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*Butterflies & Barbarians*  
*Swiss Missionaries & Systems of Knowledge*  
*in South-East Africa*

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## *Introduction*

In 1936 the anthropologist Max Gluckman reached the top of the low range of mountains separating the north-western edge of KwaZulu-Natal from southern Mozambique. As he looked down from the Lebombos onto the coastal plain, Gluckman raised his hat in tribute to a Swiss missionary whose anthropological work in the region had laid the foundations of the discipline in South Africa.<sup>1</sup> Henri-Alexandre Junod had died two years earlier in Geneva and his ashes were interred at Rikata near the graves of his infant son Henri-Alexis, his second wife, Helène Kern and Paul Berthoud, one of the founders of his Mission. At Shiluvane, in the Lowveld to the west of the Lebombos, lay the graves of Junod's first wife, Emily Biolley and the remains of their unborn child, as well as that of Helen Kern's infant daughter Eveline. In fact the graves of Junod's colleagues and their companions marked his entire area of fieldwork, from the foothills of the Zoutpansberg down to the coastal plain south of the Limpopo river.

The young Gluckman was unaware of these grim reminders of the high price of early missionary anthropology, nor was he aware of the collective intellectual enterprise that had supported Junod's anthropological work. Gluckman's teachers had established anthropology as a professional discipline in South Africa and were increasingly critical of the methodology employed by amateurs like Junod. By the mid-1930s, the importance of missionaries had declined in the field, and they had lost their foothold in the universities. The new university professionals believed that the missionary was unable to look at African societies in an objective and scientific way because of his vocation. Missionaries like Junod had seen themselves as friends of the native; the professional anthropologists increasingly viewed them as part of the problem of change besetting the native and his world. Anthropologists criticized the theory and method employed by missionaries who were unwilling to leave the safety of the verandah; their evolutionist ideas were outdated, unhelpful and increasingly racist in inspiration and effect. In many ways, anthropologists had defined the professional borders of their discipline in opposition to the amateur missionary-in-the field. Although it went unsaid, this figure often challenged the anthropologist, partly because of the missionary's linguistic skills and his knowledge of deep rural communities and partly because he was a real or potential competitor for funds and professional posts.<sup>2</sup>

Although Junod's work inevitably fell out of fashion, it retained the respect of the anthropological profession. In 1951 Evans-Pritchard called his *The Life of a South African Tribe* 'one of the best anthropological monographs ever written'.<sup>3</sup> Fourteen years later Gluckman would still regard this work as 'a classic . . . one of the best books that we have on a single tribe'.<sup>4</sup> In the 1970s-80s, French-speaking structuralists examined Junod's ethnography with a new eye, just as British anthropology sank into a fog of embarrassment over the outdated approaches used by authors like Junod.<sup>5</sup> But even during these difficult years for the British school, Adam Kuper could refer to Junod's monograph as one of its 'magisterial ethnographies'.<sup>6</sup> In 1994 Adrian Hastings called it a 'masterpiece', the finest work produced in Africa before the arrival of professional anthropology.<sup>7</sup> More recently, in perhaps the greatest tribute to the missionary-anthropologist, W.D. Hammond-Tooke used Junod's picture as the frontispiece to his reflection on the history of modern anthropology in South Africa, a place from which the missionary-anthropologist casts a patriarchal gaze on the professional work of subsequent generations.<sup>8</sup>

One of the major themes I pursue in this book is an examination of the factors that predisposed a young theological student from Neuchâtel in Switzerland, the author of an 1885 thesis on 'The Perfect Holiness of Jesus Christ', to become an internationally renowned anthropologist.<sup>9</sup> But this book is not a biography of Junod nor is it a study of his missionary society, a theme that has received the attention of several generations of worthy scholarship.<sup>10</sup> My main concern is to undertake a microstudy of one small missionary society as a site for the construction of knowledge about Africa. In the process I focus on the interaction between the Swiss missionaries and the people who, at least partly under their influence, would come to see themselves as members of the Thonga or Tsonga ethnic group. In this book I am less concerned with capturing subaltern experience than I am with showing how a small group of European intellectuals came to portray Africa and, in the process, to construct an 'African voice'.<sup>11</sup> I look at how their ideas were shaped and ordered by their social origins and interests in Europe and by the context of the times in which they lived; how these ideas changed through contact with a richly eclectic variety of traditions in the growing fields of missiology, the natural sciences, linguistics and anthropology. I am particularly concerned to examine the way in which their partial immersion in the field led them, and later their congregants and others, to construct systems of knowledge that gave meaning to their changing world. In the process, I look at the various narrative practices employed by the missionaries, as well as the institutions that legitimated and spread their representation of Africans and their environment, and how disputes and differences within the mission changed their perspectives.

The *Kulturträger* of the Swiss Romande Mission were resolutely middle-class and generally highly educated. They carried to Africa a series of experiences and values forged during a period of social and political upheaval in French-speaking, western Switzerland. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they applied to Africa a series of scientific practices, rooted in the Enlightenment, that quickly cast them, once in Africa, as experts on 'the native question'. Their representation of tribal life had a strong influence on various leaders of public opinion in southern Africa, stretching from lawmakers to jurists and politicians to those who adopted a Thonga ethnic consciousness.<sup>12</sup> This book emphasizes how these European intellectuals, who were brought by their vocation from a country without colonies to deep rural areas of Africa, formulated and debated, ordered and arranged, knowledge about Africa.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, scientific and secular ideas associated with the Enlightenment were altering the way in which the Swiss related to their environment and to each other. Romanticism and waves of religious revival added to the chaos of comprehension as people and communities attempted to provide their tumultuous world with order and understanding. Their notion of space was transformed as much by the telescope and microscope as by new geographical discoveries. At the same time, advances made in geology, glaciology and palaeontology hurtled the age of the world backwards. As the Swiss struggled to orientate themselves in space and time, their views of everything from religion to landscape and politics underwent a rapid and shifting transformation.

The missionaries took this experience of rapid change to Africa where they used a number of established practices to give meaning to their new world. Their propaganda described Africa as a continent of darkness to which missionaries carried the light of spiritual and secular salvation. Through a mixture of religion and science and with the help of their supporters at home, they promised to raise a population of enigmatic pagans from a state of intellectual childhood to a responsible maturity. But in another genre of literature, aimed at a more secular readership and carried by the journals of scientific and geographical societies, as well as by specialized religious magazines, the missionaries described a very different Africa. In the picture of the world carried by this literature, Africans contributed to the vision of the missionary *Aufklärer* in various ways. African evangelists, guides, collectors, translators and specialists in anything from medicine to music, plant life to linguistics, supplied the missionaries with the knowledge needed to make sense of the environment and its inhabitants. Most missionaries were only interested in the raw data provided by their informants. Henri-Alexandre Junod stands out, however, because his curiosity extended to the ways in which his informants organized and regulated their knowledge and, in so doing, infused their world with meaning. He was particularly impressed by the grammatical structures of the languages he studied and by the patterns of music, folklore and kinship he observed. Although he viewed the ways people arranged their knowledge of plant- and animal-life as archaic and outmoded, and advocated more 'modern' and 'universal' ways of understanding nature, he took seriously native systems of framing data and making sense of it. Like Junod, Africans adopted and adapted foreign ways of seeing and doing things and rapidly made them their own.<sup>13</sup> This book is a history of the swirling interaction of ideas, beliefs and practices in one part of Africa before and during the early years of colonialism. But it is equally a history of ordinary people and of their ability to challenge, adapt, change and subvert those ideas.

The book starts with an examination of the Christian revival that swept across western Switzerland in the early nineteenth century. This gave birth to various Free Churches, an important missionary society, and an intellectual milieu that produced individuals such as Adolphe Mabile, Frédéric Ellenberger, Henri-Alexandre Junod, Henri Berthoud, Edouard Jacotet, Héli Chatelain and Henri Perregaux, who would make pioneering contributions to the field of African Studies. The chapter draws attention to the turbulent nature of a church produced by the dramatic politics and religious changes of mid-nineteenth-century Switzerland. The consequences for the mission of the struggle to create a church independent of government controls, but responsive to the ideals of the Christian revival, are traced in later chapters. These include the emergence of a new and dynamic church equipped with a particularly tolerant theology but unsure of its position and place in Switzerland and the world.

This caused the church to grow into an especially intellectual institution for which missionary work was associated with revival and with the establishment, in Africa, of a world it had lost in Switzerland.

In the second chapter, I turn to the reverberations of mission work in Africa on the home community in Switzerland. Here I emphasize the way in which missionary work, and with it an image of Africa, filtered into and influenced many aspects of life in the metropole. Transnational missionary societies provide a good field of study for this form of global experience that C.A. Bayly has recently called 'lateral history'.<sup>14</sup> The widespread support for missionary activity during the second half of the nineteenth century may be attributed partly to the influence on the cultural life of French-speaking Switzerland of images and experiences produced in Africa. The mission played an important role in shaping the way in which the Swiss – a people severely divided by language, religion, region and class – came to see themselves as a single community. The mission also introduced the Swiss to Africa as a world in which they could at once recover their own lost values, situate themselves in geological time and discover a range of new creative energies. The mission introduced Switzerland to forms of art, music and storytelling that were not confined by the conventions of the age. Missionary propaganda brought Africa directly into the intimate recesses of Swiss homes. In both private and public spaces, the picture of the dark continent served as a foil against which the Swiss could measure the evolution of their own society; a repository for a range of resources that would help revitalize that society and revivify its institutions and practices. Institutions such as the Sunday school, the museum and the botanical garden introduced the Swiss – a people without colonies or a population of slave-descent – to this exciting new world. I stress in this chapter that they also created the cultural conditions for the normalization of imperialism.<sup>15</sup>

The first French-speaking Swiss missionaries arrived in Lesotho in the 1850s where they worked for the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. Twenty years later, the Free Church of the canton of Vaud established its own Society and sent missionaries to the northern Transvaal. From their base in the foothills of the Zoutpansberg, native converts extended the work of the mission to the coastal plain of Mozambique. The establishment of a native church, free of missionary control, underlines the important role of black converts in the spread of Christianity. It also stresses the significant part played by Africans in the construction of Christian beliefs and practices, especially in areas where white missionaries exercised little control. In chapter three I examine this Christian movement, the success of which depended on a notion of revealed religion that was initially shared by both white missionaries and black congregants. But when the Swiss missionaries sought to contain and control the movement, they subjected their society to soul-searching debates over the limits of religious toleration. This was a divisive and emotional issue for a mission born of a church that was itself the product of intolerance at home. In the event, the discipline imposed on the native church had to take account of the competing forms of Christianity on offer in southern Mozambique. The final part of the chapter traces the appeal of new forms of Christianity that arrived in the coastal areas of southern Mozambique, often without the direction and supervision of missionaries. I stress here, as in the first and last chapters and the conclusion, that Christianity was a moving force open to high levels of contestation in both Switzerland and Africa. Migrant workers returning from South Africa with a knowledge of Christianity or with a Christian wife, or merely with a vague ability to read or a cash wage, initiated a movement of change that

the missionaries could do little to restrain. This view of a dynamic and indigenized Christianity, the issue of a religion born in the Levant and nurtured in North Africa, questions the degree to which the central missions in South Africa, and particularly their numerous out-stations, can be seen as colonial institutions or as sites for the colonization of consciousness.

In the following chapter I examine the ways in which the missionaries looked at an unfamiliar landscape.<sup>16</sup> I suggest that their view of the land in Africa was produced by conventions of seeing that were, like their practice of Christianity, the result of a long history in Switzerland. The missionaries' inability to see the African landscape was a product of a visual estrangement that partly explains how they saw, or failed to see, the occupants of that land. However, as they explored the country and subjected it to a new gaze, these *Aufklärer* reduced it to the manageable proportions and familiar outlines of a map. At the same time, they carefully collected and classified animals and plants and engaged in meticulous meteorological studies. Once they had established a cognitive control over the land, the missionaries were able to view the African population in new and more empathetic ways.

In chapter five I expand on the methods used by the Swiss missionaries to establish a cognitive control over their environment. While cartography reduced the land to the proportions of a map, their research in the natural sciences helped fit them into a global network that brought the chaos of nature into well-ordered collections. In this chapter I particularly focus on Henri-Alexandre Junod, who arrived in Mozambique in 1889 with a passion for the natural sciences and a thorough training in philology and theology. In Africa he became a pioneering collector in the fields of entomology and botany.<sup>17</sup> Through the scientific method that he applied to the study of nature, Junod created regularity, order, patterns, uniformities and recurrences. By sending plants and animals to Europe to be arranged and classified, he constructed the discrete, named categories that made nature, like landscape, perceptible to Europeans.

This scientific approach also provided Junod with a more dispassionate gaze when he turned later to 'discover' laws and systems in the cultural practices of the people he came to call the 'Thonga'. His experience in the field in Africa and his interaction with professional scientists also led him to reinforce his belief in God and divine providence with an acquired faith in the laws of nature and natural selection.<sup>18</sup> Junod believed that this combination of God and science would bring about both the religious and secular conversion of unbelievers and in the process would fill the dark corners of his world with progress and improvement. At the same time, Junod's understanding of nature and its powers of conversion supported contemporary ideas about Europe's civilizing mission. However, unlike some modern historians of this process, he recognized both the different ways indigenous people comprehended and gave meaning to nature and the ways in which they contributed to his knowledge of the subject.<sup>19</sup> But at the same time, Junod insisted on the gulf between local and universal knowledge systems that in the African context contributed to the racialization of 'science' as a European construct.

The scientific method also influenced how the Swiss missionaries transcribed oral languages.<sup>20</sup> When they arrived in the northern Transvaal, the missionaries outlined the borders and content of a written, standard language they called Gwamba. In chapter six I investigate the ways in which they defined and delineated this mission language, or 'discovered' it, in much the same way as they 'discovered' (rather than assembled or invented) various species of plants and animals. The chapter looks at

the debate within the mission over the division of Gwamba into two separate languages: Ronga and Thonga. It also broaches the history of the Tswa language, transcribed by American Board missionaries and later grouped along with Ronga and Thonga in the Tsonga cluster. The chapter pays particular attention to the role of African intermediaries in the construction of these written languages and underlines the political pragmatism behind the scientific work in the field of Bantu philology.

The transcription of a language has multiple consequences for its speakers. In chapter seven I look at the task of social engineering undertaken by the missionaries through their control of a standard, written Thonga language. Literacy was the basic tool through which the laws of God and science would bring about a strictly controlled transformation of African society. However, the missionaries lacked the resources needed to turn Africans into the avid readers and writers found in Switzerland. In a vibrantly oral society, the power of literacy was often yoked to the interests of the established political order. Far from taming the savage mind, literacy in the Thonga language often reinforced the power of the old order.<sup>21</sup> Yet at the same time, a fragile new elite adopted and harnessed the missionaries' meaning of literacy. Thirty years after the Swiss missionaries arrived in southern Africa, some of these converts started to identify themselves as 'Thongas', the people to whom the missionaries had been called by their vocation. Through their control of the skills of reading and writing, these Christians were able to establish themselves as modernizers and progressives who would one day seize the political crown abandoned by colonialism.

In chapter eight I look at the anthropology produced by the Swiss Mission and particularly concentrate on Junod's emergence as the dominant figure in this field.<sup>22</sup> The chapter attempts to explain how Junod came to write the highly influential *Life of a South African Tribe* in three successive stages between 1898 and 1927. As I suggest in this and the following chapter, many of Junod's ideas served to build the intellectual foundations of segregation. Yet just as politicians came to see the separation of the races as an answer to 'the native question', a new generation of professional anthropologists questioned the intellectual foundations of this new political policy.

By the 1930s, African society had little in common with the tribal communities first studied by Junod some forty years earlier. For many of the new anthropologists and their liberal political cousins, his work was unable to explain the rapid transformation of society in industrializing South Africa. Yet, as I attempt to show in chapter nine, they were unable to free themselves of many of the basic ideas about Africa contained in Junod's classic work. This intellectual inheritance not only had important political consequences for South Africa; it also reflected and reinforced many of the ideas on which a general understanding of Africa has been built.

### *A Note on Terminology*

In the South African political climate, the meaning attached to words has undergone extensive change. I use the word 'native' throughout this book to mean indigenous people. As the Cape Colony annexed new territories, the 'native question' became increasingly important. During the early decades of union the term acted as a shorthand for the 'problem' posed by the administration, control and political representation of the indigenous population. I use the term without inverted commas. I have

also used anglicized terms for Bantu languages, e.g. South Sotho rather than SeSotho or Ronga rather than Xi-Ronga. I have left proper names in the languages used in the original texts, e.g. Henri or Edouard instead of Henry or Edward; Yosefa and Yonas instead of Joseph and Jonas. In the same vein, I use the term Swiss Romande to refer to French-speaking western Switzerland.

### Notes

- 1 Max Gluckman, *Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society* (Chicago, 1965), p. 21.
- 2 I look at the rise and fall of missionary anthropology in Harries, 'Anthropology' in N. Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire, The Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion series* (Oxford, 2005).
- 3 E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology* (London, 1951), p. 142.
- 4 Gluckman, *Politics, Law and Ritual*, p. 20–21. See also Gluckman, *Essays in the Ritual of Social Relations* (Manchester, 1962), pp. 8–9.
- 5 Luc de Heusch, 'The Debt of the Maternal Uncle: Contribution to the Study of Complex Structures of Kinship', *Man* (1974) 9, 4; de Heusch, 'Heat, Physiology and Cosmogony: rites de passage among the Thonga' in I. Karp and C. S. Bird (eds), *Explorations in African Systems of Thought* (Bloomington IN, 1979); de Heusch, *Sacrifice in Africa: a structuralist approach* (Manchester, 1985); Dominique Zahan, P. Erny, M.-L. Witt, *Le feu en Afrique et thèmes annexes: variations autour de l'oeuvre de H. A. Junod* (Paris, 1995).
- 6 A. Kuper, *Anthropologists and Anthropology. The British School 1922–72* (London, 1973), p. 18.
- 7 A. Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 304–5.
- 8 W. D. Hammond-Tooke, *Imperfect Interpreters: South Africa's Anthropologists 1920–1990* (Johannesburg, 1997). See also Hammond-Tooke, *The Roots of Black South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1993), p. 7.
- 9 A question first posed by Luc de Heusch, 'Heat, Physiology and Cosmogony', p. 29.
- 10 The historiography of the Mission stretches from in-house accounts of missionary achievements to more recent texts laying stress on African initiative. For the former, see Paul Berthoud, *La Mission romande à la Baie de Delagoa* (Lausanne, 1888); P. Berthoud, *Les Nègres gouamba ou les vingt premières années de la mission romande* (Lausanne, 1896); A. Grandjean, *La Mission romande: Ses racines dans le sol Suisse romande: Son épanouissement dans la race thonga* (Lausanne, 1917). For the latter, see especially Jan van Butselaar, *Africains, missionnaires et colonialistes: les origines de l'église presbytérienne du Mozambique, 1880–1896* (Leiden, 1984) and Nicolas Monnier's extended essay, 'Stratégie missionnaire et tactiques d'appropriation indigènes: La Mission romande au Mozambique 1888–1896' in *Le Fait Missionnaire* (Lausanne, December 1995) no. 2; B. Sundkler and C. Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 438–47.
- 11 My approach is closer to Pierre Bourdieu than to James Clifford and George Marcus. See Bourdieu, 'Participant Objectivation', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (2003) 9; J. Clifford and G. Marcus (eds), *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (Berkeley, CA, 1986).
- 12 I look at the emergence of a Thonga identity, particularly from the perspective of unschooled migrant workers, in my *Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860–1910* (Portsmouth, NH, London and Johannesburg, 1994).
- 13 Cf. the adoption by the Marxist government of Mozambique of many of the ideas on literacy advocated by the mission and treated in chapter seven. Harries, 'Missionaries, Marxists and Magic: Power and the Politics of Literacy in South-East Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2001) 3: 27.
- 14 C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914* (Oxford, 2004), p. 4. The importance of empire to the history of the metropole has become axiomatic in British history, cf. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire* (London, 2001); Linda Colley, 'Britishness and otherness: an argument', *Journal of British Studies* (1992) 31. On its application to the history of Christian missions, see Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003), pp. 80–84; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Cambridge, 2002); Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in nineteenth-century England* (Stanford, CA, 1999); John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, CO, 1992), p. 293; Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, I, Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991) chapter three. See also Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: a transnational history of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Johannesburg, Princeton, NJ, 2004). Many of these ideas originated in the context of Imperial History, cf. J. M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: the Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester, 1984); 'Introduction' by John M. Mackenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986); Shula Marks, 'Sniping from the sidelines: History, the nation and empire', *History Workshop Journal* (1990) 29, pp. 111–19; Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa:*

- Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination* (New Haven, CT, 1994); Frederick Cooper and Anne Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, CA, 1997). They were first mentioned, as far as I am aware, by Max Gluckman, *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (London, 1963), p. 215.
- <sup>15</sup> It is often overlooked that the great age of Sunday schools coincided with the age of imperialism. The role of Sunday schools and other religious institutions in the propagation of racism and imperialism is not mentioned in Eric Hobsbawm's classic *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (London, 1987) or Andrew Porter's review of the literature on "Cultural Imperialism" and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780–1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (1997) 25: 3. Nor does it find a place in Andrew Porter's *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004) or John M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999). The relationship between race, imperialism and evangelical literature is mentioned in passing in F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 92–3.
- <sup>16</sup> Some of the following themes have been raised by Sandra E. Greene, *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: a history of meaning and memory in Ghana* (Bloomington, IN, 2002); Terence Ranger, 'African views of the land: a research agenda', *Transformation* (2000) 44; Johannes Fabian, 'Hindsight: Thoughts on Anthropology upon reading Francis Galton's Narrative of an Explorer in tropical South Africa (1853)', *Critique of Anthropology* (1987) 7: 2.
- <sup>17</sup> Few scholars have worked on the role of missionaries in the expansion of western scientific knowledge. Exceptions are Neil Gunson, 'British missionaries and their contribution to science in the Pacific islands' in Roy MacLeod and Philip F. Rehbock (eds), *Darwin's Laboratory: Evolutionary Theory and Natural History in the Pacific* (Honolulu, 1994) and David N. Livingstone, 'Scientific inquiry and the missionary enterprise' in Ruth Finnegan (ed.), *Participating in the Knowledge Society: Researchers beyond University Walls* (Basingstoke, 2005) and John Stenhouse, 'Missionary Science' in David N. Livingstone and Ronald Nimbers (eds), *The Cambridge History of Science* (New York, forthcoming) vol. 8. Abolitionists' attempts to take both science and religion to Africa are examined in Howard Temperley, *White Dreams, Black Africa: the Antislavery Expedition to the River Niger, 1841–1842* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1991) and D. Liebowitz, *The Physician and the Slave Trade: John Kirk, the Livingstone expeditions and the crusade against slavery in East Africa* (New York, 1999). The scientific work of travellers and explorers is well served by Johannes Fabian, *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2000), pp. 180–3, 299n3; Beatrix Heintze, *Ethnographische Aneignungen: Deutsche Forschungsreisende in Angola* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), pp. 21, 26, 102, 126, 180, 202, 233, 362.
- <sup>18</sup> On similar processes elsewhere in the world see Ron Numbers and John Stenhouse (eds), *Disseminating Darwin: The Role of Place, Race, Religion, and Gender* (Cambridge, 1999); D. N. Livingstone et al., *Evangelicals and Science in Historical Perspective* (New York, 1999). It is now common to stress the similarities rather than disagreements between these two systems of belief. Cf. Livingstone, 'Scientific enquiry' in Finnegan (ed.), *Participating in the Knowledge Society* and Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, [1978] 1985), pp. 134–5.
- <sup>19</sup> Historians who have done pioneering work from a critical perspective on the relationship between the natural sciences and the extension of empire seldom take into account native ways of looking at and understanding nature. Ironically, this produces a picture of European scientific practices as the only ones worthy of study. Cf. Roy MacLeod, 'Embryology and Empire: The Balfour students and the quest for intermediate forms in the laboratory of the Pacific' in MacLeod and Rehbock (eds), *Darwin's Laboratory*, pp. 141–4; David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (eds), *Visions of Empire: Voyages, botany and representations of Nature* (Cambridge, 1996); Nicolaas A. Rupke, *Richard Owen: Victorian Naturalist* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1994), pp. 80–83.
- <sup>20</sup> Richard Drayton starts to fuse indigenous and imported forms of knowledge in Drayton, 'Knowledge and Empire' in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire, II, The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2001). The history of the transcription of African languages has become an important theme in African history. Classic works include Terence Ranger, 'Missionaries, migrants and the Manyika: the invention of ethnicity in Zimbabwe' in Leroy Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA, 1989); Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo, 1880–1938* (Cambridge, [1986] 1991). Adrian Hastings, in his *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997), chapter six, criticizes constructivist views on the history of the transcription of language and, from a perspective I question in this work, the ties between modernity and identity. The Swiss missionaries that I follow in this chapter were able to control the process of language standardization more effectively than the groups working on the Kikuyu language. See Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, NH, 2004). In South Africa, G. P. Lestrade wrote on this theme in his 'European influences upon the development of Bantu language and literature' in I. Schapera (ed.), *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa: Studies in Culture Contact* (London, 1934). More recently it is pursued by Jean and John Comaroff (eds), *Of Revelation and Revolution, I*, pp. 213–30. Although Johan du Bruyn and Nicholas Southey remarked in 1995 that the

- study of the transcription of African languages in South Africa 'awaits systematic research', this perspective is not reflected in more recent collections on mission history in South Africa, cf. R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds), *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (Cape Town and London, 1997); John De Gruchy (ed.), *The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa* (Cape Town, 1999). De Bruyn and Southey, 'The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries in South African historiography' in Robert Ross and Henry Bredekamp (eds), *Missions and Christianity in South African History* (Johannesburg, 1995), p. 42.
- <sup>21</sup> On literacy and different ways of reading in Africa, see Derek R. Peterson, *Creative Writing*; Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan*; Gesine Krüger, 'Die Verbreitung der Schrift in Südafrika: Zur praxis des Schreibens in alltags- und sozialgeschichtlicher Perspektive, 1830–1930' (unpublished Habilitation, University of Hanover, 2002).
- <sup>22</sup> For the contribution of missionaries to the development of anthropology, cf. S. Sohmer, 'The Melanesian Mission and Victorian anthropology: a study in symbiosis' in R. MacLeod and P. E. Rehbock (eds), *Darwin's Laboratory*; R. E. Reid, 'John Henry Holmes in Papua', *Journal of Pacific History* (1978) 13; W. John Young, *The Quiet Wise Spirit: Edwin W. Smith 1876–1957 and Africa* (Peterborough, 2002); Henk J. van Rinsum, 'Edwin W. Smith and his "Raw Material": Texts of a missionary and ethnographer in context', *Anthropos* (1999) 94; Paul Cocks, 'Museumuzhi: Edwin Smith and the Restoration and Fulfilment of African Society and Religion' in *Patterns of Prejudice* (2001) 36, 2; Harries, 'Anthropology' in Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*.