in Aswan and possibly make an exploratory journey to Wadi Halfa.<sup>78</sup>

Samuel and his children left *Guzaira* on the June 4, 1902, for *Abu Hoor*. When asked by Kupfermagel for an address to send him his salary for two months, Samuel refused to give one. Then he became very sick, being bedridden for a whole month.<sup>79</sup>

#### *Antagonism against Kumm*

Meanwhile, Kupfermagel was contacting different missionaries in *Alexandria*. There, he gathered many "disclosures" about Karl Kumm. He reported home that the SPM was regarded as a competitor by the other mission agencies in Aswan, because of Kumm. He also discussed Samuel's case with them, and pursued his criticism of him. He learned that the *American Mission* was in the process of opening a bookstore in Aswan, thus reducing to nothing the plans of the SPM in the same direction.<sup>80</sup>

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74 Johannes Kupfermagel – Schnabel, May 14, 1902.

75 Johannes Kupfermagel – Ziemendorff, May 15 and 20, 1902; Martha Kupfermagel – Ziemendorff, May 22, 1902; von Blücher – Ziemendorff, May 16, 1902.

76 The decision was taken by the board on May 29, 1902 (*SPM Minutes*, p. 45). Oltmann was given a severance payment of 300 German Marks.

77 Johannes Kupfermagel – SPM board, June 16, 1902.

78 *SPM Minutes*, July 21, 1902, p. 47.

79 Johannes Kupfermagel – SPM board, June 16, 1902; Samuel – SPM board, July 5, 1902.

80 Johannes Kupfermagel – SPM board, letter 1, July 5, 1902.

### *Attempted Suicide of Henriette von Blücher*

However, it was another matter which would occupy all of Kupfernagel's attention in July 1902. He had already reported to the SPM about the depressions of Henriette von Blücher and her inability to cope with her Arabic studies. Then she suffered a breakdown on July 8, and was hospitalized in *Alexandria*.<sup>81</sup> Theodor Ziemendorff had already been informed about the critical condition of Miss von Blücher by her sister on July 2. He had ordered her immediate return to Germany because of the impending danger of suicide. H. von Blücher had already suffered from such conditions ten years earlier. Martha Kupfernagel was supposed to accompany Miss von Blücher to Germany.<sup>82</sup> However, before anything could be undertaken, Henriette von Blücher attempted to commit suicide, by shooting herself with a pistol. But she was found alive and recovered from the shots. Johannes Kupfernagel was kept busy by these events for two weeks, until Miss von Blücher was escorted back to Germany by her brother on July 26, 1902. Kupfernagel interpreted the events as the outcome of the deplorable state of affairs of the SPM, which, according to him, was all Kumm's fault. Kupfernagel then reported in detail to the board what he had gathered from third parties about "Kumm's earlier life in Egypt". He proposed to "tear down everything" which had been started on the wrong basis. Consequently, he was very relieved when he learned that the board had the intention of separating from Kumm.<sup>83</sup>

### *Kupfernagel – a Problem or an Adviser?*

In early August 1902, the school term began and only the teachers Girgis and Zamerida were present. Kupfernagel had stayed in Abukir because of rumors about Cholera in Aswan. When these proved false, he returned to Aswan in mid August. Very soon, the board requested him to come to Germany to report.<sup>84</sup>

On August 26, Samuel also returned to Aswan. Because of a letter from the board, he still considered himself a worker of the SPM, but by this time Kupfernagel no longer wanted to pay him his salary. Samuel sent his daughters to the school of the *American Mission* in Luxor. Kupfernagel left for Germany on September 20, 1902.<sup>85</sup>

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81 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, letter 3, July 5, and July 8, 1902.

82 Ziemendorff, Circular to board, July 6, 1902.

83 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, July 13, 1902; Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 26, and Aug. 2, 1902.

84 Girgis – Ziemendorff, Aug. 9, 1902; Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Aug. 25, 1902.

85 Samuel – SPM, Aug. 26, and Oct. 17, 1902.

The board in Germany regarded Kupfernagel as a great problem. To them, he was seeking a field-directed mission, which needed the board in Germany only for support. They had been very doubtful whether they should call him to Germany to make him their adviser for a “post Kumm era”. But then they had in fact called him.<sup>86</sup>

The board had co-opted Friedrich Autenrieth,<sup>87</sup> former missionary, as a counselor [*Missionsbeirat*]. As the board was not meeting often enough, the chairman, Ziemendorff, had been authorized to take urgent decisions<sup>88</sup> after consultation with Autenrieth and another friend of the SPM, R. Banfield,<sup>89</sup> an engineer from Wiesbaden. Ziemendorff was also given a paid secretary to help in his work.<sup>90</sup>

## 6.2 Separation from Karl Kumm (October 1902)

Less than two years after its establishment, the SPM board dismissed the mission's founder, Karl Kumm. In order for one to understand the reasons, both a chronological and an analytical approach are needed to complement each other. The chronological approach will show how the alienation developed. A closer analysis of the multiple factors of conflict, and of the shifting arguments, will reveal additional, underlying reasons for the break. Such an approach has not been taken before. Early official publications of the SPM camouflage both the fact that the board really “ejected” Kumm, and the reasons for it. Kumm,<sup>91</sup> and later English publications,<sup>92</sup> convey

86 Ziemendorff, Circular to board, July 31, 1902.

87 I assume that this was Friedrich Autenrieth, a former missionary of the *Basle Mission* in Cameroon. He had returned to Germany and that he was stationed in Wiesbaden as traveling secretary of the *Basle Mission* for Hessen. Since the founding of the *Basler Missionsverein* in Wiesbaden in 1870, a Basle Missionary was resident in Wiesbaden to serve the churches (Heinrich Steitz: *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Hessen Nassau*. Marburg: Trautvetter & Fischer, 1977, p. 375). Autenrieth is also listed in the list of activities of the *Marienhaus*. (*Arbeiten die vom Marienhaus ausgehen*, EMO Archives, Green Folder c/2). He is first mentioned in the *SPM Minutes* on May 29, 1902, and for the last time on Oct. 9, 1905. His presence at SPM board meetings was recorded on July 21, 1902, in Frankfurt, for the first time, and for the last time on May 17, 1905 (cf. *SPM Minutes*).

88 *SPM Minutes*, May 29, 1902, p. 45. This was a necessity, but also an indication of a further shift of power to Wiesbaden. The decisions had to be transmitted immediately to the other board members for confirmation.

89 Oberinspektor Robert Banfield had already previously done favors to the SPM. He had written to Egypt to find out about a Summer break (“Sommerfrische”) for Kupfernagel (R. Banfield, Wiesbaden – Astly p. Friend, Soc. In. des Eaux de Caire, Cairo, May 14, 1901). He had also published an article in the *Sudan Pioneer*, “Das Geschenk des Nil”, Jan. 1902, pp. 8–10. He was later asked to become an adviser of the SPM formally, but this did not materialize. However, he remained a sponsor of the SPM (See Chapter 6.3.3).

90 This was decided on a provisional basis on July 21, 1902 (*SPM Minutes*, p. 47).

91 Kumm: *Last Year's Soudan Pioneer Mission Story*, 1902, as quoted by Spertalis: *Karl Kumm*, 1994, p. 20.

92 Cleverdon, 1936, p. 40: “Karl felt he must sever his connection with the German SPM”. Maxwell (1954, p. 24) maintains: “As things developed in Germany, Karl found that the committee which had been formed had ideas about the work which made the name of the Mission unjustified; it would be no pioneering body, nor would it reach the Sudan. This led to his separating from it, and he and Lucy went over to England.”

the impression that Kumm alone had an active part, and was deciding to transfer himself to England, but they do not relate the painful expulsion.

### 6.2.1 The Growth of Alienation

#### *Kumm's Critics*

There had always been critical voices regarding Kumm, but the board had been loyal to him: already in October 1900, Chrischona board members,<sup>93</sup> and Gustav Warneck, had questioned the competence of Kumm. Warneck and the board of the DOM had called his plans unrealistic. But the SPM board had been satisfied with Kumm's explanations.<sup>94</sup>

Kumm's first major opponent within the SPM was Johannes Kupfernagel. Since April 1901, when Kumm had visited Aswan and had favored Samuel by setting up a separate station for him, Kupfernagel had held a grudge against Kumm.<sup>95</sup> In retrospect Kupfernagel claimed: “[Kumm's] plans for the future and his behavior towards us and the other workers, had opened our eyes [to the fact] that what he had told us and the board at home, had conveyed a totally wrong impression”.<sup>96</sup> But at the time, in his letters to Germany, Kupfernagel voiced his criticism of Kumm mostly indirectly and in private, over a period of half a year, in such remarks as: “His fiery spirit is moving forward too fast”,<sup>97</sup> and “he comes and claims ‘I have unlimited authority from the board, to do what I deem right’”.<sup>98</sup> In official letters to the board, Kupfernagel only recounted, without commenting, what he had learned about the founding of the SPM school,<sup>99</sup> and about promises Kumm had supposedly given to Oltmann, e.g. that he would be able to find

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93 See Chapter 5.3. The critics were H. Hermann and Dr. Christ.

94 See Chapters 4.4 and 4.5.

95 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 2.

96 “Seine Zukunftspläne und sein Verhalten zu uns und den anderen Mitarbeitern ... öffneten uns die Augen ... daß die bisherigen falschen Darstellungen uns gegenüber und der heimischen Missionsverwaltung gegenüber ein völlig falsches Bild ergeben hatten” (Johannes Kupfernagel: Report to the board, Oct. 2, 1902).

97 Johannes Kupfernagel – Krusius, May 9, 1901. Kupfernagel commented on the visit of Kumm to Aswan: “Vielleicht wissen Sie auch, daß man in seiner Gegenwart zum anhaltenden stillen festen Arbeiten – im Sitzen – (Sein Feuergeist geht zu scharf vorwärts.) schlecht kommt. ... Des lieben Bruder Kumm Anwesenheit hat uns ja ... recht viel Freude gemacht.”

98 Johannes Kupfernagel – Krusius, May 24, 1901: “Brd. Kumm kommt, und sagt, ‘Ich habe *unumschränkte* Vollmacht vom Vorstande, zu tun was ich für gut befinde’” (Emphasis in original). Kupfernagel also evidenced hurt that Kumm had supposedly said to Oltmann, that the Kupfernagels would not be able to do shopping economically.

99 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, Nov. 23, 1901.

work in *Alexandria* or Cairo and would later be employed as a scripture colporteur by the SPM.<sup>100</sup>

The board was obviously seeing a need for the personal development of Kumm regarding reliability and discipline, and hoped this would be attained by commissioning him for doctoral studies in May 1901.<sup>101</sup> Then, in August 1901, increasing complaints in Germany about Kumm's "way of advertising the SPM" were registered by the board.<sup>102</sup> The board was further irritated by the way an appeal for workers by Kumm was published in *Licht und Leben* early in 1902.<sup>103</sup> The climax of public criticism was the attempted vote of no confidence against Kumm at the General Assembly of the SPM on April 10, 1902.<sup>104</sup>

Then, from Aswan, came complaints on April 25, 1902, that Kumm had "created many problems for the SPM", suggesting that he be dismissed.<sup>105</sup> This was quickly backed up by the warning, by the German workers in Aswan, that they would resign if Kumm was sent out to Aswan again (something that nobody was planning).<sup>106</sup> Correspondence was forwarded, blaming

100 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, June 4, 1901; Johannes Kupfernagel, Monthly report for February 1902, on March 4, 1902; Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 5, 1902; cf. Oltmann – SPM, March 1902 [not dated], and Oltmann – Ziemendorff, Sept. [ca. 20], 1902.

101 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 2: "Von Kumm wird gewünscht, dass er den Doktor macht, um ihn zu strammer Arbeit zu bringen nach dem unregelmässigen Reiseleben. Bei seiner Jugend hofft man, dass durch Erziehung zur gründlichen Arbeit diese begabte Natur für seine Aufgabe wirklich brauchbar werden könne."

102 *SPM Minutes*, Aug. 28, 1901. Kumm was not present at this meeting, as he was by then in England.

103 In *LuL* 1902, p. 79, Dammann quoted: "Bruder Kumm schreibt: Lieber Bruder Dammann! Wie du weißt, haben wir für unsere Station El Geseirah zwei neue unverheiratete Mitarbeiter nötig. ... Philologe ... Gärtner .... Vielleicht kannst Du uns durch Dein 'Licht u Leben' zwei derartige Männer verschaffen." – I [C.S.] cannot see anything wrong with such an appeal, except that it sounds a little clumsy to reprint a letter instead of reformulating it. Ziemendorff seems to have written to Kumm immediately concerning this matter. For Kumm answered (Kumm – Ziemendorff, Jan. 8, 1902): "Die Worte in Licht und Leben, wie ich sie daselbst las, setzten mich allerdings auch etwas in Erstaunen". Kumm assured Ziemendorff that, had he remembered it, he would have asked the board beforehand. The criticism must have been that he highhandedly appealed for workers, for he responded that he needed freedom in these matters; how else could he have joy and freedom in speaking? He felt that the two workers were needed and of course, the other board members needed to help too in finding them.

104 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 4. Kumm was supposed to report and had arrived too late: "In der Generalversammlung am 10. April 1903 [typing error for 1902] in Wiesbaden, Rheinstr. 54, Lokal des C.V.j.M. erscheint Kumm, der Bericht geben soll, viel zu spät. Herr Fink beantragt deshalb zu Protokoll ein Misstrauensvotum gegen ihn. Bei der Verlesung des Protokolls am Schluss verlangt der inzwischen erschienene Kumm, dass dieser Passus wieder aus dem Protokoll gestrichen wird. Seinem Wunsch wird nach eingehenden Erörterungen nachgegeben." The merchant Adolf Fink, a member of the SPM association, had been commissioned to audit the annual financial statement. The number of people attending was not given. In the following years, the members present (including the board) numbered 24–25. The *Minutes of the General Assembly* only state: "1. Jahresbericht. Der Vorsitzende, Herr Pfarrer Ziemendorff erstattet denselben an Stelle des Reise-Sekretärs Kumm" (EMO Archives, Green Folders, B, Satzungen und Protokolle Mitgl. Vers. 1902–1968).

105 Henriette von Blücher – Ziemendorff, April 25, 1902. H. v. Blücher wrote in the place of Kupfernagel, who was extremely frustrated about a decision of the board. Concerning Kumm she commented: "Die Mission kann nur gedeihen, wenn eine Wandlung geschaffen wird".

106 Henriette von Blücher – Mrs. Ziemendorff, quoted in a Circular of Ziemendorff to the board (June 10, 1902, reproduced by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 6): "An Herrn Kumm wird man ja wohl nicht wieder dafür denken.

Kumm for the hardships Kupfernagel was suffering. Ziemendorff rightly unveiled this as intrigues by Kupfernagel. Though not enthusiastic about Kumm, he still protected him as a fellow board member on June 10, 1902. He considered, on the contrary, dismissing Kupfernagel.<sup>107</sup> Wittekindt seemed to have argued in favor of Kupfernagel. He regarded the developments as a punishment of God for too great a carelessness and credulity when engaging in the SPM. The board had been “dependent” on Kumm. Ziemendorff countered in his Circular on July 6, 1902, that writing in this vein to Kupfernagel would necessarily mean dropping Kumm.<sup>108</sup> Wittekindt must have written to Kupfernagel in such a manner, as Kupfernagel responded on August 2, 1902: “Our mission can survive without Mr. Kumm”.<sup>109</sup>

### *Kumm in England*

Kumm was far removed from all this, as he had left again for Great Britain on April 28, 1902. He was moving very independently there in the interests of the SPM. Already in the previous summer, he had set up the *British Helpers Unions*.<sup>110</sup> In early January 1902, he had commissioned a treasurer for registering donations in Great Britain, who would substitute for his overworked wife Lucy.<sup>111</sup> Donations were flowing freely and he could repeatedly transfer money

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Sollte das der Fall sein, so äusserte sich Kupfernagel dahin, dass er dann um seine Entlassung einkommen würde und auf mein Hiersein würde ich dann auch bitten, nicht zu rechnen.”

107 Ziemendorff suggested in a Circular to the board on June 10, 1902 (Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 7) that Kupfernagel should be exhorted, “dass er sich enthalten muss, Mitglieder des Vorstands (Bruder Kumm) in Briefen und Reden bloss zu stellen. ... Schreibt doch die Schwester aus Jerusalem [wo H.v. Blücher eine Bibelfrau im ‘Syrischen Waisenhaus’ Talita Kumi angefordert hatte] in einem Brief, den Kupfernagel sich nicht schämte beilegen zu lassen (in Fräulein von Blüchers Brief) sie könne nur dann eine Bibelfrau besorgen, wenn die S.P.M. nicht mehr unter der Leitung des Herrn Krumm [sic! sie meint Kumm] stehe, der den (sehr anerkannten) Herrn Kupfernagel so schlecht behandelt und ihn habe darben lassen. Das habe sie von zwei Pastoren oder Personen gehört, die sich durch Augenschein selbst überzeugt. Fräulein von Blücher fügt in ihrer Unschuld hinzu: Kupfernagels lassen den Brief mitgehen als einen von den verschiedenen derartigen, die sie über Herrn Kumm erhalten. Nun mag man über Kumm denken, was man will. Aber das ist doch Illoyalität und Indiscretion gegen ein Mitglied des Vorstands auf die Spitze getrieben, denn die Briefe sind doch nur ein Echo von Kupfernagels Auslassungen, woher sollen die zwei oder mehr Personen dergleichen sonst wissen?! Gott gebe in Gnaden, dass diese bösen Geschichten [sic!] sich heilen lässt, sonst müssen wir es eben ohne Kupfernagel tun, d.h. von vorne anfangen.”

108 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, July 6, 1902, reproduced in Hohenlohe, *Material*, pp. 8f. Ziemendorff is answering Wittekindt's comments in the Circular of June 10, 1902. Wittekindt's arguments can only be reconstructed from the response given by Ziemendorff, as the originals are not preserved. Wittekindt was still dealing more mildly with Kupfernagel than with either Kumm or Samuel on December 9, 1903, when he noted on the Circular of Nov. 22/23, 1903: “Mit Kupfernagel muß man rücksichtsvoll sein, vor allem die, die ihn berufen haben”.

109 “Unsere Mission kann ohne Herrn Kumm bestehen. Meines Dafürhaltens ist derselbe mit seinen unlauteren Absichten und Ratschlägen der Bann auf unserer Mission gewesen. Insofern waren schon die Anfänge unserer Arbeit Schäden mit zu viel Schein und Prunk nach außen ...” (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Aug. 2, 1902).

110 Kumm was in Great Britain from early August to late October 1901 (Kumm – Ziemendorff, Aug. 13, 1901 and Oct. 8, 1901).

111 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Jan. 13, 1902. This was the Rev. J. Salt at *Cliff College*.

to Wiesbaden. He held a Sudan conference at *Cliff* on May 14, 1902 with several speakers who had tried to enter the Sudan via the Niger.<sup>112</sup> On May 27, 1902, the second child of the Kumms was born prematurely, and everybody expected little Karl junior to die. Karl Kumm had planned to leave for Germany the next day, but then stayed in Great Britain all Summer and had to delay the examinations for his doctoral degree.<sup>113</sup> He used the time in England to consolidate the *English Branch* of the SPM, which, as it appears, had an additional strategy for reaching the Sudan: *Adamawa* in the Sudan was to be reached via the Niger and the *Benue*. Kumm also intended to recruit a secretary for the *English Branch* of the SPM, having in mind Mr. Lewis Nott, a former CMS missionary to Nigeria.<sup>114</sup> However, he himself with his family wanted to return to Germany in September 1902.<sup>115</sup> By July 24, 1902, *Cliff House* had been definitely offered to the SPM. Kumm already had caused three German students to come to *Cliff* and hoped for twelve more. They would be taught Bible and English there. Kumm hoped to recruit new workers for the SPM from their midst and from British universities. The new training institution at *Cliff* and the British SPM would need a tutor, a secretary, and a traveling secretary.<sup>116</sup> Thus, Kumm saw that he had quite some work to do before he could return to Germany.<sup>117</sup>

### *The Turning of the Tide*

Meanwhile, in June 1902, Kupfernagel in Egypt had established contacts with other missionaries in *Alexandria*. He related to the board on July 5, 1902 that Mr. Irrsich (British and Foreign Bible Society) and Mr. Schlotthauer, a former *Apostle's Road* missionary from *Chrischona*, were, together with the missionary community, strongly disapproving of the circumstances of the founding of the SPM and of its "intrusion" into the territory of the *American Mission*. When Kupfernagel was visiting Mrs. and Mr. Dickins of the NAM, the former superior of Karl Kumm within the NAM, he "had to hear many unpleasant things". Thus, he was fearing further

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112 Kumm – Ziemendorff, May 12, 1902. The speakers were Mr. Lewis Nott (formerly CMS *Niger Mission*), the Anglican Bishop Tugwell from West Africa and Mr. W.G. Pope (NAM).

113 Kumm – Ziemendorff, May 28, 1902 and June 21, 1902.

114 There is no documentation regarding whether Nott really had become secretary then. He became a member of the British SPM Council which was established in November 1902. In the Minutes of Nov. 13, 1902 Pope added the title "secretary" to his own name. In an appeal of the SUM, *To all people*, in 1904, Nott signed as "Secretary" of the London Council of the SUM. This points to a full time position, as the Scotch and Irish Councils only had "Honorary Secretaries".

115 Kumm – Ziemendorff, June 21, 1902.

116 On Sept. 15, 1902, Mr. W.G. Pope, a former missionary of the NAM, started working half time for the British SPM as traveling secretary or "deputation missionary". The other half of his time was devoted to *Cliff College* (*Minutes of British SPM 1902-04*), referring to a letter of Jan. 19, 1903). The German SPM was probably not aware that Kumm had already employed personnel in England.

117 Kumm – Ziemendorff, July 24, 1902.

“disclosures”, if he was to visit the *American Mission*.<sup>118</sup> Only on July 13, 1902, did he furnish full details against Kumm, accusing him of having broken the regulations of the NAM when marrying, and of leaving this mission agency. The attempted suicide of Miss von Blücher and the earlier desperation of all the mission workers were all Kumm's fault. All that Kumm had built up, should be torn down. The board should contact Dickins, Schlotthauer, Irrsich, and Pastor Kaufmann in *Alexandria*, concerning the founder [Kumm], the founding, and the practicality or impracticality of the SPM.<sup>119</sup>

When the SPM board met in Frankfurt on July 21, 1902, they commissioned Wittekindt to write to Kumm and “to uncover his mistakes fraternally”.<sup>120</sup> They probably had not yet received Kupfernagel's letter of July 13 with the full details. After receipt, Ziemendorff wrote to the NAM in Great Britain regarding the charges against Kumm. Ziemendorff related further accusations in a letter by Mrs. Kupfernagel to the board members on July 31, 1902, namely that Rev. Hooper in *Alexandria* was claiming that Kumm had been engaged to another girl at the time of his wedding.

At least for Ziemendorff, the tide had now turned against Kumm. To these “old stories” was added “what Kumm had done on the field”. Ziemendorff probably referred to the setting up of the *Guzaira* station. Though Ziemendorff dissociated himself from the way these charges against Kumm were passed on, he then proceeded to ask the board members “whether any among us would be willing to defend brother Kumm against this as before ... or maybe have the confidence that all these accusations had no substance?”<sup>121</sup>

Kumm's letter of July 24, 1902, on the developments in England, and on the status of his doctoral work, also caused some consternation. Ziemendorff had understood that Kumm had become director of *Cliff House* (a statement which Kumm had not explicitly written). Ziemendorff had told Kumm that the board would not take responsibility for his “English enterprises”, but that the public would see it differently, because Kumm was the secretary of the

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118 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 5, 1902.

119 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 13, 1902.

120 *SPM Minutes*, July 21, 1902, p. 47: “1. Die Stellung des Reisesekretärs: Br. Wittekindt wird beauftragt dem Br. Kumm im Namen des Vorstandes zu schreiben über seine Tätigkeit in der Sud. M. und ihm d. gemachten Fehler brüderlich aufzudecken”.

121 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, July 31, 1902: “Zu diesen alten Geschichten kommt die Nachwirkung dessen, was Kumm draussen getan, und was wir alle kennen. Berührt nun die Art, wie die Geschichten weitergegeben werden, auch recht unangenehm, so möchte ich doch fragen, ob einer unter uns es unternehmen wollte, Bruder Kumm dagegen zu verteidigen wie bisher – oder auch nur die Zuversicht hat, dass sich alle diese Anklagen in Nichts auflösen werden?” (Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 10).

German SPM. He should himself sort out this “imbalanced situation”. Ziemendorff now thought that the mild attitude pursued at the earlier board meeting could not be maintained anymore.<sup>122</sup>

Kumm replied to Ziemendorff immediately on August 2. He focused on the deplorable situation of the SPM workers in Egypt and the seeming breakdown of the work there. Concerning himself, he added that he would be able to come to Germany any time, unhindered by the *English Branch* of the SPM. “Of course as a German I belong to the German SPM. I will be taking my doctoral exams – DV – as soon as possible. Also I am not director of *Cliff* [Guinness was director for life], and thus not indispensable”. *Cliff* was only being offered for use to the SPM. Feeling the delicacy of the situation, Kumm appealed to Ziemendorff, “not to take any rushed steps”, before they had talked face to face. He claimed that his stay in England was with Ziemendorff's full agreement. He hoped that at least the board could agree on a common goal and act in unity.<sup>123</sup>

#### *Demands and Counter-Demands*

Matters were starting to escalate then. Wittekindt – as commissioned – had written a letter to Kumm, which was signed by all the board members. Kumm must have come for a short visit to Germany before August 17, 1902, where the letter was handed to him personally by Dammann in Eisenach. According to Dammann, Kumm was shattered and found the thought of a possible separation from the SPM unbearable.<sup>124</sup> Kumm then took the initiative and wrote to Ziemendorff on August 19 that he had been offered the directorship of *Cliff House* by his father in law on August 17. Nevertheless, he would come to Germany and take up his position as traveling secretary under the one condition, “that the other members of the SPM board were in favor of a decided advance in Germany”.<sup>125</sup> Both Dammann and Ziemendorff were – according to their own statements – confused and unable to understand Kumm. Ziemendorff saw an inherent reproach of the board in Kumm's demand, which he thought they could not accept. He suggested that they write to Kumm that they would not want to hinder him from taking responsibility for

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122 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, July 31, 1902 (Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 11): “Das sieht alles sehr befremdlich aus. Ich schrieb ihm, daß weder ich, noch schwerlich die Brüder vom Vorstand, die Verantwortung für seine englischen Unternehmungen übernehmen würden und dass vor der Oeffentlichkeit sie doch auf uns fallen muss, da er unser Sekretär sei. Er möge aus diesem schiefen Verhältnis selbst die Konsequenz ziehen. ... Mir scheint die Milde, die wir in Frankfurt seinetwegen wollten walten lassen, wird jetzt nicht mehr durchzuhalten sein. Doch ich will mit meinem Urteil nicht vorgreifen.”

123 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Aug. 2, 1902.

124 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 11. The letter by Wittekindt to Kumm is not preserved.

125 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Aug. 22, 1902 (Wengen, Switzerland), reproduced by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 12.

*Cliff*. Not much happened, owing to the holiday season. Lucy Kumm wrote to Mrs. Ziemendorff, asking what the board requested of her husband. Mrs. Ziemendorff explained what Wittekindt had requested. By September 18, 1902, Ziemendorff was back in Wiesbaden.<sup>126</sup> He had in the meantime received a response from Edward Glenny, the director of the NAM, indicating that Kumm had left the NAM without having submitted a regular resignation, and that to them the dissolution of his previous engagement seemed dishonorable. Ziemendorff, not having heard further from Kumm, had the impression that he was unwilling to respond to their criticism. But Kumm must have responded to some other board member (probably Dammann), that a written response would not be possible.<sup>127</sup> Ziemendorff, unaware of this, circulated a letter dismissing Kumm among the board members for their signature. He felt that maintaining their previous “fraternal” attitude had become impossible, “unless they wanted to degrade themselves in the eyes of the young man”. In the letter to Kumm, the reasons for his dismissal were Kumm's (assumed) unwillingness to respond to the criticism, and “certain events of [his] earlier life in England and Egypt”.<sup>128</sup> But the letter was never sent, because Dammann hoped for a “parting in peace” after a face-to-face encounter with Kumm.

### *The Separation*

Kumm returned to Germany on September 18, 1902.<sup>129</sup> He wrote to Ziemendorff the next day that he had not accepted the directorship of *Cliff*, as he felt he belonged to the German branch of the SPM. He wanted to meet Ziemendorff. He also felt an urgent need for the board, “to consult on the future of the SPM in Germany”. Dammann's presence at such an important meeting was indispensable to him. As he was aware of Dammann's schedule which would include an evangelistic tour starting soon, he proposed a board meeting on the “next Wednesday” (September 24) in *Bebra*.

But the meeting was eventually only scheduled for October 2, 1902, in Kassel, probably with regard to the arrival of Kupfernagel from Egypt. The minutes<sup>130</sup> report that Kumm had visited Ziemendorff and Wittekindt several days before. He admitted before the board that he had committed “some mistakes”, and “that he would repent of them”. But he did not go into details on the charges against him. At the board meeting in Kassel, all the male members were present,

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126 On that date, Ziemendorff wrote a letter to the board (reproduced by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 12), from which the following is taken.

127 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 2, 1902.

128 The letter is reproduced by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 13.

129 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Sept. 19, 1902 (EMO Archives). The following is taken from this letter.

with the exception of Dammann.<sup>131</sup> Kumm joined late at 5 p.m., probably because he was asked to do so. In addition, Kupfernagel from Aswan was present. The minutes only give a summary report. But there is a lengthy undated document among the letters of Kupfernagel, which he must have presented at that meeting.<sup>132</sup>

In it, he summarized the beginnings of the SPM in Egypt in darkest colors. He adopted the perspective of the strongest critics as his own, relying on their statements. He raised massive accusations against Karl Kumm, in the main concerning his “unfaithfulness” toward the NAM, and the circumstances of the founding of the SPM. He then maintained that Aswan was not the right place for a mission to the Sudan. Finally, he proposed to transfer the missionary work to the furthest corner of German East Africa and to join the *German East Africa Mission* for that purpose.<sup>133</sup>

Then, the board must have discussed how to deal with Kumm. In essence, it must have been what they had already decided beforehand: to confront Kumm personally with his discharge, as had been drafted by Ziemendorff on Sept. 18, 1902. The minutes summarize that the board only declared to Kumm that, since he had not answered the letter which Wittekindt had written to him, the board and the *Helpers Unions* could no longer have confidence in Kumm. The board could no longer cooperate with Kumm because of his earlier actions, and because of his bad reputation in Egypt dating from his time with the *North Africa Mission*.<sup>134</sup>

Kumm tried to justify himself. But the board was not satisfied: “they were not convinced of a change of heart and that Kumm had really humbled himself”. They advised him to withdraw from public activities and “to let himself be molded by the Lord, until he would be called into the work by the Lord”. It was decided to publish, accordingly, in the *Sudan Pionier*, “that Mr. Kumm

130 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 2, 1902, p. 48. The following is taken from these minutes.

131 Dammann had already written to Ziemendorff on Sept. 18, 1902, that he planned an evangelistic campaign in *Hamburg and Düsseldorf* from Sept. 20 to Oct. 19, and a previously-arranged burial would prevent him from coming to any board meeting during that time.

132 The document in the handwriting of Kupfernagel starts: “Keine geringe Aufgabe ist mir zu theil geworden ...” and comprises ten pages bound with thread (EMO Archives, Green Folder E I, I/1 “Berichte und Briefe Assuan 1900–1903”). The opening phrase speaks of the author being in the midst of those deliberating together on the SPM. As Kupfernagel had planned to depart from Alexandria on September 20 (Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Aug. 25, 1902), he probably did not reach Kassel, Germany before September 28. The meeting in *Kassel* on October 2 thus was his first opportunity to present his report. The report is signed as “read” by Sartorius and Ulrich. I assume that the document was circulated again after the board meeting, because it was marked with pencil notes, which would probably not have been given to Kupfernagel.

133 The *Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Ostafrika* had been founded in 1886 under the influence of the colonial movement, but did not find sufficient support there, was adopted by Bodelschwing in *Bethel* and later was called the *Bethel-Mission* (LZW, p. 62f.).

134 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 2, 1902, p. 48 (see Appendix I).

had departed from the board and from his position as traveling secretary in our mission".<sup>135</sup> The *Sudan Pionier* of November 1902 reported "From the board".<sup>136</sup>

"The deliberations and decisions of the committee meeting on October 2 of this year have led to the fact that the traveling secretary Mr. Kumm has laid down his office and has left<sup>137</sup> the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*. The entire committee didn't feel able anymore, to support in public, the manner in which Mr. Kumm was conducting his office, and the way he wanted to further the work of the mission. As Mr. Kumm did not want to make any concessions, and would not give evidence of future changes, there was nothing left, but this separation, which is painful to all of us."

The board hurried to add that it was "of strong confidence that the work would in no way suffer from this change". In the usual list of board members in the *Sudan Pionier* Kumm's name was consequently deleted. The same happened to his wife, concerning the board of the women's branch. What was termed the "resignation" of Kumm or the "separation" from him, was in fact the expulsion of both Karl and Lucy Kumm, the founders of the SPM.

#### *The Aftermath of Separation*

The separation from Kumm had a lengthy aftermath. Kupfernagel toured all the *Helpers Unions* in Germany. He reported to the board the general assent of the *Helpers Unions* to the decision. The only objection he mentioned was that of Krusius, whom he did not consider influential.<sup>138</sup> But when Enderlin, the missionary, toured among the Fellowships in Silesia in 1904, he reported: "everywhere they ask about Kumm".<sup>139</sup>

After the publication of the notice in the *Sudan Pionier*, on November 21, 1902, Kumm visited Dammann on his way from England to Jena. Kumm asked to issue an additional declaration in the *Sudan Pionier* and also in *Licht und Leben*, drafted by himself. Dammann, who had not been present at the "expulsion" meeting, felt that the notice in the *Sudan Pionier* had been too harsh and had left room for erroneous assumptions. Dammann even hoped that the

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135 This entry of the Minutes is signed with six names: Kupfernagel (even though he was not a board member), Ziemendorff, Sartorius, Wittekindt, Dammann (even though he was not present), and Ulrich. Probably the signing took place at the next meeting in Wiesbaden, where the Minutes book was deposited. The undersigned were all present there. It is interesting to note that no women were present (or mentioned).

136 *SP* Nov. 1902, No. 11, pp. 87f. This declaration was signed as of October 26, 1902. The following is taken from there. Translation C.S.

137 The German term "ausgeschieden ist" is a neutral term, which leaves open the reason for the leaving. It has a slightly active connotation and no precise equivalent in English. Above, it was translated as "departed from".

138 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Oct. 8 and Oct. 30, 1902. He reported that he did not meet the Dammanns, but that their daughter was in agreement too. Krusius was the only one who had some personal insight into Kumm's earlier life in Egypt.

139 Whatever that comment might mean! Report on deputation by Enderlin to Ziemendorff, ca. Sept. 12, 1904 (SPM Circulars). "Überall fragt man nach Kumm".

board could approach Kumm again after he had finished his doctorate. Of course, he would have to work according to different principles, in "a calm and healthy manner". The board would have "to build a golden bridge for him". They should "let reign as much mildness as possible". Ulrich would agree with that, possibly Wittekindt too.<sup>140</sup>

But Wittekindt and Sartorius seemed to have overruled this petition. Sartorius even wanted to prevent Kumm's declaration from being printed in *Licht und Leben*, without previous knowledge of the content by the SPM board.<sup>141</sup> The declaration did not appear in the *Sudan Pionier*. But at the General Assembly of the SPM on March 26, 1903, the annual report included a clarifying statement, which was then printed in the *Sudan Pionier* in May 1903:

Concerning "the separation from the founder of the mission, Mr. Kumm ... it was further mentioned, that his highhanded proceeding, without permission from the board, had made a further cooperation with him impossible. He saw the mission agency as his personal affair, to which the board was only to give a name. In financial respects, there had never been anything to blame on him. It was further decided, to declare, that the general assembly was in complete agreement with the proceedings of the board in this matter."<sup>142</sup> The time that had elapsed, obviously had made it easier to speak in fairer terms about the event.

Half a year later, Wittekindt was angry about an appeal by Kumm for workers in Adamawa issued in *Licht und Leben*,<sup>143</sup> and he demanded that Dammann should declare his position in this matter: "If he has reached out his hand to Kumm by this article, he has acted unfraternally against us and this is not right". Wittekindt was afraid that his colleagues on the board, Dammann and

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140 Dammann – Ziemendorff, Nov. 21, 1902: "Ich hoffe, daß wir, wenn er den Dr. gemacht, ihm uns wieder nähern können. Ich meine, er sollte dann freilich mit anderen Grundsätzen in die Mission gehen und arbeiten in ruhiger und gesunder Weise. Wir müssen ihm freilich eine goldene Brücke bauen. Der Artikel im S.P. war meines Erachtens zu scharf und ließ irriige Auffassung zu. Wir vergeben uns gar nichts, wenn wir die beiliegende Erklärung in den S.P. aufnehmen. Ich bitte dich dringend und herzlich darum. Er hat gewiß nichts dagegen, wenn Du vielleicht eine kleine Änderung vernehmen solltest. Er bat mich auch in L.u.L. eine ähnlich Erklärung aufnehmen zu wollen. Lieber Bruder Z., wir wollen alle mögliche Milde walten lassen. Seine augenblickliche Lage kann einem wohl zu Herzen gehen. Br. Ulrich in Kassel denkt gerade so wie ich, ich glaube Wittekindt auch. ... Dein Dammann."

141 Ziemendorff – Wittekindt / Sartorius, Dec. 6, 1902 (SPM Circulars).

142 SP May 1903, No. 5, pp. 34f.: "die Trennung von dem Gründer der Mission, Herrn Kumm. Inbezug auf letzteren wurde noch erwähnt, daß sein eigenmächtiges Vorgehen ohne Bewilligung des Vorstandes ein ferneres Zusammenarbeiten mit ihm unmöglich machte; er sah die Mission als seine persönliche Sache an, zu welcher der Vorstand nur den Namen hergeben sollte. In finanzieller Beziehung hat nie etwas gegen ihn vorgelegen. Beschlossen wurde noch zu erklären, daß die Mitgliederversammlung mit dem Vorgehen des Aufsichtsrats in dieser Sache völlig einverstanden ist." A similar but shorter statement, reprinted in Appendix I, is contained in the minutes of the General Assembly, March 26, 1903 (EMO Archives, Green Folder, B, Satzungen und Protokolle 1902–1968).

143 Wittekindt – Ziemendorff, Oct. 10, 1903. The following is taken from that letter.

Ulrich, were not strong enough to stand up against Kumm.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, Ulrich had been in favor of cooperating with Kumm again, already in February 1903, which was heavily criticized by Kupfernagel.<sup>145</sup>

Even years later, Sartorius harbored a fear of “Kumm’s enthusiasm”<sup>146</sup> and coined the term “Kummism” to brand “human enthusiasm”.<sup>147</sup> There was a strong over-sensibility towards any kind of “enthusiasm” at that time, due to the spread of the Pentecostal movement in Germany. The events at Kassel, after July 1907, then led to heavy pressure, from the consistory of the *Hessen-Nassauische Landeskirche*, on Sartorius as a leader of the Fellowship Movement.<sup>148</sup>

### 6.2.2 The Critical Factors

There was more to the conflict between Kumm and the SPM board than the official statements revealed. A brief look at the developments already suggests this. A thorough analysis of the critical factors will provide the detailed evidence.<sup>149</sup> The three main charges against Kumm, given as official reasons for his dismissal, were: (1) Highhandedness or unauthorized action; (2) Inappropriate advertising of the SPM; and (3) unacceptable actions in earlier years.

The charges lay on three different levels: The first was an internal affair of the SPM leadership, the second involved the supporters in Germany, and the third involved other missionary societies in Egypt.

#### *The Charge of Highhandedness and Unauthorized Action*

The charge against Kumm of highhanded proceeding without authorization from the board was further specified: “He saw the Mission as his personal affair, for which the board was only to

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144 Wittekindt – Ziemendorff, Oct. 10, 1903. Wittekindt appealed to Ziemendorff to write to Dammann in this matter. Dammann, however, was not uncritical of Kumm and the beginnings of the SPM. On Dec. 3, 1903 he wrote to Ziemendorff that in retrospect he thought the work had been started much too hastily and unpreparedly and had in the main issued from human enthusiasm (SPM Circulars). As for Wittekindt, he was a dominating personality, who lacked any diplomacy (A. Roth, 1924, pp. 94, 114, 143).

145 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Feb. 14, 1903.

146 In a note by Sartorius on a Circular of Nov. 18, 1905 concerning the application of a Dr. Heider that the SPM should open a field in Adamawa together with Dr. Heider, Sartorius feared a second edition of Kumm’s enthusiasm (“Kummscher Enthusiasmus”).

147 Sartorius was concerned in 1907 that the urgent proposal of missionary Enderlin to advance to *Daraw* was driven too much by human enthusiasm (Note in Circular, March 16, 1907). Others spoke of “Tropenkoller” [tropical craze].

148 Cf. A. Roth 1924, pp. 100f.

149 I have used the following questions to guide the analysis: What were the charges? What substance was there? What were the underlying factors? Were the charges justified? Were there additional points of conflict, other than those referred to?

give a name".<sup>150</sup> The other board members saw themselves increasingly unable to take responsibility for Kumm's actions. This points to a conflict about the structure of leadership. The SPM had been founder-directed by the Kumms (and Guinness) in its beginning. But with the establishment of the board on November 15, 1900, the *Principles and Practice* had been forming leadership structures instead. According to these, the direction of the mission agency was mainly in the hands of the board.<sup>151</sup> Even as the founder, the traveling secretary, and the only one with expertise in Egypt, Kumm was simply an equal member of the board. To the other board members, it was also a question of honor. They did not seem ready to accept criticism from Kumm. At the peak of the conflict, it appeared to them that giving in to the independent spirit of Kumm was "degrading themselves in the eyes of this young man".<sup>152</sup> He was only 27 years old, whereas the other board members were old enough to have been Kumm's fathers or grandfathers.

There were two issues that give substance to the charge of highhandedness. The first, and lesser, issue was the founding of the *Guzaira* station in Egypt in April 1901. Kumm had not asked the board beforehand. But neither had he been aware of the unbearable situation between Kupfernagel and Samuel, before arriving in Aswan. As Samuel was about to resign from the SPM, Kumm needed to take urgent action. Writing a letter to the board or presenting the matter after his return to Germany would have delayed a solution for months. The board did confirm Kumm's action without a note of criticism in the minutes. After all, if Kupfernagel had treated Samuel fairly, it would not have been necessary to move Samuel to a different place.

The underlying problem was caused by differing philosophies about whether a mission agency should be home directed or field directed. Kumm had experienced the NAM, where founder direction from home was functioning, because the founder director came to the field regularly, and experienced missionaries had responsibility locally.<sup>153</sup> Kumm may have seen himself in the same position, claiming that he had "unlimited authority from the board, to do what [he] deem[ed] right".<sup>154</sup> Other faith missions were even more strongly field directed, or rather "founder directed".<sup>155</sup> But the experience of most of the board members was with classical

150 *SP* May 1903, p. 35.

151 According to § 3. The curators and an "Africa committee", which is mentioned there, played a lesser role (*Organisation und Grundsätze der SPM*, p. 2, inserted after p. 13 of *SPM Minutes*).

152 Ziemendorff – Circulars to board, Aug. 22 and Sept. 18, 1902 (Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 12).

153 Cf. Glenny: "To the friends of the North Africa Mission, Feb. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1900". In: *NA*, March 1900, p. 27.

154 Johannes Kupfernagel – Krusius, May 24, 1901: "Brd. Kumm kommt, und sagt, 'Ich habe *unumschränkte* Vollmacht vom Vorstande, zu tun was ich für gut befinde'" (Emphasis in original).

155 In the *China Inland Mission*, Hudson Taylor claimed personal obedience to himself by all missionaries (Cf. Fiedler 1992, p. 415). Most of the early faith missions were in fact founder directed, the principle of field direction was often only practiced as long as the founder was able to remain on the field. Thus faith missions

missions, which were strongly home directed by a board: Ziemendorff was connected with the Basle Mission,<sup>156</sup> and Dammann with the Rhenish Mission.<sup>157</sup> Wittekindt was in favor of almost exclusive home direction. When later, a conflict arose about the authority of missionaries in the field to take far reaching decisions, he stated: "It must be made clear to the brothers and sisters in Aswan, that they are not in a position to take decisions. They are supposed to give advice and to make propositions."<sup>158</sup>

The major issue, which was most probably interpreted as highhandedness, was Kumm's independent action in Great Britain. In a somewhat biased tone, Hohenlohe relates that Kumm treated the *English Branch* as his personal domain, after not succeeding with his plans in the German board.<sup>159</sup> All in all, Kumm spent more than one third of the period (about eight out of 22 months) between the establishment of the German board and his dismissal, in Great Britain. I think that his activities there were tolerated, as long as they remained small in scale, and funds were coming in. Kumm emphasized that the *English Branch* of the SPM would have the same position as any of the *Helpers Unions* across Germany.<sup>160</sup> But when Kumm planned for larger structures, later in 1902, they were practically out of the control of the German board, who refused to take responsibility for them. Besides a (honorary?) treasurer (since January 1902), Kumm planned to employ a salaried secretary for the *English Branch*, a traveling secretary, and a tutor. *Cliff College* should become the home of the *English Branch* of the SPM. A missionary training institution was started there, and was to be run by the same personnel. Potential missionary candidates were accepted to be sent out by the *English Branch*.<sup>161</sup> All in all, the *English Branch* seemed in the process of outgrowing the German SPM, but did not have its own

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adapted to the principle of home direction, which was practiced by the classical missions. Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 512–516; 1994.

156 Ziemendorff had founded a *Helpers Union* for the *Basle Mission* (called *der ältere Basler Missionsverein*) in Wiesbaden in 1870 with which he was still connected (*Einige Notizen über den Lebensgang ... Ziemendorff*. EMO Archives, Green Folder "Berichte EMO A/1 Wiesbaden", No. 2).

157 Dammann was particularly connected with the *Rhenish Mission* in *Barmen*, on which he reported every four weeks (*LuL* 12, Nov. 24, 1900, p. 853).

158 Wittekindt on Circular of the board, March 16, 1907: "Es muß den Geschwistern in Assuan klar gemacht werden, daß sie gar nichts zu beschließen haben. Sie haben zu beraten und proponenda zu machen." Dabei sollen sie Bewegungsfreiheit haben, in gewissen Fällen zu handeln, vorbehaltlich der Genehmigung des Aufsichtsrates.

159 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 4, quotes: "Kumm berichtete über den Zweigverein in England, dass derselbe in demselben Verhältnis zur Centrale stehe, wie die Hilfsbunde und der Frauenzweig" [*SPM Minutes*, Feb. 3, 1902]. Hohenlohe continues: "Kumm hatte über den englischen Hilfszweig und die englischen Gaben nie klare Rechenschaft gegeben, hat selbständig auch Deutsche als Missionskandidaten angenommen und nach Cliff kommen lassen, wollte deren Zahl auf zwölf erhöhen und behandelte den englischen Zweig als eigenes Gebiet, nachdem er in Deutschland dem Vorstand gegenüber nicht durchkam."

160 Ibid.

161 See above. Events already documented in the chronological section above, will not be documented again in the analytical section here.

board. The German board considered the simultaneous involvement of Kumm on both sides of the Channel as incompatible. Intertwined with this issue was an increasing disagreement on the question of how to reach the Sudan.

### *Diverging Opinions on Mission Strategy and Methods*

The problem was that, counter to Kumm's expectations, the British administration would not allow missionary work south of *Wadi Halfa*. Thus, the particular target area of the SPM was closed for the time being. Against multiple appeals by Kupfernagel, to give up Aswan, and to move further south, the board held fast to Aswan as the major station of the SPM. They saw the need of consolidation, diversification (such as medical mission), and an increase in personnel there. Kupfernagel seems right in suspecting that particularly the female sponsors in Wiesbaden were clinging to Aswan.<sup>162</sup> They had made great sacrifices to purchase the property in Aswan and identified with it.

There is no evidence at all that Kumm would have pleaded for giving up Aswan, though at one time he favored the *Guzaira* station. At that time, he had hoped to send a gardener-missionary supported by a *Helpers Union* in Great Britain.<sup>163</sup> He might have induced the hope in Samuel that *Guzaira* would become the training place for future missionaries, instead of Aswan.

But Kumm started to develop additional plans. His vision was to reach the Sudan and not just a small fringe of its northeastern tip. Already in May 1902, at a time when the *Guzaira* station had just been closed, Kumm held a Sudan conference in England. Several speakers which he had invited, had been attempting to reach the Sudan from West Africa via the Niger. In June, he mentioned to Ziemendorff plans to start missionary work in Adamawa, using the Niger and the *Benue* as the route of access. All this should be done by a British SPM.

In their annual report for 1902, the Kumms wrote: "For the time being the Nile door to the Sudan is shut. ... Is there no other entrance to the Sudan? ... The Nile is shut but what about the Niger?"<sup>164</sup> Kumm wanted a Sudan mission, not an Upper Egypt mission. Aswan was just to be the "entrance gate". In his eyes, the German SPM had become stuck. He was impatient with the German SPM board, which seemed to focus on consolidation. He was disappointed with their lack of initiative, with the exception of Ziemendorff. Dammann had not visited the field, contrary

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162 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Aug. 6, 1903: "Ich halte Ihre Frau Gemahlin als die Damen [im Marienhaus, Wiesbaden] überhaupt, für diejenigen, die das geliebte Assuan nicht fahren lassen wollen".

163 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Oct. 8, 1901. See also his appeal for a gardener and a philologist in *LuL*, Jan. 1902 and his letter of Jan. 8, 1902.

to plans, and the administration did not function properly under his supervision. Kumm made his definite return to Germany dependent on the promise of a decided initiative by the German board to advance the SPM.<sup>165</sup> The future of the SPM in Germany seemed very questionable to him, and he felt an urgent need for the board to deliberate on it.<sup>166</sup> But he said that he was ready to come, and to invest his energies for the SPM in Germany.

Kumm's approach to missionary work was regarded as human enthusiasm by some board members, whereas they called for missionary work in a "calm and healthy manner".<sup>167</sup> This quite reminds one of the position held by Warneck. Kumm, however, called for further advance and extension of the work begun.<sup>168</sup> As the German board did not seem willing to follow this idea, Kumm felt the need to find other means to reach his goal. This was the reason behind his massive expansion of the British branch of the SPM in 1902.

The establishment of different national branches was common practice among faith missions. They were by character not only interdenominational, but also international. Hudson Taylor's *China Inland Mission* had numerous branches and associated missions in different sending countries, often with their own fields in China.<sup>169</sup> The SPM had already been international, before the board had been established. There was a *Helpers Union* in *Lucerne*, and a prayer group in *Chrischona*, both in Switzerland. Donations had also been collected in Palestine, Italy and Great Britain. With the growth of momentum in Great Britain, the example of the CIM could have been followed, by establishing a national board to direct the activities for the branch there. A contract with the German board could have been drawn up on the measure of cooperation, which could have given primacy to international headquarters and to a Central Committee in Germany. But this was not to be.

The birth and development of the *English Branch* of the SPM had not been preconceived by the Kumms in this way. Germany had been consciously selected as the major sending base for

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164 Kumm: *Last Year's Soudan Pioneer Mission Story* [1903?], as quoted by Spartalis 1994, pp. 20f.

165 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Aug. 22, 1902 (Wengen, Switzerland), reproduced by Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 12.

166 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Sept. 19, 1902.

167 Dammann – Ziemendorff, Nov. 21, 1902: "Ich meine, er [Kumm] sollte dann freilich mit anderen Grundsätzen in die Mission gehen und arbeiten in ruhiger gesunder Weise." Dammann was of the opinion, "daß das Werk ... viel zu übereilt und unvorbereitet in Aktion gesetzt wurde, abgesehen davon, daß das Werk selbst mehr aus menschlichem Enthusiasmus hervorgegangen war" (Dammann – Ziemendorff, Dec. 3, 1903). This attitude was shared by other board members (see above).

168 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Aug. 19, 1902, as quoted by Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Aug. 22, 1902 (reproduced by Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 11). Kumm's founding of the *Guzaira* station was also an attempt at extension.

169 Cf. A. Franz 1993, p. 24, for Germany.

the SPM. But support there had been much less, and developments slower, and more frustrating, than they had probably ever thought. Being a bi-national family it was only natural to them that Lucy would move back to Great Britain, when Kumm was away most of the time, either in Egypt, on deputation, or busy with his studies. The call from Grattan Guinness to help him out with *Cliff College* came unexpectedly, and was a family matter. When the premature birth of their second child, Karl Grattan, kept Karl Kumm in Great Britain, he used the time to further the development of the British Branch of the SPM.

### *The Charge of Inappropriate Advertising of the SPM*

The statement by the board, that Kumm had lost the trust of “some Helpers Unions”,<sup>170</sup> could point back to earlier events. By August 1901, the board registered increasing complaints about Kumm's “way of advertising the SPM”, which gave offence to the board.<sup>171</sup> The board was similarly irritated by a recruitment appeal of Kumm which had been printed in *Licht und Leben* early in 1902.<sup>172</sup> This somewhat reminds one of Gustav Warneck's criticism of Kumm's charming rhetoric, and “a totally English way” of winning his listeners.<sup>173</sup> But I would not similarly deduce a criticism of faith missions here, as Kumm was largely speaking before groups of the Fellowship Movement and open-minded student groups.

This is all the evidence there is to this charge. The question is, who expressed the criticism? Did it come out of the core group of supporters, the *Helpers Unions*? Or did it come from opponents of the SPM? Why did the board need to add that Kumm had also lost the trust of some *Helpers Unions*? Was it in respect of this charge? Or were these precisely the *Helpers Unions* which were influenced by his opponents on the board (e.g. Wiesbaden, *Kassel* and *Sterbfritz*)?

It remains unclear as to what precisely was offensive in his public speaking for the SPM. Was his (possibly “English”) style culturally unacceptable? Was the visionary too enthusiastic? Was he too challenging in recruiting workers for the SPM? Without further evidence, this is hard to know.

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170 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 2, 1902, p. 48.

171 *SPM Minutes*, Aug. 28, 1901. Kumm was not present at this meeting, as he was in England.

172 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Jan. 8, 1902.

173 See Chapter 4.5. Warneck used the term *liebenswürdige Beredsamkeit*, which I have rendered as “charming rhetoric”.

*The Charge of Unacceptable Actions in earlier Years*

The board felt also unable to further cooperate with Kumm “because of his reputation resulting from his earlier time in Egypt”.<sup>174</sup> The dismissal letter which was never sent, spells this out: “according to authentic information, certain events in your earlier life in England and Egypt have been regarded, and are still regarded, very differently by others, than you had presented them to us then.”<sup>175</sup> This charge was never published anywhere. But it was a charge which, for the board, already sufficed by itself to justify the discontinuation of their collaboration.

Their source of information was Kupfernagel, who had collected the accusations mainly from the members of the missionary community in *Alexandria*, and particularly from former colleagues of Kumm within the NAM.<sup>176</sup> Ziemendorff, upon request, obtained at least a partial verification of the accusations by the NAM home office.<sup>177</sup> These were threefold:

1) Kumm had left the NAM, without following the prescribed regulations. According to Kupfernagel, who had gathered this from Mr. Dickins (NAM, *Alexandria*), permission to marry had to be obtained three months in advance. The same prescribed period applied to the handing in of resignations. Neither rule had been respected by Kumm. Kumm was accused of having left his mission agency in great faithlessness in order to get married. Glenn, the Director of the NAM, confirmed that Kumm had left the NAM without resigning. Kumm might have acted better here. But the NAM had not followed through any more on the goals for which Kumm had joined it.<sup>178</sup> Yet resigning from the NAM without having a tangible alternative would have been asking him to “cut the branch he was sitting on”.

2) The apparent “disengagement” of Kumm from a supposed earlier fiancée was considered dishonorable. Kupfernagel had learned from the missionary Rev. C.T. Hooper that, after the marriage of Karl Kumm to Lucy Guinness, an English girl had appeared at the NAM office in England presenting a ring, and claiming that Kumm had promised marriage to her. Kumm had explained, and Grattan Guinness had confirmed, to Ziemendorff earlier that the liaison with that

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174 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 2, 1902, p. 48.

175 Ziemendorff, Sept. 18, 1902 (Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 13).

176 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 5, 1902, July 13, 1902, and Report to the board on Oct. 2, 1902. His main source was Karl Kumm's former superior, Mr. Dickins.

177 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Sept. 18, 1902 (reproduced by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 12): “Die erwähnten authentischen Nachrichten bestehen in einem Briefe des Dr. Glenn der ... mir schrieb, dass allerdings Herr Kumm ohne Kündigung aus der Missionarstellung ausgeschieden sei, als er Miss Guinness heiraten wollte, und nennt auch die junge Dame Kumms erste Verlobte mit dem Bemerkung, dass Ihnen diese Auflösung des Verlöbnisses von Seiten Kumms nicht ehrenhaft erschienen wäre; Sie aber nicht weiter darauf hätten eingehen wollen, da Kumms Stellung zu ihnen aufgehört hatte.”

178 See Chapter 3.3.

girl had not been a real engagement, and had been dissolved when the young lady had suffered epileptic fits.<sup>179</sup> But the SPM board seemed to concur with the opinion of the director of the NAM, Glenny, that the “disengagement” was to be considered “dishonorable” – a heavy charge according to the ethics of the time. Why did they not trust Kumm and Guinness? There is no way to find out the truth today.

3) The circumstances of the founding of the SPM in Egypt were considered dubious, to say the least. Human enthusiasm was suggested as the major motive. Kumm and Guinness had supposedly intruded into territory claimed by the *American Mission*. They had broken promises concerning the target group. This information was obtained by Kupfernagel from members of the *American Mission*. But it must be considered that the *American Mission* claimed a monopoly on the missionary occupation of Egypt. Even the British CMS, which had begun missionary work four decades earlier, was seen as an intruder.<sup>180</sup> The charges raised by Kupfernagel seem not to have been verified by the SPM board. Kumm had commented on them in notes on letters of Kupfernagel.

Thus, the bottom line is that there was some substance to the charge of Kumm's irregular procedure in leaving the NAM. But all the charges regarding Kumm's “earlier life in Egypt” were greatly exaggerated by Kupfernagel in an ugly smear campaign against Kumm. Kupfernagel himself had relied on biased witnesses.

When one scrutinizes the correspondence and documents of the time, another source of misgivings cannot be overlooked. There were tensions about Kumm's finishing his doctorate.

#### *Misgivings about Kumm's Unfinished Doctorate*

The women's branch was sponsoring the doctoral studies of Kumm.<sup>181</sup> They naturally had an interest in a speedy completion. Thus the account of Anna-Luise zu Hohenlohe, who was a member of the women's branch, adequately reflects their misgivings in that matter. She wrote in retrospect that the board had commissioned Kumm in May 1901, to take his doctorate. The board

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179 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, July 31, 1902, reproduced by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 10.

180 E.g. Watson 1898, p. 407. Cf. Chapter 3.4.2.

181 *SPM Minutes*, May 29, 1901, p. 31. An amount of 1000 German Marks was promised and paid in monthly rates of 150 German Marks (Kumm – Ziemendorff, June 12, 1901, July 29, 1901, Aug. 13, 1901, Dec. 4, 1901). This would last for about six months of study from June to December 1901. As of 1902 he might have received 200 German Marks monthly from the SPM. As soon as his family settled in Germany again he would receive a regular salary of 300 German Marks as traveling secretary (*SPM Minutes*, Feb. 3, 1902, p. 41). On June 21, 1902 Kumm offered to relinquish his support for July and August 1902, if an extension of his stay in Great Britain were granted (Kumm – Ziemendorff, June 21, 1902).

wanted Kumm to get used “to steady work after his unstructured life of a traveler”. Considering his youth, it was hoped, that by “discipline in thorough work this natural talent could be made really useful for his task. Kumm explained that he had already studied several semesters, and that he would only need a short time for his doctoral exams”.<sup>182</sup> According to Hohenlohe, difficulties with Kumm were increasing in the Fall of 1901: “The date of the doctoral exams was successively postponed and Kumm tried to keep the board in suspense with empty promises. His unreliability was more and more discovered.”<sup>183</sup> When Kumm had gone to England again in April 1902, the board became impatient, and in May ordered Kumm to declare a definite date for the completion of his doctorate.<sup>184</sup>

In Summer 1902, Ziemendorff showed consternation about the fact that Kumm's application to take doctoral exams had been rejected in *Leipzig* and *Munich*.<sup>185</sup> Around the same time, Kupfernagel had transmitted to the board what Mr. Dickins (NAM, *Alexandria*), with whom Kumm had lived for two years, had pronounced with certainty concerning Kumm's doctorate: “I can assure you, that Mr. Kumm will *never* finish his doctorate, if it were depending on his diligence, his perseverance and his knowledge, unless he could buy his title or acquire it by other means”.<sup>186</sup> Thus, Kumm was considered lazy, undisciplined, and dishonest with respect to his academic career.

What did the matter look like from Kumm's perspective? Kumm did indeed connect academic ambitions with his work as an explorer and missionary. Otherwise, he would not have taken all the notes on his desert journey in late 1899. Nor would he have commissioned Samuel with very detailed and specific research in Nubia. In December 1900, he had already been inquiring about the conditions of taking a doctorate at the University of *Marburg*.<sup>187</sup> Thus, the board's decision was a response to his wish. He did study in *Heidelberg* for the Summer term of 1901,<sup>188</sup> worked in British libraries in the Fall of 1901,<sup>189</sup> and continued in *Jena* for the Winter

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182 Hohenlohe: *Material*, pp. 2f.

183 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 3.

184 *SPM Minutes*, May 29, 1902, pp. 45f.

185 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, July 31, 1902 (reproduced by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 11).

186 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, July 13, 1902, pp. 4f.: “Überhaupt war die Art, wie Mr. Dickins, der sonst so würdige und Vertrauen erheischende Mann, über Herrn Kumm sprach, eine betrübend beschämende für uns; wenn er, der ihn 2 Jhr. in sm. Hause aufs genaueste kennen gelernt, z.B. mit Bestimmtheit bez. ss. Doctors sagen konnte: Ich kann sie versichern, daß Mr. Kumm *nie* den Doctor machen wird, wenn es dabei auf seinen Fleiß, seine Ausdauer u. seine Kenntnisse ankommt, es sei denn, daß er denselben erkaufen oder sonst wie erlangen könnte.” (Emphasis by Kupfernagel).

187 Kumm – Krusius, “Saturday” November 1900 (probably Nov. 24).

188 Kumm started late on June 8, 1901, as he had been delayed in Wiesbaden by appendicitis (Dr. Keßler, UA Heidelberg – Sauer, April 11, 1998). He left Heidelberg on July 31, 1901 (Kumm – Ziemendorff, July 29, 1901). His curriculum was (name of professor in brackets): Exercises in Middle English (Hoops), Introduction

term of 1901/02.<sup>190</sup> He finished the first half of his doctoral dissertation in early December 1901 and had completed it (175 pages) and handed it in by February 22, 1902.<sup>191</sup> It bore the title *Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der wirtschaftsgeographischen Verhältnisse Nubiens von Assuan bis Dongola*. Kumm must have worked hard, considering that he had to attend lectures and that he was extensively traveling and speaking in the interests of the SPM during term time.<sup>192</sup> He could have saved some time by solely concentrating on his studies, but this would have been at the expense of the SPM. In addition, his health was frail, due to repeated bouts of appendicitis.<sup>193</sup> In May 1902, Kumm had planned to return from a stay in England, to take his doctoral exams, but then was delayed there by the premature birth of their second child.<sup>194</sup> He must have made further arrangements for his exams from England, for in July successive applications for admission to doctoral exams in *Leipzig* and *Munich* had been declined, because these universities did not want to accredit Kumm's studies abroad. Kumm then intended to apply in *Tübingen* and *Heidelberg*.<sup>195</sup> Kumm had been too optimistic about two factors: He underestimated the time needed for the writing of his dissertation. He equally was too optimistic about the formal requirements for admission to doctoral exams at German universities. He had hoped to get his four semesters of Bible School (*Harley College*) and his independent studies of Arabic in Egypt accredited. He might have researched this matter better. However, he did not have any experience with German academic regulations. Nor did his impatient sponsors. None of them had any experience of the hardships of obtaining a doctorate. Kumm was serious about finishing it, for he registered again in *Jena* for the Winter semester in 1902/03 and the

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into the understanding of the earth's surface and its appearances (Hettner), Geography (Hettner), Arabic II, III (Bezold), and Historical exercises (Domaszewski) (This information was provided by Dr. Keßler according to the files in the *Archives of Heidelberg University*, May 11, 1998, No: Tgb 409/98).

189 Kumm – Ziemendorff, August 13, 1901.

190 Hartleb, *UB Archives Jena* – Sauer, April 27, 1998, according to the published *Personal- und Verlesungsverzeichnis*. He registered there on Oct. 30, 1901 and left at the end of the semester, probably after handing in his dissertation on Feb. 22, 1902. He intended to study Geography of Africa (Dove), Arabic and English (Kumm – Ziemendorff, Oct. 27, 1901 and Feb. 22, 1902). Kumm also studied during Winter 1902/03 and Summer 1903 in Jena. He names Dove, Knopf, Eucken, Vollers, and Link as his professors in Jena during these three semesters (Kumm, 1903, CV on p. 66). Kumm also worked at the Zeiss observatory in Jena (Kumm, 1910, p. 159).

191 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Dec. 4, 1901 and Feb. 22, 1902.

192 Kumm had been speaking at least four times in one month in June / July 1901 in Strasbourg, Kassel, Darmstadt and Heidelberg and then communicated that he would decline further invitations for some time (Kumm – Ziemendorff, July 4, 1901). During the Winter term 1901/02 he had visited 15 universities (Cleverdon 1936, p. 37).

193 Cleverdon 1936, p. 37.

194 Kumm – Ziemendorff, May 28, 1902.

195 Kumm – Ziemendorff, July 24, 1902: "Nachdem ich meine Papiere nach Leipzig und München eingesandt, Orte an die mich der Jenaer Geograph empfohlen hatte, bin ich an beiden Stellen zurückgewiesen, da sie mein Studium im Auslande mir für das Dr-Examen nicht anrechnen wollen. Die Geogr. Professoren geben mir ein

Summer semester of 1903. In early 1903, the University of *Freiburg* came into view as a possibility, and he was finally admitted and successfully examined there in July 1903.<sup>196</sup> So, he did after all make it, against all opinions to the contrary, and his work was considered as a valuable contribution to progress in the field of his research.<sup>197</sup> Completing a doctoral dissertation in two years is fast.<sup>198</sup>

### Conclusions

Kumm was a visionary and a pioneer who thought on a large scale. He was convinced of his call to reach the Sudan. If the strategy of reaching the Sudan via the Nile River did not work out, then he was flexible enough to try to reach it via the Niger River. If he could not find enough support for his plans in Germany, then he would seek alternative support in Great Britain. Kumm was driven by vision, and if one road was blocked, he would try another one, just as Graham Wilmot Brooke had done before him. He would not sit and wait when obstacles appeared on his way. He would work hard and prove flexible in trying to overcome them. He had an inspiring influence on others whom he wanted to win for this task.

There were some shortcomings of such a personality in other areas. Maybe it was hard to keep pace with him. Probably it was harder to live out his plans, than to be enthusiastic about them.

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gutes Zeugnis für die Arbeit und raten mir an, mich nach Tübingen und Heidelberg zu wenden. Ich hoffe dies zu tun, sobald ich meine Papiere von München zurück habe.”

196 UA Freiburg B31/155, file on the doctorate of Karl Kumm. Kumm had inquired in Freiburg on Jan. 19, 1903, sent in his papers on July 3, 1903, had his oral examination on July 16, 1903, and was awarded his title of Doctor of Philosophy on Dec. 30, 1903. He had asked whether at least two of his four semesters at *Harley College* would be accredited. He also sent in a testimonial for his studies in Arabic in Egypt.

197 The expert opinion of the professor of geography, Karl Ludwig Neumann (1854–1925), on his dissertation certified that, apart from the introductory chapters the work was valuable through the scholarly processing of “zahlreiches, bisher nicht bekanntes Material, von dem der größte Teil durch eigene Erkundungen und Studien an Ort und Stelle gewonnen worden ist ... Diese Kapitel stellen tatsächlich einen Fortschritt in unserer Kenntnis von dem im Werk genannten Gebiet dar.” There were three grades available, and the professor was ready to give the third grade for the dissertation, possibly also the second grade (UA Freiburg B 31/155). The fact that Kumm had not studied at Freiburg posed a considerable risk for him in the oral exams. But it was also an unusual kindness to admit such a student (Prof. Dr. Rolf Herzog, *Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität Freiburg – Troeger*, EMO, June 23, 1999). Heinrich Schäfer's latter comment is less friendly: “Die Kummsche Dissertation ist eine in manchem nützliche, aber im ganzen recht unerfreuliche Zusammen-stoppelei” (Schäfer: *Nubische Texte im Dialekt der Kunuzi*. Berlin 1917, p. 21). – There is only one fact which seems academically unacceptable to me, according to today's standards: Kumm did not mention that most of the field data had been gathered by Samuel Ali Hiseen.

198 It is hard to judge this from such a time distance: “Es ist schwer zu beurteilen, ob Karl Kumm im Vergleich mit anderen Doktoranden seiner Zeit schnell oder langsam bis zur Promotion studiert hat. Es gibt keine Statistiken über die Studiendauer in der Kaiserzeit; bei ihm wird es noch durch seinen mehrfachen Universitätswechsel erschwert. Die Abweisung seiner Anträge auf Zulassung zum Examen von mindestens drei Universitäten spricht eher dafür, daß den Dekanen das Studium zu kurz erschien. Ich schätze, daß er eher zu den Studenten gehörte, die rasch zum Abschluß kommen wollten und das zudem mit möglichst geringen Anstrengungen. Die Zeit, die er für die Abfassung seiner Dissertation brauchte, ist aus heutiger Sicht kurz.” Prof. Rolf Herzog – Sauer,

Kumm's optimism and enthusiasm were not equally matched by reliability in detail, punctuality, and the keeping of promises. Kumm had obviously not reflected about and prepared the sending of the Kupfernagels well enough. He did not care sufficiently for detail in order to achieve workable structures for everyday business.

Kumm must have increasingly suffered from the shortcomings of the other board members and of some workers of the SPM. Particularly Dammann and the office in Eisenach failed in their task. The other board members did not seem to do much for the SPM, except for Ziemendorff and the team of women in Wiesbaden. Kupfernagel turned out not to be suited to a pioneer task, was thinking along the lines of classical missions instead of faith mission principles, and above all was very sensitive, petty and intriguing. Without Kupfernagel's intriguing, Kumm and the board might possibly have worked out their differences.

When the confrontation escalated, there seem to have been some misunderstandings and miscommunications aggravating the situation. Kumm did not appear to have realized early enough the misgivings which the board had about him. His long absence in England was a decided disadvantage for him. The charges against him piled up, instead of being immediately and directly discussed in personal encounters. Such encounters came much too late for a reversal of the situation. The board had become weary of defending Kumm against the ever new accusations which Kupfernagel produced, did not believe these could be clarified to the good of Kumm, and then did not invest enough energy in clarifying them.

There obviously was an increasing power struggle about control over the SPM and its direction. Kumm considered the accusations raised against him as unjust and counter challenged the board to become more active for the Sudan. He did not want to give up his plans for the Sudan. Wasn't he the founder-pioneer of the SPM? The other board members, on the other hand, could not back out any more. They were more concerned about their honor than. Were they not the board which was to be in control of the SPM?

### **6.3 Decline and New Blossoming of the German SPM (October 1902 – August 1904)**

The period described here extends from the dismissal of Kumm on October 2, 1902, to the vacancy in the mission field after the departure of the Kupfernagels in August 1904. It would be unfair to talk about decline only, as at the same time there were increasing preparations for the sending out of new missionaries. The task of a chronological description is easier now, as there is

one player less. There is also an additional source shedding light on the home side: the Circulars of the board, which fill one in on matters discussed between the rather scarce board meetings.<sup>199</sup>

### 6.3.1 Trying to Continue

The Fall of 1902 was a time of some further shifts of personnel and positions within the SPM. Miss von Zitzewitz in Wiesbaden, who was already editing the journal *Der Sudan Pionier*, became a member of the *Women's Board*.<sup>200</sup> Miss Lina Götte, a missionary candidate, took over the post of bookkeeper and cashier as of October 1, 1902, from the secretary, Schnabel, who had left to do his military service. Hohenlohe reports that his work had been unreliable and an embezzlement had been discovered after his departure.<sup>201</sup>

On October 23, 1902, a further board meeting took place.<sup>202</sup> The board moved against joining the DOM for the time being – obviously, this had been under discussion again.<sup>203</sup> A certain judge was to be gained for the board – but without success. It was also decided that the boys' school in Aswan was to be given up. The teacher Girgis should be used as a language helper for new missionaries. But a new school among the Bischareen was projected. The ground floor of the mission house should be rented out to tourists in winter. Concerning Samuel, it was decided that he should be employed with his former salary after his return to Aswan and be put under the direction of Kupfernagel. But only a day later, this decision appeared in a different light, when a letter from Samuel arrived.

Samuel had written on October 16/17, 1902,<sup>204</sup> acknowledging the receipt of half of his salary for May to September 1902, on that day, from Mrs. Kupfernagel. But he was unhappy that he had received money only, but no instructions whatsoever, for five months. His understanding

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199 The earliest Circular preserved as an original dates from October 24, 1902. The Circulars are particularly valuable, as they reflect the personal opinions of the individual board members, whereas the minutes of board meetings usually only record the decisions taken.

200 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 14. She was a member of the board from 1902–1904.

201 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 14. Miss Götte had been doing secretarial work for the SPM and had been trained as a bookkeeper. Hermann Schnabel had falsified the signature on a receipt and taken the money for himself. He was said to have “totally sunk later”.

202 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 23, 1902, p. 49. The following is taken from there.

203 There is no further evidence on this question. The DOM Minute books of that time are not preserved and an extract does not mention this question at this time (Cf. Berlin Mission Archives, Box 529, No. I.11.52, File: “Betr. Dr. Lepsius Deutsche Orient-Mission”, loose insert [Excerpts from Minutes 1900–1907], pp. 1a–1e.

204 Samuel – SPM, Oct. 17, 1902. The payment amounted to 938 Piasters. As he saw a mistake in his favor Samuel suggested that one month of work be added to the calculation. In his demands he was wavering, asking either for the fulfillment of his contract or for dismissal: “Therefore I *claim* my right (in peace and all respect) and if all these my sayings are not in agreement to you, I still claim humbly my demission from this *month* please. ... P.S.: I do wait a reply to this my letter from our committee please. I am your fellow worker in this SPM. I *claim*

of his contract was that it would also be valid for times of sickness. And he had been sick, and had still not fully recovered. Therefore, he claimed the rest of his salary in writing, and he asked for new working instructions, or otherwise to be dismissed.

The board members agreed that Kupfernagel and Samuel did not fit well together, and that Kupfernagel was not free from prejudice against Samuel.<sup>205</sup> Samuel must have received a quick response from Ziemendorff. On November 5, 1902, Samuel responded to the letter which he had long expected.<sup>206</sup> But his tone was bitter, for he did not receive answers to his questions. He renewed his request for his salary or dismissal. There was a further condition to his future availability: "We should work with commun [sic!] spirit and commun consultation otherwise it is impossible for us natives always follow Europeans [sic!] idea especially in Mission work". (Samuel's English was rather faulty and heavily influenced by his fluency in French.) As to the faith of his children, he added that he did not possess "the power of a machine to convert them".

### 6.3.2 New Attempts in Aswan

Kupfernagel returned to Aswan on November 12, 1902, bringing along the decisions of the board. Girgis, the head teacher, openly protested against the work planned among the Bischareen.<sup>207</sup> The boys' school was closed at the end of the month, and Girgis was transferred to the girls' school.<sup>208</sup> Kupfernagel and Samuel were taking evangelistic excursions together to the villages and – according to Kupfernagel – were getting closer to each other.<sup>209</sup> But it seems that

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the rest of my salary. Therein show me my work – No there is no need we depart in peace from each other. But please send my demission" (Emphasis by Samuel).

205 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Oct. 24, 1902. Kupfernagel was predicting that Samuel would leave Aswan as soon as he had received his salary (Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Nov. 25, 1902).

206 Samuel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 5, 1902. Concerning the faith of his children he wrote: "As to my family: I am doing, praying, speaking – but if any body can, or has the power of a machine to convert them I am willing to give them to that person – but it is impossible to me, unless the author of Salvation can do this operation."

207 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Nov. 13, 1902. The school among the Bischareen was never opened, as the government did not provide the land for it (cf. Johannes Kupfernagel, Monthly report, Dec. 31, 1902, Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Jan. 15, 1904). The relationship to the Bischareen frequently varied. Some mistrust seemed to have been due to Girgis, who had roughly handled a Bischareen child and ejected it from the school.

208 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 1, 1902, "Report for November 1902".

209 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 3, 1902. At the General Assembly of the SPM on March 26, 1903, it was reported that the relationship of Kupfernagel and Samuel had been very satisfactory since the giving up of the *Guzaira* station (Minutes General Assembly, March 26, 1903. EMO Archives). Kupfernagel had assigned two rooms to Samuel in the second house on the mission compound. He had also offered to build an additional room for his daughters and to take them into the SPM's girls' school. But Samuel insisted that they should go to the boarding school in Luxor. The visit to the village of *Mahatta*, where his servant Abbas came from, was described by Kupfernagel in an article, which he proposed for publication in the *Sudan Pionier* (Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 1902 "Von meiner Reise nach Deutschland zurück ...").

Samuel was suffering quietly, for he later wrote in his autobiography: “everything was not running as at the commencement. However it was marching on, but with difficulties”.<sup>210</sup>

In his report for November 1902, Kupfernagel again urged the board to sell the property, to leave Aswan, and to take preparations to get into the Sudan.<sup>211</sup> Through indirect channels, the board repeatedly heard that Kupfernagel, again, was looking for a different job for himself.<sup>212</sup> Christmas in Aswan was celebrated by this missionary with successive appointments with different groups of people. The season was not all joy, however, as on December 26, 1902, Kupfernagel fell from his donkey, which left him unconscious for some time.<sup>213</sup>

On January 6, the hostel in the mission house had its first guest,<sup>214</sup> and was later completely booked, but already five weeks later, Kupfernagel proposed to give it up again, as it produced too much work and inconvenience.<sup>215</sup> Kupfernagel had also reached a point, where he would openly show his “inner resignation”. If the station in Aswan was kept up against his wishes, he would look out for another job. On the other hand, he complained that, in the meantime, other missions claimed their spheres in the Sudan, leaving only the *Bar El Ghazal* with its murderous climate to the SPM.<sup>216</sup> In addition, Kupfernagel asked to publish the declaration about the separation from Kumm also in the international prayer bulletin on Egypt, *Blessed be Egypt*, since some people were now confusing the two mission agencies operating under the same name of *Sudan-Pionier-*

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210 Samuel: *Autobiography*, p. 211; Samuel 1920, p. 108.

211 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 1, 1902. On Dec. 3, 1902 he added: “... wie Sie sich von Kumm losgemacht haben, so machen Sie sich auch von dem im Irrthum und Selbstsucht falsch gewählten Platz in Assuan los und gehen sie im Glauben auf den Herrn auf das Ziel los.”

212 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 14.

213 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 26, 1902. Martha Kupfernagel added: “Mein Mann kam mit Br. Samuel vom Evangelisieren ... [Blieb hängen und] stürzte rücklings vom Esel schwer auf die Steine ... Für eine Stunde hatte er jegliche Erinnerung verloren und redete vollständig wirr.” The events were described again in the monthly report for December (Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 31, 1902).

214 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Jan. 1, 1903. The person was sick with dysentery, and was taken care of by the servant Abbas.

215 They had a high bill for outfitting the hostel in December 1902, as the guests would not be satisfied with as little comfort as the missionaries (Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Dec. 26, 1902). Though the house was filled and they were making a profit now, Kupfernagel was skeptical, as the real goals of a Christian hostel were not reached. The guest rooms were also too closely connected with the private quarters. As the guests were not necessarily Christians, they could bring disturbances into the mission. If this project were to be kept up, Kupfernagel suggested that a new house should be built for the missionaries in the garden, and the old house renovated for the guests (Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Feb. 14, 1903).

216 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Feb. 14, 1903. Dr. Hall from Khartoum had visited Kupfernagel and told him about plans to divide the Sudan according to their spheres of interest between the CMS and the *American Mission*. The area south of Fashoda, which had been originally offered to the SPM by the government, had now been “occupied” by the *American Mission*.

*Mission / Sudan Pioneer Mission.* Kupfernagel further had misgivings about the “directive tone” of the letters from Miss Götte, the secretary of the SPM Office in Wiesbaden.<sup>217</sup>

On March 26, 1903, little Gottfried Kupfernagel was born in Aswan. Thus, his father was kept from work, because he had to attend to the household chores alone.<sup>218</sup> The girls' school was shrinking, as it had lost 15 pupils to its English competitor within three days.<sup>219</sup> In April, the SPM community was alarmed by the burning down of the neighboring hotel.<sup>220</sup> They decided to build a well immediately, to have water more readily available for their protection. Samuel proved very helpful and industrious in this project, rather than Girgis the teacher.<sup>221</sup> Contrary to the SPM's rules, Kupfernagel approached the *Helpers Unions* directly for the funding of the well, only asking the board for permission afterwards.<sup>222</sup> In early May 1903, the Kupfernagels left for their Summer retreat in *Alexandria*. This was two weeks earlier than usual because of the many sicknesses of the children.<sup>223</sup> Samuel had been busy evangelizing among the Nubians, Bischareen, Copts, Arabs, and Sudanese. He reported of long discussions with individuals and groups on questions of faith. He sent some summaries to the SPM in Germany, which were printed in the *Sudan Pionier*. One discussion in his room, with a Nubian, lasted for twelve hours! It was held in the style of a debate style. These reports of Samuel about joyful and diligent evangelizing lasted from December 1902 to June 1903. In March 1903, his major work had been among Nubians.<sup>224</sup>

217 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, March 3, 1903. “Andrerseits werden Sie, teurer Herr Pfarrer ja verstehen, daß der bald zurechtweisende, bald anzweifelnde, bald Bestimmungen treffende Ton Frl. Göttes als eines doch noch sehr jungen Mädchens einem erfahrenen Mann gegenüber nicht der rechte ist. Mir schweben dabei auch die Erfahrungen unseres Anfangs mit Frl. v. Blücher vor, die diesen bevormundenden und meisternden Ton mit herausbrachte, und sich und mir damit Herz und Arbeit lud [sic!] und erschwerte.” Kupfernagel was afraid that they were talked about in the same tone in the SPM's office in Wiesbaden.

218 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, March 26, and April 3, 1903.

219 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, March 26, 1903. The English girls' school had relocated to the center of town and had lowered its school fees. The SPM school, in comparison, had a more inconvenient location and higher fees. Girgis was depressed and Kupfernagel reiterated that he had advised the SPM otherwise.

220 Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, April 25, 1903 and Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, April 28, 1903.

221 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, May 23, 1903. “Samuel hat sich hier als ganz tüchtige Hilfskraft erwiesen, im Gegensatz zu Girgis, der seine Kräfte gerne schonte.”

222 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, April 28, 1903. Kupfernagel legitimized his proceeding by the urgency of the matter. The rising of the Nile would soon make digging impossible. Cf. Ziemendorff – Circular to board, May 8, 1903.

223 Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, April 30, 1903 and Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, May 23, 1903.

224 *SP* March 1903, No. 3, pp. 22ff. = translation of a letter by Samuel, Dec. 31, 1902. Cf. his letters of Feb. 23, 1903 (= *SP* April 1903, pp. 30ff.), March 30, 1903 (*SP* July 1903, pp. 54ff.), April 29, 1903 (= *SP* June 1903, pp. 33–37), and May 25, 1903.

### 6.3.3 The Board Looking for Direction

In Fall of 1902, the board was seeking advice from experts on its situation in Aswan. "As an advance into the Sudan is not allowed at the moment, the board is asking itself: What would be most practical to do? Is Aswan a good base for further work?"<sup>225</sup> In December 1902, they received a statement by a Dr. Benzinger in Cairo that Aswan was indeed a very good base for the time being. As soon as the Sudan would open up, centers further south (such as a Christian hostel in Khartoum) would be needed, but even then, Aswan would be useful as a station on the way. This idea was favored by the board, and parts of the statement were printed in the *Sudan Pionier*.<sup>226</sup>

But even to board members, it seemed unclear which goals the board presently pursued.<sup>227</sup> At the board meeting on March 26, 1903, the location of the mission was again a major question, due to a list of submissions made by Kupfernagel.<sup>228</sup> However, an exploration tour into the Sudan was not considered timely then. The proposed goal of *Fashoda* seemed too far away from Aswan, and thus probably too expensive to maintain in the future for a small mission agency such as the SPM. Concerning *Berber*, Kupfernagel was commissioned to gather information about the possibility of opening a school there. According to a later report by Ziemendorff, the board had taken the Nubian area as its goal, with either *Dongola* or *Berber* as the next station.<sup>229</sup> At the home base, the board tried to gain two new members: Inspector Rappard from *Chrischona* was asked, because a former student of *Chrischona*, Jakob Samuel Enderlin, was ready to join the SPM.<sup>230</sup> Mr. Banfield in Wiesbaden was also asked, probably because he was already one of the advisers of Ziemendorff for urgent decisions and an active member of the SPM locally.<sup>231</sup> While the goal of the SPM abroad remained somewhat diffuse, hope for new workers dawned at

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225 *SP* Jan. 1903, pp. 7f.

226 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Dec. 3, 1902. Dr. Benzinger had been asked by Dr. Langmesser (*Davos*) who was a friend of the SPM. The letter is not preserved, except for the passages published in *SP* Jan. 1903, pp. 7f.

227 Wittekindt – Ziemendorff, Feb. 29, 1903.

228 *SPM Minutes*, March 26, 1903, p. 50, item 3 and 4.

229 Report of Ziemendorff at the General Assembly, Oct. 1904, p. 2 (Green Folder B, Vorstand 1902–1925, at end of Circulars of 1904.) "Am 26. März vorigen Jahres hatte der Vorstand in seiner Sitzung beschlossen in Aussicht zu nehmen die Nubierländer Dongola oder Berber".

230 The *Chrischona* board refused to allow Rappard to take this additional position as he was already overworked and 65 years old (Cf. *Minutes CM*, April 21, 1903, item VIII) The communication to Wiesbaden was made on the next day.

231 Banfield was asked to formally become an adviser of the SPM, but initially declined and asked for time to think it over (*SPM Minutes*, p. 50, Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, April 28, 1903). At the next board meeting, on March 1, 1904, the minutes list him as an adviser, though they state that he would only take a decision later. Banfield continued publishing geographical articles in the *Sudan Pionier*, e.g. "Der Tschad-See und die ihn umgebenden Reiche", *SP* 1903, pp. 58–64, and "Fortschrittliches aus dem Sudan", *SP* 1904, pp. 57–62. Banfield finally stayed active outside the board, and is only mentioned again in SPM documents in 1905 and in 1912, when he sponsored the costs of a boat (Cf. *SPM Minutes*, March 1, 1904, pp. 52, and Oct. 9, 1905, p. 58).

home. In April 1903, Ziemendorff had visited Enderlin, the potential future missionary, in Strasbourg.<sup>232</sup> In June 1903, Ziemendorff felt a need to appeal to the other board members to take responsibility for those to be newly sent out, and to start being more involved.<sup>233</sup>

He asked them, whether the Fellowship Movement would be ready to bear the financial burden of the growing SPM. Training in Arabic and Islamic studies for the new male missionaries was deemed necessary while they were still in Germany. Ziemendorff thought this could be done at Wiesbaden and at *Harley House* (the College of the Guinnesses) in London. In July, the application from Enderlin was received and circulated among the board members.<sup>234</sup> As there was a need for a companion to him, the board wanted to find a candidate in the German SVM (*Studentenbund für Mission*) who had studied at the university. Otherwise, Zimmerlin, from Chrischona, was kept in mind as the second choice. While everybody was on the Summer break, a calamity happened in Aswan.

#### 6.3.4 The Abduction of Samuel's Children (July – October 1903)<sup>235</sup>

When the Kupfernagels had left Aswan in early May 1903, Samuel was in charge of the SPM station. Samuel's elder daughters Sarah (14–16 years old) and Regina (12–14 years) who were attending the boarding school of the *American Mission* in Luxor, were with him, and as usual, his younger children Marjam (10–11,5 years) and Abbas (8–10 years).<sup>236</sup> Samuel finished the construction of the well. He was also responsible for holding the Sunday services of the SPM. On Sunday June 21, 1903, the visitors were unusually numerous.<sup>237</sup> What might have looked like the fruit of Samuel's evangelistic labor later proved a conspiracy. Nubian relatives had come some

232 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, May 8, 1903.

233 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, June 7, 1903. The following is taken from there and the previous Circular.

234 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, July 7, 1903.

235 Multiple sources on the SPM's side were available on this event. In addition to Samuel's and the Kupfernagels' letters, which relate the unfolding of the events, there is a chapter in Samuel's autobiography which reflects the drama in retrospect. It would be interesting to research the scandal concerning its legal and diplomatic implications. But this might be too sensitive and it is questionable whether documents are still existent or would be made available. Then the knowledge of Arabic would also be necessary. For the purpose of writing the SPM's history, the material available sheds enough light on the consequences this event had for the SPM.

236 The age of the children was given differently by different sources (Martha and Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 20, 1903. Samuel gave a younger age in his autobiography, 1920, p. 113). Samuel was very pleased that the two elder girls now were somewhat “tamed” and educated, had learned to wash, cook and to clean the house. They had been very unwilling to attend the school because Nubian girls usually did not do so. Samuel thought that, now, “they are quite happy ... and thankful to all – With great pleasure they will go back to their school again.” (Samuel – SPM, undated letter [June 1903]).

237 Samuel – SPM, June 1903, partially published in *SP* 1903, pp. 72ff.: “Our weekly meetings praise God were pretty well attended. And they are very much interested. Last Sunday 21 our room was crowded – there were many standing on windows outside in the street. In that day the Lord gave me great help in courage, in easily

time earlier and wanted to marry the two elder girls. Samuel had refused this for the time being, giving the reason that their education was not yet complete.<sup>238</sup> On July 16, 1903, when Samuel returned from a funeral, his children were suddenly gone. Gradually, Samuel found out that relatives, Ibrahim Hassan and Abdallah Hussein, 28–30 years old,<sup>239</sup> had abducted them. This might even have been the desire of the elder girls.<sup>240</sup> Everything had been well prepared, the local officials and police had been “bought”.<sup>241</sup> The children had been threatened with death to cause them to comply. They were made to accuse their father in court that he was trying to force them to become Christians. The religious question was used as a pretext for getting the elder girls married. Probably Samuel's intense evangelistic activity in Aswan was disliked by the officials, who were fanatical Muslims, according to Samuel. Thus, they willingly complied with the plot of Samuel's relatives. But Girgis and local Christians tried to support Samuel. On Sunday, July 19, Christians of all denominations were gathering with Samuel for the service in the Mission house. But a riot was instigated outside, with the participation of the police commander. The crowd tried to break in through doors and windows, and the visitors had to evacuate the compound through a back door.<sup>242</sup> Samuel appealed for protection from the German Consulate, but they could not really help him, though they tried. Samuel was broken hearted, physically weak, and felt his life to be threatened. Kupfernagel sent Girgis to Aswan on July 20, to console Samuel. Upon the invitation of the German Consul General to come to *Alexandria*, Samuel left Aswan on July 22, 1903. Kupfernagel wrote a verbatim report of the events, as told by Samuel. But the relationship between Samuel and Kupfernagel was as bad as it could be.<sup>243</sup> Kupfernagel informed the board by telegram, and on July 29, a letter circulated among the board members.

In a letter on July 30, 1903, Kupfernagel offered to the SPM board to resign, if they so wished. He had received the impression that, because he had a family, he was hindering the advance of the SPM to the Sudan.<sup>244</sup> He was also suffering under the weight of responsibility,

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speaking and love. Those Mohamadan people did not leave the windows till we ended our meeting. This is the first time dear friends I had the honour of seeing so many people hear the Gospel in this town of Aswan.”

238 Samuel 1920, p. 109.

239 *SP* Oct. 1903, pp. 74ff.

240 Kupfernagel learned from the Nubian servant of Dr. Murch in Luxor, that the daughters of Samuel had always harbored thoughts of fleeing from the school. Their plan only failed because their mail was intercepted (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 20, 1903).

241 Samuel was told by a Copt, that on the night before, the Mudir, the police commander, the judge, and the elders of the town, had gathered and decided that Samuel's children would not be given back to him (Samuel 1920, p. 111).

242 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, July 25, 1903.

243 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 14.

244 Kupfernagel was told by the missionary Scharr in Alexandria (who had a family), that when he had applied to the SPM, he had been told that one married missionary was already sufficient, that is that the SPM rather

which was upon him, and from the recent events, to the extent of getting his first gray hairs.<sup>245</sup> Kupfernagel returned to Aswan at the end of July to survey the situation, and his wife followed on August 17, 1903.<sup>246</sup> Samuel was not allowed to return to Aswan. He was very discouraged, and complained that the mission agency was not able to protect him.<sup>247</sup>

### 6.3.5 Again: Samuel's Integrity in Question

Kupfernagel filled his letters to the SPM with accusations against Samuel. A new charge was that Samuel had had his son Abbas circumcised a year earlier. This was considered as a purely Muslim or heathen custom by Kupfernagel, and thus totally unacceptable for a Christian.<sup>248</sup> In mid August, a Circular by Ziemendorff informed the board members that Kumm had asked to leave Samuel to him [?not clear].<sup>249</sup> On the other hand, Dr. Lepsius had offered to transfer Samuel to the *Deutsche Orientmission's* ministry among Muslims in *Shumla*, Bulgaria. Wittekindt proposed to dismiss Samuel, as he supposedly had deceived them, and to "completely finish with the work of Kumm".<sup>250</sup> Ziemendorff then wrote to Samuel on September 13, 1903,<sup>251</sup> asking him to respond to the three main charges which Kupfernagel had raised against him: firstly, the circumcision of his son Abbas, secondly, pretending to be a Muslim at his third marriage, and thirdly, having divorced two wives in the past. Samuel continued to be salaried by the SPM, but it was proposed that he should find some temporary work in *Alexandria*. If he agreed, he could transfer to *Shumla*, Bulgaria. This letter only reached Samuel toward October 14, 1903, as Kupfernagel first returned it to Wiesbaden for corrections.<sup>252</sup>

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wanted single missionaries. (Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM July 30, 1903 and Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, July 31, 1903).

245 Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, July 31, 1903 and Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Aug. 17, 1903.

246 On July 31, 1903 Kupfernagel had reached Luxor and sent a letter from there. Martha Kupfernagel wrote from Aswan again on August 17, 1903.

247 Samuel – SPM, Aug. 1, 1903: "I have almost no courage and life to write! ... And as long as the Mission does not protect those who come into Christian faith, what is that Mission?"

248 This too, Kupfernagel learned from Girgis. When Samuel was in *Abu Hoor* in Summer 1902 the circumcision had taken place: "Nun erfahre ich ..., [daß] sein Sohn Abbas unter vollständiger Beachtung des muhammedan. Ritus sich der Beschneidung aussetzen durfte, ja mußte, und daß dessen Schwestern während und nach der Zeremonie muhammedanische Lieder singend ... mit Hände klatschen um den Knaben herumsprangen und tanzten. Der Vater hatte zu diesem Freudenfest ein Schaf ... gegeben."

249 Kumm's purpose was to save Samuel for missionary work (Ziemendorff – SPM board, Aug. 15, 1903; as in Kumm – Ziemendorff, July 24, 1902). Samuel had received a letter by Kumm on June 30, 1903 (Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, July 31, 1903).

250 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, August 15, 1903.

251 This is about the only letter addressed to Samuel which is preserved. The reason of its preservation must have been its being returned by Kupfernagel. (Ziemendorff – Samuel, Sept. 23, 1903).

252 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Sept. 24, 1903. Kupfernagel claimed the right to return a letter from the chairman to Samuel because of his experience on the mission field and with the "natives". He called for changes in two points: Firstly, a subordinate should never be addressed as "Dear Sir", particularly not a native "der so

In the meantime, Kupfernagel had suggested that the SPM be transferred to German territory at *Lake Chad*.<sup>253</sup> Then again, he favored the Blue Nile area, as he had already done in December 1902.<sup>254</sup> He had been expecting to be called home any day, since mid August of 1903.<sup>255</sup> But in his next letter, he complained that the board wanted to let him go thus easily.<sup>256</sup> The girls' school now had only a few students. Then, the number of students was reduced even further when almost all Christian officials were called away from Aswan.<sup>257</sup> Kupfernagel considered that, due to Samuel, the SPM in Aswan was in a critical situation<sup>258</sup> and he complained that he was not backed from home in his stance towards the indigenous workers.<sup>259</sup> On the night of October 9, 1903, the residents of the mission compound had a great scare, when the neighboring hotel, which was being rebuilt after a fire, partially collapsed.<sup>260</sup> Girgis, the teacher, had received a call to *Wadi Halfa*, and Mrs. Kupfernagel felt depressed by loneliness.<sup>261</sup>

Concerning Samuel, Mr. Scharr, a missionary in *Alexandria*, wrote a lengthy criticism to the board on October 14, 1903. On the same day, Samuel responded to the letter from Ziemendorff, which he had finally received. He declined the offer of a transfer to Bulgaria. Concerning the accusations against him, he responded: The charge that he was in fact a Muslim was pointless, because otherwise his children would not have been abducted. The religious question had only been put forward by his adversaries to be able to get his daughters married against his will. Samuel protested against the scrutinizing of his past as he was stricken with suffering now, and as he had lived as a Christian for the past three years before the eyes of the SPM, though, indirectly, he admitted some failures in the past, of which he had repented several years ago. He closed by saying that he would consider the letter received as his dismissal certificate.

Ziemendorff immediately contradicted this interpretation. In a Circular to the board, he commented that, according to his opinion, Samuel had not been treated rightly by Kupfernagel. After having received advice from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the legal

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leicht zum Hochmut neigt wie Samuel". Secondly, the offer to pay Samuel his full salary while he was working elsewhere would make even more a "rice Christian" out of him than he already was. Samuel responded to Ziemendorff on Oct. 14, 1903.

253 Johannes Kupfernagel, Report to board, Aug. 6, 1903.

254 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Sept. 24, 1903.

255 Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, Aug. 17, 1903.

256 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Sept. 3, 1903: "Recht schmerzlich klar wurde mir meine Stellung zur und in der Sudan-Pionier-Mission durch ihre Auslassung ... zu sehen, wie leicht man geneigt sein würde mich gehen zu lassen, der ich doch in der Arbeit hier draußen die ungleich größeren Lasten getragen habe, deren Schwere daheim nie recht erkannt wurde noch erkannt wird."

257 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Sept. 3, and Sept. 24, 1903.

258 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 9, 1903.

259 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 2, 1903.

260 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 9, 1903.

circumstances of the abduction of Samuel's children, Ziemendorff had gained more understanding for Samuel. On October 22, 1903, the two elder daughters of Samuel were married. On the same day, Samuel received<sup>262</sup> a letter from Miss von Zitzewitz, which he interpreted as an invitation to come to Germany. He immediately sent a telegram in response, that the next day he was leaving for Germany. In fact, there had been a misunderstanding between Ziemendorff and his coworker. Ziemendorff had never thought about calling Samuel to Germany, but his Ziemendorff's answer to such a suggestion by Miss von Zitzewitz obviously had not been clear enough.<sup>263</sup>

### 6.3.6 Kupfernagel – the Remaining Problem

Kupfernagel was increasingly at odds with the SPM on many issues. He was involved in a lengthy dispute, which a Mr. Rieser in Aswan was holding with the SPM. When the property had to be bought in 1901, Kupfernagel had called on Mr. Rieser for help as a friend. However, two years later, Rieser presented a bill for his services, but Kupfernagel had in the meantime heard that he was a swindler. Finally, the SPM decided to pay, to settle the dispute. But the amount was demanded back from Kupfernagel. Kupfernagel responded on November 3, 1903, stating that he was unable to pay.

When Kupfernagel heard on November 9 that Samuel had been called to Germany, he considered this a vote of no confidence against himself. He called Samuel a hypocrite, adulterer, liar, apostate, and an intriguer.<sup>264</sup> His letter was of such a nature, that Mrs. Kupfernagel, in a letter of her own, called it “a cry from a wrecking ship”. Kupfernagel became ill with gallbladder trouble on the same day,<sup>265</sup> and his wife felt “incredibly tired”.<sup>266</sup> On November 11, Kupfernagel wrote a letter of resignation to the board, but did not send it off.<sup>267</sup> On the same day, news reached Aswan that Samuel's daughter, Sara, had died in *Abu Hoor*.<sup>268</sup> Kupfernagel insisted that

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261 Martha Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 9, 1903.

262 It could also have been the date of writing.

263 Ziemendorff – Wittekindt, Nov. 10, 1903. Zitzewitz had suggested that Samuel could come to Germany, and by a misunderstanding and counter to the opinion of Ziemendorff, had issued an invitation. This was promptly answered by Samuel with a telegram, reading: “I leave today for Germany”.

264 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, Nov. 9, 1903.

265 Martha Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 17, 1903.

266 Martha Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 10, 1903.

267 According to Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 14, he only sent off the letter in March 30, 1904.

268 Martha Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 17, 1903.

his wife should go to Germany, in order that the board would not hear Samuel only, but also "the other side".<sup>269</sup>

At home the board was rather at a loss as to what to do with Kupfernagel. Ziemendorff considered him as the cause for the decline of workers in Aswan.<sup>270</sup> Wittekindt again called for a considerate treatment of Kupfernagel, but also proposed to liquidate the SPM, in order to get rid of Kupfernagel.<sup>271</sup> Dammann considered Kupfernagel unfit as a pioneer missionary, but rather one who might have worked well in an already prepared setting.<sup>272</sup> Ziemendorff wrote to Kupfernagel that the coming of his wife was not considered necessary.<sup>273</sup> From a private Circular of Kupfernagel, the board member Ulrich gathered that Kupfernagel planned to leave the SPM on April 1, 1904.<sup>274</sup>

Kupfernagel was again expecting his dismissal, when writing on December 22, 1903. He considered alternatives for himself, such as opening a pension in Aswan.<sup>275</sup> Just before Christmas, he even apologized for his harsh words about Samuel.<sup>276</sup> There were again some Christmas celebrations, as in previous years.<sup>277</sup> The Kupfernagels were all on their own now, as the last coworker, Girgis, the teacher, had left the SPM, and was taking up a new position in Wadi Halfa with the start of the new year. Because of the strain, Mr. Kupfernagel's health broke down right after Christmas, and he took refuge in *Alexandria* to rest until mid January.<sup>278</sup>

On January 15, the girls' school was provisionally continued by a Miss Evelyne Neufeld, a resident in Aswan.<sup>279</sup> On the day before, the tourists' doctor, Dr. Schacht, had started a medical dispensary. He was hoping to buy the property from the SPM, to build a boarding house there and to open a sanatorium later.<sup>280</sup> Kupfernagel proposed to open a new school in *Mahatta*, the village of his servant Abbas. But the board was reluctant to follow his advice.<sup>281</sup>

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269 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Dec. 15, 1903.

270 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Nov. 22/23, 1903.

271 Note by Wittekindt on Dec. 9, 1903, on Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Nov. 22/23, 1903; and Wittekindt – Ziemendorff, Dec. 15, 1903.

272 Dammann- Ziemendorff, Dec. 3, 1903.

273 Ziemendorff – SPM board, Dec. 15, 1903.

274 Ulrich – Ziemendorff, Dec. 18, 1903.

275 Martha Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 22/23, 1903.

276 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 23, 1903, continued on Jan. 14, 1904.

277 One service was held in German, and another in Arabic for the students.

278 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 23, 1903, continued on Jan. 14, 1904.

279 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Jan. 15, 1904, is the main source for this paragraph.

280 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Jan. 23, 1904, gives additional information on plans for a sanatorium.

281 Cf. Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Jan. 25, 1904, and the individual responses attached.

Then, Kupfernagel considered accepting the offer of becoming the German consular agent and a pastoral counselor for tourists in Aswan.<sup>282</sup> He had also received an offer to open a German sailor's mission in *Alexandria*, which he declined.<sup>283</sup> The SPM board in Germany finally decided on March 1, 1904, to dismiss Kupfernagel, as he himself had still not resigned. However, Kupfernagel was invited to set the date himself, to avoid any hardship. The board was even ready to give him a special payment to make the transition possible. A resolution of the board stated the reasons: As there was a lack of agreement between Kupfernagel and the board, as well as a repeatedly communicated willingness to resign, they could not see any blessing on further cooperation. In addition, considering the problematic health of the family, they did not want to take the responsibility of sending the Kupfernagels further south.<sup>284</sup>

Kupfernagel himself must have received the dismissal letter not before March 25, 1904.<sup>285</sup> He accepted it on March 30, with some relief, and sent along his previously unsent letter of resignation, dating from November 11, 1903.<sup>286</sup>

The supporters were informed in May 1904, through the *Sudan Pionier*, that Kupfernagel had agreed to part from the SPM and would leave Aswan on an undefined date. Differences of opinion, and the desire to take care of Kupfernagel in view of the over-exacting demands of moving further south, were given as the reasons. The communication ended with a statement of fraternal love, thankfulness for services, and good wishes.<sup>287</sup> All in all, there was a marked difference from the dismissal of Kumm: There was ample time given for the transition,

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282 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Feb. 11, 1904.

283 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, March 2, 1904.

284 *SPM Minutes*, March 1, 1904, pp. 52f.: "Da in Bezug auf die Grundsätze der Mission schon länger keine volle Übereinstimmung zu dem Aufsichtsrat und dem Komitee bestanden hat und da Miss. Kupfernagel schon länger seine Bereitwilligkeit wiederholt ausgesprochen hat von seinem Posten enthoben zu werden, so glaubt der Aufsichtsrat, daß ein weiteres Zusammenwirken von keinem Segen sein würde. Da ferner der Vorstand daran denkt, wieder nach Süden vorzugehen, möchte der A.R. die Verantwortung, Missionar Kupfernagel auszusenden nicht übernehmen, da schon in Assuan der Gesundheitszustand der Familie große Sorge bereitet."

285 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, March 25, 1904, complains of having received no mail from the SPM, except for two postcards, since December 22, 1903, and assumes that a letter must have got lost. The dismissal letter of the SPM board to Kupfernagel was first circulated to the board members for amendments. Only on March 15 was it circulated again for the signing by the board members.

286 These two letters by Kupfernagel do not seem to be preserved. Their content is only reported in Ziemendorff – Circular to board, April 13, 1904.

287 *SP* May 1904, p. 39: "Unseren Freunden wollen wir schon jetzt mitteilen, daß unser Missionar Kupfernagel die Station Assuan verlassen und aus unserer Mission ausscheiden wird; die Zeit für seinen Austritt ist noch nicht bestimmt. Gewisse Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen dem Aufsichtsrat und Missionar Kupfernagel in Bezug auf die Arbeit, ließen diese Trennung als notwendig erscheinen, mit der auch Bruder Kupfernagel einverstanden ist. Da wir die Absicht haben, so Gott will schon im Herbst dieses Jahres zwei neue Brüder auszusenden, welche den Wirkungskreis weiter im Süden suchen und finden sollen, hielt sich der Aufsichtsrat nicht für berechtigt dem Missionar Kupfernagel zuzumuten mit ihnen hinauszugehen, obgleich derselbe selbst willig war seine Familie zu verlassen. ... Wir scheiden vom Missionar Kupfernagel in brüderlicher Liebe, mit

agreement was awaited, payments made, no blame or false impression given, and all forms of a respectful parting were obeyed. Kupfernagel was treated in a much friendlier fashion by the SPM board than Kumm had been.

In May 1904, the girls' school in Aswan was temporarily closed, due to an epidemic of typhoid.<sup>288</sup>

On August 21, 1904, Kupfernagel notified the board that he would leave Egyptian soil in the next week for *Dar es Salaam*. He had turned over the mission property in Aswan to the interim custody of the hotel director Staiger. In a final word, he informed the recipients that Samuel's life would still be in danger in Aswan, if he came there.<sup>289</sup> On August 31, 1904, Kupfernagel officially ceased to be a missionary of the SPM.<sup>290</sup>

### 6.3.7 A New Start of the SPM

Different ideas were pursued by the board concerning the future area of work of the SPM. In August 1903, they discussed whether to give up Aswan and to consider *Lake Chad* as a possible goal. Pastor Ernst Lohmann in Frankfurt, who also had ambitions in that direction, was to be consulted.<sup>291</sup> Circulars were not sufficient for deciding such questions, and Ziemendorff proposed a board meeting on October 12, 1903. However, the board was unable to meet, as Wittekindt had taken up a new position in Berlin and could not come.<sup>292</sup> The meeting had to be postponed several times, because Wittekindt was unable to attend before March 1904.<sup>293</sup> This kept the board from taking important decisions, as Ziemendorff considered Wittekindt the most important voice on the board.<sup>294</sup> Ziemendorff had to take decisions based on the responses to his Circulars, which were sent from board member to board member. Even these Circulars were

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Dankbarkeit für das, was er bisher in unserer Mission getan und mit dem herzlichen Wunsch, daß er bald eine ihm zusagende Arbeit im Dienste des Herrn finden möge!"

288 Martha Kupfernagel – Miss von Zitzewitz, May 25, 1904.

289 Johannes Kupfernagel, near Cairo – SPM board, Aug. 21, 1904. Mrs. Kupfernagel with her children went to Germany first and seems to have left Aswan together with Johannes Kupfernagel, as they were expected in *Strehlen, Schlesien*, on September 15, 1904.

290 *SPM Minutes*, p. 54, meeting of council on July 25, 1904.

291 This was proposed by Wittekindt in his comment on Ziemendorff – Circular to board, August 15, 1903.

292 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Sept. 16, 1903, with notes by the board members.

293 Wittekindt – Ziemendorff, Nov. 13, 1903, envisages being able to come to a meeting in January 1904. Wittekindt – Ziemendorff, Dec. 15, 1903, postpones his coming to a board meeting until March 1904, as Berlin, where he now lived, was too far away from the usual locations of the board meeting.

294 E.g. Wittekindt is the only one who is told by Ziemendorff about the misunderstandings which led to the coming of Samuel to Germany, and Ziemendorff insists that Wittekindt must be there at the meeting, which was urgently necessary. Ziemendorff – Wittekindt, Nov. 10, 1903.

heavily delayed. Ulrich once complained that letters were held up by Dammann for more than two weeks.<sup>295</sup>

Enderlin, who had arrived in Wiesbaden in October 1903, nevertheless was faithful to the SPM in spite of all the uncertainty.<sup>296</sup> In November 1903, the *Sudan Pionier* published the news that the goal of the SPM now lay more in the east, while in the past it had been to the west of Aswan (Kordofan and Darfur). Aswan would in any case remain the base for a longer time.<sup>297</sup> The former missionary to Abyssinia, Johann Martin Flad<sup>298</sup> (1831–1915), had been consulted by Ziemendorff. He had suggested targeting the Galla areas via the Blue Nile.<sup>299</sup>

Coming from Egypt, Samuel arrived in Wiesbaden on November 13, 1903.<sup>300</sup> Ziemendorff had taken the responsibility for his coming, initially only telling Wittekindt the particulars of the “invitation”.<sup>301</sup> However, Wittekindt disclosed the secret soon afterwards to the other board members. Contrary to Ziemendorff's view, Wittekindt was against keeping Samuel in the service of the SPM.<sup>302</sup> Ziemendorff, together with Autenrieth, had pastoral conversations with Samuel.<sup>303</sup> He was winning their trust by his explanations, and they recognized him as a valuable worker,<sup>304</sup> whereas the other board members, who had not met him personally yet, remained

295 Ulrich in a note on Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Oct. 29, 1903.

296 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Oct. 18, 1903.

297 *SP* Nov. 1903, pp. 83f.: “Durch den Vorfall mit Samuel und durch das Vorgehen der amerikanischen Mission in Oberägypten werden wir gedrängt, ebenfalls bald weiter über Assuan hinauszugehen, wie es von Anfang an die Absicht der SPM war. Hatten wir früher mehr unser Auge nach dem Westen nach Kordofan und Darfur gerichtet, so scheint es jetzt als würden wir mehr nach Osten gewiesen.”

298 Cf. *BDCM*, p. 214. Flad had been trained at St. Chrischona and was sent to Ethiopia in 1855 by Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem. He established missionary work among the Falashas, an indigenous Jewish minority. When Flad had to leave the country in 1868, he continued ministering to the *Falashas*, mainly by sending Bibles to Ethiopia. In 1885 he joined the BFBS to achieve this goal. He lived in *Kornthal*, Germany, near *Stuttgart*, and was directing the *Mission to the Falashas* as a branch of the *London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews* until his death. He was always seeking for ways of getting European missionaries into Ethiopia. Cf. Johann Martin Flad: *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien. Selbstbiographie des Missionars Johann Martin Flad. Mit Einleitung und Schlußwort von seinem Sohn Pastor Friedrich Flad.* Gießen / Basel: Brunnen, 1922 [1968], 442 pp., particularly the report by his son Friedrich about the years 1894–1915, pp. 424ff.

299 Cf. Ziemendorff: *Bericht bei der Generalversammlung 1904*, Circulars of the SPM board; Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Nov. 16, 1903.

300 The date is given in Theodor Ziemendorff: *Bericht bei der Generalversammlung 1904*, Circulars of the SPM board.

301 Ziemendorff – Wittekindt, Nov. 10, 1903. Zitzewitz had suggested that Samuel could come to Germany, and by a misunderstanding and counter to the opinion of Ziemendorff, had issued an invitation. This was promptly answered by Samuel with a telegram, reading: “I leave today for Germany”.

302 Wittekindt divulged the secret in his comments of Dec. 12, 1903 on the Circular to the board, sent on Nov. 22/23, 1903, by Ziemendorff. He considered Samuel a “heritage” of Kumm.

303 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Nov. 16, 1903.

304 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 14. Ziemendorff considered keeping Samuel as a teacher and interpreter (cf. Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Nov. 22/23, 1903). In a Circular to the *Helpers Unions* (Dec. 12, 1903), Samuel is called a “lieber Hausgenosse, ... ein begabter Mann, für seine Verhältnisse umfassend gebildet, mit praktischem Blick und begabter Hand”.

suspicious of him for almost a further year.<sup>305</sup> Soon, requests from the *Helpers Unions* arrived, for them to be visited by Samuel, but a note was published in the December 1903 issue of the *Sudan Pionier* that he was not yet available, as he needed a time of recollection and quiet.<sup>306</sup>

In November 1903, Enderlin started to learn Arabic from Samuel. As a companion for Enderlin, Leopold Zimmerlin, a teacher at Chrischona, had now applied. The Chrischona board decided to release him from his position as a teacher, as soon as a replacement had been found.<sup>307</sup> Another missionary candidate, Miss Elisabeth Gonnermann, was at that time learning ophthalmology and additionally planned to have some training in sick care. Miss Lina Götte, who also wanted to go to the field, was still prevented from doing so by her frail health and faithfully worked at the SPM office.<sup>308</sup>

On March 1, 1904, the board finally assembled again for the first time after a full year.<sup>309</sup> Now it was Dammann who was unable to attend, due to sickness. Nevertheless, he emphasized that he still valued his membership on the board.<sup>310</sup> At this meeting, the dismissal of Kupfernagel was decided. The future status of Samuel was explicitly defined as “assistant”, not as “missionary”. It was decided to pursue the area of *Gallaland* (Blue Nile) as a further target area. The annual *General Assembly* of the SPM was also held on March 1, 1904, in Wiesbaden with about 35 members present.<sup>311</sup>

In April 1904, the board planned to explain to the *Helpers Unions* that holding fast to the station in Aswan would be too expensive and that it did not serve the new goal of the Blue Nile.<sup>312</sup> In June,<sup>313</sup> the Women's Committee was supplemented by Amélie von Massenbach.<sup>314</sup>

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305 E.g. Sartorius in Ziemendorff – Circular to board, April 13, 1904.

306 *SP* Dec. 1903, p. 91.

307 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, Nov. 22/23, 1903. Cf. Minutes CM, Nov. 17, 1903, item V.

308 *SP* Dec. 1903, p. 91.

309 *SPM Minutes*, March 1, 1903, pp. 52f.

310 Dammann – Ziemendorff, March 7, 1903.

311 Minutes General Assembly, March 1, 1904.

312 Ziemendorff – Circular to board, April 13, 1904.

313 Hohenlohe: *Material*, p. 16, claims that this took place in March 1903. But she seems to attribute the decisions of the Minutes of the Women's Committee of June 4, 1903 to the wrong date, as these were inserted into the SPM board's minute book on the pages concerning the SPM board meeting of March 1903.

314 Amélie von Massenbach belonged to the small core group of the Marienhaus. There is not much known about her biography. In 1909, a relative of hers, Gertrud Dorothea Freiin von Massenbach (1883–1975), became a missionary of the SPM and later a pioneer in Nubian linguistics. The estate of Gertrud's parents in *Pinne, Posen*, had been a hub of mission support and was renowned for its annual missions festival (File “Gertrud von Massenbach”, Yellow Folder).

Anna-Luise zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen was voted into the chair of the Women's Committee and consequently relinquished her post as secretary of the same.<sup>315</sup>

From June to August 1904, Enderlin and Samuel were visiting the *Helpers Unions* in southern Germany, and additionally Zimmerlin and Miss Gonnermann were doing deputation work. In September, Enderlin reported about their visits in Silesia.<sup>316</sup> In July, the board was meeting again. Ziemendorff and Autenrieth were commissioned to review the *Principles and Practice* of the SPM in view of the upcoming commissioning of new missionaries.<sup>317</sup>

#### 6.4. Summary

The first attempt to establish German missionaries in Aswan, from January 1901 to August 1904, was a complete failure. The whole period was a time of perpetual crisis.

Johannes Kupfernagel had not been suitable for the task and had started intrigues against the best personnel which the SPM had. In order to save Samuel from conflicts with Kupfernagel, Kumm had set up a separate station for Samuel. Unfortunately, it did not prove suitable and had to be closed again after only a year.

In Germany, the Eisenach based administration of the SPM did not function properly, and gradually had to be transferred to Wiesbaden. Kumm remained the driving force of the SPM in Germany, representing it publicly on many speaking engagements. Simultaneously, he attempted to finish his doctorate, which took longer than expected. Family circumstances and the problems of the SPM in Germany led Kumm to prolonged stays and increased activity in Great Britain, attempting to establish supplementary or even alternative support structures for the SPM there.

An increasing breach developed between Kumm and the rest of the German SPM board. Kumm was already advocating an alternative access route to the Sudan Belt via the Niger River, whereas the German SPM board wanted to focus on opportunities in Aswan. Kumm's independent, pioneering advances in Great Britain, and Kupfernagel's intrigues against Kumm, ultimately led to the dismissal of Kumm by the German SPM board in October 1902.

With the loss of its pioneering founder, the work of the SPM increasingly declined. In Egypt, the situation was aggravated by the abduction of Samuel's children by Nubian relatives and the

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315 See Appendix I for the text of these minutes: *Abschrift des Protokolls der Sitzung des Frauenkomitees am 4. 6. 04.*

316 Enderlin – Ziemendorff, Sept. 12 [?], 1904.

317 *SPM Minutes*, July 25, 1904.

ensuing public commotion in Aswan in August 1903. There was great uncertainty on the SPM board about the location of the work, the direction it should take, and how to get rid of Kupfernagel. The board was unable to take any far reaching decisions for a whole year, as one of its most influential members, Wittekindt, was not able to attend, and thus the board didn't meet at all.

But the period was not all decline for the SPM, as in the course of 1904, three new missionaries were trained in Wiesbaden, with the help of Samuel, who had come to Germany in November 1903. After Kupfernagel had finally left the SPM in August 1904,<sup>318</sup> these new missionaries, together with Samuel, were getting ready to lead the SPM to a new start.

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318 Kupfernagel's retrospect on his time with the SPM is understandably quite critical. After four years later, he described it as "ein Weg über Steine und Dornen und Löcher, deren Verletzungen noch Zeit brauchen zum Verheilen". (*CV Kupfernagel*, Jan. 26, 1908, Missionar Kupfernagels Angaben zu den Personalakten, Berlin Mission Archives, Kupfernagel Vol. II, p. 291a.) Till the end of his life, he condemned the missionary practices of the SPM: "Die Art Missionsarbeit zu treiben, wie sie von Wiesbaden aus gewünscht wurde, konnte ich nicht gut heißen und ebensowenig die Missionsgrößen D. Warneck und D. J. Richter". (Johannes Kupfernagel: *Curriculum Vitae 1932*. Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel, Gesamtkonsistorium Kassel – Personalakten, No. 673, p. 2).

## 7 Strengths and Weaknesses of the early SPM (1900–1904)

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize and analyze structural strengths and weaknesses of the SPM, beyond individual events and decisions, or momentary situations. The topics have been selected according to the following criteria: They should help to describe the SPM, in particular its peculiarities, and should be sufficiently documented. Thus, no preconceived grid out of a missiological textbook has been applied. Nor will this be a comprehensive analysis of all possible aspects of a mission agency and its work. The short time span treated, the small number of workers, and the fact that these were not only years of beginning, but also of almost permanent crisis, would make such an approach not very profitable.

### 7.1 Missionary Objectives

This passage focuses on the objectives and strategy of the SPM with respect to their geographical, ethnic, and religious dimensions. These are the primary factors distinguishing the SPM from other mission agencies. The ultimate purpose and goal of the SPM, which it shared with all faith missions and many other mission agencies, was obedience to the Great Commission, spreading the Kingdom of God, reaching those unreached with the Gospel, and to plant self-supporting and self-expanding churches.<sup>1</sup> Concerning its objectives, a distinction must be made between the objectives conceived (including their changes), and the objectives reached.

#### 7.1.1 The Geographical Area Targeted and Reached

The SPM, as conceived by Guinness and the Kumms, initially targeted the parts of Central Africa, which had not been reached by other mission agencies. It wanted to reach the whole Sudan Belt. The area to be reached via the Nile, from the base in Aswan, extended from there via Khartoum to *Lake Chad (Kordofan, Darfur and Wadai)*.<sup>2</sup> In reality, the SPM was basically confined to Aswan during the five years treated here. Half the area towards Khartoum had been provisionally covered by an extensive scripture colportage tour through Nubia in 1900. However, after the founding of the board and the sending out of the first German missionaries in 1901, the SPM became a local missionary work in Aswan only instead of a pioneer movement. The additional station on *Guzaira*, close by, was only short-lived (May 1901– April 1902). The

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1 Flyer *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900], p. 1; and *Principles and Practice*, X, *SPM Minutes*, insert pp. 14f.

2 Cf. Chapter 4.1.

focusing on Aswan was less due to an “intensive”<sup>3</sup> strategy, than to the lack of additional workers and a steady decline of the SPM in its first years.

Serious doubts began to arise about the appropriateness of a station in Aswan, as no governmental permission for extensive expansion into the Muslim north of the Eastern Sudan was given, contrary to initial expectations. Therefore, Kumm showed himself flexible and took “highhanded” preparations to reach the Sudan via the Niger, with an English branch of the SPM. This was a major reason for his dismissal.

Kupfernagel was convinced that Aswan should be given up for many additional reasons. He suggested numerous and changing alternative target areas and bases, such as *Suakin* and *Berber*, *Lake Chad*, and *German East Africa*. Some of these suggestions were seriously discussed, but most were only refuted. The board seriously considered targeting the Blue Nile area and the *Galla* in Ethiopia. The new missionaries, sent out in 1904, were originally destined to go there. However, as the necessary permission had not been granted, they were temporarily sent to Aswan for training, where they permanently remained, except for expanding northward in Upper Egypt.

### 7.1.2 The Ethnic Groups Targeted and Contacted

The Kumms and Guinness wanted to reach the 100 tribes on the Upper Nile and in the Sudan.<sup>4</sup> The two groups targeted first were the Nubians and the *Bischareen*.<sup>5</sup> The one person who was utilized to contact the Nubians most of the time was Samuel Ali Hiseen, who did this first by his colportage tour through all of Nubia, and afterwards, with little success, in *Guzaira*. From Fall 1902 to Summer 1903, evangelistic contacts with Nubians took on greater intensity, in and around Aswan. The disadvantage of Aswan was that it lay at the fringe of Nubia, and only a fraction of its inhabitants was Nubian. In addition to colportage and evangelism, Samuel had been working on strategic basics, such as a glossary, a grammar, and the translation of a Gospel.<sup>6</sup>

The *Bischareen* were first befriended by Kumm, who also worked on a glossary and grammar.<sup>7</sup> They only attended the mission school when it was newly opened, and a school,

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3 The terms *intensive* and *extensive* are employed in missionary methodology concerning the “distribution and planned assignment of missionary personnel”: “The central questions about missionary method are”, whether in a given territory extensive or intensive missionary activity is used (Josef Schmitz / Horst Rzepkowski: “Missionary Methods”. In: *DOM* 1997, p. 317).

4 There are more than 100 ethnic groups in the Sudan, of which one third can be called “Arabic”, another third “Southerners”, whereas the last third is composed of various people groups such as the Nubians, and the peoples of the *Nuba Mountains*, etc.

5 Cf. Chapter 4.1.

6 Cf. Chapter 7.3.1.

7 Ibid.

exclusively for them, and close to their encampment, could not be brought into being. Kupfernagel contacted the *Bischareen* with changing success, but there was opposition by the Egyptian teacher, Girgis, to working among them. Certainly, Girgis considered them uncivilized, and regarded them with disrespect. An additional factor made work among them difficult: they were semi-nomadic and only spent limited periods close to Aswan.

Work among expatriate European workers did not materialize, which was no loss, as it had not been a major priority on the agenda. Nevertheless, there were frequent contacts with German tourists, and worship services were offered for them. The experiment of a Christian hostel for Europeans, which was partly motivated by economic factors, was unsuccessful and very short lived.

Contrary to earlier promises by Guinness and Kumm, to leave the Copts to the *American Mission*, the schools of the SPM were in the majority attended by Coptic Orthodox and Evangelical children. This led to conflicts with the *American Mission*. Therefore, the Coptic boys were returned to the American school, which led to the closing of the boys' school of the SPM.

Further ethnic groups, such as Arabs people from different ethnic groups of the Sudan, were among the contacts made by Samuel in his evangelistic work.

### **7.1.3 The Religious Groups Targeted and Reached**

The Sudan, which the SPM aimed to reach, included both "heathen" and Muslim tribes, both of which the SPM wanted to target. However, since the SPM remained in Aswan, there was no contact with traditional religion. A part of their missionary energy was directed towards Christians, whether active, nominal, or of a differing tradition. The Copts were considered "spiritually dead". But the majority of the work was done among Muslims. However, the Nubians were adherents of a Folk Islam, where the elements of traditional religion might have been strong.<sup>8</sup> With the focus on Muslims, it was quite natural that the SPM was increasingly considered as "The mission to Muslims" in Germany, in times beyond the scope of this research. It even later changed its name to the *Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission*, to give expression to this.

Thus, in all respects, the original objectives of the SPM were only partially attained. Some were partly reoriented in practice. Most important of all, the objective of reaching the Sudan was attained neither in the first five years, nor for many years to follow.

## 7.2 Missionary Personnel

The personnel of the SPM was extremely limited in number during the five years under research. Nevertheless, two issues deserve attention, for they were either notable or a permanent source of conflict: the roles of indigenous<sup>9</sup> personnel, and of women in the SPM.

### 7.2.1 The Role of Indigenous Missionary Workers

Which role and position did the Christian employees of the SPM, who had a direct share in its missionary work, have? How were they treated? What terminology was used for them in mission communications, internal and external? The above definition of “indigenous missionary workers” excludes the servants, who did not directly contribute to the missionary work.

Thus, there are only four people left in this category: Samuel, and the three teachers: Girgis, his wife Zamerida, and Habib. The analysis will focus on the role of Samuel, as he remained the longest with the SPM, and as his position and treatment were a repeated source of conflict. The others will be used for comparison.

Samuel was treated and regarded differently, by different people, and at different times. In addition, he himself had had his own experiences in the past and expectations stemming from the past. The best treatment which Samuel had ever received from Europeans was well meaning paternalism. His Swiss sponsor, Théodore Necker, and even more his successors, had been deciding on Samuel and his career, without asking him. Worse was his first employer after his return to Egypt, Miss Whately, by whom he felt exploited.<sup>10</sup> During his short military career, his position was very clear and defined: he was a personal interpreter to the *Colonel*, subordinate but probably respected. The beginnings of his career in the Postal Service, in late 1899, would probably equally have led to a respected position.

When he was employed by Guinness for the SPM, there was a long held mutual affection with Guinness, and respect, from the time of his training at the ELTI. Equally with Kumm, friendship and respect developed. Samuel was installed in a position of responsibility as a *colporteur*. Though he was reporting to Kumm, who acted as his superior, Samuel was under no direct supervision. These were the minimally structured beginnings, which must have been happy

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8 This is supported by Samuel: *Autobiography*, 1910, pp. 142f.; Samuel 1920, pp. 76f.

9 I am aware of the touchy nature of terminology here. I only use the term *native* when translating the historic use of the German term *Eingeborener*. I hope that using the term *indigenous* will not be offensive to anyone.

10 Cf. Chapter 4.3.1.

times for Samuel, despite the hardships of colportage. It was in positive contrast to most of what he had experienced in the past.

Returning to Aswan, he was given a position as a teacher at the SPM School. The Kumms were at that stage in Germany. As the first teacher, Girgis, was very ambitious and considered the school his personal affair, there was conflict between the two.<sup>11</sup> There seems to have been rivalry between the two, as Samuel certainly had a higher level of education than Girgis, but Girgis was the one in charge of the school. Samuel was expected to submit to Girgis in school matters, which he did only reluctantly.<sup>12</sup> Also, Girgis, as a Copt, might have looked down on Samuel, a dark skinned Nubian, as other Egyptians did.<sup>13</sup>

With the establishment of the SPM in Germany, the roles of indigenous missionary workers were redefined. In the *Principles and Practice* of the SPM,<sup>14</sup> they were termed “assistants”, and were to be supervised by an *Africa Committee*, which was part of the board in Germany. The European missionaries, whom they obviously were to help, were exhorted to be slow to judge them, as expectations toward an indigenous convert could not be the same as toward a European.

Thus, the indigenous workers, from then on, had to relate both to new missionaries sent from Europe and to a board in Germany.<sup>15</sup> The new missionary arriving from Germany, Johannes Kupfernagel, acted according to what he considered he had learned from his previous missionary experience in India with the *Gossner Mission*. Kupfernagel regarded all indigenous workers as his subordinates,<sup>16</sup> whom he had to supervise and on whom he had to pass judgment.<sup>17</sup> He

11 Kupfernagel very soon recognized the ambitiousness of Girgis: “[Er] hat den Fehler, daß er nicht demütig ist” bzw. “zu sehr nach oben zu streben” (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Feb. 24, 1901). Girgis was ruthless towards others in calling them to their duty. There was a sharp dispute between Samuel and Girgis in February 1901 (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 7, 1901). Kupfernagel considered this the reason why Samuel was given the station *Guzaira* (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 7, 1901). I take note that Kupfernagel was a biased witness, and there is no direct evidence in any of the other correspondence. However, from my study of Girgis' letters in the whole context, I would follow Kupfernagel's evaluation in this case.

12 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 7, 1901.

13 Kupfernagel reported (Johannes Kupfernagel – Dammann, Feb. 19, 1901) that the teachers of the government school totally ignored Samuel. Samuel was despised because of the color of his skin. Samuel himself would feel marginalized in the presence of others with equal training.

14 *SPM Minutes*, insert pp. 14/15, item XI. The term used was “einheimische Missions-Gehülffen” (See Appendix I).

15 That was somewhat unusual among either faith missions or classical missions. It seems to me that in the best case scenario, with a good working relationship to the local missionary, the indigenous workers would only have to relate to the board in Germany through his intermediacy. The influence of this board would in the best case be restricted to deciding who would be employed, and what kind of work the indigenous workers would do. As it turned out, a worse scenario evolved, and during the one year when Samuel was assigned to his own station, he was relating to the board directly.

16 Kupfernagel disclaimed that he considered the indigenous workers as “subordinate”, after being criticized by Ziemendorff (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Jan. 16, 1902), but the terminology he used witnesses against him. He called them “die unter mir stehenden Schulbrüder”, or “mir unterstellte Brüder” (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, June 27, 1901).

insisted that all their official correspondence was to pass via him, as the leader of the mission station. When the board acted otherwise, he protested.<sup>18</sup> Kupfernagel also complained that Kumm, on his visit to Aswan in April 1901, had separate discussions with the indigenous workers in Arabic, which Kupfernagel did not understand. Unfortunately, Kupfernagel was unable to establish a good working relationship with Samuel. When Kumm arrived in Aswan in April 1901, Samuel was distressed about the treatment he received, and was about to leave the SPM and to return to the Postal Service.<sup>19</sup>

With the establishment of the *Guzaira* station as his own station, Samuel became equal to Kupfernagel. Kumm saw that “such reliable people as Samuel are rare”. Kupfernagel was supposed to have no control over Samuel and no say on his station,<sup>20</sup> as Samuel was then under the direct supervision of the board in Germany. Kupfernagel was very displeased about this. But the board confirmed this action by Kumm. It was counter to Kupfernagel's honor and to what he was used from the *Gossner Mission* in India. He was irritated by Ziemendorff's criticism of his attitude toward the indigenous workers,<sup>21</sup> and asked for detailed instruction as to how far his authority would reach, e.g. in reporting about them to the board.<sup>22</sup>

Kupfernagel's opinion was that no indigenous worker could work independently, without direct supervision by a missionary.<sup>23</sup> He was strengthened in that position by missionaries from

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17 Kupfernagel had also been quite critical in reporting about the indigenous Christians at his earlier place of service in India: “Leider überwiegt der Schatten meist das Licht”. Johannes Kupfernagel: “Licht und Schatten auf Charkardharpur.” In: *Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde*, 1895. Kupfernagel's superintendent in Dar es Salaam was not convinced that Kupfernagel had a sufficient understanding of the indigenous population: “Ich traue ihm aber nicht das nötige Verständnis der Eingeborenen wie auch nicht die nötige missionarische Einsicht zu.” (Klamroth, Kisserowe – Komite der Berliner Mission, June 1, 1908, Berlin Mission Archives, Kupfernagel Vol. II).

18 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, June 27, 1901. When Dammann inquired directly from Samuel about his relationship to both Kumm and Kupfernagel, Kupfernagel (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 13, 1902) again insisted this should not be done, in order not to undermine his position, and not to tempt the indigenous to lie, as this was “a weakness of character of the Orientals”.

19 Kumm explained to Ziemendorff (Dec. 20, 1901), that according to what he could see, Kupfernagel did not treat Samuel fraternally: “Als ich im Frühjahr nach Assuan kam, hat Br. Samuel in meinem Zimmer geweint wie ein Kind über die Behandlung, die ihm Br. K[upfernagel] angedeihen ließ. Er hatte sich schon entschlossen uns zu verlassen und wieder zur Post zu gehen ... Dies alles war ein Beweggrund mit, daß S. El-Gesira übernahm, um nun getrennt von Br. K[upfernagel] ruhiger in seiner alten Weise arbeiten zu können.”

20 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Dec. 20, 1901.

21 Kumm had asked Ziemendorff to write to Kupfernagel: “Er müsse Frieden halten mit den übrigen gläubigen Christen unter allen Umständen. Wir kommen mit der Arbeit nicht vorwärts, wenn wir uns damit aufhalten, andere Leute beständig zu verurteilen und ev. alle dunkeln Schattenseiten aufzusuchen. Es giebt auch lichte Seiten” (Kumm – Ziemendorff, Dec. 20, 1901).

22 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Jan. 16, 1902.

23 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, May 15, 1902.

other missions<sup>24</sup> and other westerners whom he consulted in *Alexandria*.<sup>25</sup> They were particularly distrustful of converts from Islam.<sup>26</sup> Some had a strongly racist attitude towards all "Orientals". Kupfernagel used their opinions as arguments in relating to the SPM board, without necessarily going to the racist extremes of these positions. Kupfernagel was even more irritated when the board considered placing Oltmann, the German construction helper, under Samuel's supervision: "This is counter to all missionary experience, even if the native had the better training".<sup>27</sup> Kupfernagel spent much effort in scrutinizing the past of Samuel and in slandering him towards the board.<sup>28</sup> He favored Girgis, and protested when Samuel was to be given a higher salary than Girgis.<sup>29</sup>

When the *Guzaira* station was given up, Kupfernagel would have been glad to be rid of Samuel. But the board decided otherwise. Samuel's position was weakened, as Kumm, the only board member who had known him personally, had been dismissed. Samuel again became subordinate to Kupfernagel. This somehow seemed to work. Samuel even evangelized together with Kupfernagel, but also independently. Samuel was not always contented with his treatment by the board and compared it to the treatment of German missionaries, e.g. concerning the delay in responding to his letters or the granting of vacations. He complained: "Are we all workers, or some of us are Lords?" He insisted that for future cooperation, a common spirit and common consultation were necessary. Otherwise, it would not be possible for "natives" to follow

24 Mr. Scharf, *Alexandria*, shared Kupfernagel's legalistic and judgmental attitude towards Samuel in a letter to Ziemendorff (Oct. 14, 1903). Scharf served as Kupfernagel's witness in an inquisitive interview with Samuel (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 3, 1903).

25 Pastor Alfred Kaufmann (*Alexandria*), when interviewed by Ziemendorff in 1904, made a very derogatory or even racist statement against Samuel: "Kaufmann ist der Meinung, daß ein Berberiner wie Samuel Ali Hissein nur zum Stiefelputzen oder Kutscher oder Türhüter [die damals üblichen Beschäftigungen von Nubiern in Städten] oder dergleichen zu gebrauchen [sei], daß höhere europäische Bildung die Leute untauglich und schwer zu behandeln machte" (Ziemendorff, Cairo – Wittekindt, Dec. 7, 1904).

26 Mr. Irrsich of the BFBS maintained that "oriental Christians" should not be given too much responsibility and no independent posts. Because of his 17 years of experience, he was concerned that the SPM would give a Nubian Christian such an independent position too quickly (Blücher – Ziemendorff, Jan. 17, 1902). In a letter directed to Ziemendorff, on July 8, 1902, Irrsich maintained that converts were to be regarded as "unsichere Kantonisten", particularly if they were holding fast to their old names after baptism and instruction. They should not be given "auch nicht den Schatten einer Gleichstellung mit den Europäern". Otherwise their inborn pride would make them become aloof soon. Obviously he shared some kind of social Darwinism, as he counted the Nubians among the "degenerate, partly barbaric races": "Die Angehörigen dieser entarteten, teils barbarischen Rassen, müssen – auch wenn sie Christen geworden – ... von den weißen Missionaren ... fest an der Strippe gehalten werden". In the same vein, the German Pastor in Cairo, Dr. Kahle, later told Ziemendorff: "Wenn ein Mohammedaner Christ würde, taue er nichts" (Ziemendorff, Cairo – Wittekindt, Dec. 7, 1904). This is much stronger than anything Kupfernagel ever said. He never expressed this kind of racism.

27 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, April 25, 1902.

28 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Jan. 16, 1902; May 15, 1902; Aug. 6, 1903, Martha Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Aug. 17, 1903.

29 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, April 25, 1902.

European ideas.<sup>30</sup> His statement makes the reader believe that Samuel, at that time, did not have sufficient ownership of the objectives and decisions of the SPM.

The situation soon deteriorated with ever-new “findings” of Kupfernagel about Samuel's past. The board, influenced by Kupfernagel, and without the balance provided by Kumm, also started to doubt the integrity of Samuel, though the board claimed that it did not share the “judgmental” and legalistic attitude of Kupfernagel towards Samuel, and instructed Kupfernagel not to have the “highest moral expectations” of an indigenous worker.<sup>31</sup> The situation was worst when Samuel's children had been abducted, and Samuel had fled to *Alexandria*. Kupfernagel even intercepted a letter of Ziemendorff to Samuel, because he thought that addressing Samuel as “Dear Sir” was not the appropriate way to address a subordinate, even less a “native”. He was also afraid that Samuel would be made a “rice Christian” (*Brot-Christ*) by the favorable way the board treated him.<sup>32</sup>

Only when he was in Germany did Samuel find a compassionate counselor in Ziemendorff, the chairman of the SPM. Samuel was rehabilitated and became a language teacher for the future missionaries. The missionaries-to-be, Enderlin and Zimmerlin, treated their language teacher as equal.<sup>33</sup> But it took a long time until other board members trusted Samuel again.

When Samuel was sent back to Egypt with the new missionaries, the board decided that Samuel would not have the position of a missionary, but that of a subordinate assistant.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, at the commissioning, Samuel was only treated as a companion to the missionaries. The German missionaries were at the center of attention; only they were ordained (but only the males), and given a farewell. Samuel remained in such a subordinate position for

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30 Samuel – SPM, Oct. 17, 1902, and Nov. 5, 1902: Samuel had not received any response to his mail for five months, and suggested that at least they would not treat a European co-worker that way. Concerning vacations, he added: “if we are one – how is it some have vacation every year and some not?”

31 This was in conformity with an explicit statement of the *Principles and Practice* of the SPM: “Da Orientalen u. Südländer selbst nachdem sie den Heiland gefunden haben, oftmals in vielen äußeren Dingen nicht das sind, was ein europäischer Missionar von ihnen erwartet, so haben die Missionare u. Missionarinnen sehr vorsichtig zu sein und nicht in leichter Weise den Stab über solche zu brechen” (See Appendix I). Kupfernagel responded to Ziemendorff that the board and he had different views, about the “sittlichen Anforderungen der Heiligen Schrift an einen Orientalen als Missionsarbeiter. [... Ich teile nicht Ihre Ansicht] daß ich an Samuel ‘als Orientalen’ nicht die gleichen Forderungen der christlichen Gesetze (wenn ich so sagen soll) stellen dürfte, als sie an einen Kolschristen oder Kamerun-Neger gestellt werden” (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Sept. 3, 1903).

32 The board offered, after the abduction of Samuel's children, to continue to pay Samuel's salary in his ‘exile’ in Alexandria, while he was searching for work and working elsewhere.

33 This was later criticized by Pastor Kaufmann, Alexandria (Ziemendorff – Wittekindt, Dec. 7, 1904).

34 This shows that they did not really consider a Nubian Christian equal to the missionaries sent from Germany, even though he had equivalent training. This weighed heavier than the thought that Samuel would have benefited from “German protection” as a member of the SPM. Samuel did not receive this protection from

the rest of his life, though being considered a valuable and respected worker of the SPM. Ziemendorff, when accompanying Samuel to Egypt in 1904, did not share the critical or racist attitude of other Westerners in Egypt towards Samuel. He found these Westerners lacking in Christian love.<sup>35</sup> Samuel always remained under the supervision of European missionaries, as long as they were present. It was only during the ten years' break in the SPM's work during World War I that he was able to act as the custodian of the mission property and do Bible translation and evangelistic work on his own initiative and without supervision.<sup>36</sup>

One should be careful not to deduce too much from these events, as there were certainly many personal elements in the conflicts described above. But there was a decided difference between Kumm and Kupfernagel in the way in which they treated Samuel. Kupfernagel had a superior, judgmental, and legalistic attitude towards Samuel. Possibly, he felt inferior, and Samuel, with his unusually high level of education, was a threat to him. Kupfernagel was also unable to see the cultural aspect in the question of circumcision, and branded it as sin. Because of his attitude that he was entitled to scrutinize all of Samuel's actions, which was counter to explicit SPM policy, he necessarily had to arrive at the position of regarding Samuel as a renegade, who had to be submitted to church discipline.<sup>37</sup>

The board initially followed Kumm's point of view, but later it followed Kupfernagel. Even after Samuel's rehabilitation, the position assigned to him was exactly what Kupfernagel had desired.

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Germany, when his children were abducted, because he was only an employee of the mission agency (Martha Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 19, 1903).

35 Pastor Kaufmann had the opinion that one must lord it over the natives, and must not treat them as equals, otherwise they would rise in arrogance and pride against oneself. Ziemendorff commented: "Ich bin noch nicht lange genug in Afrika, um mir diese Anschauungen eines christlichen und evangelischen Pastors aneignen zu können" (Ziemendorff – Dammann, Dec. 26, 1904). "Wirklich herzlicher Christenglaube und Liebe scheint nur bei den Diakonissen zu finden [zu sein]. Sonst scheint dies milde Leben hier die Leute matt zu machen" (Ziemendorff – Wittekindt, Dec. 7, 1904). Ziemendorff considered the Christmas sermon of the German pastor in Cairo to be "dry and rationalistic" by his standards (Ziemendorff – Dammann, Dec. 26, 1904).

36 Troeger observes that a failure of the SPM in training indigenous personnel prevented the work from being continued while the European workers were banned again during World War II and its aftermath. There was a strong tendency in this mission agency, even long into the post-war years, to keep the control, even of the medical work, in European hands. This is different today, with the medical work under the direction of an Egyptian (Eberhard Troeger: "Epilogue". In: Spartalis 1994).

37 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 23, 1903: "Man sah Samuel als einen Abgefallenen an, den man hier unter Kirchengewalt zu stellen habe und nicht – wie hier angenommen wird – zur Belohnung nach Deutschland gerufen wird."

### 7.2.2 The Role of Women

Women played an important role in the SPM, but their importance on the mission field and at the home base differed. During the period under research, their importance at the home base was greater. The role of women on the field only grew after 1904. There were women in three or four different roles on the mission field of the SPM.

Lucy Kumm, as one of the founders of the SPM, had a special position. But she did not spend more than a few months in Egypt, and no precise details are known about her activities during that time.<sup>38</sup> In the view of others, she probably figured as “wife of the founder”, Karl Kumm, or as “daughter of the founder”, Grattan Guinness.<sup>39</sup>

The role of missionary's wife was the lot of Martha Kupfernagel. In the beginning, she participated in the school work, by teaching one hour daily, as the other German workers did.<sup>40</sup> When her assistant failed, she saw her major task as a housewife and mother. She regretted that, after the delivery of her child, she could not be “productive for the mission” for some time.<sup>41</sup> But she managed the daily life and the many sicknesses of her children, acted as her husband's secretary when he was sick, and very bravely endured many hardships in this “trial-and-error-phase” of the SPM.

Directly related to the missionary's wife was the role of her assistant, Margarete Hoffmann. Hoffmann, however, did not find her task very fulfilling and the prospects of marriage were more attractive.

Single female missionaries were being prepared. Henriette von Blücher, who was sent out in October 1901, might be considered as a forerunner. Her status was given divergently as “missionary's assistant”<sup>42</sup> or as “missionary”.<sup>43</sup> Her position was somewhat special, as she had not been presented to the board, and went out at her own risk and at her own expense. She was expecting to be able to preach, and considered joining another mission agency when she was told that preaching was not her task.<sup>44</sup> It was only in later years that there were so many applications from single female missionaries that the board refused applications, as the SPM was desperately

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38 Cf. Chapter 4.2.3.

39 Cf. Warneck, *AMZ* 1901, p. 184: He presents Kumm as the key person, “der Gemahl einer Tochter von Grattan Guinness”.

40 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, Jan. 17, 1901. She had to discontinue teaching, due to the sickness of Margarete Hoffmann.

41 Martha Kupfernagel – Adelheid Ziemendorff, May 23, 1901, and June 4, 1901.

42 *SP* Nov. 1901, p. 119: “Missions-Gehülfin”.

43 *SP* Jan. 1902, p. 2.

looking for men.<sup>45</sup> The first ordinary single female missionary was Elisabeth Gonnermann. She was sent out in December 1904. In later years, Gertrud von Massenbach<sup>46</sup> (1883–1975), and Dr. Elisabeth Herzfeld<sup>47</sup> (1890–1966) were very prominent missionaries. The setting up of exclusively female mission stations, the first in Edfu in 1911, was a matter of much comment at the time.<sup>48</sup> For the faith missions it was quite a habit to have “ladies’ stations”, but from the perspective of the German classical missions it was very unusual. A famous classical “woman only” missionary was Mary Slessor of Calabar, Nigeria.<sup>49</sup> A major reason for the high number of single female missionaries in the SPM was the strong female training base in the *Marienhaus* in Wiesbaden.

At the home base, women played a major role, though they could only participate partially in leadership. Lucy Kumm played an important role in publishing during her time in Germany and Switzerland.<sup>50</sup> Circulars to friends, possibly the first two issues of the *Sudan Pionier*,<sup>51</sup> a brochure for women, and a number of articles came from her pen. Despite her capacity, Lucy’s impact in Germany was limited by her insufficient mastery of German, the shortness of her stay (May 1900 – May 1902), by pregnancies, her caring for her baby boys, and by the expulsion of her husband from the SPM. She was more influential in managing the English branch of the SPM,<sup>52</sup> and certainly in the founding of the British SPM / SUM.<sup>53</sup>

The strongest female influence in the SPM was exerted by the women’s board, which was heading the women’s branch and was backed by the female training and service institution of the *Marienhaus* in Wiesbaden. The influence of women probably exceeded male influence in the areas of finances, working power, and training.

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44 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 5, 1902, second letter: Sie “redet schon davon, woanders hinzugehen, weil man ihr sagt, das Predigen sei nicht ihre Aufgabe”.

45 Cf. Circular, July 15, 1910.

46 She served from 1909 to 1939, and was an expert in Nubian linguistics. Cf. Roland Werner: “Einführung”, In: Gertrud von Massenbach / Roland Werner / Eberhard Troeger (ed.): *Nubien unter dem Kreuz*. Wiesbaden: EMO, 1984, pp. 7ff. Her linguistic publications are listed on p. 86.

47 She served from 1926 to 1966 as a medical doctor. Cf. Dr. med. Elisabeth Herzfeld: *Das Kreuz am Rande der Wüste*. Wiesbaden: EMO, 1966 [1972], 32 pp.

48 Held 1925, p. 32. The reason for an exclusively female station was the lack of male workers, and the invitation to start work in Edfu. As the culture was split between men and women, and the SPM was small, it seemed justified to start with women only. In retrospect, this approach was justified by experience. To have ‘ladies’ stations was quite regular in the faith missions, right from *China Inland Mission* beginnings.

49 Cf. *BDCM*, pp. 623f.

50 Cf. Chapter 4.3.3.

51 No editor is given in the first two issues. The articles came from the hand of the Kumms.

52 She was the treasurer there, had publications printed, and organized matters, while her husband was in Germany.

53 Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 279f.; Grattan Guinness: *Lucy Guinness Kumm*. 1907, pp. 22ff.

The single ladies of nobility of the *Marienhaus* were of independent means and partially endowed with significant inheritances.<sup>54</sup> They almost exclusively funded the acquisition of the mission property in Aswan.<sup>55</sup> The women's board had its own treasury<sup>56</sup> and underwrote many projects for which the general treasury had no funds.<sup>57</sup> The women's treasury might even have exceeded the general treasury in terms of resources.

Then, most of the practical work was done by women. The more the administration, bookkeeping, and treasury moved from Eisenach to Wiesbaden, the more it was done by the ladies of the *Marienhaus* under Ziemendorff's supervision. The *Sudan Pionier* was edited by A. von Zitzewitz, though nominally Ziemendorff was the editor.<sup>58</sup> The Wiesbaden *Helpers Union* of the SPM was attended, and probably also dominated, by the *Marienhaus*, even though the secretary was Mr. Banfield.<sup>59</sup>

Concerning the training of female missionaries, the training structures of the *Marienhaus* had already been functioning for almost a decade.<sup>60</sup> All female missionaries were trained there through lessons and practical work. Additionally, the Christian groups directed from there, particularly the *Christian Endeavor* group, became a recruiting ground for the SPM. No corresponding structure for the training of men was ever in place during the whole history of the SPM.<sup>61</sup>

Women could most effectively exercise their influence on the SPM through the women's board. There, all matters regarding women were taken care of, though under the oversight of the general board.<sup>62</sup> Women had been present at the founding meetings in Fall 1900, but their influence had been reduced by two board members. Wittekindt and Sartorius held it to be

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54 Cf. Chapter 4.4.3.

55 The sum of circa 30,000 German Marks was one third covered by a gift, and two thirds by loans from the women. Only 0.2 % of the total (652 German Marks) was covered by a loan by Ziemendorff (Cf. *SPM Minutes*, p. 31).

56 The existence of an independent treasury and keeping of books was successfully defended in Feb. / April 1902, when the board had decided to convert it to a separate account only in the general book keeping at Eisenach (*SPM Minutes*, p. 40, item I.b+c; p. 43, item 3).

57 E.g., they sponsored the studies of Kumm, special gifts to the Kupfernagels and Miss Hoffmann, such as Summer retreats, the compensation for terminating the contract of the *Guzaira* station early, and a raise in salary for the female teacher (*SPM Minutes*, pp. 45f.).

58 She also published a booklet for children about the SPM: A.v.Z. [A. von Zitzewitz]: *Für die Kinderwelt*. Wiesbaden / Kassel: SPM, s.a., 21 pp. The full first name of Zitzewitz is not documented anywhere.

59 *Arbeiten die vom Marienhaus ausgehen*, p. 3 (EMO Archives, Green Folder c/2).

60 See Chapter 5.5.

61 The attempt to organize joint training with the DOM failed. See Chapter 5.5.

62 There is one copy of minutes of the women's board preserved, dated June 4, 1904 (*SPM Minutes*, p. 53 insert). There, they decided to meet every four weeks on the morning before the meeting of the Wiesbaden *Helpers Union*. They dealt with the furniture and inventory of the mission house, equipment, and laundry for the missionaries, and recruitment of female mission workers (see Appendix I).

“unbiblical” for women to be on the board. Thus the women's presence at the board meetings, where they took part in the deliberations, was suppressed in the minutes. Ziemendorff, on the other hand, was ahead of his time and was a pioneer in female work. Probably due to his intervention, the decision was taken that a representative of the women's board would have a seat on the general board, which was otherwise exclusively made up of men.<sup>63</sup> Successively, additional women were mentioned in the minutes of the board meetings.

A special position of honor among the women was held by Mrs. Ziemendorff, who was not only chairing the women's board, but was generally and affectionately considered as the “mission's mother”.<sup>64</sup> Also, some of the SPM *Helpers Unions* were headed by women.<sup>65</sup>

It is obvious that there was an unusually strong participation of women in the daily business of the SPM at the home base and a resulting influence on the same. But the women's influence on decisions, and in the representation of the SPM at the top level, was limited. The official leadership was completely in the hands of men. Thus, there was always an imbalance between the female contribution to the SPM and its official representation. It was the achievement of the chairman, Ziemendorff, to keep the women's power integrated and their interests represented in the SPM. The existence of a women's board was quite unusual among faith missions, whereas it was more common among classical missions, although women were among the founders of faith missions.<sup>66</sup>

### 7.3 Missionary Methods

The methods used to reach missionary goals are a further way of characterizing missionary work. I follow the definition of missionary methods as “the procedures through which ... the gospel is proclaimed among those who have not yet heard it”.<sup>67</sup> The purpose of this section is to analyze to what extent the methods initially conceived were put into practice. How permanent were these methods? Which were their advantages and disadvantages? What was the missionary character of

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63 All this is reported by Hohenlohe, *Material*, p. 2.

64 Kumm – Ziemendorff, Oct. 29, 1901.

65 Cf. overviews on the back pages of *SP* 1904.

66 Cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 309–319, for the role of women in faith missions, and Christa Conrad: *Der Dienst der ledigen Frau in deutschen Glaubensmissionen*. Bonn: VKW 1998.

67 Josef Schmitz / Horst Rzepkowski: “Missionary Methods”. In: *DOM* 1997, p. 316.

these methods? Which methods dominated? Were the individual methods and their collective effect more extensive or intensive in character?<sup>68</sup>

The missionary methods conceived by the Kumms and Guinness in early 1900 focused on four avenues: "1) Working on the translation of the Bible and other good books in some of the still unknown 100 languages and dialects of the Sudan. 2) Schools for children and adults. 3) Evangelism. 4) Colportage work." It was hoped that this list would be supplemented soon by missionary doctors.<sup>69</sup> I will follow the order of these five factors in my analysis.

### 7.3.1 Translation Work

The two people in the SPM involved in linguistic work were Karl Kumm and Samuel Ali Hiseen. Kumm had collected a vocabulary of *Bischareen* and had completed the rudiments of a *Bischareen* grammar.<sup>70</sup> Contrary to plans, this was never published. The work on the *Bischareen* language ended with the exclusion of Kumm from the SPM.

Samuel had started with linguistic work on his mother tongue, *Kenuuzi* Nubian, during his colportage tour in Spring 1900. Most probably, he had received and needed encouragement by Kumm to do so. For he had returned to his home country and relearned his mother tongue 15 years earlier, and even worked evangelistically among his people. However, he did not report any translation work in that era of his life. Now, the prospect that there would be organized use of the products of such work certainly was a great stimulus.

Samuel started by collating a glossary of *Kenuuzi*, Arabic, and English. He sent this to Karl Kumm in July 1901 for printing.<sup>71</sup> It remained unpublished but was later used by Professor Heinrich Schäfer for his publications of texts gathered from Samuel.<sup>72</sup> Simultaneously Samuel translated the Gospel of John into his mother tongue, partly during his colportage tour.<sup>73</sup> His work was delayed by conflicts with Kupfernagel, the distractions of extensive agricultural work

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68 I think these terms (introduced in Chapter 7.1.1) can, to some extent, be used for characterizing individual missionary methods: Do the methods attempt to reach a large number of people in a large area, or do they focus on a smaller number and area, in order to make a deeper impact?

69 Flyer *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, 1900, p. 1, and *SP* No. 1, Oct. 1900, p. 7 (both German – translation C.S.).

70 *SP* April 1901, p. 61. This manuscript could not be located.

71 Samuel – Kumm, July 26, 1901: "Included my manuscripts ... I just finished the vocabulary ... If you can manage it and understand it well, you may start for printing". Samuel also wrote about working on a "grammar" for two to three hours daily in June 1901 (Samuel – SPM, June 9, 1901). It is unclear whether this was a separate document.

72 Heinrich Schäfer: *Nubische Texte im Dialekte der Kunuzi (Mundart Abuhor)*. Berlin 1917, p. 11, fn. 15. Cf. Lauche: "The Life and work of Samuel Ali Hiseen". To be published by *International Society for Nubian Studies [Compendium on Conference in Boston, USA, in 1998]*, 13 pp, here p. 4.

in *Guzaira*, and by sickness, however it was finished before July 1901 and sent to Kumm along with the glossary. Kumm, in turn, seems to have forwarded it to an expert in Germany, where it got lost.<sup>74</sup> No further translation work was done until his return from his “exile” in Germany in 1905. As *Kenuuzi* Nubian was a language then unwritten, Samuel’s translation was truly pioneer work. He was the first Nubian to produce a piece of modern Nubian literature.<sup>75</sup>

It seems that, apart from Kumm, the SPM did not really perceive the strategic necessity of Bible translation work and the potential which Samuel saw in it. In fact, there was no one else among the Nubians in Aswan at that time who combined Christian faith, missionary zeal, European education, and the capability for translation work. Samuel was in fact the only Nubian Christian then in Aswan. But the SPM chose to use him for evangelistic work, and also employed him on subordinate tasks. If translation work had really been a strategic goal of the SPM board at that time, the SPM could have set Samuel on this task much more intensively. The *American Mission* and the *American Bible Society* saw his talent, and attempted to recruit him for producing a Nubian Bible translation, which Samuel declined, probably out of loyalty to the SPM.<sup>76</sup> Without support from the SPM, Samuel only continued in later years with Bible translation – as it seems, on his own initiative.<sup>77</sup> Intensive linguistic work on Nubian was then taken up by Miss Gertrud von Massenbach, who served from 1909 to 1939. Still today, there is no complete Bible translation in any of the Nubian languages.<sup>78</sup>

The other goal of Kumm, that of translating “other good books in some of the still unknown 100 languages and dialects of the Sudan”, was not realized in the period of time under research. I

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- 73 On April 30, 1901, Samuel reported that his translation was completed, pending revision: “Das Evangelium Johannes habe ich schon ins Nubische übertragen, es bedarf nur noch der Revision” (*SP* June 1901, p. 78).
- 74 The only information available is the note by Hohenlohe (*Material*, p. 3): “Ein nubisches Manuskript von Samuel, das Kumm an Professor Hommel gesandt haben will, ging verloren.” Hohenlohe probably draws her information from Heinrich Schäfer: *Nubische Texte im Dialekt der Kenuuzi*. Berlin 1917, p. 11, note 15, who mentions that Kumm had sent a Gospel of Mark to Prof. Hommel, which was lost. Probably Schäfer confuses the name of the Gospel.
- 75 Gerald Lauche: “The life and work of Samuel Ali Hiseen (1863–1927)”. Lauche concentrates on the literary work of Samuel in Nubian.
- 76 Kelly Giffen from the AM, and Rev. Brown from the *American Bible Society (Constantinople)*, passed through Aswan on their way to the Sudan in 1902 (Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for February 1902, March 4, 1902).
- 77 The four Gospels were published in *Kenuuzi Nubian: Matana Enjil, Markusna Enjil, Lukana Enjil, Hanana Enjil*. Berlin / London: BFBS, 1912. In addition, in 1911, a primer in Nubian was prepared as a school book by Samuel with the help of Enderlin and Professor Westermann (Johannes Held: *Anfänge einer deutschen Muhammedanermision*. Wiesbaden: SPM, 1925, p. 63, who reports on the linguistic work of Samuel). Samuel also translated the Biblical books from Acts to Revelation with the exception of 1 and 2 Peter, James and Hebrew. These books were copied by Gertrud Noack and mimeographed in 50 copies in 1933/34.
- 78 Samuel also translated the Acts, New Testament letters, and Revelation, but these remained unpublished (EMO Archives). Cf. Geraldine E. Coldham (compiler): *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages*. Vol. II. London: BFBS, 1966, pp. 497ff.

could not even find any mention of it in any of the correspondence or minutes. It seems that it was Kumm only, who emphasized this missionary method. Translation work was the most academic of the missionary methods envisioned. It required a high educational level; thus Kumm appealed for a philologist, and his friend Krusius indeed studied in that direction. And it required a good knowledge of the local culture and a high mastery of the language. This could not be achieved in the short span of three to four years. In addition, the SPM did not have any missionaries with any ability in that area after Kumm had gone. Kupfernagel never attained more than a rather basic mastery of Arabic during his stay.<sup>79</sup>

To summarize, there was a strong initial vision for translation work in the SPM, which was put into practice during the first two years, while Kumm had some influence. But after the expulsion of Kumm, this method did not have any priority for the SPM board, and Samuel, the only worker capable of translation work, was no longer employed for this task in the period under research.

### 7.3.2 Schools

There is no coherent or analytical description of the school work of the SPM. The information has to be collated from individual reports and letters. The SPM's goal was to have schools for children and adults. The school work of the SPM started with a boys' school. A girls' school soon followed.<sup>80</sup> Guinness hired Girgis Yacoub as a teacher and opened the boys' school on January 12, 1900. It was to focus on *Bischareen* and Nubians, according to an oral comity agreement with the regional representative of the *American Mission*, which had a boys' school for Coptic Orthodox and Coptic Evangelical parishioners. There was also a government school with 180 students (among whom were two to three Nubians) and six teachers, and a Roman Catholic School with five teachers but few students.<sup>81</sup> The SPM School was only initially successful in attracting *Bischareen*. The major reason was probably the nomadic nature of these people, which also kept them from attending other schools. The provision of bread and dates for the students by Guinness was regarded critically by other missionaries. It was said that the *Bischareen* only came as long as these supplies lasted.<sup>82</sup> The initial number of students at the SPM's boys' school

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79 See Gensichen – Axenfeld, Feb. 23, 1908, who states that Kupfernagel was not gifted in languages (Berlin Mission Archives, Personalia “Kupfernagel”).

80 No precise date for its founding can be found. It was already in existence before September 1900 (Cf. Lucy Kumm, Sept. 24, 1900).

81 Samuel – Kumm, July 26, 1901.

82 Kupfernagel – SPM, Nov. 23, 1901, seems not to have understood that nomads had to eat something at school, since they could not go home for lunch like the townspeople.

increased to 30, when the American boys' school closed and the former students were led to the SPM school by Musa, the evangelist of the AM. When the Catholic school closed too, the number of students of the SPM schools jumped to 130 boys and girls before September 1900. Consequently, a larger building and an additional teacher were secured. The attendance must have fluctuated strongly, as the collective number of students had dwindled from a peak of 150 to 59 (34 boys and 25 girls), when the German missionary party arrived in January 1901. Kupfernagel immediately saw the need to improve the quality of some lessons. The teacher Habib was temporarily dismissed for misbehavior. The schools lost two thirds of their students, particularly girls, to the newly opened girls' school run by the English Canon. But this school only existed during the Winter months, when an English Canon was present for tourists. The numbers rose again to 80 boys and 40 girls before the Summer break.<sup>83</sup> In August, both schools were reopened after the Summer break. The boys' school was now on the mission compound, in the building neighboring the mission house. The girls' school too had been remodeled. The attendance had shrunk to 55 boys and 25 girls.<sup>84</sup> In October 1901, Kupfernagel saw the schools as being in crisis, since perspectives that were more definite were needed for the work. The parents generally had no confidence in the free schools. As the SPM School could not award the primary certificate, the students changed to the Government school after Primary School.<sup>85</sup> After a meeting with the American missionary, Dr. Murch, Kupfernagel proposed, and the board decided, that at the end of the year, all Coptic boys should be returned to the reopened American school. It was planned to close the SPM boys' school and to focus on the girls, in order to gain contact with their families.<sup>86</sup> The girls' school was extended by a new branch, which taught cooking and other house-keeping skills.<sup>87</sup> While the boys' school continued for another year, it was still far from its goal to reach Muslims – with only one or two Muslims attending. The school's reputation further dwindled and, unable to issue the primary certificate, the school had no future.<sup>88</sup> Thus, in October 1902, the board decided to give up the boys' school on the SPM compound and to start a new school. This was to be for the *Bischareen* and to be located at their encampment. Girgis strongly protested against this, probably for racial reasons. But that school never came to be, as the property was not granted by the local government. When the boys' school closed in November 1902, Girgis was transferred to the girls' school. However, in March

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83 Samuel – Kumm, July 26, 1901.

84 Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for August 1901, Aug. 29, 1901.

85 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Oct. 29, 1901.

86 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Nov. 15, 1901.

87 Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for November 1901, Dec. 5, 1901.

88 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 6, 1902.

1903, this school lost 15 of its girls in three days, when the English girls' school became more competitive by relocating into the center of town and lowering its fees.<sup>89</sup> In September, there were only few girls left. Thus, Girgis and Zamerida happily accepted an offer by the *American Mission* to transfer to a newly opened school at *Wadi Halfa* at a better salary. They left Aswan in December 1903. The school was temporarily continued from January to May 1904, with a resident German lady and the eldest former student as teachers. The school closed in May because of an epidemic of typhoid fever, and it is unsure whether it reopened. In July 1904, the board decided to temporarily close the school until the new workers would have arrived.<sup>90</sup>

Running a school seems to have been considered as the basic method of missionary work. Further schools were projected in many places by the SPM, but never materialized. The projected schools were to serve the Nubians in *Dongola*, *Guzaira*, in *Mahatta* and other villages, and the *Bischareen* near Aswan, and at a projected new station at *Berber*. The goal of opening schools for adults was never attained. Kupfernagel tried it, but the *Bischareen* adults invited to an evening school never attended.<sup>91</sup>

There is too little evidence to assess the missionary impact of the SPM schools. The parents were contacted through Christmas celebrations, where besides an address in Arabic, German hymns were sung, and the children received gifts. The schools suffered from either the incompetence of the teachers (Habib Henain), or insensitivity towards the people group targeted (Girgis). The high ambitions of the teachers, Girgis and his wife Zamerida, led them to accept numerous Coptic students, who were not of the target group. The lack of concentration on the people groups targeted, and the incompatibility with them of the teachers employed, might be considered the major weakness of the SPM in its school work. On the other hand, the Nubians, and particularly the *Bischareen*, did not seem too eager to send their children to school. The same must have applied to girls in an even stronger manner. This was contrary to Kumm's expectation that the Nubians were longing for education.<sup>92</sup> According to Kupfernagel, the schools were too far away from their prospective students. The competition among the schools run by different sponsors also led to frequent changes of students and was detrimental to the schools' work.<sup>93</sup> In addition, the SPM also seemed unable to receive official recognition for its schools. This might

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89 Johannes Kupfernagel: Circular, undated [March 26, 1903].

90 *SPM Minutes*, July 25, 1904.

91 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Aug. 29, 1901.

92 Kumm quoted Gustav Nachtigall as the authority for this. *SPM Minutes*, p. 9 (see Appendix I).

93 The SPM competed with the *American Mission School* for the Coptic boys, and with the *Government School*, the *Coptic School*, and a further *Private School* for the Muslims. The girls' school competed with the *English School*.

not have been their fault. The reason was possibly that they did not use the official Islamic text books, and that no Qur'an lessons were given.<sup>94</sup>

All in all, school work was the missionary method that was most strongly pursued. It had the greatest continuity, possibly because it was institutionalized. It received the highest investment in funds and personnel. But it was not effectively serving the specific goal of the SPM, that of reaching people of the Sudan, or Muslims at least. Under the competitive conditions in Aswan, and the conflict laden internal situation of the SPM, its schools had a hard time, and they increasingly declined, and closed in the period under research.

### 7.3.3 Evangelism

Evangelistic work within the SPM was done temporarily by Samuel and partly by Kupfernagel. Samuel, particularly, engaged in evangelistic work among Muslims from Fall 1902 to Summer 1903. Discussions with groups and individuals seem to have been his major method. When people dared to visit him in his room for personal talks, these were highlights for him. Samuel employed a debating style in these discussions.

Kupfernagel went to the *Bischareen* and to some villages, mostly with the help of an interpreter. During a certain period, Samuel was Kupfernagel's companion. Christian illustrations, projected by a "Magic Lantern", were used as an attraction. This method was common in the missionary work in Egypt.<sup>95</sup> Christmas was used to invite different people groups to the Mission compound for celebrations. The parents of the schools' children particularly were thus reached.

Whether the Sunday services held at the mission house can be counted as evangelism, remains unclear. They were bilingual, English – Arabic, and mainly gathered the mission workers, and some tourists in the Winter season.

### 7.3.4 Colportage Work

A particular method of evangelism used, was the colportage of Bibles, Scripture portions and Christian tracts. Together with the school work, this was the first missionary method put into practice when Samuel was sent on an extensive colportage tour through the whole of Nubia. The

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<sup>94</sup> This was a reason for closing the reopened schools in later years.

<sup>95</sup> E.g. the NAM, cf. Chapter 3.3.

importance of this missionary method for reaching the Sudan was heavily stressed.<sup>96</sup> There was no comparable systematic Scripture distribution in the period researched, or in the later history of the SPM. The Scripture distribution practiced by Kupfernagel during evangelistic visits seems to have been rather sporadic.

Kumm had hoped to again release Samuel for colportage work, by sending further workers, who would relieve him from agricultural duties *Guzaira*, but this did not come about. A localized and less extensive form of colportage in the form of a Christian bookstore was then projected by Kupfernagel. But this also never came to be, partly because the *American Mission* was faster in pursuing similar plans.<sup>97</sup>

The missionary method of colportage, which had the most extensive character, again was more favored by Kumm than by other board members, and was only practiced in the very beginnings of the SPM.

### 7.3.5 Medical Work

The Kumms had hoped that the other missionary methods would soon be supplemented by medical work. The Kupfernagels, too, repeatedly called for the implementation of this plan, also in their own interests. But the SPM proved unable to send out a doctor in its early years. Thus, in January 1904, the offer of a medical doctor, who earned his money from the tourists, was accepted, even though he was an agnostic. He held a regular medical practice of a few hours daily in the mission house. A mission worker had to assist him. When the tourist season ended, and the doctor had left, the patients kept coming. Kupfernagel tried his best to replace the doctor himself. But due to massive numbers desiring treatment, the little clinic had to be closed.

There were local doctors and a small local hospital, but these were not well regarded – whether by Europeans, or by locals. Thus, a need was seen for a better qualified medical contribution. But medical work was not on the top of the agenda, at least not for Kumm. Though traditionally respected as important for the furthering of missionary work, it was not considered as on an equal level with the four main methods. Medical doctors were only “a helping hand” to missionary work.

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96 *SP* 1900, p. 11. Colportage takes up the idea of wide itineration, dear to many of the early faith missions. For the details of the colportage tour see Chapter 4.3.3.

97 Cf. Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, June 21, 1901 and July 5, 1902.

But in later years, successively, nurses and a medical doctor were sent, and a hospital was built. The medical work became more and more institutionalized, and was enlarged, until it dominated the SPM.<sup>98</sup>

### 7.3.6 Summary

There was an aspect of the work which could have been a missionary method: the hostel in the Mission house. But it was very short lived and did not fulfill the expectations or effort which had been invested in it. It was not really a missionary endeavor. It had rather been a further aspect in diverting the energies of the SPM from its original main target groups, the Nubians, and the *Bischareen*. It issued more from the need to make effective use of the expensive property acquired.

With respect to the questions at the beginning of this section, it can be definitely said that all the missionary methods projected by Kumm were put into practice sooner or later. But some lasted only as long as Kumm had any influence. Looking at the development of the SPM from 1900 to 1904, there is a visible shift of emphasis among the missionary methods practiced. In the initial planning of the Kumms, there were four equal methods, supplemented by a fifth. School and colportage work were being put into practice first. The colportage was accompanied by evangelism and some translation work. The colportage work ended before 1901, being continued on a very small scale locally while the translation work continued until 1902. These were replaced by evangelism locally and in the surrounding areas. The school always had an important position, concerning staff and funds, and increasingly dominated the work of the SPM. In 1904, the missionary work basically consisted of the school, newly added medical work, and some evangelism.

The SPM, in its beginnings, was to be a very expansive mission. Thus, in the beginning, expansive missionary methods (colportage and translation) at least held the balance with the more intensive methods (school work). In the era after Kumm, intensive missionary methods (school, medical work, local evangelism) completely dominated, while expansive missionary methods were practically non-existent. The result of these developments was that the school work and later the medical work decidedly dominated the SPM.

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98 Cf. Eberhard Troeger, In: *EMO Nachrichten*, 1999. It seems from this example that the lack of success in evangelism drives mission agencies into medical work.

Was the shift to intensive missionary work a policy decision? The analysis seems to suggest that Kumm opted more strongly for expansive missionary work than the rest of the board, whereas in the era without Kumm, intensive missionary work dominated. This conforms with the results of the analysis of his dismissal: Could it be that behind these different emphases lay the contrast between the early faith missions' principles (Kumm – expansion) and the classical missions' principles (board – consolidation)? If that is so, the board would have fallen in line with Warneck after all, who opted for intensifying existing missionary work first, and for “organic advance” later. Or was this simply the usual sequence of every missionary work, from expansive beginnings to intensifying proceedings?<sup>99</sup> As the time span analyzed in this thesis is so short, and does not really go beyond the beginnings, the categories which are usually used for wider contexts might not be appropriate for the analysis of this “microcosm”. It could be that many of the developments of the SPM and its missionary methods were more influenced by the lack of funds, workers, expected conditions for expansion, and by unexpected developments and calamities, than by planned decisions.

### 7.4 Missionary Cooperation and Competition

This section deals with the external relationships of the SPM. I would like to distinguish three different levels of external cooperation of the SPM as a mission agency: First, concerning the denominational background of missionaries, members and supporters. Second, the inter-mission cooperation with other missionary societies and churches at the home base. Third, the cooperation with other missionary societies and national churches on the field of service. Of course, there was not only cooperation, but also some degree of competition. The source material available mostly represents the perspective of the SPM: What principles did the SPM have regarding cooperation? What kind of cooperation did the SPM attempt or achieve? How did the SPM perceive other mission agencies? How did the SPM register its own perception by other missionary societies? As far as sources are available, I also attempt to give the external perspective: How did other missionary societies perceive the SPM, according to their own statements?

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99 Josef Schmitz / Horst Rzepkowski: “Missionary Methods”. In: *DOM* 1997, p. 316.

#### 7.4.1 Interdenominational Cooperation

The SPM was explicitly interdenominational in character, as were all interdenominational faith missions. The *Principles and Practice* state that the SPM comprises “true believers of all [Protestant] churches and fellowships” on its board and among its missionaries. Its scope and limits were identical to those of the *Evangelical Alliance*,<sup>100</sup> which was explicitly mentioned in a first draft of the *Principles and Practice*.<sup>101</sup> The SPM obviously had its home base among the fellowships within the mainline Protestant churches, but it was also open to members of Free Churches: The first medical doctor sent out by the SPM in 1906, the Swiss Dr. Fröhlich, was of Baptist convictions.<sup>102</sup>

#### 7.4.2 Missionary Cooperation at Home

The founders of the SPM had shown themselves very cooperative on the home level, by trying to find an existing mission agency which would integrate their new venture. This had been their explicit goal when coming to Europe. Thus, the first thing they did was to spend time at the *Chrischona Mission*, trying to gain its board for the Sudan venture. When the *Chrischona* board declined, they tried cooperation on a different level, by gaining two *Chrischona* graduates as missionaries for the SPM. Their attempt to invite *Chrischona's* director, Rappard, onto the SPM board, in order to initiate closer cooperation between the two mission agencies, failed due to his workload.<sup>103</sup> Thus, the SPM had tried to cooperate with other mission agencies, even before Warneck had proposed a fusion of all three of the German mission agencies which were focusing on Muslims. The board of the newly created SPM also repeatedly tried to fuse, or considered fusing, with the *Deutsche Orient-Mission*. Again, the other mission agency declined.<sup>104</sup> The cooperation which was agreed upon on paper, concerning the training of SPM missionaries at a DOM institute in Berlin, was never put into practice.<sup>105</sup> The DOM in turn was ready to cooperate, by offering to take over Samuel as their worker, after his position in Egypt had become difficult, due to the abduction of his children.<sup>106</sup>

100 For an introduction to the *Evangelical Alliance* see *ELThG* I, pp. 39f., and the literature mentioned there.

101 *SPM Minutes*, insert p. 14, *Organisation und Grundsätze*, pp. 1f.

102 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 9, 1905, p. 58. Concerning the acceptance of Dr. Fröhlich it was stated: “Er stehe allerdings auf dem Standpunkte der Baptisten, doch ohne Engherzigkeit”.

103 *SPM Minutes*, March 26, 1903, p. 50, and March 1, 1904, p. 52.

104 *SPM Minutes*, Nov. 15, 1900, p. 15: “Kooperation erscheint wünschenswert”. Cf. Chapter 4.4.

105 *SPM Minutes*, Feb. 3, 1902, item XI, p. 40.

106 In the growing English branch of the SPM, there was also some degree of cooperation manifested in the sharing of the time and salary of a few workers with Cliff College.

The SPM also tried to cooperate with the German state churches. There were a number of unsuccessful attempts to find a church body willing to ordain the two missionaries to be sent out in late 1904.<sup>107</sup> Finally, Ziemendorff ordained the missionaries “privately”, together with Rappard and Wittekindt.<sup>108</sup> Further cooperation was practiced with experts on practical questions of the field. Particularly, the old missionary Flad was consulted concerning *Abyssinia*. The *Mildmay Medical Mission* was consulted for the equipment of a medical dispensary.<sup>109</sup> The existing inter-mission bodies in Germany and Europe had not yet opened up to the young and struggling mission agency during the period under research.<sup>110</sup>

The attitude of the SPM towards other missions was, in its own words, one of “fraternal understanding and well wishing”. Concerning fundraising, they – to some degree – respected the traditional home territories of older missions. They explicitly set up their headquarters in Eisenach, a region with no mission agency. And they trusted that they could win new circles of supporters, which were not sponsoring other mission agencies yet. Since the new German faith missions were part of the new revival and new Fellowship Movement, they largely tapped new resources. Even when moving the SPM headquarters to Wiesbaden, the board emphasized that Ziemendorff would remain a local representative of the Basle Mission.<sup>111</sup> Matters were more complex on the field.

### 7.4.3 Missionary Cooperation on the Field

Grattan Guinness, as one of the founders of the SPM, had been in contact with missionaries wherever he went, and had discussed his plans with them. If a missionary challenge was not met, he considered it justified to begin a new mission agency, even if not everybody agreed. Kumm's position was that there was no other mission agency capable or willing to reach the Sudan via the

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107 *SPM Minutes*, July 25, 1904, p. 55. Ziemendorff was commissioned to negotiate with *General Superintendent Maurer*. Dammann later unsuccessfully inquired from *Superintendent Kieser* [probably in his area]. He then thought it most promising to contact the consistory in *Kassel [Kurhessen-Waldeck]* (Dammann – Ziemendorff, Sept. 15, 1904).

108 *SPM Minutes*, Oct. 7, 1904, p. 55. See Appendix I.

109 *SPM Minutes*, July 25, 1904.

110 For continental Europe, there was the *Continental Missions Conference*. The first attended by a representative of the SPM was in 1907 in *Herrnhut* (*SPM Minutes*, p. 61, Jan. 1, 1907). In 1910, it was decided to apply for membership in the conference, which in German was called the *Bremer Kontinentale Missionskonferenz* (*SPM Minutes*, p. 83, June 7, 1910). The proceedings of the conferences were published in: *Verhandlungen der Kontinentalen Missions-Konferenz*. Berlin etc., 1868ff.

111 *SP* Dec. 1904, p. 90.

Nile; thus, none could help, and there was no competition.<sup>112</sup> Obviously, Kumm was not aware of the emerging plans of the *American Mission*.

The *Principles and Practice* of the SPM looked beyond the era of mission agencies. To attain the goal of self-supporting and self-expanding churches, denominational disputes were not to be imported into Africa. A work, once begun in one place, should be continued by workers from the same denomination. In the end, a unified fellowship of [Protestant] Christians in Central Africa was seen as the ideal.<sup>113</sup> Thus, the principle of cooperation on the field was embodied in the principles of the SPM for the sake of the unity of the local, national and continental church. These ideals could never be put into practice directly, as no indigenous church ever evolved out of the SPM missionary work.

Thus, cooperation and competition relating to the SPM on the field can best be seen in the SPM's relationship to other mission agencies and institutions. I distinguish the local and the national level. The reality check was on the local level, that is in Aswan. As the *American Mission* was dominating all missionary work in Egypt, it suffices to treat the other mission agencies briefly.

The *Roman Catholic Mission* was perceived as "very friendly" by Kupfernagel, even more "than our true brethren" from the *American Mission*. There was quiet co-existence with the "Catholic step-brethren", apart from some potential competition between the schools in the era under research.<sup>114</sup>

The activities of the English [= Anglican] Canon, who started a school supported by the SPG,<sup>115</sup> together with the evangelist of the *American Mission*, were regarded as being less friendly. Kupfernagel complained that they were visiting "their" girls, particularly those with rich parents, in order to gain them for their own school.<sup>116</sup> Miss von Blücher saw the teaching there as being purely humanistic.<sup>117</sup>

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112 Cf. also Lucy Kumm, Circular Feb. 26, 1901: "With the exception of the two C.M.S. agents at Khartoum the last foreign missionaries on the Nile are stationed at Luxor, half a day's journey by rail from Assuan." Thus the SPM was "planting its first foothold ... 150 miles farther ahead into the darkness of Moslem and heathen Africa."

113 *SPM Minutes*, insert p. 14, *Ordnungen und Grundsätze*, item X (see Appendix I).

114 Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for February 1902, March 4, 1902: Die "kathol. Stiefbrüder haben sich uns gegenüber in so freundlicher Weise erzeigt, wie wir es kaum erwartet hätten. Viel brüderlicher und freundlicher ... als wir es immer wieder von unseren rechten Brüdern, den Amerikanern sehen müssen". Cf. also *SP* April 1902, p. 34.

115 Kumm (Kumm – SPM, April 5, 1901) attributed the English girls' school to the SPG (*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*), which may well be correct, since the SPG looked after Anglican chaplaincies.

116 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM board, Feb. 1, 1901.

117 Von Blücher, quoted in *SP* June 1902, p. 51.

There is little evidence on the relationship of the SPM to the Copts, the major indigenous church in Egypt. The Coptic school and the SPM School were competing for Muslim students. Kupfernagel considered this church as “spiritually dead”, and as the mission field of the *American Mission*.<sup>118</sup>

The *American Mission* had no foreign missionaries stationed in Aswan. Only their mission boat came, from time to time. But there was a local congregation of Copts, who had become Protestants under the care of an evangelist. And there had been a school sponsored by the *American Mission* for ten years, which temporarily closed in 1900.

According to later reports of Dr. Murch, Guinness had made an oral comity agreement with him, that the SPM would concentrate exclusively on Nubians and *Bischareen*, whereas the AM was then working among Copts and Arabs. The tension about Coptic and Evangelical students in the SPM School was partly the fault of the evangelist of the *American Mission*. The SPM succeeded, in a second attempt, to rectify the matter.<sup>119</sup> Possibly, the Sunday service offered by the SPM was also considered as competition with the service held by the Presbyterians, as members of this congregation also attended the SPM service.<sup>120</sup> When Kupfernagel had transferred the teacher Habib to Daraw, he planned to ask the AM for a comity agreement, that neither mission would start work where the other was already working.<sup>121</sup>

The next issue was one of territory. The SPM was regarded as a “competing mission”.<sup>122</sup> The AM practically believed it had the monopoly on missionary work in the Nile valley in Egypt.<sup>123</sup> Even the elder CMS was regarded as an intruder, because it had left Egypt for some decades and returned only after the AM had come to Egypt.<sup>124</sup> The other, smaller, mission agencies had an even more difficult position. For the national committee of the AM, the SPM was a negligible entity. It was practically ignored, when the AM drew up a comity agreement with the CMS on

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118 Once, Kupfernagel talked about “verknöcherte Kopten” (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 12, 1901).

119 Johannes Kupfernagel – SPM, Nov. 23, 1901, cf. Chapter 4.6.

120 Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for February 1902, March 4, 1902.

121 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Dec. 12, 1901, letter I. I think that no comity agreement came about, because the SPM board refused to take responsibility for the activities Kupfernagel had started in Daraw without asking them.

122 Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for February 1902, March 4, 1902; cf. Kupfernagel, Circular, March 26, 1903.

123 Enderlin reported to the board (Nov. 28, 1905) about a visit to Dr. Alexander, the director of the *American Mission College* in Assiut, and about a “very cool reception”, commenting: “jede Missionsarbeit die außerhalb des Rahmens der Amerikaner geschieht, wird nämlich von ihnen *nur* geduldet ... Trotzdem die Amerikaner glauben, allein das Monopol für Missionsarbeit in Ägypten zu besitzen, arbeiten heute schon 7 anerkannte große Gesellschaften ... am Nil bis zur Sudangrenze” (Emphasis in original).

124 Circular of board, Dec. 7, 1905: “So freundlich wie die CMS werden sie [die AM] sich nie stellen, denn auch diese gilt ihnen als Eindringling in ihr Gebiet!!!”.

Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1902. The two mission agencies agreed that the AM would be responsible for the territory in Egypt between Cairo and *Wadi Halfa*, whereas in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the CMS would not be bound in its expansion by any agreements.<sup>125</sup> What was left, in the view of Kupfernagel, was the area closed to missionaries between *Wadi Halfa* and *Faschoda*, and the *Bahr El Ghazal* with its deadly climate.<sup>126</sup> The board of the AM in Egypt had written to the SPM board that, concerning Upper Egypt, they would claim the whole of the Nile valley as their sphere of work.<sup>127</sup> The rest of Egyptian territory was really negligible: deserts, a few oases, and nomadic populations. The AM also claimed that their main target group were the Muslims, and that they had only turned to the Copts as an interim measure, when they did not have any success with the Muslims.<sup>128</sup>

Thus, the AM was often described by Kupfernagel as a giant competitor, who was being more successful in entering the Sudan, and also soon seemed to be surpassing the SPM in Aswan.<sup>129</sup> Because of the plans of the AM for a bookstore in Aswan, the SPM was unsuccessful in its negotiations with the BFBS for the SPM's own bookstore, and had to drop its plans.<sup>130</sup> But the journal of the SPM nevertheless reported about the achievements of "our American brethren".<sup>131</sup> There was also some correspondence between the board of the AM and that of the SPM, as early as October 1902.

When in 1905, the SPM planned to reach the *Galla* in *Abyssinia*, they inquired whether they could start out on territory in the Sudan, claimed, but not occupied yet, by the AM. But the directors of the AM in the USA declined this request. Two decades later, when the AM was about to take over the SPM stations which were vacant owing to World War I, competition was

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125 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 5, 1902, letter II.

126 A look at later comity borders, prescribed by the "colonial" government, shows that the *Bahr El Ghazal* was later occupied by the *Verona Fathers Mission*. However, there had been space in *Kordofan* to accommodate the SUM founded by Kumm, space in the Blue Nile province for the *Sudan Interior Mission*, and there was still an open sphere in *Equatoria*, next to the Kenyan border, where later, among others, the *Africa Inland Mission* entered. The map about missionary sphere boundaries in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1949, from *The Anglican Diocese of the Sudan. A Handbook*, 1951, is accessible in Pierli, F. / M.T. Ratti / A.C. Wheeler (ed.): *Gateway to the Heart of Africa. Missionary Pioneers in Sudan*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 1998, p. 9; Fiedler 1992, p. 184; and in a simplified version in Fiedler 1994, p. 191.

127 Johannes Kupfernagel: Report to the board, undated [Oct. 2, 1902], quoting a letter of the AM Egypt.

128 Ibid.

129 Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for February 1902, March 4, 1902: "Die Amerikaner sind uns im Sudan zuvorgekommen". Kupfernagel feared that the *American Mission* would pick the best places on the Nile and that the SPM would have problems later.

130 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 5, 1902, letter II.

131 Kumm in *SP* May 1902, pp. 39f.: "Aus dem Gebiete unserer amerikanischen Brüder im Sudan" (about Rev. Giffen and Dr. McLaughlin in *Dolaib Hill*).

even fiercer.<sup>132</sup> The take over was only averted at the last minute by the intervention of Samuel Zwemer, who was a friend of the SPM.<sup>133</sup>

A further act of the AM was considered as unfriendly by Kupfernagel: When Kelly Giffen from the AM, and Rev. Brown from the *American Bible Society (Constantinople)*, passed through Aswan on their way to the Sudan in 1902, they not only delayed a courtesy visit to the SPM until the last minute, but they also attempted to recruit Samuel as translator for the Nubian Bible.<sup>134</sup>

Cooperation on the local level was at its highest when the children of Samuel were abducted. Christians from all denominations tried to help Samuel; and spontaneously came to the SPM Sunday service to console him.<sup>135</sup>

On a national level in Egypt, there were some relations with different mission agencies. The *Kaiserswerth Sisters*, and their hospitals in Cairo and *Alexandria*, were points of contact and support. In *Alexandria*, Kupfernagel kept contact with the *North Africa Mission*, when he was there during the summer. The NAM was taken as an example for the way Kupfernagel should work in the future.<sup>136</sup> Of course, the relationship was somewhat overshadowed by the irregular parting of Kumm from the NAM. The CMS in Egypt was reported as “very friendly now” in 1905, by both Ziemendorff and Enderlin.<sup>137</sup> Their advance to Omdurman was reported in 1903 in the SP. Further functional cooperation existed with the BFBS and the *Trinitarian Bible Society*. Both furnished Scriptures for the colportage work of the SPM. The BFBS was also considered as a prospective partner for a joint venture in the Sudan.<sup>138</sup>

Kupfernagel tried to keep contact with more experienced missionaries and with westerners in *Alexandria*. He was strongly influenced by them, and rather discouraged by what he learned from them. They told him repeatedly that the SPM was not well considered by the other mission

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132 There is voluminous documentation on this matter in the files of the *Egypt Mission Property Trust* held by SOAS in London (Boxes 1235–1238), covering the years 1922–1936, which would warrant scholarly investigation, but is beyond the scope of my research.

133 Zwemer had visited Wiesbaden in March 1907 for the treatment of his eyes by a specialist, Dr. Pagenstecher, and came into contact with the SPM. When repeating his treatment a few years later, he was housed by the SPM (Hohenlohe: *Material II*, p. 3).

134 Johannes Kupfernagel: Monthly report for February 1902, March 4, 1902.

135 SP Oct. 1903, p. 76. The *Presbyterians*, the *Holiness Church*, and the *Adventists* were named in particular.

136 Cf. SP June 1902.

137 Ziemendorff – Dammann, Dec. 26, 1904; Ziemendorff: Circular from Egypt, Feb. 27, 1905, and Enderlin – SPM, Dec. 7, 1905.

138 Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, June 16, 1902, and July 5, 1902, letter I, referring to his proposed project in *Suakin*. The BFBS had not reached the *Bischareen* yet.

agencies.<sup>139</sup> It was regarded as an intruder into territory that was already claimed by other missions. It was seen as expanding work in Aswan instead of advancing into the Sudan. The Aswan district was not the Sudan yet.<sup>140</sup> The other western missionaries, and subsequently Kupfernagel, put all the blame on Kumm.<sup>141</sup> However, Kumm could report, after his visit to Aswan in Spring 1901, that the problems with the AM were solved.<sup>142</sup>

The bulletin *Blessed be Egypt*,<sup>143</sup> which reported about all Protestant missionary work in Egypt, also took notice of the SPM, whereas the *Egypt Inter Mission Council*,<sup>144</sup> founded in 1921, only invited the SPM to join when it had returned to the field.<sup>145</sup>

#### 7.4.4 Summary

The SPM provided a platform for interdenominational cooperation in Germany, regarding missionary work focusing on the Sudan. On an institutional level, cooperation at the home base seemed desirable for the SPM, to the degree of possible fusion with other mission agencies. This did not come about, because the potential partners declined. In its relations with other mission agencies in Germany, the SPM had a friendly attitude and tried not to compete, but to harvest new fields.

In Aswan, there were no other resident Protestant missionaries. Competition was largely confined to school work and issues of personnel. The SPM did not really want to compete, but they could have focused more strongly on their primary goals. The SPM was at best tolerated, or ignored, by the *American Mission*. It was hard for the SPM to cooperate with a mission agency that regarded itself as having a monopoly. As a new mission agency, the SPM had a difficult time

139 In August 1901, Kupfernagel reported that in *Alexandria*, the SPM had many opponents among the English missionaries [NAM?], who would gather material against the SPM from printed reports and hearsay (Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, Aug. 7, 1901).

140 Cf. Johannes Kupfernagel – Ziemendorff, July 11, 1901. On July 5, 1902, Kupfernagel wrote to the board: "In Assuan sieht uns jede auf biblischer Grundlage arbeitende Mission an als solche die nicht durch den geordneten Weg hineingekommen sind ... [und] in die Kreise der Missionsarbeiter Spaltung hineinbringen ..."

141 Johannes Kupfernagel – board, July 13, 1902, reporting about the disclosures of Mr. Dickins from the NAM. The NAM workers seemed to be the source of bad feelings about the SPM in the other mission agencies.

142 Kumm – SPM, April 5, 1901: "Die Schwierigkeiten zwischen uns und den Amerikanern sind aus dem Wege geräumt. Wir sind wiederum die besten Freunde". Kumm had offered to return the Coptic boys to the reopened American School, but the evangelist Musa had not accepted this.

143 *Blessed be Egypt. A Quarterly Paper. In Connection with the Prayer Union for Egypt and with the Egypt Mission Band.* Arabic Literature Mission (ed.). London: Marshall, 1899ff.

144 *Minutes of Egypt Inter-Mission Council.* Cairo: The Nile Mission Press, s.a., 31 pp. (Copy found in SOAS Archives, London, Box 319).

145 Kupfernagel deplored this: "Empfinden es als schmerzlich, daß unsere Arbeit als nicht ganz voll berechtigt angesehen werden soll", da die anderen Missionen ein tieferes Band verbindet (Johannes Kupfernagel – board, July 5, 1902, letter I).

in being respected by the other mission agencies, but it tried to cooperate where opportunities were provided.

## 8 Reaching the Unreached Sudan?

This is the place to review the initial vision seen by the Guinneses and the Kumms, of how the unreached Sudan Belt could be reached. We must ask: What were the outcomes of the Kumms' two different strategies for advancing into the Sudan Belt? Which strategy was successful? Which rivers finally provided access to the Sudan Belt? The Nile, the Niger or the *Benue*? Which of Kumm's mission agencies kept on pursuing the vision of reaching the unreached Sudan Belt: the SPM, or the SUM? To what degree did they in fact make a Christian impact on people groups in the Sudan Belt?

### 8.1 A Vision Failed and Changed – Sudan-Pionier-Mission

On October 7, 1904 the new missionaries, Enderlin and Zimmerlin, were ordained in Wiesbaden by the pastors Ziemendorff, Wittekindt, and Rappard, and given a farewell together with Miss Elisabeth Gonnermann and Samuel Ali Hiseen. On November 24, 1904, a party of eight left for Aswan. The missionaries were accompanied by Pastor and Mrs. Ziemendorff, their daughter Hanna, and a volunteer nurse, Miss Rühnick. Mrs. Ziemendorff died on January 9, 1905, in Alexandria, on the way to Aswan.<sup>1</sup>

The missionary work was re-established in Aswan. Ziemendorff assisted the missionaries after his retirement, by spending the winters from 1909 to 1912 in Aswan. Under the able leadership of Enderlin, “the work in Aswan and the surrounding area was systematically broadened. A school, medical and nursing work, literature distribution, evangelistic outreach in towns and villages were all taken up with great energy, yet without losing sight of the original aim: the Sudan.”<sup>2</sup> The period until World War I was an epoch of establishment and expansion in the history of the SPM. Samuel showed himself a valuable worker and translated the remaining three Gospels into *Kenuuzi* Nubian. Two of his abducted children, Marjam and Abbas, returned to him in May 1905, and were baptized according to their own wishes in 1910.<sup>3</sup> An important addition to the missionary force in 1909 was Gertrud von Massenbach, who carried out linguistic work on Nubian until 1939.

In 1914, it was planned to open the first station in Nubia proper, in *Wadi Halfa*, and a further station was projected in *Dongola*. However, the outbreak of World War I crushed all plans. The

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1 SP 1905, No. 2, pp. 9; 19.

2 Troeger: “Epilogue”. In: Spartalis 1994, p. 106.

3 This was in fact the first baptism held by the SPM (SP March 1910, pp. 17ff.; Held 1925, p. 47).

foreign missionaries' work came to a complete halt until 1924. Samuel held his lonely post in Aswan during the war and post-war years, and translated most of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament into Nubian. As the Swiss *Helpers Unions* provided the finances, the foundations were laid for a Swiss branch of the SPM.

In 1924, the first missionaries could return to Aswan. The work was reestablished along the old lines, with the exception of the school. The medical work was strongly expanded by Dr. Elisabeth Herzfeld, who served from 1926 to 1966. In 1926, the first station south of Aswan was founded in *Koshtamne*, which had to be moved to *Gerf Hussein* in 1935, due to the rising dam. Old Nubia, between Aswan and *Wadi Halfa*, gradually drowned under the waters retained by the successively raised dam near Aswan, causing massive resettlements and an upheaval of the Nubian population. In Germany, the SPM had changed its name in 1928 to *Evangelische Muhammedaner Mission Wiesbaden*, in order to be able to take up further fields.<sup>4</sup> The Swiss friends of the SPM, who had formed a *Swiss Branch of the SPM* in 1923, and their own committee in 1924, became an independent mission agency in 1935, called *Schweizer Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission*. The major causes were increasing tensions, as the Swiss influence did not match their financial contribution, to which were added the consequences of the international economic crisis in the 1930s and Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933.<sup>5</sup> The two mission agencies cooperated until 1988, when the work in Aswan came under the sole responsibility of the German EMO.<sup>6</sup>

After World War II, the Swiss were the first to be able to take up work again in Upper Egypt in 1948, the Germans followed in 1950.<sup>7</sup> Due to political turbulence in Egypt, the work had, for the time being, to be limited increasingly to the hospital in Aswan and two rural clinics. The name of the mission agency was changed to *Evangelische Mission in Oberägypten (Evangelical Mission in Upper Egypt)*. In 1954, the Swiss were able to send a doctor into the Sudan and to take over a clinic at *Omdourman* in 1955. Since 1979, the Wiesbaden based mission has had workers in the Sudan too. In 1962, the Swiss based mission followed a call to *Eritrea*, and later also to *Ethiopia*. The German based mission has attempted to open work in *Eritrea* since 1993

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4 However, the projected work in Kurdistan did not come to be. Margarete Unruh: *Fünfzig Jahre evangelische Missionsarbeit unter Mohammedanern*. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Evangelischen Muhammedaner-Mission, 1950, p. 37.

5 Peter Moor: *Die Entwicklung zur Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Schweizer Evangelischen Mohammedaner-Mission mit der Basler Mission von 1937 bis 1939*. Gwatt / Bern, 1993, pp. 38–69.

6 *EMO-Nachrichten* 1988.

7 For the whole paragraph, see Troeger: "Epilogue". In: Spertalis 1994, p. 107.

with little success so far do to political turbulences.<sup>8</sup> Since 1970, both mission agencies have taken joint responsibility for partly sponsoring an old mission school in *Tunis*, Tunisia.

The Swiss based mission is known by the name of *Mission am Nil* (formerly: *Schweizerische Evangelische Nilland Mission*).<sup>9</sup> The Wiesbaden based mission today concentrates on the Middle Eastern heartlands of Islam, with a strong emphasis on Egypt and Sudan, and bears the name *Evangelical Middle East Ministries (Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten)*. Due to its small size, the SPM successor has been able to continue working in Egypt, whereas all English and French missionaries were expelled in 1956, and American missionaries were withdrawn during the Middle East crisis in 1967, with few returning to Egypt later. This was an unexpected result of the Guinnesses' and Kumms' decision in 1900 to establish the home base of the SPM in Germany.

While the vision of reaching the vast Sudan Belt through the SPM failed, the changed vision of making a localized impact in Aswan, Nubia, Northern Sudan, and, later, additionally in the Middle Eastern heartlands of Islam, has been diligently pursued, and has led to solid missionary work. The problem with trying to reach the Sudan Belt from Aswan lay in the fact that a long Islamic corridor along the Nile had to be passed before entering the interior of the Sudan. This area has been closed to missionary work for political reasons during most of its history since 1900. Moreover, if it had been open, the challenge of Islam would most probably have led to an intensification of missionary work among Muslims, instead of a swift advance with a chain of numerous mission stations into the interior of the Sudan. The change in vision eventually led to the SPM's becoming a mission among Muslims. The German SPM successor is still the only mission agency upholding a Christian witness among the Nubians. In Germany and Switzerland, the two successors of the SPM, EMO and *Mission am Nil*, are among the few, and small, agencies promoting Christian service and witness among Muslims.

## 8.2 A Vision Realized – Sudan United Mission

Only six weeks after Karl Kumm's dismissal from the German SPM, new permanent structures were established for the SPM in Great Britain.<sup>10</sup> On November 13, 1902, the first council

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8 Klaus Strub: "Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten in Eritrea". In: *EMO-Nachrichten* Nov. 1993, pp. 90f.

9 The name was changed in the third quarter of 2000.

10 For primary sources, I have used the archives of SUM at *Action Partners, Bawtry*, UK. What has survived German bombing during World War II – which is very little regarding the founding period – is in very orderly condition now. The journal *The Lightbearer* is a very helpful source. The jubilee history after 50 years has been written by Maxwell, who was part of the first party to *Wase Rock* in 1904, and later became director of SUM

meeting was held in *Sheffield* with Grattan Guinness as its chairman. Kumm reported about the inception of the mission agency, progress and hindrances on the Nile, openings via the Niger and *Benue* rivers, the divine call forward, and the need for an advisory council. It was agreed that the new mission agency should be called by its existing name, *Sudan Pioneer Mission*. Its primary object should be the evangelization of the people of *Adamawa* and the surrounding region known as the *Upper Benue*. In character, it should be interdenominational. Guinness agreed to assume the position of *chairman of the executive* for the time being, assisted by an advisory council.<sup>11</sup>

A deputation missionary, W.G. Pope, was to work half time each for the SPM<sup>12</sup> and for Cliff College, with expenses being shared. Thus, Grattan Guinness again had an active role from the start in trying to get the young mission agency established in England. During the next months, progress was slow, as Karl Kumm was in Germany to take the examinations for his doctor of philosophy degree in July 1903. Nevertheless, a *Light-bearer's League* (of *Helpers Unions*) was founded in Great Britain during that year, which had already gained 21 branches with 300 members by the second board meeting on November 2, 1903.<sup>13</sup>

The young mission agency sent Karl Kumm, together with two young men, to *Tripoli* for studying *Hausa* during the first months of 1904. At home, Lucy Guinness approached each of the larger mission agencies with the claims of the Sudan. All were in favor of the plans laid before them, but they were already overburdened with their existing missionary work. Subsequently, the

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(J. Lowry Maxwell: *Half a Century of Grace. A Jubilee History of the Sudan United Mission*. London 1954). Boer was the first to approach the primary sources in a scholarly manner for his dissertation: Jan Harm Boer: *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context. A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission*. Amsterdam Studies in Theology 1. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979, 530 pp; see p. 518 for an archives listing. As Boer focused on the phenomenon of colonialism, his study is by no means a just appraisal of SUM history. Spartalis (see above) tried to balance the picture in favor of Kumm, but did not claim to do a scholarly study. The transition from the German SPM to the British SPM [SUM] has not yet been adequately researched. Best is Fiedler 1992 and 1994, p. 50 and *passim*. – The books written by Kumm on the Sudan were: H. Karl W. Kumm: *The Sudan. A Short Compendium of Facts and Figures About the Land of Darkness*. London: Marshall, 1907; *From Hausaland to Egypt Through the Sudan*. London: Constable, 1910; *Khont-Hon-Nofer. The Lands of Ethiopia*. London: Marshall, 1910.

11 It is telling that it was an *Advisory Council* with the role of “assisting”. It consisted of Rev. E. Carrington (*Sheffield*), H.G. Guinness (*Cliff College*), Mr. James Irvine (*Birkenhead*), H.K.W. Kumm and Mrs. Kumm (*Cliff College*), Lewis Nott (*Syringham, Beckenham*), Mr. A. West Watson (*Liverpool*), Rev. Dr. J. Wolfenden (Elossop Rd. Baptist Church, *Sheffield*), and Rev. W.G. Pope (*Cliff College*)(Minutes SUM 1902, cf. also the lists in *To all people*, 1904, and *The Light-Bearer March 1905*, inside cover). With the exception of Mr. Nott, who had written a letter, all were present. In addition, Rev. J. Salt, the treasurer, was present. He was transferred to the RBMU for lack of finances and James Andrew replaced him as treasurer (*To all people*, 1904).

12 Pope additionally had the task of secretary of the SPM.

13 There, Guinness was not present any more, as he had married again in July 1903, as a 67-year-old, and had embarked on a honeymoon, which would eventually extend to a five year long world tour (Michele Guinness 1991, p. 253). Though he formally remained a member of the *SUM Central Committee* for some time, his active participation in the Sudan mission had ended. It is not documented, whether at his countless preaching engagements all around the world, he continued to plead for the Sudan. I assume that he did so, when opportunities arose, taking his persevering vision during the 20 previous years into account.

nonconformist churches, which were doing nothing for the Sudan yet, were called to unite in a joint effort by the name of *Sudan United Mission*. The new mission agency took this name in July 1904, because the term *Pioneer* could be misunderstood as referring to time, instead of space, as was intended. The first missionary party of three set out with Kumm on July 23, 1904, to the *Bauchi Hill* country in Northern Nigeria. Kumm had met the *British Resident* of that area in *Tripoli*, and received an invitation to settle in *Bauchi Hill*. On arrival, the missionaries were redirected by the *High Commissioner*, Sir Frederick Lugard, to *Wase Rock* at the entry of the Highlands.<sup>14</sup>

A new aspect in the strategy of the SUM, compared to the SPM, emerged in 1904, namely that of preceding Islam in reaching the “pagans”. West Central Sudan was seen as in a state of crisis. Islam was advancing fast from the North, and the question was: Would Islam or Christ reign? “... unless the Gospel of Christ be brought within the next few years to Northern Nigeria, the million numbered Pagan peoples of the new British Protectorate ... will go over to Islam.”<sup>15</sup> This strategy became more focused in 1909, when a “forward movement” was proposed after Kumm's return from an expedition by which he crossed Africa from the Niger to the Nile. The SUM now wanted to concentrate on the people on the borderline of Islam, in order to prevent the spread of Islam. Instead of portraying the needs of the whole Sudan Belt and all its kingdoms and states, the strategy of a chain of 50 mission stations from the Niger to the Nile, in the narrow belt where Muslims and “pagans” met, was pursued:

“The object and purpose of the S.U.M. being to seek the evangelisation of the native tribes in the Sudan, not already captured by Islam, before the messengers of the false prophet overtake them, it is hereby resolved that a special and immediate effort be made to plant Missionaries of the Gospel of Christ, as far as possible along the border line between those districts now recognised as Mohammedan, and those that are now Pagan, this border line being approximately along the fifth to tenth degrees of N. latitude from the Niger to the Nile ... [According to testimonies] the presence of the Christian Missionary in a Pagan town or tribe, before the teacher of Islam, is an almost certain barrier to the winning of that tribe for Islam.”<sup>16</sup>

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14 When finally, plans had become action, a lengthy article about the SUM appeared in *Regions Beyond*, which was now in the hands of Lucy's brother, Harry, who had succeeded his father (Lucy E. Kumm: “The Work of the Sudan United Mission”. *RB* 1905, pp. 125–130).

15 SUM: *To all Christians in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*. Castleton: s.a. [approx. July 1904], 4 pp., p. 3.

16 “Statement of Policy. Proposals for Forward Movement”. In: *The Lightbearer* 1909, pp. 49f.

The SUM grew quickly, and by 1908, four further stations had been opened. Commemorating the first ten years of the SUM in 1914, Kumm could report of 68 missionaries who had gone out to the Sudan Belt, with a further 16 in preparation, and of eleven mission stations established among seven tribes.<sup>17</sup> Kumm was called to different continents from 1906 onwards, to integrate new missionary initiatives into the SUM in the USA, New Zealand and Australia, South Africa, Denmark, and elsewhere. These became branches of the SUM, each of which was allocated a different field in the Sudan Belt. Eventually, the Eastern Sudan was entered too, when in 1913 missionaries of the Australian and New Zealand Branch of the SUM opened up work among the Dinka on the Nile at Melut and in 1921 among the Nuba in Southern Kordofan Province.<sup>18</sup> Over the years, the SUM became one of the three largest faith missions in Africa, beside the *Sudan Interior Mission* and the *Africa Inland Mission*, and large churches resulted from its work, particularly in Nigeria.<sup>19</sup> In comparison with the other ventures, in which Guinness and the Kumms had been involved, the SUM was a "second attempt".<sup>20</sup> The experience gained and the hard lessons learned with the SPM were profitable for the success of the SUM.

The SUM was successful in realizing the vision of reaching the Sudan Belt, because it reversed the earlier strategy and tried to enter the Sudan Belt from the other end, via a new route and from a new base. In Nigeria, the followers of African Traditional Religions in the Sudan Belt could be reached, without having to cross an Islamic Belt first. The missionaries came from the south, from the coast, and the Muslims only lived north of the missionaries' initial area of ministry.<sup>21</sup> Without the efforts of the SUM and SIM, Nigeria would have a clear Muslim majority today.

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17 Karl Kumm: "The First Ten Years of the Sudan United Mission". In: *The Lightbearer* 1914, pp. 21f.

18 Spartalis 1994, p. 65. Cf. Peter J. Spartalis: *To the Nile and Beyond. The Birth and Growth of the Sudanese Church of Christ*. Homebush West NSW: SUM, 1981.

19 Barrett: *WCE* 2001, p. 550, 554, gives an adult membership of approximately 1,4 million for the *Fellowship of Churches of Christ in Nigeria* (TEKAN), "a loose federation of 8 separate groups, 4 of which were begun by the SUM". – For details see: Lowry Maxwell: *Half a Century of Grace. A Jubilee History of the Sudan United Mission*. London: SUM [ca. 1954]. – On the *Danish SUM Branch*: cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 279, 291, 316; M. Nissen: *An African Church is Born. A Story of a Lutheran Church in Nigeria*. Denmark, 1966; Mogens Jensen: *To maend og deres mission. Anton Marius Pedersen, Niels Noegh Brønnum og Dans Forenet Sudan Mission 1905–1925*. Christiansfeld, Denmark: Savanne, 1992, 455 pp. – On church growth in Nigeria in general: John B. Grimley and Gordon E. Robinson: *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965, 386 pp. Edgar H. Smith: *Nigerian Harvest*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1972, 318 pp. Ogbu Kalu (ed.): *Christianity in West Africa. The Nigerian Story*. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1978, 394 pp. Cf. further references on Nigeria in Chapter 1.2.

20 The big faith missions of the second generation, the *Africa Inland Mission*, the *Sudan Interior Mission*, and the SUM, were all "second attempts" (Fiedler 1992, pp. 89f.; Fiedler 1994, p. 48).

21 Emeffie Ikenga-Metuh: "Muslim resistance to missionary penetration of northern Nigeria, 1857–1980". In: *Mission Studies* 3 (1986), pp. 28–40.

## 9 Mission in Faith

The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* and some other missionary efforts and agencies, in which the Guinneses and Kumms were involved, were part of a larger movement. This was the new missionary thrust around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, seeking to reach the population of the unreached Sudan Belt with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This in turn was part of a wider thrust in the Christian missionary movement, which was focusing on the regions beyond the missionary reach of that time.

### 9.1 The Unreached Sudan Belt Must be Reached – through Faith Missions

Faith missions were crucial for the reaching of the Sudan Belt, even if the SPM in particular did not really reach the Sudan Belt. The key factors in these faith missions were their focus on the unreached and their imminent eschatology, which sought to fulfill the conditions for the return of Christ by evangelizing the world.

*Sudan* was the geographical name then in use for the area between five and twelve degrees north of the Equator, between the Sahara in the north, and Guinea (the West African coastal area), and the Congo Basin in the south, extending from the Senegal in the west, to Ethiopia in the east. It consisted of three principal parts: the region of the Niger was called *Western Sudan*, the region around *Lake Chad*, *Central Sudan*, and the regions immediately to the west of the Upper Nile formed the *Eastern Sudan*.

The Sudan Belt at that time was unreached by Christian missionary activity owing to one or more of three hindering factors: the deadly climate in the southern coastal areas which had to be traversed, the lack of reliable and feasible routes of transport, and tribal wars or the uprising of the Mahdi against Turco-Egyptian colonial dominion.

The challenge for the missionary explorers consisted of finding an access route to the Sudan Belt where political conditions were opportune and the local population welcoming enough. In addition, the missionary explorers had to survive long enough to be able to establish missionary work. Much had to be learned by trial and error, as well as by research and learning from earlier ventures and secular explorers – more often from their failures than from their successes. The most promising access routes consisted of the extensive river systems leading into the heart of Africa. Roughly speaking, the choice was between the Nile in the north-east, and the *Niger* in the south-west, though the *Senegal* and the *Congo* Rivers were also under consideration.

Another obstacle in reaching the unreached Sudan Belt lay in the mission agencies themselves, at least as far as the Protestant mission agencies were concerned. Those close enough to the Sudan Belt were most often thoroughly occupied with missionary work in the areas closer to the coasts. These classical missions were also lacking – more often than not – the necessary finances and personnel to make a decided and speedy advance into the Sudan Belt. The *Church Missionary Society* and the *Presbyterian American Mission* in Egypt were just two outstanding examples of missions in that predicament.

The new movement of faith missions became crucial for reaching the unreached Sudan Belt, because spurred by a new revival impetus it recruited new missionary personnel and support in new strata of society. The conviction in faith missions that those who did not believe in Christ were eternally lost, made them focus their efforts on those unreached by the Gospel. They also believed that the return of Christ could only take place after the saving Gospel of atoning grace had been preached to all peoples. Thus, there was a twofold urgency: to reach the unreached before they died and were lost, and to hasten the return of Christ by completing the evangelization of the world. Both convictions demanded a faster expansion of missionary work, more effective methods, and a much larger number of missionaries as compared to the existing activities of the classical missions.

The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* was commenced with the vision that the unreached Sudan Belt must be reached and that the route chosen by the SPM via the Nile River would make the Sudan Belt accessible. However, the SPM failed in that regard, because a long Islamic corridor along the Nile had to be passed before entering the interior of the Sudan. Contrary to the expectations of the founders of the SPM, this area became, and remained, closed to missionary work for political reasons during most of its history after 1900.

Nevertheless, the second attempt at reaching the Sudan Belt by the Kumms and Grattan Guinness, the *Sudan United Mission*, proved successful, because it reversed the earlier strategy and tried to enter the Sudan Belt from the other end, via a new route along the *Niger* and *Benue* Rivers, and from a new base. In Nigeria, the followers of African Traditional Religions in the Sudan Belt could be reached, without having to cross an Islamic Belt first. The missionaries came from the south, from the coast, and the Muslims only lived north of the missionaries' initial area of ministry.

I have only described the Sudan mission agencies with which Grattan Guinness had direct contact. There were of course other missionary efforts and agencies which attempted to reach, or

did reach, the Sudan Belt. Among these others, two types might be distinguished. The first comprised faith missions which related to Guinness indirectly, such as the *Africa Inland Mission*<sup>1</sup> which aimed to reach *Lake Chad* from *Mombasa* in East Africa, and the *Sudan Interior Mission*<sup>2</sup> which first used the Niger route and later also succeeded in the Eastern Sudan. Together with the *Sudan United Mission*, these missions were all “second attempts” and became the largest and most influential faith missions in Africa. The second type of mission agency which reached the Sudan Belt comprised the few classical missions which succeeded in extending their activities from coastal areas to the Sudan Belt, such as the CMS in Nigeria and in the Eastern Sudan (1900),<sup>3</sup> as well as the (Eastern) *Sudan Mission* of the *United Presbyterian Church in America* (1900).<sup>4</sup>

Throughout my research, the historic typology of the Protestant missionary movement developed by Klaus Fiedler, and his historical definition of faith missions, have proven themselves useful and have helped me to gain insights.

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- 1 In 1895, Peter Cameron Scott planned to enter the Sudan from the East Coast of Africa. Scott was influenced by Guinness through two others: the first was A.B. Simpson, who had been converted during Guinness' preaching in 1858. Scott had been trained at Simpson's *New York Missionary Training Institute* and had been a *Christian Missionary Alliance* (CMA) missionary in *Zaire*. The other influence came through A.T. Pierson who encouraged Scott when the CMA did not share his plans. Pierson was influenced by Guinness via A.J. Gordon, the director of the *American Baptist Missionary Union* and founder of the *Boston Missionary Training Institute*. After Scott's death, Pierson encouraged Charles Hurlbert to carry on with the *Africa Inland Mission*. Cf. Fiedler 1992, p. 91; 1994, p. 49. On Scott, cf. Catherine S. Miller: *Peter Cameron Scott. The Unlocked Door*. London 1956, 84 pp. On the AIM, cf. Kenneth Richardson: *Garden of Miracles. A History of the Africa Inland Mission*. London 1968; Dick Anderson: *We Felt Like Grasshoppers. The Story of the Africa Inland Mission*. Nottingham: Crossway Books, 1994, 348 pp.
  - 2 The SIM was founded in 1898 by Rowland Bingham. Bingham had been influenced by A.J. Gordon and recruited for missionary work by him (cf. Fiedler 1992, pp. 89, 92; 1994, p. 50. On Bingham and SIM cf. Rowland V. Bingham: *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee. The Story of the Sudan Interior Mission*. Toronto, 1943; J.H. Hunter: *A Flame of Fire. The Life and Work of R.V. Bingham, D.D.* n.p.: Sudan Interior Mission, 1961).
  - 3 The *Church Missionary Society* had been attempting to enter Northern Nigeria by using Crowther since 1841. The activities by Brooke, supported by Guinness, were just an episode to them. However, it was only later that advance into the interior was made (See Crampton et al.). The CMS also entered the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1900, as it had focused on the Northern Sudan, which colonial powers were not willing to open to Christian evangelization. On the CMS and the *American Presbyterian Mission* in the Sudan, cf. the dissertation by Philip Legge Pitya. *History of Western Christian Evangelism in the Sudan 1898–1964*. [PhD Boston University] 1996, 792 pp.
  - 4 The *American Mission* in Egypt too had aimed at the Muslim north of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan first and was redirected to the Sobat in the pagan south. One of their missionaries in Egypt had appealed for years to his mission to enter the Sudan, but he had not been supported by the majority then. Guinness had conferred with the *American Mission* when visiting Egypt in 1898. Lucy Guinness also reported on an unsuccessful exploring expedition in the *Sobat* region of the Eastern Sudan by Ladd of the *American Missionary Association* in 1881, which had been stopped by political unrest and not resumed (*RB* 1894, p. 332). It was sponsored by Robert Arthington (Lewis Grout: “Mahdism and missions in the Sudan” In: *MRW* 1890, p. 757).

## 9.2 Grattan and Fanny Guinness – Promoters of Faith Missions

Grattan and Fanny Guinness were crucial for faith missions and for a number of Sudan mission agencies. The Guinneses transferred the concept of faith missions, which Hudson Taylor (1832–1905) had developed for China, to the African continent. The Guinneses were actively involved in founding, supporting, or directing a large number of mission agencies particularly in Africa. Among these, the mission agencies or exploration efforts focusing on the Sudan Belt formed a substantial proportion.

Grattan Guinness (1835–1910) from Ireland was popular as an interdenominational itinerant evangelist in Europe and North America and well known as the author of theological books on eschatology. His wife, Fanny (1832–1898), equally was a preacher, a gifted author and editor of the Guinneses' journal *The Regions Beyond* and other popular publications, and since 1873, she did much of the running of the *East London Training Institute for Home and Foreign Missions* (ELTI), which opened up missionary training to those who could not afford it and had less education than was usually required by the classical missions. The ELTI became the model for the worldwide Bible School movement and until its closing in 1915, it had trained about 1,500 students, the majority of whom became missionaries, primarily in the missions founded by the Guinneses, or other faith missions.

The Guinneses' vision for the Sudan Belt can be traced back to early mentions of the missionary needs of Africa from 1876 onwards in the monthly *Illustrated Missionary News*, which the Guinneses edited, and to their first extensive article about the Sudan in their journal *Regions Beyond* in 1887. The Sudan Belt was part of their agenda for the “regions beyond”, but only in 1887 did it attain a position of highest priority, when the Guinneses became involved in some of the earliest attempts at missionary exploration of the Sudan.

The Guinneses supported the independent *Central Soudan Mission* (1887/88) of Salim C. Wilson, a Dinka from Sudan who had studied at the ELTI, and of Graham Wilmot Brooke on the *Congo River*. However, Brooke's and Salim's venture failed, when the explorers parted ways, and when Brooke realized that he would be unable to reach the Sudan Belt via that route, owing to political obstacles and tribal fighting.

The Guinneses remained loyal to Brooke in supporting his new plans for the *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission* (1889–1892) with J.A. Robinson on the Niger River, in connection with the *Church Missionary Society* in England. This endeavor also failed, after much dispute about Brooke's and Robinson's attempt to reform the *Niger Diocese* of Bishop Crowther. Both

Robinson and Brooke succumbed to illnesses and the SUNM was dissolved in 1893. For the Guinnesses, the *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission* had the honor of being the first mission in their time that had seriously tried to enter the Sudan by the Niger River for missionary purposes.

Concurrently, Grattan Guinness provided the main impulse for the founding of the *Kansas Soudan Pioneer Mission* (1889) in the United States within the Kansas YMCA, which was targeting the Western Sudan. This venture caused a considerable stir in the Mid-Western states of the USA. Already early in 1890, the KSPM missionaries severed their connection with Guinness, but when some of the pioneers soon died in Sierra Leone, Guinness still had to ward off the blame. The missionary work grew slowly, and reached the Sudan Belt only many years later. The KSPM was the first Sudan Mission which Grattan Guinness had initiated himself, and it was the one most extensively reported about in *Regions Beyond*. It had started out with the largest missionary party, but it also cost the highest number of lives.

In addition, the Guinnesses supported the independent *Central Soudan Mission* of Hermann G. Harris (1891), which ventured to enter the Central Sudan first from the Mediterranean via the caravan routes through the Sahara, and later via the Niger River. These ventures all failed. The involvement of the Guinnesses in furthering the CSM was very low, and in comparison, A.T. Pierson seemed to have had a closer attachment to that mission endeavor.

With all these initiatives having failed, political developments in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan were propitious for the development of plans for a Sudan mission via the Nile River in Egypt. These plans were intertwined with the romance of Lucy Guinness and Karl Kumm, a German missionary in Egypt, who eventually became the co-founders of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* (SPM).

Concerning the SPM, Grattan Guinness actually was the major founder, who presented this newly founded mission work in Aswan, Egypt, as a gift – so to speak – to his daughter Lucy and her fiancé Karl Kumm on the occasion of their engagement in January 1900. There were some “firsts” in the founding of the SPM, compared to earlier Sudan ventures. It was founded in the field, with a support body being recruited later. It was the first which implemented the Nile strategy. It was the first venture to involve Germany. To the Guinnesses, it was the first Sudan mission of which they had visited the field base, and which actively involved other members of the family than Grattan. His role would focus on getting the mission work started on the field, and on securing a home base. Grattan Guinness actively pursued the search in Switzerland or

Germany for a mission agency which would adopt this new venture, and when this failed, he gained the first board members for an independent mission agency.

There were three types of involvement by the Guinness family regarding the evangelization of the Sudan Belt: reporting, supporting, and founding missions. The Guinnesses firstly reported about the unreached Sudan, and called for action, before anything was done. They continued both these activities, while progressing in their involvement. Secondly, they supported those attempts to reach the Sudan, to which they were exposed or with which they had contact, and reported about them (Brooke's *Central Soudan Mission*, Brooke's *Sudan and Upper Niger Mission*, Harris' *Central Soudan Mission*). Thirdly, Grattan Guinness founded Sudan pioneer missions together with others, and reported about them (*Kansas Soudan Pioneer Mission*, *Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, and *Sudan United Mission*).

Grattan Guinness' personal role in the above Sudan missions was primarily that of a visionary and founder: He acted when he felt the time was ripe to do something for the evangelization of the Sudan, even though at that moment it was not clear whether it could be done successfully. This is why others called his efforts hasty. In some cases, Guinness invested much time and energy in the founding of these missions, but he regularly withdrew after the initial phase. His share in the reporting was limited to stating the need, issuing the call, and describing the founding in which he was involved. Reports on ongoing work were usually presented by his wife Fanny until her death in 1898, and later by their daughter Lucy. Grattan Guinness always recruited others to do the missionary work in the target area, and was never in the field, except for Egypt.

In the mission agencies for the Sudan founded from 1900 onwards, Grattan Guinness' daughter Lucy and his son in law, Karl Kumm, contributed their share of vision and quickly surpassed Guinness in the importance of their involvement in these missions. These later missions seem to have been more fit for survival. Beside the experience gained, and the further opening of the Sudan as time passed, the geographical studies of Karl Kumm might have been an important factor. Grattan Guinness never claimed a monopoly of the Sudan vision. He supported other Sudan missionary pioneers because he shared the same basic vision, even though he might have disagreed with them in some particulars.

What then was Grattan Guinness' importance compared to the other promoters of the Sudan vision? Concerning the faith missions, Guinness' role was later surpassed by Lucy and Karl Kumm, whose whole involvement focused on the Sudan, while Guinness was interested in many

other mission fields as well. Among Guinness' other contemporaries in Britain, General Gordon had considerable influence on missions, but more through the myths surrounding him after his death than through his life. Brooke's influence did not by any means equal that of Guinness, as he died young. The other influential promoters of faith missions to the Sudan, A.J. Gordon, A.B. Simpson,<sup>5</sup> and A.T. Pierson, all owed a lot to Guinness and were located in the United States. Either their initial influence was smaller or it came later in history, though the enduring effects were sometimes greater.

Thus, it might be safe to say that Grattan Guinness has the clear distinction of being the earliest and most influential promoter of the Sudan vision at the time when the Sudan Belt started to open up.<sup>6</sup> The share of his wife Fanny in this honor is limited only by her early death before the founding of SPM and SUM. The vital role of the Guinnesses in promoting the missionary need of the Sudan Belt and in opening it to Christian missions must not be forgotten, when describing the multifaceted contributions of the Guinnesses to evangelism, world mission, and missionary training.

### 9.3 Karl and Lucy Kumm – Pioneers of the Sudan Belt

Karl Kumm has undeservedly been forgotten. A major reason for this was the bad image that haunted him in Germany. However, our perception of Kumm must be completely revised. In fact, the SPM should not have dismissed Karl Kumm.

Karl Kumm (1874–1930) stemmed from a military family in Osterode am Harz, Germany. In his youth, the openhearted and adventurous lad was already interested in Africa. At the close of his schooling, he experienced a conversion to Christ, whom he wanted to serve from then on. When looking for work in England, he received a calling to missionary service in Egypt and joined the *North Africa Mission* in 1896. In preparation he attended the Guinnesses' *East London Training Institute* to receive training in missions, theology, English, and practical evangelism. In addition, he started learning Arabic with a tutor of the NAM. During an extended practical

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5 Simpson seems to have been more careful than Guinness was overall. After early failures of his missionaries in Zaire and the Kansas SPM in Sierra Leone, he tended to observe how the ventures of others developed. In 1894, he reported about meeting the pioneers of the *Central Soudan Mission*. His conclusion for his own plans was: "We shall be glad to follow on as God clearly opens the way, but we do not feel that we are called upon to inaugurate what really must prove a great and hazardous enterprise of missionary exploration." (Simpson 1894, p. 25).

6 Samuel Zwemer accorded the first places in the successive attempts to enter the Sudan Belt to the CMS and Crowther, and to Brooke as the "first definite attempt" (Samuel Zwemer: *The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia*. New York 1911, p. 209. His source is: "A résumé of pioneer efforts in the Sudan", in: *The Missionary Witness*, Toronto, Sudan Number, 1909).

assignment on the Baltic Coast, Kumm had proven that he was able to cooperate in interdenominational and cross-cultural evangelism.

In 1898, he arrived in Alexandria, Egypt, where he focused on deepening his skills in Arabic through intensive contact with the indigenous population. His vision was for “the people of the desert”. Ever widening excursions immersed him in the culture of the *Fellaheen* and *Bedouins* and led him far beyond the usual itineration of his colleagues in the Nile Delta. When Kumm guided Grattan and Lucy Guinness on a journey to the Oasis of *Faiyûm* in 1899, they had probably already talked about Kumm's plans of exploring the caravan routes into the Sudan as well as about Grattan Guinness' newly kindled enthusiasm for his long cherished concern of opening the Sudan Belt to Protestant missions. Guinness must have had a decided influence on the shifting of Kumm's calling from “the people of the desert” to the Sudan Belt.

After an extensive expedition to the oases of the *Libyan Desert*, Kumm left the NAM in early 1900 because it no longer provided a sufficient framework for his expanded vision. Contrary to earlier plans, the NAM was unable to advance to the Eastern Sudan, owing to a lack of finances and workers. However, Kumm's exploring nature did not seem compatible with being bound to a local mission station in the Nile Delta and its restricted sphere of ministry.

A new mission agency was needed to advance into the Sudan Belt. Personal romance and missionary vision were united, when Karl Kumm became the co-founder of the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* in Aswan, on the day of his engagement to Lucy Guinness in January 1900. During his stay in Aswan after their marriage, Kumm oversaw the school of the SPM in Aswan, prepared a colportage tour through Nubia for the Nubian evangelist, and studied the *Bischareen* language.

After returning to Germany, Kumm was kindling the missionary vision for the Sudan Belt, first as a companion of Grattan Guinness, and then by himself. Within the newly established board, Kumm was the driving personality of the SPM and the only one with experience in Egypt. In addition to promotional tours and the recruitment of workers for the SPM, Kumm solved problems on the mission field in Aswan, and pursued a doctorate in geography.

Unfortunately, the portrayal of Kumm in SPM publications and sources is overshadowed by a conflict over missionary strategy, which led to his expulsion from the SPM in 1902. In addition, intrigues and disputes over some of Kumm's perceived shortcomings mar his image. In the SPM's internal historiography, Kumm has been made the scapegoat for most of the problems with which the SPM had to battle. Therefore, our perception of Kumm needs to be completely revised. Kumm was a visionary and a pioneer who was thinking on a large scale. He was

convinced of his call to reach the Sudan Belt. When the strategy of reaching the Sudan via the Nile River did not work out, he was flexible enough to try to reach it via the Niger River. When he could not find enough support for his plans from the SPM board in Germany, he was seeking alternative support and structures in Great Britain. Kumm was vision driven, and if one road was blocked, he would try another one. He would not sit and wait, when obstacles appeared on his way. He would work hard and prove flexible in trying to overcome them. He had an inspiring influence on others whom he wanted to win for this task.

The success of the *Sudan United Mission*, founded in 1904 by the Kumms, proves that Kumm was right in his strategy. The SPM board should rather have tried to follow its visionary founder, instead of ejecting him from the SPM. From what I have uncovered on this early period in the life of Karl Kumm, nothing confirms the charge of a colonialist attitude in Kumm's later period of life which was raised by J.H. Boer.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, Kumm's treatment and perception of the Nubian, Samuel Ali Hiseen, as a missionary in his own right, positively distinguished itself from that of Kupfernagel, or from that of some SPM board members. Karl Kumm should be remembered as a visionary missionary leader from Germany with international influence, who founded mission agencies for the Sudan Belt.

Lucy Guinness-Kumm's contribution to the opening of the Sudan Belt to Christian missions only came to full fruition in the British context, while it was hindered and less effective in Germany. It was Lucy (1865–1906), who shared most in the Sudan vision among the Guinnessees' children. Long before the founding of the SPM, Lucy Guinness had devoted her literary talents to missionary work and had widely traveled as a mission promoter in Great Britain and the United States. Since 1888, she had been the editor of the widely read missions journal *The Regions Beyond*, and she had propagated, for more than ten years, the missionary needs of the Sudan Belt. She had always wanted to become a missionary herself.

She was centrally involved in the founding of the SPM, together with her father, even before Karl Kumm arrived in Aswan. Back in Germany and Switzerland, Lucy Kumm played an important role in publishing circulars to friends and possibly editing the first two issues of the *Sudan Pionier*. From her pen came a brochure for women, and a number of articles. She was also a founding member of the women's board of the SPM. Despite her capability, Lucy's effectiveness in Germany was limited by her insufficient mastery of German, the shortness of her

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7 See Chapters 1.2 and 8.2.

stay (May 1900 – May 1902), by pregnancies, her caring for her baby boys and by the expulsion of her husband from the SPM.

Lucy Kumm was more influential in managing the English branch of the SPM,<sup>8</sup> and certainly in the founding of the British SPM in 1902 and the SUM in 1904. It was only natural that Lucy would move back to Great Britain when her husband Karl was away so much, being either in Egypt, on deputation, or busy with his studies. In Britain, Lucy acted as treasurer of the SPM until someone else was appointed to that position. Later, Lucy approached each of the larger mission agencies in Britain with the claims of the Sudan, and prepared for the founding of the SUM, while her husband was abroad. She also devoted herself to writing a book on the Sudan, which, however, she was unable to complete.

Lucy Guinness-Kumm was centrally involved in the founding of two of the Guinnesses' Sudan missions, the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* and the *Sudan United Mission*. Unfortunately, her early death in 1906 prevented her from further extending her contribution to the reaching of the unreached Sudan Belt.

#### **9.4 Samuel Ali Hiseen – a Missionary Pioneer in Nubia**

The career and position of Samuel Ali Hiseen within the SPM is part of a larger phenomenon. The racial feelings of the missionaries were hardened at the time of the *Berlin Colonial Conference* in 1885.

Samuel was the first missionary of the SPM and for a long time the most important one. He was born in 1863 in *Abu Hoor*, Nubia, and as a runaway street boy in Cairo, happily accepted an offer in 1873 to go to Switzerland. He received his education, became a Christian, and was sent to the Guinnesses' *East London Training Institute*, and later to Beirut, to learn Arabic as a preparation for medical studies. However, when his sponsor died, he had to return to Egypt in 1884, and after a stint as teacher in Cairo, his relatives convinced him to return to Nubia. In *Abu Hoor*, Samuel became part of a very close society of simple peasants, relearned his mother tongue and original culture, and tried to be a witness to his faith. Samuel was working at the Post Office in *Shellaal* near Aswan when he met Grattan Guinness again.

Samuel longed to do the missionary work for which he had been trained, and readily accepted Guinness' offer to become employed by the SPM. He was ideally qualified to become a

missionary and Bible colporteur among the Nubians: He was probably the only Nubian Christian in Nubia. Besides *Kenuuzi* Nubian and Arabic, he spoke French and English fluently, and had received a Western education. Most of all, he had undergone missionary training, and possessed missionary experience among his own people. He did not regard the new position as just a job; on the contrary, he longed to return to his calling of evangelizing his Nubian people.

He shared a long held mutual affection with Guinness, and respect, from the time of his training at the ELTI. Equally, with Kumm, friendship and respect developed. Samuel was installed in a position of responsibility as a colporteur. He did the SPM a great service by his itinerating. He accomplished a pre-evangelistic covering of Nubia, and many Nubians heard the Gospel for the first time in their lives. His survey of the country was so detailed that it was not only useful for further planning of the SPM, but also provided the raw data for Kumm's doctoral dissertation on the economic geography of Nubia.

It was only when the first German missionary arrived that Samuel's position was increasingly reduced to that of a missionary assistant. However, when Kumm returned to Egypt, he reinstated Samuel in the position of a missionary who was directly responsible to the board, by establishing an independent station for him in *Guzaira*. When this station failed a year later, Kumm no longer had any influence, as he was about to be ejected from the SPM. Thus, Samuel was again placed in a subordinate position under the German missionary, who passed harsh judgment on him. For the rest of his life, Samuel never regained an independent position.

This was part of a wider phenomenon, as missionaries were downgrading indigenous workers who had previously worked more independently. A striking example, which was analyzed in detail by Colin Reed, is the CMS in Kenya, which refrained from ordaining its African workers, even though these had been trained for the ministry in India.<sup>9</sup>

The accomplishments of Samuel for the SPM were manifold: He was the first and for a long time the only evangelist in Nubia. He was the first Nubian to put his mother tongue into writing, by translating most of the New Testament, and by writing down folk tales, traditions, and observations about Nubia. He taught Arabic and Nubian to the first generations of missionaries and introduced them to the local cultures. He upheld the mission station in Aswan for ten long years during and after World War I, when all German and Swiss missionaries were expelled. I

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8 She was the treasurer there, had publications printed, and organized matters, while her husband was in Germany.

9 Colin Reed: *Pastors, Partners and Paternalists. African Church Leaders and Western Missionaries in the Anglican Church in Kenya, 1850–1900*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

think one is justified in calling Samuel Ali Hiseen “the first missionary” of the SPM, no matter which positions he has been accorded by the western missionaries. Samuel had been trained as a missionary, and was doing the work of a missionary pioneer for Nubia.

### 9.5 The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* – a German Faith Mission in Upper Egypt

The *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* had originally been envisioned as a mission agency which would reach the Sudan Belt, but in its early years, it actually became a local mission work in Aswan, Upper Egypt. The vision of the founders of the SPM, Grattan Guinness, together with Karl and Lucy Kumm, was to reach a major part of the unreached Sudan Belt from Aswan via the Nile River. They intended that the SPM should start with reaching the Muslim Nubians and the *Bischareen*, extend as soon as possible to Khartoum and from there proceed to *Kordofan* and *Darfur*. However, after an initial exploration of Nubia, the SPM became stagnant in Aswan. Moreover, instead of concentrating on the Nubians and *Bischareen*, the schools became sidetracked by attending to the education of Copts and Evangelical Christians. Very few Muslims were reached during the early years of the SPM.

The methods which were intended to reach the target groups were Bible translation, translation and distribution of books into local languages, schools, evangelism, and as a supplement, medical work. These methods were all put into practice sooner or later, with the exception of literature production. However, some methods only lasted as long as Kumm had any influence and there was a visible shift of emphases. School and colportage work were being put into practice first. The colportage was accompanied by evangelism and some translation work. The colportage work ended before 1901, being continued on a very small scale locally, while the translation work went on until 1902. These were replaced by evangelism locally and in the surrounding areas. The school always had an important position, concerning staff and funds, and increasingly dominated the work of the SPM. By 1904, the missionary work was reduced to the school, newly added medical work, and some evangelism. The role of scholarly work was underplayed by the SPM, after promising beginnings. The early field research, particularly in linguistics, which was done by Samuel and Kumm, was not pursued until much later, when Samuel received encouragement from other scholars.

Even beyond its focus of reaching the Sudan Belt, the SPM was filling a gap in Protestant mission work in Egypt, which was geographically focused on Cairo, the Nile Delta, and the Nile valley up to *Luxor*. The large *American Mission*, which was dominant in all respects, concerning

personnel, finances, converts, congregations, and geographic spread, had its center in Assiut. However, in Aswan, there had been no permanent missionary work by any Protestant mission agency. The majority of the missionary work in Egypt was directed to the large Coptic Orthodox Christian minority, whereas the share of efforts focusing on the Muslim majority population was much smaller. Ministry to Muslims occupied a fraction of the efforts of the *American Mission*, in addition to the work of the *Church Missionary Society*, and of a few small missions, such as the *North Africa Mission* (1892), and the *Egypt Mission Band* (1898). Thus, the SPM with its plans had its rightful place in Aswan.

Being a field founded mission agency, the SPM did not have an easy start in Germany. It was considered as a further competitor for mission funds and as a further small mission agency, which would be consuming energy and funds for its administration. In addition, it was associated with two categories of mission agencies which were seriously put in doubt by established classical mission agencies and their representatives: Faith missions were not really considered necessary, and missionary work among Muslims was not considered timely.

The critics, among whom the renowned missiologist Gustav Warneck was the foremost, contended that: Kumm was not capable and trustworthy; trying to reach the Sudan Belt was not a goal to be pursued at that time; and missionary methods should be intensive rather than expansive. As Germans had enough responsibilities in their traditional fields and their newly acquired colonies, the Sudan Belt was not a field which German mission agencies should try to approach, and a missionary effort which was seeking to reach the Sudan Belt, should not attempt to establish its home base in Germany. Warneck warned potential supporters of the SPM not to become involved in an enterprise, which to him was not only unsound and would become a complete disappointment and a costly failure, but was also a threat and a nuisance to the well established German missionary enterprise. The criticism was warded off by Kumm and Dammann in emphasizing that the Sudan Belt was unreached and the doors were open now via the Nile. Concerning other mission agencies in Germany, Kumm could rightly state that no other mission agency could help in reaching the Sudan Belt and the SPM was not intending to take away any support from other mission agencies.

In fact, most of the criticism which the SPM encountered was directed against faith missions in general. The SPM was the sixth faith mission founded in Germany and it followed the principles established by Hudson Taylor for the *China Inland Mission*.

If it is permissible to use this analogy, the early story of the SPM could be portrayed as that of an unsuccessful marriage, followed by later remarriage. There are six phases, which have their correspondence in the development of the SPM: courting in search of a partner, the initial enthusiasm of marriage and honeymoon, being sobered by conflicts and crises, alienation of the partners leading to divorce, disorientation during a phase of mourning, and finally a new beginning in remarriage.

In the first phase, from May to October 1900, the SPM was in search of a support base in German speaking Europe. Grattan Guinness and the Kumms first turned to the *Chrischona Mission* near *Basle*, Switzerland, as the most obvious potential partner. They hoped that the earlier missionary effort of the *Chrischona Mission* in establishing an *Apostles' Road* through Egypt would now make it inclined to adopt the task of reaching the Sudan Belt. However, the *Chrischona Mission* had some doubts about its proposed partner and its own commitments, and declined the proposal by protracting a definite response. Another attempt was to fuse with the *Deutsche Orient-Mission* of Dr. Lepsius. Though this led to several agreements, it came to nothing, as the potential partners and particularly their fields of ministry were too different. The alternative left to the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* was to establish a mission agency of its own. Julius Dammann, a renowned evangelist and editor living in Eisenach, and later Theodor Ziemendorff, a pastor and Christian leader in Wiesbaden, were gained as promoters of the SPM.

In a second phase lasting until the end of 1900, structures for the SPM were established and support recruited. A regular journal, *Der Sudan Pionier*, was issued. *Helpers Unions* for the SPM were established in a number of cities among its supporters. The board of the SPM was established and started taking decisions. An office was opened in Eisenach. In addition, and obviously essential for a mission agency, the first missionaries, the Kupfernagels, were recruited. The early enthusiasm lasted until the sending out of the first missionary party from Germany to Aswan on December 30, 1900, one year after the founding of the SPM.

In a third phase lasting until October 1902, the SPM had to face the sobering facts of conflicts and crises. This period was dominated by the setting up of a base in Aswan for German missionaries. In Aswan, German missionaries were taking control. Kupfernagel entered into an almost permanent conflict with Samuel, the Nubian missionary, which could not even be solved permanently by Kumm's intervention in setting up a separate mission station for Samuel. Quite sobering was the growing certainty gained in 1901, that the Northern Sudan was closed to Christian missionary work by the British, for reasons of political expediency. Another major

crisis for the SPM was the attempted suicide of Henriette von Blücher, a self-funded missionary volunteer of unsuitable health in the Summer of 1902.

In a fourth incisive phase, the alienation which had been developing between the SPM board and Karl Kumm led to the expulsion of Kumm from the SPM in October 1902. Kupfernagel had conducted an extended smear campaign against Kumm and the board had lost confidence in Kumm. The key issue emerging from my research is that Kumm had become impatient with the SPM board, which mostly failed in its duties (except for Ziemendorff), and could not keep in step with Kumm's proposed change in strategy. The board wanted to work from Aswan only, whereas Kumm proposed a new attempt to enter the Sudan Belt via the Niger River. Therefore, Kumm used his contacts in Great Britain to find support for his new plans. The board took offence at this, because it undermined the board's influence. Thus, a conflict over strategy resulted in a power struggle. All the other points of conflict which were published or discussed, were secondary, and in most cases had very little substance, except for Kumm's irregular leaving of the *North Africa Mission*. Though the SPM board had seemingly won the power struggle by ejecting Kumm from the SPM, they really lost it, because with Kumm they lost their visionary and strategist.

In a fifth phase, lasting until August 1904, the SPM struggled with further disintegration and seeking of direction. The missionary Kupfernagel was attempting new methods in Aswan, but was increasingly becoming frustrated and looking for other employment. To make matters worse, Samuel's children were abducted by his Muslim relatives, making missionary work in Aswan impossible for him. Once again, Kupfernagel put Samuel's integrity in question. The board wondered what to do with Samuel, how to get rid of Kupfernagel and how to make a new start. However, for a full year it was unable to take any decision.

The sixth phase began in the course of 1904, when three new missionaries were trained in Wiesbaden, with the help of Samuel, who had come to Germany. The *Galla* region on the *Blue Nile* was envisioned as a new area of work, but pending the necessary permission by British authorities (which was never granted), Aswan was kept as a training base. Thus in late 1904, after Kupfernagel had left the SPM, a new team of missionaries was sent out to Aswan to make a fresh start. While the vision of reaching the vast Sudan Belt through the SPM failed, the changed vision of making a localized impact in Aswan, Nubia, Northern Sudan, and later, additionally in the Middle Eastern heartlands of Islam, has been diligently pursued, and has led to solid missionary work.

The repressed early history of the SPM has been brought to light again and can be accepted. Within German faith missions, the early history has often been repressed, because a later generation became ashamed of their roots. Often an attempt to gain respectability by assimilating to the classical missions and their principles was the underlying cause.<sup>10</sup>

## 9.6 Reasons for the Crisis of the SPM

What were the ultimate reasons behind the crisis of the early SPM until its new start in 1905? There is a whole bundle of problems which threatened to make the SPM a failure. Many of these problems were interrelated and some were the consequences of others. It is almost impossible to decide which of these problems were the most important.

A basic problem of the SPM was the spontaneity of its founding. Work on the field was started with no support structures behind it. This put the founders under time pressure, in establishing a home base. For this purpose, they had to leave the work which had been begun. Without their supervision, the school work shifted away from the SPM's focus on unreached groups, such as the Nubians and the *Bischareen*. Once in Europe, the founders were in a hurry to send out the first European missionaries who would direct the work begun in Egypt. In addition, the selection of indigenous personnel was not done very carefully. In particular, the Egyptian teacher, Girgis, was not really the right person for the objective of teaching the *Bischareen* and Nubians.

Next, the leadership of the SPM was inexperienced. The missionary experience of Kumm was limited to two years only, and probably was not sufficient for the leadership of a new mission agency. The board members, though all mature leaders in the Church and the Fellowship Movement, were all inexperienced in directing a mission agency. This was recognized in retrospect, when some experience had been gained. For example, the board did not really know the living costs of a family in Aswan and equipped the Kupfernagels with too few funds. The board was also ignorant of the health hazards of the hot summers and of the need for an annual break during that period, which led to repeated breakdowns in the health of the missionaries. In addition, the board wanted to control too many details on the field. This made work in Egypt

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10 The most extreme example is the *Kiel China Mission*, which quickly turned away from faith mission principles. It is probably the only faith mission which was finally integrated into a classical mission (Cf. Franz 1993, pp. 159-187).

quite tedious, as decisions on urgent issues were often overly protracted, and the slow postal communication between Germany and Egypt caused an additional delay in the responses.<sup>11</sup>

Hand in hand with this went administrative and personal failures. Money transfers often arrived too late in Egypt, which left the missionaries without funds. The bookkeeping in Germany was not done properly, which led to time consuming correspondence between the field and the administration. Julius Dammann, who was meant to supervise the office in Eisenach, was prevented from fulfilling his duties by his busy life as an evangelist, and by his increasing sickness.

The urgency in sending out the first missionaries, and the lack of experience of those responsible, led to an uncritical selection of the first missionaries from Germany. Most of the early mission workers were the wrong people for the specific objectives to be achieved. It was later realized that instead of a family, single male missionaries should have been sent first into such a pioneer situation. Sending a family into unsettled structures caused many hardships for them. In addition, it was not recognized during the stage of processing his application that Kupfernagel, because of his personality, was not the right person for the task.<sup>12</sup> His motive, of making up for a perceived previous failure in India, was not helpful. He proved unable to stand the multiple pressures and the culture shock in a situation of low missionary care.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, the first missionaries were not only unsuitable, but they were also in no way prepared.<sup>14</sup> They did not know what was awaiting them, and they received no specific preparation whatsoever before their departure. Probably it was assumed that Kupfernagel's previous experience, as a missionary in India, would suffice. However, this was possibly more of a liability than an asset, as Kupfernagel could not really adapt to the different circumstances of Egypt, nor to the policies of the SPM as a faith mission, which differed from a classical mission

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11 Ziemendorff quickly saw this, when he visited Egypt for the first time (Ziemendorff – Dammann, Dec. 26, 1904).

12 Kupfernagel's later employer, the Committee of the *Berlin Mission*, even considered Kupfernagel unfit for missionary service, as he had not fulfilled their expectations. (Axenfeld – Komitee Berliner Mission, March 25, 1908, Berlin Mission Archives, Kupfernagel Vol. II, and Julius Richter on August 20, 1908 in a footnote on Axenfeld – Komitee Berlin Mission, Jan. 14, 1908, p. 8). Even Kupfernagel's employer in Kassel had not been very happy about his service (Hess. Diakonissenhaus Cassel-Mahlheiden – Pastor [Berlin Mission], June 28, 1908, Berlin Mission Archives, Kupfernagel Vol. II, confidential envelope).

13 Organized missionary care is largely a phenomenon of the last decades, whereas in the past it depended on the personality type of the mission agency's leader, if there was any trace of it at all. Missionaries were expected to enter places of hardship as brave soldiers of Christ. See Ruth Tucker / Leslie Andrews: "Historical Notes on Missionary Care". In: Kelly O'Donnell (ed.): *Missionary Care. Counting the Cost for World Evangelization*. Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1992, pp. 24–36.

such as the *Gossner Mission*. After his arrival in Egypt, there were no provisions made for regular language learning or for a period of adaptation. Kupfernagel had to take responsibility immediately, and his acquisition of Arabic suffered from the pressures of work.

To make matters worse, multiple conflicts developed among the workers on the field. The indigenous workers were in competition with each other, and there were ethnic tensions between Girgis, the Egyptian, and Samuel, the Nubian. Furthermore, Kupfernagel's condescending treatment of the indigenous missionary workers was not conducive to satisfactory cooperation. Particularly, Kupfernagel's fault finding with Samuel was undermining the working relationships, not only of Kupfernagel with Samuel, but also of Kupfernagel with the board<sup>15</sup> and with Kumm in particular.

To these internal problems and conflicts, a further problem was added from the outside. The access to the Sudan was limited in such a way that it was effectively curtailing the advance of the SPM into its target area. Colonial authorities were not allowing any missionary work in the Northern Sudan, which prevented the SPM from advancing south along the Nile. This led to uncertainties about the location of the mission station and about its objectives. Was Aswan still the right place for the base of the SPM, and would it not be better to seek another field of work? Additionally, the missionary work lacked focus on its original objectives of reaching Nubians and *Bischareen*, particularly in the area of school work.

As a result, the relationship between the founder and the board deteriorated. The founder did not show enough respect for his board, and the board did not keep in step with the founder of the mission agency. Kumm, the founder, wanted to change the strategy of accessing the Sudan Belt, whereas the board was not flexible enough and wanted to maintain the station in Aswan. The ensuing separation of the SPM from Kumm led to a long and keenly felt loss of knowledge and impetus for the SPM. As a result, the expansive methods of missionary work were neglected for a lengthy period.

Perhaps Kumm had wanted too much at one time. He was prevented from exploring the field and from advancing the SPM into the Sudan by his responsibilities to the SPM in Germany. His expertise was missing on the field, while he was away. At home, he had to split his time between

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14 The early faith missions usually had "candidates' courses" for the orientation of their new missionaries. Kumm had enjoyed such a course at the NAM. The NAM also issued a *Monthly Missionary Correspondence Course of the North Africa Mission, Being Papers issued in 1908*. London: NAM, 1908, No. 1-12, 4-6 pp. each.

15 Johannes Kupfernagel noted in an autobiographical text the difficulty of the Kupfernagel to be subordinates: "Es ist eine Eigentümlichkeit der Kupfernägeln, daß sie gute Kameraden und Vorgesetzte, aber schwierige

academic pursuits and the advertising of the SPM. One was hindering the other, and neither could be done thoroughly enough.

Further external factors contributed to the crisis of the SPM: Funds did not come in to the degree expected,<sup>16</sup> and additional qualified personnel were lacking. This created hardship for the missionaries in the field. The increasingly competitive situation, in which the SPM found itself with the *American Mission*, threatened to question the legitimacy of the SPM. The AM competed for Aswan, and in advancing into the Eastern Sudan, as it was by far the more powerful mission agency. As if this were not enough, the abduction of Samuel's children confronted the SPM with unexpected hostility from the local Muslim population. Subsequently, the missionary workers were afraid about the security of the mission station in Aswan.

Thus, the bottom line was that there were some structural weaknesses in the beginnings of the SPM, which were inadequately handled by an inexperienced and overtaxed board. This led to unbearable situations for the mission workers, who mostly were the wrong people for the job. In addition to these home-made problems, several obstacles and events from the outside accumulated, which could not be foreseen in advance or which had been wrongly estimated.

Of course, the operational risks involved in pioneer missionary activity should not keep work, which is filling a need, from being attempted. However, in the case of the SPM, more care in its inception would probably have helped to avoid some of the later problems. Through trial and error, the SPM, under the leadership of Ziemendorff, learned from the mistakes made. In the midst of decline and failure, the SPM was brought to a new start and more stable work.

## 9.7 Characteristics of the SPM

There are a number of features which characterize the SPM. Some of these are shared with other mission agencies, and others are distinguishing features.

The SPM owes its existence to the vision of reaching the unreached Sudan Belt. This was shared with a number of other mission agencies. Some even chose a similar access route via the Nile River, such as the *American Mission* and the *Church Missionary Society*. However, only the SPM established a base in Aswan. Equally, no other Protestant mission agency to my knowledge has focused on reaching the Nubians, as the SPM did.

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Untergebene sind." Johannes Kupfernagel: *Familiengeschichte der Familie Johannes Kupfernagel, Pastor em.* Typed Manuscript, Kassel 1933, 31 pp., p. 8 (EMO Archives).

16 Partly, this might have been due to Warneck's harsh criticism of the SPM.

Within the Egyptian context, the SPM stood out as the only German mission agency among British and North American mission agencies. In Germany, it initially stood out as one of the early faith missions. It was the only German mission agency among the many faith missions founded by Grattan Guinness.

The SPM grew out of the Holiness movement. Its leaders in Germany were mainly pastors of mainline churches, who were active in the Fellowship Movement. The SPM maneuvered on the borderline between classical missions and faith missions, which led to many conflicts. The later decision to join the *Association of Evangelical Missions* (AEM) corresponded with the original heritage, and was therefore reasonable.

The SPM initiated a new variant of the active role of women in a faith mission. The community of the *Marienhause* in Wiesbaden for single women of the nobility was the main body which carried the burden of the everyday work of mission administration. In addition, it served as a training institute and a recruitment pool for SPM missionaries. What is very particular about the SPM, is the establishment of a women's branch, directed by a women's board, in order to safeguard the women's contribution and influence in the mission agency in spite of some decisive male resistance to female participation in the directing of the mission.

The fact that the SPM remained small and often suffered from a lack of funds and personnel is one that it shares with many mission agencies. However, not many mission agencies have been founded on the field of service, and not established at a home base first. Unfortunately, it is common that mission boards and founders of mission agencies get into conflict. Fortunately, however, not many mission agencies have ejected their founders and at such an early stage as the SPM did. This is something the SPM should not have done.

Most mission agencies have their "first fruit", their first convert, of whom they are proud. For the SPM, this role was occupied by Samuel Ali Hiseen, the first outstanding Nubian Christian and missionary in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, who however had experienced his conversion to Christ long before the SPM was founded. He was "a pillar" and a symbol of the SPM.

The early SPM had striven for cooperation in the pursuit of reaching the Sudan Belt, without being held up by less visionary concerns. Unfortunately, it did not find sufficiently experienced partners. It would possibly have been best if the SPM had been adopted by a more experienced mission agency, such as the *Chrischona Mission*. There should have been, and there should be

today, innovative cooperation between old and new mission agencies in order to reach the unreached.

Their efforts might have experienced moments of crisis, but through their involvement in a number of faith missions, particularly the *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* and the *Sudan United Mission*, the Guinnesses and the Kumms made a vital contribution to reaching the unreached Sudan Belt with the good news of Jesus Christ.

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### 1.1 EMO Archives (Sudan-Pionier-Mission)

The Archives of Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten, Wiesbaden, are ordered according to a filing plan. The bulk of the documents is stored in four groups of folders which are distinguished by color coding. Within each color code an alphabetic numbering system is used which is followed for the presentation of the individual folders and documents below. The files listed here are only those which are relevant for this project.

EMO, Walkmühlstraße 8, 65195 Wiesbaden, Phone xx49-(0)611-40 39 95, Fax xx49-(0)611-45 11 80, email: EMO-Wiesbaden@t-online.de

#### 1.1.1 Bound Volumes

SPM Minute Book 1900–1920, 285 numbered sheets.

[Principles and Practice] The handwritten, mimeographed and corrected copy of *Organisation und Grundsätze der Sudan-Pionier-Mission*, 10 pp., attached in the SPM Minute Book on p. 14. Reproduced in Appendix I.

*Abschrift des Protokolls der Sitzung des Frauenkomitees am 4. 6. 04.* Loose insert in Minute Book. Reproduced in Appendix I.

Guest book of the Ziemendorffs for 1881–1912 (PA Pfarrerin Adelheid Ziemendorff [?-2000], Gießen, a copy is deposited at the EMO Archives. An excerpt is printed as Appendix No. 8 in Ohlemacher 1986, pp. 274–280.

### 1.1.2 Minutes and Reports (green)

#### A/1 Wiesbaden (green)

*Einige Notizen über den Lebensgang von Herrn Pfarrer Th. Ziemendorff*, 9 pp.

Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, Anna-Luise zu: *Material zu einer Geschichte der Sudan-Pionier-Mission von 1900–1904*, 15 pp. (Quoted as Material).

Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, Anna-Luise zu: *Material zu einer Geschichte der Sudan-Pionier-Mission von 1904–1914*, pp. 16–27. The manuscript simply bears the title “1904–1914”.

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#### B Vorstand (green)

##### B [I] Satzungen und Protokolle / Mitgliederversammlung 1902–1968

[Constitutions, minutes, General Assembly]

Minutes of the General Assembly: “1. Jahresbericht. Der Vorsitzende, Herr Pfarrer Ziemendorff erstattet denselben an Stelle des Reise-Sekretärs Kumm”.

Minutes General Assembly, March 26, 1903.

Minutes General Assembly, March 1, 1904.

##### B II Vorstand 1902–1925

Circulars of Ziemendorff to board

Correspondence between board members and Ziemendorff

Report of Ziemendorff at the General Assembly, Oct. 1904.

##### E [I] Berichte und Briefe. Assuan 1900 – Juni 1903

[contains correspondence from Aswan and some monthly reports of the following persons]:

- Henriette von Blücher
- Habib Henain
- Johannes Kupfernagel
- Martha Kupfernagel
- Karl Kumm
- Johannes Oltmann
- Margarethe Hoffmann
- Girgis Yacoub
- and some interspersed individual letters concerning the missionaries in Aswan, Egypt:

Banfield, Wiesbaden – Astly P. Friend, Soc. In. des Eaux de Caire, Cairo, May 14, 1901.

Irsich – Ziemendorff, July 8, 1902.

Scharr, Alexandria – Ziemendorff, Oct. 14, 1903.

[Kupfernagel's Report before the board in 1902]. The document in the handwriting of Kupfernagel starts: “Keine geringe Aufgabe ist mir zu theil geworden ...” and comprises ten pages bound with thread.

**E II Assuan Juli 1903–1904** [correspondence as above]

**E IV 1 Briefe und Berichte Samuel, Abbas, Mirjam 1901–1926** [Letters of Samuel Ali Hiseen and his children]

**E IV 2 Enderlin 1904–1939**

**W.(c/1) EMO Berichte (green)**

General Summary of accounts for the Sudan-Pioneer-Mission 1900.

H. Grattan Guinness: *Evanhelizing [sic!] Nubia*, 1900.

Karl and Lucy Kumm: Letter 1 "Dear Friend", Wiesbaden Feb. 26, 1901, 4 pp.

Flyer *Sudan-Pionier-Mission* [Summer 1900], 4 pp.

*Annual Reports*, 1902; 1905–30.

Also contains general advertisement on the SPM.

**W.(c/2) Heimatarbeit in Wiesbaden (green)**

*Arbeiten die vom Marienhaus ausgehen*, s.a., 3 pp., handwritten manuscript.

*Das Marienhaus in Wiesbaden und seine Arbeit 1891/92*, 4 pp.

*Dienet einander ... Marienhaus. Wiesbaden 1899*, 8 pp.

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## 1.2 Other Mission Archives in Germany

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#### B) Deutsche Orient-Mission

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## 1.3 Other Institutional Archives in Germany

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### Freiburg: Universitätsarchiv

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**Jena: Universitätsarchiv**

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Kupfernagel, Johannes: *Curriculum Vitae 1932*. Landeskirchliches Archiv Kassel, Gesamtkonsistorium Kassel – Personalakten, No. 673, 5 handwritten sheets.

**Markoldendorf: Municipal Archives**

The information on Markoldendorf was kindly provided by Theodor Müller, honorary archivist in Markoldendorf.

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### Edinburgh, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (CSCNWW)

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## **1.6 Archives in the United States of America**

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Family trees of the Kumms.

## **2 Libraries used**

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[see Sauer: “Lehrangebot”, for an assessment of missiological libraries in Germany]

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Dillenburg: Gnadauer Archiv

Erlangen: Institut für Missionswissenschaft

Hamburg: Evangelisches Missionswerk

Kornthal: Akademie für Weltmission [formerly: Freie Hochschule für Mission]

Mainz: Universitätsbibliothek

Stuttgart-Birkach: Evangelisches Pfarrseminar

Stuttgart: Bibliothek des Evangelischen Oberkirchenrats

Tübingen: Bibliothek des Theologischen Seminars [see: Sauer: *Missionswissenschaft in Tübingen*]

Tübingen: Institut für Missionswissenschaft und Ökumenische Theologie [see: Sauer, *Leitfaden*]

Tübingen: Universitätsbibliothek (UBT)

Tübingen: Albrecht-Bengel-Haus

Wiesbaden: Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten (EMO)

Wiesbaden: Landesbibliothek

### **2.2 Great Britain**

Birmingham: Selly Oak Colleges

Edinburgh: Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (CSCNWW)

London: British Library (BL)

London: CMS

London: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)

### 2.3 Egypt

Aswan: EMO

Cairo: American University

Cairo: Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary

### 2.4 Others

Nairobi: Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology

Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary

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## Appendix I: Primary Texts on the Sudan-Pionier-Mission

This appendix seeks to reproduce some of the most important and representative primary texts in the early history of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission. Care was taken that each of the most important individuals should be represented by at least one text. The individual documents are arranged in chronological order and each one is briefly introduced. The original page breaks and numbers are indicated in brackets.

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## 1 Lucy Guinness and H. Grattan Guinness: A Plea for the Sudan Belt

Source: Lucy E. Guinness (ed.): *"The Soudan, Regions Beyond Helpers Union Prayer Roll Papers, No XV"*, published in: *Regions Beyond, Sept./Oct. 1894*, pp. 329–335.

*This plea for the Sudan Belt, edited by Lucy Guinness (1865–1906), was a brochure published as an insert in the Guinnesses' journal The Regions Beyond. The "Regions Beyond Helpers Unions" were regularly supplied with "Prayer Roll Papers" to fuel their prayer for peoples and areas unreached by the Gospel. Lucy Guinness essentially picks up the contents of her father's earlier article in "Regions Beyond" on behalf of the Sudan (Henry Grattan Guinness: "The Soudan". In: RB, Jan. 1890, pp. 17ff., which he republished, except for two passages, when the Kumms were seeking a new base in Great Britain for the English Sudan Pioneer Mission: "The Sudan". In: RB 1902, pp. 330ff.). Lucy Guinness had earlier edited reports from the Sudan by Graham Wilmot Brooke: L.G. [=Lucy Guinness]: "Central Soudan". In: RB, Nov. 1888, pp. 349–352.*

See Chapter 2.2.

[SEPT., OCT., 1894.]

The Home of the Slave Trade

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### The Soudan.

R.B.H.U. Prayer – Roll Papers.  
No. XV.

VAST, dark, helpless; "having no hope and without GOD in the world;" a world cut off from the rest of the world; a world holding a medley of races and people and tongues; eighty to a hundred million souls living this autumn, 1894 years since JESUS came, as much without Him as if He had never been: – the SOUDAN.

Do you think that He loves these eighty million people?

Does He love us?

But then, do we love Him?

*"Why call ye Me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?"*

\* \* \* \* \*

THE SOUDAN: What does it mean? Paganism's last and greatest unattempted stronghold; the root and foundation of Islam's rule in Africa; the home of the slave trade; THE challenge to the Churches of to-day.

CHINA is vast and dark with her 300 Pagan millions; but China has 1,600 missionaries and thousands of followers of CHRIST. The SOUDAN has not one Christian and not one missionary.

INDIA is immense and needy beyond thought, with her 280 Pagan millions; but India has more missionaries and Christians than China. The SOUDAN has none at all.

AFRICA, North, South, East and West, offers a thousand openings and pleads a thousand claims. And on her midnight shines the star of Bethlehem. Africa has her mission; S. Africa and

the Cape, E. Africa and the Lakes, W. Africa and the Congo, – each have their darkness broken by beams of Gospel light. But the SOUDAN lies in age-long black shadow. No one has carried the light there yet.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE SOUDAN: Where is it? What is it? Who thinks or cares about it? Yet it contains more people than the United States and Great Britain – a quarter of the land area of Africa and more than a quarter of its population. 4,500 miles long and 500 miles deep, covering the [Page 330] Dark Continent from the Sahara to the Congo Free State, and from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, it stretches its sunny and populous plains a million and a half square miles in area, over a country half as broad again as the United States.

Picture the Niger River, sweeping its silver flood two thousand miles under a tropic sky. Follow its delta along 120 miles of sea coast and 140 miles inland. Note its first great tributary as you go up stream, the Binué joining it from the east, just where the mountains break to let the lordly river sweep through to the sea. At the meeting of these waters between these mountain walls you stand at the southern gates of the SOUDAN. Beyond you the kingdom of Nupé lies between the river and the mountains. Gando, Sokoto, Bornou stretch beyond these again, while to the north a population of 15,000,000 Hausas live between the two confluent streams. To Lokoja the Hausa merchants come from all parts of the dominions of the Sultan of Sokoto, staying for six or eight months to trade with the English, and then tramping back across broad grassy plains to their flat-roofed cities of 20,000, 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.

Stand here in thought at these mountain gates and ponder the world that lies beyond.

Though less known and less explored than the Congo region, it was peopled earlier and is far more civilised. It is not wholly heathen. Half its people worship, in their way, the one living GOD. They are monotheists, Mohammedans; the other half, the lower, subject, conquered half, are heathen. Arab monotheism and Negro fetishism are mingled in the Soudan. Its people are of mixed blood and mixed religions, its Pagans professing, under constraint of arms, their conquerors' faith. The name SOUDAN is a witness to this mixture. It is an Arabic name, and means "Land of the *Blacks*." It witnesses that the land of the Negro has become Arab. The Semite and the Hamite dwell together in its sunny plains. It consists of

### THREE GREAT SECTIONS –

the East, West, and Central Soudan: three great races – the Arabs, Hausas, and Fulahs; and has three main doors of entrance – viz., Egypt, the Niger, and the North Africa route.

### THE EASTERN SOUDAN,

the land of the Upper Nile – still shadowed by the tragedy of Kartoum, and dear to every Christian heart for the sake of General Gordon, still a blot on the scutcheon of our country through the long entanglement of England with Egypt – calls to our thoughts the menace of the Mahdi, the relief of Emin Bey, and the inglorious evacuation of the Equatorial province which has left the vast territory between the southern boundary of Egypt and the great lakes to unopposed Arab occupation.

SEPT., OCT., 1894.]

*A Great Negro Kingdom.*

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[picture]

A SOUDANESE CITY

One of the most miserable regions of the earth as far as the native races are concerned, it is *par excellence* the home and source of slavery.

### CENTRAL SOUDAN,

the region round Lake Tchad, comprises many kingdoms, and is mainly peopled by the Hausa race –

Probably the finest race in Africa. Every traveller who has met with them, has written of them with enthusiasm. Their capacity for good seems very great. In intelligence they appear in no way inferior to Europeans; and, though brave enough when occasion requires, seem peaceably disposed; their refinement and courtesy of manner being very attractive. Unlike the Fulahs, they seem to have no ferocious fanaticism, and the tenets of Islam are followed laxly, and almost entirely discarded away from the conquerors' surveillance. The Hausas have accepted Islam only during the present century, at the point of the sword, and their whole attitude towards it testifies to the fact. They have adopted along with Mohammedanism the arts of reading and writing their own language in Arabic characters.

The busy hum of commercial life is heard throughout the dominions of the Sultan of Sokoto. From their vast walled cities caravans are for ever streaming out, to the South to raid for slaves, and to the North African States, across the Sahara, to sell them.

Weavers, dyers and shoemakers work hard in their streets, manufacturing the ample clothing that the people wear, and exhibit a remarkable spectacle of African civilization.<sup>1</sup>

The great Negro kingdom of SOKOTO, the thickly peopled Mohammedan State of BORNU, and the powerful Sultanate of WADAI are among these Central Soudan States. It is computed that in *these kingdoms alone there are sixty million people without a missionary.*

These Soudanese are not barbarians . . . . They dwell in walled cities, in well-built houses of sun-dried brick, are monotheists, and eat such food as any human being could live on. The climate is mostly dry and invigorating.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Graham Wilmot Brooke.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. James Douglas.

### THE WESTERN SOUDAN,

the land of the Niger (which has twenty-two mouths and a delta of mangrove forest as large as Ireland), contains the best known of Soudanese towns, Timbuctoo. Its people are mainly FULAHS, a clever, conquering race of traders and herdsmen, fanatical Moslems, who, under pretence of waging "Jihads," or holy wars, attach and subjugate the pagan natives on all occasions. Their origin is unknown, but they are of superior race, and like to claim kinship with European travellers. They are distinct from the negro in type and tongue, and a curious point in the latter is that, unlike other languages, this has no masculine and feminine genders, but only the *human* and the *non-human*. Though as warriors they hold their own against all African races, it redounds to their honour that *they have never taken any part in the slave trade.*

### WHAT HAS BEEN DONE FOR THE SOUDAN ?

And what is being now done ?

“Africa’s great unoccupied field, the emporium of the continent, the throbbing heart and busy brain of what may now be called earth’s noblest island,” has not been utterly forgotten.

In 1881, an expedition under Dr. Ladd, of the American Missionary Association, made an extended exploration of the Eastern Soudan, with a view to its regular occupation, but political troubles put a stop to the enterprise, and it has not been renewed.

The Western Soudan was approached by a C.M.S. party in 1890, under the leadership of the Rev. J.A. Robinson and Mr. G. Wilmot Brooke.

From Lokoja on the Niger, the pioneers hoped to reach the Hausa nation, and good advance was made. Wearing native dress and following native customs as far as possible, the little band started medical and evangelistic work. They found a ready hearing.

“I heard all the words on the paper,” said an Arab scribe, to whom Graham Brooke had been reading his Hausa tract on the need of atonement; “I heard all the words you read, and as I heard them my blood grew cold; so would they feel through all the country if such words as these were but made known.”

“I have a weighty question to ask,” said one of the Hausa leaders. “If all the prophets, as you have told, need that the MESSIAH should do their service for them and should take their punishment, what is to be done for us, who are worthless to God as the grass of the field?”

How much their souls were worth to God the new arrivals told them.

“Ah!” said another Hausa chief, “we love you for the words you tell us; it is as though you stood here on a height and saw the straight road, and watched all of us wandering in the long grass on either side, and you shout to us, saying: ‘Turn back! Turn back! You are straying from the path; there it is leading straight to the town.’ Thus you are doing to us every day.”

But there were so few days in which to tell the story! Mr. and Mrs. Graham Brooke were invalided home. The devoted J.A. Robinson died.

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Storming the Strongholds.

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“The least we can do,” wrote Graham Wilmot Brooke, “is to accept God’s will, and not be as the horse or mule. He would seem to wish that we should give up for a little any feverish attempts to reinforce the work with new men, but just wait on Him, and see how many He can turn to CHRIST with those whom we have already got.”

“I have five times had African fever of the most deadly kind,” he said, on returning to the Niger for the last time. “No one is ever known to have recovered seven times from this fever. You must expect that some of us will fall; I shall not be surprised if my turn comes in six months. Still I am determined to go. Friends tell me what madness it is to run such risks. But when men were called to storm Delhi and Lucknow they cheerfully came forward, knowing that death was certain. The strongholds of heathenism and Mahomedanism can only be stormed by acting for God in the same spirit.

[picture]  
ON THE NIGER.

My action is not the outcome of rashness. I am going after the calmest and fullest consideration.”

He went back, and the rest of the story we all know. Who can forget its heroism, or the pathos of its sequel – the volunteering of the later leaders, the death of Bishop and Mrs. Hill, and the other lives laid down so gladly and so freely at the gates of the Soudan!

Others besides the C.M.S. have sought to enter.

The KANSAS SOUDAN MISSION, started in 1889, through an appeal made by Dr. Grattan Guinness during his last visit to the States, has had a record of singular devotion and trial. Its first party, of nine, sailed in the spring of 1890. By autumn, 1893, five of them lay in African graves – Warren Hastings, Jeanie Dick, Charles Helmick F.M.

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*No Attempt for Jesus.*

[SEPT., OCT., 1894.]

Gates, and Mrs. Kingman. But the effort has been reinforced, and, seeking to enter from Sierra Leone, is making, we believe, steady progress.

Under the direction of Mr. Hermann G. Harris (of the Pentecostal League) a "CENTRAL SOUDAN MISSION" was organised in 1891, to enter the country from the West Coast *via* Lagos, and from the North. In connection with the latter route a house was taken at Tripoli for a training home where the Arabic and Hausa languages could be studied, and pioneer parties have already started work.

The LORD grant these labourers for the Soudan His richest blessing and preserving care! Their great unentered sphere has, compared with other African mission fields,

### THREE ADVANTAGES –

in (1) the character of its people, (2) climate, and (3) transport arrangements. Its people are not savages, but civilised and courteous, the conditions of their life being such that missionaries can live with them on equal terms. Its climate, beyond the delta of the Niger, is good enough to account for the proverb, "When a man goes up the Binué he lives for ever." And the Niger entrance is provided with frequent steamers, taking the missionary and his belongings 275 nautical miles up river.

But against these facilities must be weighed Moslem fanaticism and Moslem law, by which both the convert and the missionary who has preached to him are liable to death.

Travellers have crossed the Soudan in all directions. They have gone at the risk of their lives. Many of them, like Mungo Park, have died in exploring it. They have left their tracks and traces all over it. But the missionary of the Cross has never entered it. The Arab has gone there. He has conquered and killed, and boasted of Allah and Mahomet, and multiplied houses and wives and slaves; but the messengers of the Cross have shunned the region. Merchants have gone there; gold-seekers have gone; hundreds of each are gathering the riches of the land. There are half a score of steamers on the Niger; there is a Royal Niger Company, which has made two hundred treaties with the Niger chiefs and potentates; a company with chartered rights and Governmental powers; but the missionary of the higher power and a nobler enterprise has not yet entered to possess the land for JESUS CHRIST. In the Central Soudan, along the seventeen hundred miles of the Quorra and Joliba, along the six hundred miles of the Binué, around the vast overflowing waters of Lake Tchad, in the mountains of Adamawa, in the plains of the Hausa tribes, in the rugged ranges of dark Darfur, in the forest of Kordofan, among the teeming millions of the Soudan proper, no missionaries are found, no Gospel is proclaimed, no Bibles are scattered, no voice is lifted up to cry, "Behold the LAMB of GOD, which taketh away the sin of the world."

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*Moral Midnight.*

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The men of the world are the heroes of the Soudan. Travellers have been heroic – distance has been no bar to them. Disease and death have proved unable to affright them. Neither love of

friends nor fear of foes has dissuaded them from their fixed resolve to open it to the civilised world. But the heralds of salvation have feared, or scorned, or forgotten this mighty heritage of a host of heathen nations. They have left them all these ages to the reign of unmixed darkness and unmitigated depravity.

How much longer shall this state of things continue? How much longer shall a population in Central Africa, equal to or greater than that of the whole of North America, be allowed to remain in ignorance of the way of life? How much longer shall the command of Him whom we call "our LORD JESUS CHRIST," to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, be, as far as the millions of the Soudan are concerned, neglected, disregarded, and ignored?

We plead for these neglected millions. We raise our voices on their behalf. They cannot speak for themselves. Distance makes them dumb. Strangership silences them. They wander in moral midnight. They know not what they do. Year after year, age after age, they fall and perish as though of no more worth than the withered leaves of autumn. They have fallen by millions, and none has cared. Torrid sun and sweeping rain have bleached their bones or blanched their sepulchres. Melancholy winds have moaned their requiem. Relentless time has rolled over their generations the billow of oblivion. They have perished from the earth, gone into a dark and dread eternity without ever having heard of Him who died and rose that men might live, who was lifted up from the earth to draw all men unto Him, and who cries aloud to a ruined but redeemed humanity: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

We plead for the neglected millions of the Soudan. We say to the Church of JESUS CHRIST, Behold them! They are our own brothers and sisters in a common humanity. They are one with us in sin and ruin, let them be one with us in the knowledge of salvation. Awake, O selfish, sleeping, forgetful Church; arouse thee to thy neglected duties; fulfil thy solemn mission; bear thy testimony; send forth thy sons; proclaim thy glorious message; gird thyself, and give thyself in the name of JESUS CHRIST to the tremendous task of evangelising at last this greatest and most populous of all the wholly neglected and benighted regions on the surface of the globe.

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While vast continents are shrouded in almost utter heathen darkness, and hundreds of millions suffer the horrors of heathenism and Islam, the burden of proof lies with you to show that the circumstances in which God has placed you were meant by Him to keep you out of the foreign mission field. – ION KEITH-FALCONER.

## 2 Lucy Guinness and Karl Kumm: Their Common Vision for the Sudan

Source: *Regions Beyond Missionary Union: "Marriage of Miss Lucy Guinness"*. In: *RB*, April 1900, pp. 167f.

*The wedding card of Lucy E. Guinness (1865–1906) and H. Karl W. Kumm (1874–1930) is the first document that reflects their common vision for the Sudan. As their engagement on January 11, 1900, and the founding of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission were regarded by them as one event, the wedding card was a very appropriate way to share their vision with their friends and supporters. This short article was as much attention as their new mission endeavor would get from the Regions Beyond Missionary Union.*

See Chapters 4.1 and 4.2.2.

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### MARRIAGE OF MISS LUCY GUINNESS.

“Rejoice with them that do rejoice.”

At the German Consulate, Cairo, and subsequently at the American Mission Church, Miss Lucy Evangeline Guinness was married to Mr. Hermann Karl Wilhelm Kumm, on February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1900. For many years Miss Guinness has devoted her literary talents to Missionary work, as the Editor of *REGIONS BEYOND* and as the author of several wellknown volumes, notably *South America*, *The Neglected Continent*, and *Across India at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*. She has always, however, looked forward to personal work in the Foreign Field, and we now rejoice that her life will be used in connection with the evangelization of the Soudan. Mr. Kumm has for two years worked in connection with the North Africa Mission, and has become profoundly interested in the Bishareen Arabs of Upper Egypt.

Mr. and Mrs. Kumm are proposing to establish a Soudan Pioneer Mission, to be largely manned and financed from Germany. The wedding-card which has reached us contained the following appeal for prayer: –

“BRETHEREN, PRAY FOR US.”

From the last light-point on the Nile we write to you.

West of us, from Assouan across to the Atlantic, stretches the great Sahara.

3,000 miles of desert, where, since the rise of Islam, no one has gone for CHRIST.

[168] Opened by six great trade routes, each about 1,000 miles in length, it contains some ten million Moslems living in still wholly unevangelized oases – large, populous districts such as Kafra, Tibesti, Borku, Bedai, Air, Tasili, and others comparable to Great Britain in area, besides hundreds of smaller centres, with numerous villages and towns.

South-west of us, from Khartoum across to the Atlantic, lies the Soudan, the greatest unevangelized sphere left in the world. Three thousand miles in breadth, containing unnumbered towns and crowded cities, markets, schools, tribes, nations, kingdoms, with seventy million people, speaking a hundred languages, into none of which is the Bible yet translated, it waits without the Word of Life, “without God, without hope.”

East of us, across the Egyptian desert, with its hundred unevangelized Bedouin tribes, out to the Red Sea and on across Arabia, is not one Mission Station, until you reach the Persian Gulf; and

beyond that, through Southern Persia and Beluchistan, in all 2,000 miles in a clear line to India, is not one Missionary.

Due south lies utter darkness without any Christian Church for 1,500 miles, along the great Nile Valley, from Assouan to Uganda – darkness which four light-bearers have just begun to penetrate.

South-west, 2,000 miles away, lie the Cameroons and Congo Missions – no preacher of the Gospel is between us and them.

From the midst of the Moslem world we call to you. We stand upon the threshold, the spheres of Christian service behind us, the newly opened Nile door to Central Africa in front.

The children of the desert are around us – vigorous, intelligent, fearless, free-born. Moslems, but knowing little of Islam, waiting and willing to be taught the things of God.

We plead for the hundred million of Christless hearts around us – for the two hundred million of the great Moslem world.

“How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?”

“Pray ye therefore.” . . . “Go ye therefore.”

“Freely ye have received, freely give.”

“Brethren, pray for us.”

L. and H.K.K.

### 3 Samuel Ali Hiseen: Recollections of Literature Colportage in Nubia

*Source: Samuel Ali Hiseen: "Autobiography", pp. 186-209 (EMO Archives).*

*Samuel Ali Hiseen (1863–1927), a Nubian Christian, served the Sudan-Pionier-Mission from 1900 to his death. He was first employed by Grattan Guinness in February 1900 and sent on a journey through Nubia on March 20 [counter to his recollection below], which would take half a year to complete. His task was to spread Scriptures and tracts, to gather information on Nubia for the SPM and for Kumm's academic work, and to survey the possibility of opening a mission station at New Dongola. His account is an excerpt from his Autobiography, the first part of which he wrote in English around 1910. This passage is more of a description of his home country of Nubia, whereas his letters from the journey [see below] focus rather on the progress of the venture. An edited German translation of Samuel's autobiography was later published by the SPM as: Samuel Ali Hussein: Aus meinem Leben. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Sudan-Pionier-Mission, 1920. Pages 96–108 correspond to the section of the English original which is published here for the first time.*

*See Chapter 4.3.3.*

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For me a certificate was brought from Khartum headquarter of Anglo-Egyptian War office to start for Dongola. To discover the countries – to see the number of the inhabitants – Their especial occupation, their different tribes, their languages, the production of those countries – and to spy them, to see if it is possible to open especially in Dongola a Mission station. To this end a donkey was bought, and a helper was engaged – and took with me some Bibles, N.T. with tracts to distribute on the way – and fixed some stations in which the named books may go before me and remain till my reaching and claiming them, for it was impossible to have all over a single donkey – and I had to ride on it too. The 25<sup>th</sup> April 1900 I left Assuan for Abu-Hor – and from there intended to start my long journey in that burning heat!! Because, Shälläl, Dobod, Dihmit, Ambarakab, and Kalabsheh were mostly known.... and thought coming back [187] would pass by them without any difficulty. It was just winter harvest time throughout all those countries. So, my donkey would not starve, nor me! That was a good comfort. For in some years one could not find anything for himself, nor for his animal. Having had three days with my children, and prepared ourselves as well as I could, in the Name of the field's Lord, and Master we committed our spirits, souls, and bodies, and off we left Abu-Hor at 5 o'clock afternoon to pass the night in Murwaw next district to Abu-Hor. Now this valley of Nubia stretches on from Khatara (3<sup>rd</sup> station Northward from Assuan) already till the South end of Dongola el Ajouz (the old) a distance of about 500 English miles and this space is divided into two great parts. The 1<sup>st</sup> part is connected with Sudan. That is from Halfa till Shaighya or the South end of Dongola. 2<sup>nd</sup> part commences nearly from Halfa [188] till Khatara or North end of Assuan. It is very puzzling to find this town of Assuan in the middle of these Nubians, just as an island. But with all that entirely separate from Nubians – in language, origine, habits, manners, shape, custums, and even colour – and in general they have great hatred against each other – although their profession of religion is one. Therefore they are exclusive, even in this respect – having their own mosques, their own Kutabs, their own teachers, and their Imams or pastors. In fact no mixture whatever. Even in traveling, whether on land or water they will not make any company with them – although the caravans, or the boats may be one. Because they suffer not one another. You will find their easily mixed with Ababdah, even in marriage – but not with them. [189] Why is that? And what is the cause of this singleness? 1<sup>st</sup>, I believe, and as I heard from our aged people Ababdahs are purer,

that is they conserve their race – they never marry, nor give in marriage to any other tribe, except with Nubians and Jaafra (a tribe which live from Edfu southward through Nubia and Sudan). 2<sup>nd</sup>, they think and believe their origine is one, but through the disturbance of Islam they were scattered here and there in mountains, deserts, and other countries. So that they can no more reckon one another. 3<sup>rd</sup>, their blood, draws them together, their custums, manner, habits, in a word there is no distinction between them – therefore you will find them living together with an intimity of a family. Now, what is the reason or cause that these people of Assuan came from, and settled here between them as a piece of a rag quite different from theirs? So that years and centuries passed over both, and nevertheless [190] they are still distinguished and shall be forever! (Unless Christianity will make them one) there is no cause that I know, and my people know – but the invasion of Islam which came and exterminated all these our countries which were all Christians from one end to the other, and remained in such spots – then they have no other possessions anywhere else – this is a very strong proof again of the singleness of these people. But as to the others, you will find having possession from one end to the other end – and that through inheritance, came by women whom they interchange. This is the only cause, and reason that Assuan is excluded from South people, and North people, and kept in an entire separation from them. Now, these two great divisions of countries, are occupied by two distinct tribes – the 1<sup>st</sup> occupies the North and South parts of the valley from Khatarah, till Korosko – and from the South end of Mahas till the North end of Shaigie. [191] This tribe is named Matokya. The second one occupies the part which is between Korosko till the South of Mahas and is called “Fijeditscha”. They are also different from each other in every respect, not only in language, or habits, or custums, or manners, but the shape of their dwelling places are different – the clothing and hair-dressing of their wives, altogether different. So, that a strangers can easily recognise them without the least mistake. This last tribe which is named Fijeditscha is more or less mixed with the Arabs, and even Turks, that was happened with them. Also through the invasion of the Muslems when entered in these parts of countries – the second one are Turks – when Turkey took Egypt under her control. And so, some of the Turk governors took for themselves wives from that tribe. By that way they were mixed, and left behind them a seed which is called, and [192] known to this very day “Kushäf or Turkuman – this mixture has lowered them in the eye of the other tribes as Ababdahs, and Matokija. Although they consider themselves [?] more honourable than they – for they governed them for some years. But as I said before, there is no stability, and love of fatherland or purity or sympathy for his tribe like the forenamed – therefore the stranger will soon find in this tribe in question, what he exactly finds in the Egyptians which general called “Ärrläd el Arabör = children of Arabs – which is not true at all! Because they are not – but rather, a mixture from every kind of nationality, this is their true origin. Except the Copts who also preserved their seed to this very day distinct – the journey then was among these mentioned people. [193] I need not write every day’s work, that would be to long and annoying, that needs a good able writer. The population of Nubian varies very much. Especially these last years. The last official Census was 60212 souls. But you will barely find this number in the country now – (about 20 years or 30 back more than the number perhaps would be found – the reason they were too ignorant for travelling – and no means of to-day’s were found. No, not even boats – I remember two old men telling me once the story of their first travelling down to Cairo – and that was through what they call “Rawamis”, that is they cut some akacia and sykamor wood, tight them fast together, lay these on their few things, they close to the thing, and off they all are carried by the current of the river, and when ever the “Ramus” arrives, may arrive – they said it took then three months [194] to reach Cairo, that is Old-Cairo – And before they left their village the people of the whole district fallowed them weeping, sneezing and mourning over them as dead ones! Because to see them again, it was impossible and above their description. They perhaps hear say Cairo, but what it is, or where it is found? These were questions to be answered by “Gibraïl” (the angel Gabriel) and not man! Of these going took them three months, the coming back, what must be? Therefore the people were living in their countries and were happier, healthier, and

much more simpler than to-day! Except very few who travelled on their camels only to Upper Egypt or till Halfa – that was all – the general business of all these tribes is “el fellaha” or paysantry they are very good workers, and understand [195] thoroughly ground work. Unhappily they have not enough of land – because the narrowness of the river. They water these lands by saskias – and shadufs – And as the land is very high the pit is from 15-20 metres – and if it is shadufs they must have from 5-6 shadufs one under the other – that is to say to bring water to the level of the land. They require six men at the time – impossible otherwise unless in a overthrowing season. Therefore to cultivate two or three acres of land they need from 12-16 men, that is to change each other. They divide the day into 12 hours as primitive people – Now if they are 12 each man has to be in shaduf 2 hours without any stopping – he must go as a machine and it is very hard work, only fit for mal faiteur! [196] But the belley is a very wicked, and unsympathizing judge, which obliges to such a work. They have to keep in that state of work three or four months before to bake a loaf of bread from it – and very often after the trouble of those months mentioned every man will hardly carry to his house the food of one or two months! It is the same with the saskias – except here are the cows which bring water. But that saskias are an eternal manivels! Night and days are screaming. Only in feast days they are in rest, that is one only – in which they hurry to go and come back from Mekkah – they and the grinding mills – the productions are durrah, wheat, barley, lentils, beans, loupins and the most important dates – one can say the forest of Nubia is the palm trees. [197] As to domestic animals, all are found in Nubia, above these plenty shakals, (chakals), wolves, foxes, and reptiles in great quantity, even houses are filled by them – The climate is very agreeable especially in winter – the summer is rather strong for Europeans – but these last years it has been very much altered through the wide cultivation, and the dam of Assuan – there is therefore no special maladies in these countries, unless brought by strangers, and foreign countries. The air is very dry, pure and healthy. Means for travelling are numerous: steam boats, railways – these are the new inventions brought into these countries, and the old means are still used – camels, donkies and etc. The traveller has to-day every mean [198] and medium possible to his comfort, to satisfy his lusts, and curiosities, where even he likes, and desires.

The habits, custom, and manner of these our people are quite different from any Europeans or Western people. It is natural, simple, straight and pure. Everything is common – Buying and selling was not known among them, I mean – for general life, and in native things or daily needs for household – their joy or grief is common, they are very jealous for their country, for his tribe, and even for any Nubian. To this purpose they will easily expose their lives for the honour or defence, or freeing whatever it may belong to them. In a word the shame of one is the shame of all the tribe. They are very hospitable, above their ability and means. [199] They will never eat a piece of bread without the guest – (and when they are many, whole the village comes out to meet the want of those guests – they and their animals. They build in the middle of the village a large room which they call “Keri” or guests house – this is for strangers. But for themselves, or other tribes known, they take them in their own houses – and they act with them according to their degree, and honour. But they are very ignorant, unless one deals with them according to their understanding, they are very fanatics in all their manner of life and customs. But as soon as they catch the matter one speaks with them, they will receive it with thanks, and appreciation. They have no fear to testify what they know if right they will even defend the right. [200] I am sorry to say all these natural habits, customs, manners – are more or less changed, and are changing year after year. And that happened with them since they travelled into whole Egypt – Sudan, and frequented all kinds of people and nationalities. And as they are illiterate people they easily take falsehood for truth, and bad for good. In every way and manner our Eastern Countries are changing. It is a great pity that they are leaving their fore fathers customs! And I wish they would make this change and progress in leaving Mohamadanism and take hold of Christ who is the way, the truth, and the life. They are very slow in this respect –yeah very indifferent and careless –

although they have now all the means possible, and that gratis. If only they wished, and longed after! I must not say that all the inhabitants of [201] Egypt and Sudan are Mohamadans – A very fine, suitable religion for human being or creatures, which has a creed of eight words, which are: “No God but God & Mohammed, his apostle”. These same words are written on the door of Paradise – therefore, whatever a Musleman may be blind, stupid, ignorant, low or wicked, possessing all evils known, and unknown. As long as he repeats these above mentioned words by his mouth be his guarantee of that Paradise of “delice”. So, then this creed is nailed strongly and deeply in every Muslems head – and nothing else is required from him. To show their immovable belief in this creed – a man once told me while we were speaking about salvation – there is no barrier to keep a Mosleman from heaven, as long he keeps that creed – even if he is a robber, criminal, drunkard, etc. Therefore evil aboundeth in all Mohamadani world! To my idea Muslim World and Roman Catholic world are on the same level – No difference (??)

[202] In few words these were the different tribes, among whom I went through, during six months time – and where made a halt and kept a meeting never found any opposition. On the contrary, they heard with interest the Gospel and the explanations. Very often they were astonished that the “Nazara” Christians have such doctrines, believe in one God. It is no wonder that the tribes and even the nations (Muslem) have a wrong hatred and abhorrence of all that are called “Nazara”! They do not know anything of those last named, unless the wicked teaching of their sheiks and priests. But as soon as they understand the straightness, the sympathy, the truth, and the love which is testified to them, they are amazed and pushed to take with pleasure the tracts, or N.T. or some of the Sheiks a Bible – to read for themselves. Not one single district refused us, or our saying – or the books given them. It was really a great joy to see us gathered [203] together in moonlight, from men, women and children to hear some biblic stories from the Old T. or some parables from the N.T. Their interest was so eager that I myself was many times amazed! The respect, and honour of the servant of Injil is great. Only the people must make out what is Injil, the people of Injil, and that they are the same of which the Koran speaks. I was very sorry and grieved to see the most large towns and villages were desolate! Grass, wild trees growing within them – and became the abode of wild animal, and reptiles – yes, that time of the Derwishes was a time of “bouchirie” as French people say – their bones were laying there as gravels – their palmtrees were in a dreadful scenery, and state – From the two thirds of them upward and their dry branches hanging down – their fruits, what the wind left also was still hanging in them. So we had to travel [204] sometimes great distances and find not a single human soul – this was in “Wady el hajar” = The valley of stones. In Sukot, and Mahäs – that is the districts laying between Halfa and Dongola – that Wady el hajar, in reality signifies its name, by its narrowness, by its black stones, and many endless cataracts. The way in former times was exceedingly difficult, but the armies of English, and Egyptian have made a very fine route along the river. Now the stranger can travel in surety and peace, without any fear or trouble. But to find their dwelling places of those people it is still a puzzel to the traveller. For these people are so poor that they are obliged to build their house or rather huts between the inner hills – quite hidden from every eye possible. To keep themselves free from any obligation of hospitality – I discovered these hidden villages of theirs through the help of a “glaffir” = watchman [205] I found these people very ignorant – they do not know anything even of their own religion unless as said above that short insignificant creed nailed in their minds. Not a single tract was given to these poor people. But the two next districts were very interesting. Which were Sukot, and Mahas – they are more or less resembling the part of the valley which lays between Shallal & Halfa. In these I have given many books, tracts, and spoken much with joy, and they received the word with willingness too. Strange thing – not one of those districts is free from monuments – the most of them are conserved nicely. Dongola is very wide, rich, and more populated. But this also was ruined by the superstitious Darwishes. The great army of “Wad el Nugjimi” = “the son of the stars” remained there some years, therefore done great harm. [206] But soon reestablished

through the government who helped the remainder of the people. I marched these places about two months long, and there distributed all the books had and found there in the station. In Dongola el ajuz on the right side of the river found a splendid temple burried in the rock like that of Abu Simbel. But the most interesting is, a church is found there on the hill, and East of it a large cemetery also found the most of it are old christians at least what people told me. That church is now used as a mosque, but conserving still its shape. Coming back from "Dongola el ajuz" to El Urdi the Mudirih of Dongola, asked the official if it were possible to open there a Mission School because I told them the people were not against – they refused, saying that still the people are not stable, and have not yet quite understood what was submission. That was very upsetting, for the purpose of that long troublesome journey was [illegible word]. [207] I returned back by the left side of the river – that part was not yet inhabited – therefore we had to walk very long distances without seeing, hearing, or meeting anybody – and the most of our night we had to pass them alone we two, and our donkey. But as there was much dry wood, we lighted large pieces of wood, and left them burning whole night through. By that way we kept ourselves and our donkey safe from wild beasts. On one afternoon we reached a large village the whole people of which were out of it, and were howling, shouting, screaming, and weeping, by such a way, that we were struck, and overtaken by fear and trembling making not what it meant! We stood far in our place for a time – then before sunset sent my helper to go, and bring some information of that fearful scenery. Before very long he came back and said a young man was dead. [208] According to their customs I left him by the donkey, came alone, gave my hand to many of them and told that was the end of everyone of us. There is no other way to escape by. God only, and his precious face that remaineth – have patience, and commit all your concerns unto God who does everything good to them that know, and love him. They gave me a seat, and one went to bring the donkey and the helper. After they laid all our things near by me, took the donkey some yards far from us, tight it, gave to it some grass to eat. That night was a dreadful night through the shout, howling, and dancing their mourne dancing of the women. And of course no one laid in his mouth a krumb of bread. Only from now and then a bitter coffee was given. These people, in such a case will absolutely not hear any word from what ever person. They must bring forth their evil customs to the last end. Therefore, we left that place as soon as the day dawned. For we were hungry and sleepless during all that night. [209] At the end of November 1900 I was back in Assuan from that tour – and joined Girgis Jacob in the school. I found it very enlarged – cause there was no school in that time in Assuan except the government school, and Catholic school at the North end of the town, and not frequented, and the Evangelical one, which was fallen too. Therefore our school increased with a rapidity unthought of – we had both schools, that is boys and girls. And as the school was in the centre of the town the parents preferred to send their children in ours – the pupils increased so much that Girgis was obliged to call his brother in law Habib from Esnehs for help. And so it was going very well – till missionary Mr. Kupfernagel came with his family and Miss Margerit Hofman. As the place was not sufficient, and there was no wider place to be found – by the consent of the committee and Dr Kumm this present Mission compound was bought.

#### 4 Karl and Lucy Kumm: Flyer on Sudan-Pionier-Mission

Source: Flyer, printed in Schaffhausen around May 1900, cover pages (EMO Archives)

This four page flyer in German is the earliest printed document of the SPM available. The title page bears a short mission statement of the SPM, followed by the missionary pan-opticum from Aswan, which is a translation of what had already appeared on the wedding card and was reprinted in RB 1900, pp. 167f. The back cover is filled with short quotes appealing to "go", a poem on "desert lands", addresses for donations and volunteers, and plans of the SPM for fall 1900. The six mission hymns on the inside [not reproduced here] are all in German: Martin Luther's *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* (1529), *Von Grönlands eis'gen Zinken* (Christian Gottlob Barth?), *Ich sende euch, ich selbst, der Fürst der Geister, Ihr Schnitter in der Ernte, Hüter ist der Tag noch fern?*, and *So nimm denn meine Hände* (Julie Hausmann, 1862). There are several indications, that this is the song sheet used at Chrischona, which Zimmerlin mentions (Blum-Ernst, 1951, p. 15: "Hernach sangen wir eigens auf einem Doppelbogen gedruckte Missionslieder, die für diesen Zweck zusammengestellt waren") and that it was printed during the stay at St. Chrischona: The early material used, the location of its printing (in Schaffhausen, which is not too far from Basle), the mission hymns included, and the names of evangelical dignitaries in Bern used.

See Chapter 5.3.

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## Sudan-Pionier- Mission

Gegr. Januar 1900

„Immanuel = Gott mit uns“

„Gehet hin in alle Welt und prediget das Evangelium aller Kreatur“.

Die Sudan-Pionier-Mission ist ein Versuch, dem letzten Befehle unseres Heilandes Gehorsam zu leisten und des Herren Reich in den Theilen Central-Afrikas auszubreiten, die bis jetzt noch von keiner anderen Missionsgesellschaft erreicht sind. Die Arbeit, die sich noch in den Anfangsstadien befindet, zielt auf vier Hauptwegen die Christianisirung des Sudans zu erreichen:

1. **Uebersetzungs-Arbeiten** der heiligen Schrift und anderer guter Bücher in einige der noch unbekanntenen 100 Sudansprachen und Dialekte.
2. **Schulen** für Kinder und Erwachsene.
3. **Evangelisation.**
4. **Kolportage-Arbeit.**

Wir hoffen, dass binnen kurzem **Missionsärzte** (auf allen anderen Missionsfeldern wohlbekannt als bedeutende Förderer von Missionsarbeiten) auch im Sudan eine helfende Hand leihen werden.

Die Missionsarbeit begann in Assuan, woselbst sich vor unseren Augen die folgende Aussicht aufthut:

Westlich von uns hinüber bis zum atlantischen Ocean dehnt sich die grosse Sahara aus, über 5000 Kilometer Wüste, wohin seit der Islam dort herrscht, niemand für Christo gegangen, durchquert von fünf großen Handels-Routen, jede etwa 2000 Kilometer lang. Sie wird bewohnt

von etwa 10 Millionen Muhamedanern in bis heute durch Missionsarbeit unerreichten Oasen. Große, volkreiche Distrikte, wie z.B. Kafra, Tibesti, Borku, Bedai, Air, Tasili und andere, die an Grösse dem Königreich Bayern nicht nachstehen und Hunderte von kleineren mit zahlreichen Dörfern und Städten.

Südwestlich von uns zwischen Khartum und dem atlantischen Ocean liegt der Sudan, das grösste, unerreichte Missionsfeld der ganzen Welt. 5000 Kilometer breit enthält es ungezählte Städte, Dörfer, Weiler, Märkte, Schulen, Stämme, Nationen, Königreiche, mit 100 Millionen Menschen, die 100 verschiedene Sprachen und Dialekte sprechen, in deren keine bis heute die Bibel übersetzt ist. Das Land, es wartet ohne das Legenswort, ohne Gott, ohne Hoffnung.

Oestlich von uns durch die egyptische Wüste mit seinen 100 unerreichten Beduinen-Stämmen, hinaus bis zum rothen Meere, und hinüber durch ganz Arabien, ist keine einzige Missionsstation, bis wir zum persischen Golf kommen und jenseits dessen durch Süd-Persien und Belutschistan, im ganzen etwa 3000 Kilometer in gerader Linie bis Indien, ist kein einziger Missionar.

Südlich von uns herrscht tiefes Dunkel, ohne irgend welche christliche Kirche auf über 2500 Kilometer, entlang dem gewaltigen Nilthal von Assuan bis nach Uganda.

Südwestlich von uns, über 3000 Kilometer entfernt, sind die Kameruner – und Congo-Missionen. – Kein Prediger des Evangeliums zwischen uns und ihnen.

Aus der Mitte der muhamedanischen Welt rufen wir Euch. Wir stehen an der Schwelle; die Sphären christlichen Einflusses und Dienstes hinter uns, das neu geöffnete Nilthor nach Central-Afrika vor uns.

Umgeben von Kindern der Wüste – kräftige, intelligente, furchtlose, freigeborene Gestalten – Muhamedaner dem Namen nach, doch wenig wissend vom Islam, wartend und willig, göttliche Dinge zu erlernen.

Wir flehen für die 100 Millionen christfremder Herzen, die uns umgeben – für die 200 Millionen der grossen, muhamedanischen Welt.

*„Wie sollen sie glauben an Ihn, von dem sie nie gehört?  
Wie sollen sie hören ohne eine Prediger?  
Wie sollen sie predigen, wo sie nicht gesandt worden?“  
„Reichlich habt ihr empfangen, reichlich gebet.“  
„Liebe Brüder betet für uns.“*

[Back Cover]

**„Herr, was willst du, dass ich thun soll?“**

Apostelgesch. 9.6.

*„Gehet hin... ..“  
Sendet die, welche der Herr gerufen.  
„Bittet den Herrn der Ernte, dass er mehr Arbeiter sende...“*

**„Was Er euch saget, das thut!“**

Joh. 2. 5.

*„Für jeden christlichen Arbeiter, der in die äussere Mission geht,  
bleiben 4999 zu Hause.“*

*Hab' ich Grund genug zu Haus' zu bleiben?*

*Zwingt die Liebe Christi mich dazu?*

*„Mit jedem Athemzuge gehen sieben Menschenleben hinüber in's Jenseits,  
ohne je von Christum gehört zu haben.“*

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O Land, mit dem erhabensten der Ströme  
Viel tausend Jahre schau'n auf dich hernieder,  
Du Land der höchst entwickelten Kultur der Alten,  
Wann kehrt die Herrlichkeit der Ahnen wieder,  
Der Ahnen, die im ungewissen Drange  
Dem ewig göttlichen solch' Häuser bauten,  
Die alle Zeit zu überdauern scheinen.  
Wann kommt die Zeit? Wann naht die Stunde,  
Wenn alter Riesentempel – Steingemäuer  
Mit neuem, wahren Geisteshauch sich füllt.  
O komm Herr, giesse aus, auf dies verschmachtet, wasserdürstend Land  
Von Deinem Lebensquell,  
Auf dass es wachse, blühe und gedeihe,  
Und Leben neu aus den Ruinen wachse!  
O, blick hernieder, Vater, blick auf die Millionen,  
Die im verdorrten Land, im Todesschatten wohnen!  
Blick auf die Stämme Ew'ger, die dort irren,  
Im Hochgebirg der Wüste! – ohne Leiter!  
Dunkel! – Nacht! –  
Auf Brüder! auf! entfacht, schwingt hoch das Lebenslicht  
Und lasst es leuchten, weit hinaus ins Land,  
Dass jener Wüstenländer wilde Stämme  
Auch lieben lernen unsern Herrn und Heiland.

Beiträge für die **Sudan-Pionier-Mission** bittet man zu adressieren an  
Herrn Professor **Barth** in **Bern**, Schweiz

" **Vischer-Sarasin** " " " "

oder den Reise-Sekretär Herrn **H. Karl W. Kumm** in **Osterode a/Harz**, Deutschland.

Junge Männer, die sich der Mission in Central-Afrika hinzugeben wünschen, oder Freunde, die in der Heimat Unterstützungsarbeiten zu organisieren gedenken, werden herzlich gebeten mit den Vorgenannten in schriftlichen Verkehr zu treten. Gaben sind benötigt für ein Missionshaus in Assuan, für eine Pionier-Reise durch Darfur und Kordofan, die man D.V. diesen Winter zu machen gedenkt, sowie für die ersten Missionare, die D.V. im Herbst 1900 von Europa nach dem Sudan abreisen werden.

*„Was schuldest Du dem Herrn?“*

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TYP. BOLLIG & BÖCHERER, SCHAFFHAUSEN.

## 5 Lucy Guinness-Kumm: The first Circular of the SPM in English

*Letter 1. Sudan Pioneer Mission. Davos, September 24, 1900, 3 pp. (EMO Archives).*

*This letter is the first official communication of the Sudan Pioneer Mission in English. It is addressed to "My dear Friend which meant to those who had sympathized with the SPM since its founding. It originated in Davos, Switzerland, as Lucy Kumm became pregnant in May 1900 and could not accompany her husband and her father on their speaking engagements in England and Germany, but rather joined her sister Geraldine Taylor with her husband Howard and father-in-law Hudson Taylor at Davos in late July. Karl Kumm visited his wife for a week from September 17, during which this letter was written.*

*See Chapter 5.5.*

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### LETTER 1.

#### Sudan Pioneer Mission

Davos. Sep. 24 1900

My dear Friend,

Heartiest greetings in the LORD from your eight fellow-workers of the SUDAN PIONEER MISSION, three of us here, and five in Africa.

The young effort, with which you have sympathised in its initial stages, is already beginning to expand and you will I know be glad to hear from us, as the church of old heard from its first missionaries all that GOD had done with them "since we met."

Since we were with you, my husband and Father have been travelling and speaking for the Mission: Dr Guinness at first alone in the great lands of Northern Europe and later on with Mr. Kumm in Germany, where they attended the BLANKENBURG CONVENTION in August, and addressed meetings in several leading centres. During the last six weeks half a dozen Helpers Unions have been formed in Germany for the Sudan, all members promising to study the sphere, pray, work, and give regularly what they can. Such home prayer and systematic giving are among the greatest needs of the world field.

Fitful interest, spasmodic, casual offerings, will never send to the front the forces needed to found the Kingdom of Christ among all nations. So we are seeking to bind together an army of home workers who, recognising the individual, universal, untransferable, and unescapable responsibility of all believers in JESUS CHRIST to evangelise the non-Christian world, will give the discharge of that primary obligation a First Place in their lives and labour.

Already in the old university town of Halle, in busy commercial Cassel, in Luther's ancient prison-home Eisenach, close to Wartburg Castle where during a years imprisonment he translated the New Testament, in Hersfeld, Saltzungen, and other German centres, and across the borders in beautiful Lucerne by the blue lake and mountains, and in many a Swiss home and college room, men and women have joined hands to work with you and with us for the fifty to eighty millions Moslem and heathen souls of the Sudan.

About eighty volunteers have offered for the Mission, and half a dozen leading friends have undertaken to act on the Committee. My husband after a weeks rest and change here with us at Davos, starts tomorrow for another months journey. He hopes to reach Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, and winter in Switzerland at once D.V. and go on to Strassburg, Heidelberg, Frankfort,

Wiesbaden, and parts of Hessen before the first meeting of the committee at the end of October in Eisenach, when I expect to see him again. [2] Invitations to speak for the Sudan are coming from all sides and he hopes if the LORD will to work in Pomerania, Silesia, West Prussia, and the Northern Baltic provinces during the winter months.

Meanwhile our news from Assuan is most encouraging. The boys and girls school, which we left with about 30 pupils has sprung to over 130 on account of the closing of both the Roman Catholic and American Mission schools in Assuan. Extra teaching help has been secured, and accounts of progress from friends on the spot as well as from our workers, are good.

We had hoped to write you next month ourselves from the Upper Nile but contrary to our expectation are obliged to stay in Europe this winter to help organise the new work. Mr. Kumm, as you know, intended to visit Khartum this Autumn and strike in Westward from there with a group of helpers through Kordofan and Darfur towards Lake Tehad. But the first men will have, we fear, to sail without him, to settle down to study Arabic in Upper Egypt under our teacher Girgis at Assuan and to travel and evangelise up the Nile with our valued Nubian brother, Ali. Someone must "hold the ropes at home" and at present the LORD has not raised up for the Mission the General Secretary whom we hope to find.

How I wish you could come in to tea with us this afternoon, in our little balcony overlooking the fir clad hills and snow covered mountains of Davos, to hear all about the progress of this Mission, yours and ours. Talking is so much easier than letters. First of all I think my husband would want to tell you all about Eisenach our newly found European head quarters.

From this month, all letters to us should be addressed to the

#### SUDAN PIONEER MISSION

Eisenach, Thuringen, Germany

Already the work is represented there by our brother Paul Krusius (who travelled last winter with Mr. Kumm through some of the Oases of the Lybian desert, and who hopes to return to the same sphere) and we expect, if the LORD will, to find next month in Eisenach, the first German home of this the youngest mission to Central Africa.

The S.P.M. – now nine months old – cannot live entirely in trains, ships, cabins, hotels, pensions, and hap-hazard lodgings, as it has been doing during our pilgrim life since its start last January.

Correspondence and papers, reference books, on missions in general and on the whole immense Sudan, applications, cases, and communications financial records of the work abroad and of swiftly multiplying Helpers Unions at home, ledgers, receipt books, donation lists, S.P.M. publications, and the increasing affairs of the work on the Nile – these things need other accommodation than our well worn cabin trunks and hand bags can afford. [3] So after prayer and thought we have decided to make a home for the young work, among the hills and pine woods of beautiful Thuringia, on the main line to Berlin, about three hours run from the Leipsic and six from the capital.

If any friends of the Sudan would like to help to build the nest, to furnish the first home of the new Mission – almost anything would be welcome. We have nothing, and everything is needed – wall maps, a good African reference library, "Prophets chambers" contents for Sudan volunteers, and all the various fittings of a mission house, from typewriter and piano for office and meeting hall, down to the countless necessities of kitchen and store room that housekeepers know so well. Good desk, set of modern files for keeping papers, or the equivalents of these, would be most welcome.

Will you not pray for us, dear Friends, in the new sphere to which we go, that special wisdom may be given us in forming the Committee, drawing up the "Statutes" of the Mission, deciding on suitable Principles and Practice, and on the whole home bases of the work, pleading

for the Sudan by voice and pen – in a word, serving the Mission by prayer and life and labour?  
“Brethren pray for us”

The enclosed account from Dr. Guinness gives you news from the African side of the work. Our fellow labourers on the Nile need your cooperation.

A larger house has been taken for the fast growing Assuan school, and a third native teacher secured. As I write, a welcome English letter brings a gift of £2, 10 0 to go towards keeping a native worker for the Sudan.

Eleven other friends sending the same would secure at least one permanent worker for the thousands of unevangelised centres of population lying between Assuan and Khartum.

As we think of that forgotten sphere, and of the “regions beyond” it, of the whole central Sudan without one missionary, from Khartum across to the Niger – our hearts are bowed with shame and wonder at the Churches long neglect of her LORD’S command, and are filled with awe in view of our privilege and responsibility. Dear fellow workers, will you join hands with us in a real effort – strenuous, selfdenying, practical, to extend the Kingdom of our LORD in these dark places? Some, at least, of the most suitable volunteers who have offered, ought to sail this Autumn. They are here, ready to go. Who will help to send them? Outfits should be put in hand by October 1<sup>st</sup>. £100 a year will maintain a man, £30 a native teacher in the Sudan. What, like Paul of old, shall we count not dear unto ourselves, that we may finish our course with joy, and in THE MINISTRY THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED OF THE LORD JESUS.

Yours for His Kingdom’s Service

Lucy E. Guinness Kumm.

## 6 Grattan Guinness: Evangelizing in Nubia

*Source: H. Grattan Guinness: Evanhelizing [sic] in Nubia, 5 pp. Supplement to Letter 1. Sudan Pioneer Mission. Davos, September 24, 1900. (EMO Archives).*

*H. Grattan Guinness (1835–1910), as the co-founder of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission, did his share in advertising the new mission endeavor. Besides using his contacts and speaking for the SPM in 1900, he added his good name and a contribution to the first English newsletter of the SPM. He relates his perspective about recruiting Samuel Ali Hiseen for the SPM in Aswan in January 1900 and edits Samuel's letters to the Kumms from the colportage journey through Nubia. These letters are quite short, but the details reported have precedence over later recollections in Samuel's autobiography [see above].*

*See Chapters 4.2.1, 4.3.2f. and 5.5.*

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### SUDAN PIONEER MISSION

Founded Jan. 1900

Headquarters. Eisenach. Thuringen. Germany & Assuan  
Upper Egypt  
EVANHELISING IN NUBIA.

by H. Grattan Guinness D.D.

Nubia begins at the first cataract 700 miles up the Nile. At that point the mighty river, having descended 1800 miles from the great lakes in the centre of Africa which constitute its source, breaks through a barrier of granite rocks, near the celebrated island and Temple of Philoe.

Here the town of Assuan is picturesquely situated on the Eastern bank of the Nile, the border town of Egypt, and commencing point of the Sudan.

From the first cataract Nubia extends up the Nile for 500 miles to Dongola, and contains about 3000 villages, situated on or at short distances from the river. The ruins of numerous temples are met at intervals among its entire extent. The natives who mostly speak Arabic as well as their own language, are Mohammedans, but extremely ignorant, and have never had the Gospel brought to them. Has the day for their evangelization dawned at last? We hope so. A pile of letters lie before us from a Nubian Christian now travelling the whole length of the interesting district for the purpose of bringing these people the word of life. The story of his call to the work and preparation for it is interesting.

When in Assuan in the early part of the present year we were impressed with the need of the neglected Nubians, and on making enquiries whether anyone in the neighbourhood was acquainted with their language, who might act as a teacher among them, we were informed that a Christian Nubian named Ali Hisein was employed at the post office at the Barrage works a few miles distant across the desert. Without delay we rode over to the extensive Barrage works, and on reaching the post found three native officials behind the counter. Addressing one of them we asked "Is Ali Hisein here?"

The individual named came forward and said "My name is Ali Hisein" and added with a smile of recognition, that nineteen years ago he had been a student in our Missionary College in London.

We at once remembered the story we had published of "Ali's Adventures" and recognised in the bright middle aged native who stood before us the youth whom we had known and helped in the early days of our [2] Institute. And what are you doing here Ali? We asked, Why are you working at the Post Office?

In reply he told us that the kind friend who had supported him in evangelising for several years after his return to Nubia, died, and left him without resources, which obliged him, as he had a young family dependent on him to engage in some form of secular work "But" he added "I long to be back in the LORD'S service evangelising my people."

"Come with us then" we said, "and let us confer further about it."

Without delay he mounted his donkey, and rode with us across the desert to Assuan relating all his experiences and describing the neglected condition of the Nubian population.

Ali who had been brought up as a strict Mohammedan, had been taken to Switzerland when a lad, and there brought under Christian influence and led to embrace the Gospel. For five years he remained with his Christian friends, acquiring a very good knowledge of the French language and subsequently spent two years in our Institute studying English and the Bible, and attending various college classes. He became a general favourite, made marked progress in his studies, and gave every evidence that the grace of God was upon him. His delight in the Word and service of God were apparent to all associated with him. So this was the Ali whom the Lord in His providence had enabled us to discover in the Post Office at the Assuan Barrage works. Among the many employed in the building of the great Nile Barrage, there are about a hundred Englishmen and many hundreds of foreigners, Europeans, Egyptians, Arabs and Nubians, but only Ali Hissein answered to the sort of man we needed to help to bring the water of life into this moral desert.

Since the time we met him at the Barrage Ali has been evangelising among his own people from village to village, gently, wisely, patiently making known the message of salvation, and circulating the Word of God.

In this work he has travelled now the whole length of Nubia, as far as Dongola, 500 miles up the Nile, going up on one side of the river and returning on the other, so as to take in all the towns and villages on the way. The reception he has met with, has been encouraging; owing to the wisdom and gentleness of his methods no hostility of any marked kind has been encountered, and not a few have heard from his lips for the first time in their lives, the story of a salvation which is in CHRIST JESUS.

"The following extracts from Ali's letters will interest our friends. He writes from Nubia:

My beloved Brother Kumm and Mrs. Kumm

Here we are scattered for the Lord's work, some to Europe, some at Assuan, and some in the narrow valley of Nubia, under its red hot sun.

But I am strengthened, and more than this, I am happy in the Almighty God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and his promises. During the darkness of night He shall be a light unto us, and a fresh cool breeze during the heat of the sun. The Lord help us to grow day by day in His stature and likeness, for it is from His fulness that we are to give to others around us. Courage then! and let us have the hand in hand and walk on towards the prize set before us, and to every blood-bought one. [3] Starting on my journey I came to Embarakal, a large district of from ten to eleven thousand people. There I had a long stop for their Sheik was dead. I showed them that their weeping and putting mud on their faces and heads and hands was not to be approved, and read them many things out of the holy Word. The roads of this district are very good. Then we came to Callapsky, a very stoney and narrow district. Its people are very natural and simple, and say Yes, Yes to everything one tells them. They are very poor and in general all Nubia is poor. We

then came to the district Abou Horney, the native village where my children are living. Here we have a Police Station, Government House, and Post Office so you see it is an important place, and its people are more civilized than in most other districts. Here I spoke to them of Christian truths, which they received pretty well, above all when I offered them the Scriptures, they liked them much but would not pay for them, for the few piastres they can spare they keep for the taxes.

Here I stayed some days to make preparation for my long journey, and to find a good willing companion, who will help not only in daily business but in teaching the Word of God.

Yes, I am praying the Lord to give us the right young man who leaves all for the Lord, and follows Him.

I am continuing to prepare the Nubian vocabulary, and hope to finish it before your coming here. My children send their salutations to you for I have spoken about you, especially of Mrs. Kumm. If you write, direct to Korosko.

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#### Kashtamnah.

I am very happy in this my work, and glad to tell you that the Word is heard with willingness and interest. I have had no trouble whatever till now, and trust the Lord for the future. On Tuesday last was the great feast of the Moslems, the Dahiah, before every house is slain a lamb and its blood sprinkled on the top of every door. This is done especially in Nubia. So I had the privilege of explaining to them this sign, and told them the meaning of it was – Jesus Christ. It is difficult to make them understand. We sow the seed in every kind of soil, it is the Lord's to give the growth.

I am still circulating the Scriptures freely though not carelessly or lavishly. We cannot sell them in this poor and indifferent country. There is a kind of influenza in the country, many die of it, and also from small pox. Now I leave you and myself in the love and peace of our mighty God, the Father of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit.

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#### Korosko.

By the grace of God we arrived here safely, and found waiting us the parcel of scriptures. I send you a copy of all the towns and villages through which we have passed, and the number of the people, and the time it takes to travel from village to village.

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[4]

#### Halfa.

Here we are by the help of God at Halfa, but very tired and burnt by the sun. However, I can say with boldness that the Lord has been with us: In our journey from Korosko we met with many people who willingly spoke with us, and even received the Word of God with a certain belief that is, they admit the holy books come from God, and that Jesus Christ did miracles, but at his death and atoning blood they stop. Then they ask "Why do Christians trouble themselves about us? What profit do they get?" We answer that Christians are taught by the Word of God to love their fellow men, and that our Lord Jesus Christ commanded us to preach the Gospel to every creature and that if our Lord died for the ungodly, how much more ought we to live and work for their salvation. Pray that the Lord may give us boldness to confess His name. We leave to-morrow for Dongola, we hear the roads are very bad and difficult three days journey among stones and desert. God help us, we commit ourselves to His care. I have distributed all the Bibles and Testaments, there remain only the Gospel of St. John. I had only taken 15 piastres.

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Ourdi

Here we are through the help of the Lord at the Mudirich of Dongola. We had many difficulties on the way, our poor donkey suffered from the badness of the road, and I myself had four days illness from the heat of the day, and the chills of the night, twice on leaving one village for another, we could find no comfortable place to lie in; but we were always pretty well received, the people hearing us speak with pleasure. Very few know how to read, and when I tell them of what we desire to do for them, they are very much pleased, and say, when will you come back, for we long to see again such people who love God, and love us too. But will you not take away our children from us when you have taught them? They ask. No! I say, we only wish to see them good, loving God and their fellow men. Between Halfa and Assuan hundreds of towns and villages are in ruins from the recent war; here and there heaps of bones of people and animals and lands once cultivated now covered with thick woods, only a fifth of the people are left. It is very touching to see the country in such a state. Every Christian letter which comes to me in such a desolate, lonely country gives me strength and joy. Remember me in your prayers that the Lord may keep me wholly close to Him, and in His fellowship.

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You ask about my travelling companion Ali Mohamed. He is a Nubian of middle height, twenty four years of age, and married to a young woman called Halima, they have a little boy of six months old.

Ali is good, humble, earnest, and obedient, you can do with him what you like, he is clever in travelling, and sharp in anything given him to do. He readily receives Scripture teaching although as you know, it is difficult for one born a Mahommedan to embrace the Christian faith.

Do pray for this young man, and that the Lord may soon raise up native workers here. I am translating the Gospel of John into, Nubian.

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Mudirich of Dongola.

Many thanks for your refreshing letter. You ask if I remember Cliff College and its rounds. Indeed I do. Those were fresh and feeding days. Many days I walked there preaching the Gospel in the Derbyshire villages with other students, and even in the streets of Sheffield. [5] How sweet were those days, when we sung the hymns of Zion in England.

O! that God in His mercy would favour our Country with the same freedom to preach His Word. So far, thank God, we keep pretty well – we are marching between sharp thorns, and hard stones, which strip the skin sometimes from the flesh. The people in this part of the country are simple and ignorant, I tell them that "I am a Nubian like you, and possibly we are relations, come take some news and give me some of yourselves", and try to make friends with them, but in Dongola they are slow to respond. During the day we are exposed to the burning sun, and in the night to wind, and some rain.

But I am happy with all my heart doing this work for the Lord Jesus.

# The first Issue of the SPM Journal

## Sudan- Pionier-Mission.

Gegründet Januar 1900.

„Immanuel = Gott mit uns.“

N. 1.

Centrale Eisenach, im Oktober

1900.



Der Sudan.

Ein Blick auf das größte Flusstal der Erde.

„Chartum ist gefallen — die Mahdisten vernichtet!“ Das war eine Botschaft, die vor einigen Jahren mit Freuden von der ganzen civilisierten Welt begrüßt wurde, und besonders von denen, die sich solidarisch verbunden fühlten mit der leidenden Menschheit. Welch grauenerregende Zustände waren nicht durch das Entkommen europäischer Gefangener aus den Klauen des blutdürstigen Kalfen enthüllt worden! Wie seufzte, wie schmachtete das Land

Die Berichte und Mitteilungen der Sudan-Pionier-Mission werden vorläufig in dieser Form und nach Bedürfnis — möglichst jedoch jeden Monat — erscheinen.

## 8 H. Karl W. Kumm: A Defence of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission

*"Minutes of the First General Conference of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission", October 25, 1900.*

*Source: SPM Minute book, labeled "I Protokoll ab 1900, 25. Oktober bis September 1920", pp. 1-11. The minutes are handwritten. The handwriting has been emulated in one line in this reproduction, as has been the layout and format of the text (e.g. underlining, and indentation). Original page breaks are indicated. The minute book's pages are pre-numbered, but in this section only the odd pages were used. The statement by Kumm "Die Sudan Pionier Mission" (pp. 3-9) had been a separate document, and was cut up and pasted into the minute book. Thus one of the footnotes was lost. The footnotes are marked with an asterisk only in the original.*

*Relevance: The first meeting of the supporters of the SPM already had to deal with appeals to forego the founding of the SPM, one of which came from the renowned missiologist Prof. Gustav Warneck from Halle. In response to the criticism Karl Kumm presented a written declaration, which described earlier failed attempts to reach the Sudan Belt and set out the reasons why the Sudan-Pionier-Mission could hope to have better success than these. The document reveals the points of debate and the level of information on either side.*

*See Chapter 5.5 and 5.7.*

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Am 25. October 1900 fand die erste allgemeine Konferenz der Sudan Pionier Mission, nachmittags 3 Uhr zu Eisenach – Marienthal 17 parterre, statt.

Es waren anwesend die Brüder: P. Dammann, P. Sartorius, Prediger Recht, Stadtmissionar Tietz, H. Karl W. Kumm und Krusius. – sowie folgende Schwestern: Frau P. Ziemendorff, Fr. v. Hahn, Frau H. Karl W. Kumm, Fr. Pauline Kumm (C.I.M.), Frau P. Dammann, Fr. Meffert.

Von den zur Konferenz geladenen Freunden konnten unter anderem nicht kommen:

P. Ziemendorff – Wiesbaden, P. Wittekindt – Oberissigheim.

aus welchem Grund eine geplante Organisation des Vorstandes nicht stattfinden konnte.

Die Versammlung wurde mit Gebet eröffnet. Zuerst las Bruder P. Dammann zwei Briefe, einen von Prof. Warneck an ihn gerichtet vor, die Mißtrauen gegen die neue Arbeit der S.P.M. ausdrückten als auch persönliche Anschuldigungen gegen Br. Kumm enthielten und sein Auftreten einer scharfen Kritik unterzogen. Die Ziele der S.P.M. wurden für unreife Projecte erklärt, die Gebiete, welche ins Auge gefaßt seien, für unzugänglich, und dem Organisator Sachkenntnis vorgeworfen. Ferner führe die Neugründung einer Mission eine Zersplitterung der unterstützenden Kreise herbei. – Br. P. Dammann forderte [p. 3] Br. Kumm zu einer Erklärung diesen Anschuldigungen gegenüber auf.

Br. Kumm wiederlegte die Angriffe durch nachstehende Erklärung:

### Die Sudan Pionier Mission

ist eine rein deutsche Arbeit, deren Bestreben es ist den Völkern im Sudan das Evangelium zu bringen. ————— Der Sudan ist Interessensphäre von:

- I. Deutschland (Adamaua am Tschad-See),
- II. England (Nilthal; Kordofan; Darfur),

III. Frankreich (Wadai, Bagirmi, Kanem etc.)

Aus diesem Grunde wird mit dem Fortschreiten der europäischen Machtentfaltung Religionsfreiheit gesichert sein. Diese Länder waren bis vor etwa 2 Jahren der Mission gänzlich geschlossen, da einerseits am Niger das tötliche Klima das Vordringen der Missionare verhinderte, wie auch aus demselben Grunde durch das Hinterland von Kamerun; während am oberen Nil das Derwisch-Reich unter dem Mahdi, – bei Omdurman – (sowie früher andere eingeborene Fürsten<sup>1</sup>) ein unüberwindliches Bollwerk bildete. Dieser Hindernisse wegen sind alle bisherigen Versuche unter den Sudanesen zu missionieren, resultatlos geblieben.

1. Versuch: – Deutsch, von St. Chrischona aus; – im Jahre 1860; am Nil hinauf eine Missions-Strasse – Apostel-Strasse genannt – zu bauen, an die sich die Propheten-Strasse anschliessen sollte. [5]

Gründe des Fehlschlagens waren:

- 1.) Plan in Deutschland auf dem Papier gemacht, ohne das Land selbst zu kennen.
- 2.) Widerstand eingeborener Fürsten.
- 3.) Gewaltige Entfernungen; – keine Beförderungsmittel; Reisen 3, 6 & 9 Monate lang.
- 4.) Unterstützungen, Geldmittel etc. blieben aus.

2. Versuch: Englisch – im Jahre 1889 – von G. Wilmot-Brooke mit Begleitern (Ernst E. Shaw etc.) am Niger hinauf. Ziel: die Haussa-Staaten wo von F.F. Schön, einem deutschen Missionar durch seine von ihm verfassten Grammatik & Wörterbuch der Kanuri-Sprache der Weg vorgebahnt war.<sup>2</sup>

Gründe des Fehlschlagens waren:

- 1.) tötliches [sic!] Klima
  - 2.) Tod des Führers Wilmot-Brooke,
- NB. Doch ist der Versuch noch nicht ganz aufgegeben – gegenwärtig sind wieder 2 Engländer und 1 Schweizer unterwegs.

3. Versuch: Amerikanisch; – im Jahre 1890 von Liberia aus in Verbindung mit der „world's gospel union“.

Gründe des ergebnislosen Versuches in den eigentlichen Sudan einzudringen:

- 1.) tötliches [sic!] Klima
  - 2.) gewaltige Entfernungen
- NB. Doch besteht heute noch eine Kette von Missions-stationen bis zu den Kong-Bergen; den Quellen des Nigers, der West-grenze des Sudans.

[ 7 ]

4. Versuch: englisch – Anfang der 90er Jahre unter Hermann Harris „Central Sudan Mission“ unter Protection der „Pentecostal League“; – schwärmerische, phantastische Idee unter den obwaltenden Umständen von Tripolis aus durch die Sahara die Sudanstaaten zu erreichen.

Gründe des Fehlschlagens:

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<sup>1</sup> Geographie und Geschichte des Sudans v. Prof. Gleichen

<sup>2</sup> The text of the footnote has not been preserved in this copy.

- 1.) Organisationsschwierigkeiten
  - 2.) Unüberwindliche Hindernisse des Weges.
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– – Die österreichische catholische Mission besass schon im Jahr 1860 (v.Barth p. 51) Missionsstationen am oberen Nil, die sie jedoch alle wieder aufgeben mußte.<sup>3</sup> Sie hält jedoch noch Grundstücke und Gebäude in Chartum, von denen sie jetzt wieder Besitz ergriffen hat. –

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Warum dürfen wir hoffen die Arbeit im Sudan mit besserem Erfolge, als die vorher erwähnten fehlgeschlagenen Versuche aufnehmen zu können ?

- 1.) Wir vermeiden das tödtliche Klima der westafrikanischen Küste (Kongo, Kamerum, Niger, Liberia).
  - 2.) Wir vermeiden die ungeheure Wüstenreise von Tripolis aus,
  - 3.) Und wählen den gesunden Weg am Nil hinauf  
n.b. Assuan, unsere erste Station, ist Winterkurort u. gehört zu den gesunden Klimaten der Welt.
  - 4.) Der Weg am Nil hinauf ist jetzt vollkommen geöffnet.
    - a) in physischer Hinsicht:
      - (α) Die halbe Länge des Nils bis Chartum fährt man seit ca. 2 Jahren per Eisenbahn in 5 Tagen (ab Alexandria) wozu für Chrischonabrüder vor 40 Jahren eine Reise von 6 Monaten nötig war.  
[ 9 ]
      - (β) Seit diesem Frühjahr ist der Oberlauf des Nils bis zu den großen Seen der Schifffahrt geöffnet.
    - b) Mit Bezug auf die politischen Verhältnisse.

Die kleinen eingeborenen Fürsten verschwanden im Reiche des Mahdi. Diese Herrschaft nun wurde vor zwei Jahren gänzlich vernichtet. Der Chalifa selbst fiel vor Jahresfrist. – Die Länder am oberen Nil sind jetzt unter europäischer Oberhoheit, die den Völkern Glaubensfreiheit gewährt. [Unsere Colporteure halten Schutzbriefe von der Regierung in Chartum].
    - c) In geistiger Hinsicht.

Die Stämme am Nil, die die europäischen Fortschritte beobachten, sehnen sich nach europäischer Cultur und Bildung und bitten um Lehrer. (v. Dr. G .Nachtigall: Sahara & Sudan)
  - 5.) Andere Missionen können weder helfend noch hindernd dort mitarbeiten. Die englische Kirchengesellschaft, die einzige die daran gedacht hat, einen Missionsweg nach Uganda zu bauen, kann den Anforderungen nicht gerecht werden (Eugen Stock).
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<sup>3</sup> Les Missions Catholiques d'Afrique par Baron Léon Béthune S.<sup>o</sup>.S.<sup>o</sup>.Augustin.

Die Sudan Pionier Mission denkt in keiner Weise den schon bestehenden deutschen Missionsgesellschaften Konkurrenz zu machen, doch ist sie davon überzeugt, dass mit dem wieder im Wachsen begriffenen geistlichen Leben in Deutschland sich auch wieder neue Hilfsquellen für die Mission öffnen werden. – Die offenen Türen sind vor uns; die Kräfte sind dazugetreten; der Befehl lautet: Gehet hin ihr schnellen Boten (Jes 18). *Kumm*

Mit Gottes Hilfe wollen wir vorwärts gehen!

[11]

Zudem erklärte noch Br. Kumm warum die Centrale der S.P.M. nach Eisenach gelegt sei; und zwar:

- 1) Eisenach (insert: am Fuße der denkwürdigen Wartburg) liegt (a) an der Hauptverkehrsstraße im Herzen Deutschlands, (b) wo noch kein ähnl.[iches] Missionscentrum vorhanden ist.
- 2) In Eisenach findet die Studenten-Conferenz statth.
- 3) In Eisenach faßte die S.P.M. zuerst Grund und Boden, und wird seither nachhaltig unterstützt.
- 4) bietet Eisenach ein ausgezeichnetes Feld zur Erprobung von Missionsbewerbern.
- 5) hat Eisenach viele klimatische Vorzüge, die vor allem später erholungsbedürftigen Mitarbeitern dienlich sein werden.

Gegen 7 Uhr wurde die Sitzung geschlossen. Vorher jedoch erklärte Br. Tietz in Person seines Hilfsvereins Eisenach für den leiblichen Unterhalt unseres Colporteurs Ali Samuel Hussein, und Br. Recht, als Vertreter des Hilfsvereins Hersfeld für dasjenige des Lehrers in Assuan Girgis Jacoub sorgen zu wollen.

Das Schlußgebet wurde von Br. Sartorius gesprochen.

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## 9 Julius Dammann: A Refutation of Accusations

Source: "Sudan-Pionier-Mission. An einen Kandidaten und einen Professor der Theologie". In: *Licht und Leben* 12 (1900), No. 47 of Nov. 24, 1900, pp. 352ff.

Pastor Julius Dammann (1840–1908), the board member of the SPM who was recruited first, published Kumm's defence of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission in the "Questions and Answers" column of his Christian weekly, "Licht und Leben". In addition, Dammann defended his own decision to publish reports about the SPM in *Licht und Leben*. The value of the document lies in its paraphrase of the letters warning against the founding of the SPM, which have been lost. The document thus supplements the statement in the SPM Minute Book [see above]. Only that which makes up Dammann's editorial comment is reproduced here.

See Chapter 5.5 and 5.7.

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### **Sudan-Pionier-Mission. An einen Kandidaten und einen Professor der Theologie.**

Sie warnen mich in sehr ernstern Worten vor der Sudan-Pionier-Mission und bitten dringend, die Hände von dieser abenteuerlichen Sache zu lassen. Bis jetzt seien alle Versuche zum Beginn einer Sudanmission unter Verlust vieler teurer Menschenleben gescheitert. Sie könnten nur mit Zittern daran denken, daß jetzt Deutschland sich in diese unreifen Projekte verwickeln [853] lassen wolle; der Plan ginge von bekannter englischer Stelle aus. Das ganze Projekt sei ungesund und beachtete nicht den Moltkesche Grundsatz: Erst wägen und dann wagen. Das ins Auge gefaßte Gebiet sei durchaus unzugänglich, verursache riesige Kosten, könne überhaupt nicht ins Werk gesetzt werden. Man würde große Täuschungen erleben. Man solle doch heutzutage, wo die Mission so hart angegriffen würde, keinen Grund zu neuen berechtigten Angriffen geben. Man solle doch unsere Missionskreise nicht zersplittern. Unsere vaterländischen Missionen müßten gestärkt und die deutschen Kolonialgebiete müßten stärker besetzt werden. Vielleicht könnte man später von Kamerun aus in den Sudan eindringen. „Licht und Leben“ dürfe nicht in den Bahnen von Grattan Guineß gehen. Wie sollte das möglich sein, daß die ersten der Freiwilligen noch diesen Herbst hinausgehen sollten ohne Vorbereitung, ohne Sprachkenntnis!

Die alten Missionen klagten über die Schwierigkeiten, für die stets wachsende Arbeit die Mittel aufzubringen. Darum nicht mehr Missionsgesellschaften, sondern weniger. Man sollte doch den Gesellschaften, die existierten, nicht die Mittel nehmen und nicht in ihre Gebiete einbrechen, sonderlich von England aus.

Das sind schwere und harte Anklagen, die von den Freunden der Sudan-Mission gewissenhaft geprüft werden müssen.

„Licht und Leben“ vertritt nach wie vor mit gleichem Interesse die bestehenden deutschen Missionen, sonderlich die Barmer, aus der wir regelmäßig 4-wöchentliche Berichte bringen, die Neukirchener, die Kols-Mission, Baseler, die China-Inland-Mission und die Orient-Mission. Wir wollen keiner Mission irgend einen Freund oder eine Freundin entziehen. Es wäre auch unrecht, z.B. in Rheinland und Westfalen einzubrechen in die Kreise der Barmer Mission. Die Sudan-Pionier-Mission hat darum ihre Zentrale in Eisenach aufgeschlagen (nicht Marienthal 20, wo ich wohne, sondern an der gegenüberliegenden Seite des Thales, Marienthal 17). Es liegt in der Christenheit noch viel Feld brach für die Mission. Ganz Deutschland bringt etwa 4-5 Millionen für Mission auf und unterhält gegen 800 Missionare; England gegen 32 Millionen und hat gegen 8000 Missionare draußen. Wenn die Apostel hätten warten wollen, den Heiden das Evangelium zu

bringen, bis die Juden evangelisiert wären, so wären die Heiden ihr Lebtag nicht daran gekommen, sagte mal Missions-Inspektor Dr. Schreiber in einer Missionspredigt. [854]

„Licht und Leben“ wird auch kein besonderes Missionsblatt für die Sudan-Mission werden. Alle 4 Wochen wird es einen 3 bis 4 Seiten langen Bericht bringen über diese Mission, gleichwie es alle 4 Wochen einen Bericht bringt für die Barmer Mission. Es wird nach wie vor Gaben sammeln für alle deutschen Missionen. –

## 10 Principles and Practice of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission

Source: "Organisation und Grundsätze der Sudan-Pionier-Mission [of Nov. 15, 1900]", 10 pp. Insert in SPM Minute Book, between p. 14 and p. 16 (EMO Archives).

The Principles and Practice of the SPM were discussed, amended and approved immediately after the election of the board members on November 15, 1900. The handwritten, mimeographed copy in the SPM Minute Book shows changes made to the original draft. The draft had been prepared by the Kumms and breathed the spirit of interdenominational faith missions. The document deals with the purpose, character, constitution, funding, and budget of the SPM, with criteria for the acceptance of missionary candidates, engagement or marriage of missionaries, leaving the mission agency, church planting, indigenous workers, relations to governments, and a phrase of commitment of the missionaries to these principles and practices.

See Chapters 5.5 and 7.

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Gegründet Januar 1900

„Immanuel – Gott mit uns.“

Organisation und Grundsätze  
der  
Sudan-Pionier-Mission

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I. Zweck: Die Sudan-Pionier-Mission wurde gegründet unter dem tiefen Bewußtsein des leiblichen und geistigen Elends von etwa 100 muhammedanischen u. heidnischen Stämmen am oberen Nil u. im Sudan und mit dem ernstlichen Wunsche, dem letzten Befehle unseres Heilandes: „Gehet hin in alle Welt u. prediget das Evangelium aller Kreatur“ Gehorsam zu leisten. Es ist ihr ernstes Bestreben diesem letzten, größten, unerreichten Missionsfelde der Erde das Evangelium zu bringen.

II. Character: Auf dem Boden der Heil. Schrift und den evangel. Bekenntnissen<sup>4</sup> ruhend, umfaßt die Mission an Männern u. Frauen wahrhaft Gläubige aller [2] Gemeinden u. Gemeinschaften, sowohl im Vorstand u. Kuratorium, als auch unter den Missionaren im Felde. Letztere sind nicht Angestellte des Vorstandes, sondern wie die Brüder des Vorstandes u. Kuratoriums „Mitglieder der Mission“.

III. Verfassung: Die Leitung der Mission liegt in den Händen eines

1. Vorstandes des Missionsvereins, der aus mindestens fünf Mitglieder besteht. Ein Drittel der Mitglieder scheidet jährlich aus, kann jedoch von den Übrigen wiedergewählt werden. Die absolute Majorität ist beschlußfähig, der Vorstand wählt jährlich aus seiner Zahl:

- a. einen Präsidenten,
- b. einen Schatzmeister,
- c. einen Sekretär,

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<sup>4</sup> Initially: „Auf evangelischem Allianzboden“.

und entsprechende Stellvertreter.

2. Curatoriums, das wenigstens einmal im Jahr zusammen tritt u. dessen Mitglieder die S.P.M. als Referenten nach außen hin vertreten.

3. Africa-Comité's, welches Lokalfragen u. dringende Angelegenheiten im Missionsfelde [3] erledigt.

IV. Unterhalt: Die Mission wird unterhalten durch freiwillige Opfer von Kindern Gottes. Die Missionare, „Mitglieder der Mission“, werden, insofern sie nicht private Mittel haben, von den Vertretern in der Heimat bei ihrer Ausrüstung u. Reise nach dem Missionsfelde unterstützt, – event. dieselbe ihnen ganz bezahlt, – auch im Missionsfelde z. Teil oder ganz aus der Missionskasse unterhalten. Doch haben dieselben ihr Vertrauen ganz auf den HErrn zu setzen, der sie zu seiner Arbeit berufen. Der Vorstand kann gezwungen sein, sie im Stich zu lassen oder kann aufhören zu existieren, die Arbeit aber u. Er der sie dazu berufen hat, niemals. Während die Arbeiter also für ihren Unterhalt auf Gott allein ihre Hoffnung setzen, machen sich die Vertreter in der Heimat, der Vorstand anheischig, die Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen mit der nötigen Information über das Werk u. seine Bedürfnisse zu versehen, so viel es irgend in ihrer Kraft steht, so daß auf diese Weise ein festes Band [4] zwischen den Arbeitern im Felde u. den Gemeinschaften in der Heimat hergestellt werde.

#### V. Haushaltung über Geldmittel.

Der Vorstand, im Besonderen der Schatzmeister, sind verantwortlich für die Verteilung der ihnen für die Mission anvertrauten Geldmittel. Über besondere Gaben für Missionszwecke, die den einzelnen Missionaren direkt zugehen, haben diese privatim Buch zu führen und eine jährliche Abrechnung dem Schatzmeister einzusenden. Für alle anderen allgemeinen oder spezifizierten Beiträge stellt der Schatzmeister oder sein Vertreter laufend Quittungen aus. Die gesamte Rechnungsablage der Missionseinnahmen und Ausgaben geschieht einmal jährlich vom Schatzmeister im Namen des Vorstands.

#### VI. Aufnahme von Missionaren.

In die Missionsgesellschaft werden vom Vorstand nur solche Mitarbeiter aufgenommen

a) die mit den evangelischen Wahrheiten des Christentums vertraut, es an sich persönlich erfahren haben, was es bedeutet, aus dem Geiste geboren zu sein, u. die deshalb in ihrem zukünftigen Missionsfelde Zeugnis ablegen können von einem persönlichen Heiland, [5] b) deren geistiger Bildungsgang ein solcher gewesen ist, der sie befähigt, fremde Sprachen zu erlernen, sich neuen Verhältnissen anzupassen u. ihre eigenen Erfahrungen u. Gedanken in klarer, verständlicher Weise Anderen mitzuteilen,

c) die eine von ärztlicher Seite bezeugte, für ein heißes Klima taugliche gute Gesundheit haben. Alle für den Missionsdienst sich Meldenden werden in ernstester Weise darauf aufmerksam gemacht, keine vorschnellen Schritte zu thun, sondern, sich alle Schwierigkeiten in Betracht ziehend, darüber im Gebet klar u. gewiß zu werden, daß sie vom HErrn zu dieser Arbeit berufen sind, daß sie, wie Paulus, innerlich gedrungen sind: „Wehe mir, wenn ich das Evangelium nicht predigte!“

#### VII. Einteilung der Missionsarbeiter.

Die von dem Vorstand nach Prüfung ihrer Anerbieten berufenen „Applicanten“, Männer u. Frauen, stehen während ihres Aufenthalts in Europa als „Aspiranten“ unter der directen Leitung des Vorstandes, der über ihre weitere Ausbildung u. Einführung in die Arbeit bestimmen wird.

Aus diesen Missions-Aspiranten recrutiren sich [6] nach ihrer Ankunft auf dem Missionsfelde die „Jüngeren Missionare“, die unter die Leitung eines vom Africa-Comité bestimmten „Aelteren Missionars“ gestellt werden, der sie in die nun zu erlernende Sprache, in die neuen Verhältnisse,

mit einem Wort, in die neue Arbeit einführt. – Nachdem diese „jüngeren Missionare“ sich etwa 2 Jahre befließigt haben, sich die Sprache anzueignen u. die nötige Fähigkeit erlangt haben, in der neuen Sprache zu sprechen, werden sie in die Liste der „älteren Missionare“ eingereiht. Es sei hier noch bemerkt, daß es bei allen Arbeiten, die zur Ehre des HERRN u. zur Ausbreitung Seines Reiches geschehen, keine Rangstufen giebt; sondern daß Prediger wie Lehrer, Evangelisten wie Colporteurs vor dem HERRN alle gleich sind.

#### VIII. Verlobungen und Verheirathungen.

A. Verheiratete Applicanten können nur in die Missionsgemeinschaft aufgenommen werden, nachdem beide Teile, sowohl Mann als Frau, als für die Arbeit tauglich erfunden sind.

B. Unverheiratete Applicanten, die verlobt sind, oder die Absicht haben, sich zu verloben, haben solches [7] dem Vorstande anzuzeigen u. können gleichfalls nur aufgenommen werden, wenn der Vorstand keine Einwendungen gegen die Verlobung hat.

C. Missionare, die im Missionsfelde sich zu verloben oder zu verheirathen gedenken, haben solches, sobald sie zu dem Entschluß gekommen, dem Vorstand in der Heimat anzuzeigen. Man erwartet von ihnen als Kindern Gottes u. erprobten Arbeitern im Weinberge des HERRN, daß sie einen so schwerwiegenden Schritt nur mit größter Vorsicht, reiflicher Ueberlegung u. anhaltendem Gebete thun werden.

#### IX. Austritt aus der Mission.

Da die Vorbereitung für Mission im Auslande notwendiger Weise eine verhältnismäßig lange u. umfassende sein muß, so wird erwartet, daß, wenn Missionare nach Africa hinausgehen, sie solches auf Lebenszeit thun. Wohl ist es wünschenswert, wenn sie etwa alle 5 Jahre sechs bis neun Monate Urlaub nehmen, doch müßten sie das Land, in dem sie ihre Missionsthätigkeit haben, als ihre Heimat betrachten. Sollten sie dagegen durch unvorhergesehene Umstände gezwungen sein, ihre Arbeit aufzugeben, so [8] haben sie solches wenigstens 3 Monate vor ihrem Ausscheiden dem Vorstande in der Heimat anzuzeigen.

Ein unmotivirtes Austreten aus dem Missionsverbande innerhalb der ersten 2 Jahre in Afrika ist unstatthaft u. kann solches nur stattfinden, wenn sämtliche durch den Arbeiter oder die Arbeiterin der Mission entstandenen Unkosten von demselben, resp. derselben zurückerstattet werden.

Sollte sich die Überzeugung eines Missionsarbeiters inbezug auf die grundlegenden Wahrheiten des Christentums ändern, so hat er solches dem Vorstande in der Heimat sofort anzuzeigen, oder sollte, was Gott verhüten möge, sein Leben nicht mit seinem Bekenntnis eines Kindes Gottes übereinstimmen, so behält sich in beiden Fällen der Vorstand in der Heimat vor, seinen Austritt aus der Mission ihm anzurathen oder zu befehlen, in welchem Falle solcher Missionar sämtlichen ihm anvertrauten Missionsbesitz dem nächsten Missionar der S.P.M. zu überweisen hat.

#### X. Aufbau der Missionsgemeinden.

Das Endziel der Sudan-Pionier-Mission ist's im Sudan sich selbst unterhaltende und weiter ausbreitende Missionsgemeinden zu gründen, u. wird es den Missionsarbeitern an's Herz gelegt, dies Endziel stets vor den [9] Augen zu behalten.

Hat ein Missionsarbeiter irgend einer Denomination Arbeit an einem neuen Orte begonnen, so hat die Arbeit von Missionaren derselben Denomination weiter fortgeführt zu werden, auf daß junge Gemeinden oder Gemeinschaftsglieder durch kleine äußere Unterschiede im Kirchendienste nicht verwirrt werden.

Es ist nicht wünschenswert, Denominations-Streitigkeiten in Missionsgemeinden nach Afrika zu tragen, sondern daß die Geschwister als eine einheitliche, gläubige Gemeinschaft von Christen in Central-Afrika vor den Augen der Welt dastehen.

### XI. Eingeborene Arbeiter.

Da Orientalen u. Südländer selbst nachdem sie den Heiland gefunden haben, oftmals in vielen äußeren Dingen nicht das sind, was ein europäischer Missionar von ihnen erwartet, so haben die Missionare u. Missionarinnen sehr vorsichtig zu sein und nicht in leichter Weise den Stab über solche zu brechen, sondern es wird ihnen zur Pflicht gemacht, solch' schwache Kinder unseres Vaters mit umso größerer Liebe zu umgeben.

Eingeborene Missionsgehülfen dürfen deshalb auch nicht [10] von Missionaren vorschnell angestellt oder entlassen werden, sondern nur nach vorheriger Einholung einer Erlaubnis vom Afrika-Comité.

Wünscht ein Missionar noch einen besonderen persönlichen Gehülfen, der nicht für die allgemeine Missionsarbeit nötig ist, so hat er einen solchen aus eigenen Mitteln zu unterhalten.

Die Arbeit der eingeborenen Missionsgehülfen steht unter der Leitung des Africa-Comité's, doch muß dies zur Anstellung neuer Arbeiter die Sanctionierung des Vorstandes in der Heimat einholen.

### XII. Verhältnisse zu den Regierungen.

Die Missionsarbeiter haben sich von politischen Verwicklungen frei zu halten. Sie sollen nicht auf ihre Rechte trotzen, sondern nur im höchsten Notfall die Regierungen um Schutz anrufen. Sie sollen im Stande sein, den Verlust von irdischen Gütern freudig zu ertragen u. im äußersten Notfall bei Verfolgung dem Befehl des Heilandes Gehorsam leisten: „Wenn sie euch in einer Stadt verfolgen, so fliehet in eine andere“.

Nachdem ich obenstehende Organisation der S.P.M. durchgelesen u. im Gebet erwogen habe, bin ich bereit, sollte ich vom Vorstand der S.P.M. angenommen werden, freudig den in derselben enthaltenen Bedingungen nachzukommen.

## 11 Gustav Warneck: A Critique of New Missions

*Source: „Die neuen deutschen Missionsunternehmungen. Ernste Bedenken den Freunden derselben zur Prüfung vorgelegt“. In: Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 1901, pp. 181-184.*

*Gustav Warneck (1834–1910), the renowned professor of missiology at Halle University, held fast to his criticism of the SPM, even after the SPM's public response to Warneck's critical letter to Julius Dammann. The passage is taken from an article by Warneck in his missiological journal, voicing his concerns about "new mission agencies in Germany – Serious concerns presented to the friends of the same".*

*See Chapter 5.5, 5.7 and 7.*

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### **Die neuen deutschen Missionsunternehmungen.**

Ernste Bedenken den Freunden derselben zur Prüfung vorgelegt von dem Herausgeber.

Es war nicht meine Absicht, jetzt schon über die neusten deutschen Missionsunternehmungen vor der Öffentlichkeit das Wort zu ergreifen; aber nachdem private Verhandlungen erfolglos geblieben und vermehrte mündliche und schriftliche Anfragen an mich ergangen sind, welche die [181] Beunruhigung konstatieren, die gerade in missionslebendigen Kreisen durch mehrere dieser Unternehmungen hervorgerufen worden ist, ist es mir zur Gewissenssache geworden, meinen Bedenken öffentlich Ausdruck zu geben ...

[184]

Unter den neuen Missionen befinden sich 4, die in den Bahnen der China-Inland- bzw. Allianzmissionen gehen und 3, die sich als Mohammedanermisionen bezeichnen. Sofort wieder welche Zerklüftung! Warum vier besondere China- und drei Mohammedanermisionen? Warum vereinigen sich diese beiden Gruppen nicht wenigstens in 2 Hauptkörper? Darum nicht, weil sie, von der Chrischona und von dem Hamburger Zweige der China-Inlandmission abgesehen, Gründungen einzelner Männer sind, die ganz den Personencharakter tragen, nämlich des schwedischen Evangelisten Franson (A.M.-Z.1897, 29ff.) bzw. des Kaufmanns Polnick in Barmen, des Pastor Witt, des Dr. Lepsius und der Herren Kumm und Amirchanjanz.

Was zunächst die beiden zuletzt genannten betrifft, so sind sie Fremdlinge in Deutschland, die wir nicht kennen und die unter uns keine Wurzeln geschlagen haben. Herr Kumm, der durch seine lebenswürdige Beredtsamkeit viele bezaubert, ist allerdings ein geborener Deutscher, aber in Deutschland völlig unbekannt. Er ist von England gekommen, der Gemahl einer Tochter von Grattan Guinneß, eines sehr eifrigen, aber überaus unruhigen, immer zu neuen Unternehmungen hastenden und der missionarischen Sophrosyne entbehrenden Mannes, der für seine wechselnden Projekte, wie es scheint, in England nicht mehr die nötige Unterstützung findet. Mit ihm hat Herr Kumm besonders die deutschen Gemeinschaftskreise besucht und ganz nach englischer Art sie für ein ihnen völlig fremdartiges, gewagtes Unternehmen, eine „Sudan-Pioniermission“, zu gewinnen unternommen, über welche sich ein selbständiges Urteil zu bilden schwerlich viele unter uns befähigt sind. Der erste Sendbote, der bisherige Stadtmissionar Kupfernagel, ist bereits abgeordnet worden. Das Programm dieser Mission, dessen detaillierte Kritik mich zu weit führen würde, läßt – von seiner Rhetorik ganz abgesehen – missionsmethodische Sachkunde und Nüchternheit durchaus vermissen. Bis jetzt sind alle Sudanmissionsunternehmungen gescheitert,

selbst die gut organisierten der großen englischen Kirchenmissionsgesellschaft. Wie es scheint ist die Stunde für eine erfolgreiche Sudanmission noch nicht gekommen. Aber wenn sie auch gekommen wäre – Deutschland hat nicht die Verpflichtung, eine Sudanmission zu unternehmen. Alle Führungen Gottes weisen dieses Werk England und zwar einer dortigen großen Missions-[185] gesellschaft zu. Kein Mensch hätte in Deutschland an eine Sudan-Pionier-mission gedacht, hätte nicht der Schwiegersohn des Herrn Guineß diesen Gedanken aus England importiert.

Die zweite der neugeplanten Mohammedanermisionen, die sich allerdings noch völlig im Stadium des bloßen Projekts befindet, ist noch mehr wie die des Herrn Kumm <sup>1)</sup> ganz an eine einzelne Persönlichkeit geschlossen,...

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<sup>1)</sup> Allerdings war der erste Aufruf zu der Sudan-Pioniermission unterzeichnet: „die Zentrale der Sudan-Pioniermission Eisenach“ und als „Referenten“ die Herren P. Damman, Erbgraf v. Pückler-Limpurg, A. Vischer-Sarasin und Prof. Barth (die beiden letzten Schweizer) genannt. Wie mir bestimmt mitgeteilt worden ist, hat Herr Vischer seine Unterschrift zurückgezogen. Später ist die Rede von einem „Vorstand“ der Sudan-Pioniermission; die mir zugänglich gewesen Quellen sagen aber nicht, von wem er gebildet wird. Herr Kumm führt den Titel „Reiseseekretär“.

## 12 The Dismissal of Karl Kumm

*Source: Hohenlohe: Material zu einer Geschichte der Sudan-Pionier-Mission, p. 13 (EMO Archives).*

*The letters of Pastor Theodor Ziemendorff (1837–1912), the chairman of the SPM board, give the perspective of the board on the events which led to the dismissal of the mission's founder, Karl Kumm. Together with the interleaving comments by the chronicler Hohenlohe, they reveal what went on behind the scenes. These letters have been lost since, which makes the document by Hohenlohe the more valuable, despite her bias against Kumm.*

*The second document continues where the letters stop. The SPM Minutes of October 2, 1902 record the proceedings of the board meeting in dismissing Karl Kumm.*

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Wiesbaden 18. September 1902

An Herrn K. Kumm

Zu Cliffhause, Scheffield, England

Auf das vom Pfarrer Wittekindt im Auftrage des Vorstandes der Sudan-Pionier-Mission verfasste und vom Vorstande unterzeichnete Schreiben, das Ihnen vom Pfarrer Dammann in Eisenach übergeben wurde, ist von Ihrer Seite keine Antwort erfolgt, als dass in Ihrem Schreiben an den Vorsitzenden des Vorstandes Sie Ihren weiteren Dienst als Reisesekretär der Sudan-Pionier-Mission davon abhängig machen, dass der Vorstand sich zu einem „entschiedenen“ Vorgehen in Sachen dieser Mission entschliessen würde.

Wir können dies nicht anders auffassen, als dass Sie es ablehnen, auf unsere Beanstandung Ihrer bisherigen Art der Arbeit und unsere brüderliche Mahnung einzugehen, vielmehr von uns fordern, sich Ihrer Auffassung von der Missionsarbeit anzuschliessen.

Zu unserem grossen Bedauern sahen wir uns daher genötigt, zu erklären, dass wir Sie ferner nicht mehr als Mitarbeiter und Sekretär der Sudan-Pionier-Mission anerkennen und ansehen können, und dass wir diesen unseren Beschluss in dem Blatte Sudan-Pionier den Freunden unserer Mission mitteilen werden.

Wir wollen Ihnen auch nicht verschweigen, dass auch der Umstand es uns unmöglich macht, Sie ferner als unseren Mitarbeiter anzuerkennen, dass nach authentischen Nachrichten gewisse Vorgänge Ihres früheren Lebens in England sowohl als in Egypten ganz anders aufgefasst worden sind und noch aufgefasst werden, als dieselben uns von Ihnen seiner Zeit dargestellt worden sind.

Mit dem herzlichsten Wunsch, dass der Herr Sie in alle Wahrheit leiten und Sie noch brauchbar machen wolle in Seinem Dienste:

Ziemendorff  
Vorsitzender.

[Hohenlohe comments:]

Der beigegefügte Brief an Kumm ist nicht abgegangen, da Dammann sich von einer mündlichen Aussprache mit Kumm ein Scheiden in Frieden versprach. Ueber die Sitzung vom 2. Oktober 1902 in Cassel berichtet das Protokoll:

Pfarrer Wittekindt hat den ihm erteilten Auftrage gemäss an Herrn Kumm geschrieben. Dieser hat dem Vorstande keine Antwort gegeben, sondern sich nur auf die Mitteilung

beschränkt, er könne nicht schriftlich auf diese einzelnen Erinnerungen erwidern. Stattdessen hat er, ohne den Brief zu berücksichtigen, dem Vorsitzenden mitgeteilt, die Leitung von Cliff sei ihm angeboten. Er würde aber dieses Anerbieten ausschlagen, wenn der Vorstand mit Entschiedenheit in der Sache der Sudan-Mission voran gehe und würde dann der deutschen Arbeit seine Kräfte weiter zur Verfügung stellen. Ohne eine Antwort des Vorstandes abzuwarten, teilte er demselben mit, dass er sich entschieden habe, Cliff abzulehnen, da er der deutschen Sudan-Mission angehöre. Etliche Tage vor der Sitzung hat er die Brüder Ziemendorff und Wittekindt aufgesucht und vor ihnen, ohne auf die einzelnen Punkte einzugehen, zugegeben, dass er manche Fehler gemacht habe und sich darüber beuge. Heute wurde ihm nur in Bezug darauf folgendes erklärt: er genieße nicht mehr das Vertrauen des Vorstandes und auch weiterer Hilfskreise. Nach seiner bisherigen Tätigkeit und seinem Rufe, den er aus früherer Zeit in Egypten habe, sei es dem Vorstande unmöglich, weiter mit ihm zusammen zu arbeiten. Er versuchte sich zu rechtfertigen, aber seine Darlegungen genügten dem Vorstande nicht und dieser konnte sich nicht von einer Sinnesänderung und Beugung Kumms überzeugen, sondern ihn schliesslich nur den Rat geben, in die Stille sich zurückzuziehen und sich von dem Herrn zubereiten zu lassen, bis er von diesem in die Arbeit gerufen würde. Es wurde beschlossen, in unserem Organ demgemäss zu veröffentlichen, dass Herr Kumm aus dem Vorstande und aus seiner Stellung als Reisesekretär in unserer Mission ausgeschieden sei.

Wiesbaden, 18. September 1902

Hiebei das Schreiben, dass ich an Herrn Kumm zu senden zur Unterschrift vorschlage.

Die Entscheidung, welche die Brüder nach dem letzten Zirkular, das mir zugegangen, geben: „Herr Kumm solle selbst entscheiden, ob er Cliff oder das Sekretariat bei uns wählen wolle“ erscheint nach dem weiteren Verlauf der Sache und nach dem hartnäckigen Schweigen des Herrn Kumm auf unseren (von Wittekindt verfassten brüderlichen) Brief nicht möglich, wenn wir uns nicht selbst in den Augen des jungen Mannes degradieren wollen. Ausserdem ist auch Frau Kumm durch meine Frau auf ihre Anfrage eingehend von dem unterrichtet worden, was wir durch Bruder Wittekindt von ihm verlangten und auch darauf hat Kumm kein Lebenszeichen von sich gegeben.

Die erwähnten authentischen Nachrichten bestehen in einem Briefe des Dr. Glenny der in Vertretung des auswärtigen Sekretärs der Nord-Afrika-Mission Dr. Terry mir schrieb, dass allerdings Herr Kumm ohne Kündigung aus der Missionarsstellung ausgeschieden sei, als er Miss Guinness heiraten wollte und nennt auch die junge Dame Kumms erste Verlobte mit dem Bemerkung, dass Ihnen diese Auflösung des Verlöbnisses von Seiten Kumms nicht ehrenhaft erschienen wäre; Sie aber nicht darauf hätten eingehen wollen, da Kumms Stellung zu ihnen aufgehört hatte.

Bitte nun die Brüder mir ihre etwaigen Wünsche in Bezug auf den Brief mitteilen oder denselben unterschreiben zu wollen. Um schnelle Erledigung bitte ich freundlichst.

Mit herzlichem Gruss  
Ziemendorff

**The Dismissal of Kumm: Minutes of the Board Meeting on October 2, 1902**

Cassel 2 Oktob. 1902

Gegenwärtig: Herr Pf. Sartorius, Wittekindt, Herr Ulrich, Herr Missionar Kupfernagel Ziemendorff. Anfang 5 Uhr Herr Kumm.

Pfarrer Wittekindt hat den ihm erteilten Auftrag gemäß an Herrn Kumm geschrieben. Dieser hat d. Vorstand keine Antwort gegeben, sond. sich nur auf d. Mitteilung beschränkt, er könne nichts schriftlich auf d. einzelnen Erinnerungen erwiedern. Stattdessen hatte er, ohne d. Brief zu berücksichtigen d. Vorsitzenden mitgeteilt, die Leitung von Cliff sei ihm angeboten, er würde aber dieses Anerbieten ausschlagen, wenn der Vorstand mit [48] Entschiedenheit in der Sache der Sudan Miss. voranginge und würde dann der deutschen Arbeit seine Kräfte weiter zur Verfügung stellen. Ohne Antwort des Vorstandes abzuwarten teilte er demselben mit, daß er sich entschieden habe Cliff abzulehnen da er der dtsh. Sudan Miss. angehöre Etliche Tage vor der Sitzung hat er die Brd. Ziemendorff u. Wittekindt aufgesucht und ihnen ohne auf die einzelnen Punkte einzugehen zugegeben, daß er manche Fehler gemacht habe und sich darüber beuge. Heute wurde ihm nur in Bezug darauf folgendes erklärt: Er genieße nicht mehr das Vertrauen des Vorstandes und auch weiterer Hilfskreise. Nach sr. bisherigen Tätigkeit u. sm. Rufe, den er aus früherer Zeit in Egypten habe, sei es dem Vorstande unmöglich weiter mit ihm zusammen zuarbeiten. Er versuchte sich zu rechtfertigen, aber s. Darlegungen genügten dem Vorstande nicht, u. dieser konnte sich nicht von einer Sinnesänderung u. Beugung Kumms überzeugen; sond. ihm schließlich nur den Rat geben in die Stille sich zurückzuziehen u. sich von dem Herrn zubereiten zu lassen, bis er von diesem in die Arbeit gerufen würde. Es wurde beschlossen in uns. Organ demgemäß zu veröffentl., daß Herr Kumm aus dem Vorstand u. aus s. Stellung als Reisesekretär in uns. Miss. ausgeschieden sei.

[Gez.] Kupfernagel. Ziemendorff. Sartorius.

Wittekindt Dammann Ulrich

### 13 The SPM Women's Branch

*The SPM women's branch is first reported of in „Nachrichten aus der Centrale“, in: Der Sudan Pionier, January 1901, No. 3/4, p. 38.*

*Some early background is reported exclusively by Hohenlohe: Material zu einer Geschichte der Sudan-Pionier-Mission, p. 2 (EMO Archives).*

*As a sample of the activities of the women's board, the only preserved minutes of the women's board are reproduced: „Abschrift des Protokolls der Sitzung des Frauenkomittes am 4/6. 04“, loose insert in SPM Minute Book (EMO Archives).*

*See Chapters 5.5 and 7.2.2.*

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#### **Nachrichten aus der Centrale**

In Wiesbaden hat sich ein Vorstand von Damen gebildet. Derselbe will den Frauenzweig aus der Sudan-Pionier-Mission unterstützen. Daß Frauenarbeit auf dem Missionsfeld notwendig und wichtig ist, bedarf an dieser Stelle keiner Erörterung; hat doch in den mohammedanischen Ländern nur die Frau Zutritt zu ihren Mitschwestern, für deren trauriges Los bei uns leider nicht immer die gebührende Teilnahme empfunden wird. Auskunft über diesen Zweig der Arbeit erteilt auf Wunsch gerne die Sekretärin des Frauenzweiges der Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Wiesbaden. Gläubige Jungfrauen finden behufs Ausbildung eventuell Aufnahme im Marienhaus in Wiesbaden (Emserstraße), wo sich bereits eine Schwester für den Missionsdienst im Sudan vorbereitet. – Der Vorstand des Frauenzweiges der Sudan-Pionier-Mission besteht aus den Damen: Frau P. Ziemendorff, Präsidentin; Fr. Ziemendorff, Fr. von Hahn, Schatzmeisterin; Frau P. Dammann; Frau Kumm; Prinzessin Anna Luise zur Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, Sekretärin.

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#### **The SPM Women's Branch: A Description by Hohenlohe**

Im November 1900 wird der Frauenzweig gegründet mit selbständiger Kasse, die aber häufig der Hauptkasse aushilft. Die Kompetenzen des Frauenzweiges sind nicht klar festgelegt. Mitglieder sind: Frau Pfarrer Ziemendorff, Fräulein von Hahn, Frau Pfarrer Dammann, Frau Kumm, Fräulein Ziemendorff, Prinzessin Hohenlohe. Die gesonderte Kasse erweist sich später als untunlich, aber durch die Abrechnung mit Eisenach kam die Unordnung dort mit zu Tage. Die selbständige Stellung des Frauenzweig-Vorstandes neben dem eigentlichen Vorstand führte nur deshalb zu keinen Schwierigkeiten weil der Frauenzweig in engster, persönlicher Föhlung mit Pfarrer Ziemendorff arbeitete und zu seinen hauptsächlichen Mitarbeitern wurde. Das Bestehen des Frauenzweiges gab Anlass zu häufigen Angriffen und auch mancherlei Spott, da die gleichberechtigte Mitarbeit der Frau in den älteren deutschen Missionsgesellschaften bekämpft wurde. Von 1902 an darf ein Mitglied des Frauenzweiges an den Sitzungen des allgemeinen Vorstandes teilnehmen. Auch im Vorstand der Sudan-Pionier-Mission stieß Pfarrer Ziemendorffs Wunsch, dass Glieder des Frauenzweiges vollberechtigte Vorstandsmitglieder wurden, durch Jahre bei einigen Herren (Wittekindt und Sartorius) auf Widerstand, weil das nicht „biblisch“ sei. Die Damen nahmen an den Sitzungen Teil, arbeiteten dabei mit, aber nach aussen durfte das nicht durch Aufnahme in den Vorstand in Erscheinung treten, ja, sie wurden anfangs sogar nicht in der Präsenzliste des Protokolls genannt.

### Insert into the SPM Minute Book

Abschrift des Protokolls der Sitzung des Frauenkomittes am 4/6. 04.

Anwesend: Frau Pf. Ziemendorff  
Frl. v. Zitzewitz  
Prß. Hohenlohe  
Frl. v. Hahn  
Frl. Ziemendorff.

Es wird einstimmig hinzugewählt Frl. v. Massenbach u. gleich mit dazugerufen.

Es wird beschlossen, regelmäßig alle 4 Wochen eine Besprechung des Frauenkomittes zu haben, immer am Vormittag der monatlichen Hilfsbundversammlung. Prß. Hohenlohe wird zur stellvertretenden Vorsitzenden gewählt und legt das Amt der Sekretärin nieder.— die Korrespondenz soll gegenseitig verteilt werden. Frl. Ziemendorff übermittelt die mögliche [?] Sitzungsordnung. [2]

Anfang mit Gebet.

Tagesordnung: 1.) Einrichtung der Häuser  
2.) Wäscheausstattung d. Missionare  
3.) Aussendung d. Schwestern  
4.) Zuwahl v. Frl. Rappard ins Komitee.

1.) Inneneinrichtung der Häuser.—

Liste des Assuaner Inventars soll zur Revision an Sr. Kupfernagel gesandt u. angefragt werden ob v. H. Kumm noch Sachen vorhanden. Verzeichnis von Samuels Sachen.—Es wird geplant die Etablierung von:

2 Zimmern f. Dr. Schacht ( Hospiz)  
1 " f. Zimmerlin & Enderlin  
1 " " 2 Schwestern  
1 Eß. Und Wohnstube  
2 Zimmer Hospiz ( 3 Betten).

2.) Wäscheausstattung der Missionare nach Basler Angaben. Jede einzelne Ausstattung bleibt Missions- [3]eigentum, wird aber vorläufig für die Betroffenen eingezeichnet.

3.) Die von Dr. Schacht angebotene Schwester wird abgelehnt. Beschlossen wird ein „Antrag“ an das Darmstädter Diakonissenhaus, ob Frl. Willi Martens überlassen werden könnte für Assuan als Hausmutter & Oberschwester. Im Falle einer Absage wird dann [?] Schw. Elise Wolf in Heidelberg angefragt. Frl. Gonnermanns Ausstattung wird nach Angaben von Frau Missionar Eckhard genehmigt und die Kosten ganz von der Missionskasse bewilligt. Frl. Gonnermann soll wenn möglich vom 1 Juli ab 4-6 Wochen pflegen helfen auf der Frauenstation des Krankenhauses [?] in Wiesbaden.

4.) An Frl. Rappard soll noch ein offizieller Antrag gerichtet werden. [4]

Weitere Ausstattung wird später beschlossen.—

Nächste Sitzung 4 Juli.

## 14 Theodor Ziemendorff: Curriculum Vitae

*Sources: "Einige Notizen über den Lebensgang von Pfr. Th. Ziemendorff". (EMO Archives). Pfr. Schüßler: "Zum Gedächtnis Pfarrer Theodor Ziemendorffs". In: Kirchenbote für die evangelischen Gemeinden Wiesbadens. 9 (April 1912), pp. 2f; May 1912, pp. 1f.*

*The first curriculum vitae of Theodor Ziemendorff (1837–1912), the first chairman of the SPM, gives some insight into his and his wife's multiple Christian activities in Wiesbaden. It was written by a third party, and unfortunately is incomplete.*

*The second document was published in the church bulletin for Wiesbaden by a Junior Pastor who had worked together with Ziemendorff. He gives a complete CV and honors Ziemendorff's personality and activities.*

*See Chapter 5.4.*

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### Einige Notizen über den Lebensgang von Pfr. Th. Ziemendorff

Geboren am 19. Mai 1837 als Sohn des Mittelschullehrers Z. an der Parochialkirchenschule in Berlin.

Statt einer Künstlerlaufbahn, für die er das Zeug gehabt hätte, wählte er bewußt das Theologiestudium in Berlin. Nach dem ersten Examen lernte er als Hauslehrer bei seinem zukünftigen Schwager Herrn Quast von Radensleben seine Frau, die Tochter des verstorbenen General von Diest kennen.

Nach der Ordination 1865 wurde er Hilfsprediger im Nachbargut von Radensleben, Waekar, bei dem alten Pfarrer Licht einem „der aufrichtigsten Freunde und Förderer der Gossner Mission“, dem er viel verdankt. „Dort ist ihm die Mission zuerst als das große wichtige Gotteswerk, das jeden Christen angeht, nahe getreten. Hier hat er die ersten großen Missionsfeste miterlebt und Monat für Monat mit viel Eifer die vielen Tausenden von Missionsblättchen vom ‚Kleinen Sammler‘ den Licht herausgab gepackt und versandt“ [4] Frl. von Diest war zwischenzeitlich als Probeschwester in das Berliner Diakonissenhaus Bethanien eingetreten um Diakonisse zu werden. Als herausragende Persönlichkeit, die auch dem Leiter zu widersprechen wagte, sollte sie gleich zur Probemeisterin gemacht werden, doch im Winter 1865/66 verlobte sie sich mit Ziemendorff. Sie hat Zeit lebens für die Diakonissensache eine warme Liebe und viel Verständnis bewahrt, „aber immer betont, daß die Grösse der Häuser die Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit ... zu sehr hemme und die so notwendige Erziehung zur Selbständigkeit und Innerlichkeit unterbände.“ Aufgrund ihrer zarten Gesundheit hätte sie nicht Diakonisse werden können.

Nach ihrer Hochzeit 8. Juli 1866 machten sie sich auf die sechswöchige Hochzeitsreise nach Dresden, er als Feldgeistlicher und sie als Kriegsdiakonisse in den Lazaretten. „Dieser Anfang war typisch für die ganze Ehe“

Anschließend wurde Ziemendorff zweiter Pfarrer und zugleich Rektor des Gymnasiums in der kleinen märkischen Kreisstadt Cremen, wo 1867 ihre Tochter Hanna geboren wurde.

1869 bewarb sich Ziemendorff auf die Caplanstelle als Nachmittagsprediger in Wiesbaden, wo es ihm daran lag sich möglichst persönlich und lebendig in das Leben der Gemeinde einzubringen. Das erste was er neben der sonntägliche Predigt anfang war die wöchentliche Bibelstunde in einem Schullokal, „eine vollkommene Neuerung in Wiesbaden“. So warnte ihn sein wohlgesonnener Dekan Ohly „dabei singen zu lassen, da sonst die Fensterscheiben eingeworfen würden, weil man es für ‚katholisch‘ ansehen würde“.

1870 wurde nicht nur der Sohn W. geboren, sondern auch der Basler Missionsverein in Wiesbaden gegründet. „von da ab bis Ende der neunziger Jahre waren die Basler zu Hause im Ziemendorff'schen Hause“: Strobel, Schrenk, Tumm, Flad u.v.a.m. laut Gästebuch. Es war der Lieblingszweig ihrer Arbeit.

Auf Bitte eines jungen Mädchens wurde eine von anderer Seite begonnene und wieder eingegangene Sonntagsschule wieder aufgenommen, die damals aber nicht in der Kirche gehalten werden durfte. Hier wuchs ein Stamm an Gemeindegliedern heran. Dann rief Ziemendorff die Stadtmission in Leben, die nach dem Vorbild der Sievekingschen Armenpflege durch freiwillige Kräfte betrieben wurde. Das Ehepaar Ziemendorff stand dem Frauen-Verein sehr nahe und Frau Ziemendorff hat die Suppenküche eingerichtet und lange Zeit unter sich [2] gehabt. Auch zu den Pfarrerkollegen hatte Z. trotz oft tiefgehender prinzipieller Differenzen, ein freundliches Verhältnis, so daß selbst in der Zeit als in der Kirchenvertretung gegen „den norddeutschen, orthodoxen Eindringling“ Sturm gelaufen wurde, auch die liberalen Pfarrer in sein Haus kamen.

1873 kauften Z.[Ziemendorffs] ein eigenes Haus, Emserstr.12. In diese Zeit fallen die Anfänge des Vereinshauses und „Herberge zur Heimat“: Planen und Sammeln zum Grundstückskauf. Es war jedoch eine Krisenzeit: Frau Z. und ihr Sohn waren viel krank, sie erlitten große Vermögensverluste und Kampf in der Gemeinde. So wollte Z. lieber sein Amt niederlegen und Maler werden, als „weiter eine Botschaft (zu) verkündigen, deren Kraft ihm selber unzugänglich war“. Er folgte einer Einladung nach Brighton, England September 1876 und kehrte als ein anderer zurück, dem „der lebendige Gott als sein Gott und Heiland begegnet“ ist. Seine Gemeinde merkte, daß er aus neuer Kraft und neuem Auftrag heraus an seine Arbeit ging.

Das Ehepaar Ziemendorff waren Leiter und Seele einer kleinen Schar von Personen, die ein Vereinshaus bauen wollten, um den Bibelstunden, Sonntagsschule und dem Jungfrauenverein der Prinzessin Schaumburg Lippe u.a. ein Quartier zu geben. Den Vorstand ließ Z. einem Freunde zukommen, übernahm aber als es nötig wurde die Verantwortung für die Finanzierung und Ausführung des Baus. Dort begannen dann die sonntäglichen Bibelstunden an, die außerordentlich gut besucht waren, weil „nichts anderes in der Stadt an geistlicher Nahrung geboten wurde“.

Im Herbst lud Z. den Evangelisten Schrenk nach Wiesbaden ein. Für vieles wurde Z. angefeindet, was später Allgemeingut „der ev.gläubigen Kirche Deutschlands“ wurde: gemeinsame Schriftbetrachtung, Mitarbeit (von Laien) in der Seelsorge, gemeinsames Gebet, Allianzwoche, Evangelisation, etc. Nach einer zweiten Evangelisation mit Schrenk kamen 6 zum Glauben erweckte Männer zu Ziemendorff „und fragten ihn ob er ihr Leiter werden wolle andernfalls wären sie entschlossen sich allein zu constituieren oder sich den damals sehr ernst arbeitenden Methodisten anzuschließen“. So nahm Z. den Verein junger Männer auf.

### Zum Gedächtnis Pfarrer Theodor Ziemendorffs.

Am 28. Februar ist Pfarrer Ziemendorff auf der Rückkehr von Assuan in Fairhaven im fernen Ägypten im Frieden heimgegangen. Schon im Herbst war seine Gesundheit schwer erschüttert worden, sodaß wir fürchten mußten, er würde die Beschwerden der Winterzeit vielleicht nicht überstehen. Trotzdem zog es ihn noch einmal hinaus zu den Arbeitsstätten des Missionswerks, dem er seit der Niederlegung seines Pfarramts hauptsächlich seine letzte Kraft gewidmet hat. Nur wenige Wochen konnte er draußen unter den Seinen weilen, da nötigte ihn die zunehmende Schwachheit, das für ihn günstigere Klima an der Küste aufzusuchen, wo er nach wenigen Tagen schon unter der Pflege seiner Tochter in christlicher Umgebung entschlafen ist. Manche haben es mißbilligen wollen, daß er in seinem hohen Alter und mit angegriffener Gesundheit diese beschwerliche Reise noch gewagt hat. Wer sein inneres Leben näher kannte, wird verstehen, daß es einen schöneren Abschluß dieses Leben nicht geben konnte, und die kleine Schar von Pionieren, die dort draußen der Riesenmacht des Islam gegenübersteht in einem Kampf, der es ganz aufs Glauben und nicht aufs Schauen wagt, sie wird es ihm für immer danken, daß sie den zum Abschied aus dieser sichtbaren Welt bereiten Zeugen eines Glaubens, der nicht auf das Sichtbare sieht, sondern ganz in und aus der unsichtbaren ewigen Gotteswelt lebt, noch einmal in ihrer Mitte gehabt hat.

Wir an der Stätte seines Lebenswerkes Zurückbleibenden gedenken seiner nicht nur als des allzeit aufrichtig und treuerfundenen Rektors unseres Kollegiums, auch nicht nur als eines in mehr als 40 Jahren bewährten Seelsorgers und geistlichen Führers, dem viele nachtrauern, die ihm für ihr Leben und für die Ewigkeit das Beste verdanken. Seine eigenartige, unabhängige, ganz und einheitlich aus christlichem Lebensgrund erwachsene Persönlichkeit und die Bedeutung seines starken, tiefgreifenden Wirkens ragen über den gewöhnlichen Rahmen eines Pfarrerlebens und – dienstes weit hinaus. Davon zu schreiben, ist mir eine wehmütige Aufgabe und doch eine teure Dankespflicht. Ich erfülle sie in der Hoffnung, dadurch nicht nur den vielen treuen Freunden des Entschlafenen, sondern auch denen, die seine lautere Persönlichkeit nicht näher kannten, die sich in seine Art nicht finden konnten, die sich – meist wohl, ohne einmal näher zuzusehen – gegen seine Arbeit ablehnend verhalten haben, einen Dienst zu tun. Ich will versuchen, neben einem kurzen Lebenslauf meinen Eindruck von seiner Persönlichkeit und die Bedeutung seines Lebenswerks für die Gemeinde Wiesbaden darzustellen.

Z. wurde geboren am 19. Mai 1837 zu Berlin. Sein Vater war dort Mittelschullehrer. Als Mitkämpfer von 1813 schwer verwundet, hatte derselbe nach dem Kriege erst sich dem Lehrberufe zugewandt. Dem Sohne war der alte Parochialkirchhof bei der elterlichen Wohnung mitten im Treiben der Großstadt ein köstliches Stück Naturwelt, aus welchem her ihn ein Leben lang eine bei dem Großstadtkind überraschende feinsinnige Vertrautheit mit der Natur begleitet hat. Er besuchte mit seinen beiden Brüdern das Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster unter dem Direktorat des bekannten Philologen Kellermann. In der Parochialkirche wurde er konfirmiert vom Prediger Arndt, einer frommen aufrechten Persönlichkeit, deren feste männliche Haltung in den Verwirrungen der blutigen Märztage schon auf den Knaben einen bleibenden Eindruck machte. Früh schon trat seine künstlerische Beanlagung hervor. Den Zeichenunterricht der Schule, der übrigens der einzige seines Lebens blieb, überflügelte er bald weit, und es wundert uns nicht, daß nach bestandnem Abiturientenexamen neben der Theologie auch die Malerei als sein künftiger Beruf ihm ernstlich in Frage kam. Er hat die erstere gewählt, aber die Kunst ist ihm dabei eine freundliche Begleiterin geblieben. Seine Studienzeit verlebte er in Berlin im Elternhaus, ein fröhlicher Student und guter Kamerad, voll jugendlicher Kraft und herzwarmen Humors. Unter seinen Lehrern war es besonders Steinmeyer, von dem er später oft mit großer Wertschätzung sprach, während ihm der enge Dogmatismus eines Hengstenberg weder damals noch später je anziehend war.

Es war eine für sein Leben wichtige Entscheidung, daß er im Jahre 1864 als Hauslehrer nach Radensleben in der Mark in das Haus des Herrn von Quast kam, eines feinsinnigen Kunstkenner, des damaligen Konservators der Kunstdenkmäler in Preußen. Es war ein Haus voll edler Kunstfreude, dabei durchdrungen vom Geist des wiedererwachenden Glaubenslebens der damaligen Zeit. Dort lernte er die Gefährtin und uns unvergeßliche Gehilfin seines Lebens kennen in der Schwester der Hausfrau, der jüngsten Tochter des Generals von Diest, die nach dem Tode des Vaters dort ihr Heim und in der Miterziehung der zahlreichen Kinder des Hauses wie auch sonst in der Gemeinde ein reiche Aufgabe gefunden hatte. Die gemeinsame Arbeit an den Kindern und mancherlei vereinte Unternehmungen in der Gemeinde brachte die beiden einander innerlich nahe, die lebensvolle, feuergeistige, tatfrohe Frauenseele und die wahrhaftige und eigenwüchsige Persönlichkeit des Mannes. Doch zunächst führte ihr Weg beide auseinander. Z. wurde Hilfsprediger bei Pfarrer Licht, dem Freunde Knaks und tätigen Förderer der Goßnerschen Mission, während Frl. von Diest im Berliner Diakonissenhaus Bethanien in einen Dienst trat, dem freilich ihre zarte Gesundheit auf die Dauer nicht gewachsen war. Im Winter 1866 fand die Verlobung statt, am 8. Juli dieses Kriegsjahres die Hochzeit. Das Ziel ihrer Hochzeitsreise waren die Kriegslazarette von Dresden, wo er als Feldprediger, sie als Pflegerin an den Kranken- und Sterbebetten 6 Wochen ernster heißer Arbeit verlebten, – ein bezeichnender Anfang für ihr ganzes späteres gemeinsames Leben, eins zum Dienst, ihr häusliches, privates Leben immer selbstlos offen für andre, die ihrer bedurften.

Nach dreijähriger Tätigkeit als 2. Pfarrer und Rektor in Kremen bei Berlin übernahm Z. im Jahre 1869 eine Kaplanstelle in Wiesbaden. Sein Schwager v. Diest, der erste preußische Regierungspräsident in Nassau, der aber in demselben Jahre nach Danzig versetzt wurde, war keineswegs sehr erfreut von diesem Schritt, wie mir Z. oft erzählt hat. Er mochte nicht ohne Grund fürchten, daß sein Schwager als fremder Eindringling betrachtet werden und nur schwer Eingang finden würde. Unter den hiesigen Pfarrern war es besonders Ohln, der mit Verständnis und Freude die Bestrebungen des jüngeren Freundes begrüßte und förderte. Z. begann alsbald, neben der sonntäglichen Predigt durch Bibelstunden der Gemeinde das lebendige Gotteswort lieb zu machen. 1870 trat unter seinem Vorsitz der Basler Missionsverein ins Leben. Eine Sonntagsschule war schon Mitte der 60er Jahre von Kaplan Naumann angefangen worden, dann aber wieder eingeschlafen. Auf Bitten einer Helferin nahm Z. das Werk wieder auf, freilich unter mancherlei Schwierigkeiten. Lange hat die Sonntagsschule ohne eigenes Heim wandern müssen, von dem Saal eines Konservatoriums in eine Schusterwerkstatt in der Schachtstraße, von dort in die Schule an der Lehrstraße und dann in einen großen Vegnügungssaal. Aber ein rechter Segensquell ist sie geworden, besonders auch durch den um sie erwachenden Kreis treuer Mitarbeiter und Mitarbeiterinnen, die auch zu sonstigem Dienst in der Gemeinde eine wertvolle Hilfe wurden. Freiwillige Kräfte für eine Art Stadtmission und Armenpflege nach dem Vorbild Amalie Sievekings wurden gewonnen und in den Dienst gestellt. Unter tätiger Mitwirkung von Frau Pfr. Z. entstand die Suppenküche des Wiesbadener Frauenvereins. Es konnte nicht ausbleiben, daß diese ganze neuartige und ernste Wirksamkeit auch scharfem Widerspruch begegnete. Aber es ist sehr beachtenswert, daß auch die schärfsten Gegner der offenen, geraden und überzeugungstreuen Persönlichkeit Z.'s ihre Hochachtung wohl nie versagt haben. Ihm selbst sind diese Kampfzeiten nach [3] seiner ganzen persönlichen Veranlagung gewiß keine leichten Zeiten gewesen. Sie wurden noch erschwert durch allerlei Geschicke in der eigenen Familie und eine ernste Krisis in Z.'s persönlichen religiösen Leben. Aus diesen Verhältnissen heraus unternahm er im Jahre 1876 eine Reise zu einer Konferenz in England, die für seine ganze spätere Arbeit von nachhaltiger Wirkung gewesen ist.

Ende der 70 er Jahre wurde auf Z.'s Anregung begonnen mit der Gründung des Vereinshauses. Der Saal, den er auf eigene Verantwortung mit Hilfe seiner Freunde erbaute, bot der Sonntagsschule, der Bibelstunde, dem gesamten christlichen Vereinsleben endlich eine Heimstätte. Fast alles, was an Sammlung der Gemeindeglieder in Vereinen, an christlicher Pflege der Jugend, an Bestrebungen der Evangelisation und Gemeinschaftspflege hier entstanden ist – ich

erwähne besonders die jährliche Oktoberkonferenz zur Vertiefung des Glaubenslebens –, hat von dort seinen Ausgang genommen. – Ende der 80 er Jahre nahm Z. das durch Pfarrer Petsch und den Nassauischen Gefängnisverein gegründete Frauenasyl in das Hintergebäude seines Besitztums, das Lindenhaus, auf, aus welchem unter seiner Führung der Fürsorgeverein Lindenhaus mit seinen beiden Anstalten, der Lindenmühle bei Katzenelnbogen und dem Lindenhaus in der Walkmühlstraße, erwachsen ist. – Im Jahre 1891 übernahm Z. die Leitung des vom alten Männer- und Jünglingsverein sich abzweigenden Christlichen Vereins junger Männer und hat ihn durch lange Jahre und viel Mühe und Arbeit gepflegt bis zu seiner jetzigen erfreulichen Entfaltung. Ein Reichtum glaubensfrohen Wirkens bis zu dem letzten Werk seines Lebens, der Sudan-Pionier-Mission, auf deren Arbeitsfeld der treue Knecht nun seinen letzten Dienst getan hat und heimgegangen ist, wie 7 Jahre vor ihm seine für das innere Leben Wiesbadens so bedeutsame Gattin und Mitarbeiterin. Schübler.

[Schluß]

Nach dem im vorherigen Blatte gegebenen Lebenslaufe Pfarrer Ziemendorffs darf ich aufgrund einer fast 16-jährigen Zusammenarbeit es wagen, das Bild einer Persönlichkeit zu zeichnen, wie es sich mir immer gewinnender erschlossen und für immer tief eingepägt hat. Wer sich gegen ihn nicht ganz verschloß und ihm nicht überhaupt auswich, konnte ihm gegenüber nicht gleichgültig bleiben. Dazu war er zu sehr eine ganze und geschlossene Persönlichkeit. Und weil er nicht für sich selbst arbeitete, sondern der Sache Christi dienen und Ihm Seelen gewinnen wollte, lag es ihm stets am Herzen, solche, in denen er etwas von demselben Sinn vermutete, nicht zu Parteigenossen, aber zu Mitarbeitern zu gewinnen. Als junger Anfänger trat ich den damals 59 jährigen zuerst nahe, vom Elternhaus und der Heimat her selbst mit dem Geist ernstest gläubigen Christentum genährt, aber durch ein stark kritisches beeinflusstes Studium und auch durch die eigene persönliche Art gegen alle auch äußerlich stark hervorretrende „Christlichkeit“ scheu und kritisch gestimmt. Ich muß sagen, daß von Anfang an hier mich kaum etwas so stark angezogen hat wie die innige, selbstlose, hingebende Persönlichkeit Z.'s und seine weite und tiefe Auffassung des Dienstes. Trotzdem, oder vielmehr eben deshalb hat mir niemand soviel wie er innerlich zu schaffen gemacht in einem begreiflichen Widerstreit zwischen dem Eindruck seiner starken religiösen Persönlichkeit und dem Bestreben, die eigene, wenn auch sehr unfertige, Art zu behaupten und nicht in ein bloßes Mitmachen hineinzugeraten. Ich fürchte, ich habe ihm dadurch auch manche Not gemacht und seine freundliche Geduld auf starke Proben gestellt. Jedenfalls habe ich trotz der aggressiven und eindringlichen Art seines Wirkens von seiner Seite immer eine große Scheu und tiefe Achtung vor der Persönlichkeit des anderen und seiner Eigenart erfahren. Es eignete ihm überhaupt eine große Freude an jeder religiösen Originalität, an allem Echten und Urwüchsigen, auch wenn es mit Ecken, Auswüchsen und Schwächen behaftet war. Angesichts seines Zuges seines Wesens ist es mir immer seltsam erschienen, daß er vielen als der Ausbund aller engen Orthodorie galt, vor dem manche Wiesbadener, wie mir einmal einer sagte, „drei Kreuze machten“, – leider wohl, ohne sich ihn näher anzusehen.

Solcher Sinn für die Eigenart anderer war ihm dadurch möglich, daß er selbst eine so geschlossene, eigenwüchsige Persönlichkeit war. Vielleicht sind grade darum manche Fernerstehende seiner Person und Art in ihrem Verständnis so wenig gerecht geworden, weil er eben in kein Schubfach der üblichen Klassifizierung hineinpaßte. Er war nicht der orthodoxe Kirchenmann, den Fernstehende oft in ihm vermuteten. Dazu war er viel zu weit in der Auffassung seines Dienstes, viel zu sehr Persönlichkeitsmensch, viel zu sehr ein Freund neutestamentlich-urchristlicher Freiheit von Formen und Formeln. Er war auch nicht der Separatist und Sektierer, zu dem man ihn hat stempeln wollen. Dazu hatte er viel zu gesunde evangelisch-biblische Gedanken und eine viel zu große Scheu vor aller separatistischen Enge und sektiererischen Verschiebung des Schwerpunkts. Er war auch nicht der geschworene und abgestempelte Gemeinschaftsmann im landläufigen Sinne des Wortes. Die Mängel und

Einseitigkeiten dieser Bewegung waren ihm klar bewußt. Personenvergötterung und Abhängigkeit von Personen war ihm fremd und bedenklich. Gegen allen engen, versauerten Pietismus im üblen Sinne des Wortes hat er stets eine tiefe Abneigung gehabt. Sein Sinn war voll freier Freude am Schönen in Natur und Kunst, voll schlichter Natürlichkeit und gemütvollen Humors, der sich auch wohl in Freimütigen, kräftigen, aber nie in unedlen Worten ausbrach. Er war eben er selbst. Eine große innere Unabhängigkeit war ein hervortrender Zug seines Wesens. Wie ist er all die lange Zeit sicher und unbeirrt hindurchgegangen durch Widerstand und Verkennung, auch durch Abirrungen auf Seiten der eigenen Freunde! Als ihm in früheren Zeiten der Kämpfe ein angesehenes Kirchenvorstandsmitglied, mit dem ihn übrigens zeitlebens Bande der Hochachtung und des Vertrauens verbunden haben, in der Sitzung sagte, er begreife nicht, wie Leute seiner Art sich einer in ihrer Mehrheit ganz anders gerichteten Gemeinde länger aufdrängen könnten, und daß ihm sein Ehrgefühl nicht gebiete, sich ein anderes Arbeitsfeld zu suchen, gab Z. die bezeichnende Antwort, er habe seinen Auftrag im letzten Grunde nicht von Menschen, sondern von seinem Herrn, und sobald er sähe, daß seine Verkündigung des Evangeliums keine Hörer mehr finde, wolle er bereitwillig weichen. Während sonst in der Welt viele mit lautem Heldengeschrei doch nur offenen Türen einrennen und mit großen Worten von Kampf und Freiheit doch nur schön sicher und bequem mit dem großen Strome schwimmen, [2]ist er mit starker innerer Unabhängigkeit still, gelassen und ohnen viel Wesens daraus zu machen gegen den Strom geschwommen, ein hartes Stück Arbeit, vor dem auch der Andersgesinnte immer wieder Hochachtung haben wird.

Diese innere Unabhängigkeit hatte bei ihm ihren Grund nicht in dem Bewußtsein einer besonderen Tüchtigkeit, sondern darin, daß er tief davon durchdrungen war, wirklich einen Auftrag von Gott zu haben, wirklich etwas zu haben, was ihn nicht mehr untätig ruhen ließ, was er weitergeben mußte. Seine Predigt war kein bloßes Stück Redekunst, keine oratorische Leistung, aber sie war das lebendige, wirkungsvolle Zeugnis einer in Gott lebenden Persönlichkeit. „Die Freude an dem Herrn ist eure Stärke“, dies Wort war seine Losung, der Ausdruck dessen, was ihn in allem getrieben hat. Die Welt des Glaubens war ihm volle, das ganze Leben durchdringende Wirklichkeit. Es war bei ihm, als brauche er sich nie erst mühsam darauf zu besinnen, die Dinge dieses Lebens im Lichte des Glaubens anzusehen und nicht am Äußerlichen, Kleinlichen und Vergänglichen hängen zu bleiben. Er lebte in diesem Licht, atmete in der Luft des Glaubens, der auf das Unsichtbare sieht und die Welt überwunden hat. So blieb er trotz allem in innerem Frieden und ging frei von persönlichem Eifer demütig und gehorsam seinen Weg.

Daher wurde sein Leben ein einziges, aus einer Wurzel erwachsendes Ganzes: dem Herrn Christus dienen mit dem Wort, mit den Diensten der Liebe hier und draußen in der Heidenwelt, alles die eine selbe Sache, immer gehorsam bereit, zuzugreifen und zu gehen, wohin er gewiesen ward, ohne engherzige Sorgen, daß die neue Aufgabe den alten etwas wegnehmen möchte. – So war sein Leben nicht halb Amtsleben, halb Privatleben, sein ganzes Leben war Dienst. Wenn er einen aufforderte, mit ihm anzugreifen, so konnte einem doch nie der Gedanke kommen, das er es um seinetwillen tat, um es sich leichter zu machen oder einer unangenehmen Aufgabe sich zu entziehen. Ihm gegenüber konnte kein Gedanke daran aufkommen, daß er den Gewinn oder die eigene Ehre suche. Darum ist er auch bewahrt geblieben vor der bitteren Enttäuschung derer, die nacher erleben müssen, wie der ihnen einst so süße Beifall der Menschen sich anderen zuwendet. An seinem Leben ist etwas zu sehen von Jesu Wort: wer sein Leben verlieret um meinetwillen, der wird es finden. Sein Leben, sein Haus, alles hat er frei hingegeben in den ihm alles geltenden Dienst, und es ist ihm und vielen anderen lauter Segen daraus geworden. Kein Wunder, daß in solchem Leben die Kraft lag, andre anzuziehen und willig zu machen, zu geben, zu helfen, mitzuarbeiten.

Damit stehe ich bei dem letzten, wovon ich etwas zu sagen habe, bei der bleibenden Bedeutung der Wirksamkeit Pfr. Z. s für unsere Wiesbadener Gemeinde.

Ich kann es kurz sagen. Er hat unter uns Bahn gemacht für die Erkenntnis, daß es – bei aller Wertschätzung der Gemeindepredigt als Mittelpunkt des Gemeindelebens – in unserer Zeit nicht

mehr getan ist mit Sonntagspredigt und Amsthaltungen, daß das wirkliche Christentum mehr ist als eine hervorgebrachte Sitte und ein Stück ehrwürdiger Dekoration, daß vielmehr das Evangelium Menschen persönlich erfassen und mit ihrem ganzen Leben für Gott gewinnen will.

Er hat Bahn gebrochen für die christliche Pflege der heranwachsenden Jugend, für die Sammlung und Pflege der Gemeindeglieder in Vereinen, für die Bekämpfung öffentlicher sittlicher Notstände, wie z.B. durch das Frauenasyl, für die Millionen als ein großes Gotteswerk, das jeden Christen angeht. Durch ihn ist vielen Besitzenden Herz und Land aufgetan worden zu willigem, gesegnetem Geben. Durch seine Arbeit ist in viele, viele Familien geringer Leute christlicher Geist, in manches unbeachtete, arme Menschenleben Licht und Trost der Liebe Gottes getragen worden. Diese Wirksamkeit hat auch in sozialem Sinne mehr geleistet als manche Unternehmung, die heute laut als sozial gepriesen wird.

Endlich sei beachtet, wie die Arbeit dieses Mannes nie nur seine Arbeit war, sondern alsbald freiwillige, persönliche Kräfte aus der Gemeinde anzog und mit auf dem Plan rief zum Dienst an der Gemeinde. Ein reich gesegneter Geist tätiger, dienstbereiter Freiwilligkeit ist von diesem Wirken in unsere Gemeinde ausgegangen.

Es ist beim Rückblick für uns heute beschämend, zu sehen, wie so manche Bestrebung, die heute Allgemeingut geworden ist und von allen Seiten als dringend notwendig erkannt und gefordert wird, damals nur unter viel Widerstand und Mißachtung hier hat angebahnt werden können, auch Dinge, die heute unentbehrliche Einrichtungen eines evangelischen Gemeindelebens geworden ist. Man hat Z. vorgeworfen, daß er für die gemeindemäßige Ausgestaltung der Arbeit zu wenig Sinn gehabt habe. Wir wollen durch diesen Rückblick uns belehren lassen und, statt zu tadeln, uns lieber klar machen, was wohl, wenn er statt frei vorzugehen, hätte warten wollen, bis die Allgemeinheit diese ihre Aufgaben erkannt und aufgenommen haben würde, was dann wohl bis heute überhaupt davon verwirklicht worden wäre. Wir wollen ihm danken, daß ers frei gewagt und durchgehalten hat.

Mit diesem gesegneten Manne ist nicht nur eine ehrwürdige Gestalt aus vergangenen Tagen dahingegangen, sondern ein Mann, dessen Fehlen trotz seines hohen Alters von den Lebenden und in den Aufgaben der Gegenwart und Zukunft schwer empfunden wird, am schwersten von denen, die sich für die von ihm begonnenen und hinterlassenen Arbeiten mitverantwortlich fühlen. Ihn ersetzen kann kein Mensch. Eine Persönlichkeit kann man nicht nachmachen. Die Menschen kommen und gehen, aber der Herr bleibt und führt seine Sache selbst. Es kommen neue Menschen, neue Zeiten, auch neue Wege und Weisen. Aber wir Weiterarbeitenden werden beim ernstesten Anschauen der Aufgaben der Gegenwart und Zukunft gut tun, immer dankbar zurückzublicken auf dieses nun vollendete Christenleben, und dieser Rückblick wird uns werden eine Mahnung zur Innerlichkeit, ein Blick in das Eine, das all unsrer Arbeit nottut, damit ihr das Leben aus der Fülle des Lebens nicht verloren gehe.

Schübler

## 15 Johannes and Margarethe Kupfernagel: Self-presentation

*Johannes Kupfernagel (1866–1937) and Martha Kupfernagel (1869–1931) served with the SPM from 1900–1904, previously with the Gossner Mission (1891–1895), and afterwards with the Berlin Mission (1904–1907).*

*The friends of the SPM were informed in a four-page article about these first German missionaries of the SPM: „J. and M. Kupfernagel“ (SP No. 3/4, Jan. 1901, pp. 32–35). This is the major source concerning the interest of the SPM in the biography of this family. The article is based on information provided by the Kupfernagels, even though it is edited in the third person.*

*See Chapter 5.6.*

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### J. und M. Kupfernagel.

Beide stammen aus Häusern, wo früh in den Kindern das Missions-Interesse geweckt und gefördert wurde.

Johannes Kupfernagel wurde zu Anhalt-Schmidt (Kap-Kolonie, Süd-Afrika) als vierter Sohn des Missionskolonisten Kupfernagel am 25. Mai 1866 geboren. Die Eltern kehrten im Jahre 1870 nach 16- bzw. 10 jähr. Missionsdienste in die Heimat zurück. Nur wenige Jahre noch erfreuten sich die Kinder, deren Zahl auf acht angewachsen war, des Besitzes ihres Vaters; im Mai 1878 rief der Herr den müden Pilger vom langen und schweren Krankenbette heim. Mit der ganzen Kinderschar stand nun die Mutter allein da, der Älteste 16 Jahre, der Jüngste zwei ein halb Jahre alt, doch der Herr, der Vater der Waisen stand [33] als Helfer und Berater hinter der Mutter mit den Kindern und ließ den starken Glauben der Mutter in keiner Weise zu schanden werden; sie hat nun die Freude, daß alle ihre Kinder, bis auf einen Sohn, sich als Arbeiter im Weinberge Gottes befinden, bezw. die beiden Jüngsten in der Vorbereitung dazu stehen. Die Schul- und Jugendzeit verlief still bis auf den Punkt wo der Herr in das Leben des 16 ½ jährigen eingriff. Er und seine spätere Frau wurden beide von einem Diener des Herrn, ziemlich zu gleicher Zeit, erweckt und dem Herrn zugeführt.

Es war dies die Zeit, da das im Herzen schlummernde Verlangen dem Herrn unter den Heiden zu dienen zur alles bestimmenden Gewalt wurde. Zu diesem Zwecke trat er, da er noch zu jung war um in ein Missions-Seminar einzutreten, im Jahre 1884, um für den äußeren Dienst in der Heidenmission etwas zu gewinnen an praktischen Kenntnissen, in das Eisenbahn Regiment ein. Noch meinte er, daß er alles für Afrika sich aneignen wolle; denn Afrika, sein Geburtsland, war ihm immer theurer geworden durch die stets gepflegten Beziehungen zu dem Berliner Missionshause. Doch der Herr führte es alles anders, statt in jenes Haus einzutreten, führte er ihn durch einen älteren Bruder, der schon im Goßnerschen Missionhause war, in dieses hinein. Wunderbar war es in mancher Hinsicht, daß er, der jüngste von den damals sich Meldenden, aufgenommen wurde, und doch war auch dies im Rate des Herrn alles weislich geordnet. So trat er dann mit glühender Begeisterung für seine Arbeit und seinen Herrn, nach vielen inneren und äußeren Durchhilfen bei dem nicht leichten Dienste im Regiment 1886 in das Goßnersche Missionshaus ein und verblieb da bis zum Herbst 1890. Am achten September jenes Jahres wurde er in der St. Matthäuskirche zu Berlin mit noch einem Bruder, (dem Missionar Kaiser) abgeordnet um nach Ost-Indien zu gehen. Purulia in Maubhum war die erste Station, wo er mit dem altbewährten, treuen Bruder Assmann zusammen in der Gemeinde, Schule und Aussätzigen-Asyle arbeiten sollte. Letzteres besonders, das im frischen Aufblühen war mit seinen mehr als 200 Kranken, verschaffte ihm neben der Schule viel Arbeit aber auch viel Freude und Liebe. Hier konnten die praktischen Kenntnisse, die der

Aufenthalt im Eisenbahn-Regiment ihm gewährt hatte, im Dienste des Reiches Gottes angewendet werden. Ziegel-streichen und brennen, Mauern, Zimmern, alles dies wurde nun praktisch geübt, denn im Asyl mußten Häuser für die herbeiströmenden Kranken geschaffen werden. Dazu die väterlich, brüderlich, freundschaftliche Gemeinschaft mit dem ihm täglich theurer werdenden Bruder Ussmann, so war die Arbeit eine Freude. Nur mit Bedauern und doch auch wieder mit neuer Freude vernahm er den Befehl im Jahre 1893 eine Station neu zu bauen, von wo aus er den ausgewanderten Kols nachgehen sollte und auch die Verbindung zwischen den anderen Stationen herstellen sollte. Eine Freude war ihm aber noch weiter der Befehl, da er nun das Heim auch für seine Braut, Fräulein Heinzelmänn, einer Herrnhuterin, bei Gnadenfrei i. Schl. zu Hause, das Heim bauen sollte. Chakradhar pur hieß die neue Heimat. Am 15. Oktober 1893 legte der väterliche Freund und Bruder, Missionar Ussmann die Hände ihnen zusammen zum Bunde fürs Leben. Doch nur kurz war die [34] Freude, denn das Malariafieber nahm immer mehr zu und hinderte mit seinen schwächenden Anfällen viel die Arbeit; im Mai 1894 trat dazu die Cholera und Dyssenterie so stark, daß der Arzt, als auch die zur Hilfe herbeigeeilten Brüder das Schlimmste befürchteten. Doch der Herr half auch über diesen Berg hinweg. Allein die Schwäche und der Kräfteverlust waren so stark, daß ein dreimonatlicher Urlaub ihm geboten wurde. Die kleine, gesund und hoch gelegene Station Singhani bei Nazaribagh war das Zoar wohin sie sich zurückziehen durften, und Tage stiller Sammlung und fröhlicher Hoffnung waren ihnen dort in der Einsamkeit beschieden. Hier wurde den Geschwistern das erste Kindlein geboren und mit Dank gegen die viele Gnade, dem Herrn in der heiligen Taufe in der Arme gelegt. Mit neuer Kraft und neuem Mute sollte nun die Arbeit in Chakradharpur wieder in Angriff genommen werden, aber es war doch eine gebrochene Kraft und bald stellten sich wieder die Zeichen der Dyssenterie ein, so daß der Arzt auf schleunigste Heimkehr drang. Das war, menschlich geredet, das Schwerste was kommen konnte und doch war dies alles nur, damit der Herr sich um so mehr an ihm und den Seinen verherrlichen konnte. In der Tiefe und der Stille, da hat er seinen Knecht dann erst durchgerichtet, da erst offenbart was noch unter dem Messer des himmlischen Gärtners, wenn auch mit viel Weh und Ach, schwinden mußte. In der Heimat war dann noch der schwerste Kampf auszufechten als das Urteil des Arztes und das des heimischen Komitees gleichlautend war: „Kaum auf völlige Genesung zu hoffen, nie nach Indien zurück“. Drei, vier und mehr Bittgesuche und Bitten um Neuaussendung wurden immer wieder abgeschlagen, so daß nichts anderes übrig blieb als ein Pfarramt unter den Deutschen in Nord-Amerika oder im Dienste der inneren Mission in der Heimat zu arbeiten im Weinberge des Herrn. Es dauerte lange Zeit bis es den Geschwistern klar wurde, daß wir kein Recht auf Arbeit im Weinberge Gottes haben, sondern daß dies gleichfalls nur Gnade und immer wieder nichts als Gnade ist. Als dies klar bei ihnen geworden war, da konnte der Herr sich auch an ihnen verherrlichen und führte die für Arbeit Dankbaren in seinen Weinberg wieder hinein. In Kassel, in der Stadtmission, hatte der Herr den Ort bereit, wo Er sie innerlich noch weiter ausreifen lassen wollte. 1896 nach 1 ½ jähriger Wartezeit rief der Herr sie dorthin. Körperlich fehlte noch manches um alles erfüllen zu können, denn die Schwäche war [35] noch groß, aber der Herr bewahrheitete wieder seinen Namen aus Jes. 9,6 wo sein Name heißt: Wunderbar. Durch Betrachtung von Marc. 16, 17-18 im Bruderkreise wurde Kupfernagel darauf geführt sich zu fragen ob er auch zu den Glaubenden gehöre und als er sich sagte: „Ja Herr, ich glaube an Dich, hilf auch mir“; da betete er mit den Brüdern um völlige Befreiung von den Nöten und Folgen der Krankheit, gewiß, daß der Herr dies thun werde. Und der Herr ließ das Gebet des Glaubens nicht unerhört. Die Folgen und Zeichen der Dyssenterie verloren sich in den nächsten Tagen ganz; dann aber kam ein Rückfall, Stunden der Versuchung, der mehrere Tage anhielt. Kupfernagel hielt sich aber an den, den er nicht sahe als sähe er ihn und sagte sich immer wieder das Wort: „Die Zeichen die da folgen denen die da glauben“. So wurde es mit ihm ohne Medicamente und ohne Arzt besser, so daß seine Kraft in ihm zunahm und er seiner Arbeit unter den Verlorenen und Gefallenen nachgehen konnte. Im Stillen Grunde des Herzens schlummerte aber immer noch die Sehnsucht nach den Heiden, aber es schien nicht als ob der Herr ihn je wieder dafür gebrauchen wollte: sein Ausschauen auf der Warte war noch immer ohne Antwort,

trotzdem sich seine Gesundheit so gebessert, daß ihm kein Mensch mehr die schweren Erkrankungen ansehen konnte. Da kam im Oktober die erste Nummer der Sudan-Pionier-Mission heraus mit dem Notschrei um Hilfe. „Herr willst Du mich, so sende mich, ich will mich dir stellen!“ so hieß es in ihm und seine Frau dachte so wie er. --

## 16 Ordination of Jakob Enderlin and Leopold Zimmerlin

*Source: SPM Minutes, October 7, 1904, p. 56.*

*This little note in the SPM Minute Book witnesses the new start of the SPM in 1904. When no superintendent was ready to ordain the new missionaries, the author of this little note and chairman of the SPM, Pastor Theodor Ziemendorff, did it privately. Jakob Samuel Enderlin (1878–1940) served with the SPM from 1904 to 1940. Leopold Zimmerlin (1877–1951) only served from 1904 to 1909, but became a member of the board in Switzerland. Elisabeth Gonnermann (1871–1961), who was commissioned along with the above, served the SPM until the death of her husband J.S. Enderlin in 1940, whom she had married in 1913.*

*See Chapter 6.3.3 and 6.3.7.*

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Am Freitag dem 7. Oktober 1904 wurden in meinem Hause die jungen Missionare Jacob Enderlin u Leopold Zimmerlin von mir zum Dienst unter den Heiden resp. Mohammedanern unter Assistenz des Hr. Inspector Rappard und des Vorstands- mitgliedees Pfarrer Wittekindt im Beisein des Vorstandsmitgl. Herrn Ulrich und mehrere Mitglieder des Hilfsbundes für S.P.M. feierlich ordiniert, und ihnen damit den Auftrag gegeben, daß Evangelium draußen zu predigen und die Sakramente zu verwalten.

Am Abend des selben Tages wurden dann die beiden genannten und Frl. Elisabeth Gonnermann für den Dienst in Assouan und die Arbeit in Egypten und d. Länder die der Herr uns zeigen wird im Saale des Vereinshauses vor großer Versammlungen abgeordnet. Jer. 42,1-8

Ziemendorff Pf.

NB. Pastor Dammann, der nicht gegenwärtig sein konnte, sandte seinen Segenswunsch durch Telegram [sic!].

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## Curriculum Vitae

Christof Sauer was born in Ummendorf, Germany, on March 21, 1963, and during his High School years was an exchanges student in the United States of America for one year and then worked in France for half a year. He won a scholarship at Evangelisches Stift Tübingen of the Evangelische Landeskirche in Württemberg and studied Theology and Missiology in Erlangen, Krelingen, and Tübingen, Germany (1984–1992). During that period, he was student assistant at the Institute of Mission Studies and Ecumenical Theology at the University of Tübingen (1988–1990). He graduated at the University of Tübingen with an M.Th. equivalent. For a year he worked as a librarian of Evangeliumsgemeinschaft Mittlerer Osten, Wiesbaden, where he was interested in the history of the Sudan-Pionier-Mission and of its founders.

He is an ordained pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Württemberg, Germany, having served as assistant pastor in Gomaringen (1993–1995), as a career counselor for graduating theologians at the Institute for Practical Theology associated with the University of Tübingen (1995–1999), as a pastor in Bad Urach (1999–2000), and on special leave for missionary service in Southern Africa since 2000.

He pursued part time studies for a Doctor of Theology degree at the Tübingen University and transferred to the University of South Africa in 1999.

He is married since 1988 and has two children.