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The formation of political identity of South Sudan from the 1950s to the 1960s and influence of the educational work of Christian missions

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Thesis

**THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL IDENTITY OF SOUTH SUDAN FROM
THE 1950S TO THE 1960S AND INFLUENCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK
OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS**

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ABSTRACT

The argument of the thesis begins with the question of how Christianity became the main religion in South Sudan. It is crucial to search for the connecting point between Christian mission and the South Sudanese. Although South Sudan and Christianity had been directly opposed due to the image of Christianity as a part of the colonial power and Western imperialism, the two disparate groups came together through a particular historical moment that united them. The connecting point that linked South Sudan with Christianity was the dynamic movement of Christian missions in responding to the socio-political and historical needs of South Sudan. The junction between Christianity and South Sudan was strongly connected to missionary work in southern Sudan from the 1920s to the 1950s. This is the period in which the educational work of Christian mission reached its zenith. Moreover, southern Sudan, now South Sudan, had struggled with Arabic Northern Sudan, present-day Sudan in order for the federation policy to separate from Northern Sudan. Therefore, the thesis focuses on how the educational work of the missions influenced the formation of the nationalism of South Sudan. In particular, this research will be laid out in three sections: the historical background of the socio-political chasm between southern Sudan and northern Sudan; the educational work of the missions

in southern Sudan from the 1920s to 1950s; the nationalism of southern Sudan in connection with the educational work of the missions.

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I. Introduction

The expansion of Christian mission from the 19th century to the 20th century reached its apex under the power of Western colonials. Christian mission, which was involved with Western modernization and civilization, influenced the diverse socio-political and cultural context of the countries that accepted Christianity. However, it is wrong to underestimate the missionary work during the colonial period by simplifying it as the tool of Western colonialism. Dana Robert says, “In global terms, mission is not primarily a rationale for Western expansion, but the multi-directional movement of Christians who have crossed boundaries to share their faith.”¹ Also, Lamin Sanneh points out “Christianity has been a religion of dynamic responsiveness.”² The growth of Christianity did not solely rely on the colonial power and the “superiority” of colonial civilization but was a result of responding to diverse contexts of the mission field. Hence, the dynamics of transformation in Christianity are the fruit of mutual communication between the missionaries who spread the gospel and the local Christians who interpreted the core values of Christianity.

South Sudan is a representative missionary field where Christian mission has dynamically responded to the socio-political and cultural context. South Sudan³ achieved its independence on July 9, 2011 after a protracted civil war. In order to achieve

¹ Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Malden: Willey-Blackwell, 2009), 3.

² Lamin Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 137.

³ Before independence of South Sudan in 2011, South Sudan was called southern Sudan. Thus, I refer to South Sudan as southern Sudan in this thesis.

independence, northern and southern Sudan had engaged in two civil wars after Sudan became independent in 1956. The cause of the conflict between northern Sudan and southern Sudan was based on awareness of difference regarding not only geographic position, but also socio-political, cultural, and religious differences. Indeed, southern Sudan had begun its fight for independence from northern Sudan after the Torit Mutiny in 1955.⁴ At the beginning of the national movement of southern Sudan for secession from northern Sudan, the status of Christian missions was a catalyst for resistance to the political suppression by the northern Sudanese. Although Christian mission came to southern Sudan as a symbol of Western colonial power, it responded to the socio-political and cultural contexts of southern Sudan and played a pivotal role in contributing to forming its national identity.

In the thesis, I will explore how Christianity became a major religion of South Sudan and how the South Sudanese accepted Christianity in their national movement. To do this, the paper will demonstrate that it was a mutual process in which Christian mission during the colonial period responded to the needs of the southern Sudanese, and the southern Sudanese utilized the missionary work in the socio-political context of South Sudan.

In the first section, by exploring the history of the socio-political and geographical background of both Northern and Southern Sudan, I will describe how the historical

⁴ “There is no exact record as regards when the first civil war began. It is predominant that the 1955 Torit Mutiny was the beginning of the first civil war. After the end of the British colonial period northern Sudanese nationalists aimed to build a quasi-colonial structure in the southern Sudan area. After the national election in 1954, northerners dominated all-important positions in the south and it caused anger of Southerners.” See Europa Publications, *Africa South of the Sahara 2016* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 1160.

background of these contexts created a sense of difference between northern and southern Sudan. Also, by exploring the policy of the British administration during the 1920s, I will describe how the policy of British colonial administration accelerated the chasm between northern and southern Sudan.

In the second section, I will explore the educational work of the missions from the 1920s to 1950s. In particular, by exploring the educational policy of the British government, I will describe how this political context accelerated the educational work of the missions. Focusing on three mission societies: Verona Fathers, Christian Mission Society (CMS), and American Protestant Mission (APM), I will describe how the educational work of the missions progressed and how the educational work of the mission met the needs of southern Sudan.

In the third section, I will deal with the embryonic stage of the nationalism of South Sudan from the 1950s to 1960s. By exploring the political context of Sudan after the colonial period, particularly the policy of Arabization and the Christian persecution, I will illustrate how southern Sudanese nationalism developed and how Christianity contributed to the formation of nationalism in southern Sudan, which went against the Arabic Northern Sudan.

In conclusion, I will give an overview of the relationship between Christian mission and the nationalism of South Sudan. I will conclude that through educational work, Christian missions laid the foundation for the rise of nationalism in southern Sudan. Christian missions, a dynamic movement, played a role in responding to the

context of southern Sudan and became a driving force contributing to the nationalism of southern Sudan.

II. The Historical Background of the Geographical and Socio-Political Difference between Northern Sudan and Southern Sudan

In 2011 South Sudan became independent from Sudan. For fifty-five years the south Sudanese experienced two major civil wars in order to gain independence. The long period of the conflict between Sudan and South Sudan was grounded in the geo-political and cultural chasm between northern and southern Sudan.

The South and the North are religiously, ethnically, linguistically, and culturally different. Historically, the language and culture of northern Sudan, for example, were grounded in Arabic culture and Islam. In contrast, southern Sudan had its own traditions and various cultures and dialects. These differentiations were the underlying reasons for the political conflict between northern Sudan and southern Sudan. Therefore, it is important to inquire into the historical background of the difference between the two geographically disparate regions. This is necessary because the socio-political context of South Sudan in which the modern missionary work was being done, comes out of this history.

The political context of Africa has influenced the expansion of Christianity. Specifically, local political crises in Africa created situations, which excluded or

restricted missionary work in various African countries.⁵ In this respect, the socio-political context of southern Sudan and the chasm between northern Sudan and southern Sudan affected Christian missionary work. In addition, the policy of the British government also laid foundations for the expansion of Christian mission. The Southern Policy of the British government, for example, furnished the Christian missions with favorable circumstances for the work of the missions.

1. The Geographical Features of Sudan

Geographically, the location of Sudan influenced the forming of the political, cultural and social context of both northern Sudan and southern Sudan. The territory of Sudan is adjacent to eight sub-Saharan and North African countries: Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Central African Republic, Chad, and Libya. Sudan is bordered by Egypt to the north, by Ethiopia to the east, by Kenya and Uganda to the south, by the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the southwest, and by the Central African Republic to the west. This geographical feature has required Sudan to be a bridge linking not only Africa and the Middle East but also sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab Muslim countries to the north. This geographical proximity has influenced all the ethnic and cultural diversity within Sudan's borders. Francis Deng points out "the country is an Afro-Arab microcosm."⁶ Hence, the geographical location of Sudan decisively influenced the

⁵ R. Elliot Kendall, "The Missionary Factor in Africa," in *Christianity in Independent Africa*, ed. Edward Fashole-Luke, Richard Gray, Adrian Hasting, and Goldwin Tasié (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 20.

⁶ Francis M. Deng, "A Three-Dimensional Approach to the Conflict in the Sudan," in *Religion and National Integration in Africa*, ed. John O. Hunwick (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 39.

country's division. The northern part of Sudan, which is near to the Middle East, has become Islamic and Arabized. In contrast, the southern part of Sudan, which was less influenced by Islamic tradition, is mostly indigenous African with a small Christian minority.⁷ The geographical location of Sudan was the basis of the socio-political and cultural segmentation between northern Sudan and southern Sudan. As a consequence of this segmentation, the two disparate regions developed their own individual societies.

2. The Islamic Northern Sudan

Over time, due to geographical factors, northern Sudan gradually became culturally and politically Islamized, largely due to the beginning of the migration of Muslim tribes from Egypt and North Africa. After the foundation of an Islamic regime in Egypt in the seventh century, the Christian kingdoms of northern Sudan were gradually dominated by an Islamized local population. During this process of Islamicization, Muslims and non-Muslims had enjoyed in peaceful relationship under both Muslim and Christian rule. In particular, Muslim Sufis⁸ contributed to stabilizing the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in northern Sudan. This tendency of Muslim Sufis created the circumstance of coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims.⁹

⁷ Deng, "A Three-Dimensional Approach to the Conflict in the Sudan," 40.

⁸ Sufism is the way of cultivating individual spirituality, which is related to the mystical tradition of Islam. Muslim Sufis have a tendency to be open to and accept other religious traditions. For this reason, Muslim Sufis in Sudan maintained friendly relationships with other religious groups.

⁹ Abdullahi A. An-na'im, "Islam and National Integration in the Sudan," in *Religion and National Integration in Africa*, ed. John O. Hunwick (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 17-18.

Through the period of the Funji Sultanate (1517-1821), the Dar Fur Sultanate (ca. 1650-1916), and other Muslim kingdoms, Islamicization of northern Sudan accelerated. During these periods Islamic tradition was reflected in earnest by the structure of the state. However, strict Sharia was not adopted as the policy of the government. This political tendency continued during the Turco-Egyptian administration (1821-1884).¹⁰

Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdullahi¹¹, an Islamic fundamentalist, who called himself Mahdi, led a religious and political revolution from the 1881 to 1884 in order to purify Muslim faith. Muhammad Ahmad considered Sufi practices to be impure Muslim faith. In 1885, he took over Khartoum and established the Mahdist state in the area of present-day northern Sudan. In order to build a purely Islamic state, he consistently applied strict Sharia rule to the Mahdist state until the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium administration took over governance of Sudan.¹²

Consequently, the policies of the Mahdist state influenced the ensuing northern Sudanese politicians after the British colonial period. During the 1950s, the northern Sudanese government carried out the policy of Arabization, which was an extension of the fundamentalist Islamic movement.

3. Multi-ethnic and Cultural Setting of Southern Sudan

¹⁰ Abdullahi A. An-na'im, "Islam and National Integration in the Sudan," 18.

¹¹ The Mahdi's descendants have played crucial roles in the 20th century Sudan. His son became the leader of Ansar sect and contributed to forming the Umma party. See Robert S. Kramer, Richard Andrew Lobban, and Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*. Lanham (Toronto: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 280.

¹² Abdullahi A. An-na'im, "Islam and National Integration in the Sudan," 18-19.

Compared to the Islamic northern Sudan, Southern Sudan developed differently in terms of culture, ethnicity, and religion because of its geographical remoteness from the North. The residents of Southern Sudan were black Africans. They were largely divided into three main groups: the Nilotes, the Nilo-Hamites, and the Western Sudanic tribes. Among the Nilotes, there are the Dinka¹³, Nuer, Shilluk, Anauk, Burun, Bor Balanda, Jur, Shilluk Luo, and Acholi tribes. Most Nilotes raised cattle, which had a cult status according to their customs.¹⁴ The Nilo-Hamites were divided into three major groups based upon cultural similarity and relationships. The southern Sudanese Nilo-hamites belonged to northern groups, which were the Bari, Mundari, Nyangwa, Pojulu, Kakwa, Kuku, Nyepu, Lokoya, Luluba, Latuko, Lopit, and Ligo. These groups fell into three groups according to their traditional and cultural similarity. One group consisted of the Bari, Mundari, Nyangwara, Pojulu, Kakwa, Nyepu, and Kuku; the second group consisted of the Lokoya and Luluba . The third group was composed of the Latuko and the Lango. The Nilo-Hamites were engaged in cultivation for their living and believed in rain-chiefs and rainmaking.¹⁵ Western Sudanese tribes comprised the Azande, the Ndongosere group, the Moru-Madi and the Bongo-Baka groups. The Ndongosere group settled down near Wao, and the Moro-Madi group linguistically fell into three groups: the

¹³ The Dinka tribe, as the largest single tribe, has a population of more than one million and dominates larger area than any other tribes in South Sudan. Also, it is divided into various sub-tribes, such as the Cic, Bor, Aliab, Agur, and Atot. See Dunstan M. Wai, "The Southern Sudan: The Country and the People," in *The Southern Sudan: The Problem of National Integration*, ed. Dunstan M. Wai (London: Frank Cass, 1973), 9-10.

¹⁴ Dunstan M. Wai, "The Southern Sudan: The Country and the People," in *The Southern Sudan: The Problem of National Integration*, ed. Dunstan M. Wai (London: Frank Cass, 1973), 9-10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

Moru who inhabited the Meredi and Amadi districts; the Avukaya and the Kaiko who resided in the Yei district extending into Congo and Uganda; and the Mali, who lived in the Opari and Nimule districts. Some of the tribes raised animals whereas the Azande engaged in cultivation of the land.¹⁶

Historically, southern Sudan had a poor relationship with northern Sudan. One of the primary reasons for poor relations was the slave trade. The slave trade in Sudan intensified in the late 19th century. In particular, southern Sudan was a major target of Arabic slave traders. The Turco-Egyptian occupation of Sudan in 1821 caused slavery to grow.¹⁷ Even though slave hunting ended in the late 19th century, through the effort of the British government, the southern Sudanese were suspicious towards Arabs into the 20th century.¹⁸

Consequently, southern Sudan was underdeveloped compared to northern Sudan. Northern Sudan had been consistently civilized by Arabic culture but southern Sudan had remained a place where many ethnicities and cultures coexisted in a tribal system. Furthermore, southern Sudan, as sufferers of the slave trade, had hostile feelings towards northern Sudan. Their geographical isolation and the experience of slavery caused southern Sudan to consider itself as a distinct group, unlike northern Sudan.

4. The Policy of British Colonial Government

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Marjorie Hall and Bakhita Amin Ismail, *Sisters under the Sun* (England: Longman Group, 1981), 208.

¹⁸ Ofcansky, "Historical Setting," 86.

After the conquest of Great Britain over Egypt in 1882, the British government started paying attention to Egyptian interests.¹⁹ On January 19, 1899, there was an agreement between Great Britain and Egypt, which was called the “Agreement for the Administration of the Sudan.”²⁰ The general policies of the British government dealing with Sudan were indirect rule and the decentralization of administration by manipulating the existing authorities and organizations.²¹

As regards the first, the Government’s aim is to allow and encourage natural growth rather than to impose alien ideas and an alien organization, to build upon the foundation of indigenous and to develop all that is best and most vital in the existing culture and social structure instead of introducing a strange culture and unfamiliar methods of control.²²

The British government applied the policy to the whole of Sudan, but according to the social and cultural context of the regions it was enforced differently. The British government administratively divided Sudan into two parts: the northern part and the southern part. The northern part was defined as “Middle-eastern and Arabicized,” and the southern part was defined as “African, and Negroid.” Based on this outline, the British government administered Sudan.²³

¹⁹ Deng D. Akol Ruay, *The Politics of Two Sudans: The South and the North 1821-1969* (Uppsala: Nordika Afrikainstitutet, 1994), 30-31.

²⁰ Ruay, *The Politics of Two Sudans*, 34.

²¹ *The Anglo Egyptian Sudan: Handbook of Topographical Intelligence (1940)*, the National Archives London, UK, Adam Matthews, accessed Mar 18, 2016, http://www.archivesdirect.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Images/WO_287_214/1#VisualMaterials,

²² Ibid.

²³ Ruay, *The Politics of Two Sudans: The South and the North 1821-1969*, 35.

This segregation policy of the British government decisively influenced not only the preservation of the indigenous culture of the South from the Arabic and Islamic North but also the socio-political chasm between the North and the South. In the North, the British built infrastructure including dams and waterworks on the Nile, and the tribes in the North consequently received the benefits. Also, along with the development of infrastructure, education in the North underwent improvement through the support of the British government. Lord Cromer, for example, set out to construct Gordon Memorial College in 1899. The British public contributed enormous funds for the erection of the school, and the school has remained a representative higher educational facility in Sudan. The education in the North, run by the government, aimed at producing artisans in various industrial fields and workers for the administration.²⁴

In contrast to this, the South gradually became an isolated area because the British government ruled the South differently from the North. The British considered the South a primitive and uncivilized cultural area. The British administration was only interested in developing the route in order to secure the transportation of supplies from the North.²⁵ Except for abolishing slavery and the slave trade, the British administration did nothing profitable for the south. In 1922, the governor of Mongalla, V. R Woodland, declared the policy of separate administration between the south and the north, which was called a closed district. The purpose of this policy was to eradicate all Arabic things in the South. Northern Sudanese officials were forcefully transferred to the north even against their

²⁴ Ibid., 35-36.

²⁵ Ruay, *The Politics of Two Sudans*, 35-36.

wishes. Even northern Arabic dress was prohibited and exchanged for European garments.²⁶ Another aspect of the policy of the British government was to instigate tribalism. In the name of preserving African cultures and values, the British administration gave its power to the chiefs of individual tribes.²⁷ On the outside the British policy was suitable for the circumstance of the South because most southerners were profoundly linked to the tribal system. Karl Osman Salih points out that “in multi-ethnic colonies the preservation of different indigenous cultures necessitated the differentiation of the peoples along ethnic, linguistic and often religious lines.”²⁸ In this regard, it was necessary for the British government to rule the South with the segregation policy in order to avoid collisions between ethnicities or cultures.

Consequently, the North and the South had disparate socio-political and cultural settings and the British administration widened the chasm between the two different parts. In particular, the biased policy of the British administration brought about not only the development imbalance between North and South but also the isolation of the South. Due to the policy of the British administration the South was free from the influence of Islamic Northern Sudan. This circumstance gave Christian missionaries the opportunity to penetrate the life of the southerners.

III. The Educational Work of Missionaries in the South

²⁶ Ibid., 39.

²⁷ Ibid., 41.

²⁸ Kamal Osman Salih, “British Policy and the Accentuation of Inter-Ethnic Division: The Case of the Nuba Mountains Region of Sudan, 1920-1940,” *African Affairs* 89, (1990): 417.

The chasm between northern Sudan and southern Sudan gradually grew under the geographical and cultural influence. Islamicization of northern Sudan decisively clarified the difference between northern and southern areas. Furthermore, the colonial policy of the British government accelerated the socio-political and cultural chasm between the two regions. In particular, the South, which was excluded by the development plan of the British administration, had been in the slow lane. In this context, with their educational work, Christian missions vigorously spread the gospel to southern Sudanese. Also, after the 1920s, the British government used the missions for the educational work in Southern Sudan. The educational work of the missions gained momentum with little financial support from the government. There were three mission societies: Verona Fathers, the CMS, and American Protestant Church (APM) for the educational work in the South. These mission societies played a pivotal role in satisfying the educational aspiration of southerners.

As mentioned above, the south was excluded from the development plan of the British administration because southerners were regarded as being inferior to northerners. Mr. E. R. Hussey, a chief inspector of schools for the Sudan government, described southerners in his report as below:

The conditions existing throughout the whole areas of the Protectorate and the Southern parts of the Sudan were barbarous in the extreme. Power was exercised by the King or tribal chief, who indulged his personal whims and passions at the expense of his subjects and was constantly at war with his neighbours.²⁹

²⁹ "Report on Education in the Uganda Protectorate: Ideals of Education in Africa," *Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Area: Minutes of Meetings January 1924 to November 1928 Part III*, 405, accessed March 20, 2016, http://www.archivesdirect.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Images/CO_879_121/486#Sections

With this bias, the British government enforced its education policy based on segregation. In the South, the use of Arabic scriptures was not recommended strategically because it would interrupt the integration of tribal life in the south. For example, instead of this Arabic education the Christian missions led the educational work with the support of the British administration.³⁰ From the 1920s to the 1950s, Christian missions flourished with its educational work. The educational work of the missions weakened the colonial image of Christianity, and it became a part of southern Sudanese lives.

1. The Policy about Mission Education of the British Administration in the South

In the 1920s, British administration regulated the educational work of missions according to its Southern Policy³¹. The records of *Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa*, which was held on 30th April, 1924, reveals that British administration controlled the educational work of missions. The British administration suggested the policy of the educational work of missions as:

³⁰ Salih, "British Policy and the Accentuation of Inter-Ethnic Division," 431.

³¹ It was a policy of the British administration to protect the South from Arabism, northern Sudanese and Islam. This policy was enforced step by step. The first step was the launch of closed districts in 1922. Without special permission, nobody was allowed to enter South Sudan, the Nuba Mountains, or any other restricted in order to regulate the movement of people, especially the northern merchants. The second step was the statement of a Southern Policy in 1930. The official language of the south was changed from Arabic to English. Also, northern Sudanese officials working in the south compulsorily moved to the north, and southerners replaced their positions. The third step was a rearrangement of tribes in Bahr al Ghazal. People were suggested to move closer to the roads, and designated areas were emptied between Bahr al Ghazal and North Sudan (Dar Fur and Kordofan). See Roland Werner et al., *Day of Devastation Day of Contentment: The History of the Sudanese Church Across 2000 Years* (Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 2000), 268.

1. No Mission station is allowed to be formed North of the 10th parallel of Latitude in any part or district of the Sudan, which is recognized by the government as Moslem.

2. South of the 10th parallel definite spheres of action are allotted as follow:

British Missionary Society's sphere: It is bounded on the north by the Bahr el Ghazal.

On the East by a line drawn South from a point of on the White Nile about half way between the mouths of the Bahr el Zeraf and the Bahr el Jebel to Ajiung, and thence Southwards to Kabaiji. From Kabaiji the line proceeds due East until it meets the Abyssinian frontier and thence follows the frontier Southwards to the Uganda border on the 5th parallel of the North Latitude.

On the South it is bounded by the Northern border of the Congo Free State, the Lado Enclave and the Uganda Province. (N.B., the Territory, formerly known as the Lado Enclave, having recently reverted to the Sudan, its inclusion in Missionary spheres of influence is under consideration)

On the West by a line drawn from Meshra el Rek to a point near N'doruma M'vuto where the frontiers of the Congo Free State, French Congo and Anglo Egyptian Sudan meet.

The Austrian Catholic Mission sphere - The left bank of the White Nile south of Kodok into the Bahr el Ghazal, their Eastern limit being defined by a line drawn from Meshra el Rek to N'doruma's on the Congo-Nile Watershed.

The American Mission Sphere- The valleys of the Sobat and the Zeraf up to the Abyssinian frontier.³²

The British administration strictly controlled the missionary work. The administration worried that Sudan would become the area of religious competition, so that the British

³² "Regulations and Conditions under which Missionary Work is permitted in the Sudan," *Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Area: Minutes of Meetings January 1924 to November 1928 II*, the National Archives London, UK, Adam Matthews, accessed March 20, 2016 http://www.archivesdirect.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Images/CO_879_121/289#Sections

government did not allow the Christian mission to do its work in the area of Muslims. In the South, each missionary society was allotted a different district by the government. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) took the largest areas in southern Sudan. Other Christian denominations shared the land equally. Each mission society remained in its allocated territory for its missionary work. Furthermore, the British administration suggested the guidelines for the educational work of missionaries, as:

9. (1) Instructions as to the procedure to be carried out by individuals or societies desirous of opening schools in the Sudan

1. Application for permission to open a school will be made to the governor of the Province, giving full details as to the reason for the application and forwarding any petition, or other documents in which request for the school is made, that may have been received from the local people

2. The application must be accompanied by a form (specimen below) duly filled in: -

Application for Permission to Open a School
School.

(a) Tribe or district to be served.....

(b) Grade of School (Industrial, Agricultural, Vernacular, Boys or Girls, Higher, etc., etc.,

(c) Scheme of Studies (Subjects, Languages, etc).....

(d) Proposed number of classes.....
 and approximate number of children

(e) Teaching Staff: -

Name.	Tribe or Nationality	Professional Qualification

(f) Will there be a Boarding Section?.....

Signature of Applicant³³

There are salient points dealing with the educational work of missions. First, the British government was not interested in proselytizing in the South. In other words, even

³³ Ibid.

though they used Christianity as a tool to block the tide of Islam from the North, the government did not allow Christianity to compulsorily proselytize the local people. Religious instruction, for example, was only permitted with the consent of the parents. Second, the British administration tried to be directly involved in the mission schools in order to regulate religions effectively. The administration got involved in regulating religious literature, opening mission stations, and even doing inspection.

The British officials strategically used Christian mission and by doing so, they did not need to be concerned about immediate problems of security and money for building the educational system in the South. After the introduction of the Southern Policy the British Administration needed many clerical workers working for the district headquarters of government. Also, missionaries became more interested in the educational work, which was based on the aspiration of missionaries to teach English in order to enhance the spread of the Word of God.³⁴ Thus, education in the south was the outcome of common interest between the British administration and Christian mission, even though each group had different reason for the educational work in the South.

2. The Educational Work of Mission Societies in the South

Modern missionary work in Sudan began in earnest between 1898 and 1920. There were three representative missionary societies: the Verona Fathers in Catholic Church, Presbyterian Church, and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) laying down the

³⁴ Robert O. Collins, *Shadows in the Grass: Britain in the Southern Sudan, 1918-1956* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1894), 198-199.

foundation for the educational work in the South. Although their missionary work paralleled the beginning of Anglo-Egyptian rule in Sudan, the origin of missionary work was grounded in the power of the Holy Spirit in individuals or groups and the belief that Jesus commanded his disciples to spread the gospel to the ends of the earth.³⁵ During this period missionary societies founded their mission stations and laid foundation for their missionary work. They built schools and hospitals for natives.

In the 1920s, education became a top priority for missionary work. All the mission societies and their mother churches already had ripe experience in the field of education. The Sudanese government wanted the missions to be in charge of the educational work in the South.³⁶ There were two main reasons for the cooperation between the British administration and missionary societies.

First, the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission aroused the importance of educational work to mission societies. Christian group requested the Phelps-Stokes Commission to research education and its guidelines in Africa. From 1921 to 1924, the commission discovered colonial governments spent at most four percent of their budgets for education. Also, most educational work in Africa was being done by Christian missions. Based on its research, the commission suggested, as one of the recommendations, the cooperation with the government for effective educational work.³⁷

³⁵ Roland Werner et al., *Day of Devastation Day of Contentment: The History of the Sudanese Church Across 2000 Years* (Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 2000), 211.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 269.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Second, the British administration needed the work of missionaries because of security and budget. The British administration had gone through difficulty handling southern Sudanese. The early British administrators in Sudan were army officers. They confronted rebellion or anti-imperialist movements squarely, and thus gave a negative image like Turks and Mahdists to the southerners. In addition, up to 1920, the British administration invested a small amount of budget into education. Therefore, by turning over the educational work to the missions in 1922, the administration did not have to put a huge budget into education. Also, it expected the missions to play a role in bringing peace and stability to the South.³⁸ Consequently, the cooperation with the British administration provided the missions with more opportunities to interact with native southerners without a collision with Islam in the South.

i. **The Educational Work of Catholic Mission**

The aim of Catholic educational missions was a “civilization through learning and work, meant to prepare the way to the Christian religion.”³⁹ Generally, the Catholic missionaries considered education as a tool for the propagation of Christianity. When it came to literacy, Catholic missionaries thought that if students could read the Bible, it would be sufficient for literacy. Nevertheless, Catholic educational missions provided Southern children with various educational opportunities. In the Catholic school, children learned Arabic and English, especially the latter. Girls were taught needlework and

³⁸ Ibid., 270.

³⁹ See Father Stefano Santandrea, “The History of Our Missions,” *The Messenger*, October 1933.

music; boys learned craftsman's technique, such as carpentry or bricklaying. Some students were instructed in clerical training.⁴⁰

The Verona Fathers, a representative Catholic missionary society in Sudan, moved to Eastern Equatoria by following the Sphere regulations. The British administration proclaimed that Eastern Equatoria was open for any missions in order to develop the area. The Verona Fathers moved to this area ahead of the Protestant missions.

In 1917, Catholic missionaries moved to Loa, and the chief of Loa, Loku, was favorable to Catholic mission. His first son became a Christian. In Madi, it needed more time to break the views based on misconceptions between the British and earlier rulers and slavers from the outside. People in Madi considered missionaries as part of brutal colonial power. Therefore, neither the missionaries nor their schools were free from this understanding. However, through the school curriculum the children were able to learn farming skills, herding livestock, and bricklaying. These activities gave the impression that the mission was beneficial and helpful for children of families in the area.⁴¹ In 1922, catechism training peaked, and the church built up Christian traditions based on major Christian festivals. In Loa, some early missionaries had close relationships with local people. Missionaries, who were able to speak the language and know the culture of Madi, were named "*Mundu koba*," which referred to "They are not oppressors, but just ordinary

⁴⁰ Collins, *Shadows in the Grass: Britain in the Southern Sudan, 1918-1956*, 199.

⁴¹ Werner, *Day of Devastation Day of Contentment*, 277-278.

people like us.” Father Baj Guisepe was involved in missionary work in Loa from 1929 to 1953 and earned the title “*Mundu koba*.”⁴²

In 1920, the Catholic missionaries considered Torit as a strategic area for missionary work, not only for its geographical importance, which is the connection to Lokoro, Kapoeta, and Acholi, but also ministry work in Torit where the Verona Fathers had built a large primary school and a technical school.⁴³

In 1934, the Verona Fathers advanced towards the east area of southern Sudan to Nalingaro. In Nalingaro, Catholic missionaries worked for three tribes: the Didinga, the Toposa and the Boya. Missionaries started working on language in order to prepare the Didinga and Toposa for catechism. For the fruits of this work, twenty-two people were instructed from the Didinga and Toposa people to build a local chapel. Among Catholic missionaries, Father Sisto Mazzoldi vigorously strove to introduce Christianity. Only people allowed by the local chief were able to enter each chapel. Mazzoldi consistently visited both chiefs and local people with gifts of corn and tobacco and explained the gospel. When the Boya and the Toposa were in conflict due to attacks from the Boya, Mazzoldi convinced the king of the Toposa to stop the war and he visited the Boya. In the Boya, he taught local people the second of the Great Commandments “Love your neighbors as yourself.” One of the results of his work was that the Boya built a chapel at Noyapak.⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid., 278.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 278-279.

In the Bahr al Jebel, Giuseppe (Joseph) Zambonardi was appointed Prefect of the Prefecture Apostolic of Bahr a Jebel. Zambonardi enthusiastically spread the gospel and erected the Catholic Church. He made an effort to start new missions and new catechetical centers. Also, Zambonardi sought missionary work in Juba, even though Juba was in the CMS sphere. The strategy of Catholic mission was distinctive in Juba. Instead of sending missionaries to Juba, missionaries taught students from the West bank and they came back to where they lived as catechists. Therefore, Catholic mission was more competitive than the CMS, and then they expanded the congregation without consideration of the care of priests and missionaries.⁴⁵

ii. **The Educational Work of Church Missionary Society (CMS)**

In 1920, Church Mission Society (CMS) began its missionary work in the South. The CMS first opened a school in Opari, among the Madi in Eastern Equatoria, in order to counter Catholic missionary work in the Open Sphere. The CMS called three schoolteachers from Uganda, and appointed Rev. H. F. Davis to the school. However, the school was not maintained successfully because Ugandan teachers and Davis left the school.⁴⁶ The CMS was running on empty while competing with the expansion of Catholic mission. After the unsuccessful result of Opari, the CMS did not compete with Catholic mission in the Open Sphere anymore.⁴⁷ However, with the financial support

⁴⁵ Ibid., 280.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 283.

⁴⁷ Lilian Passmore Sanderson and Neville Sanderson, *Education, Religion & Politics in Southern Sudan 1899-1964* (London: Ithaca Press, 1981), 149.

from the government, which was the effect of Southern Policy, the CMS reopened the school among the Acholi at Opari in 1934.

The educational work made progress during the 1920s with the diverse Bari-speaking groups from the West bank. In 1920, an intermediate school was erected at Juba. The school thrived after it was transferred to Loka in 1929 and became the primary educational institution in the south.⁴⁸ In 1926, three boys of the Bari tribe including Paulo Logali,⁴⁹ who studied in the school, were baptized. Through the development of the school, the church also gradually flourished. Also, the CMS started the first outschool at Murungawa. By 1945 forty CMS outschools were built. By then, the CMS churches baptized 300 people each year, and the Christian community had increased to 2000 among the Bari.

In 1929, CMS opened a new school at Kajo-Keji among the Kuku tribesmen. The CMS sent three missionaries: Fred Finch, William Giff, and Paul Logali. A central school and outschools flourished with the cooperation of the chiefs.⁵⁰

In Yaimbo educational work had success. Even though in its beginning the work of the CMS in the South was unstable, its work developed with the financial support of the British government. In Yaimbo, the CMS worked for the Zande tribe laying stress on education. The chiefs were suspicious about the work of missionaries because they saw

⁴⁸ Werner, *Day of Devastation Day of Contentment*, 283.

⁴⁹ He became a leading evangelist and joined the first missionary team to Kao Kaji. His son, Hilary Paul Logali, is a prominent Christian leader and politician. See Roland Werner et al., *Day of Devastation Day of Contentment: The History of the Sudanese Church Across 2000 Years* (Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 2000), 284.

⁵⁰ Werner, *Day of Devastation Day of Contentment*, 286.

outsiders kidnapping many children for slavery. However, the traditional idea of discipline, which was sending their children away for certain training, was familiar to the Zande chiefs. The CMS schools suggested similar training with the chiefs. Also, young teacher-catechists played a role in spreading Christianity by breaking through to the chiefs. Many schools and churches were built in remote villages based on the reliable relationship between these young teachers and local chiefs. Furthermore, the CMS implemented girls' education in Yambio. A girl's school was started with 30 pupils. In 1946 Bishop Gelsthorpe reported that the CMS established over 160 outschools in Yambio.⁵¹

In Akot, with the government grant for education, the CMS planted a new school. Thirty schoolboys and two teachers in Malek transferred to Akot, and forty additional local boys enrolled in the school. The CMS began two more missions: Gel River and Panekar in Bahr al Ghazal on the strength of this work. Missionaries of the CMS planted schools and churches in Ler, which lies among the Western Nuer, and Juabior and Wanglel.⁵²

iii. **The Educational Work of American Protestant Mission (The American Presbyterian Church)**

After Jaba Hanna started the Evangelical Church in northern Sudan in 1900, the American Protestant Mission (APM) gradually moved to the south for missionary work.

⁵¹ Ibid., 289-290.

⁵² Ibid., 302-303.

The mission moved to Doleib Hill with missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. J. Kelly, and Dr. and Mrs. McLaughlin. After moving to Doleib, they carried out industrial mission.⁵³ Like other Protestant missions, the APM had had problems with the lack of budget and manpower. Although the scale of the work was small compared to the Catholic mission and CMS, the APM constantly carried out its educational work in the South. In 1924 the Reth of the Shilluk had requested a governmental school for the local people. However, the government turned over his request to the APM with the condition that if the mission did not recruit Christian teachers, a government school might be started with Muslim teachers. Hence, the APM started its own regular school in Doleib Hill in 1925.⁵⁴ Alfred Heasty contributed to boy's education in Doleib Hill. Heasty was enthusiastically involved in the educational work. He got permission from parents to enroll the students, and he recruited teachers and trained them.⁵⁵

In Nasir, people were more amenable to Christianity than in Doleib Hill. The school had flourished, and its influence extended to Anuk children and Murle as well. The Nasir school system had a village school, as well as a outschool at Akobo among the Anuk.⁵⁶ Although the APM decided to request government funds, the missionary work

⁵³ Industrial mission was “included in the Protestant mission program from the beginning, and the teaching of crafts was deemed essential to achieving civilization. This was marked feature of the 17th century New England missions to the Indians. It became increasingly famous from the 19th century to the early 20th century in Africa. Since the second world war, motor transport and the developing countries’ interest in industrialization have led to new opportunities for Industrial missions connected with engineering and kindred occupation.” See Stephen Neill, Gerald H. Anderson, and John Goodwin, *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), 281-282.

⁵⁴ Sanderson, *Education, Religion & Politics in Southern Sudan 1899-1964*, 152.

⁵⁵ Werner, *Day of Devastation Day of Contentment*, 306.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 307-308.

did not develop further because of the lack of expenditures. During 1926 to 1936, the Presbyterian Church declined its influence yearly. The APM already had its mission project in northern Sudan so that the goal of the APM mission was to maintain its missionary work alive.⁵⁷

In the 1930s the APM reached through its developing network of outschools to draft more educable boys for the boarding schools at Doleib Hill and Nasir. Also, the numbers of volunteer students had grown steadily. The APM informally managed a teacher-training system, and as a result, five local teachers were appointed at Doleib Hill. Also, the APM was enthusiastically involved in girl's education. In 1933 and 1935 they built school buildings for girls at Doleib Hill and Nasir. The Mission consistently worked for translating the Bible into the vernacular languages.⁵⁸

3. The Overall Appraisal of the Educational Work of Missions

During the end of the 19th to the early 20th century, it was an undeniable fact that Christian mission was one of the representative symbols of Western imperialism. The dispute over Christian mission was described as a two-edged sword. Dana Robert points out the pros and cons of Christian missions during this time as:

Missions are condemned for introducing social or cultural changes, or for being connected to outside global forces such as imperialism, colonialism, westernity, or modernity.....Another area of controversy comes from local situations, in which Christianity appears of strengthen one side of a

⁵⁷ Ibid., 309.

⁵⁸ Sanderson, *Education, Religion & Politics in Southern Sudan 1899-1964*, 192.

local dispute, or challenges local power arrangements, or empowers ethnic minorities.⁵⁹

In this line, it is difficult to consider the educational work of missionaries as part of British imperialism. Although the British administration and the mission cooperated for educational work, they had different purposes. Local southerners considered the educational work of missions as more independent social work, which was needed for their society. In general, Christian missions concentrated on the educational work with translation of the Bible into local languages. Lamin Sanneh insists that “despite their role as allies of the empire, missions also developed the vernacular that inspired sentiments of national identity and thus undercut Christianity’s identification with colonial rule.”⁶⁰ Gideon Mailer points out that “many elements of collaborative hegemony between missionaries and colonial officials existed. Yet after an initially ambiguous perception of Christian influence as an agency for colonial control, many came to believe that Christianity connected them to a world larger than their traditional ethnic communities and added strength in their struggle for political freedom, economic justice, and cultural survival.”⁶¹ According to a survey of the British government, the educational work of missionaries established its crucial position in the south.

⁵⁹ Robert, *Christian Mission*, 88.

⁶⁰ Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations*, 271.

⁶¹ Gideon Mailer, “Anglo-American and European Missionary Encounters in Southern Sudan, 1898-Present,” in *Missions, States, and European Expansion in Africa*, ed. Chima J. Korieh and Raphael Chijioke Njoku (New York: Routledge, 2007), 205.

Attendances at Schools in 1943 and 1944⁶²

Attendances at Mission Schools

Attendances at schools in 1943 and 1944 were (so far as accurate figures in local circumstances are obtainable) the following

	<u>1943</u>	<u>1944</u>
Village Schools	4298	5993
Elementary Schools (Boys)	2713	2466
Elementary Schools (Girls)	456	667
Central Schools (Boys)	234	225
Intermediate Schools	242	262
Trades School	<u>74</u>	<u>89</u>
Total	8217	9702

Attendance at Government Schools

	<u>1943</u>	<u>1944</u>
Dinka Village school, Tonj, Equatoria	-	19
Central School, Abwong, Upper Nile Providence	-	32

Compared to attendance of government schools, the mission school played a pivotal role in leading the educational work in the south. Therefore, although the mission schools in the South were the part of the educational project of the British government, it was clear that through educational work, missions spread among southern Sudanese as the door to the new social class and modernization.

Consequently, through the educational work Christianity gradually became one of the religions among southerners. The educational work made southerners more friendly, and it resulted in creating convivial circumstances for Christian missions. During the process in which Christianity became popular among southerners, the educational work

⁶² Maḥmūd Ṣāliḥ ‘Uthmān Ṣāliḥ and Peter Woodward edit., “10th Statistical Report on Progress of Educational and Administrative Policy in the Southern Sudan in 1942, 1943, and 1944,” *1940-1956 the British Documents on the Sudan Volume II 1945-1946* (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2002), 30.

of missionaries brought an unexpected outcome in southern Sudan. In 1955, as the conflict between northern Sudan and southern Sudan started, the issue of the necessity of Christianity in southern Sudan began to surface and combine with the nationalism of the southerners.

IV. Nationalism in Southern Sudan

The political situation of Sudan consistently intertwined with the work of Christian missions around the period of independence of Sudan. In particular, the political situation of southern Sudan and the educational work of the missions mutually interacted with each other in the national movement. In this regard, the educational work of the missions should be addressed from the perspective of not only civilization but also nationalism. The nationalism in southern Sudan must be argued in the socio-political context of southern Sudan. Anthony Smith defines nationalism as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential nation.”⁶³ In addition, by mentioning that nationalism mainly happened in British colonial Africa, James Coleman suggested five principal features of British colonial policy; “self-government,” “territorial individuality,” “policy on missionaries and education,” “neglect, frustration, and antagonism of educated elite,” and “freedom of nationalist

⁶³ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 73.

activity.”⁶⁴ Considering these features, three questions must be argued for defining how the Christian educational work was involved in the southern Sudanese national movement. First, it is important to inquire how the educational work of the missions contributed to building the groundwork for the national movement. Second, it is asked how the Christian mission became us not others in forming the national identity of southern Sudan. Third, it is required to examine how Christianity connected with the nationalists who participated in the independence movement of southern Sudan.

In 1956, Sudan achieved independence from the British government, and northern elites took over Sudanese government. The Sudanese government began the policy of Arabization to assimilate southern Sudan. This new political circumstance led southern Sudanese elites into a national movement against the Sudanese government. Since the 1920s, most southern Sudanese elites were educated in Christian mission schools. Furthermore, Coleman describes the influence of the modern educational system in the colonial areas as:

The introduction of a modern educational system in colonial areas had significant political consequences. It was the single most important factor in the rise and spread of nationalist sentiment and activity. From the modern educational system emerged an indigenous elite which demanded the transfer of political power to itself on the basis of the political values of the Western liberal tradition or the ethical imperative of Christianity, both of which had been learned in the schools.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ James Smoot Coleman, and Richard L. Sklar, *Nationalism and Development in Africa: Selected Essays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 29.

⁶⁵ James S. Coleman, “Introduction to Part I,” in *Education and Political Development*, ed. James S. Coleman (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), 36.

Considering that southern elites were the driving force behind the national movement, we may speculate how the educational work of the missions laid the groundwork for the rise of national movement.

By exploring the political situations of southern Sudan after independence, I will describe how Christian mission work was connected to forming nationalism in southern Sudan against Arabic northern Sudan. I will describe how the northern Sudanese government politically marginalized southern Sudan from the 1950s to the 1960s. Furthermore, by exploring the persecution of Christian missions, I will examine how Christianity became an impetus for the national movement of South Sudan. By describing the Sudan African National Union (SANU) and its political members, I will analyze the connection between southern Sudanese nationalists and Christianity. In particular, I will describe the activity of Fr. Saturnino Lohure and how Christianity influenced the national movement of southern Sudan.

1. The Political Context of Sudan during the Post Colonial Period from the 1940s to the 1960s

In 1946, northern nationalists with the cooperation of the British officials raised a question about the Southern Policy. Under the motto “the Sudan should be administered as one country,” Abd al-Rahman, a prominent nationalist of Northern Sudan constantly asked the British government to reverse the Southern Policy.⁶⁶ Indeed, the British government reversed the Southern Policy in favor of northern Sudanese politicians. To

⁶⁶ Sanderson, *Education, Religion & Politics in Southern Sudan 1899-1964*, 292.

northern Sudanese nationalists, it was urgent to Arabize southern Sudan in order to unite Sudan in oneness. This reversed policy influenced the educational circumstance of the South. Arabic, for example, was encouraged to be used in the schools of the South instead of English and the local language.⁶⁷ Using Arabic in the schools was a practical problem to the missions, and it became a menace to Christian missionary work. A confidential document of CMS dealt with using Arabic in the schools:

It is Government policy that Arabic should become the common language of the Sudan. It is, therefore, the duty of the Ministry of Education to do all in its power to implement this policy and to take such immediate steps as..... The use of spoken Arabic by teachers and pupils in all schools at all levels should be encouraged, and missionaries and officials in charge of schools are asked to learn that language.⁶⁸

The use of Arabic language was a portent of the full-scale Arabization of southern Sudan. The British document presented the forecast about the antagonistic relationship between northern and southern Sudan. According to this, “it is perfectly true that the southern Sudanese are entirely different on all counts to the northern Arab Sudanese; and that they fear exploitation by the fear.”⁶⁹ Historically, southern Sudan had been the object of exploitation by northern Sudan. The nightmare of slavery, for instance, was still carved on the Southern Sudanese. Furthermore, semi-educated southerners began to have an antipathy to the Sudanese government. They blamed the Sudanese government for the

⁶⁷ Lilian Passmore Sanderson, “Education in the Southern Sudan: The Impact of Government-Missionary-Southern Sudanese Relationship upon the Development of Education during the Condominium Period, 1898-1956,” *African Affairs* 79, no. 315 (April 1980): 167.

⁶⁸ “31. Educational,” Minutes of Standing Committed of the CMS held at Lui, 4.

⁶⁹ Maḥmūd Ṣāliḥ ‘Uthmān Ṣāliḥ and Peter Woodward edit., “[Southern Sudan]: Minutes by D.M.H Riches and D.W Lascelles in May 1947,” *1940-1956 the British Documents on the Sudan Volume III 1947-1949* (Beruit: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2002), 14

underdevelopment of the South.⁷⁰ The northern Sudanese politicians eventually gained more political power with the tacit cooperation of the British government. The policy of Arabization was obviously intended to prevent political activity in southern Sudan and suppress southern Sudanese culture. In 1950, the British office analyzed the policy of Arabization as:

A directive from the Ministry of Education, explaining the proposed inclusion of Arabic teaching in the curriculum of southern schools, was interpreted as deliberate attempt to stamp out vernacular languages and retard the Southerner's emergence.⁷¹

Since the British Egyptian Condominium approved the self-government of Sudan in 1953, southern Sudanese politicians were gradually marginalized from the formation of the Sudanese government. There were three main political parties: the Umma, the National Union Party (NUP), and the Southern Liberal Party. In the House of Representatives, most of the southern M.P.s insisted on the principle of federalism in the government of Sudan. However, the NUP won the election for the first Parliament Sudanese by securing fifty-one seats out of ninety-seven. Moreover, in the Sudanisation Committee, southern politicians were appointed to only four Assistant District Commissioners.⁷²

⁷⁰ Maḥmūd Ṣālīḥ ‘Uthmān Ṣālīḥ and Peter Woodward edit., “Note on Situation Regarding Southern Sudan,” *1940-1956 the British Documents on the Sudan Volume III 1947-1949* (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2002), 57.

⁷¹ Maḥmūd Ṣālīḥ ‘Uthmān Ṣālīḥ and Peter Woodward edit., “Report on the Southern Provinces: note by the Civil Secretary's Office, Khartoum,” *1940-1956 the British Documents on the Sudan Volume V 1950-1951* (Beirut: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2002), 14.

⁷² Joseph Oduho and William Deng, *The Problem of the Southern Sudan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 24-25.

In October 1954, at the conference held in Juba, southerners affirmed that their political aim was federation. However, the opinion of southern politicians was ignored, and this situation consolidated the southern fear and suspicion of northern Sudanese domination. Furthermore, Ismael el Azhari, the first Sudanese Prime Minister, consistently suppressed the south. Since the beginning of the self-determination government, many southerners were killed or imprisoned by the governmental forces under the pretext of interrupting the unity of Sudan. At the Nazara Cotton Industry, 300 southern workers were replaced by northerners in 1955.⁷³ Indeed, since the start of the Mutiny Revolt in 1955, the dissatisfaction of Southern Sudanese had obviously surfaced.

2. The Persecution of Missionary Work

The political change in Sudan negatively affected the educational work of the missions in southern Sudan. The Sudanese government was antagonistic toward the role of missionaries and gradually took over all missionary schools in the South. After 1949, Christian missions were not able to open new schools.⁷⁴ The Sudanese government tried to eliminate Christianity in the South. The Sudanese government began the persecution of Christianity as soon as the independence of Sudan was declared in 1956. The government believed that the reason for the delay of development was that Sudan was not united as one country. The government regarded Christianity as an obstacle interfering the unity of Sudan. Joseph Oduho and William Deng, the early southern Sudanese politicians, pointed

⁷³ Ibid., 27-28.

⁷⁴ Sanderson, "Education in the Southern Sudan," 167.

out that northern Sudanese realized that Christianity was the only rival that would disturb the unity of Sudan.⁷⁵ In order to eradicate Christianity, the government preferentially restrained the expansion of Christian schools after independence.

The Sudanese government acknowledged that Christian missions used educational work as a tool for proselytization. The government closed down the Christian religious schools to prevent Christian religious work. In a letter to the Governor of Equatoria Province, the Eastern District Commissioner, urged the educational work of the missions be banned.

Please note that where no approval was previously obtained from the Governor general or since then from the Council of Ministers in respect of any of the existing Catechumen, Seminaries or any other kind of Religious Schools they are hereby considered as illegal institutions and must close down within one month of receipt of this Circular Letter.⁷⁶

Considering that Christianity and Islam had been in an uneasy relationship in history, the Christian mission was a religious symbol of anti-Arabization. In this regard, the government had to eradicate Christianity as a religious vestige of Western imperialism and as an obstacle to the unity of Sudan. However, not only for religious reasons but also for political reason, the government persecuted Christian missions in Sudan.

⁷⁵ Oduho, *The Problem of the Southern Sudan*, 56.

⁷⁶ Ali Baldo, "A Strictly Confidential Letter to All Missions, August 30, 1960," *Sudan Government secret plans against Christian missions in the south: secret correspondence circulated between the officials of various government departments of the Sudan with regards to plans to put an end to Christian missionary activity in the Southern Sudan during the years 1957-1960*. (Place of publication not identified: publisher not identified, 1960). See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

The government progressively accused Christian missions of political demagoguery. Bishop Sisto Mazzoldi asked Sayed Yusef Mohammed Said, Eastern District Commissioner, to obtain approval to establish a mission station in the area of Nyangiya. However, in the letter to the governor of Equatoria Province, Said plainly doubted the religious purpose of Christian missions.

We have suffered a lot from the Missionaries' expansion in the South, and so it may be time to limit their expansion and powers in the South until such time we have a better control and grip on the present existing ones. I do not believe in the Bishops' intention of assuring us that the new opening of Missionary sites is purely for religious purposes, once we are not in a position to know what they do inside these institutions, and once they have clearly stated to us in the past that the only way was to preach for Christianity in the South can only be done through education.⁷⁷

The government in earnest doubted that there was any Christian mission involvement in the southern political movement against the Sudanese government. In a secret letter to all District Commissioners in 1957, Baldo mentioned the political relationship between politicians of the Liberal Party and Catholic missionaries.

Although taking over of the Catholic Schools has already started yet the Catholic Missionary Head quarters has lately informed the Government of their dissatisfaction with the policy to which they had previously agreed. They have shown signs of going further by recruiting public opinion for their support and this has been manifested in opposition shown by politicians of the Liberal Party in Juba and in the press. The recent visit of Saueed Stanislaus, the would-be President of the Liberal Party, to

⁷⁷ Sayed Yusef Mohammed Said, "Letter to the governor of Equatoria Province, December 14, 1957," *Sudan Government secret plans against Christian missions in the south: secret correspondence circulated between the officials of various government departments of the Sudan with regards to plans to put an end to Christian missionary activity in the Southern Sudan during the years 1957-1960*. (Place of publication not identified: publisher not identified, 1960). See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

Equatoria Province may make things worst as he is totally against this government policy. We should therefore expect trouble amongst school children and their masters to which a fanatic Catholics adherents may join. Behind such a movement is clearly hidden the hands of Catholic Missionaries. We must therefore employ all our secret agencies to unearth the plot.....⁷⁸

For the purpose of political domination, the Sudanese government observed all kinds of activities of the missionaries. In particular, they foresaw the political connection between the southern politicians and Christian missionaries.

In 1960, the government officially regulated religious activities of the missions with the charge of political disturbance. Ali Baldo announced the restriction of religious and educational activity of the Christian missions as follows:

Your attention is drawn to the fact that—since Education has become the sole responsibility of the Government, Missions are not allowed to run any educational activities. Attempts to get round the Government policy in this field by continuing missionary educational activities under the cloak of Catechumen are viewed seriously by the Government and persistence to follow such practices will no doubt weaken the Government 's confidence in your loyalty to its policies and render you and your assistant liable to prosecution under the Law.⁷⁹

The suppression policy of the government had become strengthened. Many missionaries had been ejected, and the government kept a tight rein on the activities of

⁷⁸ Ali Baldo, "Top Secret-Very Urgent Letter to All D.C.s, April 13, 1957," *Sudan Government secret plans against Christian missions in the south: secret correspondence circulated between the officials of various government departments of the Sudan with regards to plans to put an end to Christian missionary activity in the Southern Sudan during the years 1957-1960*. (Place of publication not identified: publisher not identified, 1960). See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston university.

⁷⁹ Ali Baldo, "A Strictly Confidential Letter to All Missions, August 30, 1960," *Sudan Government secret plans against Christian missions in the south: secret correspondence circulated between the officials of various government departments of the Sudan with regards to plans to put an end to Christian missionary activity in the Southern Sudan during the years 1957-1960*. (Place of publication not identified: publisher not identified, 1960). See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

the missionaries remaining in the South. The government did not issue re-entry visas to the missionaries who were going to leave Sudan for any reasons, and it took over mission schools, and closed other missionary facilities, such as missionary hospitals and workshops. Also, Sunday was replaced by Islamic Friday in 1960.⁸⁰ Eventually, in 1964, the Sudanese government expelled all Christian missionaries from the South. The southern Sudanese nationalists recognized Christianity as scape-goats, which northern Sudanese government attributed blame to. William Deng clarified the significance of Christianity as:

The Arabs are looking for scape-goats and they tell us, and the world that the problem is there because of Christianity and Christian missionaries. We are being denied education and religious freedom because of these claims, desperate attempts are being made to destroy our Africans and Negroid culture.⁸¹

To sum up, after 1955, the Sudanese government in earnest drove Christian missions out for two reasons. First, the Sudanese government aimed for cultural and religious unity through Arabization. Compared to other primitive religions in the South, Christianity was only able to confront Islam with the modernized system and its social work. Second, the government needed to prevent any political disturbance, which is related to Christian missions. Most Southern elites had a connection with Christian missions because they were educated in Christian mission schools. The influence of Christianity already became

⁸⁰ Oduho, *The Problem of the Southern Sudan*, 56.

⁸¹ William Deng, "Official Statement by the National Executives on the Sudan African Closed District National Union," *Voice of Southern Sudan* 1. no 1. See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

a political force to be reckoned with. Therefore, it was imperative that the Sudanese government eradicates Christian missions in the South.

3. The Rise of Nationalism of Southern Sudan

After the Torit Mutiny, the Sudanese government consolidated the forced system of state law to define citizenship as united Sudanese and to endorse development in Southern Sudan. The policy of Arabization was based on aiming at the socio-political and cultural assimilation of Southern Sudan. This policy was forcibly applied to southern Sudanese without cultural consideration. Some northern Sudanese, for example, made an effort to change the habit of nakedness culture. Furthermore, northern Sudanese often insulted southern Sudanese through social discrimination.⁸² In this circumstance, educated elites in Southern Sudan participated in various political activities for the policy of federation to be separated from northern Sudan.

The southern political movement started with Southern Party registered in 1953. Later the Southern Party changed its name the Liberal Party in order to avoid reflecting a geographical feature. The goal of the Liberal Party was to ensure self-government of southern Sudan in the form of a federation. In 1954, Liberal Party politicians initiated a campaign against the Sudanese government, which was the Sudanization Program. The government excluded southern politicians by appointing only four southerners for the post of Assistant District Commissioner and two for the post of Mamur. Also, the

⁸² Republic of the Sudan, *Southern Sudan Disturbances August 1955: Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in the Southern Sudan during August, 1955* (Sudan: McCorquedale & Co., 1956), 125-126.

government consistently threatened the activities of Liberal Party politicians with its authority.⁸³

Another political movement was the Federal Party. The Federal Party began with southern intellectuals and university students. The Liberal Party and other minor northern parties built up a cooperative party for a federal constitution. Ezboni Mondiri, the founder of the Federal Party, won the election in 1958 but was arrested before he entered in Parliament. However, the members of the party vigorously lobbied for the federal system by touring all around the country, and the result was that the government could not gain the required numbers to pass the constitution.⁸⁴

In 1958, General Abboud led a military coup and dismissed the claim for federation. The military regime pushed forward the policy of Arabization and hindered the expansion of Christianity at all costs. Also, all kinds of individual freedoms were regulated tightly. By the persecution of the military regime, ex-MPs, politicians, intellectuals, and students were exiled to nearby countries. This circumstance caused two national movements in southern Sudan. One aimed to reform political groups and the other attempted to orchestrate an armed movement. Father Saturnino Lohure, who was an ex-Catholic priest, Joseph Oduho who was an ex-MP, Aggrey Jarden, and William Deng founded Sudan African Closed Districts National Union (SACDNU) during their exile in

⁸³ A/Magid Ali Bob and Samson S. Wassara, "The Emergence of the Organized Political Movement in Southern Sudan 1946-1972," Conference on the Nationalist Movement in the Sudan, and Mahasin A. Al-Safi. *The Nationalist Movement in the Sudan* (Khartoum, Sudan: Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, 1989), 298-300. "

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 306-307.

1962. Later, this political movement changed its name Sudan African National Union (SANU).⁸⁵

The original goal of SANU was to move forward as a political movement. Oduho and Lohure organized a European tour and visited the Vatican to propagate SANU. Also, SANU published a magazine, *Voice of Southern Sudan* in London, and Oduho and Deng co-wrote *The Problem of Sudan*. Their political movement retained a peaceful method to settle the problem of Southern Sudan. However, as the military regime strengthened its repressive ways, SANU became involved in an armed struggle. Later, the aggravation of the relationship between Joseph Oduho and William Deng caused the spilt of SANU.⁸⁶ After the Round Table Conference, SANU divided into two factions: SANU-inside led by William Deng and SANU-in-exile led by Joseph Oduho and Aggrey Jaden. The group of Joseph Oduho, Fr. Saturnino and other members launched the Azania Liberation Front (ALF). Later, ALF united with the group of Aggrey Jaden and became Sudan African Liberation Front (SALF).⁸⁷

Despite its short period of activities, SANU was highly appreciated by present South Sudanese politicians in terms of its political capability and full-fledged participation of Southern politicians. The members of SANU, for example, as southern delegates, participated in the Round Table Conference⁸⁸ in 1965 and delivered a speech.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 310-313.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 313-317.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 317.

⁸⁸ It was the conference between the northern and southern political leaders in order to find peaceful resolution for southern problem. The conference was held in March 16-25, 1965. All northern and

In the conference, Aggrey Jaden gave a speech to reflect the political need of southern Sudan.

The situation in the Southern Sudan is very tense. The Southerners reject the Arab administration in the South particularly that this administration is supported by Arab troops of occupation. To many Southern Sudanese independence has in fact meant the substitution of one foreign colonialism with another savage Arab colonialism. The result is the failure in gaining Southern Sudanese confidence. Instead of transforming this barbaric colonial regime the Northern Sudanese go on to maintain imposed political domination over the Southern Sudan. Deprived of the opportunity in influencing their own affairs the Southerners are left with nothing but the right to resist subjugation.⁸⁹

Consequently, from the 1950s to the 1960s the national movement of Southern Sudan was led by southern elites, who were politicians, intellectuals, and Christian leaders.

4. The Relationship between Christianity and the National Movement

Through the national activities of southern elites and the persecution from the Sudanese government, Christian missions were linked to the national movement against northern Sudan. In this regard, it is necessary to ask, ‘is the conflict between northern Sudan and southern Sudan religious?’ Ibrahim Nyigilo, the president of the Sudan Christian Association, clarified this issue as:

We know that Christianity and Missionaries are only scapegoats of an illconceived policy, which aims at giving a religious solution to a political

southern parties participated in the conference. Also, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ghana, and the United Arab Republic joined the conference as observers. See *Round-Table Conference on the Southern Sudan: Khartoum March 16-25, 1965*. In African studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

⁸⁹ Aggrey Jaden, “The Problem of the Southern Sudan,” *Round Table Conference of the South Khartoum, March 16-25, 1965*. See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

and cultural problem. If Christianity and the Christian church is involved in the Southern Sudan Problem, it is because the Arab government seeks a religious solution to the Afro-Arab conflict, thus bringing religion into politics. Religion is not yet a factor in the political struggle, neither is it the cause, as far as the Southern Sudanese are concerned.⁹⁰

Hence, it is clear that the cause of the issue was not religious conflict but the political and historical discord. However, although religion is not the main cause of the conflict, it is evidently true that a religion played a role as a political instrument in supporting each political stance. Peter Russell and Storrs McCall state that the secessionist movement of southern Sudan was based on racial, social and cultural factors.⁹¹ Hence, in the light of the cultural conflict between northern and southern Sudan, it can be assumed that religion was utilized as a political tool. Ali Baldo's letter to the Ministry of the Interior is a fine example of how northern Sudan and southern Sudan utilized a religion as a political engine.

Much as we cannot disguise history we can no longer, after having been compelled to do so by the missions, keep secret the prejudiced and harmful part, which they had played in furthering the policy of the old regime which had made them the instrument for the disunity of the Sudan, that policy which have been especially designed for the Southern Provinces and which had been energetically pursued to minutest detail had as its components four main objectives which were:

- a).....
- b) The building up of Christian prestige and humiliation of other religions and Islam in particular
- c).....

⁹⁰ Ibrahim Nyigilo, "A letter to Heads of Christian Churches, Head of African States, and Sec-General, U.N." *Voice of Southern Sudan* 1, no. 2. See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

⁹¹ Russell and Storrs McCall, "Can Secession be Justified?: The Case of the Southern Sudan," in *the Southern Sudan: The Problem of National Integration*, ed. Dunstan M.Wai (London: Frank Cass, 1973), 113.

d) The exclusion of the teaching of Arabic language and culture in schools syllabus.⁹²

Baldo criticized Christianity for a cause of disunity. His criticism about Christianity was based on an antagonistic relationship with Islam. Likewise, southern nationalists defended the necessity of Christianity in the South by refuting the criticism of the Sudanese government. In particular, Christianity became a part of southern Sudan as us not others, and influenced the national movement against northern Sudan.

5. Christianity as Us not Other

Before dealing with the connection between Christianity and the southern national movement, it is important to discuss how Christianity became a political tool for southern nationalists. The background of being a political tool was related to the identity of Christianity. Specifically, through the process of Christian mission responding to the socio-political context of Southern Sudan from the 1920s to 1960s, Christianity had to refer to us, to southern Sudanese. During this process, Christian mission satisfied the needs of the Southern Sudanese and participated in the painful history of Southern Sudan. There are two factors in this transformation of Christianity from other to us.

First, the persecution of Christianity brought out the image of 'us' rather than 'other.' As mentioned above, the persecution of Christianity was premeditated and deliberate. This persecution of Christianity was paralleled with the coercive rule of the

⁹² Ali Baldo, "A Letter to the Ministry of the Interior, March 17, 1960," *Sudan Government secret plans against Christian missions in the south: secret correspondence circulated between the officials of various government departments of the Sudan with regards to plans to put an end to Christian missionary activity in the Southern Sudan during the years 1957-1960* (Place of publication not identified: publisher not identified, 1960). See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

Sudanese government to Southern Sudanese. The brutal tyranny of the Sudanese government killed many Southerners and burned their houses. In Kapoeta District, for example, Sudanese Army killed 305 people and burned 13,100 houses in 1964. In Torit District, 161 people were killed, and 13,550 houses were burned and 20,840 people became homeless.⁹³ In the public schools, southern Sudanese children were not accepted. In particular, southern Christians often were discriminated against because of their religion, and they were asked to convert to Islam.⁹⁴ Both the persecution of Southern Sudanese and Christian mission were simultaneously exacerbated after 1955. Therefore, the persecution of Christianity gave homogeneity to the southern Sudanese. Furthermore, the persecution of Christianity is related to the right of freedom of religion for southern Sudanese.

Second, the educational work of the missions not only satisfied the demand of southern Sudanese but also spread Christianity to them. During the colonial period, southern Sudan was totally excluded in the development plan of the British government. Although since 1920 the British government encouraged the educational work in the South, Christian missions came to the front to lead most educational work. The northern Sudanese government criticized the monopoly of education by Christian missions but southern nationalists refuted the criticism of the government as:

With the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium government unwilling to give education to the Southern Sudan's Africans, one wonder if these

⁹³ Sudan Informazioni News Agency, *Genocide in the Southern Sudan: Human Rights Violated, Arabs Vs. Africans : Sudan Informazioni News Agency Documents*. (Milan: The Agency, 1964),13-14.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

irresponsible accusers were in a position to do it themselves, if the missionaries did not. It conforms to the rule of ethics that in any given situation demanding service and sacrifice, specific organization or persons tend to be more interested than others. This was true of missionaries regarding the introduction of education in the Southern Sudan.⁹⁵

The educational work enabled the missionaries to spread the gospel to southern Sudanese. Missionaries trained numerous southern Christian teachers and catechists who were from teachers' training center or Christian mission schools. These local missionaries spread Christianity to the places where western missionaries could not approach with the translated Bible.⁹⁶

By and large, the educational work of the mission received fervent response from southerners who were excluded from the development plan of the British administration.

Voice of Southern Sudan valued Christian education in Southern Sudan as:

The accusation that prior to Sudan's independence, foreign missionaries maintained a monopoly of Christian proselytization in the Southern Sudan, is both unfair and misleading..... Its is an established fact today that Africans of the Southern Sudan are more prone to embracing the Christian faith because amongst its adherence they witnessed the prevalent of faith that has reverence for human worth a member of a fellow or not."⁹⁷

Although the purpose of the educational work of missionaries ultimately aimed at proselytization, southern Sudanese considered the educational work of the missions as the needed work for them and accepted Christianity.

⁹⁵ "Editorial Comment," *Voice of Southern Sudan* 1, no. 2. See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

⁹⁶ Mailer, "Anglo-American and European Missionary Encounters in Southern Sudan, 1898-Present," 221.

⁹⁷ "Christian Missionaries Monopoly of Education," *Voice of Southern Sudan* 1, no. 2. See this material in African Studies library at Mugar in Boston University.

6. The Connection between Christianity and the Southern National Movement

The national movement of southern Sudan and Christianity were deeply inter-related. By and large, there were two reasons for southern nationalists to defend Christianity politically. First, as mentioned above, Christianity became one of the political instruments that explained the atrocities of northern Sudanese government. The persecution of Christianity was directly related to an infringement of freedom of religion. Second, Christianity was a symbolic presence linked with Western power. Considering that most mission societies had on an international character, southern nationalists tried to connect with international Christian groups to let the international society know the atrocities of the northern Sudanese government.

However, beyond the political reason, Christianity more directly connected to the national movement of southern Sudan. Most southern elites were educated in mission schools and some western missionaries were charged in political disturbance. Also, some Christian leaders vigorously participated in the national movement. In this regard, Christianity did not play a passive role in the national movement. Beyond its passive role as a political instrument, it is important to shed new light on how Christianity supported the national movement. For this, based on the educational work of the missions and the participation of Christians in the national movement, I will describe how Christianity was inter-related with the national movement.

i. The Educational Work of the Mission as Groundwork

The educational work of the mission prepared the ground of the national movement with its modernized education. In other words, the Christian education provided the national movement with workforce and modernization. Through the Christian education, a new social elite class was created, which was different from traditional southern Sudanese tribal society. In the 1930s, many indigenous elites in Southern Sudan recognized that power and structure were shifting from traditional tribes to the mission-educated elites. Considering the goal of the educational work of the government, being educated at the RC, CMS, and APM meant entering the powerful social class of colonial society.⁹⁸

Furthermore, Christian missions provided southern Sudanese with “the expansion and improvement of the quality of education” from 1928 to 1947.⁹⁹ During this period, Christian missions started expanding and improving the quality of education at elementary and village schools. Also, due to the influence of the Southern Policy, Christian missions fortified the intermediate educational system in the South. James S. Coleman maintains that “the educational system is very much the creature of the polity. It depends upon the polity for its funds, for a specification of kinds and levels of training and, frequently, for its policies.”¹⁰⁰ Likewise, the educational work of Christian mission was influenced by the British administration. In accordance with the Southern Policy, the

⁹⁸ Mailer, “Anglo-American and European Missionary Encounters in Southern Sudan, 1898-Present,” 221.

⁹⁹ Philip Legge Pitya, “History of Western Christian Evangelism in the Sudan, 1898-1964” (PhD diss., Boston University, 1996), 405.

¹⁰⁰ James S. Coleman, “Introduction to Part IV,” in *Education and Political Development*, ed. James S. Coleman (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), 521.

educational work of missionaries entered upon a new phase. These changes contributed to the educational work of the missions becoming the cradle of southern nationalists.¹⁰¹

Most southern nationalists, born from the 1920s to the 1930s, were educated in the mission schools. The list of southern political leaders is as follows:

The List of Southern Leaders Educated by Missionary Society¹⁰²

CMS	Benjamin Loki, Paul Doggale, Bullen Alier, Gordon Ayom, Gordon Buli, Aggrey Jaden, Elia Lupe, Marko Rume, William Deng, Gordon Murtat, Joseph Lagu, Eliyoba Surur, Mading De Gereng, Michael Tawil, Samuel Abu John, Habakuk Soro, Daniel Jumi, Ezboni Mundri, Hillary Paul Doggale, Abel Alier, Lubari Ramba, Oliver Albino, Zakkaria Wani, James Loro, Toby Madwot
APM	Georgi Kwanai Kwanyireth, Matthew Obur, John Arop Bior, Samuel Bwogo Atti, Peter Gatkout, Moses Cuol, Michael Wal Dwang, Daniel Kot Matthews, Samuel Gai Tut, Simon Mori Didimo
Catholic Mission	Stanislaus Pajama, James Tombura, Clement Mboro, Gervase Yak, Faustino Roro, Dominic Moruil, Satino Deng, Ambrose Wol, Hillary Akwang, Lawrence Wol Wol, Alexis Mbali Yangu, Elia dwang, Ferdinan Goi, Romano Hassan, Bona Malual, Lawrence Lual Lual, Joseph James Tombura, Herman Banji, Franco Gereng, Joseph Gereng, Tartizio Ahmed, Caesar Zimanji

Therefore, most southern political leaders had educational training in Christian school. In addition, a brief bio of a few southern elites who were involved in SANU and other national movement is as follows:

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Pitya, "History of Western Christian Evangelism in the Sudan," 410-439.

Alier Abel

He was a former Vice-President and a southern Sudanese politician. He was appointed president of the Higher Executive Council for Southern Sudan in 1972. He was born in 1933 and grew up as a Protestant Dinka tribe man. He was educated locally at Bor, when he was young. He studied laws at Khartoum University. Later he did research on land law at London University and secured the Master's degree at Yale University. His intellectual power was well appreciated by people in order to wrestle with the issues of the stability of southern Sudan. He was not ambitious and made an effort to the unity of Sudan.¹⁰³

Enok Mading de Garang

He was born at Kongor in the Bor district. He was educated at the Anglican Church Mission School at Malek. He worked for the Malakal Printing Press of United Presbyterian Church. With the support of the mission he studied typography at Manchester College of Science and Technology. In 1963, he became a founder member of African National Union and participated in publishing *The Voice of Southern Sudan*. Also, he joined the underground movement and was joined in the government's conference on the south in March 1965. He had lived in exile for a long period. In 1972, he finished his exile and was appointed as Commissioner for Information, Culture and Tourism in the Southern Executive Council in 1972.¹⁰⁴

William Deng

¹⁰³ John Dickie and Alan Rake, *Who's Who in Africa: The Political, Military and Business Leaders of Africa* (London: African Development, 1973), 465.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 467-468.

He was born at Dinka from the Bahr al-Ghazel in 1929. Deng attended elementary and Junior secondary schools in Bahr al-Ghazel. Later, he went to Rumbek Secondary School and earned Cambridge School certificate in 1953. In the post of assistant district commissioner, he worked for many districts in Southern Sudan. In 1961, he went to East African and joined the Liberal Party. After serving as secretary-general of the Sudan African Closed Districts National Union in 1962, he became the secretary-general of Sudan African National Union (SANU). Deng became the president of SANU-inside and led the southern delegates at the Roundtable Conference. On 5 May 1967, he and six his colleagues were killed by anonymous gunman.¹⁰⁵

Joseph Oduho

He was born in Equatoria Province of Latuko in 1925. Oduho went to primary school in Torit and junior secondary school at Okaru. After he attended Rumbek Secondary School, he became a teacher in 1952. In 1955, he was arrested with the charge of joining in the Mutiny Revolt. Oduho became a founding member of the Sudan African Closed Districts National Union with William Deng, Father Saturnino Lohure, and Clement Mrobo in 1962. Later, he had participated in various political activities for South Sudan. In 1984, he became head of the Political and Foreign Affairs Committee of Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).¹⁰⁶

ii. The Participation of Christian Leaders in the National Movement

¹⁰⁵ Robert S. Kramer, Richard Andrew Lobban, and Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan* (Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 127.

¹⁰⁶ Kramer, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 333-334.

There were two kinds of Christian groups that participated in the national movement. One group was Western missionaries and other group was southern Sudanese Christian leaders. Southern Sudanese Christian leaders, including western missionaries, had antipathy to the oppressive policy of the Sudanese government and several participated in the anti-Sudanese government movement. First, Western missionaries were involved in the national movement in involuntary ways. Their participation was more based on their Christian faith against Islam, not based on pure nationalism for southern Sudan. In 1964, the Sudanese government criticized the activities of foreign missionaries as political instigation with its published *Memorandum on Reasons that led to the Expulsion of Foreign Missionaries and Priests from the Southern Provinces of the Sudan*. The government regarded the work of Christian mission as facilitator to progress the sense of separateness between southerners and northerners.¹⁰⁷ The Sudanese government compiled a list of missionaries who were charged with political instigation. The list of missionaries is as follows:

List of contraventions Committed by Some Missionaries¹⁰⁸

N	NAME	MISSION	SUMMARY OF CONTRAVENTIONS
1	Fr. Joseph	Catholic Mission	Both indulged in politics and tried to influence electorate during elections
2	Fr. Cigolla	Catholic Mission	
3	Fr. Ugo Riva	Catholic Mission	Convinced for obstructing a government employee in regard to weekly holiday observance
4	Fr. Mazzitelli Savatore	Catholic Mission	Convicted by Court for trading in drugs without licence
5	Fr. Conferlini	Catholic Mission	Convicted by Court fro trading in drugs without licence
6	Rev. Charles Crandall	American Mission	Interference in politics
7	Rev. W.B. Anderson	American	Interference in politics

¹⁰⁷ Sudan, *The Black Book of the Sudan on the Expulsion of the Missionaries from Southern Sudan, An Answer* (Milano: Istituto Artigianelli, 1964), 15.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 29-32.

		Mission	
8	Fr. Umberto Pasina Raphael	Catholic Mission	Interference in political affairs
9	Fr. L. Benedetti	Catholic Mission	Preaching against change of weekly holiday
10	Fr. Stephen Patroni		
11	Rev. Paul Hostitter	American Mission	Expelled for obstructing Government policy
12	Fr. P. E. Plumpre	C. M. S.	Interference in politics
13	Rev. J. B. Harrop	C. M. S.	Contravening Closed Districts Order and Emergency Law
14	Fr. Joseph Renzo	Catholic Mission	In 1959 killed a person through negligence. In 1960 drove a car recklessly and killed two persons
15	Richard Simoncite	Catholic Mission	Preaching against change of weekly holiday
16	Miss Dorothy L. Rankin	American Mission	Preaching against change of weekly holiday
17	Fr. Giovanni Zucchelli	Catholic Mission	Convicted for injurious falsehood for spreading false information against the Government
18	Fr. Michell Rosata	Catholic Mission	Preaching for separation of South from North
19	Sr. Evelina Maggion	Catholic Mission	Refused to obey authorities' order to move Lewa girls school to another place
20	Miss. Arlene Schuiteman	American Mission	Preaching against stay of Northerners in Southern Sudan
21	Fr. Basti Anelli Renato	Catholic Mission	Trading without licence
22	Fr. Bozati Ouilo	Catholic Mission	Contravened the Non-Government Schools Ordinance and the Missionaries Act
23	Sr. Andrita Mereto	Catholic Mission	Teaching Christianity to Moslem girls
24	Fr. Agratti Antonio	Catholic Mission	Built a church without the approval of the Local Authorities
25	Fr. Adriano Yovanti	Catholic Mission	Baptized a Moslim child
26	Fr. John Yerevla	Catholic Mission	Abetted citizens to leave the Sudan to Central Africa on alleged disturbance
27	Fr. Bartoli Bietro	Catholic Mission	Abetted school boys to assault their teacher.
28	Fr. Angolo Confalanieri	Catholic Mission	Convicted for abetting the boys of Wau Technical Scholl to go on strike
29	Fr. Castori Rofaiel	Catholic Mission	Convicted for contravening the Missionaries' Act
30	Fr. Charles E. Gordon	Catholic Mission	Expelled for indulging in Suspicious activities threatening the unity and security of the country
31	Fr. Delmasio Selvio	Catholic Mission	Asked the Citizens of a village to pray for the victory of the county
32	Fr. Andria Troki	Catholic Mission	Used to help the outlaws by transporting them from one place to another
33	Fr. Fedenand Colombo	Catholic Mission	Convicted under the Missionaries' Act 1962
34	Fr. Remo Armani	Catholic Mission	Convicted under the Missionaries' Act 1962
35	Everesto Migotti	Catholic Mission	Convicted under the Missionaries' Act 1962
36	Fr. Lobji De Gorgi	Catholic Mission	Gave shelter to two of the mutineers
37	Fr. Martinato Rfrem	Catholic Mission	Supplied mutineers with provisions

These Western missionaries were expelled from Sudan because of violating the policy of the Sudanese government. Most missionaries were charged in relation to political disturbance. Through *the Black Book of the Sudan*, Verona Fathers logically refuted this political charge. Although Catholic missions declared that many charges were not political in nature, in fact, Western missionaries were not free from various political charges from the Sudanese government.¹⁰⁹ In other words, the political circumstance of southern Sudan compelled Western missionaries to go against the policy of the Sudanese government. Catholic missions exactly pointed out this problem as follows:

We are simply faced with the typical and fundamental moslem concept: Religion is politics, and politics is religion. Or better yet: Politics is only an aspect of religion. This is so true that, immediately after, *the absorption of the Christian faith by the Southern Sudanese* is presented as the chief crime for which the missionaries are held to be guilty.¹¹⁰

Therefore, the participation of Western missionaries in the national movement was more related to the involuntary resistance, which was based on their Christian faith against Islam.

Unlike Western missionaries, southern Sudanese Christian leaders actively participated in the national movement. The political participation of Fr. Saturnino Lohure and Fr. Paul Doggale is the one of the best examples of this. These two priests were elected for the National Assembly. They advocated for the southern people.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 136.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 131.

Fr. Saturiano Lohure was a southern political leader and Roman Catholic priest. Father Lohure was appointed to the Sudan's constitutional committee in 1957 and elected to Parliament in 1958. After military coup in 1958 he sought asylum to the neighboring country in 1961. He was one of the members of the SANU. After SANU dissolved, he became a prominent member of the Azania Liberation Front. He was assassinated in 1967.¹¹¹ The national activity of Fr. Lohure was based on his Christian faith. During his national activities, he criticized "a capital sin" among the southern politicians and soldiers.¹¹² He also believed that military resistance could be the solution for the problem of southern Sudan. According to the recent research of Fr. Lohure, the theology of Fr. Lohure was not in the line of reconciliation theology. His theology is understood as liberation theology.¹¹³ Therefore, as a priest, he was involved in the military resistance with Joseph Lagu.

Fr. Paoline Doggale, after the National Assembly closed, came back to his ministry in the Dinka tribe. Later he became the parish priest of Rumbek. In 1960, he was accused of violating the policy that Sunday becomes a working day. He had been in jail for five years. Also, when he fled to Uganda to avoid the Juba massacre in 1965, as a minister, he took care of southern refugees in Uganda.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Ibid., 267.

¹¹² Steve A. Paterno, *Rev. Fr. Saturnino Lohure: A Roman Catholic Priest Turned Rebel, the South Sudan Experience* (Baltimore: PublishAmerica, 2007), 269.

¹¹³ Ibid., 227.

¹¹⁴ Pitya, "History of Western Christian Evangelism in the Sudan," 459.

Consequently, southern Sudanese Christian leaders, based on their Christian faith, participated in the national movement. In this regard, Christian faith played a role as an engine to lead the national movement of southern Sudan. Christian leaders participated in the national movement in different ways depending on their particular interpretation of theology.

V. Conclusion

Christianity in South Sudan is the result of a series of events that the Christian mission responded to the socio-political context of South Sudan. By responding to various socio-political contexts of South Sudan, Christian mission became a main religion in South Sudan. Through educational work, the Christian mission facilitated the “re-conceptualization of the missionary presence” in the South.¹¹⁵ Christian educational work became a tool to satisfy the aspiration of southerners isolated economically and culturally. The educational work of the missions enabled Christianity to be with southerners as a friend; provide common ground to share opinions with one another; and introduce Western civilization to southerners. After that Christianity became a friendly religion to southerners, southerners employed Christianity as one of the reason to go against the North. Southern nationalists defended the necessity of Christianity and criticized the expulsion of Christian missionaries by the Sudanese government. Therefore, Christianity was no longer other but became us, an element of resistance to the Islamic north.

¹¹⁵ Mailer, “Anglo-American and European Missionary Encounters in Southern Sudan, 1898-Present,” 205.

The dynamics of Christian mission is ongoing communication between the gospel and missionary; between missionary and local people as object of proselytization; between the gospel and local Christians; and between local Christians and the local context. These ongoing communications consistently bring the mission to the life. Likewise, Christianity in South Sudan first appeared as a tool of the British imperialism. In certain respects, it was undeniable that Christian mission was exploited for political purposes. However, the educational work of missionaries played a role in communicating with local southerners. In fact, the Christian educational work is a good example of how Christian mission communicated in the context of South Sudan. Finally, Christianity defended the legitimacy of the independence of southern Sudan, when southern Sudanese nationalists insisted on their independence. From the tool of imperialism to supportive spirit for the independence, the history of Christian mission in southern Sudan itself is the example of the dynamic of Christian mission.

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