Chapter 3
Play, missionaries and the cross-cultural encounter in global perspective, 1800-1870[1]

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Introduction

Despite the increased interest in missionaries' families,[2] the main emphasis is frequently on adult-focused concerns, rather than on children's experiences of play or education. This chapter will explore the place of play within the creation of a religious childhood amongst missionaries' and Indigenous children in the Anglo-world and British colonial contexts, from 1800 to 1870. It will argue, firstly, that play frequently provided a site of shared experience between missionaries' and Indigenous children, which was approved rather than feared by

[1] Previous versions of this paper were presented to the 'Multi-Cultural Toys" conference, University of Greenwich, UK, June 2013, the Society for the History of Childhood and Youth Biennial conference, Nottingham, June 2013,the 35th International Standing Conference of the History of Education, Riga, Latvia, August 2013, and the 'Christian Missions in Global History' seminar, Institute of Historical Research, March 2015. I am very grateful to the participants and organizers, especially Emily Manktelow, for their comments and questions.

[2] Emily Manktelow, *Missionary Families: Race, Gender and Generation on the Spiritual Frontier* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 25-55, 96-128, 162-89. Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*: 1840-1900 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 29-78; Joy Schulz, "Crossing the Pali: White Missionary Children, Bicultural Identity, and the Racial Divide in Hawai'i, 1820-1898," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 6, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 209-35. Mary Clare Martin, "Children and Religion in Walthamstow and Leyton, 1740-1870," (PhD thesis, University of London, 2000), 521-31, and essays by Semple and Manktelow in this volume.

adults. Indeed, such 'vital contact zones'[3] might be central to the evangelizing process. While play and toys can be interpreted as potential agents of acculturation into European ways, the skill of Indigenous children was admired in creating toys and play materials, suggesting forms of hybridity.[4] Within different mission communities, recreational activities were more likely to include both adults and children, than be rigidly segregated by age, gender and ethnicity. Although there was a trend towards child-specific social events, these were frequently shared between Indigenous and missionaries' children. Thus, in some mission communities, a greater focus on 'age' led to a greater integration by race.

Much previous work on the colonial encounter has emphasised difference, following the theorists Frantz Fanon and Edward Said,[5] and claims that the Indigenous child as well as adult was perceived as 'Other'.[6] However, historians have noted the complexity of colonial

[3] As discussed, for example, by Regina Ganter and Patricia Grimshaw. "Introduction: reading the Lives of White Mission Women," *Journal of Australian Studies*, (2015), 39: 1-6.

[4] For this term, see Richard Price, *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa* **(**Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5-12 and *passim.* Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, 166, 185-6.

[5] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, (London, 1986), cited in Hilary Carey, *God's Empire*: *Religion and Colonialism in the British World*, c 1801-1908 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 24-6. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Vintage books, 1979, Afterword 1994). Cleall, *Missionary Discourses*, 3-4, 9-10, 143. Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British feminists, Indian women, and imperial culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: London; University of North Carolina, 1994), 16-18 and *passim*.

[6] Helen May, Baljit Kaur and Larry Prochner, "Foreword," *Empire, Education and Indigenous Childhoods: Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools in Three British Colonies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), xvi-xix. Karen Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), 64-73. She argues for changed attitudes from the 1890s (123-55).

interactions,[7] and argued that eighteenth-century Pacific Islanders could be as cosmopolitan as Europeans.[8] Approaching the cross-cultural encounter through the lens of play theory is instructive, since foundational texts have emphasised its universality. The Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga described play as a biological imperative, but also intrinsically as 'fun'.[9] 'Play transcends cultures, is timeless and follows similar developmental paths everywhere'.[10] Moreover, toys have universal features, though varying according to time and place.[11] Children also create their own play cultures.[12]

In the missionary context, toys are significant from the standpoint of the material culture of childhood, travel and networks,[13] being implicated in the relationships between colony and metropole, globalisation and indigeneity, and including manufactured and home-made playthings.[14]Arguments that textile manufacture and European-style clothes were

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[7] Tim McCaskie, "Cultural Encounters: Britain and Africa in the Nineteenth Century," in *Black Experience and the Empire*, ed. Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins (Oxford*:* Oxford University Press, 2004, pbk 2006), 166.

[8] Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: the Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 6-7.

[9] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*: *a study of the play element in culture* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1970 edn), 19-21.

[10] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, cited in D. Jaffe, *The History of Toys: from Spinning Tops to Robots (*Stroud:Sutton Publishing, 2006), 10-11.

[11] Information, with thanks, from Debby Brown. Jaffe, *History*, 19-30.

[12] William Corsaro, *A Sociology of Childhood*, 3rd ed. (London: Pine Forge Press, Sage, 2011), 149-274.

[13] David Hempton, *Methodism*: *Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 13. D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative, Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 71-2.

[14] Margot Finn, "Colonial Gifts: Family politics and the exchange of goods in British India, 1780-1820," *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no.1 (2006), 213-30.

intended to acculturate Indigenous adults to European or North American values[15] will be discussed in relation to toys, which had an important place in processes of gift exchange, and in the creation and maintenance of 'imagined communities'.[16] Play became embedded in pedagogies which were exported overseas, such as those of Johannes Pestalozzi, Joseph Lancaster, Robert Owen and Samuel Wilderspin.[17] While these have been presented as promoting the 'civilizing mission', and the Foucauldian project of disciplining the mind, they gave children access to playgrounds and play apparatus, and some provided toys as gifts or rewards.[18] By approaching the cross-cultural encounter through the perspective of play, this essay will emphasize the similarities rather than differences between the experiences of missionaries' and Indigenous children.

From the sixteenth century, single Roman Catholic priests were active evangelizers outside Europe. Eighteenth century British-based Protestant organizations which promoted missions included the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, the more High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG),

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[15] Cited in Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003*),* 147-55.

[16] For relevant theory, see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies, with a foreword by Mary Douglas* (London: Routledge, 1990), also discussed in Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 78-83. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006). Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, London: Cornell University Press, 2006). See Vallgarda, *Imperial Childhoods*, 13-14, note 20, for a re-evaluation of Rosenwein's work.

[17] May, Kaur, and Prochner, *Empire*, 89, 97-104.

[18] Ibid, xv-xvi, 91, 65. William A.C. Stewart and Philip McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1780-1850,* I, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 230-41.

founded in 1701, mainly for settler communities in North America, and the Moravians.[19] From the late eighteenth century (from 1792 onwards), evangelical societies were founded to send missionaries to India, the Pacific Islands, the West Indies, Africa, and China, and the ideal of the married, European, missionary couple became embedded.[20] While the relationship between missionary activity and imperialism has been much debated,[21] recent historians argue that the emphasis in mission history shifted 'from missionary hagiography to resistance, to co-operation and agency'.[22] This chapter will engage with a much broader range of geographical locations and religious denominations than previous studies. My subjects included Anglicans, both Evangelical and High Church, Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists. Whereas some locations examined here, such as Jamaica, British Guiana, Cape Colony, India and New Zealand were British colonies, others such as the South Pacific had an established European presence, while China and East and West Africa (in particular, modern day Kenya and Nigeria) had few

[19] Andrew Porter, *Religion versus empire: British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700-1914 (*Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 17-63.

[20] Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, 56-95, and above, Chapter 2.

[21] Porter, *Religion*, 9-11; Carey, *God's Empire*. For the attraction of Christianity to the colonized, see Padma Anagol, *The Emergence of Feminism in India*, 1880-1920 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 19-55; Jehu Hanciles, *Euthanasia of a Mission: African Church Autonomy in a Colonial Context* (Westport, Connt: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 2; Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins, "Invitation and refusal: A reading of the beginnings of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand," *History of Education* 37, no. 2 (March 2008), 193-205.

[22] Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, "Introduction," to *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange* (Brighton, Portland, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 1-10.

European residents before 1870.[23] The founding of Anglican dioceses in, for example, New Zealand, complemented the initiatives of the missionary societies.[24]

This chapter faces the dual challenges of recapturing the 'voices' of missionary and Indigenous children.[25] Historians have argued that missionary texts were intended to impress and emphasize success for an audience at home,[26] or that the private and family correspondence of missionary wives (and children) was almost invisible.[27] Nineteenth century biographies contain huge sections of reprinted correspondence and journal entries, evident in memoirs of missionary spouses.[28] Many, which contain much incidental detail about play, were extremely popular, that of Mrs Rebecca Wakefield going into three editions

[23] William M. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide* (Cambridge: SPCK, 1997), 194-235. Carey, *Empire*, 41-3. Jamaica (1655), British Guiana (1792, then 1814), Cape Colony (1806), New Zealand in 1840.

[24] Carey, *God's Empire*, 64-6.

[25] For the challenges of researching Indigeneity, see for example, Peggy Brock, "An Indigenous View of Missionaries: Arthur Wellington Clah and Missionaries on the North-West Coast of Canada," in Grimshaw and May, eds, *Missionaries*, 67-80.

[26] May, Prochner, and Kaur, *Empire*, 16-18; Johnston, *Missionary Writing*, 6-8.

[27] Porter, *Religion*, 133-4; Valentine Cunningham, "God and Nature intended you for a missionary's wife," in *Women and Missions, Past and Present*: *Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, eds Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener (Oxford UK, Providence RI: Berg, 1993), 88.

[28] William Ellis, *Memoir of Mrs Mary Mercy Ellis, wife of the Rev William Ellis (*Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1836); Henderson, *Missionary's Wife;* James Kennedy, *Memoir of Margaret Stephen Kennedy by her husband James Kennedy* (London: James Nisbet, 1892); Mrs Mary Weitbrecht, *Memoir of the Rev John James Weitbrecht, late missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Burdwan, in Bengal comprehending a history of the Burdwan mission, compiled from his journal and letters by his widow* (London: Nisbet, 1854, 2nd edition, 1867).

by 1888.[29] Manuscript letters and journals survive written by, to and about children.[30] Whereas most work on missionary children has focused on Nonconformists, this chapter draws on unpublished reports from the High Church Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), as well as the more frequently explored communications with the London Missionary Society. Extracts about and letters from Indigenous children are cited in children's magazines.[31] Although much material was intended to construct the image of the pious child, it is nevertheless instructive that play was integral to this construction. Approaching the topic through the child's experience, even if filtered by adults, may provide a different perspective than one primarily informed by the frameworks of imperial history. This comparative approach suggests significant general trends which contrast with much existing scholarship.

The first main section will explore play as an aspect of social relationships, in relation to outdoor space, and cross-cultural interactions. Brian Sutton-Smith has argued 'the predominant form of play throughout history has been play with others, not play with

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[29] Robert Brewin, *Memoir of Mrs Rebecca Wakefield*, 2nd ed. (London: Hamilton Adams & Co, 1879).

[30] Caroline Fitzgerald, ed., *Letters from the Bay of Islands*: *The Story of Marianne Williams* (New Zealand: Penguin, 2004, 2010); Una Long, ed., The *Journals of Elizabeth Lees Price, Written in Bechuanaland, Southern Africa, 1854-1883, with an epilogue, 1889-1890. Edited, with introduction, annotations, etc (*London: Edward Arnold 1956). Alison Drummond, ed., *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush, 1850-63* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1971). For letters from the Helmore children, see Holloway Helmore Papers, CWM/LMS/Africa/Personal/Box 1, (hereafter, Helmore Papers). William Cotton, "The Journal of a Voyage on the Tomatin, Volumes 1, III-XII," State Library of New South Wales (hereafter Cotton Journals, SLNSW). Thanks to Tracy Bradford at the SLNSW for allowing access to the original manuscripts. Papers of George Barker MSB 57, National Library of South Africa (hereafter Barker Papers, MSB 57, NLSA).

[31] These include the Evangelical *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* (1844), and the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel children's magazine, *The Children's Tidings* (from 1885).

objects. Objects were often incorporated into play but were second in importance to the social aspects of play'.[32] The second will focus on objects, again emphasizing commonalities between the experiences of Indigenous and missionaries' children, over natural materials and toys produced by children, as well as imported objects such as pictures and picture books. The final section will analyze the extent to which communal experiences of recreation and sociability such as missionary journeys, festivals, and youth organizations were defined by age and ethnicity.

Part One: Play, space and relationships

This section will analyze the social nature of children's play, starting with parents, outdoor play, and cross-cultural interaction. Patterns of friendship varied according to location and family size. Whereas first playmates were likely to be siblings or other missionaries' children,[33] those living in isolated areas, or only children, such as Nellie Wakefield in East Africa in the 1870s, might be more likely to play with Indigenous children. Many mission stations had Indigenous children resident, including orphans,[34] and, as converts, these may have been approved playmates. Thus, in the 1840s, the daughter of the Rev J.J. Weitbrecht spoke three languages and 'we have two little Hindu girls about her own age living in the house'.[35] Many missionaries' children attended local

[32] Brian Sutton-Smith, *Toys as Culture* (1986, 26) cited in Corsaro, *Sociology of Childhood*, 137, 139, 140.

[33] See Fitzgerald, ed., *Letters*, 60.

[34] Cleall, *Missionary Discourses*, 64-6. George Barker to his sister, f. 8, Theopolis, 20th December 1837, Barker Papers, MSB 57, NLSA. Thomas Rain, *The Life and Labours of John Wray, Pioneer Missionary in British Guiana. (*London: John Snow, 1892), 166. See also Rhonda Semple's chapter in this volume.

[35] Weitbrecht, *Memoir*, 70.

mission schools (sometimes run by their parents or siblings).[36] Even for those who went to Britain for education, the time away could be short.[37]

Play with parents

Traditional images of Evangelicals stress disapproval of play. The childless John Wesley for example, claimed that 'He who plays when he is a boy will play as a man'.[38] The memoir of 'Elizabeth' a 'native girl' in Canada in 1847, described how playing diverted attention from Sunday pursuits.[39] Parenting in early nineteenth century Britain has been re-evaluated, with greater emphasis on playfulness and affection than severity.[40] Playful

[36] Ellis, *Memoir*, 80; Henderson, *Missionary's Wife*, 97-9; Frances, Porter, ed., *The Turanga Journals, 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams, Missionaries to Poverty Bay* (Wellington: Price Milburn for Victoria University Press, 1974), 243. Edward Thomas Barker (aged 12) to his grandfather, July 14th 1834, f. 6 (2nd page**),** Theopolis**,** Barker Papers, MSB 57, NLSA**.** For the South African Infant Schools Institute, see H.C. Botha, *John Fairbairn in South Africa* (Cape Town: Historical Society Publication, 1984), 139-140. Drummond, ed., *Auckland Journals*, 96 (for the Church Grammar School).

[37] See Martin, *Free Spirits.*

[38] Paul Sangster, *Pity My Simplicity*: *the Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children, 1738-1800* (London: Epworth Press, 1963), 98-106. But for a more nuanced discussion of Wesley's educational views, see Martin, "Marketing Religious Identity," 57-76.

[39] Mrs Hazard, *E. Kennedy, a Canadian Sunday-school Girl, by the wife of a missionary in Lower Canada* (London: J.H.Jackson, Seeleys, Nisbet, 1847), 18.

[40] Lawrence Stone's characterization of the early nineteenth century as a period of severity was based on limited evidence. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977), 667-71, 677-8, 682. For an alternative approach, see Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England 1600-1914: Experience and Identity* (London, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008), 55-63; Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England*: *1760-1830*: *Emotions, Identity and Generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 28-33. John Tosh, A *Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 88-9, 163-4.

parenting, noted in both letters and memoirs, was regarded as an important aspect of religious childhoods. Many letters, whether from New Zealand, or Jamaica, describe close physical contact with very young children, both black and white, and approval of indulgence and playfulness.[41] In India, babies of relatives would play on the bed of the Congregational Rev Alphonse Lacroix (c 1840) while he prayed,[42] and in 1864, black babies would play on Mrs Hinderer's bed in West Africa.[43] Moreover, playfulness and religious expression could be integral to the construction of the pious child. Samuel Shipman, son of a Methodist minister in Jamaica, was described as reciting Watts' *Songs* as he 'gambolled at play'.[44] The son of 'Jane', wife of a medical missionary in China, asked her to say 'Dog's d'light', his version of Isaac Watts' poem.[45] William Knibb, Baptist missionary in Jamaica, played with children on the floor, and told them about 'our Saviour's love'.[46] That Richard Merrick, a mixed-race deacon, in Jamaica, was the only parent described as too harsh,[47] (by his biographer, a Baptist missionary), can be read as a

[41] James. H. Hinton the Elder, *Memoir of William Knibb, Missionary in Jamaica* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1847), 101 (for the 1820s). Fitzgerald, ed., *Letters*, 70. 7 Jan 1824: *Memoirs of Mrs Eliza Ann Foster, wife of H.B.Foster, Wesleyan missionary in Jamaica, Compiled from her diary and correspondence, By her husband,* (London, 1844), 203, 211.

[42] Mullens, *Memoir*, 332-3.

[43] Hinderer, *Seventeen Years*, 276. See also Brewin, *Memoir*, 197.

[44] John Shipman, *The Missionary Child: a memoir of Samuel Annesley Shipman, by his father* (London: Mason, 1846), 21.

[45] *A Biographical Sketch of Jane, the Beloved wife of a medical missionary* (London, for private circulation: Tyler and Reed, 1846), 48.

[46] Hinton, *Knibb*, 389. See also *Annual Report of the Institution for the Daughters of Missionaries* (1840), 9. Walthamstow Hall archives (hereafter WH.)

[47] John Clarke, *Memoir of Richard Merrick, Missionary in Jamaica* (Memoir of Joseph Merrick, Missionary to Africa), (London: B. J. Green, 1850), 13.

critique of Indigenous forms of child-rearing in comparison with European practices, but nevertheless reinforces the cultural significance attached to affectionate parenting.

Boys in their teens were expected to take life more seriously. The Methodist Samuel Shipman's teachers in England felt he was too inclined to play in the 1830s.[48] William Knibb senior warned his son William, aged thirteen that he would be forced to make a living through manual labour, if did not 'cast off indolence'.[49] The demands of lessons, chores, and religious rituals might limit play time. In South Africa in the 1820s, George Barker continually reiterated how busy his motherless children were, while in 1859, the Helmores only played from five o' clock in the evening until it was nearly dark.[50] Indeed, while some missionaries in Jamaica had more servants than in Britain,[51] in New Zealand, European adults did unaccustomed domestic chores: 'Blanney' (Blanche) Lush aged ten, could cook a meal and lay the table in 1853.[52] Nevertheless, these missionaries still approved of play: Holloway Helmore commented approvingly in 1859 that 'Willy and Henry find constant amusement for themselves'.[53]

Outdoor Play

[48] Shipman, *Shipman*, 27.

[49] Hinton, *Knibb*, 386-7.

[50] George Barker to his sister, 18th August 1826, f. 2: 16th Sept 1833, Theopolis, MSB 37, Barker Papers. Emma E. (Lizzie) Helmore to Olive Helmore, Likatlong March 18 1859, No. 16, Helmore Papers.

[51] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 158.

[52] Drummond, ed., *Auckland Journals*, 139.

[53] Holloway Helmore to Olive Helmore, Jan 29 1859, No. 12, Helmore Papers.

Esme Cleall's argument that the physical environment might be represented as threatening by missionaries[54] has some credence. In the 'Hebrides', (now Vanatu), on a boat trip, a child from the Geddie family nearly drowned.[55] In Bengal, when the Lacroix children were small, European children could only take outdoor exercise in the evening, and most were in England for education.[56] Danger was not limited to Europeans. The daughter of a 'respectable Brijabasse, in the Upper Provinces', in India, was kidnapped with other little girls when playing outside in the evening, and taken to the slave market in Calcutta.[57] In the South Pacific, outdoor play with Indigenous children was initially permitted, even encouraged, but other missionaries might criticise such interactions.[58]

Certainly, some parents expressed fears about outdoor play. In 1819, in Huahine (in French Polynesia), the Congregational Mrs Ellis had to 'confide her daughter' to a 'native' nurse, and was worried that she might get drowned running into the sea 'after the native children'...'which was their chief pastime'.[59] This does, nevertheless, show how missionaries'

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[54] Cleall, *Missionary Discourses,* 79-81.

[55] George Patterson, *Missionary Life among the cannibals: being the Life of the Rev John Geddie, D.D., first missionary to the Hebrides, with a history of the Nova Scotia Presbyterian on that group* (Toronto: James Bell & Co, 1882), 375, 219.

[56] Mullens, *Memoir,* 334.

[57] George Gogerly, *The Pioneers: a narrative of facts connected with early Christian Missions in Bengal, chiefly relating to the operations of the London Missionary Society, etc,* (London: 1871), 337.

[58] Neil Gunson, "The Deviations of a Missionary Family: the Henrys of Tahiti," in *Pacific Islands Portraits,* eds John W. Davidson and Derryck Scurr (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970), 34-51, citing Lancelot Threlkeld. Anna Johnston, "Lancelot Edward Threlkeld in Polynesia and Australia," in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Nineteenth Century,* eds David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 63.

[59] Ellis, *Memoir,* 76.

children participated in these swimming games, and mixing occurred both between sexes and races. Other parents had more confidence in their Indigenous servants. In New Zealand, in 1824, the heavily pregnant Marianne Williams sent her children to the beach in the Bay of Islands to gather shells with the 'native servant' Aden, on a hot day, without apparent concern.[60]

Missionaries also appreciated outdoor play by Indigenous children. In *Polynesian Researches* (1829), William Ellis praised their skill in swimming (aged nine to sixteen), and how they could create platforms and dive into the sea at 'incredible depth'.[61] The childless Mrs Hinderer in West Africa, in the 1850s, played ball with African children, and on a holiday trip, people said: 'These children do indeed know how to play'. 'It was such a pleasure to see the boys climbing up trees, though they did tear their clothes, and the girls running jumping and dancing around in healthful play. .. instead of the general lying down, passive apathetic plan of saying riddles'.[62] While this could be read as criticism of Indigenous sedentary play, it also indicates that girls' outdoor play was encouraged. The Price children, both male and female, in South Africa enjoyed the greater freedom available in colonial spaces than in British cities.[63] The claim for greater freedom should not be exaggerated. In 1853 the Lush children were allowed to paddle, 'to their infinite amusement and delight', but 'generally we behave with as much propriety on our lonely New Zealand coast as on a crowded shore in Dover or Brighton'.[64] Nevertheless, outdoor play had great potential for ungendered activity as well as opportunities for demonstrating skill.

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[60] Fitzgerald, ed., *Letters*, 70.

[61] William Ellis, *Polynesian researches, during a residence of nearly six years in the South Sea Islands*, 1 (London: Fisher, Son & Jackson, 1829), 227-9.

[62] Hinderer, *Seventeen Years*, 205.

[63] Long, ed., *Journals*, 178, 309, 294, 296.

[64] Drummond, ed., *Auckland Journals*, 113.

Cross-cultural interaction

Many historians have argued that overseas missionaries discouraged contact with local people, due to fears of contamination.[65] However, the South Pacific may have been an exceptional case. Not only did many missionary children speak Indigenous languages, but this was perceived as an advantage as equipping them for future missionary work.[66] Thus, despite Mrs Ellis' fears about her children's safety, when the family revisited Huahine (in Tahiti) in 1824, the little children, in the Sunday school, 'had brought their presents of arrowroot, sugar-cane, fruit and fowls, for her children, *their former companions*, (my italics) and as they had hoped, their teachers'..[67] Indeed, contact was not only in performative roles, but as part of childhood friendships. In New Zealand, Bishop Selwyn brought back five little boys for education from Melanesia in 1849, and his son Johnnie (b. 1844) allegedly became 'great friends' with them.[68] In 1850, Charlie Lush, aged four, loved having a new playmate, a Māori girl, and cried when she went home.[69] Other missionaries expressed similar sentiments. Hudson Taylor, missionary to China from the 1840s claimed that 'Gracie (Taylor), (aged eight, born 1859) was a passport to the heart of the natives'.[70] In the 1870s,

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[65] Johnston, *Missionary Writing*, 133. Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, 163-4, 175, 162-89. Schulz, "Crossing the Pali," 209-35. Gunson, "Deviations," 34-51.

[66] *Annual Report* (1840), 8-9, WH; *Evangelical Magazine*, New Series, XV 1837, 300-1; Mullens, *Memoir*, 443; Brewin, *Memoir*, 136, 232. See also Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, 180-84, and see Chapter Two above.

[67] Ellis, *Memoir*, 159.

[68] Frederic How. *Bishop John Selwyn: a memoir* (London: Isbister, 1899), 2.

[69] Drummond, ed., *Auckland Diaries*, 34, (and see 182-3).

[70] A.J. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century* (Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981-90), 171.

Annie Small played and 'chattered' with Indian children,[71] while East African adults and children held and kissed Helena Wakefield 'the white funny thing'.[72] When Nellie left, aged four, she spoke the African language fluently (but not English).[73] These narratives represents the missionary ideal of the multi-racial Christian commonwealth identified by Jeffrey Cox,[74] and contrast with arguments that missionaries created 'discourses of difference', or segregated children due to fears of evil influence.[75]

It has been argued that play in nineteenth-century England was *g*ender-differentiated,[76] and that hierarchies of gender and race were reproduced overseas.[77] The relationship between gender identities, missionary children and indigeneity was complex. Some parents wished to inculcate appropriate gender roles in boys. In New Zealand, Marianne Williams moved her four year old son, Henry (b. 1823) into the boys' school, as he was so fond of playing with little girls.[78] However, in 1857, Martin Lush always asked for his 'baby' a rag doll, when he woke up.[79] Girls might play military games, or adopt roles of power, and receive approval. In the 1840s, the son of a medical missionary in Macao, China,

[71] Wyon, *Three Windows*, 13.

[72] Brewin, *Memoir*, 114, 136-9, October 3rd 1871.

[73] Brewin, *Memoir*, 232. A Hindu man in Mombasa told the Methodist missionary Thomas Wakefield that Nellie had been his daughter's best friend. For a later example, see Mrs Dugald Christie, *Dugald Christie of Manchuria, Pioneer and Medical Missionary, by his wife* (London: J Clarke & Co, 1932), 148-9.

[74] Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (London: Routledge, 2008), 17.

[75] Cleall, *Missionary Discourses*, 116. Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, 163-4, 175,162-89.

[76] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class* (London: Routledge, 2002, 2nd ed.), 344. Fletcher, *Growing Up*, 239, 309.

[77] For Jamaica, see Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 134-5.

[78] Fitzgerald, ed., *Letters*, 155.

[79] Drummond, ed., *Auckland Journals*, 192.

'is marching in great majesty (with friend Julia B) down the verandah with bamboo on his shoulder… imitating the sepoys and shouting "quick march"'.[80] In 1873, in Ribe, East Africa, 'Nellie and her friends (five black children) are playing at tending cows': as she was the eldest, she acted the cowherd, a leadership role.[81]

The missionary child's play might be influenced by observation of Indigenous people, in more gendered ways. In 1844, 'Little Kate' (about three), daughter of a New Zealand CMS missionary nursed a doll upon her back 'as the natives carry their children'.[82] In 1858, Vicesimus Lush was amused when his young son Martin tried to imitate the Melanesians throwing spears. The youngest Melanesian (aged fourteen) tried to help Martin throw his stick the right way.[83] Pressure to conform to gendered identities could come from Indigenous people. In 1876, when the South African missionaries' sons started climbing trees, the Indigenous servants described eleven year old Rogie Price as a 'woman' and Jim McKenzie as 'a man'. Rogie's mother Elizabeth reproached herself that he was slow and timid, and felt she had been so proud of his reading, writing and singing, and not allowed him enough freedom.[84] Thus, not only was cross-cultural interaction between children welcomed in these contexts, but acculturation might be accepted by missionaries. Positive responses to Indigenous children's play will be examined further in relation to material culture.

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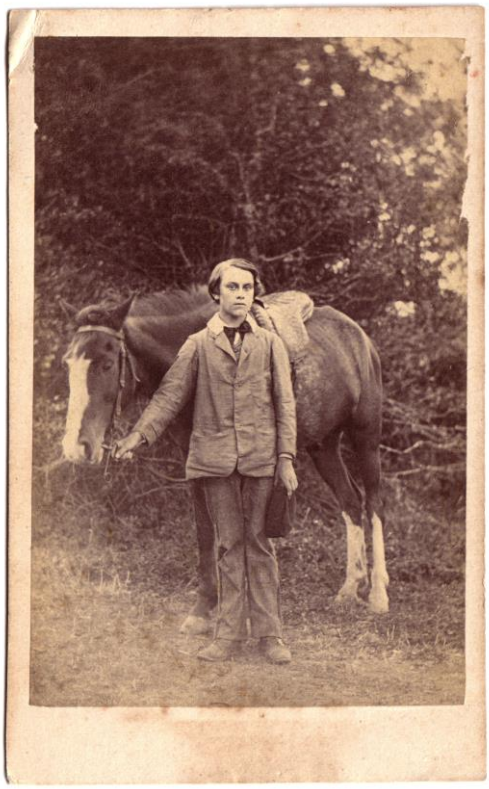
[80] *Biographical Sketch*, 48.

[81] Brewin, *Memoir*, 269-70.

[82] Porter, ed., *Turanga Journals*, 275.

[83] Drummond, ed., *Auckland Journals*, 182-3.

[84] Long, ed., *Journals*, 288-289.



Charles Hawkins Lush (b.1849) , son of the Rev Vicesimus Lush (1817-82) and Blanche Lush (1819-1912), outside Howick Vicarage, Howick, New Zealand, 1863-5, *carte de visite*, courtesy of Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.

John Martin Lush (b,1854) , son of the Rev Vicesimus Lush (1817-82) and Blanche Lush (1819-1912), outside Howick Vicarage, Howick, New Zealand, 1863-5, *carte de visite*, courtesy of Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.

Objects and their meanings

This section will consider the place of material objects in play, including natural materials, home-made toys, manufactured objects, imported toys, pictures and picture books. A toy can be defined as an object used as a plaything, as opposed to a miniature object which may be used for ritual or other purposes by adults.[85] While Theresa Michals claimed that, in the nineteenth century, children became consumers rather than producers of toys for the first

[85] Sally Crawford, *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 141-3, 152; Jaffe, *History*, 13-18.

time,[86] it will be argued that children could do both. Families and communities were embedded in patterns of global exchange. Expensive objects might be exported overseas, yet indigenous and missionary children might play with similar artefacts.

Natural materials and home-made toys

While some of the earliest toys were constructed by children from naturally occurring materials,[87] such objects might be sent from missionary locations to separated kin groups or mission family members, in Britain. The Congregational Mrs Henderson sent red beads picked from their pods by her children in British Guiana in the 1850s, to their ten-year old stepsister Charlotte in England.[88] Play with natural objects overseas was rarely gender-specific. The 'ordinary presents from poor people in the villages' given to the Lacroix children included a cocoa-nut, and a 'basket of cockle-shells' in India in the 1820s.[89] Collecting berries and leaves was a pastime for a missionary's son in China in 1841,[90] and in 1879, of Daisy Price in South Africa (aged seven).[91] Indigenous as well as missionary children initiated games using locally produced pulses and flora. In the 1870s, in Ribe, East Africa, (Nellie Wakefield) 'is sitting on a goatskin on the floor playing' with two little black

[86] Teresa Michals, "Experiments before Breakfast: Toys, Education and Middle-Class Childhood," in *The Nineteenth Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 31.

[87] Jaffe, *History*, 14, 19-26.

[88] Henderson, *Missionary's Wife*, 76. See another example from *The Children's Tidings*, No 2, Mkunazini, June 25th 1885, 5-6.

[89]Mullens, *Memoir*, 336.

[90] *Biographical Sketch*, 37-8.

[91] Long, ed., *Journals*, 324-5.

African boys, 'and a fine display they are making with Indian corn, rice etc. in original dishes'.[92]

The creativity and skill of Indigenous children as producers was frequently celebrated. In the 1820s, William Ellis noted 'Many of the boys display uncommon ingenuity' in the South Pacific at making miniature canoes or boats. Tahitian boys also made kites of cloth, and both sexes walked on stilts, swung on natural ropes, and played games throwing up a heap of stones, and blind-man's buff. [93] Many practices were of ancient provenance.[94] In 1859, in South Africa, some Becuana boys gave the Helmore children 'some mud horsees' (sic) 'so nicely made with real horsehair for the tail', 'a little while ago some boys gave us some pretty little waggons made of reeds with mud wheels'.[95] The High Church *Children's Tidings*, in 1885, described how boys in a home in Africa, are 'wonderfully clever, for instance, at making knives'.[96] Marbles, also of ancient origin,[97] could be made with clay, so may have been Indigenous. In New Zealand, in 1845, William Charles Cotton described 'Y Māori boys playing at marbles' after a Twelfth Night party.[98] In the 1850s, an African waggon driver gave Willie Helmore some marbles.[99] Indeed, in 1852, a boy at school in New

[92] Brewin, *Memoir*, 215.

[93] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 227-9.

[94] See Jean-Pierre Rossie, "Material Culture in North African children's play or heritage," in *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, eds Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 278. Nelson Mandela (b. 1918) also made toys with clay as a child. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (London: Abacus, 1995, Repr. 2013), 11.

[95] Willie Helmore to Olive Helmore, March 16th 1859, Likatlon. No. 15, Helmore Papers.

[96] *Children's Tidings,* July 1885, 7.

[97] Jaffe, *History,* 2, 21-2. Letter about William Knibb, Liverpool, Jan 6th 1846, Knibb box, Angus library, Oxford. (He won all his friends' marbles as a child.)

[98] Cotton Journals, Vol X, f.16.1845, SLNSW.

[99] Willie Helmore to Olive Helmore, March 16th 1859, Likatlon. No. 15, Helmore Papers.

Zealand, pulled a nugget of gold out of his pocket, as Lush would have pulled out a marble.[100] Mrs Wakefield was surprised to see a doll in the Wanika tribe, made of a piece of wood, with beads for hair and dress, nursed by a thirteen year old, and resembling ancient types of dolls.[101] However, usually, whether at Mombasa on the coast, or in Ribe inland children and even adults came begging for toys or playthings.[102]

Europeans created toys, which might have Christian associations. To make Sunday enjoyable, Mrs Kennedy (in India) made a Garden of Eden, by sticking flowers into a chair, in the 1850s.[103] In the 1820s, instead of Noah's Ark, (a toy which was permitted on Sunday), [104] the children of the Rev Alphonse Lacroix had 'a fleet of paper boats and menagerie of birds and beasts cut out in pasteboard by my father and painted by ourselves'.[105] Missionaries also made non-religious objects. On board ship from New Zealand in 1848, Mr .Bambridge 'made 12 little windmills' for the missionary children.[106] Nellie Wakefield played in the middle of a necklace of cotton reels, strung by her mother, with African children.[107] Like the 'Becuana boys', cited above, George Barker's daughters made waggons and a toy house, but

[100] Drummond, ed, *Auckland Journals,* 126.

[101] Brewin, *Memoir*, 256. Jaffe, *History*, 123 argued that 'dolls made in Sudan and Angola in the nineteenth century' resemble those made 4000 years earlier.

[102] Brewin, *Memoir*, 228: also 267, 201.

[103] Kennedy, *Memoir*, 115.

[104] Doreen Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 226. Noah's Arks originated in Germany in the sixteenth century.

[105] Mullens, *Memoir*, 334-6.

[106] Cotton Journals, Vol XII, f. 54. Sat April 26 1848. SLNSW. They also fished and let off balloons with the children.

[107] Brewin, *Memoir*, 214.

with his help.[108] The Barkers' servants (in the 1820s) helped mend and make toys,[109] while in the 1880s the Price's governess explained how to make a toy horse for the boys to practise riding, and a grocer's shop out of a packing case.[110] In 1857, a carpenter in New Zealand who was making a wheelbarrow for Martin Lush's birthday, said he would like to make one for Charlie as well.[111] While this shows engagement with the local community, it also highlights how children's toys did not need to be commercially produced.

Manufactured objects

Commercially produced toys could be obtained overseas and in Britain. Despite discourses about the dangers of Hindu culture,[112] the Lacroix family enjoyed locally manufactured objects which their father bought from the Kalighat bazaar,…'huge frogs of painted mud…pith custard apples, pictures of crabs, horses and elephants ...life-like earthen image of crow or snake'.[113] Some missionary children had manufactured toys from Europe.[114] The bishop's son Willie Selwyn had so many German bricks that 'some are put by for future use'. He also loved putting together a mosaic puzzle.[115] In 1844, before a party at the Selwyns', the guests were putting away Willie's bricks in boxes, and played with and disentangled Willie's juggler.[116] Here, a child's playthings were centre stage at an adult party,

[108] George Barker to his sister, Theopolis, 5 May, 1838. f. 10, MFB 57, NLSA.

[109] George Barker to his sister, Theopolis, 17 Oct 1838, f. 11 (3), MFB 57, NLSA.

[110] Long, ed., *Journals*, 457, 459.

[111] Drummond, ed., *Auckland Journals*, 190.

[112] Buettner, *Empire Families*, 52-62.

[113] Mullens, *Memoir*, 93, 335-6.

[114] For the history of bricks, see Jaffe, *History*, 41, 106-7.

[115] Cotton journals, Vol X, f.10A, July 16th 1845.SLNSW.

[116] Cotton journals, Vol VII, f.103, Waimate 1844, March ii-Aug xxv, SLNSW.

suggesting that children might have more freedom in the colonial context. However, the rule of St John's College, that goods should be held in common, [117] was puzzling:–'that soon his grenadier is not his own… "Does papa like to play with my grenadier?"'[118] The children of the Rev Vicesimus Lush initially had very few toys, and had strawberries as their "Christmas boxes" in 1857.[119] However, Mary, aged nearly six, was sent a precious wax doll from England in 1852, and in 1857, Anne had a Noah's Ark.[120] Mrs Kennedy in India ordered the very best Noah's Ark for her children.[121] Family friends could be a source of different playthings: Elizabeth Price's children played with a dolls' house near Cape Town in 1879, at the house of Mrs Bleek, wife of the manuscript curator.[122]

Manufactured toys may also have been gender-differentiated. In the 1850s, in India 'Henry Weitbrecht had brought his bow and arrow 'and is shooting paddy birds' on a missionary journey.[123] In 1851 David Livingstone's children were sent apparently gendered toys from Scotland: a horse and phaeton which the two boys (aged three and one) ran about with endlessly, and a doll (for Nanee, the girl) and an earthenware ball.[124] However, Livingstone's next request suggested that both sexes might like a set of tea cups and

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[117] Allan Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: the College of St John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland, 1843-1992: A History* (Auckland: College of St John the Evangelist, 1993), 37.

[118] Cotton journals, Vol X, f.10A, July 16th 1845, SLNSW.

[119] Drummond, ed. *Auckland journals*, 170.

[120] Drummond, ed., *Auckland journals*, 120, 182-3.

[121] Kennedy, *Memoir*, 67-8.

[122] Long, ed., *Journals*, 304.

[123] Weitbrecht, *Memoir*, 424.

[124] [David Livingstone], *Family Letters, 1841-59: Vol II, 1849-1856, edited with an introduction by I. Schapera*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1959), 120.

saucers.[125] In 1850, the Lush girls had battledores and shuttlecocks in their box from England and played with them indoors.[126]

Margot Finn has argued for the importance of gift-giving to the 'emotional economy' of Anglo-Indian families from 1780 to 1820,[127] and the enthusiastic reception and transmission of boxes from England illustrated membership of such a transnational community.[128] Indeed, Mrs Hinderer perceived sending and receiving boxes as inculcating warm and positive feelings about friends overseas.[129] Thus, Church Missionary Society (CMS) wife Marianne Williams recorded in 1830, 'The toys and dolls were quite intoxicating and 'delightful' 'to young or old'.[130] Opening the box was a great moment for the Lush and Livingstone families.[131] Pictures, books and toys were requested from England as well as clothes and useful items.[132] Indeed, Māori pupils at Rangihoua, New Zealand, in 1819 received small iron toys as rewards.[133] In June 1839, William Knibb, missionary in Jamaica requested 'Dolls, and all kinds of Toys'.[134] In October 1855, Mrs Hinderer in West Africa

[125] Ibid, 148.

[126] Drummond, ed, *Auckland Journals*, 34.

[127] Finn, "Colonial Gifts," 203-30.

[128] Brewin, *Memoir*, 209-10, 226.

[129] Hinderer, *Seventeen Years*, 130.

[130] Fitzgerald, *Letters*, 192. 7 Sept 1830.

[131] [Livingstone], *Family Letters*, 120: Drummond, ed *Auckland Journals*, 34.

[132] Robert Moffat to Miss Kent, Robert Moffat Collection, MS 349, NLSA.

[133] May, Prochner and Kaur, *Empire*, 65. James Bowen, *A History of Western Education, vol. 3: the Modern West, Europe and the New World* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1981), plate. 12. Thanks to Margaret Lock for this reference.

[134] William Knibb to Mrs Adey, June 1839, Falmouth, Jamaica, William Knibb Correspondence and Papers, 1822-42, W1/3, Oxford University, Regent's Park College, Angus Library and Archive.

received a 'beautiful box of toys' from Lady Hannah Buxton in England. The children were 'wild with delight' and 'were greatly pleased with their playthings'. At a feast: 'I gave each of the girls one of the nice little handkerchiefs, and a pretty pin to fasten it, to their very great delight; ...The boys had their share of guns and tops, but a pencil and a piece of paper is their crowning pleasure'.[135] In contrast to Hinderer's descriptions of outdoor play, these gifts were gendered. Many mission schools requested dolls to give girls as prizes,[136] and 'The Girls at Mbweni', liked dolls to dress and undress, and made clothes for them like their own, some European, and some 'in native fashion'.[137] Here, children exercised a choice as to which culture to follow. Indeed, in the 1860s, it was reported that 'Hindoo girls (from Madras) sent over presents of little dolls dressed in Hindoo garments, the work of their own skilful fingers', to the Hospital for Sick Children.[138] By 1866, Hannah Buxton's grandchildren were receiving toys which they repacked and sent to West Africa, thus further illustrating the loop of global gift exchange between children.[139]

[135] Hinderer, *Seventeen Years*, 108, 158.

[136] Rosemary Seton, *Western Sisters in Eastern Lands* (Oxford, England: Praeger, 2012), 92-3.

[137] *Children's Tidings*, June 10th 1885 'The Girls at Mbweni', 6.

[138] Press Cuttings, 1852-79, *Kind Words*, March 1866, Great Ormond Street Hospital archives.

[139] Ellen Buxton, A *Family Sketchbook one hundred years ago*, arranged by her granddaughter Ellen Creighton (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1966) 35, 44, 77.

E. Ellen Buxton, *Family Sketchbook one hundred years ago arranged by her granddaughter Ellen Creighton,* rev edn, London: Geoffrey Bles, 1969 , 78.

Caption "Unpacking the parcels of toys for the black children in Mrs Hinderer's school in Ibadan".

Pictures and Picture Books

Missionaries' and Indigenous children also shared experiences of pictures and picture books. Recommended as pedagogic tools by Jan Amos Comenius in 1659,[140] pictures, with alphabet books, prints, illustrated books and tracts from the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, British and Foreign Bible Society, and British and Foreign School Society

[140] Jill Shefrin, "'Adapted and Used in Infants' Schools, Nurseries, &c'; Booksellers and the Infant School Market," in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, eds Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 163-80; Jill Shefrin, *The Dartons: Publishers of Educational Aids, Pastimes and Juvenile Ephemera, 1787-1876* (Princeton, New Jersey: Cotsen Children's Library, 2009), 1, 9-13.

comprised branded, mass-produced, globalised objects, used particularly in infants' and in some Sunday schools in Britain by the 1810s.[141] Missionaries' children might have their own picture books: for example, the Lacroix children [142] and the Kennedys,[143] in India, from the 1820s to 1850s, while the Baptist Phillippos' sons, in Jamaica, aged three and two, allegedly loved 'The Child's Picture Story Book'.[144] For Indigenous and missionaries' children, the *Illustrated London News* (founded in 1842) was a great resource. In 1873, Mrs Wakefield wrote from East Africa requesting a 'Picture Book' for Nellie, as they had only the "Illustrated London News" to show her.[145] In West Africa, in the 1850s, Mrs Hinderer 'pasted up pictures from the London News' for 'her' children, an immense delight'.[146] Pictures were embedded in reciprocal patterns of gift exchange, initiated by Indigenous children. In Mombasa, in the 1870s, 'a lot of Hindu boys come bringing an egg each-wanted to exchange for a picture. I gave them a leaf or two of some very old copies of the *Illustrated London News*–much pleased. Soon there was more demand than I could supply'.[147]

Missionaries, whether from British Guiana in 1809, or from New Zealand in 1826, also requested religious pictures and picture books from Britain.[148] Again, they were used by

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[141] Shefrin, *Dartons,* 73-4. Thomas Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*: *Sunday schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 115.

[142] Mullens, *Memoir,* 333.

[143] Kennedy, *Memoir*, 67. (Benares 1847-50).

[144] Mrs Philippo to Hannah in England (aged 4) Letter 174/2 (insert). Philippo biography, Autobiography. Angus Library, Oxford.

[145] Brewin, *Memoir*, 209-210. The *ILN* was established in 1842.

[146] Hinderer, *Seventeen Years*, 266. In South Africa, the Price children were pasting pictures all day long in 1881. Long, ed., *Journals*, 156.

[147] Brewin, *Memoir,* 228.

[148] John Davies to London, 12 June 1809, Georgetown. British Guiana Incoming Correspondence 1/1/ D, CWM/LMS: Fitzgerald, ed, *Letters*, 118.

both missionaries' and Indigenous children. In the 1840s, the Congregational Henderson children in British Guiana were shown the pictures sent for the Sunday school, and knew the 'Scripture characters' by heart.[149] In 1855, the Anglican Mrs Hinderer in West Africa wished 'our dear friends could have seen the children's interest when I explained' … 'the beautiful Scripture puzzle and Scripture pictures on Sunday evening'.[150] Such letters imaginatively associated missionary supporters with children overseas via concrete objects, as described by Catherine Hall for Birmingham chapel communities and Baptist missionaries in Jamaica.[151]

Sick Indigenous children might have individual access to picture books. The dying Edward Haynes was offered one in Jamaica in 1845,[152] while 'Sophy', in West Africa allegedly enjoyed having the picture book all to herself.[153] Pictures became increasingly available in infants' schools.[154] In 1841, ten sets of infant school apparatus of Mr Buchanan were sent 'to instruct us in the South Seas'.[155] In 1868, in Mauritius, 'all men, women and children are extremely fond of picture teaching'.[156] In 1867, in Canada, tracts in 'the Arawak,

[149] Henderson, *Missionary's Wife,* 97.

[150] Hinderer, *Seventeen Years*, 108.

[151] Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 288-89.

[152] John Gibson to Messrs Tidman and Freeman, 9 January 1845, Jamaica Incoming Correspondence, 1845-1848, 5/ 1/1, CWM/LMS.

[153] Hinderer, *Seventeen Years*, 186.

[154] May, Prochner and Kaur, *Empire*, 88.

[155] J. Rodgerson to London, Tahiti 24 Dec 1841, SSIL, 14/3/C.

[156] Diocese of Mauritius **(**Madagascar) 10477, 30 June 1868, (1543), f. 1569. Missionary reports, E21. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (hereafter SPG).

Caribi and Waran tongues' were 'rendered attractive by small illustrations from the Old and New Testament'.[157]

Non-religious books and Indigenous stories were great sources of enjoyment to missionaries' children.[158] Indeed, in India, about 1850, the Kennedy boys 'would leave their play at once if their mother was ready, book in hand'.[159] Rogie Price and the Moffat girls both read to their parents, Rogie Price reading *Old Deccan Days.* [160]Annie Small's father told her old Indian tales, as well as the 'true story' of how Dr Livingstone crossed the India Ocean.[161] Some were more overtly gendered, such as Charlie Lush's *Boys' Own book.*[162] Children's books were sent overseas for Indigenous children, and in Jamaica in 1846 were 'given as rewards to our Scholars'.[163] Missionaries' children also had access to books translated into Indigenous languages, for example, *Pilgrim's Progress,* in Sechuana in the 1880s, while Dutch children's books were also given away.[164]

Thus, there was considerable evidence of Indigenous children receiving toys as rewards and having similar experiences of books and pictures to missionaries' children. This process was reciprocal, as Indigenous children also offered toys as gifts, or objects as a form of gift

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[157] Superintendent, Indian missions, 31st March 1867, f. 1445.Missionary reports, E22, SPG. Long, ed., *Journals*, 206, 215. In South Africa, in 1866, school pictures and picture books wore out and Elizabeth Price had to request more.

[158] Long, ed., *Journals*, 54-5. See Peter Hunt, *Children's Literature: an Illustrated History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 125.

[159] Kennedy, *Memoir*, 115, 67, (Benares 1847-50).

[160] *Old Deccan Days, or Hindoo Fairy Legends*, edited by Mary Ellen Isabella Frere Long, *Journals*, 306.

[161] Wyon, *Three Windows,* 10, 14.

[162] Drummond, ed., *Auckland Journals*, 192.

[163] Walter Dendy, N 209, Salters Hill, 6th July 1846, Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) correspondence, MS 378. National Library of Jamaica.

[164] Long, ed., *Journals*, 419, 442.

exchange, and could exercise agency by making their own toys, their skill being admired by Europeans. Religious objects created webs of connection within and between imagined communities in England. Thus, the cross-cultural encounter through play was marked by reciprocity as well as acculturation.

Recreation: journeys, festivals and youth organisations

It has been argued that a preoccupation of Methodists, Dissenters, and Evangelicals in Britain, was which kinds of recreation were 'safe'.[165] Missionaries had limited resources, yet recreational activities were also a form of evangelization, and a means of consolidating the mission community. This section will examine their social context and organization by age, gender, and location. They include missionary journeys, the social life of balls and dances, festivals, and philanthropic organizations.

Journeys, a necessity for mission purposes, as well as to visit 'home', could provide entertainment as well as a change of scene for health. In 1837, George Barker with five of his children enjoyed the visit to the annual missionary meetings in South Africa.[166] In 1849 'Henry, Mary and Jane [Weitbrecht] were to accompany their parents, in India, 'on a very large elephant'.[167] In 1879, the younger Price children were 'wild with fun and delight' on going to Cape Town in a wagon.[168] Missionaries' wives and children were often described as assisting evangelization. Thus, the Wengers in India in the 1850s, and the Holman Bentleys and Wakefields in Africa in the 1870s, visited places where no European lady or child had

[165] Doreen Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 73, 86-8: Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 90.

[166] George Barker to his sister, Theopolis, f. 8. 20 Dec 1837, Barker Papers, NLSA, MSB 57.

[167] Weitbrecht, *Memoir*, 395.

[168] Long, ed., *Journals*, 322.Weitbrecht, *Memoir*, 435. For other examples, see Brewin, *Memoir*, 226-32.

been seen before, and attracted a great deal of interest, the Holman Bentley's baby allegedly discouraging attack.[169]

On festival days, there were differing levels of inclusion, by age, gender and ethnicity. In India, in the 1840s, the Lacroix family had entertainments which reflected Indigenous amusements, including a tame bear, snake charmer, pyrotechnic exhibition, and pet chameleon.[170] About 1845, Mrs Weitbrecht arranged a little concert with the new organ from England, and the orphan girls were allowed to come in 'clean white garments'.[171] The Anglican missionaries held a Twelfth Night party in New Zealand in 1845. There were three sets of snapdragon,[172] 'one for ourselves, one for the Māori boys, and one for the Māori men'.[173] Thus, there were segregated groups within this shared activity, and no Māori females participated. St John's College, Bishop's Auckland, was a site for sociability for all ages.[174] In 1852, Vicesimus Lush took his elder girls to the communal dining room for Harvest Home, and they ate with about 200 people.[175] Other all-age entertainments included an Oratorio, which Blanney Lush had been anticipating for months.[176] However, while the

[169] Brewin, *Memoir*, 113. Edward Bean Underhill, *The Life of the Revd John Wenger, D.D. missionary in India and translator of the Bible into Bengali and Sanscrit (*London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1886), 204, 256. Mrs Margo H. Bentley, *Holman Bentley: The Life and Labours of a Congo Pioneer* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1907), 109, 199, 209-210.

[170] Mullens, *Memoir*, 351.

[171] Weitbrecht, *Memoir*, 176, 185, 301.

[172] A game played by pouring hot brandy over raisins and pulling them out.

[173] Cotton Journals, Vol X, f. 17, Jan 6th 1845, SLNSW.

[174] Drummond, ed, *Auckland Journals*, 271.

[175] Drummond, ed, *Auckland Journals*, 104.

[176] Ibid, 170.

Government Levee in 1852 included Māori, Lush thought the food for them was 'a miserable affair'.[177]

Mission communities had different types of recreational events for all age groups. Ball games might be played by everyone. In the summer of 1833-4, the CMS missionary William Williams sent to England for cricket bats and balls, and the whole settlement at Paihia Bay, men, women and children, about forty or fifty a side, played on the beach: again, including Māori and missionaries.[178] Yet, earlier, in September 1828, only the English boys and men (but not females or Māori) were invited to Mr Brown's house to learn a new game.[179] By the 1840s, William Cotton organised cricket matches between the married and single missionaries.[180]

On mission stations, magic lantern displays, as conducted by Robert Moffat, (in the 1850s)[181] might include everyone. Moffat also conducted displays including the galvanic battery, or the Microscopic specimens of small insects, the telescope for the moon or the stars, or 'the fire-machine'.[182] Other magic lantern displays were conducted by "Mr W" in Berbice, Guiana, about 1853,[183] and by the Wakefields in East Africa in 1872, after a feast and holiday, who recorded 'how amazed and delighted' they all were'.[184]

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[177] Ibid, 115-6.

[178] Fitzgerald, ed, *Letters*, 213-4.

[179] Fitzgerald, ed, *Letters*, 155.

[180] [Helen Hogan], ed. *Renata's Journey: Ko te Haerenga o Renata, translated, edited and annotated by Helen Hogan* (Christchurch: Canterbury, 1994), 129.

[181] T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, (Cambridge: Wm B. Ferdmans Publishing Co, 2012), 207, 212.

[182] Long, ed., *Journals*, 61.

[183] Henderson, *Memoir*, 101.

[184] Brewin, *Memoir*, 186.

Feasts might be differentiated by age as well as ethnicity, focusing only on children, for the annual Sunday school treats, and the children's examinations and school feast in Huahine.[185] On Twelfth Night 1852, 289 children sat down to a dinner at St John's College in New Zealand. Feasts were held for Nellie Wakefield in East Africa, with all the children associated with the mission, at Christmas in 1871.[186] Other organised events were only for children of European origin, for example, Annie Small recalled a children's fete in the Public Gardens at Poona in the 1870s.[187]

As children, especially girls, grew older, parents might express concern about the lack of social opportunities.[188] George Barker wrote from South Africa in 1826 and 1838 that they had not a friend in the world, and that his daughters wanted more society, and that they had no visits to make.[189] However, the Wray daughters in British Guiana (in 1830) were said to be so committed to their work that they had no time or desire for socialising and refused invitations from the 'highest quarters'.[190] Conversely, the memoir of the mixed-race Joseph Merrick, in Jamaica described how, when Merrick, previously a serious student, moved to Port Royal, he was then influenced by his friends (c. 1835-6) and became interested in 'the ball room'. However, after his sister died, the ball and dance 'lost their charms'.[191]

[185] Brewin, *Memoir*, 260. Charles Barff, Huahine, 28 May 1849. (100 children) SSIL, 22/1/A.

[186] Brewin, *Memoir*, 150.

[187] Wyon, *Three Windows*, 14.

[188] See Manktelow, *Missionary Families*, 108.

[189] George Barker to his sister, f. 2 (1) 18 Aug 1826: f.10 (1), 5 May 1838, Barker Papers, MSB 57. NLSA.

[190] Rain, *Wray*, 276.

[191] Clarke, *Memoir*, 58.

In England and overseas, as Frank Prochaska has shown, religious organizations were an approved form of juvenile occupation.[192] These were founded overseas long before the 1840s, identified as the peak period in Britain.[193] Thus, about 1810, Mrs Matilda Smith founded a Juvenile Missionary Association in Cape Town which existed for seven years, which was attended by the future elite and 'most respectable inhabitants'.[194] Young people might take the initiative. Thus, in the 1830s, Indigenous children in the school at Jericho (Jamaica) had a society for making clothes to go to Africa.[195] In 1844, the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* reported how African children had formed their own missionary society and made money by selling bark. Such articles not only stressed children's agency, but presented Indigenous children as exemplars to Europeans.[196] In similar vein, in 1866, in South Africa, the Rev W.H.Turpin, in Grahamstown, reported how 'native choirs' would go round the streets at Christmas singing appropriate hymns, rather than the old customs of Waits and mumming.[197]

There were thus a range of recreational opportunities associated with religion. Some were apparently open to all, while others included forms of segregation. Others over the period increasingly focused on the young, but included Indigenous and missionaries' children

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[192] Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 76-87.

[193] Brian Stanley, "Missionary Regiments for Emmanuel's service," in Wood, ed., *Church and Childhood*, 391-404. S. Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1999). See also Sarah Duff, *Changing Childhoods in the Cape Colony* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 78-80.

[194] John Philip, D.D. *Memoir of Mrs Matilda Smith, late of Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope* (London: F.B. Westley, 1824), 135.

[195] Clarke, *Memoir*, 42.

[196] *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, 1844, June-Aug 1844, 60-62.

[197] Rev W.H. Turpin, Diocese of Grahamstown, 31st Dec 1865, ff. 1153, Missionary Reports, E23, SPG.

Thus, the increasing availability of age-specific entertainments could also be more inclusive of the young, by race and gender.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the social interactions between missionaries' and Indigenous children in relation to social play, objects and forms of recreation, including festivals. Playfulness with very young children was often commended, although expectations of older children might be more demanding. Play could be a point of contact between missionaries' and Indigenous children, especially in the Pacific, China, New Zealand and East and West Africa. Some missionaries as well as educators were confident that foreign-language communication and physical contact were acceptable, if not desirable, and would assist the missionary cause.

The toys of both missionaries' and Indigenous children could occur naturally, be home made, or be globally manufactured and circulated. While missionary children's ownership of toys varied considerably, all missionaries participated to some extent in patterns of global exchange, which could include rewards for Indigenous children. Homemade toys might indicate similarities with Indigenous culture, but also the importing of foreign models. Some missionaries and their children showed appreciation of the skill of Indigenous children, showing the possibilities of acculturation. Some missionaries' children had more freedom than those living in the metropole. Gender boundaries and identities would also seem to have been more fluid in play contexts than has been argued for the English context.

Thus, a more global perspective indicates that there was far more fluidity in the cross-cultural encounter than isolated case-studies might suggest. While some missionaries from the South Pacific believed children should be separated from Indigenous children, this chapter shows that such segregation was not *de rigeur* in all missionary locations, and that

many missionaries welcomed cross-cultural contact through play as integral to the evangelizing mission. While this could be interpreted as a means to co-opt children in the Christianizing or imperial project, the process was not unilateral. Missionaries' children also received toys from Indigenous children, who might also negotiate independently, for example, to obtain pictures. Imaginative play might involve forms of hybridity, yet without apparent concern about corruption. Thus, missionaries across continents and religious denominations noted the universal potential for play as a means of creating and connecting religious childhoods.

Karen Vallgårda has argued that Danish missionaries in South India in the 1890s perceived the inability of South Indian children to play appropriately as indicative of their 'Otherness'.[198] While the missionaries cited here seemed to take a contrary view, it is perhaps instructive that, before the 1870s, work as well as play were acknowledged aspects of childhood, both for missionaries and Indigenous children. Rather than assuming there was one "western" model of childhood, therefore historians should be attuned to the existence of multiple models of childhood in the missionary context.

[198] Vallgarda, *Imperial Childhoods*, 67-9.