**Forging the Missionary Ideal: Gender and the Family in the *Church Missionary Society Gleaner***

On 7th March 1850 the Rev William Jowett opened the Church Missionary Society’s Missionaries’ Children’s Home in Islington. Missionary children had by this time become a site of anxiety and tension within the mission world, manifesting the essential contradiction between the normative domesticity of the civilising mission, and the internal tension between professional and private identities. ‘It is, as a rule, most undesirable to rear and educate English boys and girls in tropical countries’, noted the Church Missionary Society’s (CMS) first historian, Eugene Stock, in 1899.[[1]](#footnote-1) The problem – which it had taken missionaries in the field half a century to resolve – was that family life and mission work would sit ill together despite *and* because of the rhetorical importance of family in evangelical Christianity. Indeed, calling upon the wisdom of his missionary forebears, Jowett, as he ‘dedicated the Home, thus modestly commenced’,[[2]](#footnote-2) quoted from the famous American missionary evangelist Jonathan Edwards:

When it is well between me and my God, then it is well between me and my wife: and when it is well between me and my wife, then it is well between us and our children: and when it is well between us and our children, then it is well between our family and the servants: and when it is well within the house, then it is well between me and my people.[[3]](#footnote-3)

These words speak eloquently to ideas of family, ministry and order in the evangelical world, and draw a direct line between familial harmony and communal harmony – between God, family and nation. The family, and idea(l)s of family, were integral to both evangelicalism and mission activity in the nineteenth century. The rhetoric of family held together complex social relations in an increasingly colonial landscape. Reforming the Indigenous family (and all of its attendant gender, social and political ideas) was a crucial missionary project. The mission homestead or household was the primary missionary institution until well into the nineteenth century. Family and domesticity, hearth and home, were at the heart of evangelical mission and the evangelical world.

At the same time, of course, family, gender and household were key sites for imagining, performing and negotiating the colonial and moral economies of ‘self’ and ‘other’. What it meant to be white, British and masculine or feminine were configured through the ideologies and practices of domesticity in the mission context. The links between gender and the family in the evangelical world were thus constructed, negotiated and defined in colonial spaces that were themselves structured through hierarchies of ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’. As such mission households were performative spaces:- fraught, but endlessly fascinating areas for gender, race and class formations in the colonial sphere, and have thus recently received considerable attention in the literature of the nineteenth-century missionary movement.[[4]](#footnote-4)

The missionary press in Britain, meanwhile, served a very particular purpose: to diffuse knowledge about ‘the trials and encouragements of our Missionary Brethren, the difficulties with which they have to contend, and the degree of success with which it pleases God to bless their labours.’ This would ‘excite our sympathy… quicken our zeal… [and] call forth our feelings of gratitude and praise’, noted the first issue of the Church Missionary Society’s journal, the *CMS Gleaner*, in 1841.[[5]](#footnote-5) The objective of such consciousness-raising (to coin a modern phrase) was a charitable one – to raise donations for the Society’s mission work overseas. Indeed, it is no coincidence that after that first issue’s ‘Introductory Remarks’, the very next article was on ‘The Importance of the Service of Collectors’. Following articles on Sierra Leone, New Zealand and America, meanwhile, the journal returned home with a story of ‘Self-Denying Liberality’. There was told the story of one ‘excellent woman’ Mrs Heather who gave so liberally to the CMS and the Bible Society that her ‘clerical friend in Hampshire’ had ‘frequently thought it my duty to request her to reflect seriously whether she were not denying herself, not only comforts, but necessaries, in order to contribute so liberally to these Institutions; and have often doubted the propriety of my receiving so much from her hands.’

But her whole heart seemed so filled with desire to do her very utmost to promote the knowledge of salvation among the poor Heathen, that it would have been the severest pain she could have endured to have been deprived of the happiness of contributing her mite to this great and good object.[[6]](#footnote-6)

 As this story begins to hint to us, then, the missionary press in Britain served not only to diffuse knowledge, but to create identity. Mrs Heather’s liberality (down to her widow’s mite – a trope that would recur throughout the missionary periodicals of the nineteenth century) was exemplary and normative, and served to promulgate the values of an Evangelical and lower-middle-class moral landscape. Indeed, the *Gleaner* was self-consciously designed to serve this particular market. As it noted in its ‘Introductory Remarks’, there was by 1841 a gap in the market of its missionary publications. The CMS at that time published three regular missives already: the Annual Report, the Quarterly Paper and the Church Missionary Record. While the Annual Report ‘furnish[ed] the Members of the Society with a succinct account of its proceedings’, the Quarterly Paper ‘suppl[ied] the poorer classes, and contributors of small sums, with such striking facts and illustrations, conveyed in plain language, as may be best calculated to inform their minds and interest their affections.’ The Church Missionary Record, meanwhile, was ‘an authentic and permanent record of the Society’s Proceedings’, something from which ‘in future years, will be derived valuable materials for compiling the Church History of those Countries in which it may please God that Christianity should be established, by the instrumentality of this Society’, but which was a rather sober read. The *Gleaner* was designed to serve the ‘wants of a large class of the Members of our Church… not fully met by the publications hitherto issued’. This class had ‘no leisure to peruse carefully the “Church Missionary Record,” while at the same time they need fuller and more frequent information than can be obtained from the “Annual Report” or “Quarterly Paper.”’ This was a new sort of people: busy and industrious, respectable and philanthropic, and now served by a mouthpiece that would not only inform them of the Society’s labours, but would at the same time work to promulgate the ideals and moral values of a thereby increasingly coherent respectable middle class.

As such, the *Gleaner* is a useful resource for historians of modern missions, yes, but it is an even more useful source for feeling out the emerging moral contours of the missionary public in Britain itself. Its representation of colonial mission work reflected and constituted idealised gender and racio-cultural identities for exemplary missionaries, and thus for the consumers of mission literature at home. At a moment when middle-class evangelical identities were pulling together, and becoming more influential in their articulation and imagining of Victorian domesticity, the missionary press was increasingly interacting with middle-class identity of gender and family. In other words, the evangelical public at home – the armchair enthusiasts in the missionary world – were themselves coming together through their consumption of missionary literature, and furthermore were impacting wider Victorian ideals through their evolving participation in the public conversation (and imagination) of Victorian Imperial Britain.

Crystallising conceptualisations of gender identities and idealised family relations were a crucial part of how this community cohered on a national and rhetorical level. Indeed, the evangelical construction of ideal family relations *became* the middle-class mainstream by mid-nineteenth century. Even Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were increasingly portrayed as embodying the middle-class ideal, with family portraits and the maternalisation of the Queen serving to neutralise national anxieties about their youthful female monarch and her foreign prince. Despite recent attention to missionary family and gender relations, though, the representation of gender and the family in missionary literature has received less attention, despite the fact that in Britain too, the domestic household was being configured as the cornerstone of nation, Empire and world. As Susan Thorne has noted, the nineteenth century was a time during which imperial cultures, class identities and gender constructs were being reformed and crystallised ‘at home’ in Britain. Missionary propaganda was a prime site for these ideas to be influentially crafted, tested and refined. ‘Missionary imperial identities were not alternatives to but were the medium through which domestic identities of class as well as gender were forged’, argues Thorne.[[7]](#footnote-7) That middle-class evangelicals were themselves becoming increasingly important on the national scale has long been noted, most influentially by Boyd Hilton.[[8]](#footnote-8) That they mediated gendered and domestic ideals as an aspirational set of middle-class social relations has also been demonstrated by historians of Britain’s social world, most notably Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall.[[9]](#footnote-9) The influence, then of missionary literature on the evangelical middle class, and that class upon the social and political ideals of nineteenth-century Britain makes missionary literature worthy of additional study in itself. That missionaries were themselves some of the primary mediators of British social and cultural values to the grass-roots of the colonial encounter in an Empire that was itself restructuring and reshaping those social and political identities, makes the project of exploring missionary literature even more pertinent.

Sources such as these, then, help us to explore constructions of gender and professionalism, representations of hearth and home, and nineteenth-century configurations of ‘civilisation’ and all that it required. The missionary project, like the colonial project, inserted itself into the minutiae of everyday life – from housing and clothing, to gender relations, and the management of family practices (e.g. marriage).[[10]](#footnote-10) Exploring the representation of gender and colonialism in the missionary press thus allows us to examine how gendered domestic and philanthropic identities were created and disseminated in Britain, and reconfigured and repackaged for consumption in the Empire. The British interaction with global Christianity and British imperialism were both refracted through the philanthropic press, which displayed a teasingly inconsistent, but nonetheless regular interest in the private and domestic lives, as well as public works and identities, of their Christian workers overseas. Exploring the lives and representations of missionary families in public-facing missionary materials helps us once again to take colony and metropole into the same analytical space.[[11]](#footnote-11) Through that analytical co-determinacy we can continue to work though the formative impact of colonialism on Britain itself.

This article thus explores the representation of masculinity, femininity and family in the *CMS Gleaner* as a means to tracing and examining emerging Evangelical ideals of identity and community. While family must be considered more than the sum of its parts – in this context father, mother and children – understanding the ways in which those component identities were forged and presented with mission literature is an important part of exploring the emergence of Evangelical middle-class identities in the nineteenth century. The self-defined distinctiveness of respectable Evangelicalism was expressed through gendered and familial ideals. The family as the forge of respectable men and women was a necessary (that is to say, intrinsic) Evangelical notion. Evangelical men marked themselves out as strict, but loving fathers infused with domestic manliness. Evangelical women as self-denying mothers safeguarding and nurturing the moral and religious centre of the home while also navigating the public sphere through respectable philanthropy. Evangelical families believed themselves uniquely peaceable, loving and respectable. Yet the *mission* family could be a site of tension, as missionaries (male and female) navigated their family lives and their vocational practices. These tensions were worked though in the letters and diaries of missionaries in the field, in the painful realities of juvenile repatriation and separation, but also through the pages of the missionary press. In both exemplifying and sometimes complicating the Evangelical family, the representations of gender and family in periodicals like the *Gleaner* worked ultimately to clarify those emerging ideals.

**Missionary Masculinity**

Nineteenth-century missionary periodicals had a difficult task when it came to articulating codes of missionary masculinity. In an era when the Imperial Hero was charging through the pages of books and magazines, for children and adults, how could the scholarly and peaceful missionary man keep up?[[12]](#footnote-12) Imperial fantasies of derring-do compared ill-favourably with the minor triumphs and meagre gains of the missionary male who diligently ploughed their fields and gathered their seed corn for the Lord’s harvest. At the same time, though, evangelical domesticity was nonetheless carving out a place for peaceable and scholarly men whose social world revolved less and less around the club and the pub, and more and more around the hearth and the home.[[13]](#footnote-13) This was the Christian ideal favoured in missionary periodicals like *The Gleaner*. There the patient diligence of the missionary spoke to the homely and benevolent patriarchy of the evangelical ideal. The strong and steadfast male became the supporting pillar of the evangelical home, mediating its inhabitants’ encounter with the outside world, and retreating to its loving embrace when that world overwhelmed. This was the type of domesticated masculinity that was both shaped and reinforced by the missionary press, which lauded a very particular archetype of evangelical manliness.

Indeed, missionary masculinity has been the site of much important and innovative work over the last decade.[[14]](#footnote-14) After all, manhood and manliness were social constructs that had particular implications for missionary men – particularly in a world that increasingly configured masculinity around imperial ideals that often contradicted the Christian focus on obedience, humility and compassion. Published writings were a key site for fashioning missionary masculinity, and in particular obituaries of heroic lives speak to the values of manliness which were idealised within the evangelical framework. ‘Piety, diligence, and love’ were crucial facets of missionary manhood.[[15]](#footnote-15) Missionary men were ‘faithful and affectionate’, they displayed ‘love and compassion’, and exercised ‘simplicity of spirit.’[[16]](#footnote-16) They would not always see the fruits of their work, and had to trust in God’s will for their lives and vocation. Itineration in particular was ‘peculiarly a work in which the missionary must be content to sow, and leave the seed to spring up when and how it may please God, with scarcely a hope of seeing the fruits with his own eyes’.[[17]](#footnote-17) The ‘Good Shepherd’, the ‘faithful Labourer’ and the ‘zealous missionary’ must nonetheless ‘*be stedfast [sic], unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord*’.[[18]](#footnote-18) Their’s was a heroism through submission to God’s will*, ‘forasmuch as* we *know that our labour is not in vain in the Lord.*’[[19]](#footnote-19)

As mentioned, this could be a version of masculinity that sat ill with broader imperial discourses. Imperial heroes were strong and bold, forthright and adventurous, domineering and ambitious.[[20]](#footnote-20) Kristen Fjelde Tjelle has recently shown that missionaries could co-opt some of this rhetoric into the ideal of the self-made missionary – a strong and recurring trope in missionary writing.[[21]](#footnote-21) At the same time, however, missionary publications were also not adverse to directly utilising more imperial language in depicting mission masculinity where it suited their purposes. ‘Missionaries are the picked soldiers of the Christian camp’, wrote the author of ‘Faithful Unto Death’ in 1856. ‘They are sent forward to services of difficulty and danger to attack the strongholds of Satan’s kingdom, and force their way in wherever a breach is practicable. In the conflict they often fall, like good soldiers, at their post, counting not their lives dear to themselves if so be they might finish their course with joy.’[[22]](#footnote-22) Individual missionaries could also be heroised. John Williams, for example, had ‘a natural spirit of adventure’ which he displayed during his missionary travels around the Pacific mission of the London Missionary Society. ‘His great natural mechanical powers enabl[ed] him to meet the constant difficulties that were arising in these voyages, and which nothing but mechanical powers, and ingenuity, and fertility of resource could have met’. This ‘made him one among a thousand.’[[23]](#footnote-23)

It was not heroes like John Williams who resolved the tensions between mission and imperial codes of masculinity however. After all, the key difference was that the mission hero had to submit to the power and design of God. Even John Williams was accustomed to say, ‘“There are two little words in our language which I always admitted, *try* and *trust*....” This was the motto of his whole Missionary life.’[[24]](#footnote-24) At the same time, his life was contrasted with the much more common male missionary trope – the mission scholar. ‘We cannot speak of John Williams as possessed of a higher order of intellect, furnished and disciplined by a long and systematic course of education’. He could not be contrasted with William Carey ‘among his manuscripts and dictionaries’, nor with Adoniram Judson ‘unravelling the metaphysical subtleties of the Pantheists of Buddhism’ – ‘he would have made poor work of it’ with them. But in the Pacific, ‘among a simple people, and with no ponderous national structures and massive systems to assail and upset... he was on the very spot in the Mission field which suited his peculiar powers.’[[25]](#footnote-25) This was a particular type of missionary hero, but one which contrasted with diligent scholars like Rev. W Bowley who was, according to the Bishop of Calcutta, ‘a singular example of what piety, diligence, and love for his work, conjoined with an acute and sagacious mind, and a thorough knowledge of the colloquial native tongues, can effect, in the course of years, under the blessing of Christ our Lord.’[[26]](#footnote-26)

This tension was crystallised (or resolved) in the pages of the missionary press though the rise of the missionary institution in the later nineteenth century.[[27]](#footnote-27) In his article on the Indian Telugu Mission in 1880, Rev J. E. Padfield drew up a contrast between the mission’s two earliest workers, Henry Fox and Robert Noble. Fox was reminiscent of an earlier type of missionary:

Henry Fox began a system of itinerating in the town and surrounding country, everywhere scattering broadcast the seed of life. Robert Noble, on the other hand, confined his efforts to reaching the upper castes through the agency of a public school. He began in fact that system of using education as a mission agency, which has ever since been carried on in this Mission, and which also is largely made use of by our own and other missionary societies all through India.

While Fox, then, was the more ‘muscular’ in his mission work,[[28]](#footnote-28) it was Noble who formed the heroic mainstay of the article: ‘The early history of the Telugu Mission is, to a great extent, but a biography of Robert Noble... He laboured in this Mission for twenty-four years without once returning home, and his memory is a power in this district to both heathen and Christian, to native and missionary.’[[29]](#footnote-29)

The mission world and its publication also contributed two polar opposites to emerging domestic articulations of middle-class Christian manliness against which to compare: Indigenous men, and settler-colonial men. The ‘great difficulty’ for Indigenous men, wrote the author of ‘Lives of Missionaries – the Rev C. F. Swartz’, was that ‘their idolatry encourages them to indulge themselves, while the Gospel commands men to crucify and deny sinful self.’ Thus ‘a Brahmin’ was to have told Swartz, ‘“It is the lust of the eyes and of pleasure that prevents us from embracing the Truth”.’ This was of course drawn carefully in distinction to the missionary’s own self-abnegation and patient humility. As Swartz himself noted,

Were we… to address the Heathen in an angry and cutting manner, it would be just as if we were to throw sand in a man’s eyes, and then bid him see distinctly and accurately. But addressing them in love and meekness, or, when overhearing some evil speech, we graft on it a representation of Christianity in its loveliness, they usually listen with attention and reflection.[[30]](#footnote-30)

While Indigenous men were ruled by their passions, then, the missionary man was considered and thoughtful, modelling a meek, but Christian masculinity both to indigenous converts, but perhaps even more effectively to the missionary middle class in Britain. In speaking of the late CMS chaplain in Afghanistan Rev G. M. Gordon and his cousin Henry Wright, the author of his exemplary life noted ‘Kindred spirits they were in burning zeal, in patient faith, in loving liberality, and emphatically as men of prayer. These are the men we need, both at home and abroad.’[[31]](#footnote-31)

Of course, mission masculinity was also constructed as a normative model for converted Indigenous men. In 1846 the *Gleaner* gloried in a letter of sympathy sent from the African schoolmaster William Noore to the recently widowed Rev. F. Bultman. ‘That *the consolations of God* are not *small with* the Christian Africans of Sierra Leone’ was a result of mission work and the inculcation of Christian sympathy through mission ministry. ‘My dear Minister, not me to tell you, but you yourself to know, that there is nothing that can happen of itself; but that the Lord Jesus Christ is the worker of all things’, wrote Noore. Bultman further noted in his Journal, from which extracts the *Gleaner* was publishing, ‘In speaking of African sympathy, I must not forget to mention, that… the Bananas people sent a Deputation to me to tell me “hosh” – a word universally used here among all African Tribes to express sympathy – and to present me with 5*s.* toward making a tomb for my late dear wife.’[[32]](#footnote-32) Charity, sympathy and Christian sociability were all here used to make legible the conversion of this community – and all through the context of marriage, family and loss.

The missionary man was also contrasted with the colonial man whose imperial masculinity sat ill against the meek manliness of the missionary. Even more alarmingly, settler men in particular could even behave with less ‘civilisation’ than their Indigenous counterparts. While travelling in New Zealand in 1839, Rev J. Couch Grylls lamented the contrast between Maori men and *pakeha* settlers. Among the Maori ‘there are many pleasing indications of the speedy evangelisation of that splendid sample of the human race’, not least their observation of the Sabbath and their ‘simply-constructed church; which was a Maori or native hut, composed of a few rough posts, interlaced with the branches of trees and rushes.’ While 300 Maoris came to the service they had asked Grylls to perform, and ‘indicated deep humility and self-abasement’ throughout, ‘How different, alas! was the conduct, on this sacred day of rest, of an Old Settler at this port, a native of Great Britain.’ By contrast he continued to work, repairing his boats, ‘during the hour that these simple-minded unsophisticated Natives were assembled in the House of Prayer.’ ‘Surely the Missionaries have reason to lament the introduction of a class of Settlers like this!’[[33]](#footnote-33)

Settler and colonial men’s deviation from Christian manliness flowed from their objectives, as well as their actions. ‘Consider the state of the world,’ counselled the author of ‘Missionary Geography’ in 1841, ‘its empires, nations, kindreds, and tribes. When a Map of the World is presented to the eye, with what a variety of affections is it viewed, according to the character and pursuits of the inspector!’ The ‘mere Statesman’ looks to ‘political aggrandizement’, the merchant makes ‘anxious inquiry as to pecuniary profit and loss’, and the traveller and natural philosopher satiates only his curiosity in the ‘long list of wonders and amusements’ that the world affords.

But, when the Christian beholds the World’s Map, he has a subject of investigation, far beyond them all… His great inquiry is, “Show me the visible Kingdom of Christ: name the Countries where Christ is known and worshipped. Oh! when shall *the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ*? When shall *the Heathen fear the name of the Lord*? … From such a meditation on the map, the Christian retires, not to slumber over his convictions of duty; - not to say much, and do nothing. He freights a vessel to carry the *pearl of great price* to those who neither know of its existence nor its value.

This is a heroic response, inflected with the muscular Christianity of seafaring and evangelical dynamism, but it is still also a Christian manliness, whose objective is not to ‘*make the Ethiopians afraid*, but to proclaim the glad tidings of Salvation to the Heathen, *to preach the Gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind*.’[[34]](#footnote-34)

**Missionary Femininity**

Attention to missionary women has transformed our historical understanding of the missionary enterprise.[[35]](#footnote-35) Not only has it quickly become evident that by the end of the nineteenth century women far outnumbered men as mission workers (white and non-white), but it is increasingly acknowledged that women were a crucial part of the missionary enterprise from its inception, participating in mission activities and in some senses shaping the direction of mission policy.[[36]](#footnote-36) Just as ideals of mission masculinity circulated around bifurcated poles in the nineteenth century (that of the adventure missionary and that of the missionary scholar), so too did mission femininity, initially constructed entirely around the figure of the missionary wife, but increasingly preoccupied with the work and lives of so-called ‘lady missionaries’ – single female missionaries who were employed by most of the mission societies by the later quarter of the nineteenth century.[[37]](#footnote-37) This bifurcation of mission femininity was structured around the institutionalisation and professionalisation of the enterprise.[[38]](#footnote-38) It relied too on the representations of both white and non-white masculinity and femininity. Missionary wives were not displaced by ‘lady missionaries’, but their *public* presence was increasingly sidelined in favour of missionary women whose lives also fit more completely into mission ideals of professional action.[[39]](#footnote-39)

 In Britain, meanwhile, the representations and realities for respectable women were also shifting, not least due to the demographic changes that occasioned the rise of the so-called ‘surplus woman’.[[40]](#footnote-40) Both single and married women were the driving force behind the organisation of the missionary public in Britain.[[41]](#footnote-41) It was women who organised fundraising teas, bazaars and fetes, who made Christian clothing for converted ‘natives’, and brought books and teaching materials for mission schools. Through respectable philanthropy women in Britain were carving out a place for themselves in the public sphere at the same time as ‘lady missionaries’ were embodying the increased professionalisation of the missionary enterprise. As with evangelical masculinity, so too was evangelical femininity being constructed, negotiated and defined through the pages of the *CMS Gleaner*, which used the changing nature of mission femininity to speak to the changes in evangelical femininity in Britain itself.

Missionary wives had complicated lives in the nineteenth century. Fired by vocational leanings that had more often than not dictated their choice of husband, they were often frustrated by the ways in which domestic responsibilities blocked their mission work. Wives at home and overseas were engaged in a constant cycle of domestic reproduction – literally through the almost annual cycle of pregnancy, birth and recovery, and figuratively through their modelling of normative western and middle-class domesticity. The *CMS Gleaner* had no doubt that this too was missionary work, and in describing the life of one Sophia Mason in 1861 they put forward a strong articulation of the ways in which domesticity and mission work could be blended in the mission field through the figure of the missionary wife. While her active work included teaching, writing and translation,

Nor did she consider it beneath her to stoop to the less important affairs of their household arrangements, and while enforcing order and cleanliness on others, her own house was a constant lesson to the eyes of all around. Here the female Missionary takes her stand above the Missionary himself; the wife becomes more useful and efficient than the husband, her influence and her perseverance are greater, and she can enter into the peculiar circumstances of the mothers and daughters of the poor heathen, and the tender sympathy of the female Missionary wins upon their affections, gains their attention, and secures their consent; and then, by God’s blessing upon the word preached, they are brought under the power of divine grace.[[42]](#footnote-42)

Normative domesticity on the one hand, and vocational mission work wherever possible on the other was the order of business for missionary wives.

Most people deem the cares of a family quite enough to employ the time of a female; but the labours of Sophia, notwithstanding her feeble and delicate constitution, were augmented by the Indian day school, visits to the Indian tents, and daily translations, besides having to attend to the wants of a large family, which she laboured to bring up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and that in the wilderness, where, in times of sickness, no medical assistance could be procured.[[43]](#footnote-43)

These were the ways in which missionary women were heroised, their work and labour configured around the sublimation of the self that most mirrored the death of Jesus. Again, when using published writings as we are doing here, we can look most fruitfully to obituaries as a source for showcasing the values of mission femininity: ‘tender solicitude for others’ and ‘unselfishness: she constantly denied herself for the benefit of others.’[[44]](#footnote-44) ‘She lived a most unselfish life, devoted to the good of others, and in that devotion self was entirely lost and forgotten.’[[45]](#footnote-45)

 These values were to be emulated by philanthropic women in Britain, whose own gender identities were being (re)forged through their increasing role in the public sphere. Thus the woman who made clothes for the Dorcas Institution in Rupert’s Land (Canada) should not despair as she ‘toils over some stiff and unyielding piece of work, very different from the delicate touch of Berlin wool.’ Instead she should ‘just think that her toil will yield pleasure to some poor wanderer in the far-off ends of the earth, and realise the moment when the warm flannel shall be transferred as a welcome gift to some poor shivering Indian.’[[46]](#footnote-46) Self-denial and hard work in the cause of the mission was the ideal of evangelical femininity at home and abroad. The work of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society ‘should stir up our lady friends to take a more intelligent and active interest in Christian work among the women of India’, counselled the *Gleaner* in December 1880.[[47]](#footnote-47) ‘[W]ith warm loving hearts pour forth your store,’ exhorted the author of ‘Woman’s Mission’ in 1856, ‘To send the lamp of truth to India’s shore.’[[48]](#footnote-48)

Obituaries of missionary wives are a rich source of evangelical feminine ideals, not least because wives died with alarming frequency in the mission field. In 1846 a poem entitled ‘The Missionary and His Wife’ was published in the *Gleaner* in honour of Mr and Mrs Youd, missionaries in the British Guiana Mission. Mrs Youd had predeceased her husband (as was extremely common) by two years, Mr Youd later dying on his return journey to Britain. The poem gives a clear sense of missionary sacrifice, and in particular the sacrifice of the missionary wife, and the grief of the bereaved husband.

In the far wilds, beside the Indian wave,

They dug her silent, solitary grave.

He, whom her death had left indeed alone,

Himself unto the earth consign’d its own,

And gave her ashes to the Indian sod –

Secure her spirit had returned to God.

Missionary wives died in droves in the mission field, often due to complications during or after childbirth. Their deaths left behind shattered husbands, and grief-stricken children, and the private letters, diaries and journals of missionaries are often poignantly raw in their descriptions of death and grief. In the public world of the mission periodical, however, such deaths were given meaning through the work of the mission. In this poem the author questions ‘were there none around to weep with him?’ and answers that ‘Yes, many eyes that day with tears were dim.’ The Christian converts who surrounded him and wept (something they had not done until ‘they saw God’s Word’ and were thus trained in the dictates of Christian sympathy) were ‘proof his work had not been in vain.’ Death and suffering were seen as necessary for the spread of Christianity, and this was a sacrifice undertaken by both men and women – Mr Youd who was buried at sea, and Mrs Youd, ‘who sleeps in that lone Indian grave.’[[49]](#footnote-49)

The extent to which missionary women were forced to attend to their domestic arrangements at the expense of their more public social activities need not be seen as a capitulation, however. Women forged their own sense of vocation through the work they could achieve within and through the domestic context. At the same time, the scope of their mission activities was vast, and sometimes surprising. Sophia Mason may have devoted much of her time to ‘household affairs, or attending the children, or drawing designs for the Indian [here meaning Native American] females to work upon their muslins’, but her work also included ‘translations... correcting the press... printing the Book of Common Prayer, the Catechism, and Hymns’ – all of which benefited from a ‘perfect command and knowledge of the Indian language [which] was invaluable.’[[50]](#footnote-50) Missionary wives founded and taught in schools, visited local women and families, translated Christian literature and administered mission stations.[[51]](#footnote-51) Evangelical women at home nurtured the family while at the same time exercising their public philanthropy through mission activities such as fundraising, clothes-making and auxiliary organising.

This was not without contradictions and internal tensions of course. The particular tribulations of maintaining homes and raising families in mission contexts had ramifications for both men and women, as expressed by the Rev. W. Jowett in his opening address for the Mission Children’s Home in Islington. ‘And here it seems to me as if the affections of the two parents, in blending, almost interchange their natures. The mother must have her fondness strengthened into firmness: the father must unbend the masculine rigour of his hand, too heavy and too hard for little children, and condescend to gentleness.’[[52]](#footnote-52) The issue of preaching was particularly thorny for missionary women due to the biblical injunction to ‘suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence’ (1 Timothy 2:12). In 1880 the lady missionary Miss Neele wrote of her visiting work among the local Indian women. While in one instance she describes her work quite warily, as ‘a little encouragement and instruction’, in the next she talks of three Indian women who were seeking baptism. It was she who conducted ‘interviews with them [which] convinced me of their sincerity.’ Even if she could not baptise them herself, she tested their conviction, and thus guarded the gates to the Kingdom of Heaven.[[53]](#footnote-53) In 1889, Miss M. Vaughan made her role even more explicit. During her visitations she was involved ‘partly in teaching the Christians and partly in telling the Gospel to those who had never heard it.’ ‘They are generally very friendly, but the difficulty is to make them see their need of a Saviour, and to understand that the Gospel is for them.’[[54]](#footnote-54) The lines between visiting, teaching and preaching must surely have been dangerously blurry ones, and missionary women often downplayed their active mission work. ‘Perhaps a short account of my personal knowledge of the women of one of the least-known Mission stations in the Punjab may not be wholly uninteresting to the readers of this Magazine’, wrote Mrs Mayer in 1880, ‘though I take up my pen with the feeling that many will be disappointed with the little it is in my power to tell.’[[55]](#footnote-55)

Female missionary work could also endanger or threaten evangelical codes of femininity, something which crept more often onto the pages of the *Gleaner* as the century progressed. When Miss M. G. Smith travelled to her mission in Japan she was ‘equipped in a grey cotton dress, pith hat, and green and white umbrella. My appearance soon attracted attention, and I heard passers-by inquire whether I was a man or a woman.’ Not only was her outward femininity challenged, but her inward innocence as well. ‘Men and women were working in the field, and some were winnowing. Their appearance is very startling and embarrassing, as they dispense with clothing when working in the heat in this way.’ Dressing was ‘a rather public matter’, and all this of course while itinerating – a traditionally male missionary activity.[[56]](#footnote-56)

Mission work could thus endanger evangelical femininity; but it was not white femininity, in fact, that opened a space for female mission work within the missionary imagination, but Indian femininity (in particular). The work of the lady missionary was configured around the slogan ‘women’s work for women’, and relied upon what was represented as the peculiarly dark and degraded lives of Hindu and Muslim women who were not allowed to leave the ‘zenena’ or ‘purdah’, and could have no discourse with non-related men.

The English missionary has no chance of telling the story of Divine love to the Hindu lady. She lives shut up in the zenana, and seldom sees a stranger, even of her own race. But the missionary’s wife does get in, in many cases, and so does any Christian lady who devotes herself to the work. Zenana visiting – the mission of women to women – is the very thing that India needs; and it is being done now in all the great cities.[[57]](#footnote-57)

This was a sphere of activity that had no space for missionary men. The need was for missionary women. Not only that, but this was a need seen as increasingly pertinent to *single* female missionaries – not those distracted by the cause of home and family, but those free to devote their entire time and energies to the cause of Christ. For the home audience this reflected, and neutralised, rising concerns about the ‘new woman’, whose unrealised maternal energies could here be safely put to good use in mission work. At the same time, of course, it drew women at home and overseas into the colonial project and the hierarchies of difference it created and refined.[[58]](#footnote-58)

Through their consumption of mission femininity, meanwhile, the missionary public in Britain internalised increasingly colonial images of racial and cultural difference. Hierarchies of civilisation were often constructed around the perceived treatment of women, and the configurations of the family. As it had for masculinity, the missionary press offered a unique venue for articulating British female ideals through comparison with Indigenous ‘others’. ‘In England much pains are taken with little girls to teach and train them, that when they grow up they may be useful members of society; and when they become heads of families they are the companions of their husbands, who give honour to them as to the weaker vessels; and, if they be pious husbands, pray with them as heirs together of the grace of life’, wrote the author of ‘Females in India’ in 1850. ‘In India, how different their treatment!’[[59]](#footnote-59)

Alas! no Missionary foot ere falls

 Within the precincts of Zanana [sic] walls;

There, he can never take the Gospel plan –

They must not look upon the face of man.

Are all excluded from this prison ground?

No! Woman’s mission here is clearly found;

No rough repost her gentle steps arrest,

Her loving work is known, enjoyed and blest.

She enters, on this glorious work intent,

And each dark eye on her is quickly bent;

No languor now, no weariness, or cloud,

As round their teacher fair they quickly crowd;

....

And as she culls for them sweet wisdom’s store,

The wakening mind enraptured thirsts for more:

Anon she tells them of redeeming love,

Of Him who died and pleads for them above.[[60]](#footnote-60)

‘Women of England, valued and favoured as you are, pity and help the poor women of India!’[[61]](#footnote-61) Single female missionaries were increasingly seen as the answer to Indian women’s position. This was a form of thought that relied upon implicit notions of western superiority, and through that configuration of difference opened a crucial space for women in mission, and for articulating feminine values.

By the end of the nineteenth century the gender-complexion of the missionary enterprise had changed dramatically. ‘Of the various developments in the CMS Missions which have so distinguished the last few years, perhaps the most remarkable is the growth of Women’s Work’, wrote the Editor of the 1895 edition of the *Gleaner*.[[62]](#footnote-62) This was also not without its tensions of course. In 1895, the *Gleaner’s* editorial notes remarked anxiously on the need for ‘eighty-three men urgently wanted.’ This was not itself uncommon – the CMS, like all missionary societies, always desired more recruits than it gained. What was new was the need to focus that call on men. ‘The location of the women going forth this year has not been so difficult in one sense, because woman’s work has in some Missions not developed so rapidly as to cause such urgent demands... Another fifty *men*, however, mostly clergymen, with some doctors, within the next three months, would be a boon indeed. “Is anything too hard for the Lord?”’[[63]](#footnote-63) The crisis was such that ‘a series of meetings, chiefly parochial, and sermons [are] to be held... followed by a mass meeting of *men only* in Exeter Hall.’[[64]](#footnote-64) By 1900, the ‘problem’ was being put even more acutely: ‘While suitable male candidates are not forthcoming in sufficient numbers, Christian women are volunteering much more freely’, noted the Editor. ‘The influx of women missionaries, as the Rev W. Banister said at Exeter Hall on Nov 28th, “promises to be an embarrassment”.’[[65]](#footnote-65)

Women had transformed the missionary enterprise, but men remained at its organisational and practical forefront, even at the same time as publications like the *Gleaner* thrummed with the busy lives of missionary women. In 1895 there were 192 CMS women in the field (compared to just 22 in 1887) - 41 in West and East Africa, 39 in Egypt, Palestine and Persia; 35 in India; 11 in Ceylon; 32 in China; 30 in Japan; 4 in the North Pacific.[[66]](#footnote-66) This did not include the 174 women in India as part of the Church of England Zenana Missions ‘which is identical with the CMS in principles’, nor the ‘forty Churchwomen’ of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission or the ‘half-dozen’ of the Female Education Society (FES). Even at the same time as calling for more men, the need for women was still great – we ‘wish to press upon our friends the urgent, the overwhelmingly urgent, call for hundreds – litrally hundreds – of devoted Christian women for the great Indian fields’, wrote the Editor. ‘They will find in the Indian fields devoted fellow-labourers, CMS men and CEZMS women; they will find doors open, and suffering hearts ready to respond to their sympathising love; and they will find that the Lord who has been their strength and stay at home will be their strength and stay there.’ In 1895 a ‘Consultative Committee of Ladies’ was established and a ‘lady secretary’ appointed. Women had earned their place in the organisational structure of the CMS – although this development came 20 years after their rival the LMS, whose ladies committee was founded in 1875, and 37 years after the founding of the Wesleyan Missionary Society Ladies’ Auxiliary.[[67]](#footnote-67) The FES (formerly the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India, and the East), which was entirely female-run, had been founded 61 years earlier in 1834, consolidating the pre-existing work of the ladies’ committee of the British and Foreign School Society (BFSS), which had begun in 1821.[[68]](#footnote-68)

In the Centenary year of the Church Missionary Society there were 811 missionaries on the Society’s roll – 406 clergy, 124 laymen, and 281 women.[[69]](#footnote-69) ‘But all these figures omit the wives, according to the practice of those days’, wrote the Society’s historian in 1916. ‘Their work in the Missions has always been gratefully recognized; but they are of course not separately accepted; their entry on the roll is automatic along with their husbands.’[[70]](#footnote-70) In 1899 there were 323 wives in the field. As such, in the centenary year of the Church Missionary Society there were 604 women in the field and 530 men. Between 1905 and 1906 the number of lady missionaries first overtook the number of male clergy, a trend which continued until at least 1915.[[71]](#footnote-71) The CMS may have been relatively late to the table in terms of employing women as part of their enterprise, but as for most missionary societies by the end of the century women far outnumbered men – a trend that would only increase as the nineteenth century closed into the twentieth.[[72]](#footnote-72)

**Mothers, Fathers and Family**

The *CMS Gleaner* was part of a periodical press that both configured and reflected evangelical ideals of masculinity, femininity and family in the nineteenth century. It did so by positioning evangelical missionaries as exemplary, not only to the Indigenous peoples among whom they laboured, but to the missionary public at home as well. For missionaries in the field, the role of the family could be difficult to navigate, such that through the tensions between professionalism and parenting, their very gender identities could be challenged,[[73]](#footnote-73) as could their effectiveness as parents. This is no better exemplified than by the Rev Jowett’s opening address with which we began this article. There he addressed the two superintendents of the school, Rev and Mrs Unwin, and warned them that ‘the parents of these children will, in some instances at least, have furnished you with a charge somewhat neglected. The fathers abroad have been too deeply absorbed in their work, or separated from the family by their journeys; the mothers may have been delicate, and too much overpowered by the climate to give due attention to the house.’[[74]](#footnote-74) As such, warned Jowett, when the children return ‘home’ to Britain, they may well be damaged by their experiences of being raised in enervating and dangerous climates.

Foreign climes will have affected them; so that you would almost be able to tell the geography of their birth from their temperament. And foreign false religions will probably have affected their minds: they will have seen and heard sights and words that do harm; sometimes infecting the tender mind with a taint or stain, which years of education scarcely suffice effectually to remove.

‘Many years did I spend as a family-man in a foreign country’, continued Jowett. There he and his wife had raised their own family, and in remembering his wife (who was by then deceased), Jowett praised her ‘vigilant maternal character’ above all else. ‘Among her papers I found one Letter – addressed to a Missionary sister who had been residing in Mount Labanon, but was retiring for a season to Malta – so exactly to this purpose, that an extract from it will not be inappropriate to the present occasion’, he announced to the gathered crowd of mission supporters.

“Such a country,” she writes, “as you have been residing in, affords very few advantages for the training up of children, and very many hindrances or disadvantages: the example of the people around them, their religion, manners, and morals so exceedingly depraved! Malta, perhaps, is somewhat better; but even there you will find much to lament. Especially there is a necessity to guard against the many evils they may learn from servants, whose language children will learn sooner than that of their parents. I hope your dear little ones may be mercifully preserved from those many snares and temptations, which the most vigilant parent cannot prevent; yea, of which she may be utterly ignorant. After all our care and attention to them, our only security will be in committing them continually in prayer to our Heavenly Father, who alone can restrain the evil passions of mankind, and give our dear children grace to choose the right way.”

Jowett considered this letter ‘as her dying testimony on a subject of the tenderest solicitude to parents,’ and thus clearly endorsed the sentiments therein:– not only that mission work put children in moral and physical danger, but that missionary parents had a particular obligation to protect their children from those dangers.[[75]](#footnote-75) This parental vigilance came with a price, however, and missionary indictments of local people became most vociferous on the subject of their children, who must, at all costs, be protected from the ‘many snares and temptations, which the most vigilant parent cannot prevent.’ The languages of difference and superiority employed here were common, and threatened the ideals of universalism and equality that underpinned the missionary message, if not always missionary practice.[[76]](#footnote-76)

 Nonetheless, the idealised Christian family was also promulgated through the pages of the *CMS Gleaner*, not least through its contrast with what were considered degraded Indigenous families. In 1851 the *Gleaner* published an article that encapsulated many of these ideas in short order.[[77]](#footnote-77) The ‘Domestic Manners of the Hindus’were self-consciously contrasted with those of the Englishman.

True civilisation is the effect of Christianity. The private dwelling is its home: there you will find it. There it produces affectionate hearts, makes people unselfish, leads them to seek their own happiness in the happiness of others, renders the wife the equal and companion of her husband, invests the children with value in the parents’ eyes, who regard them as God’s precious gifts to them, causes the father and mother to be respected and loved, and, if circumstances render it necessary, succoured by the children. It banishes quarrellings and evil tempers from the private dwelling, and makes it a loved and pleasant home.

In the Hindu home, by contrast,

The wife is the husband’s slave. The husband expects her service, but requites it by no affection... When there is no affectionate intercourse between the parents, what can be expected of the children? Dread of the father, disrespect to the mother, soon show themselves, and the household is full of all those evil tempers which might be expected to disfigure the daily life of young people placed in such unhappy circumstances.

The configurations of the healthful and affectionate family were not only crucial to the raising of children (who in this alternative atmosphere grow ‘crooked and distorted’), but signified the key difference between a western civilisation seen as superior, and the eastern civilisations that were seen as impressive, but inherently corrupt. While in places like India, the writer claimed, there may have been ‘much... appearance of civilisation’, this was ‘only glitter on the surface’ – the ‘interior life of the people remains uncivilised’. And after all, ‘we do not call a man civilised, however magnificent his dress, whose manners are rough and uncultivated.’[[78]](#footnote-78) The heart of a nation, and the worth on which it was to be judged, lay in the intimate realm of the family. The converted family stood out as reformed and exemplary. Speaking of the work of John Eliot in America, the author of ‘Lives of Missionaries – the Rev John Eliot’ noted that the ‘converted Indians [i.e. Native Americans] were known to have prayers in their families morning and evening. They were careful to instruct their children, and to prevent, as far as possible, the profanation of the Sabbath.’[[79]](#footnote-79) The performance of piety within the domestic sphere of the family was thus a marker of civilisation as well as conversion. Family relationships and domestic ‘civilisation’ were the legible surfaces of evangelical respectability – at home and aboard.

 It is worth remembering here, that future missionaries were drawn from the ranks of the missionary public at home. Indeed, this was an ideal also fostered by the *Gleaner* and its ilk. The ultimate offering from the missionary public at home was of their own children to the missionary cause itself. ‘Thus, like Abraham of old, this pious father was willing to surrender his son at the command of god’, wrote the author of C. F. Swartz’s exemplary life in 1850.

How privileged the fathers are who have such an opportunity of showing how much they value God’s work, by giving up that which is of such value to them – an eldest son, and one of promise, and who thus humbly imitate the love of Him who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all.[[80]](#footnote-80)

In 1890 ‘A lady lately wrote to the Society, and asked for prayer at the CMS Thursday Prayer Meeting, “that her eldest boy might become a medical missionary.”’

“If only,” she wrote, “the Lord will give him to me as a spiritual child, he shall be lent unto the Lord.” She quotes from Andrew Murray’s *The Children for Christ*, “Let us lay each child upon the altar, specially our first-born and our best, and seek this one thing, that they may become worthy and fit to be set apart for the service of the King”; and then goes on, “If the hearts of Christian mothers were stirred with the desire to consecrate their first-born to the Lord’s work among the heathen, would not some of the vacant posts be filled with whole-hearted men?”[[81]](#footnote-81)

These were the expectations of gender, family and marriage with which missionaries entered the field, quite often leading to feelings of frustration and disappointment in the face of reality.

**Conclusion**

For the missionary public at home, then, the pages of the missionary press contained the exemplary normativity of gender, culture and family. Although the evangelical middle class could sometimes be ambivalent about Empire, missionary literature was nonetheless saturated with *colonial*, if not always *imperial*, ideals. The superiority of Western religion and civilisation was never questioned, even if the dynamics of settler-colonialism or aggressive imperialism could be doubted. It is crucial for us as historians to remember that the nineteenth-century family, upon which so many of our modern ideals of family and identity are implicitly based, was itself constructed and configured through imperial and colonial ideals that codified racial and cultural difference. Evangelical identities were far from immune from this covalency. In fact, the role of missionary literature in itself forging, negotiating and refining those ideals, sometimes marginalised by historians of domestic British history, exemplifies the intertangled nature of Britishness and Imperialism. Indeed, to talk of British values is to talk of Imperial values, and working to decolonise those foundational aspects of Britain’s enduringly Victorian cultural landscape is surely one of our most urgent tasks in the modern interface between history and identity in the modern world.

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2. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, vol. II (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. ‘Address of the Rev W. Jowett at the Opening of the Missionaries’ Children’s Home, Islington’, *CMS* *Gleaner* (June, 1850), 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Emily J. Manktelow, *Missionary Families: race, gender and generation on the spiritual frontier* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: negotiating otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. ‘Introductory Remarks’, *CMS Gleaner* (April, 1841), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. ‘Self-Denying Liberality’, *CMS Gleaner* (April, 1841), p. 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in 19th-Century England* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999), 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, ca. 1795-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Classes 1780-1850* (Hutchinson, 1987). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. For examples from around the world see Jean and John Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution vol. 1 Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); John and Jean Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution vol. 2 The dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier* (Chicago, London: Chicago University Press, 1997); Catherine Hall, ‘White visions, black lives: the free villages of Jamaica’, *History Workshop Journal* 36:1 (1993), 100-132; Kathryn Rountree, ‘Re-making the Maori Female Body: Marianne Williams’s Mission in the Bay of Islands’, *Journal of Pacific History* 35:1 (2000), 49-66; Adele Perry, ‘From "the hot-bed of vice" to the "good and well-ordered Christian home": First Nations Housing and Reform in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia’, *Ethnohistory* 50:4 (2003), 587-610. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
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12. Patrick Dunae, ‘Boys' literature and the idea of empire, 1870-1914’, *Victorian Studies* 24:1 (1980), 105-121; J. Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Routledge, 1991); J. A. Mangan, ‘“Muscular, militaristic and manly”: the British middle‐class hero as moral messenger’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 13:1 (1996), 28-47. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005); John Tosh, John, *A man's place: masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England* (Yale University Press, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. William C. Barnhart, ‘Evangelicalism, Masculinity, and the Making of Imperial Missionaries in Late Georgian Britain, 1795-1820’, *The Historian* 67:4 (2005), pp. 712-32; Esme Cleall, ‘Missionaries, Masculinities and War: The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa, c.1860-1899’, *South African Historical Journal* 61:2 (2009), 232-253; Rhonda Semple, ‘Missionary Manhood: Professionalism, Belief, and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century British Imperial Field’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36:3 (2008), 397-415; Kristen Fjelde Tjelle, *Missionary Masculinity, 1870-1930: The Norwegian Missionaries in South-East Africa* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. ‘The Bishop of Calcutta’s Estimate of the late Rev W. Bowley’, *CMS Gleaner* (1846), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. ‘The Bishop of Calcutta’s Estimate of the late Rev W. Bowley’, *CMS Gleaner* (1846); ‘Lives of Missionaries - The Rev C. F. Swartz (cont)’, *CMS Gleaner* (August, 1850), 50-53; ‘Lives of Missionaries - The Rev C. F. Swartz (cont)’, *CMS Gleaner* (October, 1850), 74-76; ‘Faithful Unto Death’, *CMS Gleaner* (1856), 2-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. ‘Bishop Burdon, of Victoria’, *CMS Gleaner* (January, 1875), 2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. 1 Corinthians 15:58 quoted in ‘Future Retrospect of Missionary Exertion’, *CMS Gleaner* (December, 1841), 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. 1 Corinthians 15:58 quoted in ‘Future Retrospect of Missionary Exertion’, *CMS Gleaner* (December, 1841), 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
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22. ‘Faithful Unto Death’, *CMS Gleaner* (January, 1856), 2-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. ‘John Williams’, *CMS Gleaner* (June, 1861), 66-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. ‘John Williams’, *CMS Gleaner* (June, 1861), 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. ‘John Williams’, *CMS Gleaner* (June, 1861), 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. ‘The Bishop of Calcutta’s Estimate of the late Rev W. Bowley’, *CMS Gleaner* (January, 1846), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Jeffrey Cox, *The British missionary enterprise since 1700* (London: Routledge, 2008), 171-195. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Donald E. Hall (ed), *Muscular* *Christianity*: *embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
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30. ‘Lives of Missionaries – The Rev C. F. Swartz’, *CMS Gleaner* (July, 1850), 39-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. ‘The late Rev G. M. Gordon (With Portrait and Illustration)’, *CMS Gleaner* (November, 1880), 126. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. ‘Sympathy of Africans with a Missionary in Affliction’, *CMS Gleaner* (May, 1851), 51-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. ‘A Visit to New Zealand’, *Gleaner* 1:1 (April, 1841), 11-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. ‘Missionary Geography’, *Church Missionary Society Gleaner* (June, 1841), 49-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
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38. Jane Haggis, “Ironies of Emancipation: Changing Configurations of “Women”s Work” in the “Mission Sisterhood” to Indian Women”, *Feminist Review* 65:1 (2000), 108-126. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Emily J. Manktelow, ‘The Rise and Demise of Missionary Wives’, *Journal of Women’s History* 26.1 (2014), 135-159. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Judith Worsnop, ‘A reevaluation of “the problem of surplus women” in 19th-century England: The case of the 1851 census’, *Women's Studies International Forum* 13: 1-2 (1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Frank K. Prochaska, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. ‘A short sketch of the Life and Missionary labours and happy Death of Sophia Mason’, *CMS Gleaner* (December, 1861), 135-140. Quote on p. 137. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. ‘A short sketch of the Life and Missionary labours and happy Death of Sophia Mason’, *CMS Gleaner* (December, 1861), 138. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. ‘Death in Christ’ *CMS Gleaner* (July, 1856), 74-6; ‘A short sketch of the Life and Missionary labours and happy Death of Sophia Mason’, *CMS Gleaner* (December, 1861), 137. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. ‘The late Mrs Guilford. Letter from an Indian Christian’, *CMS Gleaner* (October, 1895), 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. ‘Winter at Fort George, Rupert’s Land’, *CMS Gleaner* (February, 1856), 13-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. ‘Epitome of Missionary News’, *CMS Gleaner* (December, 1880), 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. ‘Woman’s Mission’, *CMS Gleaner* (May, 1861), 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. ‘The Missionary and his Wife’, *CMS Gleaner* (February, 1846), 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. ‘A short sketch of the Life and Missionary labours and happy Death of Sophia Mason’, *CMS Gleaner* (December, 1861), 137-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. For more details on missionary wives specifically see Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of duty: American missionary wives in nineteenth-century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Deborah Kirkwood, ‘Protestant Missionary Women: Wives and Spinsters’ in Bowie, Fiona, Kirkwood, Deborah and Ardener, Shirely (eds), *Women and missions: past and present: anthropological and historical perspectives* (Province, RI; Oxford: Berg, 1993), 23-42; Hilary M. Carey, ‘Companions in the Wilderness? Missionary Wives in Colonial Australia, 1788-1900’, *Journal of Religious History* XIX (1995), 227-248; Jane Haggis, ‘‘Good wives and mothers’ or ‘dedicated workers’? Contradictions of domesticity in the ‘mission of sisterhood’, Travancore, South India’ in Kalpana Ram and Margaret Jolly (eds), *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and postcolonial experience in Asia and the Pacific* (Cambridge, 1998), 81-113. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. ‘Address of the Rev W. Jowett at the Opening of the Missionaries’ Children’s Home, Islington’, *CMS Gleaner* (June, 1850), 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. ‘A Story of Three Young Widows (With Illustration.) By Miss Neele’, *CMS Gleaner* (May, 1880), 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. ‘1889 in Mid-China: Brief Extracts from some Annual Letters. Etc.’, *CMS Gleaner* (May, 1890), 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. ‘Work Amongst Women on the Afghan Frontier (With Illustration.) by Mrs Mayer’ *CMS Gleaner* (September, 1890), 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. ‘A Lady’s First Journey. Letter from Mrs Brandram’, *CMS Gleaner* (June, 1890), 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. ‘Our Indian Sisters. (With Illustration)’, *CMS Gleaner* (July, 1875), 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Clare Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: women activists in imperial Britain, 1790–1865* (London: Routledge, 2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. ‘The Females of India’, *CMS Gleaner* (October, 1850), 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. ‘Woman’s Mission’, *CMS Gleaner* (May, 1861), 51-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. ‘The Females of India’, *CMS Gleaner* (July, 1856), 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. ‘Editorial Notes’, *CMS Gleaner* (August, 1895), 113. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. ‘Editorial Notes’, *CMS Gleaner* (July, 1895), 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. ‘Missionary Men to Men’, *CMS Gleaner* (October, 1895), 160. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. ‘Editorial Notes’, *CMS Gleaner* (January, 1900), 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. ‘Editorial Notes’, *CMS Gleaner* (August, 1895), 113. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. This is not the same, of course, as saying when they allowed women to become missionaries in their own right. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society started accepting female candidates in 1858, the Baptist Missionary Society in 1866, the London Missionary Society in 1875, and the Church Missionary Society in 1887 (though the CEZMS was founded earlier in 1880). [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Clare Midgley, ‘Can Women be Missionaries? Envisioning Female Agency in the Early Nineteenth-Century British Empire’, *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), pp. 338-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* vol. 4 (London: Church Missionary Society Press, 1916), 464. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* vol. 4 (London: Church Missionary Society Press, 1916), 464. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* vol. 4 (London: Church Missionary Society Press, 1916), 465. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Eugene Stock, for example, put the numbers as such in 1915: 414 clergy, 118 laymen, 444 women and 378 wives (which is to say, 532 men and 822 women). A startling change-around. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* vol. 4 (London: Church Missionary Society Press, 1916), 465. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. See above, p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. ‘Address of the Rev W. Jowett at the Opening of the Missionaries’ Children’s Home, Islington’, *CMS Gleaner* (May, 1850), 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. ‘Address of the Rev W. Jowett at the Opening of the Missionaries’ Children’s Home, Islington’, *CMS Gleaner* (June, 1850), 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Emily J. Manktelow, ‘Making Missionary Children: religion, culture and juvenile deviance’ in Hugh Morison and Mary Clare Martin (eds), *Creating Religious Childhoods: Children, Young People and Christianity in Anglo-World and British Colonial Contexts, 1800-1950* (Ashgate, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. ‘Domestic Manners of the Hindus’, *CMS Gleaner* (August, 1851), 197-200. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. ‘Domestic Manners of the Hindus’, *CMS Gleaner* (August, 1851), 197-200. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. ‘Lives of Missionaries – the Rev John Eliot’, *CMS Gleaner* (February, 1851), 123. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. ‘Lives of Missionaries - The Rev C. F. Swartz’, *CMS Gleaner* (July, 1850), 38-41. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. ‘A Mother’s Prayer’, *CMS Gleaner* (March, 1890), 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)