

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

CMA	Comboni Mission Archive
CMSA	Church Missionary Society Archive, University of Birmingham
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society
SAD	Sudan Archive, Durham University Libraries
SSNA	South Sudan National Archives

INTRODUCTION

- 1 “The Wind of Change—Harold Macmillan’s African Tour of 1960,” National Archives (UK), accessed August 20, 2012, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/news/421.htm>.
- 2 Boddy-Evans, “Chronological List of African Independence.”
- 3 *East Africa and Rhodesia* 37, no. 1187 (September 9, 1960), folder EP.46.B.2, box EP 373, SSNA.
- 4 Øystein H. Rolandsen notes that though the First Civil War is popularly dated 1955–72, full-scale violence did not begin until 1963. See Rolandsen, “False Start,” 105. Others had previously made this point: for example, Johnson and Prunier, “Foundation and Expansion,” 117–41; Johnson, “Sudan People’s Liberation Army,” 53–72; Johnson, *Root Causes* (2003); and Johnson, “Twentieth-Century Civil Wars,” 122–32.
- 5 United Nations Security Council, “Southern Sudan Referendum Was Timely”; and United Nations Mission in the Sudan, “Independence of South Sudan.”
- 6 “Sudan Referendum.”
- 7 Natsios, *Sudan*, 18; and Jok, *War and Slavery*, 100.
- 8 “South Sudanese Christians Plan.”

- 9 Acting Governor, Episcopal Church of the Sudan (ECS) Independence Service, July 8, 2012 (Juba, South Sudan).
- 10 Natsios, *Sudan*, xvii.
- 11 Prayer given during same service.
- 12 Salomon, *For Love of the Prophet*. For a sense of the prodigious scholarship, the fourth edition of the *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan* lists in its “Law and Islamization” bibliography twenty-nine books and articles published in that area between 1971 and 2012. See Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 512–13 (as taken from Tounsel, “Khartoum Goliath,” 145n3).
- 13 Jok, *War and Slavery*, 40.
- 14 Sanneh, “Religion, Politics, and National Integration,” 151.
- 15 Moyn, *Christian Human Rights*, 24, 145.
- 16 Mahmood Mamdani’s *Saviors and Survivors* is of particular interest (especially 6–7, 279–80, 300).
- 17 Glassman, *War of Words*, 6–7; and Magaziner, *Law and the Prophets*.
- 18 See Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*. According to Feierman, the purpose of studying intellectuals’ social position was to comprehend those within peasant society best capable of shaping discourse, their location within an oppressive framework, and the relationship between their status and political language (4–5; see also 39, 263).
- 19 “South Sudan’s Kiir Reiterates Call”; Natsios, *Sudan*, xii, xv; and Harris, “U.S. Imposes Arms Ban.” For dating of conflict, see “Global Conflict Tracker [South Sudan].”
- 20 Barnaba Marial Benjamin and Desmond Tutu, ECS Independence Service (July 8, 2012). For Deng’s ministerial position, see “Barnaba Marial Benjamin”; and Ngor, “S. Sudan Says China to Help.”
- 21 F. M. Deng, *War of Visions*, 15; see also Tesfai, *Holy Warriors*, where the same quotation is cited on p. 18.
- 22 Minter, “Pro Veritate”; and Walshe, “Evolution of Liberation Theology,” 19.
- 23 Magaziner, *Law and the Prophets*, 3.
- 24 “Challenge to the Church.”
- 25 Akanji, “Black Theology,” 177; Pinn, “Cone, James Hal”; and Cone and Wilmore, “Black Theology and African Theology,” 463n.
- 26 Cone and Wilmore, “Black Theology,” 467. Information on the essay’s publication history can be found on 463n.
- 27 Cone and Wilmore, “Black Theology,” 467.
- 28 Mbiti, “African Views,” 477, 478.
- 29 Mbiti, “African Views,” 481.
- 30 F. M. Deng, *War of Visions*, 222–23.
- 31 F. M. Deng, *War of Visions*, 210, citing Bona Malwal, *People and Power in Sudan: The Struggle for National Stability* (London: Ithaca Press, 1981), 16–17.
- 32 Johnson, “Future of Southern Sudan’s Past,” 39–40; Leonardi, “South Sudanese Arabic,” 351, 371; Woodward, “Religion and Politics,” 170; and Gray, “Epilogue,” 188–89, 198–99.

- 33 Fadlalla, "Neoliberalization of Compassion," 212–13.
- 34 Launay, "An Invisible Religion?," 189–90; and Ware, *Walking Qur'an*, 19.
- 35 Launay, "An Invisible Religion?," 190.
- 36 Ware, *Walking Qur'an*, 19–20.
- 37 Steve Paterno, email to Christopher Tounsel (questionnaire response), October 4, 2013.
- 38 Jok, *War and Slavery*, 77–78.
- 39 Leonardi, *Dealing with Government*, 182; Ryle, "Peoples and Cultures," 33; and Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas*, 354.
- 40 Mutua, "Racism at Root."
- 41 Johnson, "Sudanese Military Slavery," 148–49.
- 42 Sikainga, *Slaves into Workers*, xii–xiii; and Idris, *Conflict and Politics*, 4, 6, 20.
- 43 Lee, *Unreasonable Histories*, 5.
- 44 Africanism emerged from the colonial native question, broadly construed, being deeply racialized in the first instance and firmly entrenched in the ethnic politics of the customary in the second; see Lee, *Unreasonable Histories*, 8.
- 45 D. Chang, *Citizens of a Christian Nation*, 9; Longman, "Church Politics," 168–69; and Keto, "Race Relations," 600–601, 612, 626. In the Sudanese context, incoming British brought their own conception of labor along ethnic lines and certain perceptions about the working capacity of each ethnic group. See Sikainga, *Slaves into Workers*, xiii.
- 46 See, for example, Hall, *History of Race*, 2; Brennan, *Taifa*, 1–2; Glassman, *War of Words*, 6–7; and Magaziner, *Law and the Prophets*.
- 47 Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 7–8.
- 48 Breidlid, Said, and Breidlid, *Concise History of South Sudan*, 148–49; and Johnson, *Root Causes* (2011), 15.
- 49 See Leonardi and Jalil, "Traditional Authority," 115.
- 50 Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, 3.
- 51 See Collins, *Land beyond the Rivers*; Collins, *Shadows in the Grass*; and Sanderson, *Education, Religion and Politics*.
- 52 See Coleman, "Race as Technology," 177.
- 53 Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries*, 2–4.
- 54 See Chidester, *Savage Systems*, 118; and Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 18–20.
- 55 Stanley, "Introduction," 6–7 (for Derek Peterson's chapter, "The Rhetoric of the Word: Bible Translation and Mau Mau in Colonial Central Kenya," see 164–82).
- 56 Rolandsen, *Guerilla Government*, 17. For work done by Nikkel on Dinka Christianity, see his *Dinka Christianity* and "Christian Conversion," 162–68.
- 57 See Loro, "Opening Address," 14; and Bul, "Christmas Message 2015."
- 58 Sanneh, "Preface," 9.
- 59 Gray, "Epilogue," 195, 196; and Hasan, "Role of Religion," 24, citing a quotation from Francis Deng in *Management of the Crisis in the Sudan*, ed. Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed and Gunnar M. Sorbo (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1989), 47.

- 60 Van der Veer and Lehmann, introduction, 6. In n17, they cite *Many Are Chosen: Divine Election and Western Nationalism*, ed. William R. Hutchison and Hartmut Lehmann (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994). “It is essential,” van der Veer and Lehmann write, “to follow the transformation of religious notions when they are transferred from a purely religious context to the sphere of national politics” (7).
- 61 See Salomon, “Religion after the State,” 447–69.
- 62 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 17–18.
- 63 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 19. Marshall took her second question from a billboard she saw in Lagos that read, “Jesus is the Answer.” See Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 268.
- 64 Oliver O’Donovan clarifies what is meant by political theology with this explanation: “Let us be clear that political theology (except in some ideal-type of civil religion) . . . does not suppose a literal synonymy between the political vocabulary of salvation and the secular use of the same political terms. It postulates an analogy—not a rhetorical metaphor only, or a poetic image, but an analogy grounded in reality—between the acts of God and human acts, both of them taking place within the one public history which is the theatre of God’s saving purposes and mankind’s social undertakings.” See O’Donovan, *Desire of the Nations*, 2.
- 65 Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 186.
- 66 Casanova, *Public Religions*, 3.
- 67 An-Na’im, “Islam and National Integration,” 31.
- 68 See Attiyah, “Challenge of Peace in Sudan,” 8 (Attiyah borrows from and cites Colossians 3:10–11); and Loro, “Opening Address,” 12, 14 (paraphrased “gifts of God” from 14).
- 69 See chapter 1 for such connections between ethnic conflict and spirituality. Bush’s post-9/11 characterization of the “axis of evil” is one such example.
- 70 Anthias and Yuval-Davis, introduction, 2.
- 71 Ali, *Gender, Race, and Sudan’s Exile Politics*, 1, 3, 18, 41–42.
- 72 Decker, *In Idi Amin’s Shadow*, 6. In footnote 18 Decker cites a quotation from Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theater Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1988): 519.
- 73 Decker, *In Idi Amin’s Shadow*, 2, 7.
- 74 I borrow the idea of imagined community from Benedict Anderson, who argues that toward the end of the eighteenth century, certain European cultural artifacts became transplantable to a variety of social spaces. Printed vernaculars are a foundational part of his thesis: as a tool of administrative centralization, a shared print culture could contribute to the formation of “imagined communities.” Even though their members may never encounter one another, these communities set the stage for the creation of modern nations. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 4, 6, 40, 46.
- 75 Tounsel, “Khartoum Goliath.”

CHAPTER I. THE NUGENT SCHOOL AND THE ETHNO-RELIGIOUS
POLITICS OF MISSION EDUCATION

- 1 “Llewellyn H. Gwynne,” 9; “The Builder of the Foundations,” in *The Anglican Diocese of the Sudan: A Handbook* (1951), 1, 3, ACC300 Z5, CMSA; “Thanksgiving,” 14–15 (this includes G. H. Martin’s speech from December 16, 1957); and Llewellyn H. Gwynne obituary, *Times* (London), December 4, 1957, as taken from *Sudan Diocesan Review*. For full obituary and information, see “Bishop Gwynne” and Llewellyn H. Gwynne obituary, *Times* (London), December 4, 1957.
- 2 Churchill, *River War*, 269.
- 3 W. H. T. Gairdner, *The C.M.S. in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (London: Clowes, 1919), reprinted from the *Church Missionary Review*, June 1919, 4, ACC6 F15/1, CMSA.
- 4 Gairdner, *C.M.S.*, 4.
- 5 Gairdner, *C.M.S.*, 5; and “Thanksgiving,” 15.
- 6 Stevenson, “Protestant Missionary Work,” 197.
- 7 See Sharkey, “Christians among Muslims,” 55, where she quotes from General Committee Resolution, December 13, 1899, G3/E/P1/1900, CMSA.
- 8 Snape, *Redcoat and Religion*, 225; Ahmed, *Sudan*, 62; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, “Baring, Evelyn, Earl of Cromer (1841–1917),” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 87; Sharkey, “Christians among Muslims,” 56; and W. W. Cash, “Gordon Memorial Mission to Southern Sudan,” 1928, 1, G/Y/S2 (1–122), CMSA.
- 9 “Copy of Journal of the Rev. Archibald Shaw, Southern Soudan, 1905–9,” entry for October 17, 1905, 1, ACCIII F2, CMSA.
- 10 “Thanksgiving,” 15.
- 11 F. M. Deng, *War of Visions*, 210, citing Malwal, *People and Power in Sudan*, 16–17.
- 12 Sidahmed, *Politics and Islam*, 5.
- 13 Sanderson, *Education, Religion and Politics*, 8.
- 14 Rolandsen, “Colonial Backwater,” 17; and Barsella and Guixot, *Struggling to Be Heard*, 11–12.
- 15 See Watson, *Sorrow and Hope*, 131; and Sanderson, *Education, Religion and Politics*, 18–19.
- 16 See Watson, *Sorrow and Hope*, 131; and Voll, “Imperialism, Nationalism and Missionaries,” 40.
- 17 Collins, *Southern Sudan*, 22–23, 44–45; and Johnson, “Prophecy and Mahdism,” 45n11 (citing J. M. Schuver, letter dated August 16, 1883, *Afrique Explorée et Civilisée* 5 [1884]: 7).
- 18 Johnson, “Prophecy and Mahdism,” 43, 51–53 (quotation on 53). For the hymn Johnson cites in footnote 35, see Lienhardt, *Divinity and Experience*, 164–65.
- 19 Baum, “Sudan,” 1795; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 14–15; and Sharkey, “Christians among Muslims,” 57. Though Baum uses “spirits of the sky” (1795) when referring to those entities that inspired the prophets (a term that Edward Evans-Pritchard also employed with respect to Nuer vocabulary), it is an outdated term. Douglas Johnson found Lienhardt’s

- terminology better suited than Evans-Pritchard's for dealing with the common elements of Nilotic religious life. See Johnson, *Nuer Prophets*, 59–60.
- 20 Sharkey, "Christians among Muslims," 57; Watson, *Sorrow and Hope*, 131–32; Ahmed, *Sudan*, 59–60; and Pitya, "History of Western Christian Evangelism," 159–60, 167–68.
- 21 House of Commons, *Egypt No. 1* (1920), 132.
- 22 [Archibald Shaw], "Sudan Notes," no. 14, January 1918, 3–4, ACCIII F4, CMSA.
- 23 C. A. Lea-Wilson speech at the New Alliance Club, December 8, 1922, 15, ACCIII F1/12, CMSA; A. M. Gelsthorpe, "The Bishop Bullen Memorial Chapel" (from the Nugent School, January 1, 1944), 1, ACC300 Z5, CMSA; C. A. Lea-Wilson, "Tidings of the School at Juba, the School-house Being the Gift of Friends in Beloved Memory of Sophia M. Nugent," August 20, 1920, 1, ACCIII F1/9, CMSA; and C. A. Lea-Wilson, "Tidings of the Juba School 1920–1921," 1, ACCIII F1/10, CMSA.
- 24 "TREK No. 1. (Lado Enclave 3rd Jan.–30th. Jan.)," ACCIII F1/2, CMSA, p. 2; Grace B. M. Riley, *No Drums at Dawn*, 45, ACC284 Z1, CMSA; Cash, "Gordon Memorial Mission," 4; Gelsthorpe, "Bishop Bullen Memorial Chapel," 1; H. G. Selwyn to Miss Nugent, October 13, 1928, p. 1, ACCIII F1/22, CMSA; Watts, "From Mr. I. H. Watts," 5–6; Beare, "From Miss J. M. Beare," 18; and Sharland, "From the Rev. C. T. Sharland," 20–21.
- 25 Lea-Wilson, "Tidings of the School at Juba," 1.
- 26 Gelsthorpe, "Bishop Bullen Memorial Chapel," 1.
- 27 Lea-Wilson speech, 15–16.
- 28 Lea Wilson, "Tidings of the Juba School," July 31, 1921.
- 29 Effie K. Kitching to Miss Nugent, March 16 [year unknown], 1, ACCIII F1/19, CMSA; and Lea-Wilson, "Tidings of the Juba School," 2.
- 30 Castillo, *Maltese Cross*, 75, 79–80; and Keating, "Who Are the Knights of Malta?"
- 31 Sharkey, "Jihads and Crusades," 271–72n53, citing Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 2, 5, 24, 54, 106.
- 32 Lea-Wilson speech, 17.
- 33 Wöndu, *From Bush to Bush*, 32.
- 34 H. Parry, "From Mrs. Helena Parry," 16; and "History," Urban Saints, accessed July 29, 2019, <https://www.urbansaints.org/history>.
- 35 H. Parry, "From Mrs. Helena Parry," 15–16.
- 36 J. I. Parry, "From Mr. J. I. Parry, the Nugent School," 14; and de Sarum, "Church in the Sudan," 32.
- 37 J. I. Parry, "From Mr. J. I. Parry, the Nugent School," 14.
- 38 Parsons, *Race, Resistance*, 5–6, 18, 23, 26 (quotation on 18).
- 39 Tounsel, "Render to Caesar," 347; see also 344–51 for examples of this discourse.
- 40 Watts, "Mr. Ian Watts," 14.
- 41 Collins, *Land beyond the Rivers*, 319.
- 42 Collins, *Shadows in the Grass*, 199, 239.

- 43 Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism*, 6–7, citing Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1989); and Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996).
- 44 Lienhardt, “Dinka and Catholicism,” 83.
- 45 Nikkel, *Dinka Christianity*, 31; and F. M. Deng, “Dinka Response to Christianity,” 158.
- 46 F. M. Deng, “Dinka Response to Christianity,” 158, 161.
- 47 Lea-Wilson, “Tidings of the Juba School,” 1; Lea-Wilson, “Tidings of the School at Juba,” 1; “Circular [letter] from the Rev. C. Lea Wilson,” November 18, 1920, 1, ACCIII F1/8, CMSA; and “Tidings from the Rev. C. Lea-Wilson, in Charge of the School for the Cons of Chiefs,” October 20, 1920, 1, ACCIII F1/8, CMSA.
- 48 Lea-Wilson speech, 16; Lea-Wilson, “Tidings of the Juba School,” 2; and “Circular,” 1.
- 49 Blakemore, “From Mr. Blakemore Harrop,” 5. For another description of the school’s diversity, see Beare, “From Miss J. M. Beare,” 19.
- 50 J. I. Parry, “From Mr. J. I. Parry,” 18–19.
- 51 J. G. Matthew, “Rejaf Language Conference 1928,” No. E.H.Etc.17.J.9 (October 30, 1927), 1, 5, folder SCR.17.J.1 (August 2013 designation), box TD 42, SSNA; Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 272; and Hatoss, *Displacement, Language Maintenance and Identity*, 65.
- 52 Memorandum, January 25, 1930, 1, CS.1–C-1, Civil Secretary’s Office.
- 53 *Southern Sudan Disturbances August 1955: Report of the Commission of Enquiry, 1956*, Report of the Sudan, 14, A/87/2, CMA; and Wheeler, “Gateway to the Heart of Africa,” 17. For more on Britain’s pre-1930 policy toward the South, see Wawa, “Background,” 8.
- 54 A. G. Hickson, “Christian Names—English Form or Italian,” June 22, 1933, 1, folder EP.46.A.1 (summer 2012 designation), box 372, SSNA. For Hickson’s position, see “Torit Trades School, Visited May 22nd, 1933,” 2, folder 46.C.3.2.A, EP 380, SSNA.
- 55 J. B. de Sarum [Saram], “The Nugent School, C.M.S. Loka (Report for the Year 1945),” December 16, 1945, 4, 7, folder EP.46.C.1.12 (summer 2012 designation), box 379, SSNA.
- 56 “Extracts from a Report on the Nugent School, Loka, the Intermediate School of the Church Missionary Society in the Southern Sudan (Given at Prize Day, December 6th 1944, by the Acting Headmaster),” 2, G/Y/S2 (1–114/4), CMSA; H. Parry, “From Mrs. Helena Parry,” 16; G. F. Earl to [C. W. M.] Cox, September 7, 1937, 670/6/38–39, SAD; and Watts, “Mr. Ian Watts,” 10.
- 57 Mangan, “Ethics and Ethnocentricity,” 368; Mangan cites in footnote 32 G. F. Earl, “A School’s Opportunity in the Southern Sudan,” *Church Missionary Outlook* (July 1937): 154.
- 58 A. G. Hickson, “Review of Education Progress” [1933], 29, folder ZD.17.E (summer 2012 designation), box ZD 29, SSNA.
- 59 “Appendix C: Documents from the (So Called) Missionary Press which Deal with the Religious Situation in the Sudan,” in *The Black Book of the Sudan: On the*

Expulsion of the Missionaries from Southern Sudan, An Answer (Milan: Artigianelli, 1964), 174; and “Editor of Catholic Paper Expelled from Sudan,” January 1963, 1, A/93/9/6, CMA. The Ayok, Kwajok, and Jambite articles are cited in Pitya, “History of Western Christian Evangelism,” 445n337, 586n228, 773.

- 60 Mason, “Controversy,” 28.
- 61 Mason, “Controversy,” 28; and de Cruz, “New Era of Peace,” 47.
- 62 See, for example, Nebel, *Dinka-Dictionary*; Huffman, *Nuer-English Dictionary*; and Kiggen, *Nuer-English Dictionary*.
- 63 Kiggen, *Nuer-English Dictionary*, 171, 207, 252–53, 278.
- 64 Kiggen, *Nuer-English Dictionary*, 124, 186, 206, 252.
- 65 J. I. Parry, “From Mr. J. I. Parry,” 19.
- 66 G. F. Earl, “The Nugent School, C.M.S. Loka. Report for the Year 1946,” January 31, 1946, 1, folder EP.46.C.1.12 (summer 2012 designation), box EP 379, SSNA.
- 67 Watts, “From Mr. I. H. Watts,” 6.
- 68 J. I. Parry, “C.M.S. Nugent School, Loka,” 32.
- 69 W. B. Adair to Dr. Grice, June 30, 1954, folder 3, box 12, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations Records, PHS.
- 70 Unnamed author to W. B. Adair, July 21, 1954, folder 3, box 12, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations Records, PHS.
- 71 De Sarum [Saram], “From Mr. J. B. de Saram,” 8; and Simeon, “Allison, Oliver C.”
- 72 Allison, “From Bishop O. C. [Oliver] Allison,” 22–23.
- 73 De Sarum [Saram], “From Mr. J. B. de Saram,” 8–9.
- 74 J. I. Parry, “From Mr. J. I. Parry,” 19–20.
- 75 B. M. de Sarum (9.5.45), “The Nugent School, C.M.S. Loka (Report for the Year 1944),” 3–4, folder EP.46.C.1.12 (summer 2012 designation), box 379, SSNA.
- 76 Migido, “To Charm,” 16.
- 77 Kuyok, “Benjamin Lowki (1918–1974),” in *South Sudan*, 124–25, and “Paulo Logali (1909–1965),” in *South Sudan*, 202; Rev. H. Gordon to Miss Nugent, November 11, 1926, ACCIII F1/19, CMSA; and Johnson, *South Sudan*, 122. It should be noted that the Nugent School eventually became known as the Loka Intermediate School, explaining Lwoki’s connection with the Nugent School, though Kuyok doesn’t mention Nugent by name. See Wöndu, *From Bush to Bush*, 32n29.
- 78 “Faith” questionnaire.
- 79 Kuyok, *South Sudan*: “Bullen Alier (c. 1918–1968),” 127; “Dak Dei (1919–1976),” 147; “Jon Majak (1913–1965),” 175; “Aggrey Jaden (1928–1986),” 229 and 232. More examples can be found in Pitya, “History of Western Christian Evangelism,” 409, 411–14 (part of his “Education for Leadership in Southern Sudan” section; see x).

CHAPTER 2. THE EQUATORIAL CORPS AND THE TORIT MUTINY

- 1 “*Quo Vadis* (1951),” IMDb, accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0043949/?ref_=nv_sr_1; see also John Oswalt, “Storyline,” IMDb, accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0043949/?ref_=nv_sr_1. For

- a summary of the *Quo Vadis* episode, see the Acts of Peter, 35, in “Acts of Peter,” 152.
- 2 *Morning View* (Sudan), April 13, 1954, 803/9/5, SAD.
 - 3 As stated in the introduction, several have countered the 1955 start date.
 - 4 Allison, “Church History in the Making,” 7.
 - 5 Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 254–55; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, “Lado Enclave,” *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 257; Pitya, “History of Western Christian Evangelism,” 48–49; House of Commons, *Egypt No. 1* (1911), 76; and Breidlid, Said, and Breidlid, *Concise History of South Sudan*, 134.
 - 6 Daly, “Wingate, Sir (Francis) Reginald”; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, “Wingate, Francis Reginald (1861–1953),” *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 460; and Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 217–19, 223.
 - 7 Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 116; Watson, *Sorrow and Hope*, 188; and Artin, “S. S. ‘Omdurman,’ 16th December, 1908,” in *England in the Sudan*, 164.
 - 8 Kumm, *From Hausaland to Egypt*, 4–5, 268.
 - 9 Archibald Shaw, copy of personal journal, August 14, 1910, 8, ACCIII F3, CMSA.
 - 10 Reginald Wingate to Eldon Gorst, March 1, 1911, 300/3/2, 9, 10, SAD. See also Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 116.
 - 11 Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 117; and S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 30.
 - 12 Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 117; and Robert O. Collins, “Africa Begins at Malakal,” paper presented at the Religion and Politics in Sudan conference, Centre de Recherches Africaines Paris, June 22–24, 1988, 9, E/675/6/2, CMA.
 - 13 Ruay, *Politics of Two Sudans*, 38.
 - 14 S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 30, 62; and Johnson, *Root Causes* (2011), 18.
 - 15 Decker, *In Idi Amin’s Shadow*, 29, quoting from Timothy Parsons, *The African Rank-and-File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King’s African Rifles, 1902–1964* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1999), 5. Decker also cites 1908 KAR regulations taken from Parsons, *Rank-and-File*, 54, which was used to craft this section.
 - 16 Johnson, “Sudanese Military Slavery,” 148–49.
 - 17 Streets, *Martial Races*, 1.
 - 18 Johnson, “Sudanese Military Slavery,” 149; for longer direct quotation, Johnson, n11, cites Enloe, pp. 27, 30–31, presumably Cynthia H. Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), as taken from Lamothe, *Slaves of Fortune*, 211.
 - 19 Johnson, *Root Causes* (2011), 18; Cisternino, *Passion for Africa*, 502, 506; Haddon, “Mr. J. H. Driberg,” 257; Johnson, *South Sudan*, 107–8; Mohammed, “Militarism in the Sudan,” 21.
 - 20 Cisternino, *Passion for Africa*, 515, 520; and “Ye also Helping Together by Prayer,” ACCIII F1/9, CMSA.
 - 21 “Notes of the Address Given By Archdeacon Shaw at the New Alliance Club on December 8, 1922,” ACCIII F1/12, CMSA.
 - 22 Civil Secretary’s Office, memorandum, January 25, 1930, 1, CS.1–C-1, folder SCR.17.J.1 (August 2013 designation), box TD 42, SSNA.

- 23 Civil Secretary's Office, memorandum, 3–4.
- 24 Tape 7A, vol. I, Missions-General, piece 51 46.A.I, box 10, 913/1/1, SAD.
- 25 John G. Buysse, October 3, 1949, folder 8, box 16, collection 081, Billy Graham Center Archives.
- 26 C. M. Lamb, August 28, 1954, folder 6, box 35, collection 081, Billy Graham Center Archives.
- 27 Johnson, *South Sudan*, 118; Baum, "Sudan," 1796; and Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 16.
- 28 Johnson, *South Sudan*, 118–19; Baum, "Sudan," 1796; and Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 16–17.
- 29 Gino Barsella and Miguel Ángel Ayuso Guixot, "A List of Major Dates in the Modern History of the Sudan," Nairobi, 2, 624 266.009 AAV Brack II, Comboni Mission Library.
- 30 Johnson, *South Sudan*, 123; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, xxxix, 17; and Baum, "Sudan," 1796.
- 31 Johnson, *South Sudan*, 124–26; and Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 17.
- 32 Leonardi, *Dealing with Government*, 129; Leonardi cites Hilary Paul Logali, "Autobiography," 890/1/1–80, SAD; and J. F. Tiernay, Deputy Governor, to all DCs and heads of department, July 11, 1946, and Civil Secretary to Governor Equatoria, July 24, 1946, National Records Office, Khartoum, EP 1/4/17.
- 33 Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, "Southern Party," *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 393.
- 34 Ruay, *Politics of Two Sudans*, 67; Collins, *History of Modern Sudan*, 62; Wawa, "Background," 12–13; and Lobban, Kramer, and Fluehr-Lobban, "Liberal Party [Southern]," "Southern Liberal Party," and "Southern Party," in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 166, 264.
- 35 S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 38, 41–42; and Kuyok, "Daniel Jumi (1923–2013)" and "Marko Rume (c. 1925–1991)," in *South Sudan*, 268, 370–71.
- 36 For both quotations and the information on Brown, see W. B. E. Brown, "Some Reminiscences and Personal Views Concerning *Sudanisation* of the Equatorial Corps, Sudan Defence Force in 1954," paper presented to the Durham Sudan Historical Records Conference, 1982, 533/9/3–4, SAD.
- 37 Kuyok, "Marko Rume (c. 1925–1991)," in *South Sudan*, 371.
- 38 Woodward, "South in Sudanese Politics," 187–88; Sanderson, *Education, Religion and Politics*, 343–44; S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 40 (regarding what would happen to southern troops in Khartoum, Poggo includes a quotation that is presumably from the *Report of the Commission of Enquiry*, 106); and Kuyok, "Saturlino Oboyo (?–1955)," *South Sudan*, 419–20.
- 39 Interview with Elizabeth Noel, September 2, 2013 (Juba, South Sudan).
- 40 Johnson, "Sudanese Military Slavery," 153.
- 41 Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 367–68; and "The Southern Troops Mutiny," 721/3/193–94, SAD. This is a section of Alberto Marino's larger memoir, *Sudan*.

- 42 Alberto Marino, *Sudan*, 721/3/193–94, SAD.
- 43 S. S. Poggio, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 42; Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 40; Riley, “No Drums at Dawn,” 148–49; and Marian I. Farquhar, “What Do You Fear,” 1956, 2, RG 424, PHS.
- 44 See Osman El Tayeb, October 19, 1955, 1 (353), folder EP.41.C.1 (August 2013 designation), EP 507, SSNA; and M. A. Abu Rannet “Note on Confirmation of Findings and Sentences by the Chief Justice,” October 30, 1955, 1, 4, folder EP.41.C.1 (August 2013 designation), EP 507, SSNA.
- 45 Osman El Tayeb, October 12, 1955, 1 (323), folder EP.41.C.1 (August 2013 designation), EP 507, SSNA. A “Mr. Williams of the C.M.S.” contributed this quotation to the report.
- 46 Glassman, *War of Words*, 256.
- 47 “Trial of Airo Ogwana,” October 18, 1955, 1; attached “Note,” 1, and “Notes on Confirmation of Findings and Sentence by the C. J. M. A. Abu Rannat Chief Justice of the Sudan,” October 29, 1955, all in folder EP.41.C.1 (August 2013 designation), EP 507, SSNA.
- 48 “Notes on Confirmation of Findings and Sentence,” 1.
- 49 Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 45.
- 50 Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 45; and Kuyok, “Alexis Mbale (1924–1985),” in *South Sudan*, 243–44.
- 51 Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 45; Shea, “Second Glances”; and “Gabriel Dwatuka,” in *Sudanese Catholic Clergy*, 28, both in A/96/2/II, CMA.
- 52 Shea, “Second Glances.”
- 53 “Profile: Marian I. Farquhar,” November 1966, RG 360-46-17, PHS.
- 54 Farquhar, “What Do You Fear,” 2–3.
- 55 Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 368; and Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 43.
- 56 Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 43.
- 57 S. S. Poggio, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 46–47.
- 58 Dorothy Rankin, November 23, 1955, folder 23, box 1, Dorothy L. Rankin Papers, PHS.
- 59 S. S. Poggio, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 49–50, citing in footnote 5 interview no. 84 by John Ukech Lueth and Paul Urbac (January 28, 1980); Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 40, 46; Johnson, “Twentieth-Century Civil Wars,” 123; and Johnson, *Root Causes* (2011), 28.
- 60 Collins, *Southern Sudan*, 14; Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 7; Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men*, 80; Wawa, “Background,” 3; and Khalid, *War and Peace in the Sudan*, 8.
- 61 Collins, *Southern Sudan*, 14.
- 62 Pitya, “History of Western Christian Evangelism,” 46; Collins, *Southern Sudan*, 14; Ibrahim and Ogot, “Sudan in the Nineteenth Century,” 368; Johnson, “Sudanese Military Slavery,” 143; Beswick, *Sudan’s Blood Memory*, 201; and Dunn, *Khedive Ismail’s Army*, 33.
- 63 Pitya, “History of Western Christian Evangelism,” 47; Dunn, *Khedive Ismail’s Army*, 33; Searcy, “Sudanese Mahdi’s Attitudes,” 63, 71.

- 64 Warburg, “Ideological and Practical Considerations,” 257–58, citing Memorandum to Mudirs, Enclosure No. 1, in Cromer to Salisbury, March 17, 1899, FO 78/5022. For continued discussion, see 258–59.
- 65 Andrew Wieu, as quoted in Deng and Daly, *Bonds of Silk*, 191. For Wieu’s biographical information, see 237.
- 66 Southern Staff, Aweil, Bahr el Ghazal Area, Equatoria Province, on the future of the Southern Sudan, April 20, 1947, 519/2/16, SAD, as taken from Wawa, *Southern Sudanese Pursuits*, 28, 29.
- 67 Anonymous, “SUDAN Late 50s/Early 60s,” 1, 2, Historical Documents by Country (1950) 1960–1994 1908 + 1909, folder 6, box 102, collection 081, Billy Graham Center Archives.
- 68 S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 49–50.
- 69 Lyrics and story from “Naborju’s Song,” 393/2/46, SAD. The Martin and Margo Russell Papers, SAD, 393/2/1–65, contain manuscript lyrics to southern Sudanese songs with translations from the 1950s through the 1970s that were gathered in 1979. Enoch Lobiya likely translated and transcribed this song (Francis Gotto, e-mail to author, August 20, 2020).
- 70 Quotations taken from Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 43–44.
- 71 Hansen, “Sudan,” 1–4; and Allison, *Travelling Light*, 38.
- 72 Paterno, *Rev. Fr. Saturnino Lohure*, 41, 208–9; Akol, *Southern Sudan*, 58–59, citing in footnote 29 Severino Fuli Boki Ga’le, *Shaping a Free Southern Sudan* (Nairobi: Paulines Africa, 2002), 190; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, with Scopas S. Poggo, “Taffeng [sic] Lodongi, Amadeo (Emilio),” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 417; Collins, *History of Modern Sudan*, 79; Jean-François Chauvel, “The Sudan: Africa Bleeds,” *Le Figaro*, March 30, 1966, 28, A/87/7/1, CMA; Kuyok, “Emilio Tafeng (1917–1980s),” in *South Sudan*, 303; and Allison, *Travelling Light*, 38.
- 73 Allison, *Travelling Light*, 38.
- 74 Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, “Port Sudan,” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 355; Hansen, “Suakin,” 3; and Perkins, *Port Sudan*, 165–66; for the “servants” quotation found on p. 165, Perkins cites Gov., RSP, to the Special Commissioner on Slavery, December 19, 1925, 2/38/240, Slavery, Central Record Office, Khartoum.
- 75 393/2/14, SAD. That Jacob Sebit likely transcribed and translated these lyrics is inferred from the phrase “TRND JS. LATUKA. JUBA June 15, 1979” attached to this song (Francis Gotto, e-mails to author, August 20, 21, 2020).
- 76 Lane and Johnson, “Archaeology and History of Slavery,” 518, 520–21; and Kuyok, “Alexis Mbale (1924–1985),” *South Sudan*, 243.
- 77 Yangu, *Nile Turns Red*, 47–48.
- 78 Barsella and Guixot, “List of Major Dates,” 3; and Sanderson, *Education, Religion and Politics*, 352.
- 79 See Woodward, *Condominium*, 155; Yoh, “Historical Origins,” 8; Daly, *Imperial Sudan*, 387; and Leonardi, *Dealing with Government*, 77, 131.

- 80 Yoh, "Historical Origins," 8.
- 81 Lako Logono to Governor of Equatoria, February 18, 1954, MI SCR 1/C/15, as taken from Woodward, *Condominium*, 148; see also 205n24 and 207n49.
- 82 "[Report on the Southern Mutiny]: despatch no 128 from Sir E Chapman-Andrews to Mr Selwyn Lloyd commenting on the Cotran Report. *Minute JSR Duncan*," October 30, 1956, no. 87, 371/119604, Foreign Office (FO), as taken from Johnson, *Sudan*, 504.
- 83 *Report of the Commission of Enquiry*, 81, A/87/2, CMA.
- 84 *Report of the Commission of Enquiry*, 5–6.
- 85 "[Report on the Southern Mutiny]," as taken from Johnson, *Sudan*, 506. For biographical information on Chapman-Andrews, see 518.
- 86 Daniel Jumi Tongun interview with Nathan Wojia Pitia in Yei, *Southern Sudan* (2004), as taken from S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 51.
- 87 "SUDAN Late 50s/Early 60s," 3–4.
- 88 "Street Manners Tells Lot about a Country," 1, folder 13 ("Sudan"), box 3, Toward Freedom Newsletter Records, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University.
- 89 Jean-Marie Garraud, "The Sudan: An Unknown War Has Been Ravaging the Upper Valley of the Nile for Three Years," *Le Figaro*, March 24, 1966, 5–6, A/87/7/1, CMA.

CHAPTER 3. LIBERATION WAR

- 1 "Lamentations," 1292–93, 1305.
- 2 Mazrui, "Shifting African Identities," 163.
- 3 Mabuon's version combines the English Standard Version and Authorized King James Version of the *Holy Bible*.
- 4 Conor O'Brien notes that "nationalism as a collective emotional force makes its first appearance in the Hebrew Bible. Nationalism at this stage is indistinguishable from religion, one and the same thing. God chose a particular people and promised them a particular land." See O'Brien, *God Land*, 2–3.
- 5 McCauley, *Logic of Ethnic and Religious Conflict*, 147–48.
- 6 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1956, Foreign Policy of the Sudan, No. 2, p. 23, in "Sudan's External Relations," 13.
- 7 Lobban, Kramer, and Fluehr-Lobban, "Arab-Israeli Conflict," in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 27; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, "Islamization," in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 223; Barsella and Guixot, "List of Major Dates," 3. See G. Vantini, "Church to Be Annihilated in Africa" (March 8, 1966), 1, A/93/15/5, CMA; and K. Cherono and T. K. Rubale, "A Petition by the East African Students in the United Kingdom and Ireland to President Ibrahim Abboud of the Republic of the Sudan during His State Visit to the United Kingdom" (May 21, 1964), 2, A/90/3/1, CMA; Wawa, "Background," 14; "The Question of Mission Schools in the Sudan," 2, E/693/6/1, CMA; and "Candidates for Election to the Executive Board: Curriculum Vitae, Mr. Ziada Arbab (Sudan)," October 27, 1960,

- 1-2, II/C/NOM/18, UNESCO Archives, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001631/163147eb.pdf>.
- 8 Barsella and Guixot, "List of Major Dates," 3; Breidlid, Said, and Breidlid, *Concise History of South Sudan*, 183, 185, 187; Wawa, "Background," 14; and Pitya, "Role of the Local Church," 120.
 - 9 Corne, "Thorns from Khartoum," 32; and Barsella and Guixot, "List of Major Dates," 3-4.
 - 10 "Educational Planning Committee to . . . On New Educational System," *Bahr El Ghazal Daily*, no. 12 (December 27, 1958): 4, folder EP 36.F.21 (summer 2012 designation), box 314, SSNA.
 - 11 Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 375.
 - 12 Barsella and Guixot, *Struggling to Be Heard*, 109.
 - 13 Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 375; Breidlid, Said, and Breidlid, *Concise History of South Sudan*, 211; Holt and Daly, *History of the Sudan*, 122; Deng, *War of Visions*, 138.
 - 14 S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 57, 63, 115; Lobban, Kramer, and Fluehr-Lobban, "Oduho, Joseph H. (ca. 1930-1993)," in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 218; Gray, "Some Reflections," 120-21; Paterno, *Rev. Fr. Saturnino Lohure*, 150-51; and Heraclides, *Self-Determination*, 114.
 - 15 S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 63-64; Paterno, *Rev. Fr. Saturnino Lohure*, 152; Anthony Carthew, "Inside Southern Sudan: A Story to Shock the World," typescript of *Daily Mail*, February 1, 1966, 6, A/96/9/4, CMA; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, with S. S. Poggo, "Lagu, Joseph Yakobo," in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 257; Lagu, *Sudan*, 105-6; and Akol, *Southern Sudan*, 81.
 - 16 S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 64-65.
 - 17 Ben Machar, correspondence with Christopher Tounsel, May 13, 2019; and Malith Kur, email to Jesse Zink, May 8, 2019. Many thanks to Machar, Kur, and Zink for their translation assistance.
 - 18 Collins, *History of Modern Sudan*, 80; Barsella and Guixot, "List of Major Dates," 4; Suleiman, "52nd Anniversary"; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, "Al-Turabi, Hasan (1932-)," in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 430-31.
 - 19 Kyle, "Southern Problem," 515-16; S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 118; Kuyok, "Aggrey Jaden (1928-1986)," in *South Sudan*, 229-31; Collins, *History of Modern Sudan*, 80.
 - 20 Collins, *History of Modern Sudan*, 79; Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, "Round Table Conference of 1965," and "Sudan African National Union (SANU)," in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 370-71 and 399; and Johnson, *Root Causes* (2011), 32.
 - 21 Voll, "Imperialism, Nationalism and Missionaries," 42.
 - 22 Zink, *Christianity and Catastrophe*, 41-42; Johnson, *Nuer Prophets*, 315; Davies, "Population Change," 249; Pitya, "History of Western Christian Evangelism," 647-49, tables 4-2, 4-3, and 4-4, 699.
 - 23 Pitya, "History of Western Christian Evangelism," 698; Johnson, *Nuer Prophets*, 315-16; Zink, *Christianity and Catastrophe*, 41; "Daniel Ferim Deng Sorur," "Guido

- Akou,” and “Ireneo Wien Dud,” in *Sudanese Catholic Clergy*, 23–24 and 29–37; Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 360–61, 363, 395; Wheeler, “Richard Jones,” 174.
- 24 Pitya, “History of Western Christian Evangelism,” 704; Rolandsen, “Colonial Backwater,” 22; Johnson, *Root Causes* (2011), 30–31, and footnote 12, citing Karl-Johan Lundström, “The Lotuho and the Verona Fathers: A Case Study of Communication in Development” (PhD diss., Uppsala, 1990), 191.
- 25 “Sudan to Deport.”
- 26 Johnson, *Root Causes* (2011), 31n12, citing James, *Listening Ebony*, 241–52; James, *Listening Ebony*, 207; Sanderson, “Sudan Interior Mission,” 38–39.
- 27 Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas*, 133, 318; and Johnson, *Nuer Prophets*, 316.
- 28 Johnson, *Nuer Prophets*, 315–16; and Zink, *Christianity and Catastrophe*, 164–65; “prophets” quotation on 64, citing E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 287–310.
- 29 Zink, *Christianity and Catastrophe*, 46.
- 30 Nikkel, “Christian Conversion,” 163.
- 31 Nikkel, “Christian Conversion,” 163; and Zink, *Christianity and Catastrophe*, 35, 44, 46.
- 32 Zink, *Christianity and Catastrophe*, 46.
- 33 “The Sudan Question and the Refugees,” July 16, 1970, 1–2, A/108/3/11, CMA; and Wheeler, “Christianity in Sudan.”
- 34 Wheeler, “Christianity in Sudan.”
- 35 Zacharia Duot de Atem to D. T. Casson, 1963, 1, 804/8/65–66, SAD.
- 36 Ga’le, *Shaping a Free Southern Sudan*, 233, 242; Paterno, *Rev. Fr. Saturnino Lohure*, 148, 149, 186; and S. S. Poggo, *First Sudanese Civil War*, 113. I believe that the Southern Sudan Christian Association and the Sudanese Christian Association in East Africa—each based in Kampala—are one and the same.
- 37 Ibrahim Nyigilo, Southern Sudan Christian Association (Kampala) to Heads of Christian Churches, Heads of African States, and Secretary-General of the UN, 1962–1963, 804/8/53, SAD.
- 38 SACNU to Milton Obote, February 20, 1963, 817/10/57–59, SAD; and Manoeli, *Sudan’s “Southern Problem,”* 47n26.
- 39 Ireneo Dud to Minister of Interior, August 1, 1965, A/95/8/1, CMA.
- 40 Letter dated November 29, 1965, A/107/5/63, CMA.
- 41 Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, “Southern Sudan Association,” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 395; Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government*, 24n32; Alexander C. Wilson (2) to Claude de Mestral and George Carpenter, January 18, 1956, 1, folder “K. Sudan 1954–1959,” box 33 (536), CBMS.ICCLA, School of Oriental and African Studies, Special Collections Library; Ga’le, *Shaping a Free Southern Sudan*, 247; “Announcement,” 8; and Lagu, *Sudan*, 239.
- 42 Deng, “Who Is behind Abbass?,” 34; and Tutu, “A Reply,” 16–17.
- 43 Lagu, “Dynamics of Co-operation,” 4, 6.
- 44 “Father Herman Gerard Te Riele,” Catholic Hierarchy, accessed August 27, 2014, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bte.html>; “Bishop Edoardo Mason,”

- Catholic Hierarchy, accessed August 27, 2014, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmasone.html>; “Bishop Domenico Ferrara,” Catholic Hierarchy, accessed August 27, 2014, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bferrarad.html>; and “Bishop Sisto Mazzoldi,” Catholic Hierarchy, accessed August 27, 2014, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmazzoldi.html>.
- 45 “To Our Brother in Christ, Bishop Ireneo Dud, to all of the Clergy and Laity in the Church of Southern Sudan,” October 31, 1965, 1, 2, A/95/9/8, CMA.
- 46 “Arkangelo Ali Konogo” and “Barnada Deng, MCCJ,” in *Sudanese Catholic Clergy*, 25, 33.
- 47 See “Avellino Wani Longa,” in *Sudanese Catholic Clergy*, 26; and P. Avellino Wani to Ireneo [Dud], November 25, 1965 (1), A/95/9/22, CMA.
- 48 Levi, *Bible or the Axe*, 23.
- 49 Levi, *Bible or the Axe*, 89–91, 91–92.
- 50 Michael Maror Liec to Angelo Confalonieri [1964; inferred from previous two correspondences of the same designation], 1, A/95/3/14, CMA.
- 51 Elia Seng Majok to A. Matordes, April 28, 1964, 1, A/95/3/29, CMA.
- 52 See Juliano Kita to Bro. Mariotti, April 29, 1964, 1, A/95/3/35, CMA.
- 53 “Summons to an Accused Person,” April 24, 1961, folder 7, box 1, Dorothy L. Rankin Papers, PHS.
- 54 Gordon Tower to Andrew Das and John Smith, August 28, 1961; and A. Karrar to Dorothy Rankin, August 20, 1961, both in folder 7, box 1, Dorothy L. Rankin Papers, PHS.
- 55 “More Word from Dorothy Rankin,” 2; and Dorothy Rankin, “Excerpts from Letters,” 2, September 14, 1961, Dorothy L. Rankin Papers, PHS.
- 56 For information on the Biblical Ishmaelites, see Porter, “Ishmaelites.”
- 57 “Jerome Bidai,” in *Sudanese Catholic Clergy*, 26.
- 58 Fr. Jerome Bidai Siri to Mons. Ferrara, February 11, 1966, 1, A/95/10/36, CMA.
- 59 Kuyok, “Severino Fuli (1922–),” in *South Sudan*, 435.
- 60 Ga’le, *Shaping a Free Southern Sudan*, 222–23.
- 61 Ga’le, *Shaping a Free Southern Sudan*, 331–32; see 325–27 for more on the act, trophies, and uses for the liberation movement.
- 62 S. S. Poggo, “Kuku Religious Experiences,” 129–30.
- 63 S. S. Poggo, “Kuku Religious Experiences,” 130–31, quotation on 133. *Balokole* is a Luganda word meaning “the saved people” and the name by which revivalists in Uganda’s Anglican Church were known. See Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism*, 288–89; and Ward, “Tukutendereza Yesu.” Peterson cites in his explanation Amos Kasibante, “Revival and Pentacostalism in My Life,” in *The East African Revival: History and Legacies*, ed. Kevin Ward and Emma Wild-Wood (Kampala: Fountain, 2010). See Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism*, 289n37.
- 64 Byaruhanga, “Dronyi.” The claim that Dronyi brought thousands to Christ comes from Lusania Kasamba, a team leader in Uganda’s revival movement, who was interviewed by Byaruhanga and is cited in his article on Dronyi.

- 65 393/2/17, SAD. These songs, though crafted in the mid-1960s, were translated in the late 1970s. SAD 393/2/1–65 contain manuscript lyrics to southern Sudanese songs with translations from the 1950s–1970s that were gathered in 1979. Enoch Lobiya translated 393/2/17, 393/2/26, and 393/2/27, which have no titles (Francis Gotto, e-mail to author, August 20, 2020).
- 66 393/2/26, SAD.
- 67 393/2/27, SAD.
- 68 See Adelino Fuli to “Fr. Bresciani,” June 14, 1965, A/95/7/12, CMA.
- 69 Athian Joseph to Rev. Fr. Nebel, August 18, 1965, I, A/95/8/II, CMA.
- 70 Felix Doka Kule to Alexis Gangi, February 11, 1966, I, A/95/10/37, CMA.
- 71 “D. Paul,” “Clergy: Activities, After the Expulsion of the Missionaries from the S. Sudan in February, 1964,” 3, A/98/1/5, CMA.
- 72 Alfredo Akot Bak to Fr. Ciccacci, April 22, 1964, A/95/3/25, CMA.
- 73 Gabriel Ngor to Giuseppe Gusmini, July 30, 1965, A/98/45/22, CMA. For Gusmini’s title, see “April 2004,” Comboni Missionaries, accessed May 29, 2015, <http://www.comboni.org/en/contenuti/100204-april-2004>.
- 74 “Report on the Activities of the Arab Security Forces against the Church in Rumbek Vicariate” [1965], 19, A/93/14/14, CMA.
- 75 See Richard Gray, “Christianity in Post-Colonial Africa, Paper for Discussion on November 15th: The Churches’ Role in the Sudan,” Centre for African Studies, 3, A/108/1/23, CMA. Here Gray cites *Nouvel Observateur*, March 1967. See also Hastings, *History of African Christianity*, 134.
- 76 “52,” 393/2/35, SAD.
- 77 393/2/50, SAD.
- 78 Rodolfo Deng to Rev. Fr. Nebel, October 20, 1965, I, A/95/9/3, CMA.
- 79 Emidio Tapeng [Tafeng] Lodongi, “We Acclaim [*sic*] His Holiness’ Arrival in Africa,” July 31, 1969, 2, A/90/14/II, CMA. For biographical information on Tafeng, see Lobban, Kramer, and Fluehr-Lobban, “Tafeng, Emidio,” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 287.
- 80 Lobban, Kramer, and Fluehr-Lobban, “May Revolution of 1969” and “Nimeiri, Ja’afar (Numayri) (1930–),” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 184–85 and 210.
- 81 See Collins, *History of Modern Sudan*, 109; [Allison], “Bishop’s Letter,” n.p.; Stephen Whittle, “A Peaceful Prospect for the Sudan,” *Ecumenical Feature Service* no. 2, 45–46, in Ramsey Papers, 242:45–48, Lambeth Palace Library; and Scott, “Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement,” 69.
- 82 Levi, *Bible or the Axe*, 69.
- 83 See Allison, *Through Fire and Water*, 81–82; and *Sudan Diocesan Review* 24, no. 69 (1973): 46, which contains a picture of this scene. (It is also included in Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 450, which credits the SAD for the photo.)
- 84 Johnson, *Nuer Prophets*, 316–17.
- 85 For quotation and postwar church history, see Wheeler, “Christianity in Sudan.”
- 86 Here I am thinking of Glassman’s *War of Words* and Magaziner’s *Law and the Prophets*.

CHAPTER 4. KHARTOUM GOLIATH

- 1 1 Samuel 17, New International Version.
- 2 Kim, *Identity and Loyalty*, 189–91.
- 3 Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 197, 208, 215. Jobling takes the Arnold quotation, found on 208, from *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, 11 vols., ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960–77), 3:112.
- 4 “Great Expectations: The Civil Roles of the Churches in Southern Sudan,” *African Rights*, Discussion Paper No. 6 (April 1995): 14–15, E/678/3/1, CMA.
- 5 Sidahmed, “Unholy War,” 83, 91, 92, 94; Hutchinson, “Curse from God?,” 307–31; Mark Nikkel, “The Cross as a Symbol of Regeneration in Muonyiangbor Society,” unpublished paper, M 624 266.009 AAV Brack IV, Comboni Mission Library; Nikkel, *Dinka Christianity*; and Haumann, *Travelling with Soldiers and Bishops*. For the theme of suffering, see LeMarquand, “Bibles, Crosses,” 554, 561, 574, 577–78; Kustenbauder, “Politicization of Religious Identity,” 400–401; Anderson, Werner, and Wheeler, *Day of Devastation*, 529–30, 533; and Sharkey, “Jihads and Crusades,” 276.
- 6 Guarak, *Integration and Fragmentation*, 285; Okiech, “Organisational Report,” 16; and Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, “National Islamic Front (NIF),” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 315–16.
- 7 See Frahm, “Defining the Nation,” 37–39; and James, “Multiple Voices,” 201 and 198, where she comments on radio’s influence in shaping warfare and moral rhetoric.
- 8 Ashworth and Ryan, “One Nation from Every Tribe,” 49; and Hanzich, “Struggles in South Sudan,” 40.
- 9 Idris, *Conflict and Politics*, 67; Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas*, 312, 314; and F. M. Deng, *War of Visions*, 219.
- 10 Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, 188, 198.
- 11 Lobban, Kramer, and Fluehr-Lobban, “Bashir, Umar Hasan al- (1944–)” and “National Islamic Front (NIF),” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 49–50 and 205–6; and Kramer, Lobban, and Fluehr-Lobban, “National Islamic Front (NIF),” in *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 315–16.
- 12 “72—SPLM/SPLA Radio Broadcast to the Sudanese People on the Continuation of the War after the Overthrow of Sadiq El Mahdi by Omar el Bashir (9 August 1989),” from Wawa, *Southern Sudanese Pursuits*, 379. See also 377 for reference to the manifesto.
- 13 Kustenbauder, “Politicization of Religious Identity,” 401.
- 14 Hutchinson, “Spiritual Fragments,” 145; Guarak, *Integration and Fragmentation*, 284; and Madut-Arop, *Sudan’s Painful Road to Peace*, 103.
- 15 Guarak, *Integration and Fragmentation*, 285. Lawrence Soley states that Radio SPLA returned to the air from South Sudan in October 1991, though it’s unclear for how long. See Soley, “Heating up Clandestine Radio,” 139.
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CHAPTER 5. THE TROUBLED PROMISED LAND

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CONCLUSION

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