

Sources and Methodology

The nature of my inquiry and the agents in my narrative largely dictated the primary source base for this study. I envisioned this history of nationalism as a history of discourse, ideology, and thought. As my chronological scope stretched from the condominium to Sudanese independence to South Sudanese nationhood, the ideologies that form the basis of my investigation were espoused by agents that varied in nationality, profession, religion, period, race, and a host of other socioeconomic indexes. Furthermore, the means by which their views were expressed were fashioned in various media, including newspapers, magazines, speeches, government and ecclesiastical correspondences, private letters, song, poetry, and sermons. Given the international scope of government and mission work in the Sudan, research necessitated visits to government, religious, and university archives in South Sudan, Egypt, England, Italy, and various American locations (the complete list of archives can be found in the bibliography). While each research site contributed to the formulation and construction of my project, the most significant archives proved to be the South Sudan National Archives (SSNA), Durham University's Sudan Archive (SAD), and Rome's Comboni Mission Archive (CMA).

The SSNA is a government archive flush with official documents from the Anglo-Egyptian administration and early Sudanese governments. Holdings include government and missionary correspondences, mission school inspection reports, official government newspapers, and a host of other memoranda. Mission school reports were particularly useful for gaining insight into condominium educational curriculums, student body makeups,

and socio-pedagogical priorities. Authored primarily by British administrators like resident inspector A. G. Hickson, these documents also offer private insights and clues regarding British positions on the social objectives and ramifications of their work. The archive's holdings concerning the aftermath of the Torit Mutiny allowed me to chart and analyze accounts from individuals who participated in the violence. Many of the early independence documents pertain to the controversial process of Arabization and Islamization, and of chief importance are those materials produced by Ali Baldo, the governor of Equatoria during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Indeed, the SSNA is a critical resource with which to chronicle official dimensions of the Sudanese government's cultural and religious objectives in South Sudan during the early years of Sudanese independence.

For any work that seriously interrogates Sudanese Catholic history, Rome's Comboni Mission Archive is a collection of the first magnitude. With primarily English-language materials (along with those in Latin and Italian), the CMA proved to be the most important repository I visited with respect to primary sources produced by Sudanese Catholic priests and refugees. Letters written by priests and other refugees afforded me the opportunity to trace the ideological and spiritual contours of refugee experiences. What biblical narratives, for example, did refugees reference in their letters? How did they recognize God in the midst of their suffering? Other CMA documents of great use included those concerning the Anyanya movement and foreign press coverage of developments in the country. In many respects, perhaps the most pleasant surprise from the CMA was the *Sudanese Catholic Clergy* volume that is kept downstairs in the Comboni Library. The *SCC* contains not only mini-biographies of Sudanese clerics but also contact information with which I was able to track down and connect with several priests through questionnaires and during my 2013 trip to Juba.

Durham University's Sudan Archive combines the best elements of the SSNA and CMA by offering a prodigious amount of religious and government materials. Like the SSNA it contains documents authored by colonial officials concerning various spheres of administration (including a comprehensive roll of annual reports and Sudan government gazettes), as well editions of periodicals, including the *Grass Curtain*, *SPLM/A Update*, and *Sudan Diocesan Review*. Unlike the CMA, whose church/mission holdings are overwhelmingly Catholic, the SAD houses an abundance of materials pertaining to Protestant church work. This includes, for example, the Oliver Allison papers and materials concerning the Church Missionary Society. I was for-

tunate enough to visit Durham shortly after the library had received the translated collection of Kuku-Balokole songs I mention in Chapter 3.

Following in the vein of Daniel Magaziner, my focus was not limited to people and organizations; I also studied circulating texts and ideas that allow me to chronicle change over time. This entailed looking at poems, songs, letters, sermons, prayers, speeches, and newspapers crafted by southern and Euro-American individuals and organizations. My heavy use of newspapers published in South Sudan and throughout sites in the Sudanese diaspora enabled me to note the evolution of thought concerning various Khartoum governments, treatment of church and missionary institutions, and southern self-determination. Examining poetry in newspapers and magazines allowed me to examine political views, laments, and thoughts from contributors around the world as well as to put their ideas in conversation with those of others of varying professional, personal, and geographic backgrounds. By incorporating voices throughout the diaspora, I show the ways in which South Sudanese religious and political thought was not just developed within the political borders of South Sudan but evolved and proliferated throughout the Sudanese diaspora.

In addition to archival work, I gathered interviews with clerical and non-clerical figures during my trips to Juba. As I was very much interested in the southern church's political actions and thought both historically and present, many of my participants were southern clergy. This notwithstanding, I prioritized the inclusion of laypeople and non-Sudanese clerical figures who have spent time in the country. Participants included a member of parliament; various church brothers, sisters, priests, and bishops; the former general secretary of the Sudan Council of Churches; a man who has since been appointed as an ambassador; employees at Juba's Catholic Radio Bakhita; an Anyanya veteran; an SPLA chaplain related to John Garang; the president of the Mothers' Union; and several Lost Boys. Life histories and stories passed down from elders resulted in my receiving intimate perspectives on some of the most formative elements in my study, including the Juba Conference, the Torit Mutiny, refugee experiences, education, Anyanya, and SPLA-church relations. What I heard was beautiful, macabre, and transformative. While my questions varied depending on factors like age, background, and experience, I invariably sought to capture the ways in which they related or could relate the history of South Sudan to the providence of God. While I did not include every interview or questionnaire in this study, those used allowed me to complement archival research—that dealt, for all intents and

purposes, with southern history pre-2006—with thoughts and memories on more recent developments.

While I contend that the diversity of my print and oral sources equipped me to craft a rigorous history of religious nationalism, there must naturally be room for source critique. To begin, there is the matter of who produced the sources and for whom they were intended. Print media like the *Sudan Diocesan Review* were intended for a generally Christian audience and may have had an implicit (or explicit) bias in their description of the government, Muslims, Christian churches, and/or their adherents. Yet and still, they provided a look into the daily life of the Nugent School and the perspectives of figures like Ian Watts and Llewellyn Gwynne. The *Sudan Diocesan Review*'s information on interethnic conflict allowed me—in conjunction with reports from the SSNA—to paint a more comprehensive portrait of interethnic relations at the school. The *SPLA Update* was a decidedly propagandist medium, and though I did not use it as an authoritative information source on the Second Civil War, it is still an enlightening and relevant lens into the SPLA's public use of Christianity. Its nature as propaganda, furthermore, actually enhances its importance as a partisan repository of religious rhetoric during that conflict.

My decision to rely heavily on Christian clerics as interview participants was the fruit of the access I had to them as a result of my stays at the Episcopal Church of Sudan's guest house in Juba. Standing in the shadows of All Saints Cathedral, Anglican bishops from throughout the country regularly frequented the guest house (note, however, that I also interviewed Catholics during my research). Rather than representing a privileged minority class of South Sudanese Christians, my interviews and questionnaires with clerics allowed me to better understand their lives as laypeople during the history under study, their subsequent experiences as Christian leaders, and their insight on providence in South Sudanese history. Not simply clerics, they brought a diversity of perspectives to their interactions with me—they were former refugees, witnesses, students, and sons (and grandsons) with family history to share. Given the attention that I give to clerics throughout the book (their public and private writings provide a healthy share of the political theology I highlight), engaging with contemporary clerics allowed me to offer a more comprehensive examination of the words and actions of ordained southerners for the better part of the last half-century.

Last but not least, there is my decision to rely on English sources. I do not work in Arabic, and given the fact that many southern activists are primarily Arabic speakers and that the North was a major theater of southern ac-

tivism (particularly during the second civil war), I acknowledge that certain slices are missing from this study. How, for example, did Arabic-speaking southern Christians inject Christian thought into their political dialogue in Arabic print media? Aside from primarily Arabic-speaking South Sudanese, the class and gender dynamic is impossible to ignore; English was taught in schools that a relatively low percentage of the population attended, and of that population, most were boys. In this way, my focus on English print media necessarily means that the primary subjects of study are those who had privileged access to published and proliferating English print media—educated southern men.

While demographically limited in one sense, the global archival network of twentieth-century Sudanese history is fraught with English-language materials written by and about South Sudanese Christians. As a language that representatives of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic denominations each conversed in (and one encouraged at the expense of Arabic for religious reasons), English has a focal role in the history of Sudanese Christianity. Many refugee letters, mission/church and secular publications, and materials that circulated internationally were written in English and were written by southerners. My approach to English secular sources is an attempt to expand the scope of the sources we can examine to interrogate the injection of religious thought into the public political sphere. As such, this study can be placed in conversation with other works that are principally concerned with Sudanese Christianity from a local, ethnic, or anthropological lens to paint a fuller picture of political Christianity in South Sudan.