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Firewood, Fakirs and Flags: The Construction of the Non-Western «Other» in a Nineteenth Century Transnational Children's Missionary Periodical

Felicity Jensz

An inherent aspect of nineteenth century missionary work was its transnational nature. Large numbers of European, and later North American, Protestant missionaries were sent from their homelands into foreign countries and territories in order to follow the teachings of Mathew 28:19–20 and to «make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.» In order to facilitate their missionary work, missionary societies needed constant support in the form of finances, materials, and personnel, and thus, missionary networks were developed that connected home-support bases with foreign mission fields, and missionary fields with each other. Home-supporters were kept informed about the state of the mission field through missionary monographs, periodicals, lectures, atlases, magic-lantern shows, ethnographical displays in museums, tracts and yearly reports. Of these propaganda means, missionary periodicals were the ones that were the most regular, accessible and affordable for the broadest geographical audience, including those at «home», missionaries in the field, converts, members of other denominations and the broader public. Missionary periodicals were also a means of creating a normative Christian world view; a view which was further exaggerated within children's missionary periodicals in order to impart didactic lessons to a young Christian reader, especially through the construction of the non-Christian, non-European «other».

Nineteenth century missionary periodicals represent a genre which has only recently begun to receive considerable scholarly attention,¹ within which genre

¹ Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*, New York 2008, 114; The work of Terry Barringer and Anna Johnston are notable exception: See for example: Terry Barringer, *What Mrs Jellyby Might Have Read Missionary Periodicals: A Neglected Source*, in: *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 37, 4 (2004), 46–74; Terry Barringer, *From Beyond Alpine Snows to Homes of the East. A Journey through Missionary Periodicals: The Missionary Periodicals Database Project*, in: *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 26, 4 (2002), 169–173; Terry Barringer, *Why Are Missionary Periodicals [Not] So Boring? The*

periodicals aimed at children have received even less attention than those for adults.² This is despite the fact that between 1870 and 1900, over 100 children's periodicals were established in the United States of America alone, with many of these serving as «agents of Christian morality»³ or, more generally, as missionary magazines. Beyond providing edifying and moralistic sentiments, children's missionary periodicals were an authoritative source of information about foreign Christian missions, frequently including geographical and ethnographical descriptions of the non-Euro-American «other». Children's periodicals provided simple descriptions of the «other» for their juvenile audiences, which would offer children quick apperception into normative frameworks and stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. This article focuses upon how the transnational nature of the missionary enterprise was used to construct notions of inclusion, exclusion, imperialism, and Christian unity within the medium of children's missionary periodicals.

This article focuses specifically upon *The Little Missionary*, published between 1870 and 1920 by the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in the U.S.A. After 1920, the name of the periodical was changed to *The Moravian Missionary*, indicating a refocusing upon the denominational aspects of the periodical. The timeframe for this article is the first fifteen years of the periodical, at a time in which the United States of America was beginning to exert itself as an imperial nation, yet before the period of high imperialism, and before the changing world politics of the First World War. In the early twentieth century, both the patriotic voice along with the harsh stereotypes of foreign peoples evident in the editorial voice of the first fifteen years of the periodical had largely diminished, replaced by more nuanced descriptions about the peoples on mission stations written by long-term missionaries on these stations. By focusing upon the first fifteen years of the periodical, a transition from an apolitical to an overtly patriotic children's missionary periodical is evident, particularly in the reporting of potential mission sites in newly acquired U.S. territory of Alaska. Within this period of examination the construction of an Anglo-Saxon North America patriotic child before the advent of high imperialism is evident.

Missionary Periodicals Database Project, in: *African research & documentation: Journal of the Standing Conference on Library Materials on Africa*, 84 (2000), 33–46; Terry Barringer, *Journals*, in: *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Missions and Missionaries*, ed. Jonathan J. Bonk, New York/London 2010, 209–212; Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860*, Cambridge, 2003; Anna Johnston, *British Missionary Publishing, Missionary Celebrity and Empire*, in: *Nineteenth Century Prose*, 32, 2 (2005), 20–47.

² See: C. Stuart Hannabuss, *Nineteenth-Century Religious Periodicals for Children*, in: *British Journal of Religious Education*, 6, 1 (1983), 20–40; F.K. Prochaska, *Little Vessels: Children in the Nineteenth-Century English Missionary Movement*, in: *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 6, 2 (1978), 103–118.

³ Joanne E. Passet, *Freethought Children's Literature and the Construction of Religious Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century America*, in: *Book History*, 8 (2005), 107–129, here 109. See also *American Children's Periodicals, 1780–1872*, available at www.merrycoz.org/bib/intro.htm (last accessed May 2010).

Establishment of the Little Missionary: Rationale and Readership, Form and Function

Missionary societies constantly needed to engage younger generations in order to maintain their financial and personnel viability, and missionary periodicals served to both organise and rationalise child donors.⁴ Children had been seen as a discrete readership for religious publications from the mid-eighteenth century, with many publications specifically aiming to instil Christian virtues within the child readership.⁵ From the 1820s, advanced printing technologies and the increased sophistication of transportation facilitated a rise in the number of periodicals produced, including those of a religious tone for children.⁶ Brian Maidment has argued that within Britain, religious groups were the driving force behind the establishment of many new periodicals for children in the nineteenth century, as these religious groups had the financial backing, the support base, and the distribution networks needed to facilitate the growth of periodicals to the target audience of children.⁷ Many of these periodicals, such as the *Sunday School Magazine* published by the Wesleyans from 1824,⁸ were connected to the Sunday Schools movement and catered for working class children, while many other children's periodicals were connected to missionary societies, such as the Scottish Presbyterian Free Church's halfpenny paper the *Children's Missionary Record* (published from 1839 until 1848), or the *Children's Record. A Monthly Missionary Magazine of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1886–1899). As the titles of such children's missionary periodicals demonstrate, the medium was adapted over the Western world to geographically and denominationally varied readerships. Moreover, as a group, children donated substantial amounts to evangelical missionary organizations, and by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, missionary texts for children began to actively engage them as potential donors to the missionary cause.⁹ The collecting efforts of children were appreciated and publicly recognized not only in the pages of children's missionary periodicals, but also in more general religious periodicals.¹⁰ For some missionary societies such as the Methodist Missionary Society in Britain, children were col-

⁴ Prochaska, *Little Vessels* (see note 2), 103–104.

⁵ Janis Dawson, *The Origins of Nineteenth Century Juvenile Periodicals: «The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine» (1799–1800) and Its Predecessors*, in: *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 29, 3 (1996), 216–241, here 218.

⁶ Passet, *Freethought Children's Literature* (see note 3), 109.

⁷ Brian Maidment, *Periodicals and Serial Publications, 1780–1830*, in: *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Michael Suarez/Michael Turner, Cambridge/New York 2009, 498–512, here 509.

⁸ C. Stuart Hannabuss, *Nineteenth-Century Religious Periodicals* (see note 2), 22.

⁹ Constance E. Padwick, *Children and Missionary Societies in Great Britain*, in: *The International Review of Missions*, 6 (1917, reprinted 1971), 561–575, here 564–566.

¹⁰ Padwick, *Children and Missionary Societies* (see note 9), 566–567; Prochaska, *Little Vessels* (see note 2), 106.

lecting over one fifth of all donations by 1901.¹¹ Besides from encouraging those already involved in the missionary endeavour to donate to the cause, missionary publications were also seen as a medium to engage children not already involved in missionary work, with the hope that these children might themselves become inspired to be missionaries, or, at the very least, long-term supporters of the missionary cause. The desire to recruit children into missionary societies through periodicals was the reason why the Baptist Missionary Society in Britain established their *Juvenile Missionary Herald* in 1844, at a time when their adult support base was waning.¹² For the Moravian Church, too, the desire to encourage the missionary zeal amongst children was the impetus behind the establishment of a dedicated children's missionary periodical. In 1870 in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, a member of the North American Moravian *Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen* (SPG) postulated that «the reason why the missionary spirit was at such a low ebb, was because the children were not thoroughly imbued, from their earliest years, with a love for missions». Something, it was empathically noted, had to be undertaken so that a whole new generation of children would have access to material that would inspire them to «arouse such an interest» in the Church's missionary activities.¹³ Through a dedicated, affordable, monthly publication for children, the Society hoped to inspire many young readers and to raise the missionary zeal of the Moravian Church in North America.

The Moravians had had a presence in North America since 1734. Initially this presence was part of the Moravian's Diaspora work to exiled European religious groups, and later as part of the Moravian global «heathen» mission.¹⁴ The Moravian Church was formed in 1727 on the estate of Count von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) in Saxony. Known in German as the *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* or *Evangelischen Brüder-Unität*, the dominant historical narrative of the Church connects it to Jan Hus and his followers.¹⁵ Under Zinzendorf's mentorship the Church began to send out missionaries in 1732.¹⁶ From the 1740s, the Moravians were known in British evangelical circles for their missionary work, and inspired the establishment of numerous other missionary societies, including the Metho-

¹¹ Prochaska, *Little Vessels* (see note 2), 107.

¹² Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects. Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867*, Cambridge 2002, 341.

¹³ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *Proceedings of the ninety-fourth general meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen* (SPG Proceedings), 1 Sept 1870, Bethlehem 1870, 15.

¹⁴ Harry Emil Stocker, *A Home Mission History of the Moravian Church in the United States and Canada (Northern Province)*, New York 1924, 14–15.

¹⁵ Craig D. Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius*, Pennsylvania 2009.

¹⁶ For an overview of the Moravian missionary work see: Hartmut Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern: 250 Jahre Mission der Brüdergemeine*, Erlangen 1981.

dist Missionary Society.¹⁷ The Moravians saw themselves as a missionary Church with a particular emphasis upon the «heathen» mission. They prided themselves on sending out missionaries to peoples that other missionary societies neglected.¹⁸ For them, the «more destitute, degraded and savage any people were, the greater was their pity for them, and the stronger their desire to offer to them the consolations of the gospel».¹⁹ By the time that the *Little Missionary* was published in December 1870, the Moravians had been sending out missionaries for almost 140 years. In that year there were 16 different Moravian mission fields containing 89 mission stations, scattered over all inhabitant continents of the earth, with 313 European missionaries and 1,041 native helpers looking after the material and spiritual welfare of 68,751 people.²⁰ In the eighteenth century, the Church had kept their members informed about the missionary work through the *Gemeinnachrichten*, which were hand-copied notices that contained intelligence on missionary work as well as other information pertaining to Church members in Europe. The *Gemeinnachrichten* performed the function of unifying a geographically dispersed community as they were to be read aloud to Moravian congregations throughout the globe before being passed on to the next Moravian community.²¹ As a consequence of the *Gemeinnachrichten* only being circulated amongst Moravians, non-Moravians were excluded from easily obtaining information pertaining to the Church's missionary endeavours. From the late eighteenth century, the Moravian Church disseminated more widely printed information about their missionary work, for example through monographs or periodicals, with the expressed desire to encourage non-Moravians to support the Moravian missionary work.²² The Moravians, as with many of their peers, utilised missionary literature as self-promotional material, with a dual desire to both raise funds as well as missionary zeal amongst their readers.

From 1857, the Moravian Church was divided into the three self governing Provinces of the Church: the British Province, administered from London, U.K.; the Continental European Province, administered from the historical centre of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany; and, the North American Province, administered from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. The three provinces maintained close contact, and through missionary periodicals, such as the *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen* (*Periodical Accounts*, published in London from 1790 to 1970) or the *Missions-Blatt aus der Brüdergemeine. Zum Besten*

¹⁷ J.C.S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England, 1760–1800*, Suffolk 2001, 180–185.

¹⁸ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Harmondsworth 1964, 237.

¹⁹ John Holmes, *History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, London 1825, 250.

²⁰ *Periodical Accounts*, XXVIII, June 1871, 476

²¹ Gisela Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich: Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als Globale Gemeinschaft 1727–1857*, Göttingen 2009, *passim*.

²² Felicity Jensz, *Origins of Missionary Periodicals: Form and Function of Three Moravian Publications*, in: *Journal of Religious History* 36 (forthcoming, 2011).

ihrer Heiden-Missionen (*Missions-Blatt*, 1837–1941), members all across the globe, including missionaries and converts in extra-European lands, could keep informed of the latest intelligence from various fields. The Moravian Church also established various missionary periodicals for children, such as the *Brüder-missions-Blatt für Kinder* (published in Gnadau, Saxony, 1862–1879),²³ yet as with many other children's periodicals of the nineteenth century, the life of this particular periodical was short.

Through the *Little Missionary*, first printed in 1870, the North American Province of the Moravian Church provided pedagogical and didactic lessons to the next generation of potential missionary supporters and through doing so provided normative ideals of who constituted the «other», and of how a good, Christian, young American was to behave and think. The monthly folio-sized, four-paged periodical was printed by the Moravian Publication Office in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which also printed the family newspaper, *The Moravian*, as well as the German-language *Der Brüder Botschafter* (1866–1936). The inaugural editor of the *Little Missionary* was H.T. Clauder, the director of the Moravian Publication Office. Each of the periodical's issues in the fifteen years under review contained pedagogical-moralistic teachings; Bible stories; edifying material; reports from missions around the world; and articles on foreign peoples, some of whom were Christians, and others not. By the early twentieth century, the periodical had dispensed with much of its pedagogical-moralistic teachings and Bible stories and focused almost entirely upon reports from both Moravian and non-Moravian mission stations. Unlike other Moravian publications such as the *Periodical Accounts*, which published almost exclusively Moravian intelligence, the *Little Missionary* published edifying and moralistic material from other periodicals, such as the *Missionary Reporter*, *Young Folk's News*, or the *Watchman and Reflector*.²⁴ Terry Barringer has noted that missionary periodicals «borrowed material and reprinted material from each other, and a sense of common purpose was more evident than denominational rivalry.»²⁵ If one can assume that the reprinting of material from other denominational periodicals was, as Barringer has suggested, an act that demonstrated a commonality of purpose, then one may also be led to assume that for children readers of the *Little Missionary* denominational differences were presented as of less consequence than global Protestant missionary outcomes.

²³ Dietrich Meyer, *Deutschsprachige Zeitschriften der Brüderunität*, in: *Unitas Fratrum*, 9 (1979), 53–64, here 60.

²⁴ See for example: *The Bassootoo Warrior*, in: *Little Missionary*, 57 (August 1875), 228, from the *Missionary Reporter*; *A Sensible Rooster*, in: *Little Missionary*, 28 (March 1872), 110, taken from *Young Folks' News*; or, *The Two Newsboys*, in: *Little Missionary*, 51 (Feb. 1875), 201, taken from *Watchman and Reflector*. In the twentieth century, the number of articles taken from other periodicals increased significantly.

²⁵ Barringer, *Journals* (see note 1), 209.

This is not, however, to suggest that the *Little Missionary* abandoned denominational allegiances; on the contrary, child readers were often informed of their connection to the Moravian Church. In the very first issue the editor used the pseudonym of Mr. Moravian to explain the rationale behind the publication as «A Missionary is «one who is sent»» and the paper had been sent by «our dear Moravian Church» to express a «monthly message of love and instruction.»²⁶ Missionary stories, and especially Moravian missionary stories, were to be a frequent feature of the periodical. As the rationale emphasised, the periodical had a didactic focus in terms of normative Christian values, pedagogical aims, or the imparting of missionary intelligence or geographical knowledge. The form of the *Little Missionary* also accentuated its didactic focus, as too did the inclusion of images, which was a feature that, more generally, characterised children's periodicals from those aimed at adults. Under both the editorship of H.T. Clauder and his successor, E.G. Klosé, the title page of the *Little Missionary* opened with an instructive story and associated large illustration. Sometimes the image was a scene from a Biblical story, but more often than not, the image and associated story was of a young child, who often was either setting a good moral example, or willingly giving to the missionary fund. According to the historian Joanne Gillespie, portraying a child as the protagonist allowed children to identify with him or her, and thus to imagine themselves within such a story and thereby better to absorb the moral lessons embedded in the narrative.²⁷ Tellingly, the title image was only ever of an Anglo-Saxon (North American) child, and never of a converted non-European child. Besides this title picture there were other images scattered throughout the periodical, which were often linked to texts about particular mission fields or potential mission converts. The images were not all produced in the same style, rather they ranged from realistic images, as was always the case on the title page, to caricatures, which was often the case when the non-Western «other» was depicted. Henry Miller has noted that in Britain, caricatures, especially Georgian caricatures, distorted the physical features of the subject making them an object of ridicule as well as placing them in opposition to the notions of beauty, which itself was an ideal attached to goodness.²⁸ Within the *Little Missionary*, the closer the image of the «other» was to a caricature, the further away the depicted people were seen to be from God and the Christian norm.²⁹ As with most of the articles in the *Little Missionary* in the nineteenth century, the majority of the images were not attributed to a source, although some images were said to have originated from photographs taken by missionaries in the field, which in turn emphasised the transnational missionary network

²⁶ The Little Missionary, in: *Little Missionary*, 1 (Dec. 1870), 2.

²⁷ Joanna Gillespie, *Schooling through Fiction*, in: *Children's Literature*, 14 (1986), 61–81, 64.

²⁸ Henry J. Miller, John Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon: The Context of Respectability, in: *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 42, 3 (2009), 267–291, here 270.

²⁹ Jensz, *Origins of Missionary Periodicals* (see note 22).

of Moravians. Until the 1880s, when technology allowed for photographs to be printed easily in newsprint,³⁰ photographs were rendered into drawings for publication in the periodical.³¹ Within the *Little Missionary*, as with many other missionary societies' publications, drawings rendered from photographs were often manipulated to reflect the ideals that the missionary group had of the «other», rather than necessarily remaining faithful to photographic reality.³² An example from the *Little Missionary* can be found in the April 1875 issue, in which the editor complained that the «artist has not succeeded in giving [the face of the «heathen Eskimoes»] with perfect accuracy at all.»³³ He then explained to the child reader how the image ought to have been rendered insofar as «in the photograph the expression of the man's countenance is that of good nature and stupidity combined, in the woman's face it is not easy to read anything but stupidity.»³⁴ Thus, when the image printed did not match the idealised version envisage, the editorial commentary rectified these disparities.

The layout and design of the *Little Missionary* further announced its moralistic and Christian message. From 1871 onwards, the masthead included the mottoes «Glory to God», «Though he was rich yet he became poor», «Suffer little children to come unto me», and «The son of God learned obedience». These Biblical teachings were incorporated into pictorial representations of Jesus at various stages of his life. The date and issue line included the epigram «To do good—forget not»—St. Paul's exhortation, which the editor hoped the child reader would follow.³⁵ Although the readership was expected to learn through absorbing the stories and lessons in the periodical, the children readers were also expected to actively engage in the act of reading. They were drawn into the text through rhetorical questions, and also through explicit commands such as «imagine», «look», or even «get out our atlas and find out where Australia is», demonstrating the editor's desire to promote the geographical literacy of the child reader as well as an understanding of the global nature of the Moravian mission.³⁶ The editor's didactical approach was evident in every aspect of the paper in the period under examination, with everything from moral anecdotes to explicit advice to objective geographical information contributing to a normative Christian world-view.

³⁰ Willfried Baatz, *Geschichte der Fotografie*, Köln 1997, 52.

³¹ For example: Divine Service Among the Australians, in: *Little Missionary*, 30 (Feb. 1874), 151; Kaffir Portraits, in: *Little Missionary*, 59 (Oct. 1875), 236.

³² For other missionary societies' idealized use of drawings from photographs see, for example: Patrick Harries, *Butterflies & Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries & Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa*, Harare/Johannesburg/Oxford 2007), 229; Paul Jenkins, *Four Nineteenth-Century Pictorial Images from Africa in the Basel Mission Archive and Library Collections*, in: Robert Bickers/Rosemary Seton (Ed.), *Missionary Encounters. Sources and Issues*, Richmond 1996, 95–113.

³³ Heathen Eskimoes, in: *Little Missionary*, 53 (April 1875), 212.

³⁴ Heathen Eskimoes, in: *Little Missionary*, 53 (April 1875), 212.

³⁵ The Little Missionary, in: *Little Missionary*, 1 (Dec. 1870), 2.

³⁶ See for example: Native Australians, in: *Little Missionary*, 9 (Aug. 1871), 35.

By its second year of publication, the *Little Missionary* had a subscription base of somewhere between 6,700 and 8,000,³⁷ which was modest in comparison to other children's missionary periodicals such as the British Methodist *At Home and Abroad*, which, at the end of the nineteenth century, had a monthly circulation figure of around 55,000.³⁸ The *Little Missionary* was intended to be read by the 6,000 Anglo-Saxon North American children of the North American congregations and Sunday Schools. A further intended audience was the 13,443 children descended from the former slaves in the West Indies who lived upon Moravian mission stations across various islands.³⁹ This second readership group was not often spoken to directly within the text of the *Little Missionary*, and by 1872 the West Indies was no longer explicitly mentioned as a postage destination in the subscription information on the back page of the periodical.⁴⁰ The West Indian children were included in the broader Christian fellowship insofar as they received the periodical or were targeted as a subscriber group, yet were excluded from belonging to the Anglo-Saxon North American ideals through the omission of their experiences in texts designed to forge normative ideals. For example, in the very first issue of the *Little Missionary* in December 1870 was an article entitled «Christmas». It began with the words:

«In this country, we think it would not be Christmas if the weather were not cold, and the ground covered with snow. This happy festival, we imagine, is all the more happy because it is celebrated in-doors, in the warm bright room and around the tree with its burning candles.»⁴¹

By beginning the sentence with a clause in which a singular proximal demonstrative is used (this), and then continuing with a first-person, plural personal pronoun (we), the writer of the text assumes that his audience are residents of the United States and share the same ideas about the delight of celebrating Christmas in winter. The article continued by quantifying the number of children within the Moravian Church into those who spent Christmas «under a warm sun and with the trees all green» and those «during the cold winter», with the results being 22,351 and 12,710 respectively. The article provided a sense of common unity across a vast geographical space, as all of these children belonged to the same Church, however, it also implied that a wintery Christmas was the norm. The author of the text noted: «I suppose it was just as happy a day to the children [in South Africa], though it was so warm that they could go barefoot.» When used as a conjunction to introduce a subordinate clause, «though» implies a sense of deviation from the ideal norm. Thus, those children celebrating Christmas in

³⁷ SPG Proceedings, eighty-fourth general meeting, 14 September 1871, Bethlehem 1871, 4; Periodical Accounts, xxviii, May 1871, xii.

³⁸ Lize Kriel, From Private Journal to Published Periodical, in: *Book History*, 11 (2008), 169–198, here 173.

³⁹ The *Little Missionary*, in: *Little Missionary*, 1 (Dec. 1870), 4.

⁴⁰ The *Little Missionary*, in: *Little Missionary*, 20 (July 1872), 80.

⁴¹ *Little Missionary*, 1 (Dec 1870), 4.

warm climates, such as those in the West Indies and in South Africa, were explicitly excluded from being able to celebrate this Christian festival in ways idealised by 6,000 Anglo-Saxon North Americans, and as experienced by 1,718 German, 4,055 British, 450 Greenlander, 380 Labradorean, 106 Indian and one Tibetan Moravian children. Nevertheless, the editor «wished them all,—this great army of 35,061 children, everywhere, «A VERY HAPPY CHRISTMAS», whether it is a warm or a cold one.»⁴² Through such inclusive, yet subtly differentiating techniques between children experiencing the norm and those experiencing abnormal Christmases, the North American child reader of the *Little Missionary* was made aware of their position as the norm. Such «normalising» and «othering» was a constant feature of the *Little Missionary*, and was evident within the pages of many children's periodicals.

Besides from the child readers, the *Little Missionary* was also read by missionaries in the field as far away as Australia and South Africa.⁴³ These missionaries also occasionally contributed to the periodical, and thus to the transnational aspect of the paper. Historians such as Rebecca Habermas have demonstrated that missionary periodicals were a means of creating a transnational network amongst Europeans spread throughout the world, with missionaries being one of the most transnationally connected professions of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The medium of missionary periodicals was also used to create transnational connections between converted peoples around the globe, who were geographically isolated, yet linked together by the common missionary endeavour. Child readers of the *Little Missionary* were informed of transnational connections beyond their own borders, such as of the generous donations that members of a South African Moravian mission congregation had raised for the West Indian mission field after a devastating hurricane ripped through the region.⁴⁵ The rationale for reporting on such an event would have been the implicit hope that child readers would themselves donate to the cause, with the expression of transnational connections also providing a way for the periodical to demonstrate the common humanity of Christian converts with the Anglo-European reader. West Indian boys were, for example, connected to the boys of Greenland through the currents that circled the world, carrying with them wood from the West Indies to fuel the Greenlander's fires.⁴⁶ This was deemed evidence of how God «has bound together nations the furthest apart.»⁴⁷ The readers of this periodical, the Anglo-Saxon North Ameri-

⁴² *Little Missionary*, 1 (Dec. 1870), 4.

⁴³ Hottentot School Children, in: *Little Missionary*, 28 (March 1872), 110; National Library of Australia [NLA], Manuscript [MS] 3343, Hagenauer Letterbook (1872–1888), F.A. Hagenauer [Ramayuck, Victoria, Australia] to H.T. Clauder [Bethlehem, Pa., USA], no date [1875?] p. 66.

⁴⁴ Rebekka Habermas, Mission im 19. Jahrhundert-Global Netze des Religiösen, in: *Historische Zeitschrift*, 287 (2008), 629–679, here 654.

⁴⁵ *Little Missionary*, 21 (Aug. 1872), 81.

⁴⁶ A Snake at Christmas Time, in: *Little Missionary*, 8 (July 1871), 31.

⁴⁷ A Snake at Christmas Time, in: *Little Missionary*, 8 (July 1871), 31.

can children, as well as «the West Indian boys who [are] reading these lines» were all encouraged to see themselves as part of the transnational missionary endeavour and part of a common (Christian) humanity. Yet, as Catherine Hall has argued, from the mid-nineteenth century such «universalist notions of the human family» were themselves being displaced within the missionary rhetoric towards more «biological definitions of racial difference» with gender constructs limiting a woman's place in this hierarchical order.⁴⁸ Within the *Little Missionary*, people were categorised in terms of race, with authoritative biological comparisons often made between supposedly different racial groups. For example, compared to the so-called «Hottentots», the so-called «Kaffirs» were deemed «the finer race» in «almost every respect, many of them being fine-grown, handsome men, with great powers of endurance, and not a little cleverness and shrewdness.»⁴⁹ From the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, this biological racism hardened, and was most pronounced towards Australian Aborigines, who were seen to be «the most degraded race of men.»⁵⁰ They were deemed the measure against which all other peoples were favourably compared,⁵¹ and whose brain capacity was reported in an 1906 issue of the *Little Missionary* to be «the lowest in the world», with Aboriginal Australians supposed to be «least removed from the brute».⁵² Their conversion to Christianity was an indication of how «humble folk have put <higher> races to shame»⁵³, and furthermore an indication of the transformative power of Christianity to overcome such perceived biological deficiencies. By the onset of World War I, however, the biological definitions of racial difference in the *Little Missionary* had waned somewhat, to be replaced by a Christian universal humanism.⁵⁴ The limiting gender constructs that Hall cites were also evident within children's periodicals such as the *Little Missionary*. The gender order was evident within its pages as stereotypes of male and female tasks and positions abounded, and, as the example above illustrates, boys were informed of the activities of other boys. Moreover, the focus upon male missionaries to the almost total exclusion of female missionaries constructed a world-

⁴⁸ Catherine Hall, «From Greenland's Icy Mountains ... To Africa's Golden Sand»: Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England, in: *Gender & History*, 5, 2 (1993), 212–230, here 217.

⁴⁹ The Bassootoo Warrior, in: *Little Missionary*, 57 (Aug. 1876), 228.

⁵⁰ Native Australians, in: *Little Missionary*, 9 (Aug. 1871), 35.

⁵¹ See for example: A Thibetan Group, in: *Little Missionary*, 72 (Nov. 1867), 228.

⁵² Moravian Missionary Topic. Marvels of Grace in Moravian Mission Fields. Sunday, March 25, 1906. Australia: Blackfellows with Souls, in: *Little Missionary*, 419 (March 1906), 10.

⁵³ Moravian Missionary Topic. Marvels of Grace in Moravian Mission Fields. Sunday, March 25, 1906. Australia: Blackfellows with Souls, in: *Little Missionary*, 419 (March 1906), 10.

⁵⁴ See for example: Th. I. Clemens, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water, in: *Little Missionary*, 519 (July 1914), 25; G. Grossmann, Among the Indians on the Wangks, in: *Little Missionary*, 521 (Sept. 1914), 33 & 36; Church going in Labraor, in: *Little Missionary*, 523 (Nov. 1914), 43.

view where women's work was not as socially valued as the work of men.⁵⁵ Differences in gender, race, and religion were defining factors in the «otherness» of those described within the periodical's pages.

According to the historian Frederick Cooper and anthropologist Ann L. Stoler, the basic tension of the British Empire was that «the otherness of the colonized person was neither inherent nor stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained; social boundaries that were at one point clear would not necessarily remain so.»⁵⁶ The basic tension of missionaries in the Empire was the tension between creating a sense of Christian unity amongst all people connected with their Church and at the same time maintaining and constantly creating a sense of «otherness» between European missionaries and their converts. The «othering» of non-Europeans also had a function of engendering a general sense of Western imperialism over non-Europeans. In her work on the London Missionary Society, Anna Johnston has noted that: «The missionary media both created and depended on a mass reading public united by their interest in evangelical outreach and the subjects of that outreach: the foreign missions that were united by British imperialism.»⁵⁷ Although her work centred upon a British missionary society, her comments can be extrapolated to include broader notions of Western imperialism, as well as nationally specific imperialist aims. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, the United States of America oversaw both a formal empire with colonies as well as an informal empire, the latter of which reflected economic and military policy and practices. Ian Tyrrell has recently examined the contributions that North American missionaries and moral reformers made to the informal U.S. American global expansion as well as to the transnational networks associated with this expansion.⁵⁸ Moral reformers in their various and eclectic guises, Tyrrell notes, have been an understudied aspect of the U.S. American imperial expansion. Yet, as Tyrrell has demonstrated, missionaries were part of the dynamic, transnational movement through which individuals or groups intent on morally transforming the world transformed themselves into highly organized, commercial operations in which the voice of American moral reform was clearly propagated, and which effected change in United States itself. Such patterns are also evident within examples of missionary periodicals for children, although actual effects on children are much harder to gauge. The literary scholar Joanne Passet has noted that many of the children's magazines established in the United States in the late nineteenth-century were

⁵⁵ An exception is the biography of Mary Hartmann, who continued to work for ten years as a missionary in Suriname after her husband died. See: Mary Hartmann, in: *Little Missionary*, 18 (May 1872), 71. By the early twentieth century, women were regular contributors to the periodical.

⁵⁶ Frederick Cooper/Ann L. Stoler, Introduction *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule*, in: *American Ethnologist*, 16, 4 (1989), 609–621, here 610.

⁵⁷ Johnston, *British Missionary Publishing* (see note 1), 41.

⁵⁸ Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World. The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, Princeton/Oxford 2010.

motivated not only to instill moralistic but also nationalistic ideals in children.⁵⁹ American missionary periodicals for children, such as the *Little Missionary*, were thus a medium for disseminating moral and nationalistic ideals, which were further heightened by the transnational nature of the periodical. Within the period of examination, three major categorisations of the «other» are to be found in the *Little Missionary* based upon the non-Western «other»'s supposed standing to God: the convert; the infidel; and the potential convert. It is to these categories that we now turn with the examples of Greenland (converts); India (infidels or those rejecting Christianity); and Alaska (potential converts).

The Converted: Greenlanders

In the second number of the *Little Missionary*, an article was dedicated to the history of the Moravian mission in Greenland.⁶⁰ According to the article, three missionaries were sent to Greenland in 1733 to begin the second mission field of the Church, with two more missionaries being sent out the following year.⁶¹ For the first five years they made no progress in converting the Greenlanders, rather they spent most of their time learning to hunt and fish. They undertook these tasks despite the severity of the freezing weather and the negative attitude of the Greenlanders towards them, *viz*

«Meanwhile, they tried to learn the language, but it was hard work, and they had all they could do to keep from starving. The Greenlanders laughed at and persecuted them, pelted them with stones... damaged their boat, destroyed their things, and annoyed and opposed them in every possible way, but they did not lose faith or hope.»⁶²

A picture was presented of Greenlanders as mean-spirited people, who were not at all encouraged by the word of God, and who placed hurdles in the way for the missionaries, who themselves were full of patience, hope and faith. According to the article, this patience was rewarded in 1738 when a young man named Kajarnak took interest in the missionaries' message and was baptised the following year. In naming the converted Greenlanders, the article created a connection between Kajarnak and the child reader. The opposite of this was the creation of distance between the child reader and the «other» through maintaining the «other»'s anonymity. Missionary writings often only named individuals once they had shown interest in the word of God, and as such, the «other» was divided for the readers into those that were personalised (named) and those that were depersonalised (un-named). Anne-Charlott Trepp has noted that since its begin-

⁵⁹ Passet, *Freethought Children's Literature* (see note 3), 109.

⁶⁰ The Mission in Greenland, in: *Little Missionary*, 2 (Jan. 1871), 7.

⁶¹ In actuality, it was in 1736 that four more missionaries were sent to Greenland, of whom three were female. The omission of these women in the *Little Missionary* indicates a hardening of gender roles of female missionaries in the nineteenth century. See: Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern: 250 Jahre Mission der Brüdergemeine* (see note 16), 66.

⁶² The Mission in Greenland, in: *Little Missionary*, 2 (Jan. 1871), 7.

nings in 1710, the Danish-Halle periodical *Halleschen Berichten* did not name indigenous people, with the aim that these unnamed people were not seen as individuals, rather as «heathens».⁶³ Indeed, as naming people is a universal human function, providing impersonal and nameless descriptions of people questions their very humanity.

The article concluded that the history of the Greenland mission was «a wonderful story of faith and patience and suffering, and also of joy and triumph.»⁶⁴ Through focusing upon the hardships in the field, the extended period of time before the first convert could be justified. It was therefore not the missionaries' fault that people were not converted sooner, rather it was the unfavourable conditions under which they worked and the depravity of the Greenlanders themselves. The dominant historical narrative made the children aware of the long tradition of missionary work of the Moravian Church in Greenland, and moreover of the continued need for such work. The Greenlanders were not upheld as perfect Christians, rather the difference between them and the Euro-American readers were constantly being commented upon. Unconverted Greenlanders were depicted as stupid and dirty,⁶⁵ and even the converted Greenland children were so uncouth as to eat the candles that they received on Christmas Eve as soon as they left the church.⁶⁶ Such texts created an image of hardships for the missionaries in dealing with these people, compounded by the difficulty of learning the language of the Greenlanders, with a newly arrived missionary «scarcely [able to] do anything else for the first two or three years but study the grammar and dictionary.»⁶⁷ By reporting that the environment was so challenging, the *Little Missionary* suggested a large discrepancy between the «heathen» and converted state of non-European peoples, and thus the conversion of such people or the continuation of a Christian community became a fact to be truly celebrated, and a testament to the dedication of the missionaries, rather than the willingness of the «other». The distinction between the pre-conversion and post-conversion states was constantly reiterated, not only for the Greenlanders, but for other peoples, including the Aborigines of Australia. The Australian mission field had been established in 1848, yet met with many disappointments, including the disbandment of the first mission station.⁶⁸ Aboriginal Australians were homogenised under the term «Papuan» and deemed to have sunken into «dark heathenism and almost beastly wretchedness,» with Aboriginal participants of traditional cultural

⁶³ Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Von der Missionierung der Seelen zur Erforschung der Nature. Die Dänisch-Hallesche Südindienmission im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert*, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 36 (2010), 231–356, here 253.

⁶⁴ *The Mission in Greenland*, in: *Little Missionary*, 2 (Jan. 1871), 7.

⁶⁵ *Heathens Eskimoes*, in: *Little Missionary*, 53 (April 1875), 212.

⁶⁶ *Mission Notes: Christmas Candles in Greenland*, in: *Little Missionary*, 1 (Dec. 1870), 3.

⁶⁷ *Mission Notes*, in: *Little Missionary*, 4 (March 1871), 15.

⁶⁸ Felicity Jensz, *German Moravian Missionaries in the British Colony of Victoria, Australia, 1848–1908: Influential Strangers*, Leiden 2010 (*Studies in Christian Missions* 38).

events, such as the ritualised gatherings of corroborees, depicted as caricatures,⁶⁹ thus ridiculing these people as being far away from God (see *Image 1*).



Image 1: The Corroboree Dance in Australia
Little Missionary, 33 (August 1873), 132 (with kind permission of the
Moravian Archives Bethlehem, PA, USA).

This negative description was contrasted with the following:

«Now, it is of these very people that our missionaries in Australia have gathered two good-sized congregations, the members of which are Christians in the true sense of the word. They now dress like we do, have built themselves houses, are industrious workmen and farmers, love to go to church, to pray and to read their Bibles ...»⁷⁰

A sense of communality was created between the converted Aborigines and the Anglo-Saxon North American child readers through the explicit mention of Aborigines «dress[ing] like we do,» which, moreover, promoted Anglo-Saxon norms as dominant and superior throughout the transnational missionary community.

The tone of the *Little Missionary* was not always edifying or emotive, rather the periodical also presented itself as a vessel of scientific knowledge, and thus as a reasoned and rational organ. For example, in June 1871, the title page of the *Little Missionary* was dedicated to icebergs, and indirectly to the mission in Greenland. In providing the child reader with scientific information about the formation of icebergs, much of which was compiled by Moravian missionaries in Greenland, the editor connected the Moravian missionaries into the broader scientific world, and, through the explicit mention of a group of German explorers who were based briefly at the Moravian mission of Friedrichsthal, specifi-

⁶⁹ The Corroboree Dance in Australia, in: *Little Missionary*, 33 (Aug. 1873), 132.

⁷⁰ The Corroboree Dance in Australia, in: *Little Missionary*, 33 (Aug. 1873), 132.

cally to German scientific discourses.⁷¹ Missionaries had been supplying the scientific world with information about foreign lands for centuries, and through such means had contributed to the knowledge transfer between Europe and the antipodes. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century, as the sciences were becoming more professionalised, missionaries began to be sidelined from scientific debates, with professional scientists questioning whether missionaries, with their religious focus, had the impartiality and rationality needed to report objectively.⁷² Missionaries, as the article on icebergs demonstrates, still saw themselves as men of science, and encouraged child readers to view them also as such. Within this article, however, there was no mention of the Greenlanders themselves. Reference to them was placed at the bottom of the title page in an unnamed article which described the difficulties of building a suitable church in Greenland. All churches had to be built small due to the extreme coldness of the weather and the high cost of building in such a climate. As a result, the air was often thick with carbon monoxide, smoke from the candles, and humidity from the melting snow and ice. After expressing his disapproval at such accommodations, the didactic lesson that the editor expected the child reader to learn was that: «There should always be plenty of God's air in His house.»⁷³ This comment is exemplary of the constant «othering» of non-Europeans, insofar as non-Europeans are berated for not achieving European norms, despite the impossibility of achieving these norms. Moreover, even those peoples who had converted to Christianity were still deemed to need the constant care and supervision of the missionaries, who themselves were presented as at the forefront to Western science and exploration.

The Buddhist and the Hindu as Infidels

Through reports on peoples who had not yet converted, but who were aware of the Christian message, child readers were also taught to pity and ridicule such peoples for holding on to their traditional beliefs. The Buddhists of the Himalayas, in current day northern India, were one such people who mostly held on to their own beliefs with only a few converts to Christianity despite prolonged attempts by the Moravians. In 1850s, the Moravian Church had sent out missionaries to work amongst the Tartars who lived in Tibet. They were, however, not allowed entry into Independent Tartary, and thus settled on the border in «Province of Lahoul, which is inhabited by Thibetans, but is under the government of England.»⁷⁴ There the Moravians established a mission to the Buddhist popula-

⁷¹ About Icebergs, in: *Little Missionary*, 7, June 1871, 25

⁷² Patrick Harries, *Anthropology*, in: *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington, Oxford/New York 2005, 238–260.

⁷³ *Little Missionary*, 7 (June 1871), 25.

⁷⁴ Leh, in Thibet, in: *Little Missionary*, 18 (May 1872), 69.

tion.⁷⁵ The lack of precision in geopolitical information reflected the focus that the *Little Missionary* placed upon the cultural and religious states of people bound together under the unity of Moravian missions, and the lesser importance of the political situation of such people. This lack of detailed political information is not surprising when one considers that the didactic messages of the periodical were aimed at improving the morals, Christian values, and missionary zeal of the child readers. Indeed, when politics was mentioned, such as in the article «Christianity and Government,» the pedagogical lesson was highly Christian, insofar as that it taught that the Bible was the basis for all good governments.⁷⁶ Moravian missionaries the world over were instructed not to «intermeddle with the politics of the country in which they labour,»⁷⁷ and thus politics was not a widely discussed topic within any Moravian publications. Moreover, the Province of Lahoul was part of the British Empire, and therefore of no patriotic relevance to the Anglo-Saxon North American readers of the *Little Missionary*, although of potential interest to the British subjects of the West Indies.

As with their mission to Greenland, it took some time for the first conversions in Lahoul, indeed the rate of conversion was much slower than that in Greenland, with the first Buddhist converting to Christianity 12 years after the Moravians first arrived. According to the *Little Missionary*: «These Buddhists are a very shrewd, self-righteous people, who think that their religion is the only correct one, though it is full of the most absurd notions and practices.»⁷⁸ Through dismissing the practices and beliefs of the Buddhists, the *Little Missionary* placed the whole Buddhist religious system in doubt and ridicule. A lama (a term that was always explained with reference to the term «priest»), for example, was ridiculed for taking medicine for an earache through the offending orifice, and not orally, with the message of the article being that the people of the West Himalayas were ignorant of how the Western medicine that the missionaries brought with them worked.⁷⁹ Ridicule has a derisive function, often attached to mitigating fear, or belittling an object that one cannot oneself control or influence. In this case, the object of derision was the lama's conviction in his own religion and refusal to convert to Christianity. Child readers were taught that Buddhists were obstinate and superstitious, and in need of pity. Pity was itself a

⁷⁵ For more on this mission see: Frank Seeliger, «Einer Prügelt uns und der Andere bringt uns Religion...». Eine Ethnohistorische Studie über Fremdheitserfahrungen in der Zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts im Tibetisch-Buddhistischen West-Himalaya-Gebiet Lahoul aus Sicht Herrnhuter Missionare, Herrnhut 2003.

⁷⁶ Christianity and Government, in: *Little Missionary*, 66 (May 1868), 261.

⁷⁷ August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Instructions for Missionaries of the Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, trans. from the German, Second (Revised and Enlarged) Ed, London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathens 1840, 68.

⁷⁸ Thibetan Lama, in: *Little Missionary*, 7 (June 1871), 27.

⁷⁹ A Thibetan Lama, in: *Little Missionary*, 19 (June 1872), 73.

constant motive in children's missionary periodicals more generally,⁸⁰ with this emotion believed to engender support for the missionary field in terms of money, or in this particular case, prayer.

Although the *Little Missionary* dismissed the religion of the «Thibetan Lama», the images associated with the texts on this mission station were all produced in a realistic style, indicating a reverence for the people at odds with the text (see *Image 2*).⁸¹



Image 2: A Thibetan Lama
Little Missionary, 7 (June 1871), 27 (with kind permission of the
Moravian Archives Bethlehem, PA, USA).

The images reproduced of the Tartars, the people to whom the Moravians first wished to mission before being hindered by the Chinese, were also created in a realistic style.⁸² Taken together, this suggests that the images in the *Little Missionary* were carefully constructed in order not to place doubts about the ability of missionaries to convert the «other». If, for example, the Lamas were depicted in the same comical and ridiculous vane as Aboriginal Australians engaged in a corroboree, then the seriousness of the Christian message could also be questioned, for the missionaries would be seen not to be converting reasonable adults who had chosen Christianity over Buddhism, rather so-called brutes who were not able to reason. Reprinting a caricature of Aborigines after some Abori-

⁸⁰ Padwick, *Children and Missionary Societies in Great Britain* (see note 9), 569.

⁸¹ For example: A Thibetan Priest, in: *Little Missionary*, 19 (June 1872), 75.

⁸² Tartars and Lamas of Kunawur, Himalaya, in: *Little Missionary*, 92 (July 1878), 368.

gines had already converted to Christianity,⁸³ however, and juxtaposing such an image with a realistic one of two converts in European dress, provided a starker reminder of the successful work of the missionaries, and of the need for this work to continue lest Aborigines slipped back into «heathendom».⁸⁴ With only one convert in 12 years amongst the Tibetans, no such stark success of Buddhist conversions could yet be triumphantly heralded in the pages of the *Little Missionary*, and thus restraint in comical or belittling depictions was still needed.

In contrast to the realistic images of Buddhists were the images of Hindus, who lived just over the Lahoul boarder. «A Hindoo Fakir,» according to the *Little Missionary*, was «a miserable creature, half fool, half rogue, who spends his time in travelling from city to city, lying and deceiving wherever he goes.»⁸⁵ The accompanying image was of a caricature of a disproportionate man with engorged toes (see *Image 3*).



Image 3: The Hindoo Fakir
Little Missionary, 89 (April 1877), 356 (with kind permission of the
 Moravian Archives Bethlehem, PA, USA).

⁸³ The image of the corroboree was not drawn specifically for the *Little Missionary*, rather had been reproduced in other Moravian periodicals, including the *Missions=Blatt*. Its origins, however, seem to be from an lithograph pasted into the front cover of a missionary's diary, which was posted back to Germany, and is now kept in the Unitäs Archives in Herrnhut. See: Unitäs Archiv, Herrnhut (UA), Hagenauer Tagebuch, 15 Juni 1858 bis Jahresschluß 1859, NBe_T_1_Frontispiz.

⁸⁴ Native Christian Australians, in: *Little Missionary*, 32 (Sept. 1873), 135.

⁸⁵ Hindoo Fakir, in: *Little Missionary*, 89 (April 1877), 356.

Together the text and image gave an impression of a ridiculous man, with a ludicrous religion and fanciful beliefs for, according to Hindu belief, «this wretched being is the holiest of characters, and is certain of going to heaven.»⁸⁶ Although originally an Arabic term meaning «poor (man)», the term Fakir was widely appropriated by Protestant missionary organisations to refer to both Muslim and Hindu mendicants and ascetics.⁸⁷ Moreover, the ambivalent attitude expressed in the *Little Missionary* towards different peoples of the broader area of British controlled India was common amongst Protestant missionaries. Attitudes fluctuated between awe for the cultural sophistication of the Indians to repulsion for such traditions as *sati* (widow burning).⁸⁸ Catherine Hall has noted that the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) turned their attention to India in the 1850s, after the independence of the Jamaica Baptist Union in the mission field of the West Indies. According to the BMS, the British Empire was indebted to the Indians for their part in contributing to the wealth of the Empire through trade and production of commodities, with Indians seen as cultivated and part of the same Caucasian family as the English. Yet, the BMS also noted, it was the will of God that these people were to be subsumed by the British Empire.⁸⁹ The *Little Missionary* was less willing to ascribe Providence to the political subjection of non-Europeans at the hands of the British Empire than British missionary periodicals or societies. It was, however, unanimous with them in assuming a moral superiority over other religions that stemmed from an arrogant belief in the supremacy of Christian norms and Western values. As argued above, these norms and values were used to construct the non-Christian «other» as inferior, which encouraged the child reader to be dismissive of non-Anglo-Saxon people's belief systems, yet nonetheless remained hopeful for the Christian mission amongst these people.

The Potential Alaskan Convert and U.S. Imperialism

Although the *Little Missionary* was reluctant to promote the political aspirations of the British Empire, it was, nonetheless, willing to link United States imperialism and patriotism with the missionary message, particularly amongst the potential converts in Alaska, which had been acquired by the U.S.A. from Russia in 1867.⁹⁰ Beginning in June 1884, the *Little Missionary* increasingly reported on the developments of Alaska and also of the journey of two Moravian missionar-

⁸⁶ Hindoo Fakir, in: *Little Missionary*, 89 (April 1877), 356.

⁸⁷ Shorter Oxford English Dictionary: See also, Purrum Goatuntre, ein indischer Fakir, in: *Evangelisches Missions Magazin*, 4 (1821), 111–114.

⁸⁸ Robert Eric Frykenberg, Christian Missions and the Raj, in: *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington, Oxford/New York 2007 (Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series), 110–131.

⁸⁹ Hall, *Civilising Subjects* (see note 12), 371.

⁹⁰ For more on American Alaska see: Ted C. Hinckley, *The Americanization of Alaska, 1867–1897*, Palo Alto, California 1972.

ies, Adolf Hartman and William Weinland, who had travelled into the relatively unknown territory in order to scout for locations to establish a Moravian mission. Adventure was an important aspect of nineteenth century missionary texts, and, as Lize Kriel has noted, the «combination of adventure, duty, and valor in the service of science, religion, and civilization all fit snugly under the very masculine blanket of nationalism and imperialism.»⁹¹ Moreover, in texts and editorials reporting on the proposed Alaskan mission, the child reader of the *Little Missionary* was encouraged to donate heartily to the proposed mission field. In her work on nineteenth century children's literature and national identity, Passet has noted that «children developed an even greater sense of belonging to a national network when they united on behalf of a common cause.»⁹² Through encouraging children to unite in their donations for the common cause of the Alaskan mission, the child readers of the *Little Missionary* were encouraged to see themselves as patriotic supporters of the Moravian Church.

Around the time that there was an increased focus upon Alaska, there was also a marked rise in the number of explicitly patriotic texts within the *Little Missionary*. «The Bald Eagle» was the title image and text for the July 1884 issue, with the editor, by this time E.G. Klosé, Manager of the Moravian Publication Office, linking the image with the fourth of July and the 108th anniversary of American independence.⁹³ Yet the patriotic pride that was engendered in the text through evoking independence and the noble form of the bald eagle was tempered by reference to the poor treatment that the U.S. government had shown to the Native American Indian. This «bad treatment» was deemed «one of our National sins.» The short article concluded with reference to the recent «better spirit» that was prevailing amongst the remaining Indians in the U.S.A.⁹⁴ In classifying the *Kenaians*, one of the four groups of Alaskan, as Indians, a connection was made in a subsequent article within this issue between the shameful past treatment of Native Americans and the promise of a better treatment for Alaskans as new citizens of the United States of America.⁹⁵

From June 1884 to December 1885, the *Little Missionary* reported on the progress of the missionary-explorers Hartman and Weinland. After their return, photographs with accompanying texts especially written by Weinland were printed in the periodical. Further donations were requested for the Alaskan mission. Fred, Frank, Harry, and Will were four such boys who donated four dollars to the cause. Their accompanying letter in which they explaining their rationale behind donating to the Alaskan mission field was published in the September 1884 issue of periodical.⁹⁶ The boys wrote: «Living in the West, we want to do something to

⁹¹ Kriel, *From Private Journal to Published Periodical* (see note 38), 174.

⁹² Passet, *Freethought Children's Literature* (see note 3), 122.

⁹³ The Bald Eagle, in: *Little Missionary*, 164 (July 1884), 26.

⁹⁴ The Bald Eagle, in: *Little Missionary*, 164 (July 1884), 25.

⁹⁵ Something more about Alaska, in: *Little Missionary*, 164 (July 1884), 27.

⁹⁶ *Little Missionary*, 166 (September 1884), 35.

help to send wide-awake missionaries to the New West,» and thereby linked disparate geographical spaces into missionary discourses through the common nomenclature of «west». As the boys had penned their letter whilst on their Fourth of July holidays in the Rocky Mountains, the editorial response focused upon the Independence Day holiday as an inclusive nationalistic celebration that bound the readership in both patriotism as well as missionary zeal. «Just think,» the editorial voice commanded the readership, «of these four live Young Americans waving «the stars and strips» far above our heads on «the timber line» of the high mountains. What a glorious «Fourth» they must have had in their splendid outlook!»⁹⁷ The editorial voice further connected patriotism with missionary zeal in commending the boys for «their waving of the flag we all love.» Through utilising the first-person, plural personal pronoun «we», as in «of the flag we all love,» the juvenile readership were provided with normative instructions as how they were to view and regard the flag of the United States of America, as well as missionary contributions. Thus, a sense of United States patriotism was engendered in the *Little Missionary*, through reference to bald eagles, governmental failings towards the Indians, as well as donations to the proposed Alaskan missionary station. Moreover, the linking of the Alaskans to the North American Indian and then to the Moravian mission to the Inuit in Labrador,⁹⁸ underscored the transnational missionary network as well as the historical legacy of the Moravian mission.

As with the *Little Missionary's* descriptions of Tibetans, descriptions of the «Eskimo» Alaskans fluctuated between the barbarous and the hopeful. The state of the «heathen» Alaskans was reportedly one of «extreme degradation», with female infanticide and polygamy common, and occasional cases of widow burning.⁹⁹ Yet, they were also deemed not to be the very lowest of the «heathen» as they were seen to be «far in advance of the blanketed Sioux Indians of Dakota.»¹⁰⁰ Their potential willingness to learn from the missionaries was reported as a desire to have a missionary school established so that they could learn the alphabet.¹⁰¹ The Alaskan mission field was established at a time when new technology enabled the printing of photographs in periodicals, and through the medium of photo-journalism, the child reader learnt about Alaskans with an immediacy not previously possible in the periodical. Moreover, as the texts were also expressly written by Weinland, one of the missionary-explorers, the directness and currency of the material for the child reader enabled him or her to be constantly informed as to the process of establishing a new mission field. The children's feelings of engagement and inclusion were evident in both their donations as well as their letters to the editor. The letter sent by Carrie from West Salem, Illinois, is exemplary. She wrote in February 1885:

⁹⁷ *Little Missionary*, 166 (September 1884), 35.

⁹⁸ Alaska, in: *Little Missionary*, 167 (Nov. 1884), 43.

⁹⁹ Alaska, in: *Little Missionary*, 163 (June 1884), 21.

¹⁰⁰ Alaska, in: *Little Missionary*, 163 (June 1884), 21.

¹⁰¹ Esquimaux Family, Civilized, in: *Little Missionary*, 179 (Oct. 1885), 715.

«I want to join with the other boys and girls to help send some soap to the little Esquimaux. I hope that enough money will soon be raised, so that the Missionaries can go to them, and tell them about the dear Saviour.»¹⁰²

Although it is difficult to assess how children more broadly responded to the pleas and calls within the periodical, one can only assume that letters such as Carrie's reflected the genuine responses from children to contribute to the mission endeavour, and that this response was, at least in part, effected by the dichotomy created within the periodical between morally upstanding Christian self and depraved «heathen other».

Conclusion

Moravian missionaries, like all missionaries, needed to be needed, and in order to justify the expense of the missionary endeavour and the continued dominance of European missionaries as heads of mission stations, they needed to constantly demonstrate to the home audience why their funds were crucial. These justifications often rested upon the assumption that the «other» was inferior to the Westerner in all ways, and that it was only with the help of the European or Anglo-Saxon North American missionary that the «other» could be raised up to the moral and intellectual standards required to assimilate into colonial environments. Missionary periodicals of the nineteenth century typically described potential Christian converts in terms of what they lacked, and in doing so missionaries both legitimized their incursion into Indigenous peoples' spaces as the providers of Western material goods and Christian teachings, and raised pathos for the plight of the un-converted «other». Moreover, in the genre of children's missionary periodicals, the distinction between self and «other» was more pronounced than in periodicals for adults, arising from the effort to win the child reader's hearts, minds, life-long support, and pocket money. Yet, as mentioned above, according to Cooper and Stoler, the basic tension of Empire was the fluidity of the construction of the «other», and, although the shift in didactical techniques in the twentieth century was not the focus of attention here, the change towards a Christian universal humanism in the early twentieth century indicates that missionary periodicals constructed fluid representations of the «other» that changed in response to different socio-political circumstances. Thus, the images and descriptions examined here suggest that, at the time of the missionary impulse into Alaska and at the beginnings of U.S. imperialism, the boundaries between «self» and «other» were founded upon stereotypical and often negative representations of the non-Christian «other» which justified missionary work amongst non-Christians and their continued efforts amongst converted non-Europeans.

¹⁰² Little Missionary, 173 (April 1885), 691.

Within the *Little Missionary*, denominational rivalries between different Protestant missionary groups were downplayed in order to create an inclusive sense of a global missionary community as well as a sense of Western Christian superiority over all «heathens» and infidels. Although missionary periodicals were inherently transnational and thus global in their outlook and outreach, they nonetheless also helped to construct senses of national identity. As this case study of the early years of the *Little Missionary* has demonstrated, national politics played no part in the reports from Moravian mission fields in the British Empire. When the objects of a Moravian mission were newly acquired citizens of the United States, however, the tone of articles became more nationalistic, linking the missionary work with a patriotic duty to provide Alaskans with a better treatment than Native American Indians had received under the American flag. American imperialism was thus portrayed through a benign combination of patriotism and missionary zeal. Moreover, the ways in which the non-Christian «other» was constructed in terms that ultimately reflected what Clauder and Klosé, the two editors of the *Little Missionary* in the nineteenth century wished of their readership, that is, that they be morally upstanding, Christian and patriotic supporters of the transnational missionary endeavour.

Firewood, Fakirs and Flags: The Construction of the Non-Western «Other» in a Nineteenth Century Transnational Children's Missionary Periodical

An inherent aspect of nineteenth century missionary work was its transnational nature. European and North American missionaries were sent all over the world to spread the Christian message, and their writings, especially in the form of periodicals, also spread intelligence of their work not only amongst their home community, but also in the mission field, as well as amongst supporters and interested readers in other lands. Missionary periodicals were a means of creating a normative Christian world view; a view which was further exaggerated within children's missionary periodicals in order to impart didactic lessons to young Christian readers, especially through the construction of the non-Christian, non-European «other». This article focuses specifically upon *The Little Missionary*, published between 1870 and 1920 by the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in the U.S.A. It examines the various ways in which the non-Western «other» was constructed, and the didactic intentions behind these constructions. Through this example, the article posits that although missionary periodicals were inherently transnational and thus global in their outlook and outreach, they nonetheless also helped to construct senses of national identity.

Feuerholz, Fakire und Flaggen: Die Konstruktion des nicht-westlichen «Anderen» in einer transnationalen Missionszeitschrift für Kinder aus dem 19. Jahrhundert

Ein inhärenter Faktor der Missionsarbeit im 19. Jahrhundert war ihr transnationaler Charakter. Europäische und nordamerikanische Missionare wurden in die ganze Welt gesandt, um die christliche Botschaft zu verbreiten, und ihre Schriften, besonders in der Form von Zeitschriften, verbreiteten auch Erkenntnisse ihrer Arbeit in ihrer Herkunftsgemeinschaft, aber auch auf dem Missionsfeld und zugleich bei Unterstützern und interessierten Lesern in anderen Ländern. Missionszeitschriften waren ein Mittel dazu, eine normative christliche Weltansicht zu generieren; eine Sichtweise die des weiteren in Kindermissionszeitschriften zugespitzt wurde, um den jungen christlichen Lesern Lektionen zu erteilen, besonders durch die Konstruktion des nicht christlichen und nicht europäischen «Anderen».

Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich besonders mit *The Little Missionary*, einer Zeitschrift, die zwischen 1870 und 1920 von der *Moravian Church* in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania/Vereinigte Staaten herausgegeben wurde. Er untersucht die verschiedenen Wege, auf denen der nicht westliche «Andere» konstruiert wurde, sowie die didaktischen Absichten, die dahinter standen. Mittels dieses Beispiels hält der Beitrag fest, dass, obgleich Missionszeitschriften inhärent transnationalen und globalen Charakter in ihrem Aussehen und in ihrer Reichweite besaßen, sie doch dazu beitrugen, das Gefühl für nationale Identität zu erzeugen.

Petit bois, fakirs et drapeaux: la construction de l'«Autre» non occidental dans un périodique missionnaire transnational du dix-neuvième siècle destiné aux enfants

Un aspect inhérent au travail missionnaire du dix-neuvième siècle est son caractère transnational. Des missionnaires européens et nord-américains ont été envoyés de par le monde pour répandre la foi chrétienne, et leurs écrits, en particulier sous forme de périodiques, ont non seulement fait connaître leur travail auprès de leur communauté d'origine, mais également dans le domaine missionnaire, ainsi qu'auprès d'adeptes et de lecteurs intéressés venant d'autres pays. Les périodiques missionnaires étaient un moyen de créer une conception chrétienne normative du monde; une représentation qui a notamment été exagérée dans les périodiques missionnaires destinés aux enfants afin de donner des leçons didactiques à de jeunes lecteurs chrétiens, en particulier à travers la construction de l'«Autre» non chrétien et non européen. Dans cet article, l'auteur s'intéresse de manière spécifique au périodique *The Little Missionary*, publié entre 1870 et 1920 par l'Eglise morave de Bethlehem, Pennsylvanie, aux U.S.A. Il examine les différentes manières dont l'«Autre» non occidental était représenté, et les intentions didactiques en arrière-plan de ces constructions. Par cet exemple, l'auteur prétend que, bien que les périodiques missionnaires étaient transnationaux et donc mondiaux dans leur horizon et leur impact, ils ont également contribué à l'établissement de sentiments d'identité nationale.

Keywords – Schlüsselbegriffe – Mots clés

missionary periodicals – Missionszeitschriften – périodiques missionnaires, children's periodicals – Kinderzeitschriften – périodiques pour enfants, nineteenth-century Moravian Church – Morawische Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert – Eglise morave du dix-neuvième siècle, transnational networks – transnationale Netzwerke – réseaux transnationaux, United States nationalism – Nationalismus in den Vereinigten Staaten – nationalisme aux Etats-Unis.

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