Itinerario, Vol. 40, No. 3, 389–403. © 2016 Research Institute for History, Leiden University
doi:10.1017/S0165115316000620

Non-European Teachers in Mission Schools: Introduction

FELICITY JENSZ*

This dossier focusses on non-European teachers within mission schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially in the period of colonial control. These teachers were central to the missionary project and helped to disseminate both Christianity and Western knowledge across the globe. Local teachers, alongside other mission assistants and helpers, also helped translate, transmit, and transform both Western and local forms of knowledge and contributed to broader discourse about knowledge, yet the importance of their work has often been overshadowed by the work undertaken in examining missionary elites. This dossier, with its extended introduction and three case studies from Africa, the Danish West Indies, and Bolivia, sheds light on the roles of non-European mission teachers as well as their recruitment and training, their self-representations, and methodological as well as conceptual issues about how information on these often inconspicuous intermediaries of mission education can be retrieved from disparate sources.

Keywords: non-European teachers, mission schools, nineteenth century, twentieth century, methodology.

In the period of European expansion and colonialism, schools were the means by which many indigenous and non-European groups in disparate colonial settings received both initial and prolonged exposure to European forms of knowledge. In mission schools, indigenous and European knowledge were transferred and transformed through the intermingling of different generations, as well as different religious, social, cultural, and gender groups, leading to intellectual and cultural synchronicities. Although there was a common nineteenth-century belief that preaching was the most important form of evangelical work, schooling was such an integral aspect of the missionary project that virtually all groups involved established schools in an attempt to extend their religious influence.[1] Indeed, schools were often referred to as "nurseries" of the church, with pupils expected to form strong confessional bonds to the church during the period of their schooling and beyond. The primary object of schooling was to mould pupils into morally upstanding Christians. A subordinate aim prevalent in settler colonies, although not adhered to

CrossMark
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

by all missionary groups, was to shape converts into good subjects of the state. For Protestant missionary organizations in particular, schooling was imperative so that non-European communities could obtain the kinds of skills necessary to read the Bible themselves. Missionary groups all over the colonial world established institutes of various degrees of formality and structure: infant schools, day-schools, bush schools, village schools, secondary schools and colleges, boarding schools, industrial schools, universities, and seminaries.

In addition, there were also informal methods of instruction such as the provision of good role-models and moral literature. Over the broad array of schools there was potential for infants, youth, men and women to be instructed in Christianity, Christian morals, and, in many cases, Western forms of secular knowledge. Once local people had obtained a level of schooling deemed suitable by missionary groups, there was also potential for local people to teach in these institutions, and to go on to become evangelists for the missions, colporteurs, or even ministers themselves. This potential was not always realised, leaving indigenous people in the "waiting room of history," to use a phrase from Dipesh Chakrabarty.[2] However, there were thousands, if not tens of thousands, of non-European teachers engaged in mission schools over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, diffusing and transforming Western knowledge.

This dossier, with its three case studies, sheds light on the roles of non-European mission teachers as well as their recruitment and training, their self-representations, and methodological and conceptual issues about how information on these often inconspicuous intermediaries of mission education can be retrieved from disparate sources.

Over the last decade scholars have examined Christian missionary education and the diffusion and transformation of Western and non-Western knowledge chiefly within a framework of global entangled history and as a history of transcultural knowledge appropriation, with the acknowledgment that European missionaries could not control how non-Europeans used such knowledge.[3] The three studies here all engage with the global scope of missions, while simultaneously focussing upon individuals engaged in teaching in mission schools at a local level. The studies from German East Africa/Tanganyika, Bolivia, and the Danish West Indies encompass multiple sites, different languages of operation, and different missionary organisations. The non-European teachers in these cases were respectively East African, Latin-American, and free Afro-Caribbean people. Not all were native to the places where they taught, as epitomised by freed slaves in the Caribbean. Not all were local, as the case study of East Africa demonstrates. At times these teachers were labelled "native teachers," a term corresponding to native bishop or native preacher. The difficulties in finding a nomenclature that encompasses teachers reflect the heterogeneous nature of non-European teachers in general and in these three case studies in particular. Each underscores the vital roles that non-European teachers played within mission schools, and the ways in which missionary sources downplayed these roles. The commonalities of these case studies can be generalised to many other times and places. The cases also describe the liminal positions of, and the potential that, these teachers had in shaping educational settings that

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

were themselves evolving in often precarious and unstable (post-)colonial environments.

Over the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, the numbers of local workers, including teachers, connected to Christian missions grew to significantly outnumber European workers.[4] The use of local teachers was a common strategy for both Protestant and Catholic groups in the transition from missions to self-supporting churches (Protestant) or self-governing unities (Catholic). When Sunday school teachers are included, the numbers of native teachers becomes even more significant.[5] The reasons for engaging local teachers rested upon a desire to engage the local community in the religious community, as well as financial considerations that made it too expensive to employ more Europeans. European missionaries received higher remuneration (when they were paid at all), cost more to send into the field, and had more expensive training, medical, and equipment needs. Conversely, local teachers received less pay than their Western counterparts (when paid), were usually not sent as far to their location of employment (although there are counter examples, such as West Indians being sent to Africa),[6] and were seen to be more physically robust in climates or altitudes that were considered unhealthy for Europeans. Native teachers were also valued for their abilities as cultural mediators and as translators of secular and religious knowledge into terms and concepts with which local people could more easily engage. These teachers, however, never constituted a homogenous group. Differences in culture, language, geographical location, conversion status, gender, race, social status, age, and denominational affiliation all contributed to the heterogeneous nature of native mission teachers. Moreover, as these three case studies demonstrate, external influences beyond those of the mission structures themselves, such as local political situations, confessional tensions, and judicial changes, affected the roles of non-European mission teachers.

Local teachers within mission systems were party to formalised schooling as part of a strategy that many missionaries (and often governments) used to promote non-European assimilation into society, and to "raise" non-Europeans socially, morally, and economically. Mission schools were some of the first spaces in which literacy was taught to non-European groups and where non-Europeans were brought into sustained contact with Western forms of knowledge. When governments in colonial and post-colonial spaces supported the creation of educational systems for non-Europeans during the nineteenth century, they often looked toward missionary groups to help them, with the West Indies in the 1830s and Canada in the 1870s being just two examples.[7] Local people were engaged in teaching in both of these places. The ideological assumption that non-Europeans required Western knowledge, and that missionary groups were best placed to provide them with it, rested upon a belief in the cultural and intellectual superiority of the post-Enlightenment West held by Christian Europeans, which also formed part of the justification for imperial conquest.[8] Far from being a purely benign philanthropic offering, education was bound up in various ideological assumptions, including the need to train the "rising generation"—a common term used by missionaries for the younger generation of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

non-Europeans—in Western epistemology and to dispel pagan, heathen, and superstitious beliefs. In the age of imperialism, mission schools were commonly called upon to educate both future subaltern administrators (as was often the case in India) and the workforce in the colonial state (as was often the case in southern Africa).

In a more general context missionary education often led to epistemic violence, meaning that the knowledge that was produced and disseminated about and for non-Europeans was distorted and stereotyped, and generalised the condition and state of non-Europeans as lesser than Europeans, thus leading to the justification of Westerners to speak for and to save non-Europeans from themselves.[9] Local people at times helped spread such information in their work as teachers, yet what they thought about the knowledge that they disseminated is not often reported on in the printed reports, periodicals, and monographs produced by Western missionaries for a Western audience.

Teaching was just one of a variety of jobs that local people could do in Christian missions, alongside assistants, preachers, helpers, and other, non-religious work. Local teachers have received less attention than native evangelists, and also less attention than indigenous Christian elites such as native bishops.[10] Nevertheless, it must be said that the roles that people played in missions were often blurred, so that the label "teacher" might mean more than instructing pupils within a (semi-) formalised situation. To name just one example, Pacific Islander evangelists of the London Missionary Society were called "teachers" rather than evangelists.[11] As missions became more established and progressed on their way to becoming native churches, roles of local assistance often became more defined, with teaching being a critical role in the handing down of normalised knowledge to the next generation of Christians.

As with native evangelists, non-European teachers embraced their position within the Christian mission for various reasons. Teachers had positions of responsibility within the mission hierarchy and were in positions of trust in terms of the knowledge that they imparted to the rising generation. Yet these positions all put them under the surveillance and control of Western missionaries. Norman Etherington argues that, unlike local evangelists, teachers were not given autonomy in their work until well into the twentieth century.[12] However, people that had acquired knowledge at mission schools could themselves establish schools outside of the mission structure.[13] As Richard Hölzl demonstrates in his contribution to this dossier, African missionary teachers could work independently to establish Christian communities, within the broader structure of the mission yet outside of the official procedures expected within the colony. In doing so, they fulfilled Christian religious expectations as opposed to colonial secular ones.

There are many reasons why non-Europeans taught in mission schools. Some did so because they were devout Christians and had strong faith.[14] Some turned to teaching as a form of stability. Some were trained from a young age within missionary structures. Some did it for the money. Some were in it to gain social status and standing within their communities. Some saw their role as cultural mediators.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Some saw teaching as a stepping-stone to something better. Some accepted a position as a teacher in a Christian school simply as a means to acquire knowledge. Some used their positions as teachers to subvert Western knowledge, and to instil their pupils with a sense of pride in their indigenous culture.[15] There were many reasons to become a teacher at a missionary school, and not all teachers were themselves converts. In many locations, though not all, missions were first accepted by marginalised people. Teachers, having an auxiliary role to that of preaching, may have been in the first wave of converts for a mission field. In order for them to instruct pupils, local teachers themselves needed to be versed in Western knowledge, which required time and effort, whilst simultaneously maintaining a high social standing amongst actual and potential pupils and their parents. Without the support and respect of the local community, the ability of native teachers to impart knowledge that would be valued by the local community was compromised.

Much has been written on the key role that indigenous and non-European people played in the expansion of Christianity throughout the colonial world, as well as how this knowledge was contested and reframed.[16] When examined, mission schools are often subject material for the history of education, and less commonly a subject of colonial or imperial historians, leading to different emphases being placed upon research questions.[17] Such studies commonly focus upon local elites, and not on work in the schoolroom. The contributions of schoolteachers to the dissemination of European missionary education as well as the ways in which they utilized classrooms (or other didactical "spaces")[18] to diffuse, transform, and adapt missionary knowledge to their own ends were complex, yet often only fleetingly recorded in the sources. These three case studies and this introduction highlight the ways in which non-European teachers were able to influence both their local contexts as well as global missionary networks, and they examine closely both representations of teachers and their own self-representations. All contributions point to the ways in which local people could be frustrated by missionary, governmental, or local structures and authorities, and to the ways in which native teachers overcame such frustrations to impact upon local, colonial, and global networks.

Non-European teachers were overwhelmingly spoken for, and not allowed to speak for themselves, both at missionary meetings and in missionary reports. From the beginning of the ecumenical missionary conferences in the mid-nineteenth century, the topic of education was discussed at such forums without any significant indigenous or non-European representation.[19] Moreover, non-European voices were often overlooked when educational policy for mission schools was made. Pertinent examples are the boarding and residential schooling systems in North America, which were devised and established without substantial input from indigenous peoples.[20] In these schools, indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions were systematically suppressed in order that indigenous children become assimilated in Western ways of knowing. Similar forms of knowledge were disseminated in day schools on reservations, though native teachers were employed in at least some schools (although they comprised only a small minority of the overall teaching population).[21]

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Having local teachers in the classroom had the potential to allow for change in educational policy at a micro level.

In other contexts during the twentieth century, concepts such as trusteeship and the disputed theory of adaptation, at least in the British colonies, raised questions as to the nature and form of education for non-Europeans, with many of these debates occurring in the metropole.[22] Non-Europeans were often left out of discussions about education policy and administrative practice for non-European schools in British colonies and former colonies. As Donald Schilling stated in relation to educational policies in Kenya in the first third of the twentieth century, the input from white government, settler, and missionary quarters both in Kenya and in Britain "formally excluded input from Africans," despite significant local interest in education.[23] White elitist practices were reflected in the dissemination of such transcolonial journals as *Overseas Education*, published from 1929 to 1963. This journal was circulated amongst white bureaucrats, and as Clive Whitehead has argued, by "no stretch of the imagination . . . could it be argued that the contents of the journal were seriously directed at indigenous teaching staff."[24]

Not only were non-Europeans routinely left out of policy discussions, the forms that western education took, including the education that missionaries propagated, were embedded with ideologies which, in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, were often insensitive to non-European ways of knowing and ways of learning, and often made no attempt to recognize or include non-European knowledge. Nevertheless, many mission schools relied upon the labour of non-Europeans to teach and to create self-supporting churches and schools. From the turn of the twentieth century, disappointment and disillusionment in the restrictive nature and poor quality of missionary schooling led to the establishment of African 'independent education' in many parts of East and Central Africa.[25] Such examples speak to the ability for non-Europeans to work outside of missionary frameworks. However, the focus here is on those who maintained their connections to mission schools.

The fact that little has been written about non-European teachers in mission schools may be attributed in part to the paucity of historical data such as autobiographical material, and to the sources' focus on policies and structures of colonial education rather than on the individuals who were the foundations upon which missionary schooling was built.[26] It might also be that, as many of these workers were females, the same gender biases that contributed to the neglect of the role of European female missionaries applied equally to native female teachers.[27] Is the oversight of non-European teachers simply a problem of sources? Non-European teachers were by the nature of their work literate, yet we cannot expect that literacy alone would lead to the creation of memoirs, letters, and journals similar to those which European missionaries left behind. Even when such documents do exist they need to be read with caution, given the proclivity for such documents to be framed in terms of Western ideas of respectability. This is not to say that ego-documents created by non-Europeans cannot be useful. Rather, just as colonial archives are notorious for the ways they silence non-European voices, we must also examine the sources

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

that we do have from non-European missionary teachers with an eye both to the value of such sources and to their problematic nature.[28] In writing about this in the context of Papua New Guinea, John Barker has suggested that there has been a tendency for two distinct forms of historical accounts of indigenous missionaries and teachers to emerge, being "broad surveys piecing together a general picture of the position and impact of native missionaries," with a second form being "narratives of the experiences of individuals who, either because they themselves wrote an autobiographical account, or were celebrated by mission propagandists, stand out in the record."[29] He argues that such accounts are "invaluable, but taken on their own they tend to create two opposed and somewhat exaggerated views of indigenous activities."[30] The surveys, he argues,

> tend to overemphasize the independence of islander evangelists in reinterpreting Christianity in terms of their own cultural backgrounds and their effectiveness as agents of change because of their intimate association with local peoples. The biographical accounts, on the other hand, tend to present islander agents as pious models of Christianity, whose 'simple' faith in the Gospel (and by extension in the authority of the mission) allows them to face the most severe threats and opposition from locals.[31]

Barker moves towards a different type of analysis by "viewing indigenous missionaries in the context of their place of work" and examining them as one point on a "triangular arrangement with clergy and local villages within which was generated the localized expression of the Christian religion."[32] Whilst Barker's insightful comments are to be kept in mind, the fact remains that the main sources of information about native teachers were prepared by missionaries. Most missionary sources were written by white missionaries for their superiors at home. When these writings reached a broader audience, for example through missionary periodicals, they had generally been edited to conform to a certain image that the missionary society had of itself, which often deemphasized the role of native teachers. This glossing over may be due to Western missionaries seeking praise for their work, or to their anxiety about the roles of native teachers, who they were never entirely able to control. When the voices of non-European teachers are heard, it is also through the filter of missionary ideals and thus the "actual" voices of these teachers are hard to discern. This is not to say that missionary sources are not useful, rather that they need to be read with caution and "against the grain" if the subaltern voice is to be discerned.[33] As Hölzl demonstrates in his article, auxiliary information on native teachers can be found in unexpected places, such as in the district courts of German East Africa. Such sources point to the struggle for authority that teachers and other stakeholders in the community had over the emergence of an intellectual class that was educated in mission schools as well as the competition that such schools had from "other forms of education and socialisation."[34]

Reading missionary reports one gets an impression that the hundreds, indeed tens of thousands, of local teachers played very minor roles in relation to Western missionaries—an impression strengthened by the fact that missionary narratives seldom gave "credit to the vital and self-reliant role of … mission personnel."[35]

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Yet the roles of non-Western teachers in mission schools were far from marginal. Rather, these people were often central to the running of mission schools, especially schools in outstations at a distance from the centres of missionary activity. In Africa, as in other parts of the colonised world, mission schools run by local teachers were incubators for pupils who emerged as a new intellectual class that challenged traditional authority structures, as well. Mission schools continued to be important sites for educating African leaders during the twentieth century, and some of the most noted leaders of decolonisation movements attended mission schools.[36] This is just one example of the important role that native teachers were able to perform, with other, more subtle ways of engaging in knowledge transmission and transformation permeating throughout the colonial world in mission classrooms.

The paucity of research on non-European teachers is noteworthy given the historiographical development in studies on missionary education that has followed broader movements away from a focus in the 1970s upon Western "cultural imperialism," as the one-way imposition of European structures onto non-Western peoples the 1970s.[37] In the twenty-first century, there is a tendency to use "cultural imperialism" to describe Western encounters with non-Europeans in the extra-European world as part of "global modernity," which is in and of itself dynamic and multidirectional.[38] For example, writing in the early 1970s, Barbara Yates described a three-stage progression in how non-Western people responded to schooling provided by Western missionaries, beginning with indifference, to curiosity, and finally acceptance.[39] It is not the point here to critique the sequence of the stages, which other people have done elsewhere.[40] What is important to note is that Yates does not note the actions, or agency, of indigenous peoples themselves in spreading Western knowledge and producing new hybrid forms of knowledge. Robert Strayer, writing around the same time as Yates, urged scholars to examine the role of indigenous peoples in missionary schooling as missionaries were not the only ones with agency in the transmission of Western education to non-European groups.[41] Within the historiography of missions, and by extension missionary education, such changes in terminology and viewpoints are also evident, with recent scholarship acknowledging the roles of indigenous peoples as transmitters, transformers, and adaptors of missionary education.[42] However, the teachers themselves are often subsumed by the concept of mission schooling.

As noted above, a recent historiographical development that historians of both missions and empire have engaged in is the global turn. Missions are conceptualized in terms of global networks, and knowledge as a commodity to be transferred and transformed within contact zones and through cultural exchange.[43] Indeed, the mission project was global, extending beyond the confines of the metropole-periphery dichotomy. In the transferal of knowledge, ideals, morals, people, goods, and commodities through the various layers and webs of empires, non-Europeans acculturated, adapted, and changed their forms of knowing. The colonial world was in flux and people were exposed to many new ideas, incorporating some and rejecting others outright. As Hölzl notes, local mission teachers were invaluable in these roles

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

as they were entrusted to transfer Christian religious concepts without distorting the perceived inherent truths; yet white missionaries often remained sceptical of the religious conviction of native teachers. This once again demonstrates that white missionaries were willing to judge native teachers as lacking regardless of their skills and abilities. Native teachers, as Hölzl further demonstrates, moved through various networks and came in contact with other local indigenous groups thanks to their work. Teachers had the potential to move across broader areas than many of their contemporaries. Knowledge about them also circulated in global networks, with self-representations (albeit edited at the hands of white missionaries) appearing in European Catholic missionary periodicals.[44] In Hölzl's context, knowledge about native teachers was an important thread linking the mission field with Germany, with native teachers hoping that the German readership would pray for them and thus include them within the spiritual community of Catholics. Yet as Hölzl argues, we have no way of knowing whether these self-representations of African missionary teachers impressed their European audience in the way they hoped.

In his article, Hugh Morrison tackles this central question of locating native teachers in missionary sources. His case study examines the Bolivian Indian Mission (BIM), which was established in New Zealand in the early 1900s, noting that any knowledge that we have about Bolivian teachers in the BIM was mediated through Western missionaries. This is of course a general problem for historians examining cross-cultural spaces, and one that is pronounced in places where a literary tradition did not exist prior to Western contact. Some missionary sources, such as those that Morrison examines, "humanize these individuals" through listing names of local teachers (although with inconsistent spellings), and thus Morrison's article demonstrates the need to spread a wide net around the limited material available in missionary sources in order to gain an understanding of who these teachers were. At times, individual voices can be uncovered, albeit through the filter of a missionary publication in a language other than their own. While these snippets of information hint at individuals, however, many questions remain, such as why these people chose to teach in mission schools, how they were recruited, and how were they influenced the trajectories of mission schools. The extant sources that Morrison uses do not include such information. This is not the case everywhere, however. As John Barker has written in the context of the Pacific, "almost everything we know about indigenous missionaries, including the crucial matter of their understanding of Christian doctrine, comes from the writings of the outsider missionaries who supervised their work."[45] His words can be applied to local teachers. The one-sided nature of such sources frustrates attempts to grasp who these native teachers were. As teaching was less prestigious than evangelising, even less was recorded about non-European teachers than about native evangelists. That said, even local preachers were rarely presented as individuals and invariably remained in the shadows of Western missionaries. With much attention to detail, Morrison is able to put names to faces and numbers in the BIM, and in so doing to demonstrate the value that these people had within the mission as individuals.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

In his contribution, Jan Hüsgen examines the rationale behind the recruitment of teachers from the Afro-Caribbean population in the Danish West Indies in the 1840s. A mandatory education system was established on the Island of St. Croix prior to emancipation. The salaries provided for teachers by the government was so meagre that the Moravian Church, the sole administrators of slave education, looked towards the local free black population to form the teaching staff in mission schools because their wages were assumed to be less than that of European missionaries. As there were no training schools within the Danish West Indies at the time that the education system was established, trainee teachers from St. Croix were sent to the British colonies of Jamaica, Antigua, Trinidad, and British Guiana. The movement of people between empires and colonies demonstrates the investment made in human capital in order to establish the educational project. Moreover, as Hüsgen notes, these teachers were "agents of knowledge transfer within the British and Danish Caribbean."[46] The teachers in Moravian schools were not necessarily members of the Moravian Church, which allowed for another form of knowledge transfer between religious groups and led to conversions to the Moravian faith. Hüsgen's article also uncovers the tensions that arose between white missionaries and Afro-Caribbean teachers as the latter group became established within and integral to the mission hierarchy. Local teachers were more suited to the task than the German Moravians who ran the mission because they had received professional teacher training and were confident in the English language. Yet the missionaries' prejudices against the teachers forced them to find ways to negotiate their new roles in the changing society. Hüsgen's work thus highlights the double standards of many missionary societies that relied on local people to teach, but who were unwilling to view them as equals or to integrate them into the rigid structures of missionary societies.

As this collection of essays demonstrates, local teachers were central to the mission project and helped to disseminate Christianity and Western knowledge across the globe. They worked alongside native evangelists, informants, assistants, and missionary helpers to support the work of European Christian missionaries. Local teachers also helped translate, transmit, and transform both Western and local forms of knowledge and contributed to broader knowledge discourse. Nonetheless, the importance of their work has often been overshadowed by scholars focused on examining missionary elites. The work of teachers was commonly understated, or taken for granted by missionary groups in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the paucity of archival and printed material reflects the inconspicuous nature of their work. As they have not been the subject of intensive research, we know much less about teachers as individuals in mission schools than we do about their roles, or the impact of their work. With its three case studies, this dossier highlights some individual teachers in the spread of Western education and the diffusion of Western modernity around the globe, and provides methodological insights into how to learn more about these important mediators of mission and indigenous knowledge.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Bibliography of Works Cited

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

The American Zula Mission Annual, *covering the Year from Annual Meeting 1902 to the close of Annual Meeting 1903*. Natal, South Africa: American Zulu Mission of the ABCFM, 1903.

Andrews, Edward E. *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

"Annual Meeting of the American Board of Mission." *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser., 16 (1870): 185–86.

Bagchi, Barnita, Eckhardt Fuchs and Kate Rousmaniere, eds. *Connecting Histories of Education*. New York: Berghahn, 2014.

Ballatyine, Tony. "The Changing Shape of the Modern British Empire and Its Historiography." *Historical Journal* 53:2 (2010): 429–52.

Barker, John. "An Oupost in Papua." In *Indigenous Peoples and Religious Change*, edited by Peggy Brock, 79–97. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Becker, Judith. *Conversio im Wandel. Basler Missionare zwischen Europa und Südindien und die Ausbildung einer Kontaktreligiosität, 1834–1860*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.

Bickers, Robert A. and Rosemary Seton, eds. *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*. Surry: Curzon Press, 1996.

Brock, Peggy. "Two Indigenous Evangelists: Moses Tjalkabota and Arthur Wellington Clah." *Journal of Religious History* 27:3 (2003): 348–66.

Cahill, C. D. *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Campbell, Carl. "Towards an Imperial Policy for the Education of Negroes in the West Indies after Emancipation." *Jamaican Historical Review* 7 (1967): 68–104.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Differences*. Reissue, with a new preface by the author. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Cohan, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Dunch, Ryan. "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity." *History and Theory* 41:3 (2002): 301–25.

Etherington, Norman. "Education and Medicine." In *Missions and Empire*, 261–84. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

——, ed. *Missions and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Frykenberg, Robert. *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Fuchs, Martin, Antje Linkenbach and Wolfgang Reinhard. "Introduction." In *Individualisierung durch christliche Mission?*, edited by Martin Fuchs, Antje Linkenbach, and Wolfgang Reinhard, 38–63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015.

Ganter, Regina and Patricia Grimshaw. "Introduction: Reading the Lives of White Mission Women." *Journal of Australian History* 39 (2015): 1–6.

Gere, A. R. "Indian Heart/White Man's Head: Native-American Teachers in Indian Schools, 1880–1930." *History of Education Quarterly* 45:1 (2005): 38–65.

Grimshaw, Patricia and Andrew May, eds. *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.

Habermas, Rebekka. "Mission im 19. Jahrhundert—Globale Netze des Religiösen." *Historische Zeitschrift* 56 (2008): 629–79.

—— and Richard Hölzl, eds. *Mission Global. Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*. Köln: Böhlau, 2014.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hall, C. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867*. Cambridge: Polity, 2002.

Hauser, J. "An Island Washed by the Crashing Waves of the Ocean? The Kaiserwerth Deaconesses' Contribution to Female Education in Late Ottoman Beirut." PhD diss., University of Göttingen, 2012.

Hefner, R, ed. *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Heyden, Ulrich van der and Andreas Feldtkeller, eds. *Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen. Transkulturelle Wissensaneignung und -vermittlung durch christliche Missionare in Afrika und Asien um 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012.

Hofmeyr, Isabel. "Dreams, Documents and 'Fetishes': African Christian Interpretations of 'The Pilgrim's Progress'." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32:4 (2002): 440–56.

Holmes, Brian. "British Imperial Policy and the Mission Schools." In *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies from the British Empire*, edited by Brian Holmes, 1–42, 2nd ed. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2007.

Jensz, Felicity. "The Cultural, Didactic, and Physical Spaces of Mission Schools in the Nineteenth Century." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 24:2 (2013): 71–92.

——. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part I, Church-State Relations and Indigenous Actions and Reactions." *History Compass* 10: 4 (2012): 294–305.

—— and Hanna Acke, eds. *Missions and Media: The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv 20. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2013.

Koschorke, Klaus, Adrian Hermann, Ciprian Burlacioiu, et al., eds. *Discourses of Indigenous Christian Elites in Colonial Societies in Asia and Africa around 1910: A Documentary Sourcebook from Selected Journals*. Documents on the History of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America, vol. 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016.

Krige, Sue. "'Trustees and Agents of the State'? Missions and the Formation of Policy towards African Education, 1910–1920." *South African Historical Journal* 40 (1999): 74–94.

Kwakye, Abraham N. O. "The West Indian Families and the Development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana—The Rediscovery of a Missing Heritage." PhD diss., University of Ghana, Legon, 2011.

MacDonald, Victoria-Maria. "The Paradox of Bureaucratization: New Views on Progressive Era Teaches and the Development of a Woman's Profession." *History of Education Quarterly* 39:4 (1999): 427–53.

Maxwell, David. "The Missionary Movement in African and World History: Mission Sources and Religious Encounter." *Historical Journal* 58:4 (2015): 901–30.

Miller, James R. *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Mullins, Steve and David Wetherell. "LMS Teachers and Colonialism in Torres Strait and New Guinea, 1871–1915." In *The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*, edited by D. Munro and A. Thornley, 186–209. Suva: Pacific Theological College and the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific, 1996.

Norman, Alice. "Race, Gender and Colonialism: Public Life among the Six Nations of Grand River, 1899–1939." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010.

Ranger, Terrance. "African Attempts to Control Education in the East and Central Africa, 1900–1939." *Past and Present* 32:1 (1965): 57–85.

Strong, Rowan. "A Vision of an Anglican Imperialism: The Annual Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701–1714." *Journal of Religious History* 30 (2006): 175–98.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Peace, Richard V. "Conflicting Understandings of Christian Conversion: A Missiological Challenge." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 28:1 (2004): 8–13.
Porter, Andrew, ed. *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2003.
Secretaries to the Conference, eds. *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: Strangeways & Walden, 1860.
Shilling, Donald. "Local Native Councils and the Politics of Education in Kenya, 1925–1939." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9:2 (1976): 218–47.
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, 66–111. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988.
Stanley, Brian, ed. *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2001.
Strayer, R. W. "The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya: A Microcosmic Perspective." *Comparative Education Review* 17:3 (1973): 313–30.
Swartz, Rebecca. "'Ignorant and Idle.' Indigenous Education in Natal and Western Australia, 1833–1875." PhD diss., University of London, 2015.
Veer, Peter van der, ed. *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity, Zones of Religion*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
Volz, Stephen. "Written on our Hearts: Tswana Christians and the 'Word of God' in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38:2 (2008): 112–40.
Wendt, H. *Die missionarische Gesellschaft. Mikrostrukturen einer kolonialen Globalisierung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012.
"Wesleyan Missionary Society." *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser., 20 (1870): 553–60.
Whitehead, Clive. "Overseas Education and British Colonial Education 1929–63." *History of Education* 32:5 (2003): 561–75.
World Missionary Conference. *Report of Commission III, Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910.
Yates, B. A. "African Reactions to Education: The Congolese Case." *Comparative Education Review* 15:2 (1971): 158–71.

Notes

* Felicity Jensz received her PhD from the University of Melbourne, Australia and has worked in the Cluster of Excellence for Religion and Politics at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany since 2008. She is currently working on a book project on mission schooling in the British Empire.

1 Secretaries to the Conference, *Conference on Missions held in Liverpool in 1860*, 111. Etherington notes that some "faith missions" did not engage in schooling; Etherington, "Education and Medicine," 261.

2 Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 8.

3 See, for example, Etherington, "Education and Medicine"; Heyden and Feldtkeller, eds., *Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen*; Habermas and Hölzl, eds., Missionglobal; Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmaniere, eds. *Connecting Histories of Education*; and Volz, "Written on our Hearts."

4 For example, in 1870 the American Board of Mission had 350 Americans in the field and nearly one thousand native preachers and teachers. See "Annual Meeting of the American Board of Mission".

5 For example, in 1874 in Southern Africa alone there were 86 Wesleyan-Methodist ministers serving 60 circuits, 232 salaried teachers and catechists, 762 local

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

preachers and 1,138 Sunday School teachers. See "Wesleyan Missionary Society," 553–60.

6 Kwakye," The West Indian Families and the Development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana."

7 For information on the West Indies, see Campbell, "Towards an Imperial Policy for the Education of Negroes in the West Indies after Emancipation." For information on Canada, see Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*.

8 The literature on this is vast; see, for example, Fuchs, "Introduction"; Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*; Strong, "A Vision of an Anglican Imperialism"; and Porter, ed., *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914*.

9 Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?".

10 See, for example, Andrews, *Native Apostles*; Brock, "Two Indigenous Evangelists"; and Koschorke, et al., *Discourses of Indigenous Christian Elites*.

11 Mullins and Wetherell, "LMS Teachers and Colonialism."

12 Etherington, "Education and Medicine," 261.

13 To list just one example, in the early 1900s, Inanda, a former pupil of the American Zulu Mission, established a primary school "for the Lord," outside of the mission system. See *The American Zula Mission Annual*, 39.

14 Faith and conversion to Christianity have been topics of great scholarly interest, with some scholars suggesting that the Christian religion provided people with structure as they came to terms with the changes and upheavals that colonialism and settler society brought with them. Newer studies examine the entanglements between Christian and non-Christian societies evident within conversion narratives. See, for example, Becker, *Conversio im Wandel*; Hefner, *Conversion to Christianity*; van der Veer, ed., *Conversion to Modernities*; and Peace, "Conflicting Understandings of Christian Conversion." See also the discussion about evangelizing and the creation of the "modern" individual in Fuchs, et al., eds., *Individualisierung durch christliche Mission?*

15 This was indeed the case with the Indian Service of the United States. See Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers*, 104.

16 See, for example, Brock, ed., *Indigenous Peoples and Religious Change*; Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*; Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*; Fuchs, et al., eds., *Individualisierung durch christliche Mission?*; Hofmeyr, "Dreams, Documents and 'Fetishes'"; Maxwell, "The Missionary Movement in African and World History"; Munro and Thornley, eds., *The Convert Makers*.

17 See, for example, Swartz, "'Ignorant and idle'," 15–17.

18 For a discussion on the "spaces" of missionary schooling, see Jensz, "The Cultural, Didactic, and Physical Spaces of Mission Schools in the Nineteenth Century."

19 See, for example, Secretaries, *Conference on Missions*; *and* World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission III, Education.*

20 See, for example, Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*; and Adams, *Education for Extinction*.

21 See, for example, Gere, "Indian Heart/White Man's Head"; Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism: Public Life among the Six Nations of Grand River, 1899–1939."

22 See, for example, Krige, "'Trustees and Agents of the State'?"

23 Shilling, "Local Native Councils," 227.

24 Whitehead, "Overseas Education and British Colonial Education 1929–63," 562.

25 Ranger, "African Attempts."

26 See, for example, Holmes, "British Imperial Policy and the Mission Schools."

27 Discussions on the neglect of scholarly attention given to white mission women include Ganter and Grimshaw,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press

"Introduction: Reading the Lives of White Mission Women"; and Hauser, "An Island Washed by the Crashing Waves of the Ocean?" 117. Discussions of the neglect of female teachers include MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization."

28 These problems have been subject to discussion by colonial and mission scholars. See, for example, Bickers and Seton, *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*; Cohan, Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge; and Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

29 Barker, "An outpost in Papua," 81.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid, 81–82.

33 For a discussion on mission archives, see Bickers and Seton, *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*.

34 See below, Hölzl, "Educating Missions: Teachers and Catechists in Southern Tanganyika, 1890s and 1930s."

35 Ibid.

36 See, for example, Schilling, "Local Native Councils," 221; and Etherington, "Education and Medicine," 274.

37 Yates, "African Reactions to Education."

38 Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism."

39 Yates, "African Reactions to Education."

40 See, for example, Ranger, "African Attempts."

41 Strayer, "The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya."

42 Etherington, "Education and Medicine"; and Jensz, "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire."

43 See, for example, Ballantyne, "The Changing Shape of the Modern British Empire"; Grimshaw, *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Habermas, "Mission im 19. Jahrhundert—Globale Netze des Religiösen"; Habermas and Hölzl, *Mission Global*; van der Heyden and Feldtkeller, *Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen*; and Wendt, *Die missionarische Gesellschaft*.

44 Missionary periodicals were themselves an important source for Europeans about the non-European world. See, for example, the essays in Jensz and Acke, eds., *Mission and Media*.

45 Barker, "An Oupost in Papua."

46 See below, Hölzl, "Educating Missions."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115316000620 Published online by Cambridge University Press