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The Cultural, Didactic, and Physical Spaces of Mission Schools in the 19th Century

Abstract: The Cultural, Didactic, and Physical Spaces of Mission Schools in the 19th Century. Nineteenth century Protestant Mission schools were dynamic spaces, constantly reacting and adapting to hierarchic and hegemonic demands, whether of political, religious or societal nature. They were also ideological spaces, which through their form and function, articulated notions of the 'proper' place of non-Europeans in colonial society. This article examines the interconnected cultural, didactic and physical 'spaces' of mission schools in which a variety of competing ideologies and expectations were negotiated. The general conclusions demonstrate both the uniformity of missionary spaces, and simultaneously reveal spaces where, and times when, these generalities became disrupted.

Key Words: Mission schools, Protestantism, *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Education, Colonialism

Introduction

Missionary schools were seen in the 19th century to be the nurseries of the church, a space in which young children in particular could be brought into contact with the 'word of God' with the aim to become life-long adherents of the Christian faith. Following the Pietist tradition of personal and individual devotion, Protestant missionaries aspired to teach pupils how to read so that they would have access to the Bible. Beyond religious instruction, missionaries also provided more general Western forms of schooling to their pupils including secular subjects and manual training with the broader aim of 'raising' non-Europeans to Western standards. Far

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from being passive recipients of missionary instruction, Indigenous and non-European peoples were often active participants in missionary schooling, strategically utilising it for their advantage through learning skills needed to negotiate with Europeans in colonial settings.[1] Mission schools were dynamic 'spaces', constantly reacting and adapting to hierarchic and hegemonic demands, whether of political, religious or societal nature. They were also ideological 'spaces' which, through their form and function, articulated notions of the 'rightful' place of non-Europeans in colonial society, whether on mission stations, in broader colonial settings, or as members of a transnational church.

After giving a short overview as to the rationale of providing missionary instruction, this article will examine Protestant mission schools in terms of three distinct, yet interconnected, 'spaces': the 'physical space'; the 'cultural space'; and the 'didactic space', representing important sites upon which a variety of competing ideologies and expectations needed to be negotiated. 'Space' is used here as a concept to demonstrate the fluid and dynamic nature of the physical, cultural and didactic aspects of missionary schooling as well as indicating that these three 'spaces' were themselves parts of larger discourses that went beyond the missionary context. That is, the use of 'space' as a concept underscores the notion that what is under analysis here is not the full spectrum of physicality, culture or didactics – for these concepts are contingent upon broader contexts than those presented here – rather how these three aspects can be understood and interrelated within missionary schooling, all the while keeping in mind that the 'spaces' themselves extended beyond the realms considered in the work at hand. Furthermore, analyse of these 'spaces' also demonstrates how mission schools served as sites to discuss and enact changing European and non-European expectations regarding the social position of non-Europeans. Within this article, the focus is upon institutional schooling, and particularly upon day schools in which Protestant missionaries, or Indigenous converts under the supervision of missionaries, taught. In this context, the role of a missionary was an instructional one on many fronts, for not only was it anticipated that missionaries would establish schools for non-Europeans, they were also expected to inform and teach their support audiences at home of the benefits of their work through media such as periodicals, reports, photographs, or missionary lectures.[2]

The article concentrates upon printed material in the form of missionary periodicals, as they provided an overview of the missionary endeavour for a Western audience. From the 1820s, improved technology and transport methods facilitated a growth in cheap publications, with Protestant missionary societies throughout Europe utilizing this medium to inform home audiences as well as those within different 'missionary fields' as to the state of the missions. Missionary periodicals were important for the establishment and maintenance of an international network of

missionary communication.[3] Yet, as John Webster Grant has argued, the existence of these relations itself imparted "a certain homogeneity to the missionary movement" in which, despite the need to adapt to local conditions, "there was enough of a common pattern that [a missionary] could know even before his departure […] that one of his responsibilities was to found a school."[4] Through reporting on mission schools, missionary periodicals provided information on the normative aspects of these institutions, as well as of the moments in which these norms were questioned or even inverted.

The primary periodical examined here is the Basel Missions' *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* (*Evangelical Mission Magazine,* EMM), which was begun under the title of *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der protestantischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* (*Magazine for the newest history of the Protestant Mission and Bible Society*) in 1816, and changed its name to the shorter title in 1857. Material within the EMM was synthesised from some fifty non-German and thirty German-language missionary periodicals for a German-speaking lay audience. This synthesis allowed the reader to access a broad spectrum of missionary news, reports, and book reviews, spanning denominational, confessional, linguistic, and geographical boundaries.[5] With such a wide array of missionary reports, the EMM is indeed an apt medium to examine the dynamic 'spaces' of Protestant missionary schooling to Indigenous and non-Indigenous children in the non-European world.

Yet there are also limitations in using missionary periodicals as historigraphical sources, particularly notable because they were by their nature inherently full of propaganda,[6] and thus present a one-sided view of the missionary endeavour which often does not allow for alternative perspectives of non-European peoples to be expressed other than in descriptions of actions that were defiant or contradictory to missionary expectations. Another constraint of generalized missionary periodicals, such as the EMM, is their cut-and-paste nature, which provides descriptive or emotive reports, but rarely analytical ones. Furthermore, although schooling was a universal aspect of missionary work it is often overlooked, or under-reported, within missionary reports due to its self-evident nature. A broader trend within the historiography of missions is that scholars have tended to focus upon micro-studies of missionary stations or 'fields'. For the study of missionary schooling this has meant that there has been little work on the macro-level trying to systematically map out the spheres of influences that missionaries had and the 'spaces' in which they hoped to effect 'change' in Indigenous peoples.[7] Therefore, this article aims to contribute towards the goal of a more geographically integrated study of 'missionary spaces' in terms of missionary schooling.

Why Educate the Children?

From the beginnings of the Evangelical Protestant missionary movement, teaching residents of mission stations how to read was a vital duty as it 'opened' them up to the Gospel. At the turn of the 18th century, some of the first Protestant missionaries in the extra-European world were the Danish-Halle missionaries in Tranquebar, India. They followed the vision of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), who believed that everyone should be able to read the Bible in her or his own language, and established schools accordingly. His vision was not only revolutionary in the context of India, in which the missionaries provided access to open 'public education', but was also revolutionary in Europe for the Evangelical Pietism of Halle called for universal literacy and education.[8] From this basis, the ensuing Evangelical Protestant missionary endeavour maintained a strong emphasis upon instructing potential converts so that they too could read. Such an undertaking prompted the establishment of schools that taught reading, and often also writing, to children as well as adults, with many missionary societies focusing upon the spiritual, intellectual as well as vocational training of their pupils. Further to schoolroom-based teaching, Christian missionaries also used non-institutional methods such as acting as suitable role-models, one-on-one instructional conversations, friendly persuasion, the giving or withholding of gifts and/or rations, and encouraging 'appropriate' or discouraging 'inappropriate' behaviour. All 19th century Protestant missionaries set out to affect a 'change' in the spiritual understandings of the people they worked amongst. This shift was to varying degrees expected to be observed in the modified outward behaviour of individual converts, as well as in a remodelled social order, one which both re-ordered concepts of 'time' and 'space', as well as differentiating the, "sacred from the secular, work from leisure, the public from the private, the inner from the outer".[9] The missionary schoolroom, with its focus upon instruction rather than education – that is, upon rote learning rather than the exploration of knowledge – was a pivotal site in which such cultural, intellectual and spiritual change was 'cultivated'. Missionary societies remained attentive to the varied needs of different peoples within different locations and spheres of missionary work.[10] Thus, various types of schools were erected for different age groups, and to address different academic or vocational outcomes. Missionaries also had different teaching methods dependent upon whether they were working amongst literate or illiterate peoples, schools were of different duration, and there were furthermore differences in what language the lessons were taught in. There was much diversity in what the missionaries taught and to whom they taught it. Although a universal plan for schooling was never an obtainable reality, nevertheless generalities in how missionary societies approached the teaching of Indigenous and non-European pupils may be noted. One common

thread was the aspiration to engage non-Christian people in the Christian message and draw them into the Christian faith through the provision of schooling. For this reason, young children and youth were the main targets, as through enticing them to Christianity missionary groups hoped both to 'cultivate' life-long loyal supporters as well as to gain access to these childrens' parents, their siblings, and ultimately to also convert these family members to Christianity.[11] In order to gain the confidence of the local community to send their children to school, missionary instructional work relied upon the cooperation of local elites and also the willingness of the parents.[12] Indigenous peoples were not passive objects in missionary schooling, and indeed their influences were part of the dynamic interplays that the missionaries *in situ* were constantly engaged in.[13] The fact that non-European pupils themselves became teachers in the schools reflects a desire to replicate Western instruction, which was encouraged by missionaries as they needed native support as well as assistant teachers for the growth of the missions and the ultimate aim of native churches.[14] Yet, their desire for schooling was often of a secular nature and not of the religious nature that missionaries themselves hoped for.[15] This led many missionaries to categorise their pupils in three cohorts: a select few who hungered for the religious truths that they received in the school; a group that was attentive to the lessons, yet were affected only in the mind and not in the heart; and a majority who were "spiritually dead" and "uninspired", and who only attended classes for they were required to. Such a categorisation was seen to be universally applicable to all Christian mission schools.[16]

Despite a paucity of sources stemming from Indigenous peoples themselves, the records that we do have available can inform us of their attitudes towards schooling. The historian Barbara Yates, for example, has suggested in the context of the Congo that there were three discernible stages of reaction to missionary schooling: "indifference; curiosity; and finally widespread acceptance."[17] Her stages can be generalised to other areas, with her third stage being observed in other context where many Indigenous and non-European peoples both demanded and embraced missionary instruction in their ambitious aims for their children.[18] To facilitate the second stage, many missionary organisations had to find various ways, dependent on the context, to encourage children to attend schools, and to gain the consent of their parents and communities. Some missionaries, such as the French Catholic *White Fathers* in Zambia, offered children a penny a day to attend school, with the hope of obtaining regular attendance.[19] In parts of India, the *Church Missionary Society* (CMS) paid girls to attend school, as well as provided them with free accommodation and servants.[20] Scottish Protestant missionaries in Eastern Nigeria rewarded the success of their pupils through gifts of clothing,[21] as too did the CMS in Ibadan, Yoruba land, West Africa.[22]

However, the presentation of gifts was not always initiated by the missionaries, rather parents of children also requested presents and clothing in exchange for sending their children to mission schools,[23] demonstrating that they saw children's attendance at the lessons as a commodity that could be traded for material gain. Children and youth themselves were often ambivalent about going to school.[24] Yet within missionary reports the willingness of children was also noted, and thus the reading public in Europe were informed of the potential that missionary schooling had in moulding Indigenous and non-European children to become upstanding Christians. The EMM, for example, reported that children in Africa cried when their parents forbid them to attend school,[25] or were willing to brace the wrath of their parents to go.[26] Such reports also informed missionaries on the ground about the state of missionary schooling in different locations, allowing missionaries to feel part of a global endeavour. The reality, of course, was much more complex with confessional and denominational differences causing frictions in the 'mission fields' as well as in the home countries.

Physical Space

For many missionary societies, mission stations were best established in isolation away from the perceived negative influences of European colonisation. From the mid-16th century, various Spanish and Portuguese missionaries gathered potential converts in large settled communities in South America, which were known as *Reducciones* (Spanish) and *Reduções* (Portuguese). From the 18th century, Protestant missionaries established model Christian villages, with many of these on mission stations. These spaces were ideally isolated from potentially disruptive elements of colonial societies and from people who had the potential to teach Indigenous peoples the 'bad vices' of Western civilization:

> "[…] the greatest hindrance to the spread of Christianity is not the heathen with their idols, priests, and sorcerers, nor is it the Mohammeds with their sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, rather, it is the Christians themselves. From whom did the Indians and the Niggers learn to drink firewater, when not from so-called Christians? Who teaches still today the Chinese and Japanese ragamuffins to swear and to blaspheme, when not the Christian merchants, seamen, and soldiers? Who in Australia and New Zealand, South Africa and North America has exterminated the natives, when not the brutal, unscrupulous, self-serving Christians?"[27]

Thus, for missionaries non-Europeans needed to be segregated from broader European influences in the colonies to ensure that only the perceived 'virtuous' aspects

were imparted and internalized. The core of most self-contained mission stations included the church, a missionary house, a school house, and dormitories. These structures were surrounded by the secular infrastructure needed to support the institution.[28]

The schoolhouse was an important 'space' as within it children were instructed in the 'word of God', with a secondary aim of Western instruction being the imparting of farming or trade skills, which the converts could use to help the mission station, or themselves in the broader colonial society. In places where missionaries did not establish their own stations, rather resided in local villages, such as in the Pacific and in some parts of India, the building of a dedicated schoolhouse was also seen to be important to impart both Christian and Western knowledge.[29] Within the 'physical space' of the school it was assumed that the instruction of the children would help transform them from 'uncivilized' and 'unlearned heathen' to 'civilized, skilled Christians', symbolically connecting them to the Christian world. In order for such a transformation to be achieved the school building itself was often metaphorically seen as being a hallowed extension of Western learning. Thus, it could not be tainted by the "dirtiness" or "nakedness of the heathen". Instead, "orderliness and cleanliness" were, as missionaries of the CMS in New Zealand noted, "indeed two by-products of Christianity that should not be underestimated" and together with 'diligence' they constituted virtues that were instilled into the pupils.[30] For the *British and Foreign School Society* (BFSS), for instance, cleanliness and personal hygiene were normative values imperative for the 'success' of schooling,[31] suggesting that these Western notions were deemed transferable and desired within the missionary school context.

Not only did missionaries insist that children had to be physically clean to learn, but they also needed to be well attired before they could enter the school. Respect for schooling was taught through the expectation that pupils would be dressed in a manner bespeaking European respectability. The number of children attending the Akropong mission school, in contemporary Ghana, halved when there were no more clothes to distribute, indicating perhaps that the distribution of garments was used as an incentive to come to school.[32] When missionaries themselves could not provide Western clothing for the children, requests were sent to Europe and publicized in missionary periodicals. The CMS, for example, asked for donations so that female slaves in Antigua who attended their schools might be attired 'properly'.[33] According to the *Committee of the United American Missionary Societies* American Indian children also had to be provided with Western apparel before they could go to school.[34] The fact that Indigenous and non-European people took to wearing European clothing was for the missionaries an expression of their 'changed' internal state, exemplarily described in a comment from the *Rheinish Mission Society* in

Southern Africa: "From the wild, naked companions were made respectably clothed people, who strictly kept the Sabbath holy."[35] Such a focus upon the external aspects of people, including pupils, reflected Western 19th century notions that appearances mirrored the inner state of a person.

The 'physical space' of the mission school was also shaped by conceptualisations of gender. In some missionary settings, the division of gender was traditionally important, for example in the Zenana in India. Thus, to ensure access to the female-only spaces female missionary teachers were sent from European and American mission societies.[36] Missionaries such as those from the *Free Church of Scotland* reported that after the introduction of schooling for men, schooling for women became a coveted amongst lower caste Indians. Many men wished to have educated wives and taught them in part at home in order that they could read and understand the Bible.[37] Missionaries capitalised upon Indigenous peoples' desires for instruction for both sexes. If Western teaching staff and economical requirements were sufficient, often separate schools for men, women, boys, and girls in addition to mixed-sex infant schools were established.[38] In other situations, missionaries relied upon Indigenous Christians to teach single gender classes, such as in Chunar in India where an 11 year-old Christian Indian girl was the schoolmistress at the *Female-Heathen School* maintained by CMS supporters.[39] The *Basel Mission* also had a female convert teaching in their female school in 1853 at Christiansburg in current-day Ghana.[40] However, only one year later the missionaries were asking for a trained European female teacher to be sent to them partly because the "native teacher had not grown in her responsibilities," and partly due to her impending marriage.[41] Thus, in general the 'physical space' of a classroom was gendered with female teachers preferred for female-only classes, and the segregation of female and male pupils reflected in the teaching of a gender-specific curriculum. This was particularly visible in regard to handwork or trade skills, a theme which will be expanded below.

Another division that missionaries were aware of in the 'physical space' of their schools was 'class' or 'caste'. Within India the caste system had potential to undermine missionary schooling. Parents were wont to take their children out of school if children of a lower caste were present.[42] Missionaries were conscious of local customs of enforcing segregation, yet believed that all children had a right to schooling, a fact corroborated by historian James Campbell: "For all its manifest limitations, nineteenth century missionary education rested on assumptions of liberal universalism."[43] Despite such liberal views, other scholars have demonstrated that missionaries also conflated 'race' and 'class', leading the *London Missionary Society* (LMS) for example, to undertake training in the slums of Great Britain to prepare them for their work amongst Indigenous peoples.[44] By the end of the 19th century, Indigenous peoples within settler colonies were overwhelmingly seen to be on par with Euro-

pean lower-class whites in terms of the perceived level of schooling needed.[45] Therefore, the 'physical space' of the missionary school consequently overlapped with the 'didactic space' in which children were instructed in subjects that were seen to suit their stations in life.

A further division, and reason for segregation in mission schools, was that of ethnicity. Sometimes the missionaries themselves were the instigators of this separation, such as when in 1869 missionaries of the *Berlin Mission Society* at the *Amalienstein* station in South Africa saw it as indecent to have their own children taught together with 'coloured' children, as the latter were said to have a demoralising influence.[46] Often, however, the separation of European and non-European children was intended to protect the mission inhabitants from the effects of colonial and postcolonial society. Religion was another category of division, with missionary schools often separated according to converted and non-converted children. In India missionaries commonly established boarding schools for orphans to 'protect' them from the 'heathen' population. In many cases children raised in these institutions became proponents of the Christian message themselves.[47] Within Canada, the idea to separate children from their parents and thus to extract them from their cultural and social setting was taken to the extreme with boarding and residential schools established from the 1870s in cooperation between missionaries and government.[48] The physical extraction from their familiar contexts was deemed an important step in 'shaping' Canadian First Nation children. Even during school holidays they were rarely allowed to return to their communities, as missionaries were concerned that they would fall back into 'heathen' ways.[49] Similar ideas were expressed by the LMS, who saw their boarding schools for orphans and children of Christians in India as a means to make sure that they were "kept altogether free from contamination."[50] Yet, the parents of pupils were also wary of the 'corrupting' influence that missionary schools had and at times withdrew their children from the 'physical space' of the schools.[51] Indeed, although many Indigenous groups desired Western instruction, they were often skeptical of the Christian message and boycotted proselytizing institutions.[52]

The 'physical space' of the mission school was, however, not just a site of segregation it was also a site of cultural contact between European missionaries and non-European pupils. For example, in 1862 the 51 pupils at Bishop Selwyn's New Zealand missionary school came from 24 dispersed Melanesian Islands and were taught amongst other European and Maori children.[53] At the *English Mission* in Rupert's Land in North America children of Inuit, Native American, English, and mixed parentage attended school, apparently with no racial prejudice expressed between the different groups, which was seen to be evidence of a common humanity.[54] Not only were pupils of different ethnic backgrounds, but also were the teachers. For exam-

ple, the pupils at the school on the Akropong mission run by the *Basel Mission* were taught by Christian West Indians,[55] who were sent to support the mission work in Africa as they were cheaper to employ than European missionaries and deemed to be more physically robust. Through controlling the 'physical space' of the mission school, notions of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' were established and maintained. The rationale behind such decisions to admit or exclude also reflects competing ideologies and expectations for the future places of missionary pupils within religious, social and political areas. Similar arguments were applied to the 'cultural space' of the mission school.

Cultural Space

The definition of 'culture' in the 19th century was informed by both anthropology as well as the humanities.[56] For anthropologists, 'culture' included the particular traits that specific ethnic groups held in common, such as language, religion, music and group structures. Within the humanities, the concept of 'culture' was attached to the self-improvement and cultivation of individuals, through education, music, art, literature and science. In regard to missionary schooling, particular aspects of so-called 'heathen cultures' were often seen to be in need of 'cultivating' and 'raising' to fit into Western ideals of 'development'. Indeed, as Hayden Bellenoit has noted in the context of India, missionaries "often blurred the distinction between 'moral improvement', 'civilisation' and Christianity."[57]

Instructing non-Western children was a way to train and mould them so that they would become the "foundations of a new society."[58] This was expected to include Western values, norms and knowledge and to reject cultural practices perceived 'abhorrent' or 'distasteful' to missionary sensibilities. Inside the classroom this could be undertaken through moral-didactic lessons. What language such instruction was to take place in was of utmost importance for the shaping of the "new society", and it is this aspect of the 'cultural space' of missionary schooling that will be examined here.

Government policy in terms of language instruction was able to affect missionary practices in terms of the cultural space in which they operated. The question of what language should be used was an important aspect of the cultural space that missionaries could shape, yet one that colonial governments also often wished to be involved in and were able to regulate. As Hildegard Binder Johnson has noted within the context of Africa, "[o]fficial support or prohibition of the vernacular for instruction directly affected the missions."[59] Some colonial powers, such as France and Portugal, insisted that the language of the colonisers must be used in the mission schools, which

enforced the closure of the American Mission School in Gabun since the missionaries themselves did not speak French.[60] Others were more tolerant towards Indigenous languages, with Belgium, for example, allowing the vernacular to be used during the first few years of a pupil's schooling. The British language policy was the most lenient as it did not interfere with the choice of language in primary schools, even favouring local languages over English.[61] Within German colonies, Indigenous languages were also used in schools, as German was seen to be too difficult for large portions of the Indigenous population to learn. Instead, in East Africa Swahili became the *lingua franca*.[62] Teaching in the vernacular was also linked to the missionaries' desire to maintain contact with potential converts. In sub-Saharan Africa the vernacular was generally privileged, in order that pupils of the mission schools would not be alienated from their social networks. Avoiding English assured that the missionaries' protégées had continuing access to further potential converts.[63]

In Canada by the middle of the 19th century, proficiency in either English or French became a pre-requisite for First-Nation people to become franchised, and thus language obtainment was connected to political participation in the broader settler society.[64] Earlier in the century in India, T.B. Macaulay's *Minute on Education* (1835) laid the path for English-language schools for a few elites, with the idea that there would be a filtration effect by which other parts of society would benefit from those who had received English language training, leading to the construction of a "brown Englishman".[65] Yet, the provision of English instruction was perceived to have contributed to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, with it providing fodder for anxieties about the use of English in other colonies, especially in Africa.[66] Despite potential political agitations, the teaching of English to a few elite Indians was still deemed in 1860 to be generally favoured by missionaries in the "introductory" phase of new missions, but not to be maintained in either the "permanent" nor in the "reproductive" stage.[67] The secretary to the *Vernacular Education Society for India*, the Rev. Jonathan Holt Titcomb (1819–1887), noted four reasons for this: firstly, missionaries were most familiar with this language; secondly, missionaries had no appropriate printed books in the vernacular; thirdly, "it is sure to attract the natives"; and fourthly, "it opens to them all our own stores of sacred literature".[68] English was deemed useful at the beginnings of the missionary endeavour in order to train a group of Indians capable of communicating with both the missionaries and the general population. It was hoped that people fluent in both local languages as well as English would be able to facilitate the translation of the Bible, as well as further other edifying texts, and thus all people would be able to read the Bible in the vernacular, just as Francke had envisaged. In local languages, the Bible, which was used as "a means of education [*Bildungsmittel*] in home, school and church", had the power to "refine a people […] cleanse its habits and assumptions […] give it grand ideas and

opinions […] and place the highest ideals before its eyes."[69] Therefore, many other missionary organisations argued the cause for translating the Bible into local languages, and the need to teach in the vernacular.

Most missionary groups also preferred to teach in local languages a method which has helped to codify, and in some cases preserve, Indigenous languages.[70]Although missionaries such as the Scotsman Alexander Duff (1806–1878) advocated the use of English in Indian schools, for Sanskrit was deemed an "evil language filled with cultural falsehoods",[71] the majority saw the vernacular as a more apt medium for teaching the Gospel. Some missionary organizations, such as the *American Mission Board*, attributed 'progress in civilization' with the attainment of the English language and thus, in the early years, taught it in their schools in North America. Yet, this practice was soon discontinued as the missionaries discerned that those "Redskins, who have acquired the best English knowledge, remain on average farthest away from the acceptance of the Gospel […] They see themselves raised above the mass of their people, become vain and their torrid hearts become eclipsed."[72] A similar experience was reported to have occurred in Syria.[73] In both situations, the missionaries reverted back the vernacular for teaching. Yet even when missionaries desired to teach in the vernacular, this was not always possible for a number of reasons, including lack of linguistic ability, or supporting materials. For example, the missionaries of the *Basel Missionary Society* stationed in Akropong wished in 1854 for schooling to be taught in Odschi or Ga, and not English.[74] However, as there were no schoolbooks published in these local languages the missionaries decided to continue to teach in English.[75] The paucity of school books in the vernacular led missionaries either to use English textbooks, or to produce themselves textbooks in the local languages. Many of these had to be first codified and consequently, the production of instructional texts often took time. Parents of pupils also expressed their opinion on this topic. In India the provision of English-language schooling was enthusiastically embraced by the elites. In North America, *Lenape* parents refused to send their children to the Moravian mission school unless the language of schooling was English, for the missionaries themselves imperfectly spoke the Delaware language.[76] Parents wished to be involved in the decision between using local or European languages in teaching that was embedded with expectations for the future roles of mission protégées in the colonial society.

The 'cultural space' of the mission school was dynamic. Moreover, often numerous languages were spoken in the classroom, such as in a school run by an independent missionary in Southern Africa, where pupils answered exam questions in German, Zulu, English, Dutch, Greek and Hebrew,[77] or the Swedish mission *M'Kullo* in East Africa where 43 boys "besides from their mother-tongue (Amharic), […] also learn Ethiopian (the Abyssinian Church language), Swedish (!), and German (!), his-

tory, geography, mathematics and religion [emphasis in the original]."[78] Such a plethora of languages also highlights the fact that not only did pupils have to learn new languages in order to profit from missionary schooling, but that missionaries themselves regularly did not teach in their mother tongue, and they themselves had to negotiate numerous languages. For example, a Swedish *Danish-Halle* missionary, called Kiernander, trained for four years in Halle, Germany, before being recommended to the *Christian Knowledge Society* in London. He was sent to Bengal in India, where he opened a school in 1758 and taught Indian school children primarily in Portuguese.[79] He was one of many continental missionaries who had to learn the language of the colonial government in which they worked. In the early 19th century, the German missionaries at the first German missionary school, the *Jänickesseminar* in Berlin, were taught English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew to be prepared for working for LMS in the British colonies. Despite this, their English-language skills were deemed not sufficient and thus they were required to improve it by spending time at the LMS training institution at Islington, London.[80] Other German missionaries, such as those from the *Berlin Mission*, were not taught English; rather Latin, Greek and Hebrew in order that they might more easily pick up local languages.[81]

It is difficult to ascertain what impact English as a second language had for the missionaries in the 'field', and for their ability to communicate with those people amongst whom they worked. Nevertheless, the classroom was a vibrant 'cultural space' in which not only pupils but also missionaries were required to learn in order to effectively communicate. The 'cultural spaces' of the mission school were dynamic, constantly reacting and adapting to hierarchic and hegemonic demands of a political, religious or societal nature. Wishes of parents, governmental interests, and the practicalities of teaching all affected what was taught, and as a consequence determined which non-Europeans could easily communicate within the colonial setting. Missionaries generally preferred to teach in the vernacular, however, this was not always possible. The tensions and frictions between governments, missionaries, and Indigenous parents were also evident in the 'didactic space' of mission schools, which we now turn to.

Didactic Space

The 'didactic space' of mission schools, that is the curriculum, was another 'space' in which missionaries sought to influence and determine the kinds of knowledge transmitted to their pupils. It was also dynamic, with parents, missionaries, and governments all wishing to influence what was taught within these institutions. Over the course of the 19th century, the syllabus of many mission schools became determi-

ned by local governments in their efforts to take more control over the instruction of their future citizens as well as their positions in societies that would be open to them. Changes in curriculum reflected changes in expectations.

The major aim of missionary schooling was to convert people to Christianity by giving the pupils the skills they needed to engage with its religious message. Much of this early work was undertaken *ad hoc*, and many of the first missionaries were not trained as teachers.[82] Yet, even during the early stages of Protestant missions, the necessity for specifically trained teachers was acknowledged. In the first issue of the *Evangelisches Missions=Magazin* it was, for example, reported that the CMS was training three male and two female teachers in addition to missionaries to be sent to the African 'mission field'.[83] Compared to the number of missionaries sent out, the number of trained teachers remained small, and thus missionaries with little or no specific training had to work in the class rooms as teachers. Unsurprisingly, this and the lack of teaching materials affected their pedagogical methods. Often missionaries had to be creative with the materials at hand, for example the *Basel Mission* at Akropong taught reading through the Bible, English through other edifying religious texts, and singing through applying Odchi-texts to German melodies.[84]

Many missionary societies focused upon teaching pupils to read the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, over all other subjects. Reading was deemed so important that a *Moravian* missionary in South-eastern Australia in 1863 judged, "every other subject for instruction [to be] of very secondary importance".[85] Religiously oriented subjects, such as geography "with particular consideration of the holy Land", were also frequently taught.[86] Secular subjects were, however, also believed to be important for the 'raising' of the so-called 'heathen' into the folds of 'civilisation'. Within many Protestant missionary societies, mission schools offered the same elementary subjects as received by European children both in the colonies as well as in the sending countries; those being reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, history, geography, and needle work for girls. In 1852, the *Free Church of Scotland* examined their students at the school in Tschinsure in Northern India in history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics and Bible studies.[87] Mostly the education on offer to non-Western pupils was rudimentary rather than academic, reflecting expectations for missionary pupils in colonial society. However, some missionaries, such as those belonging to the *Free Church of Scotland*, provided their protégées on mission stations with a classical humanistic education, and as such, subjects such as Hebrew and Latin were part of the normal mission school curriculum.[88] For pupils of Catholic mission schools, such as those in Zanzibar in East Africa, Latin was a prerequisite for becoming a priest.[89] Protestant missionaries also used religious reasoning to differentiate between those pupils believed to be more capable and those who were not. In the Anglican mission of Zanzibar, all children were taught general subjects

such as reading and writing in Kisuaheli (Swahili), arithmetic as well as Bible history. Those pupils considered to become assistant teachers, catechistic or other types of religious helpers were furthermore taught English. The 'less apt' (or perhaps less religiously inclined) were kept busy in one of the many vocational trades attached to the mission, such as those associated with the printing press, carpentry, the foundry, the tailor's workshop, or the laundry.[90] By providing pupils with vocational training available on the station, missionary societies also kept them close to the geographical space of the mission, and away from the 'vices' of European civilisation.

Government bodies were also able to influence what was taught within mission schools. At the beginning of the 19th century, governments had often provided missionary organisations with unconditional grants for their schools, however, by the end of the century, these grants were often conditional upon fulfilling certain requirements. This caused tensions for many missionary societies as governmental influence was not always desired. Schools in India, for example, were required from the mid-century to exclude religion from their curricula in order to receive government funding. Baptist and Congregational missions refused to engage in this policy, and therefore had to rely upon funds from their British supporters.[91] The *Basel* missionaries at Nilagiri in India accepted the government funding, but were particularly dismissive that 'heathen' teachers were employed to teach 'worldly' subjects, leading them to suggest that the outlook for the school was bleak.[92] As Norman Etherington has demonstrated in the context of South Africa, missionaries initially gladly accepted funding from the government for their schools, however, this proved to be a "poisoned chalice" as the government tried to move the syllabus towards industrial schools lessening the missionary influence.[93]

As a result, after decades of receiving unconditional support, missionaries were often compelled to follow governmental demands, or risk losing both funding and material support.[94] Moreover, in some cases such as in South Africa around the turn of the 20[th]century, the colonial government required missionary teachers to be accredited by the government and missionary schools to be registered. If missionary societies refused to cooperate, then they risked losing the support of the local communities who wished to be educated in schools.[95] For non-European peoples, changes in the curriculum towards vocational training often meant that they were hampered in their ability to receive an education equitable with Europeans. As the position that an Indigenous or non-European person could hold in society was, in part, contingent upon how much schooling the person received, the generally inferior education of mission schools ensured that their position in society was relegated to, or maintained at, the lower socio-economic levels.[96] Thus, the 'didactic space' also had the potential to acquaint Indigenous and non-European youth of the expected economical place for them within broader society.

The 'didactic space' of mission schools also informed pupils of Western concepts of gender relations. Along with laundry, cooking and household domestic skills, needlework was a gender-specific subject taught in mission schools with the expectation that this would prepare women to be good Christian wives for their native Christian husbands. This is not to suggest that boys were restricted from needlework,[97] rather that it was a common subject for females that was embedded with ideological expectations as to a woman's place in the "new society". All over the globe, the teaching of female pupils within mission schools was undertaken with similar ideals of creating 'model' female converts; ideals that sought to normalise Western ideals of domesticity yet often limited women in comparison to their traditional roles, and did not take into account female aspirations.[98] Fiona Leach has argued that in Africa missionary schooling for girls generally "privileged male interests and perceived male needs."[99] For the missionaries, there were also pragmatic reasons for teaching needlework. These skills enabled women to provide clothes for mission residents, as well as to obtain extra income through selling their products.[100] Needlework samples were also practical examples of the development of a mission and therefore used as missionary propaganda in the metropolis.[101] Boys were also taught subjects that were embedded within Western gender constructs, such as various agricultural subjects or manual skills, dependent upon the material needs of the mission.

A further 'space' in which missionary schools had the ability to shape their pupils was in terms of essentialist notions of the perceived mental abilities of different peoples. Philosophers in the 19th century were ambivalent about the capacity of the minds of 'primitive peoples' for Western schooling, yet 'positive' missionary experiences had demonstrated that if 'heathen' children were instructed from a young age, they could be raised as Christians and could proficiently learn Western forms of knowledge.[102] Yet, missionaries were also affected by, and effected the hardening of racial determination at the end of the century.[103] A shift is apparent in missionary writings from those in the 18th century that deemed the so-called 'primitive peoples' to be innocent and child-like, to later writings that placed many non-Europeans on the lowest points of the racial-cultural scale.[104] This changed attitude also becomes visible in how missionaries spoke about their pupils. Initially, many missionary societies praised the scholastic abilities of their pupils, with missionaries noting that children at the *Akropong* mission station made progress on the same level as European children, and slave children in Jamaica being reported to have "stupendous memory" for schoolwork.[105] Writing on Kenya, Robert Strayer has argued that in the late 19th century an intellectual shift occurred within British thought in which Africans were no longer seen as being able to rise above their perceived state of cultural inferiority with the help of Western education (the "conversionism" perspective), rather they were deemed biologically inferior and thus unable to 'be improved' (the "trustee-

ship" perspective).[106] Similar ideas of the 'inferiority' of Indigenous peoples, although not necessarily based upon biological definitions, were posited in the settler colonies of Australia and Canada.[107] Such line of reasoning which led away from the inclusive notions of a universal humanity towards essentialist racial arguments themselves impacted upon the curricula taught within missionary schools. It became questionable whether there was any 'benefit' in providing Africans with an education in English, and moreover, the non-Europeans attending these schools began to regard the curricula as being increasingly irrelevant in contemporary society.[108]

Conclusion

Throughout the 19th century, missionaries provided schooling to hundreds of thousands of non-Europeans with the ultimate aim of converting these pupils to Christianity. Given that there were differences in the provision of mission schooling, and in the historical specificities, this paper has not aimed to provide a complete nor static description of these 'ideological spaces'. Rather, it contributes towards a more geographically integrated study of 'missionary spaces' in terms of schooling. The general conclusions drawn from analysing the content of the EMM demonstrate some of the uniformity of 'missionary spaces', and simultaneously reveal 'spaces' where, and times when, these generalities became disrupted. Mission schools, conceived as overlapping 'physical', 'cultural' and 'didactic spaces', aimed to place the non-Western pupils in these specific locations. Within all of these 'spaces' missionaries tried to mitigate or circumvent the negative effects of European colonisation on their pupils, yet they also needed to be aware of the interests of governments, church bodies and the local communities. The medium of missionary periodicals provides insight into how missionaries conceived of schooling for non-Western pupils. Readers of such publications were informed about the spread of the Christian message throughout the non-European world. Due to the propagandist nature of these publications, non-Europeans attitudes towards European ideals are generally not explicitly stated. Yet, reading against the grain, the attitudes of non-Western peoples are evident in the moments that their actions and words ruptured missionary aims, when for example children refused to attend, or their parents kept them from attending, or when parents insisted that the language of instruction be changed, or when people did not respond to the curriculum as anticipated. The changes in the 'didactic space', like those in the overlapping 'physical' and 'cultural spaces', reflected the dynamic interplay between various ideological expectations upon the non-European pupils of the mission schools and ultimately their role as members of a "new society", regardless of whether or not this "new society" was achieved.

Notes

1   See for example: Clayton G. Mackenzie, Demythologising the Missionaries. A Reassessment of the Functions and Relationships of Christian Missionary Education under Colonialism, in: Comparative Education 29/1 (1993), 45-66.

2   See also: Katharina Stornig, Vielfache Bedeutungen. Missionsfotografie zwischen Neuguinea und Europa, 1896–ca. 1930, in this volume, 113-138.

3   Felicity Jensz, Origins of Missionary Periodicals. Form and Function of Three Moravian Publications, in: Journal of Religious History, 36/2 (2012), 234-55.

4   John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime. Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534, Toronto/Buffalo/London 1984, 218.

5   Vorwort zum neuen Jahrgang, in: Evangelisches Missions-Magazin (EMM) 22 (1879), 2-3.

6   Here John MacKenzie's definition of 'propaganda' is used: "Propaganda is the transmission of ideas and values from one person, or groups of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients' attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced." See: John MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire. The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880–1960, Manchester 1984, 3.

7   Exceptions include: Norman Etherington, Education and Medicine, in: Norman Etheringon, ed., Missions and Empire, Oxford 2005; Brian Holmes, British Imperial Policy and the Mission Schools, in: Brian Holmes, ed., Educational Policy and the Mission Schools. Case Studies from the British Empire, London 2007, 4-46; Felicity Jensz, Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part I: Church-State Relations and Indigenous Actions and Reactions, in: History Compass 10/4 (2012), 294-305; Felicity Jensz, Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender, in: History Compass 10/4 (2012), 306-17.

8   For a discussion of 'public education' in India see: Robert Eric Frykenberg, The Halle Legacy in Modern India. Information and the Spread of Education, Enlightenment, and Evangelization, in: Michael Bergunder, ed., Missionsberichte aus Indien im 18. Jahrhundert. Neue Hallesche Berichte, Halle 1999, 6-29.

9   Jean and John Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution. Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa, vol. 1, Chicago/London 1991, 234.

10 See the discussion on Education: G. D. Cullen u.a., ed., Conference on Missions Held in 1860 at Liverpool. Including the Papers Read, the Deliberations, and the Conclusions Reached (with a Comprehensive Index Shewing the Various Matters Brought under Review), London 1860, 150.

11 See for example: Ein Ueberblick über die Mission in Minahasa. 1. Die Evangelisation, in: EMM 13 (1869), 6-7. Also: Larry Prochner/Helen May/BaljitKaur, "The Blessings of Civilisation". Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools for Young Native Children in Three Colonial Settings – India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s–1840s, in: Paedagogica Historica 45/1/2 (2009), 83-102, here 85.

12 Mackenzie, Demythologising the Missionaries, 50.

13 See for example: Robert W. Strayer, The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya. A Microcosmic Perspective, in: Comparative Education Review 17/3 (1973), 313-30, here 313.

14 Cullen, u.a., Conference on Missions, passim.

15 See for example: Jana Tschurenev, Incorporation and Differentiation. Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in Early Nineteenth Century India, in: Carey A. Watt/Michael Mann, ed., Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia. From Improvement to Development, London 2011, 93-124.

16 Die Mission der schottischen Freikirche in Südafrika (Schluß), in: EMM 18 (1875), 119. German original: "geistlich todt (sic!)".

17 Although Yates' case study focuses upon the Congo, her conclusions can be explicated to many British colonies. See: Barbara A. Yates, African Reactions to Education. The Congolese Case, in: Comparative Education Review 15/2 (1971), 158.

18 See for example: Mary Turner, Slaves and Missionaries. The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society 1787–1834, Urbana/Chicago/London 1982, 89.

19 Brendan Carmody, Catholic Schools in Zambia: 1891–1924, in: History of Education 28/1 (1999), 73-86, here 83.

20 Tim Allender, Ruling through Education. The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab, in: Peter Reeves/Robin Jeffrey, eds., Asian Studies Association of Australia South Asian Publications Series No. 14, USA 2006, 199.

21 W. H. Taylor, Missionary Education in Africa Reconsidered. The Presbyterian Educational Impact in Eastern Nigeria 1846–1974, in: African Affairs 83/331 (1984), 194.

22 Aus den Briefen einer afrikanischen Missionsfrau (Schluß.), in: EMM 18 (1875), 485.

23 For example, at Akropong Station in Southern Africa, run by the *Basel Mission*. See: Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Akropong, in: Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der protestantischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften (MGMB) 40/1 (1855), 44.

24 See for example: Ein Besuch auf Tahiti, in: EMM 14 (1870), 183. German original: „Die Kinder kamen nicht regelmäßig und betrübten ihre Lehrer durch ihre Gleichgültigkeit".

25 Aus den Briefen einer afrikanischen Missionsfrau (Schluß.), in: EMM 16 (1872), 493.

26 See for example: Misty L. Bastian, Young Converts: Christian Missions, Gender and Youth in Onitsha, Nigeria 1880–1929, in: Anthropological Quarterly 73/3 (2000), 149.

27 Ein schwarzer Fleck im schwarzen Erdteil, in: EMM 20 (1877), 129. German original: „[…] das größte Hinderniß für die Ausbreitung des Christenthums nicht die Heiden mit ihren Götzen, Priestern und Zauberern, auch nicht die Muhammedaner mit dem Schwert in der einen und dem Koran in der anderen Hand, sondern – die Christen selber sind. Von wem haben Indianer und Neger das Branntweintrinken gelernt, wenn nicht von sogenannten Christen? Wer lehrt heute noch chinesische und japanische Gassenjungen fluchen und den Namen Gottes lästern, wenn nicht christliche Kaufleute, Matrosen und Soldaten? Wer hat in Australien und Neuseeland, Südafrika und Nordamerika die Eingebornen ausgerottet, wenn nicht grausame, gewissenlose, selbstsüchtige Christen?".

28 For an analysis of how the geographical space of the mission was constructed to effect change amongst non-European peoples see: Comaroff/Comaroff, Revelation, especially chapter six.

29 Cullen u.a., Conference, 118-51.

30 Züge aus der melanesischen Mission (Schluß.). Die Schule, in: EMM 13 (1869), 368. German original: „Ordnung und Reinlichkeit […] gewiß zwei nicht zu unterschätzende Beigaben des Christenthums."

31 G. F. Bartle, The Teaching Manuals and Lesson Books of the British and Foreign School Society, in: History of Education Society Bulletin 46 (1990), 22-33, here 23.

32 Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Akropong, in: MGMB 39/4 (1854), 45.

33 Miscellanies, Contributions to the Church Missionary Society, in: Missionary Register 13/7 (1825), 238.

34 Aufruf der vereinigten Missions=Gesellschaft an das christliche Publikum, in: MGMB 7 (1822), 252.

35 Die Rheinische Mission in Südafrika, in: EMM 15 (1871), 116. German original: „Aus den wilden, nackten Gesellen waren anständig gekleidete Leute geworden, die den Sonntag streng heiligten."

36 See for example: Parna Sengupta, Teaching Gender in the Colony. The Education of "Outsider" Teachers in Late-Nineteenth-Century Bengal, in: Journal of Women's History 17/4 (2005), 397-415.

37 Die neuesten Ereignisse auf dem Gebiete anderer Missionsgesellschaften. In den Missionsgebieten. Ost=Bengalen, in: MGMB 39/3 (1854), 93-94.

38 For example at the Moravian mission school on the Moskito Coast in South America mixed-sex classes were held, although the reason is not explicitly given. See: Mosquitoküste, in: MGMB 41/1 (1856), 85.

39 Chunar. A Town on the Ganges, a few miles above Benies, in: Missionary Register 14/2 (1826), 100.

40 Quartal=Übersicht über die neuesten Ereignisse auf dem Gebiete der Mission, in: MGMB 38/1 (1853), 19.

41 Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Akropong, in: MGMB 39/3 (1854), 52-53. German original: „theils ihrer Aufgabe nicht gewachsesey, theils voraussichtlich in kurzer Zeit in den Ehestand treten werde […]."

42 Cullen u.a., Conference on Missions, 138.

43 James Campbell, Models and Metaphors. Industrial Education in the United States and South Africa, in: Ran Greenstein, ed., Comparative Perspectives on South Africa, Houndmills u.a. 1998, 123.

44 See for example: Amanda Barry, "Equal to Children of European Origin". Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia, in: History Australia 5/2 (2008), 41.1-41.16.

45 See for example: Comaroff/Comaroff, Revelation, vol. 2, 314-20; Anne O'Brien, Creating the Aboriginal Pauper. Missionary Ideas in Early 19th Century Australia, in: Social Sciences & Missions 21/1 (2008), 6-30. See also: Jens Wietschorke, Die Stadt als Missionsraum. Zur kulturellen Logik sozialer Mission in der klassischen Moderne, in this volume, 21-46.

46 Die Berliner Mission in Südafrika. Das britische Kaffrarien, in: EMM 13 (1869), 161.

47 Cullen u.a., Conference on Missions, 150.

48 Grant, Moon of Wintertime.

49 See for example: James R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision. A History of Native Residential Schools, Toronto 2009.

50 Indian within the Ganges, in: Missionary Register March (1836), 151.

51 This was the case of Muslim parents whose children attended a LMS school in Cape Town in South Africa. See: Bekehrung und Leben Afrikaner's, in: MGMB 40/2 (1855), 157.

52 Despite their desire for Western education, numerous South African groups boycotted missionary education when it was overly-proselytizing, with similar trends evident in India. See: Hayden J.A. Bellenoit, Missionary Education, Religion and Knowledge in India. C. 1880–1915, in: Modern Asian Studies 41/2 (2007), 369-94, here 372; Terence Ranger, African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa 1900–1939, in: Past & Present 32 (Dec, 1965), 66.

53 Züge aus der melanesischen Mission, in: EMM 13 (1869), 318.

54 Ein brüderliche Zurechtweisung, in: EMM 7 (1863), 71.

55 Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Akropong, in: MGMB 39/3 (1854), 74.

56 For a brief overview see: Isaac Reed/Jeffrey Alexander, Culture, in: Bryan S. Turner, ed., The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology, Cambridge 2006, 111-117.

57 Bellenoit, Missionary Education, Religion and Knowledge in India, 369.

58 For an exemplary quote see: Die Mission in der Capstadt in den zwei letzten Jahrhunderten, von 1652 bis 1854, III. (1819–1828–1854), in: MGMB 40/2 (1855), 140. German original: „Die Kinder [in der Warteschule machen] schnellen Uebergang zu den Vorzügen europäischer Kinder und werden so die Grundlage einer neuen Gesellschaft."

59 Hildegard Binder Johnson, The Location of Christian Missions in Africa, in: Geographical Review 57/2 (1967), 168-202, here 182.

60 Zwölf Jahre im westafrikanischen Missionsdienst. Aus dem Leben von Dr. Adolf Good. Am Gabun, in: EMM 44 (1901), 420.

61 Johnson, The Location of Christian Missions in Africa, 182.

62 [Karl] Axenfeld, Die Sprachenfrage in Ostafrika vom Standpunkt der Mission aus betrachtet, Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift 35 (1908): 561-573, here 567; See also: Armin Owzar, Swahili oder Deutsch? Zur Sprach- und Religionspolitik in Deutsch-Ostafrika", in: Mark Häberlein/Alexander Keese, ed., Sprachgrenzen – Sprachkontakte – kulturelle Vermittler. Kommunikation zwischen Europäern und Außereuropäern (16.–20. Jahrhundert) Beiträge zur europäischen Überseegeschichte 97, Stuttgart 2010, 281-303.

63 See: Aaron Windel, British Colonial Education in Africa: Policy and Practice in the Era of Trusteeship, in: History Compass 7/1 (2009), 5.

64 Prov. Can. Stat. c. 26 (1857), §III; Richard H. Bartlett, The Indian Act of Canada, in: Buffalo Law Review 582/27 (1977-78), 581-615.

65 Tim Allender, Learning Abroad. The Colonial Educational Experiment in India 1813–1919, in: Paedagogica Historica 45/6 (2009), 732.

66 See: Godfrey N. Brown, British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa, in: The Journal of Modern African Studies 2/3 (1964), 365.

67 Cullen u.a., Conference on Missions, 123.

68 Ibid., 123-24.

69 Die erste Bibel der Protestanten französischer Zunge, in: Bibelblätter (1871), 4, 49 [boundwith EMM 15 (1871)]. German original: „Die Bibel […] als Bildungsmittel in Haus und Schule und Kirche verwendet […] kann ein Volk nur veredeln, sie kann seine Sitten und Anschauungen nur reinigen, sie kann ihm nur große Gedanken und Anschauungen geben, und nur die höchsten Ideale ihm vor Augen stellen."

70 Paul Landau, Language, in: Norman Etherington, ed., Mission and Empire. Oxford History of the British Empire. Companion Series, Oxford/New York 2007, 194-215.

71 Robert Eric Frykenberg, Modern Education in South India 1784–1854. Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj, in: The American Historical Review 91/1 (1986), 53.

72 Zur Missionswissenschaft, in: EMM 15 (1871), 417. German original: „[…] daß diejenigen Rothhäute, welche die beste Kenntniß des Englischen sich angeeignet haben, der Annahme des Evangeliums durchschnittlich am fernsten bleiben […] Sie sahen sich über die Masse ihrer Volksgenossen gehoben, wurden eitel und ihr thörichtes Herz verfinsterte sich."

73 Zur Missionswissenschaft, in: EMM 15 (1871), 417.

74 Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Ussu (oder Christiansborg), in: MGMB 39/1 (1854), 35.

75 Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Akropong, in: MGMB 39/3 (1854), 74.

76 Extract from the Journal of Brother Charles von Forestier etc., in: Periodical Accounts 4 (1806–1808), 491-2.

77 Reordination eines deutschen Missionars, in: EMM 17 (1870), 506.

78 Missions=Zeitung, in: EMM 26 (1883), 419. German original: „Außer ihrer Muttersprache (Amharisch) lernen sie hier Aethiopisch (die abessinische Kirchensprache), Schwedisch (!) und Deutsch (!), Geschichte, Geographie, Mathematik und Religion."

79 Die Heiden in London und die Christen in Kalkutta, EMM 3 (1859), 386.

80 Professor D. Julius Richter, Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft. 1824–1924, Berlin 1924, 6.

81 Richter, Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 34.

82 For example, the first Moravian missionaries received no specific missionary training, rather were expected to learn on the job. See: Helmut Bintz, ed., Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Texte zur Mission. Mit einer Einführung in die Missionstheologie Zinzendorfs, herausgegeben von Helmut Bintz, Hamburg 1979.

83 Die Missions=Soziatät der hohen Bischöflichen oder Episkopal-Kirche Englands, Westliches Africa, in: MGMB 1 (1816), 182.

84 Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Akropong, in: MGMB 39/4 (1854), 47.

85 Australia. Letter from Br. A. Hartman, in: Periodical Accounts 25 (1863), 289.

86 Madagassca. Gegenwärtiger Stand, in: EMM 9 (1865), 477. German original: „Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen, etwas Geographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des heil. Landes."

87 Die neusten Ereignisse aus dem Gebiete anderer Missionsgesellschaften. In den Missionsgebieten. Ost=Bengalen, in: MGMB 39/3 (1854), 94.

88 Die Mission der schottischen Freikirche in Südafrika, in: EMM 18 (1875), 94.

89 Eine katholische Mission in Ostafrika (Fortsetzung.), in: EMM 17 (1874), 109-111.

90 Was im letzten Jahr für Afrika geschehen ist. Ostafrika, in: EMM 21 (1878), 134.

91 David W. Savage, Evangelical Educational Policy in Britain and India 1857–60, in: The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 22/3 (1994), 432-61.

92 Die Nilagiri. (Die Gründung der Basler Mission auf den Bergen) Die Früchte des Glaubens und der Geduld, in: EMM 5 (1861), 236-237.

93 Norman Etherington, Missionaries, Africans and the State in the Development of Education in Colonial Natal, 1836–1910, in: Patricia Grimshaw/Andrew May, eds., Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange, East Sussex 2010, 133.

94 For an overview see: Jensz, Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part I, 296-97.

95 Richter, Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 392-99.

96 See for example: A.R. Welch, Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism. The Schooling of an Indigenous Minority in Australia, in: Comparative Education 24/2 (1988), 207.

97 Aus den Briefen einer afrikanischen Missionsfrau. (Schluß.) Missionsanfänge. (1853–1856), in: EMM 16 (1872), 489f.

98 See for example: Patricia Pok-kwan Chiu, "A Position of Usefulness". Gendering History of Girls' Education in Colonial Hong Kong (1850s–1890s), in: History of Education 37/6 (2008), 789-805; Holly Elisabeth Hanson, Indigenous Adaptation: Uganda's Village Schools Ca. 1880–1937, in: Comparative Education Review 54/2 (2010), 155-74.

99 Fiona Leach, African Girls. Nineteenth-Century Mission Education and the Patriarchal Imperative, in: Gender and Education 20/4 (2008), 335-36.

100 See for example: Die Rheinische Mission in Südafrika. Stellenbosch und Sarepta, in: EMM, 16 (1872), 85.

101 See for example: Silke Strickrodt, African Girls' Samplers from Mission Schools in Sierra Leone (1820s to 1840s), in: History in Africa 37 (2010), 203-8.

102 See for example: O'Brien, Creating the Aboriginal Pauper, 16.

103 See for example: Anna Johnston, Missionary Writing and Empire. 1800–1860, Cambridge 2003, passim.

104 Although the hardening of racial boundaries was a general tendency amongst colonial governments, the mission response expressed itself differently in various colonies. See for example: Jeffrey Cox, Review of: Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India 1860–1920, by Hayden J. A. Bellenoit, in: Victorian Studies 51/4 (2009), 749-51.

105 Nachrichten aus Afrika. Station Akropong, in: MGMB 40/1 (1855), 46; Die neusten Ereignisse auf dem Gebiete anderer Missionsgesellschaften. In den Missionsgebieten. Westindien, in: MGMB 39/3 (1854), 99. German original: „Es ist erstaunlich, was die Neger für ein Gedächtnis haben."

106 Strayer, The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya, 316-7.

107 See for example: Henry Reynolds, ed., Aborigines and Settlers. The Australian Experience 1788–1939. Problems in Australian History, North Melbourne 1972, esp. chapter four; Mark Francis, The 'Civilizing' of Indigenous People in Nineteenth-Century Canada, in: Journal of World History 9/1 (1998), 51-87.

108 Strayer, The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya, 327.