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Missionary Education And The Problem Of Language: The International Missionary Council In Colonial Senegal, 1917-1935

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MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE: THE
INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL IN COLONIAL SENEGAL, 1917-1935

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of North Dakota, 2012

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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Master of Arts

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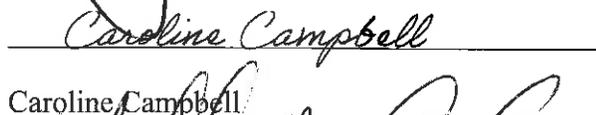
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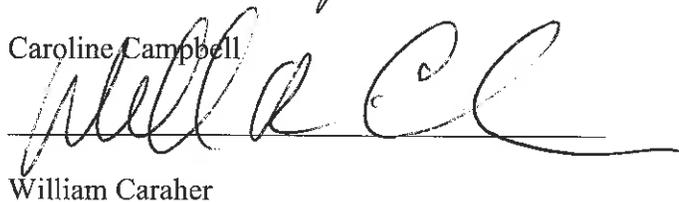
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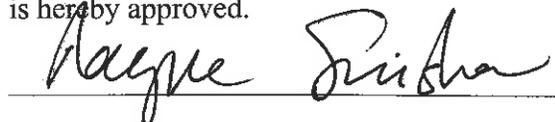
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ABSTRACT

Between the World Wars, as France refined its colonial structure and control over Senegal, allowing international missionary networks to develop their own concepts of the mission civilisatrice. Utilizing the concepts of tutelage and moral education, missionaries in the International Missionary Council (IMC) defined their role in the French empire as imperative to the development of African peoples. As self-proclaimed thwarters of the degradation of the French secular state in Senegal, the IMC used concepts of tutelage and moral education within the debates surrounding education defined the place of missionaries within French colonialism in interwar Senegal. Through letters, publications, and negotiations within the IMC this paper traces the rise and changes in the organization and how they viewed the place of missions in empire.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION:
FROM EDINBURGH TO THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

In 1910, Protestant missionaries from throughout the world converged on Edinburgh Scotland for the World Missionary Conference, which marked the shift from national missions to international cooperation in 20th century Protestantism. The focus of the conference, and resulting continuation committee was “to indicate the lines along which the Church may wisely enlarge its operations, and the ways in which the efficiency of the work of evangelization may be increased.”¹ Many historians view this conference as the beginning of ecumenicalism, as brought it together Protestant mission societies and church organizations to promote unity.² The conference members discussed the need for

¹ World Missionary Conference, *The World Missionary Conference, 1910: To Consider Missionary Problems in Relation to the Non-Christian World, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) 2.

² Ibid, 80; William R. Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations: A History of the International Missionary Council and Its Nineteenth Century Background* (Harper, 1952) 204. Ecumenism seeks to unify a global Christian religion without requiring adherence to doctrinal standards with mutual respect of and cooperation with other world religions. At this stage, ecumenical unity was restricted to Protestant denominations. Although the members agreed to abstain from doctrinal discussion in order to facilitate unity, there were no representatives from the Catholic or Greek Orthodox churches, and there was no discussion of interfaith cooperation. The report included a map of Catholic and Greek Orthodox missions with a footnote that claimed the scope of the research done before the conference did not have to resources to address missionary bases outside of Protestantism. Thus, the conference focused on methods of expanding Protestant missions internationally. The tone of the conference was strikingly compassionate towards world religions with the exception of Islam, encouraging missionaries to approach “non-Christian” belief systems with openness and understanding. Thus, it was the beginnings of ecumenicalism in Protestantism as it sought unity without doctrinal adherence and respect of world religions. Brian Stanley notes that the ecumenical movement had already been growing, but this was the first official movement toward Protestant ecumenism. He instead traces the movements foundations back to interdenominational Church conferences as early as 1854. Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2009) 7-9.

an organization like the International Missionary Council (IMC) in order to foster greater Protestant unity and expansion. This would mean expanding into areas closed to most Protestant missionary societies, such as French West Africa. The conference concluded with the creation of a continuation committee, which was to proceed with work of facilitating Protestant unity and missions. By unanimous vote, the conference members appointed John Mott as chair and J.H. Oldham as secretary. Mott and Oldham had been instrumental in the organization of the conference, and both were YMCA leadership who sought to promote ecumenicalism and international missions.³ Together, after WWI, they developed the continuation committee into the IMC.

This thesis explores the role of Protestant missionaries within the French empire through a short history of the International Missionary Council in interwar Senegal. The IMC offered its members international Protestant unity, information that affected their work, and imperial advocacy. They served as an international religious association for Protestant religious societies and their missionary work. These societies had functioned through informal transnational missionary networks; the IMC instead provided official organization and advocacy. The case of the 1922 French educational reform in Senegal, which transitioned the disjointed system to secular mass education, reveals how the IMC as an international organization developed their identity and the role of Protestant missionaries in empire between 1917 and 1935. What caused the shift in French colonial

³ Norman E. Thomas, "John R. Mott" in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998) 476; Keith Clements, "Oldham, Joseph Houldsworth," in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998) 505-6.

education and what international debates surrounded these changes? What role did Protestant missionaries play in Senegalese colonial education and how did they view themselves? The history of the IMC, as transnational interdenominational body, demonstrates three major points; it connects the international to the local, reveals that colonial education was a product of negotiation between interest groups, and shows that Protestant missionaries viewed their roles in empire as champions of morality.

The history of the IMC allows analysis of local conditions through international networks. Although the French administration, Catholics, and Protestant missionaries agreed that Senegal was in “need” of a civilizing mission these competing bodies disagreed on the definition, objectives, and final product of colonialism. This challenges past historical notions that the colonizing nation imposed their values on the colonized, but instead demonstrates that colonialism was a product of multiple leveled negotiations imbued with national tensions and identities. Imperialism was a national project that involved many interest groups, this created negotiation between the state and organizations on the goals of colonialism. During the 20th century, many interest groups worked within international networks, which overlapped religious, colonial, and national boundaries. Each of these groups carried their own ideas of the purpose of imperialism in shaping colonial spaces.

These negotiations were most apparent surrounding the subject of education, which was the tool by which imperialists attempted to mold the Senegalese into Frenchmen, or convert to them Catholics, and Protestants. The French wanted useful and economically productive colonial subjects that embodied the ideals of republicanism. The

Catholic missionaries wanted converts and indoctrinated global Christians. The IMC wanted literate Protestants converts who would form new communities. The striking difference was that the IMC sought to assert themselves into the French closed system through the concept of European tutelage in order to renegotiate national and religious boundaries.⁴ In this way, they defined the goal of colonialism as tutelage, achieved through literacy, often through indigenous language, and moral education shaped by Christian values.

By focusing on the formation of the IMC, this study reveals how international Protestant missionary networks viewed themselves and their roles within colonialism. The goal of the IMC was missionary expansion into areas unreached by Protestantism. Their goal evolved through redefining Protestantism in comparison to Catholicism and French secularism. This definition sought to change the disconnected nature of Protestant missions through ecumenical unity. In this way, the IMC developed a distinct group identity as participants in colonialism as a purifying force. They asserted themselves into Senegalese education in the name of morality and missionary freedom. To this end, they sought to redefine the civilizing mission as Christian conversion and indigenous literacy.

The development of the IMC shaped debates between Protestant missionaries and secular administrators in Senegal. Protestant missionaries viewed themselves as a vital part of the *mission civilisatrice* in West Africa. France's civilizing mission was a product

⁴ The term closed system in this thesis refers to the foundational concept of colonialism that sought to benefit the colonizing nation in competition with other colonizing powers. In this way, France sought to restrict British interests within their colonies, which often included religious groups. This was not unique to the French system of colonization but a byproduct of 20th century colonialism.

of the European enlightenment and the French Revolution; as such, it sought to modernize colonial cultures either by making them culturally French (assimilation) or by facilitating their social evolution (association). At the end of the war, the French colonial administration created new regulation to both control and expand education in Senegal. Tensions arose between religious educators and secular administrators surrounding the educational reforms in 1922, and the International Missionary Council inserted Protestant missionaries into the French imperial project in interwar Senegal. The concepts of tutelage and moral education were central to the debates between Protestant missionaries within the IMC and defined their role in the French empire as imperative to the development of African civilizations. Between 1917 and 1935, Protestant missionaries developed a distinct identity as self-proclaimed champions of religious rights and attempted to stop the “degradation” of Senegal by the French secular state.

Interwar Senegal had multiple ethnic and religious groups with stakes in colonial negotiations. It hosted approximately eight thousand Western Europeans, who remained primarily within the four communes, Goree, St Louis, Dakar, and Rufisque. Within the colony, there were 1.4 million registered indigenous Senegalese, of whom twenty-two thousand were professing Catholics and two hundred professing Protestants.⁵ There were over six hundred thousand professing indigenous Muslims in Senegal, of which four hundred thousand were of the ethnolinguistic Wolof group.⁶ With their impressive

⁵ Joseph James Cooksey and Alexander McLeish, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa: A Missionary Survey of French, British, Spanish and Portuguese West Africa, with Liberia* (World Dominion Press, 1931) 24, 215, 237.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

number of converts, the Catholic Church employed almost seventy French missionaries and two hundred Senegalese ministers in their twenty-four missions with attached schools. In addition, they employed about a hundred male and fifty female indigenous teachers.⁷ The most prominent Protestant mission society, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) employed four Western European missionaries, as well as a few native pastors to serve their St. Louis and Dakar congregations with a small school of fifty students.⁸ Thus, the Catholic presence in Senegal greatly outnumbered Protestants, while both were less than half of the population of Muslims. This religious atmosphere made Senegal, in the eyes of the IMC, a primary colony for Protestant missionary expansion. The IMC had hundreds of established Protestant missionaries in other areas of Africa, such as the Basel Mission in Ghana, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Sudan, where there was less of Catholic presence. Senegal was an opportunity to expand further into West Africa, which the IMC saw in need of Protestant missions.

During the war, IMC president, J.H. Oldham traveled throughout Africa and became increasingly interested in the secularization, colonial administrations, and education in Africa.⁹ It was, in part, his personal connections and interests that drove the IMC, an overwhelmingly Anglo-American organization to take an interest in the French colonies in West Africa. Senegal, in particular, became a major interest to the continuation committee and resulting IMC during the 1920s and 30s. A prime subject for Protestant mission expansion were areas with expanding secular education systems. The

⁷ Ibid, 24, 237.

⁸ Ibid, 21, 215.

⁹ Clements, "Oldham," 506.

World Missionary Conference report of 1910, stated that “a system of education like that of France, excluding all mention of God and religion... where secular institutions of learning have been established... bring before us one of the greatest menaces to the Christian faith, and in many respects the greatest obstacle in the way of carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian world.”¹⁰ The issue in French West Africa (AOF) was not only the system of secular education but also “the temper of the French administration, which ... is favorable to rationalism, atheism and secular amusements, but antagonistic to anything in the form of Christian propaganda.”¹¹ Daniel Couve, a Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) French missionary in Senegal brought the committee to tears at Lake Mohonk during the prayer time of the foundation meeting in 1921, during which he expressed the fervent need for Protestant intervention in Senegal.¹² Thus, Senegalese education faced one of the greatest external pressures facing Christian Protestant missions, secularism. This perceived threat merited greater attention and resources of missionary societies focused on Senegal. It was the strategic location for expansion into the rest of French West Africa, as there were multiple IMC missions working in Senegal.

Furthermore, coupled with Oldham’s passion for education in Africa, the continuation committee sought to develop “a common system of Education in mission schools.”¹³ While WWI interrupted their goal, the foundation of the IMC in 1921 created

¹⁰ World Missionary Conference, *The World Missionary Conference, 1910*, 31.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 216.

¹² Minutes of the international missionary council, Lake Mohonk, New York, October 1-6, 1921, 37-39.

¹³ World Missionary Conference, *The World Missionary Conference, 1910: To Consider Missionary Problems in Relation to the Non-Christian World, Vol. 8* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) 142.

an opportunity for the organization to pursue colonial spaces where secularism sought to shape education. Post-war politics also shifted Protestant focus from Asia to Africa.¹⁴ Senegal was a prime colony for the pursuit of a fixed missionary education system and the expansion of Protestant missions. Their plan came in direct conflict with secular French education regulation at the end of the war.

The IMC was comprised of many small missionary societies, of which the PEMS and a small Methodist mission were the most dominant in Senegal.¹⁵ The PEMS grew between 1920 and 1935 to administering sixty-three legally registered Protestant schools.¹⁶ At the first meeting held at the Lake Mohonk in the United States in 1921, its founding members were predominantly male, white, and Anglo-American. Daniel Couve, one of the few French missionaries present, was an active missionary of the PEMS in West Africa. Couve played a central role in many of the organizational debates surrounding missionary education and regulation during the 1920s. The IMC functioned from an office in Paris, in conjunction with the PEMS, an office in London, with the London Missionary Society, and strong connections with the YMCA in the United States. This triangulation of leadership shaped the national ties of the organization.

¹⁴ Brian Stanley, *Missions, Nationalism and the End of Empire* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003), 7.

¹⁵ While the dominant voices in the IMC were educated white men from Western Europe and America, there is the ever-persistent presence of Betty Gibson, who served as a secretary in the IMC during the 1920s and 30s. She was a well-respected member who did much of the organization's internal communication. She also authored a study on education in Africa during the 1930s with J.H. Oldham.

¹⁶ "Correspondence between J.H. Oldham and Bishop George King on the French action in education, 8 June 1923," *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978); Cooksey and Macleish, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa*, 21-24.

As Protestant missionaries were a minority amongst their Catholic counterparts the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, a member of the IMC sought to expand its influence in Senegal. Swiss and British connected Protestants founded the PEMS in 1822 in Paris, and retained their close ties to Britain through the London Missionary Society during the 19th and 20th Centuries. PEMS missionaries successfully translated multiple books of the Bible into Wolof, such the gospels of Matthew and John during 1873-74.¹⁷ The PEMS established their mission in Dakar in 1862 and were the only registered Protestant missionary society in Senegal at the end of the war. Although there were other congregations with outside missionary ties, the PEMS remained the sole government approved Protestant mission in Senegal until the mid-1930s.

The Wesleyan Methodist missionary society, whose congregations and missionary work bled across the border of Gambia established unregistered churches in rural Senegal. Although their numbers were underreported, reports estimated less than a couple hundred converts in the 1920.¹⁸ These deeply indigenous Methodist missions with their international connection to the West Indies and their heavy reliance on local clergy set them, often, outside of Western European authority.

French regulation of religion and education after the First World War was an attempt to consolidate control and fulfill the *mission civilisatrice*. Missionaries resisted the regulation and loss of access to colonial education. While Protestant missionaries

¹⁷ Ibid, 247.

¹⁸ Correspondence between J.H. Oldham and Bishop George King on the French action in education, 8 June 1923, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

benefitted from the history of anticlerical tensions, they also suffered from the British-French political pressures. Protestant missionaries often caused tension between France's colonial administrators and themselves by drawing comparisons between British and French colonialism. During the interwar period, these same missionaries used such critiques to define their place within empire.

This subject encompasses three distinct historiographies, French imperial, missions, and colonial education.¹⁹ French colonial historians debated whether imperialism exposed or caused the failure of republicanism and the shift in colonial policy from assimilation to association. Imperial and church historians developed mission historiography from heroic biographical narratives to understanding how missionaries worked within colonialism and against it. The history of education straddles each of these categories, as it was often the tool of colonialism and missionaries were the primary European educators. Within this underdeveloped historiography is the growing debate of education as indoctrination or self-empowerment of indigenous peoples. Although, each of these historiographies have been distinct in the past, recent historians have merged them to create a fuller understanding of imperialism, such as Kelly Duke Bryant, who

¹⁹ For histories on Senegal, of which the most work has been done on Islam and Senegalese soldiers: Michael Crowder, *Senegal: A Study of French Assimilation Policy* (London, 1967); Martin Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine-Saloum, 1847-1914* (Stanford University Press, 1968); Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Senegalais in French West Africa, 1857-1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1990); Joe H. Lunn, *Memoirs of the Maelstrom: A Senegalese Oral History of the First World War* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1999); James F. Searing, *God Alone Is King: Islam and Emancipation in Senegal: The Wolof Kingdoms of Kajoor and Bawol, 1859-1914* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001); Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, *Themes in West Africa's History* (Athens: Ohio University, 2006); Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Duke University Press, 2006); Mamadou Diouf, *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (Columbia University Press, 2013).

merges political, education and colonial, and Elizabeth Foster who merges religious, missionary and colonial histories.

French colonial historians had framed the history of Senegal in its relation with metropolitan France. The primary debates were the shift in colonial policy from assimilation to association, and the success or failure of republicanism in the colonies. The debate over policy began with Raymond Betts in 1961.²⁰ After which the historiography evolved from an apparent change in policy to a more sophisticated view of how both doctrines competed and utilized in different ways in the practical experience of colonialism, while the debate over the republicanism remains vibrant.

This historiography frames the issues between the French metropole and its territories as issues of French republicanism. Historians often note the policy of assimilation as the unique aspect of French colonial policy, in comparison with other European countries that preferred association, although these policies changed over time and place.²¹ Assimilation would mean French culture absorbed indigenous cultures, creating a new France in Senegal. While association would facilitate the evolution of indigenous culture as it merged politically with France. The official rhetoric of France before the First World War was assimilation, in that indigenous Senegalese were to become French and thus civilized. Betts argued that the rise of social Darwinism at the start of the 20th century caused a shift in colonial policy from assimilation to

²⁰ Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914* (University of Nebraska Press, 2005) 8.

²¹ There is some debate over this, but most historians agree that at least in rhetoric, France held to a more assimilatory style of colonialism that focused on language and culture.

association.²² Many historians built on Betts assertion, noting a shift in policy at the turn of the century, while others have argued that there was no real attempt to assimilate West Africans.²³

Alice Conklin in her discussion of the civilizing mission in colonial Senegal sought to answer why a change occurred. She argues that republican imperialism was a paradox, in that the ideals of republicanism (liberté, égalité, fraternité) did not apply to those within the AOF.²⁴ Conklin thus asserts that republican values broke down when faced with the complex issues colonization presented. In her work, she explores the motivations and policies of colonial officials between 1895, when Senegal became the head of the colonial AOF or French West African Federation, to 1930, tracing how policies and ideals shifted from assimilation to association.²⁵ She argues that WWI marked the turning point where the colonial administration shifted from assimilation to association.²⁶ What Conklin finds as a shift in policy Gary Wilder describes as antinomy deeply embedded in republican values.

Wilder challenges not only Conklin, but also Betts, primarily on the distinction of a policy shift, by arguing that exclusion was fundamental to French republicanism, and

²² Ibid, 8-9.

²³ Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford University Press, 1997); Elizabeth Foster, *Faith in Empire: Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880-1940* (Stanford University Press, 2013) 188n45.

²⁴ Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 7.

²⁵ Ibid, 5; 9.

²⁶ Ibid, 146.

thus colonial policies of assimilation and association.²⁷ He also challenges the assumption that French republicanism failed within the constraints of racism and colonialism. Instead, he asserts that colonialism exposed republicanism, using the concept of antinomy, as universality and particularism were both parts of the nation-state.²⁸ In this way, Wilder challenged scholars to view the complex negotiations within the colony through a different theoretical construct.

Historians have not only moved from identifying the shift in official policy to before the 20th century, but explore how both doctrines competed and worked together to shape colonial spaces.²⁹ George Trumbull explores the French use of ethnographic knowledge to categorize people groups as capable of assimilation or not in 19th century Algeria.³⁰ This knowledge allowed administrators to exclude ethnic groups from assimilation and citizenship rights in Algeria.³¹ This ethnographic knowledge was not stagnant but discursive. Osama Abi-Mershed followed this trend by arguing that the French system of colonization of assimilation and association was heavily contested and debated. He even goes as far as to argue that association was not a novel idea in 1890 but

²⁷ Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2005) 6, 23.

²⁸ Ibid, 10.

²⁹ Jennifer Boittin, *Colonial Metropolis the Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); Julia A. Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, C. 1800–1900* (University of California Press, 2010); Patricia Lorcin, *Historicizing Colonial Nostalgia: European Women's Narratives of Algeria and Kenya 1900-Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Osama Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the Civilizing Mission in Algeria* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

³⁰ George R. Trumbull IV, *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria, 1870-1914*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 6.

³¹ Although citizenship and naturalization were available to Algerians, they had to give up their religion, culture, and status under Muslim law.

was in competition with assimilation throughout the 19th century.³² This evolution of the debate surrounding assimilation and association reveal the complexity of colonial experiences and the gap between official policy and experience. It also highlights how the policies differed in historical time and space. French historians continue to debate the issue of republicanism particularly through migratory studies, which push against the metropole-colony binary.³³

The historiography of missions evolved from micro-Church histories during the early and mid-1900s, to post-colonial critiques of missionaries as tools of empire, to more current works that undermine the colonizer-colonized binary by exploring how missionaries worked within and against imperialism.³⁴ This historiography falls along nationalistic lines, as studies of the French, American and British empires, little work has been done on the international missionary organizations. The French historiography has focused on Catholic missionaries and while less developed than British histories deals directly with missionaries and their unique place within these systems as active influencers of colonial policy. The American historiography has been tied to the British empire, as many US missionary organizations worked closely with Anglo mission societies. In the 1890s however, missionary expansion became closely linked to America

³² Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity*, 7.

³³ Alice L. Conklin and Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, "Introduction: Writing Colonial Histories," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 3 (2004): 497–505.

³⁴ Dana Lee Robert ed., *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914, Studies in the History of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 2008), 1-20.

as a rising imperial power and their foreign policy.³⁵ The British historiography, which is the most developed was heavily influenced by anthropology and post-colonial studies, in which lies the debate over indigenous conversion as a product of colonization. Within all of these historiographies lies the shared debate over if missionaries were agents of colonialism or humanitarians.

This debate began with post-colonialist critiques of imperial history.³⁶ Within Africa, many historians built off the anthropological work of Jean and John Comaroff, who asserted that missionaries were colonizers of consciousness through their work in South Africa.³⁷ This drew critiques from missionary historians while others built upon their work. Within the scholarly critiques of the Comaroffs' work Brian Stanley is the most notable.³⁸ Stanley and other mission historians argue that this view depicts the missionary as a “faceless imperial agent” within a monolithic system.³⁹ Dana Roberts argues that missionaries instead, used aspects of colonialism that fit their goals while attempting to changes aspects that did not fit their values.⁴⁰ She deems it a story of unintended consequences in which missionaries and indigenous converts shaped and reshaped their goals in light of shifting tensions in colonial spaces. These historians

³⁵ Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2010) 1.

³⁶ Norman Etherington, *Missions and Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 4.

³⁷ Robert, *Converting Colonialism*, 2; 1. John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 1: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

³⁸ Brian Stanley, “Conversion to Christianity: The Colonization of the Mind?,” *International Review of Mission* 92, 366 (July, 2003): 315–31.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 17; Robert, *Converting Colonialism*, 3.

⁴⁰ Robert, *Converting Colonialism*, 4.

attempt to move away from the binary system of colonizer-colonized, but have been critiqued as producing muddled categories.

One such critic, Jeffrey Cox argues that British missionaries were foremost institution builders and primarily non-white and female.⁴¹ His critique of missionary history is that it either depicts missionaries as disguised agents imperialism or male religious heroes.⁴² He then divides the historiography in to imperial, which marginalized missionary participation; anti-imperial, which portrayed missionaries as colonizers of the mind; and ecclesiastical, who often perpetuated the male clerical heroism narrative.⁴³ Cox agrees with Robert that the story of missionaries is often one of unintended consequences, but he asserts that many of these narratives still justify missionary expansion as progress.⁴⁴ He also views Africanists as muddling the categories between missionary and indigenous Christian.⁴⁵ He instead uses the shift from confessional to volunteerism churches as a way to analyze missionary rhetoric to understand the entanglement of British missionary and national religious history.⁴⁶ As an imperial

⁴¹ Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2002) 48-50. See also Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford University Press, 1999); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (University of Chicago Press, 2002); Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester University Press, 2004).

⁴² Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008) 4.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 7-8.

⁴⁵ For the Africanist perspective on missionary history: J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (Pearson School, 1965); Lamin O. Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (Hurst London, 1983); Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995); Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950, The Oxford History of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁴⁶ Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008) 20.

historian, he holds that missionaries were important to empire building but not faceless colonial agents.

Many American missionary historians also deal with the Comaroffs, but their primary focus is US expansion during the 20th century. It is important to note that much of American missions before the 1890s was not foreign but domestic.⁴⁷ Without a distinct empire, Ian Tyrrell argues that American Protestant missionary networks were transnational and rooted in “moral reform”.⁴⁸ This moral reform was rooted in cultural imperialism working through different networks, religious, humanitarian, and political. Tyrrell argues that American missionaries expanded their moral empire while condemning the expansion of physical imperialism.⁴⁹ This allowed American missionaries to reshape their goals as humanitarian rather than self-serving as well as allowing them into closed colonial systems such as French West Africa. In this way, the expansion of American missions is closely linked to global expansion and national identity, even as they functions within transnational networks.

There is a growing historiography within the French empire that deal directly with missionaries and their unique place within these systems not only as producers of self-knowledge, but active influencers of colonial policy. Most notably, Elizabeth Foster and

⁴⁷ Daniel H. Bays, Grant Wacker, and Scott Flipse, eds., *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History* (University of Alabama Press, 2010).

⁴⁸ Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2010) 4-5.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 6. See also William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (University of Chicago Press, 1993); Andrew Porter, “‘Cultural Imperialism’ and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780–1914,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25, no. 3 (1997): 367–91.

James Daughton address Catholic missionaries within the French empire as agents of tension. Foster notes in her introduction that historical works on missions are lacking, and this area needs further exploration from historians. Her work is the primary history of missionaries in Senegal. She notes the tensions between anti-clerical republicans and Catholic priests and argues that missionaries craved official recognition for the civilizing work they had been doing. Foster is primarily interested in colonial power and its ties to religion and authority.⁵⁰ She argues that not only were administrative and religious civilizing aims at odds, but their conflicting definitions caused power struggles and controversy. During the interwar period, as the administration shifted to the policy of association by reviving African “customs” and “traditional” structures, Catholic missionaries viewed this change as undermining Christianity and reinstating paganism.⁵¹ Thus, missionary tutelage differed from association in that it did not seek to empower indigenous religions but eradicate them. Foster argues that French Christians saw themselves at odds with “paganism” instead of striving to create synthesis. Furthermore, Sarah Curtis, along these lines, argues that Catholic missionaries actively sought to assimilate converts, unlike their secular counterparts. In her exploration of Catholic female missionaries throughout France’s high imperialism, she asserts that they often saw assimilation and conversion as going hand in hand, defining the civilizing mission.⁵²

⁵⁰ Foster, *Faith in Empire*, 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 142.

⁵² *Ibid*, 188n45; Sarah Ann Curtis, *Civilizing Habits : Women Missionaries and the Revival of French Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2010) 203.

In similar fashion, Daughton argues that the missionary view of the one true *mission civilisatrice* was converting souls, which was in direct conflict with republican views of civilizing.⁵³ Daughton also highlights the places of tension between the secular and religious. It was these tensions, he argues, that shaped republican colonial policies.⁵⁴ The empire was built on discord. One of the primary tensions was the definition of the civilizing mission. While Foster looks at Catholic missions within Senegal and Daughton throughout the French empire, both agree that tensions between missionaries and administration shaped colonial policy and practice.⁵⁵

Because missionaries were the primary colonial educators, much of the history of education is found in imperial and missions historiographies.⁵⁶ This is an area of study that needs further work. The primary debate is whether colonial schools were places of indoctrination or negotiation. In her recent work, Kelly Duke Bryant argues that colonial schools created a space for negotiation, which in turn, shaped Senegal's politics and reshaped African power relations leading to the successful election of Blaise Diagne.⁵⁷ As Senegal was a test area for all of French West Africa, the debates surrounding

⁵³ Foster, *Faith in Empire*, 19.

⁵⁴ J. P. (James Patrick) Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 16.

⁵⁵ See also Owen White, "Priests into Frenchmen? Breton Missionaries in Côte d'Ivoire, 1896-1918," *French Colonial History* 8, no. 1 (2007): 111-21; J. P. Daughton, "When Argentina Was 'French': Rethinking Cultural Politics and European Imperialism in Belle-Époque Buenos Aires," *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 831-64; Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans*, 248; Owen White and James Patrick Daughton, *In God's Empire: French Missionaries in the Modern World* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁵⁶ Seppo Sivonen, *White-Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education under British Colonial Policy, 1920-1945* (Finnish Academy of Science & Letters, 1995).

⁵⁷ Kelly Duke Bryant, *Education as Politics: Colonial Schooling and Political Debate in Senegal, 1850s-1914* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2015) 4.

education shaped regional policies. French public education sought to teach loyalty, patriotism, and civic duty to the nation-state, usurping the place of the Church. Within the colonial context this goal was redefined as “aiming to groom obedient and useful colonial subjects rather than *creating* patriotic citizens”.⁵⁸ Thus missionaries and colonial officials reshaped their goals to “training literate and/or skilled workers for the colonial administration or the local economy, and encouraging the acceptance of - and even loyalty to - the colonial state.”⁵⁹ Duke Bryant asserts that missionaries and officials were partners in civilizing Senegal, even when their definitions differed. Duke Bryants work aligns with Carol Summer who argued that mission school educated Africans negotiated new identities and political power in interwar South Rhodesia.⁶⁰ While Hilary Jones argues “French education sought to make young girls into pious wives and respectable mothers, but schooling also allowed metis women to enter public discourse as the voice of morality for the urban culture.”⁶¹ In this way, assimilation was often required to engage in political negotiation. All of these works address the reactions of the educated and their local societies rather than the educators.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 9.

⁶⁰ Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002). See also Philip G. Altbach and Gail Paradise Kelly, eds., *Education and the Colonial Experience*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1984); Michelle T Kuenzi, *Education and Democracy in Senegal* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Marisa O Ensor, *African Childhoods: Education, Development, Peacebuilding, and the Youngest Continent* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁶¹ Hilary Jones, *The Métis of Senegal Urban Life and Politics in French West Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013) 97.

This thesis joins in the exploration of how assimilation and association worked within the colonial structure of education. As Duke Bryant noted, “rather than the simple imposition of a government's policy, schooling has been the product of complex and multifaceted negotiations among political leaderships, interest groups, and wider publics.”⁶² This thesis addresses the negotiations of missionary interest groups and the IMC who sought to assert themselves into French colonial education in the interwar Senegal through tutelage. Although the official policy of assimilation had shifted, it was still the purpose of colonial education. Association was the new policy of the administration, which sought to empower and use “traditional” chiefs, in which these authorities worked within colonialism rather than against it. Tutelage, defined as the paternalistic training and “coming along side” indigenous societies, was the competing doctrine championed by Protestant missionaries. The most defining difference was that tutelage did not seek to empower traditional power structures, like association, nor did it attempt to assimilate along national, cultural lines. Instead, it sought to help societies towards modernization by creating new values and power structures through education. Regulations over education and religious organizations during the interwar period allowed these competing doctrines come to the forefront of an international debate.

Two prominent issues within this thesis are British-French national tensions, and secular-religious tensions. Chapter one addresses the conflicts between secular and religious actors. British-French tension stemmed from many issues, such as a long history

⁶² Duke Bryant, *Education as Politics*, 10.

of military and political conflict, colonial disputes, and Protestant-Catholic antagonism. All three of these tensions were present within the colonial space of Senegal and foregrounded within the international debates. Although as a transnational organization the IMC sought to distance itself from nationalism, their Anglo-American dominance and open critiques of French imperialism reveals how deeply embedded these cultural issues were. The media in France often depicted Protestant missionaries as too closely aligned with Britain and thus less French.

As the purpose of the IMC was international cooperation and unity between Protestants, the organization strove to set aside nationalistic tensions and focus on their united religious identity. In this way, international Protestant group identity was to supersede national identities. Although this was an optimistic goal, the IMC simultaneously acknowledged the national tensions within the discourse while striving to work outside of nationalism. Addressing the debates of education in Senegal, Rev. William Platt stated, “with issues so much larger in dispute between the two countries it would be practically impossible for the British Government in present circumstances to bring pressure to bear on the French administration.”⁶³ This of course, did not prevent British members of the IMC from advocating governmental pressure from Britain, but it acknowledged the current political and national tensions of the debate. The larger issued included British involvement in Senegal.

⁶³ Correspondence between George King and J.H. Oldham concerning missionary education in French Africa, 8 June 1923, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

During the late 17th through the 19th centuries, Britain and France had multiple disputes over the colonial boundaries of Senegal surrounding the Gambia and Senegal rivers. These disputes resulted in the creation of British Gambia, which jutted into Senegal on both sides of the Gambia River. The French administration was suspicious of British involvement and influence, often expressing anxiety of Anglicization of their West African colonies. Aware of these tensions, both French and British Protestants in Senegal sought to utilize their French and American connections to avoid British-French tensions.

In light of these national tensions, it is easy to disregard the authenticity of missionary care for indigenous peoples as turf wars or power struggles. While the IMC sought to expand their influence in the closed system of French colonialism, they also sought to shed their national and denominational distinctions in order to expand Protestant missions, which they believed would produce better societies. In this way, education was a foundation on which to build Christian societies. Of course, they were nationally ethnocentric, but they sought to create a global Protestant identity and expand their moral empire.

Lastly, Catholic-Protestant antagonism was connected but not limited to British-French tensions. Nonetheless, as Britain was overwhelmingly Protestant and France Catholic, the linking of religious and national identities caused issues for French Protestants in Senegal. These tensions were often expressed in Catholic-Protestant missionary competition. Catholics sent no representatives to Edinburgh in 1910 and did not participate in the IMC during the interwar period.

This thesis utilizes Protestant tutelage to explore how missionaries functioned within empire during the 20th century. Tutelage throughout is defined as the paternalistic relationship between American-Western European missionaries and indigenous West Africans, which moral and intellectual training of colonial populations. IMC internal rhetoric used terms of paternalism in reference to their goals in West Africa, these terms, particularly in education reflect the concept of tutelage. In this way, the argument of this thesis draws from implicit rather than explicit terms. Although primarily implicit in much of the sources, tutelage functioned to justify the linking of colonial rule and missionary work. IMC missionaries sought to impart Christian morality to prepare indigenous societies through proselytization and education. While many historians critiqued missionary paternalism in colonialism, others have viewed it as an unintended consequence of 20th century racism.⁶⁴ Critics of missionary paternalism were present in the early 20th century ecumenical movement as well, and noted it as a major hindrance to global Christian unity.⁶⁵ A product of racial and cultural ethnocentrism, missionary tutelage created a parent-child relationship that sought to train or “save” indigenous converts rather than approaching them as equals. While this relationship was problematic, as missionaries rarely had the societal authority they assumed came with their station, it shaped much of the interactions and institutions of colonialism. Thus, Protestant missionaries within the IMC sought to redefine education as the primary way in which tutelage took place in Senegal.

⁶⁴ Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2010) 5-7.

⁶⁵ Dana L. Robert, “Cross-Cultural Friendship in the Creation of Twentieth-Century World Christianity,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35, no. 2 (April 2011): 100.

This thesis briefly addresses Catholic education, but not their response to the French regulation of education in the 1920s. It also does not address Islamic education, although there was a rich history of Sufi schools in Senegal. Both of these topics fall outside of the range of the scope of this study.

This study draws primarily from the IMC's administrative papers, letters between missionaries and leaders, and works published by the organization. It also utilizes colonial administrative documents and other missionary publications. As a historical thesis, this study uses traditional method of close reading and historical context of the sources. The confines of this study are wholly affected by the limitations of the sources. These letters are top heavy, in that they are often exchanges between by leaders of missionary organizations and networks rather than the average missionary or indigenous Christian. There is very little African voices in these sources and very little acknowledgment of their place in the organization. This thesis, whenever possible, teases out the African voice and contribution.

In an attempt to be precise, this thesis will occasionally use the term identity meaning a group ideological commonality that led to a sense of belonging, such as a Protestant missionary identity. This missionary identity unified individuals across religious denomination, nationality, race, and geography. The term self-knowledge replaces identity, which in similar form allowed members of organizations to create a united sense of purpose and role within imperialism. It also reveals the discursive nature of their self-knowledge as it solidified in response to interactions within the empire. The IMC, as an organization spent much time discussing their role in the shaping of empire,

which in turn shaped their critiques and formulated reforms of the system. This thesis is, in essence, an exploration of self-knowledge and belief. This is not to argue that these identities were innate nor that they were fluid to the point of losing their meaning. Instead, as Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper suggest, this thesis strives to be precise in terminology.⁶⁶ It also acknowledges the historical nature of group religious ideology that is shaped by the events and interactions of history, without diminishing the authenticity of their belief. To this point, the IMC shaped and reshaped their common goal in changing post-war imperial spaces while attempting to define the purpose of united Protestant missions. Much of their debates were ideologically informed by their shared theology, which placed great importance on individual understanding of the Bible. During the 20th century, Protestants linked this to literacy, making education an imperative institution of missions.

Chapter one explores the development of the French regulation in Senegal and the state of religious and secular education at the end of the First War from 1918 to 1922. These reforms coupled with a purposeful misreading of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles allowed Protestant missionaries to assert themselves into Senegalese education focusing on the concept of tutelage. The second chapter traces the foundation of the International Missionary Council in 1921 and their development as an advocacy organization within the debates surrounding education regulation and pedagogy in Senegal during the 1920s and 30s. The IMC used moral education and tutelage to affirm Protestant participation in

⁶⁶ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (February, 2000): 1–47.

colonial education. They saw the expansion of Protestant education in Senegal as the answer to preventing secularization of the colony.

CHAPTER II COMPETING SPHERES, REGULATION, AND MISSIONARY TUTELAGE: COLONIAL EDUCATION IN SENEGAL, 1917-1922

In 1917, as the First World War ended, France began to establish administrative control over Senegal, better defining their imperial project. Their movement toward educational regulation, especially the policy of French only education shifted the power from religious schools to secular colonial schools. The changes enacted within French colonial policy, especially in regards to education, in the post-war period provided opportunities for the IMC, to argue for a larger place within French West Africa (AOF) for the Protestant missions that it represented. The AOF was the colonial federation of eight colonies in sub-Saharan West African; Senegal, French Sudan, French Guinea, Dahomey, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Côte d'Ivoire, and later French Togoland.⁶⁷ These changes included the issue of French-only education, the movement to a secular educational system, a purposeful misreading by the IMC of article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Often shortened to AOF, from the French name l'Afrique-Occidentale Française.

⁶⁸ Missionary education is defined as foreign Western religious education by missionary groups, either Catholic or Protestant, the former being the most pervasive. Although this paper does not have the sources or depth to analyze the influence of Islamic education, Sufi Muslims were the primary religious group within Dakar and there was a rich Muslim tradition of schools. However, most sources are in Arabic or Wolof and inaccessible to this author. It would be interesting, at a further date, to compare the education systems of Islam in Senegal and their responses to administrative control and regulation.

Catholic missionaries benefitted from a long history within the colonies of French West Africa establishing themselves in St. Louis with Portuguese merchants during the 15th century, two centuries before French settlement in 1659. It was not until the 19th century that France officially formed the colonial administration in French West Africa. Thus, missionaries founded bases and schools throughout Senegal before the administration established control. During the 20th century, this imbalance of educational power was unsettling to the secular colonial government. They wanted to establish direct control over the education system through new regulations, which required schools and religious organizations to register themselves and follow strict secular requirements. The dominant tension between the secular administration and missionaries was often language, as the new regulation required the use of French only in education. It also set to refine the *mission civilisatrice* thereby allowing missionaries to offer their own definition. Protestant missionaries, in particular, invoked the 1919 Treaty of Versailles to define the civilizing mission as African tutelage, which sought to train indigenous populations through paternal relationships using indigenous literacy.

The case of Samba N'Diaye exemplifies the discourse surrounding education in Senegal between 1917 and 1922 before the enactment of the regulation. In November of 1917, the Senegalese student Samba N'Diaye was the primary topic of debate among major colonial officials in Dakar, after his multiple dismissals from the colonial school in Saint Louis for “rebellious behavior”.⁶⁹ The *Conseil Général* of Senegal addressed

⁶⁹ *Conseil Général: Session de... / Sénégal et dépendances* (Impr. du Gouvernement, Grande Impr. Africaine (Saint-Louis, 1917), meeting notes from November 22.

N'Diaye's case during their annual meeting. When questioned, the director of *l'école Brière-de-l'Isle* M. Nienat, stood behind his staff's decision on grounds that they were understaffed and had a hundred students per class, conditions that would not allow them to deal with a problem student such as N'Diaye. The director also asserted that he had been in contact with the child's parents, and dismissed and readmitted N'Diaye on multiple occasions. The primary concern of Nienat though was not the child's behavior, but lack of French comprehension, he stated, "students (like N'Diaye) could not comprehend nor speak French."⁷⁰ Thus, keeping the child in school would be fruitless, because the goal of education was fluency in French and cultural assimilation. However, according to the N'Diaye family, who petitioned the *Conseil Général*, in order to begin his career at the Naval administration office in Dakar he needed a primary school education.⁷¹ Although the family and administration held the same end goal of colonial education, yet conflict arose surrounding the mechanics. The N'Diaye family sought to better their social and economic status through the acquisition of a job, while the administration sought to produce literate low-level administrators. While this goal had similarities, in the particulars the administration prioritized language acquisition. This caused tension between secular educators and the administration who did not have to resources to manage the colonial education system.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ There was some confusion over who his guardians were, some of the evidence claims he was an orphan, while the school director claims to have had meeting with his parents, while the report states that the complaint was brought by his aunt. Ibid.

The family's plea caused François Devès, a member of Senegal's *Conseil Général* to accuse the Inspector of Education Victor Duval of administering too severe punishments and proposed that the *Conseil* create clear consequences for minor offenses before expulsion.⁷² According to most of the *Conseil*, it was more than a certificate and more than information that teachers should be transferring to students. They were agents of civilization. If a student was willing to attend school, the educator must strive to help them succeed. The issue was not N'Diaye, but the failure of the school to educate the child properly. Although, the administration used the colonial rhetoric of civilizing, it was clear that the *Conceil* was equally interested in public schools producing a successful workforce. This classed system worked to create new indigenous French-educated elite within Senegal. Education, after all, was to enculturate students and to instill in them republican values and French language.

The case of Samba N'Diaye reveals disconnect between state goals and educators abilities in colonial Senegal in that the mechanics of education were heavily contested. Educators offered their own perspective of civilization while local pressures forced debate surrounding language regulation. The *Conseil* readily admitted the space between metropolitan expectations of literacy and the realities of enforcing new regulations. Educators and students pushed against the loss of other languages, specifically Latin and Arabic. The definition of the French *mission civilisatrice*, and the role that education played differed between the two groups. The colonial administration saw French literacy

⁷² Ibid.

as the foundation for civilization and the purpose of colonial schools. Religious educators viewed themselves in a global context, in which tutelage shaped education and morality. Furthermore, Protestant missionaries place emphasis on indigenous languages while Catholic educators focused on Latin. As the administration of French West Africa moved toward unified colonial policies from 1917 to 1922, education played a key role in defining the purpose of France's civilizing mission in Senegal and revealed the tensions between religious and secular education.

This chapter explores education in interwar Senegal, as the administration developed the education regulation of 1922 that sparked much debate within the international missionary community. What caused or preceded the 1922 regulation? What was the state of education in the AOF, specifically Senegal where the debates took place? What role did missionaries play in education? How did Protestant missionaries, a minority in Senegalese education, assert themselves as an integral part of empire building? From 1917 to 1922, the West African colonial administration's reform asserted direct control over pedagogy and curricula. This shift in policy was an attempt to arrest authority from Catholic missionary educators, thus Protestant missionaries used this period of transition to assert their place in the French colonial project utilizing a purposeful misreading of article 22.

Although the First World War had not yet ended in 1917, the colonial administration began its discussion of the regulation in its November meeting, including consideration of a local petition against the proposed changes. It is important to trace the development of the regulation within the *Conseil Général* from 1917 to 1922. This period

allows an analysis of the shift in education and the rise of Protestantism in French West Africa. It was the 1922 regulation that shifted the administrative policy to a direct method of control, by requiring the reregistration of all schools and religious organizations under the new rules in the colony. Thus, this chapter traces the regulation from the proposed creation on a local level in 1917 to the implementation of the regulation in 1922 in Senegal.

The interwar period in Senegal was a time of turbulence. Dakar was the administrative seat of the AOF, and as such placed Senegal in a unique status within the French empire. During this period, indigenous Senegalese within the colony won the ability to have citizenship rights under the leadership of Blaise Diagne.⁷³ This gain was, in part, the result of Senegalese soldiers who returned from the war and the rise of mass politics in Senegal. These shifts in power led to attempts by the administration to assert direct control in Senegal.

The colonial administration was composed of colonial agents appointed by the metropolitan government in Paris. These men shifted from colonial space to colonial space, which often made obtainable opportunities not available in France. The *Conseil Général* was a part locally elected and part appointed body that advised the Governor General on legislative and monetary issues. They did not have actual legislative power on their own. The *Conseil* at the end of the First War was primarily composed of *métis*

⁷³ Duke Bryant argues that this was a product of colonial education and political involvement of indigenous Senegalese in during the 19th century. Kelly Duke Bryant, *Education as Politics: Colonial Schooling and Political Debate in Senegal, 1850s-1914* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2015).

Catholics and French educated Muslims known as the *évolué*.⁷⁴ Some historians assert that they were tightly controlled by the administration and did very little to push back against metropolitan commands.⁷⁵ The French, however, declared them a form of democratization and an example of the supremacy of French colonialism.

Before delving into the regulation of education, it is important to understand the two spheres of education, religious and secular. Religious schools, both Protestant and Catholic, taught skills through religious texts and lessons such as teaching students to read with catechism books and bibles. Merchant companies originally established secular schools to train a workforce, which required minimal literacy in French. During the early 19th century, the administration handed many of the schools over to Catholic missionaries where the primary focus was language and cultural assimilation. At the turn of the 20th century the administration attempted to retake the educational control and expand colonial schools, shifting the focus to an economically productive workforce remained as a part of association. Debates, which lasted from 1917 through the 1920s, on a local level focused on education and religious rights. When the administration implemented the regulation in 1922, Protestant missionaries invoked the concept of tutelage to critique the education system and simultaneously assert their place into Senegal.

⁷⁴ The decision of this author to use the French terms, rather than offer a translation, stems from the belief that these terms were created in a historical context and should be used in this context. Although the terms *metis* refers to the mixing of the European and African races, and *évolué* the perceived culturally assimilated or evolved, they were not derogatory. Instead, they were groups who bridged the colonized-colonizer categories through cultural synthesis.

⁷⁵ Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford University Press, 1997) 158; Martin Thomas, *The French Empire between the Wars : Imperialism, Politics and Society, Studies in Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007) 75.

French expansion of colonial education, during the 20th century, to fit administrative needs under the guise of “fitting African particulars”. As both Conklin and Wilder point out, the administration’s education reform policies under Ernest Roume and William Ponty, 1902-1915, were most pivotal.⁷⁶ Under these two colonial governors, educational policy expanded including a heavy focus on health and hygiene, agricultural development, and the production of educated workers for lower administration and industrial jobs. Their reports commonly reiterated the need for policy to be reformed to fit the “African context” or particulars.⁷⁷ This was association. In official rhetoric, reform sought to produce an economically productive population instead of the educated masses. Secular schools originally resided in port cities and provided the workforce for shipping companies, which expanded with the colonial administration. Under Roume, secular schools in the rural areas taught agricultural techniques and personal hygiene. In Urban areas, a more elaborate curriculum catered to the European and *metis* populations. To achieve this, urban students did not need an in-depth understanding of history or geography they needed a working knowledge of French.

The administration sought to attract Senegal’s Muslim population to secular schools. In 1917, the president of the *Conseil*, Louis Guillaibert advocated offering Arabic in secular schools and, less attractively, Catholic schools. This, he hoped, would

⁷⁶ Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 38; Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 107.

⁷⁷ Report from the *Conseil de Gouvernement de l’Afrique Occidentale Française*, 1903; Report from the Gouvernement du Sénégal, “Conseil General, Session Ordinaire de novembre 1917”, *Sénégal et Dépendances* (Saint-Louis: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, November 1917) accessed 22 April 2014, gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb344370734/date., 1918; Report to the Governor General titled *à l’Occasion de l’ouverture de la Session des Délégations Economiques et Financières*, October 20 1924.

dismantle the control of Islamic religious schools by encouraging powerful Muslim families to send their children to French schools where they would receive a “proper education”.⁷⁸ This grappling for more influence revealed the limits of control the French administration exercised within the colonies. Secular educators introduced the civilizing concepts then transitioned the population into a French immersion, where French would be the only language. In their optimistic long-term plan, French would permeate all of colonial society by 1935.⁷⁹

In 1917, François Devès, a member of Senegal’s *Conseil Général* in Saint Louis, stated that “in official reports, we strive to declare that in this country the common language was the French language. If this is true, we should therefore eradicate old mistakes and discontinue the use of both Arabic and French”. Devès later goes on to say the official claim that everyone speaks French in the colony was an administrative bluff, the reality was very different.⁸⁰ Devès noted the space between official political rhetoric and the realities of practical implementation. His answer was a system of regulation that would implement the policy of French as the only language of education.

As Devès noted, French-only may have been the official education rhetoric, but in reality educators used Arabic and local dialects more widely in colonial schools. This accommodation needed to be phased out in order to align local practice with colonial

⁷⁸ *Conseil Général*, 1917, December 3.

⁷⁹ Report to the Governor General titled *à l’Occasion de l’ouverture de la Session des Délégations Economiques et Financières*, October 20 1924.

⁸⁰ Translation; Gouvernement du Sénégal, “Conseil General, Session Ordinaire de novembre 1917”, *Sénégal et Dépendances* (Saint-Louis: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, November 1917), 103.

policy.⁸¹ The *Conseil* had commissioned studies done in religious and secular schools within St. Louis to measure the effectiveness of colonial education.⁸² The *Conseil* began to take steps towards a French-only policy in education in 1917, based on information learned from commissioned studies. The use of local dialects was difficult to enforce, for even if it was not explicitly present in the curriculum, teachers and assistants often translated instruction into the local languages. Ironically, the past administration reforms, aimed at restricting the use of the vernacular had achieved only falling enrollment numbers in secular schools. Parent's choice not to enroll their children in colonial secular schools was a form of local passive resistance.

The introduction of Arabic and local dialects would require French educators to learn said languages or, more likely, hiring local Senegalese with higher education degrees to teach in secular schools. While this was the alleged goal of colonialism, the sintegration of their colonies into a united France and the Africanization of local positions, the administration did not believe the Senegalese to be capable of the task, nor did many educators.⁸³ French views of racial ineptitude did not prevent local Senegalese from holding teaching positions.

During the early 20th century, France's government implemented educational reform that strove to eliminate the Catholic Church's place in education and further reach the uneducated masses with republican secularism. These two objectives created another

⁸¹ Ibid, 105.

⁸² See studies done by Paul Marty in 1914 on Islamic education. The space of this chapter does not allow adequate discussion of Islamic education during this time period.

⁸³ Ibid.

tension by cutting out a large portion of educators while adding new populations of students. By 1907, French educational policy required all teachers to have a French university degree in education, including schools in the colonial territories; this policy was a direct attack on religious educators, as most were not professionally trained teachers. The law attempted to move the civilizing power of education from the church to the state. The final colonial action in 1922 mandated that all schools reregister with the administration in which all curriculum must be taught in French only.⁸⁴

During the First World War, French officials encouraged the expansion of missionary education in order to develop education throughout the territories. This offer was solidified into regulation by 1920. By providing funding to sustain the costs of schools and salaries for staff, the administration worked to not only expand the education system but to gain further control over religious schools already present in the colonies. After the War, colonial officials attempted to correct the dependency on missionary workers by requiring the reregistration and approval of all schools in the AOF in 1922.

Within colonial Senegal, there were two spheres of European education; secular state-controlled schools and private religious schools. During the 1910's and early 1920's Catholic religious schools were the most prominent. These educators held a range of experiences and educational methods, some teaching in French, while others utilized local languages. Catholic missionaries fell into three groups, although united under papal

⁸⁴ "Correspondence – copy of the French action in education," *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

authority: Jesuits, Spiritans, and the independent missionaries known as the White Fathers. Within Senegal, Spiritan schools were the most common. Spiritan schools, rooted in the local congregations, focused on catechism classes often in Latin or the indigenous language. The Spiritan Society established the still prominent *la congrégation du Saint-Esprit* and their sister congregation *la société du Saint-Cœur de Marie* during the 17th century in Senegal.⁸⁵ By the end of the First World War, there were twenty-four Spiritans congregations with attached schools employing over sixty French missionaries and one hundred teachers.⁸⁶ This amount of schools rivaled secular schools, which were primarily in the urban centers such as Dakar.

The Spiritans were traditionally the educating force within Senegal.⁸⁷

Characterized by disconnection and disorganization, the early stage of missionary activity left missionaries as a law unto themselves. Church historian Aylward Shorter noted, the role of education “was exercised to a greater extent by missionaries than by colonial officers. (They) Maintained hundreds of missions and village schools, and at the behest of the government, opened elite schools to train the growing bureaucracy.”⁸⁸ This situation created a plethora of educational methods amongst missionary schools, differing not only from colony to colony, but also from region to region within individual colonies.

⁸⁵ Martin A. Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine-Saloum, 1847-1914* (Stanford University Press, 1968), 265.

⁸⁶ Joseph James Cooksey and Alexander McLeish, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa: A Missionary Survey of French, British, Spanish and Portuguese West Africa, with Liberia* (World Dominion Press, 1931), 237.

⁸⁷ Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal*, 90.

⁸⁸ Aylward Shorter, *The Cross and Flag in Africa: The “White Fathers” during the Colonial Scramble (1892-1914)* (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 2006), 29.

They differentiated between two types of missionary schools, ones that operated independently in the interior without much support from the colonial administration, and those that worked closely with the government within the communes.⁸⁹ Catholic missionaries continued to be the primary educators throughout France's colonies until the educational reforms in 1922. Catholic educators had their own definition of France's civilizing mission that put them in conflict with colonial officials.

In a Spiritan French Catholic missionary newsletter, missionaries offered their definition of *mission civilisatrice*, one that differed considerably from the administration's educational policies, particularly on the issue of language. It stated that the Pope had instructed missionaries to "preserve the customs, language, and traditions" of all of God's children.⁹⁰ In order to reach all of the people, Catholic educators used local languages in their school curriculum. The primary focus of these educators was the doctrinal and social training of their students. In this way, they viewed themselves in a wider global context of proselytization. Their *mission civilisatrice* was the Great Commission.

Similar to Catholic missionaries, Protestants viewed colonialism as a moral and spiritual venture. There was only one Protestant mission in colonial Senegal; the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) established their first mission in 1863.⁹¹ They

⁸⁹ Ibid, 43.

⁹⁰ Oeuvre pontificale missionnaire de la Propagation de la foi, *Les Missions catholiques : bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi / directeur-gérant Stanislas Laverrière* (Challamel, Paris: 1918), 167.

⁹¹ Joseph James Cooksey and Alexander McLeish, *Religion and Civilization in West Africa: A Missionary Survey of French, British, Spanish and Portuguese West Africa, with Liberia* (World Dominion Press, 1931), 24.

remained a minority amongst their Catholic rivals. Their foundations were in small Protestant congregations in France, where they received most of their funding.⁹² From 1917 to 1922, Protestant missionaries attempted to expand their place within Senegalese education. This brought them into conflict with the local colonial administration.

By 1922, colonial officials in France and Senegal had created a clear and concrete regulation system for schools throughout the AOF. The regulation combined former mandates requiring schools who received government funding to staff French university trained teachers and to submit their curricula, but this regulation was no longer restricted these reforms to funded schools.⁹³ Instead, the new regulation states that all schools must reapply with evidence that they have met the new requirements or close their doors. The new reform clearly stipulated that no language other than French could be taught for any reason in any school in the colonies.⁹⁴ Having gained influence over religious schools the administration created a rigid language policy. This reform was the culmination of tensions between secular and religious spheres.

It was in 1922 that French educational reform created a space for debate among Protestant missionaries and officials. PEMS missionaries in Dakar exchanged animated letters surrounding what they deemed “the worst regulation yet” and an attack on missionary religious freedoms. This reform covered three areas of regulation:

⁹² Jean Bianquis, *Les origines de la Société des missions évangéliques de Paris, 1822-1829*, (Paris: Société des missions évangéliques, 1930), 30.

⁹³ “Correspondence – copy of the French action in education,” *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

registration, language, and curriculum. This issue of regulation through registration with local officials was the first aspect of the 1922 reform that Protestant missionaries addressed.

The IMC utilized debates over colonial education to advocate a universal pedagogy. The debate amongst Americans and Western Europeans is present in the *Phelps-Stokes Report*, carried out in multiple African colonies beginning in 1919. The report focused on the state of education in Africa and created suggested reforms. Authored by multiple scholars hired by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, created in 1911 by the American family of the same name, the report focused on social and economic development of African people through education. The commission owed much to the work of Booker T. Washington, whom they mention many times as an example and force for education among the people of Africa and African descent.⁹⁵ Although most of the commission's stops were in British territories, they spoke to French missionaries and officials after viewing select schools in Dakar and Saint Louis. They noted that the French colonies were unique in that the colonial government extensively invested in schools, including religious schools.

Within the French context, both types of schools, religious and secular, used what the Phelps-Stokes commission called local dialects, including Arabic. The commission later noted, "mission societies seek to justify this procedure on the ground that many of

⁹⁵ Thomas Jesse Jones, the African Education Commission (1920-1921), and Phelps-Stokes Fund, *Education in Africa; a Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), 15.

the stations represent different tribes and languages.”⁹⁶ It also argued that schools that taught in a European language had high levels of elite students, and thus it fails to reach the masses. According to the authors, the education of the masses was critical to the social and economic development of African nations, and a system organized around elite education is not beneficial to the civilizing mission or the society.⁹⁷ Thus, the commission concluded that educating in local languages was a vital part of education.

The commission was also interested in researching successful Christian pedagogy. The report as a whole focused on what they deemed “Christian education” and thus missionary schools, which is useful because it reveals the state of missionary schools throughout Africa leading up to the reform of 1920. They often referenced the creation of a standard in pedagogy, similar to Edinburgh a decade before. The French colonial administration had no interest in using the commission’s suggested methods in Senegal. Instead, the colonial administration was becoming more rigid on the issue of French-only education by the 1920’s. This created a debate among Protestant missionaries and secular French administrators, in which the IMC was a dominant voice.

Although before 1922 there were requirements for missions and missionaries to meet, such as education requirements in 1908, in practice there was very little regulation of mission schools within Senegal. The 1922 colonial decree required that all missions, religious organizations, churches and schools register with the local administration by the end of the year. This registration process was an application that included the record of

⁹⁶ Ibid, 40-41.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 57.

staff members and their credentials. Failure to register would mean fines, closures, and deportation. Missionary schools could no longer use missionaries and locals as educators without meeting the requirement of a French education certificate. Registration also attempted to regulate religious groups who were running “bush schools” outside of the communes with little interference from the local administration. Protestant missionaries complained that this restricted their available workforce and would further prevent growth of their schools and missions within Senegal.

Protestant missionaries also argued that this kind of regulation could lead to the restriction of missionary work in the colony if administrators found vague reasons for not allowing a religious organization or church to become registered.⁹⁸ Government regulation would open the door for institutional secularization of the colony through a systematic removal of missions and churches, as it required the approval of local officials. Heavily influenced by American and British members of the IMC, the idea of state regulation of the church and religious activity was unsettling. Local missionaries seemed equally upset by the language restrictions within the 1922 regulation.

PEMS missionary Daniel Couve, in 1922, viewed the new French educational regulations in Senegal as “the worst yet” of administrative restrictions on the rights of missionaries and Christians. He linked the regulation to a “growing campaign in France” encouraged by Catholics to restrict Protestant and foreign missionary activity.⁹⁹ He

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ “Correspondence between Dr. Mott, Dr. Warnshuis, and pastor Daniel Couve – copy of the French regulations on missions in the colonies, June 1922,” *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

argued that these restrictions were also connected to the desire of France to “create a secular state in the colonies,” depicting the administration as destructive of all religions.¹⁰⁰ He did not believe that Catholics missionaries saw this regulation as a movement toward secularization, but that it was an unattended consequence of further state control. In his letters during 1921-22, Couve exposed the two sides of Protestant missionary frustrations in Senegal. First, as a religious minority, they constantly feared the power of Catholic missionaries to work against them. As France was overwhelmingly Catholic, this was not surprising. In IMC letters and texts, missionaries often cited the growth and numbers of Catholic congregations and schools.¹⁰¹ In the 1920’s, while the IMC had two mission stations and boasted of hundreds of converts, their Catholics counterparts had twenty-four missions and over twenty thousand local converts. This, of course, stemmed from Rome’s long history in Senegal beginning in the 1500s. Protestants often pointed to Rome’s “insidious influence” in French government, both locally in the colonies and Paris.¹⁰² Like Couve, some of the IMC members viewed Catholics as enemies of their ministry

Couve pointed to the second reason missionaries cited for their struggles in France’s African colonies, the growing secular state. There is no doubt that France’s colonial political structure was rooted in republicanism ideals of secularism, but there was a rich debate surrounding the transplant of French republicanism into the colonies. Which according to Couve, was thriving in the colonies and strove to extinguish all

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

religions. He asserted that French secularism was the enemy of all religions and sought to restrict the rights of both French and indigenous Christians in Senegal. Although, it is important to note that IMC members were not interested in protecting all religions. They often spoke of the need for the administration to step in and protect local populations from the “horrors” of Islam, such as child marriage, polygamy, and the restrictions placed on women. They also mentioned the “barbaric” indigenous religions that “plagued” the areas outside of the four communes in Senegal.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, Couve was one of the primary IMC missionaries to advocate greater Protestant expansion into Senegal in order to combat secularism.

The new regulation stipulated that instruction be in French and all religious services be performed in French or the “indigenous” language, with an exception for Catholics who would be permitted to use Latin. Protestant missionaries took issue with this aspect on multiple levels. First that it required French only, second that it gave an exception of Latin, which catered to Catholics; and third that the allowance for “indigenous” language was deemed useless. The “indigenous” language had been defined by the ethnographic sectioning of Senegal, of which all four communes resided in Wolof regions. David Couve, that same year, lamented the reform because “French language alone is to be taught in schools, to the exclusion of the vernacular.”¹⁰⁴ Although the regulation allowed for use of the local language, it came with restrictions. In the eyes of

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

Protestant missionaries, the restrictions made the expectation empty as it did not give all Protestant Senegalese the right to practice in their indigenous language.

During the early 20th century, the state separated the AOF into colonies, and then within the colonies they created departments made up of communes and *communautés rurales*. Through ethnographic studies, each department was attributed an indigenous language. There were only four communes in Senegal, all of which resided in Wolof language departments. These departments were also the most populous, including a substantial European population. In practice, whether this was the intention of the French legislation or not, the regulation allowed only Catholic populations to continue in their chosen language of instruction and worship. According to the Protestant missionaries, this was not freedom of religion because the Treaty of Versailles stipulated the protection of religious practices in one's own language.

The exception of Latin was an especially contentious issue to Protestants. The regulation allowed the use of Latin during religious services, as this official language still used by the Catholic. This exception allowed religious freedom for Catholics while it remained eerily silent about Islamic religious use of Arabic. According to the Protestant missionaries, the written exception for Catholics was a clear indicator that Rome was still too influential in French politics. Even more insidious, according to the PEMS, the decrees were directed at foreign and Protestant missionaries, and connected to the wider

campaign in France, encouraged by Catholic leadership, in order to undermine Anglo-Saxon influence in French colonies.¹⁰⁵

Lastly, the regulation required the approval of all curriculum by the Director of Education. One of the primary issues of tension between secular officials and Protestant missionaries was the use of religious stories and catechism lessons to in school curriculum.¹⁰⁶ The decree stipulated the use of secular curriculum even in religious schools. Protestants responded by trying to reframe the use of religious content as a fulfillment of morality. They asserted that colonial education should teach morals embedded in Christian teachings.¹⁰⁷

Although, like their Catholic counterparts, tensions arose between Protestant missionaries and French official over differing definitions of *mission civilisatrice*, the connections between PEMS and Anglo-Saxon missionary networks was also a cause of conflict. The end of the First World War brought change to Senegal's growing education on multiple fronts, first, in the international debate surrounding the place of indigenous people in the ruling of the colonies; second, the creation of the international Protestant missionary society; and third, the educational reform which strove to both control and expand secular education in France's African colonies.

The IMC interpreted the post-war treaty as an international agreement that protected freedom of religion and defined tutelage as the purpose of colonialism. This misreading of the treaty was utilized to advocate the expansion of Protestant missions in

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

areas closed to them, such as Senegal. Most useful to their goal was the application of the twenty-second article of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles to colonial spaces, which they utilized to engage French educational reform.

Missionaries such as David Couve of the PEMS referred directly to the treaty as the birthplace of tutelage.¹⁰⁸ According to their interpretation of article twenty-two, European and “more advanced nations” would tutor their mandates and colonies “until such time as they are able to stand alone.”¹⁰⁹ In this way, the purpose of colonization, and thus colonial education was to train the indigenous populations of European colonies to lead themselves. Couve, and other Protestant missionaries the connected this to the concept of self-determination. In terms of education, this concept eradicated the need for assimilation along nationalistic cultural lines, but instead should offer a system of tutelage.

In 1919, the concept of self-determination was controversial because not all European nations agreed on the purpose or mechanics of colonization. Protestant missionary leadership in the PEMS embraced both tutelage and self-determination, but furthermore they utilized these concepts to push for the expansion of Protestantism in Senegal. They asserted that missionaries were an integral piece to tutelage in Senegal and that education was an important part of missionary work.

¹⁰⁸ International Missionary Council, *Treaties, Acts & Regulations Relating to Missionary Freedom* (London, 1923) 5; “Correspondence – the Restriction of Missionary Activity in FWA,” *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁰⁹ IMC, *Treaties, Acts & Regulations*, 5.

Missionaries also evoked article twenty-two because of its language of the religious rights, which stated the administration of the colony would guarantee “conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion.”¹¹⁰ Missionaries interpreted this as a two-fold policy of protecting the rights of missionaries to act independently of the regulations of the administration, and protecting the rights of local populations to practice Christianity and receive Christian education, although they were only interested in Protestant rights. In negotiations with local officials, organization leaders and missionaries evoked the concept of tutelage as integral to the civilizing mission in Senegal. The burden of tutelage was that missionaries and administrators were responsible to protect the religious rights of local Christians. By inserting religious education and rights into France’s civilizing mission in Senegal, missionaries placed themselves as participants in empire. They also asserted themselves as protectors of the budding Senegalese nation and their religious freedom.

Protestant missionaries saw their place within French colonialism as simultaneously necessary and purifying. They sought to fulfill the tutelage of the civilizing mission while striving to redefine it as religious. Thus, they served to steer French colonialism away from the perceived degradation of secularism while protecting the religious rights of the Senegalese and themselves. They utilized the language of the Treaty of Versailles to situate themselves as a necessary piece of French colonialism, as

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 8.

both paternal tutelage of the local populations of Senegal and protector of their religious rights.

In this way, colonial education was a product of negotiation between different interest groups who often held conflicting definitions of the purpose and method of schooling. The secular administration sought to expand the public system and move away from the religious influence of missionaries, to achieve an economically productive workforce. While Catholic missionaries sought to hold onto their place of authority as the primary educators, although they often disagreed with the use of French only curriculum. Lastly, Protestant missionaries sought to expand their influence in the colonies through education and openly criticized the new regulation.

Religious education dominated colonial Senegal at the end of the war; as the colonial administration reformed education policy and moved toward a secular French language education, Protestant missionaries began to advocate their place within education and empire through the concept of tutelage. Through local discourse surrounding the creation of the regulation, it is apparent that religious and secular spheres of education were competing for control and that they differed in definition of the civilizing mission. Protestant missionaries interpreted this exception as a sign of Catholic political power.

The tensions between secular and Protestant were carried through the 1922 regulation. In particular, the issue of nationalism and Protestant ties to Anglo-American organizations was an issue of distrust and speculation among officials. Colonial administrators saw Protestant missionaries of the PEMS as less French than Catholic

missionaries and too closely allied with British issues. Secular administrators asserted assimilation to be the purpose of education, utilizing French literacy as the primary focus. While Protestant missionaries armed themselves an international definition of tutelage, which allowed flexibility in pedagogy and the language of instruction, which would allowed them to assert themselves into the closed French system.

In the 1920s and 30s, the issue of French colonial regulation and language stood central to debates between Protestant missionaries and colonial officials in the AOF. Protestant missionaries used tutelage to critique French empire, particularly in Senegal, and carved out their place in a post-war world. The formation of the International Missionary Council in 1921 shaped a distinct Protestant identity as builders of empire and protectors of religious freedom. As the French state moved toward a more united and bureaucratic form of colonization, Protestant missionaries shifted their tactics to achieve their primary goal of proselytization and attempted to gain influence in Senegal.

CHAPTER III
THE CONCEPT OF TUTELAGE IN SENEGALESE COLONIAL
EDUCATION: A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY
COUNCIL, 1921-1935

Republican secularism and missionary proselytization often vied for supremacy in colonial spaces. At the end of the First World War, as the French colonial administration in Senegal sought to expand their geographic empire, they also sought to expand their direct control over colonial education. Direct control included controlling missionary ventures within French West Africa through better regulation. As the previous chapter addressed, French regulation of religion and education after the First World War was an attempt to consolidate control and fulfill the *mission civilisatrice*.¹¹¹ Protestant missionaries resisted the regulation and loss of access to colonial education in Senegal through a misreading of the Treaty of Versailles and the concept of tutelage.

This chapter grapples with the place of missionaries in Senegal by examining the International Missionary Council (IMC), which served as an international religious association for Protestant missionary societies that offered its members unity, information, and political advocacy. Using the colony of Senegal and the French

¹¹¹ The French regulation, addressed in the previous chapter, required the registration of all religious organizations and authorization of the local colonial officials, that instruction be given in French only at all education levels, and that religious services be performed in French, Latin (for Catholics), or the approved indigenous language. International Missionary Council, *Treaties, Acts & Regulations Relating to Missionary Freedom* (London, 1923) 50-51.

educational reform of 1922 as a case study, this chapter explores how the international organization developed their identity and role as missionaries in empire between 1921 and 1935. How did the development of an international missionary organization shape empire building and missionary self-knowledge in Senegal and French West Africa? As agents and active participants in empire, how did Protestant missionaries depict their place and contribution in a global context? Protestant missionaries viewed themselves as a vital part of the *mission civilisatrice* and simultaneously sought to reform and redefine it. The IMC used the debates surrounding the educational reforms in 1922 to assert their place in the French imperial project in interwar Senegal. To this end, they utilized the concepts of tutelage and moral education. Protestant missionaries within the IMC defined their role in the French empire as imperative to the development of the indigenous Senegalese population. Between 1921 and 1935, the council developed a distinct identity as self-proclaimed champions of religious rights and thwarters of the moral “degradation” caused by French secularism in Senegal. The IMC used personal relationships within the empire to advocate the importance of missionary work. Tutelage and moral education defined the place of missionaries within French colonialism in interwar Senegal.

This chapter is broken into three sections. The first section addresses the history of the IMC from its formation in 1921. The second explores how the organization employed the concept of tutelage to criticize the French colonial regulation of 1922. The third traces the organization’s shift in the method of advocacy from official political negotiations to the use of personal connections and the policy of local avoidance.

This study reveals how Protestantism functioned within empire through a global lens and asserted itself as an integral part through the concept of tutelage. Protestant missionary tutelage did not seek to empower local religious traditions or power structures, but to reform them with Christian values. The IMC invoked the 1919 Treaty of Versailles as an international agreement to argue that tutelage was the moral obligation of European nations to their colonized peoples. They defined tutelage as the moral and intellectual training of indigenous populations.

After the First War, in 1921 at a resort in New York, founders held the first meeting of the International Missionary Council. Functions of the council were the collection and dissemination information to benefit Christian missions worldwide, to support member missionary organizations through political action, and the protection of the rights of missionaries and Christians. The language of “freedom”, “social justice”, and “global good”, colored the original organization’s bylaws.¹¹² Which outlined the purpose of the organization as:

“a. to stimulate thinking and investigation on missionary questions, b. to make the results available for all missionary societies and missions, c. To help to coordinate the activities of the national missionary organizations if the different countries of the societies they represent, d. to bring about the united action where necessary in missionary matters, e. to help unite Christian public opinion in support of freedom of conscience and religion and of missionary liberty, f. to help unite the Christian forces if the world in seeking justice in international and inter-racial relations, g. to be responsible for the publication of the International Review of Missions and other necessary missionary publications, h. to call a world missionary conference if and when this should be deemed desirable.”

¹¹² Minutes of the international missionary council, Lake Mohonk, New York, October 1-6, 1921, pg. 34.

These issues, framed within the context of an international organization, worked to define missionary tutelage as linked to social as well as spiritual issues. It sought to unite not only missionaries in action, but also the wider public through advocacy.

Missionary organizations advocated greater involvement in colonial education. Specifically, missionary members of the IMC sought to reform French colonial education in a way that not only asserted their place in empire, but also worked to ‘protect’ the rights of Christians in Senegal. They interpreted religious rights to encompass education in indigenous languages for the purpose of reading the Bible and worshipping. It is important to note that ideologically Protestants connected literacy to spiritual experience. Their care for indigenous education was not simply a way to gain control in the colonies, but an integral part of their worldview. Although influenced by their nationalistic backgrounds, Protestant missionaries believed that literacy was a deeply spiritual and serious issue. In this way, IMC members were critical of the French system, which they deemed too nationally assimilatory. They contrasted the French and British colonial structures through their education systems, deeming the French system as too focused on cultural assimilation but well-funded, while the British were too elitist and underfunded. While this view is not congruent with the historical reality, as association was widespread in Senegal, IMC missionaries continually projected these views of French colonialism during the 20th century. The particular reference to justice and racial relations, including the almost verbatim quote of “freedom of conscience and religion”, echoes the 1919

Versailles Treaty.¹¹³ As an organization, the IMC used this foundational terminology repeatedly in negotiations, both externally and internally.

Another of the founding concepts of the IMC was their dedication to “missionary freedom.”¹¹⁴ The members of the IMC, along with the organization’s leadership, were interested in the protection of the religious freedoms and the activities of missionaries globally. They defined these rights as the ability of missionaries to practice their religion through universal social projects and proselytization. The IMC interpreted international or national governmental restrictions as intervening in missionary activities and thus, deemed as the limitation of missionary freedom. The organization produced a large body of literature surrounding this issue throughout the 20th century. Aside from a robust internal discourse over what restricted or threatened missionary freedom, the IMC acted as an international political advocate for their member mission organizations.

Political advocacy often presented itself in the form of officially petitioning the involved governments, pressuring government officials through personal relationships, and encouraging international intervention on the issues. At the foundations of the IMC and during the 1920s much of their advocacy was through formal means, they organized groups to meet with American and French government officials in the US over the 1921 educational reform in Senegal and attempted to meet with French officials in Paris.¹¹⁵ In

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Correspondence between Dr. Mott, Dr. Warnshuis, and Pastor Daniel Couve – copy of the French regulations on missions in the colonies, June 1922, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

this way, IMC advocacy took the form of organizational and political groups requesting action from their home government on their behalf. At times, the IMC encouraged their missionaries within Senegal to engage with local officials on the issues, but often it was only after the IMC leadership had contacted national governments at home. These negotiations were often laden with international and national tensions between the home countries of the IMC, primarily the United States and Britain, and the colonial government in France. These tensions led to a great deal of discussions within the IMC of how to serve their nationally diverse members who could be negatively affected by how the organization dealt with France. They also feared backlash on the local level if missionaries upset the local officials within Senegal. This debate led to a shift in advocacy tactics in the IMC. Petitioning government officials was the primary avenue of communication for the IMC throughout the 1920's.

The organization defined itself as a religion advocate in relation to current political policies. The purpose of the IMC was shaped, in part, by the French education regulation of 1922. During the early stages of the IMC response to the regulation, they referenced discussions that took place at the founding conference at Lake Mohonk.¹¹⁶ In a letter between Oldham and an American contact he stated, "You will remember that at Lake Mohonk Mott was requested (by the council and Couve) to interview the French Premier while he was in Washington."¹¹⁷ Oldham and Couve continued to encourage

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Correspondence between Fennell Turner and J.H. Oldham concerning missionary education in French Africa, 23 June 1923, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

direct involvement of the IMC in the issue. The organization used the regulation and the surrounding debates to define their purpose in Senegal.

The initial response to new regulations in French West Africa seen in the exchange between IMC missionaries and leadership in 1922 reveal the importance of the regulation and an internal debate surrounding the organizational response. Initially, the response from Mott was to “wait for more information”, although Couve requested that the leadership petition the government officials not to allow the regulation to take effect in February of 1922. The leadership cautioned him to be patient and that the organization had spoken to colonial officials in Washington DC at the 1921 Naval Conference.¹¹⁸ Couve, not thwarted, compiled a list of missions affected by the new regulation, petitioning the IMC to fulfill their purpose and protest missionary freedom. He then mounted a harsh attack on the motivations behind the new regulation, which he concluded was pressure from Roman Catholics who were “constantly working underground against Anglo-Saxonism” and an attack on French Protestants.¹¹⁹ Although, a later letter notes that he was not alone in this belief, that many Protestant missionaries were voicing similar concerns.¹²⁰ As a French Protestant, Couve viewed this matter as directly caused by Protestant-Catholic tensions in the Metropole. He suggested that American members of the IMC make this a foreign relations and public opinion issue.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Correspondence between Dr. Mott, Dr. Warnshuis, and pastor Daniel Couve – copy of the French regulations on missions in the colonies, June 1922, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

In his opinion, the post-war American-French relations was strong enough to influence French colonial policy.

The initial response from the IMC differed from the advised response from missionaries in the field. With time, armed with complaints from missionaries and their societies, the organization advocated a policy that better served religious organizations who were an integral part of colonial education. Mott and Oldham presented the organization's case before multiple French administrators over the period of 1922 through 1924. Each time they reported that the administration had listened intently and been careful not to promise anything. After a few years of prompting the organization to pressure American and British politicians to get involved in the issue, Daniel Couve insisted that nothing would be achieved through further interviews with French government officials.¹²² Furthermore, many members of the IMC concluded that any pressure from French Protestants or British politicians would result in the issue becoming a sticky international relations issue.¹²³

The solution then became to have the American influential members of the IMC, such as John Mott, president of the YMCA, meet with officials. Oldham wrote to Mott that, “He (Coue) urges very strongly... that you should arrange to head a deputation to visit Paris in July for the purpose of interviewing the minister of Colonial Affairs... the interview should be arranged for you by the American Embassy.” The implications were

¹²² Correspondence between Dr. Mott, Dr. Warnshuis, and Pastor Daniel Couve – copy of the French regulations on missions in the colonies, June 1922, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹²³ Ibid.

that direct involvement of Protestant missionaries would further the belief that they were not nationally loyal to France and were too heavily influenced by British Protestants. This might damage their authority within the French empire, rather than helping them gain more influence. In similar fashion, direct involvement of British politicians and leaders would stir up deep-seated fears and resentment of British involvement in French Colonialism, as parts of Senegal had been contested territories between Britain and France during the 19th century. Thus, critiques from British Protestants would be linked to the unwanted political intrusion in French affairs. The only solution was to make the issue of the regulation an American issue.

In several letters to John Mott detailing the concerns of the organization, other IMC members expressed great concern over how the issue should be broached with the Minister of Colonial Affairs in Paris.¹²⁴ Specifically, an American Mr. Turner warned that it would be detrimental to their Protestant brothers in France to infer that they were aligned with Britain against colonial policy and assisting in the intrusion into French politics. He even goes as far to say that French Protestant nationalistic loyalty, already under question, meant the IMC should not feed the rumor.¹²⁵ “I am convinced that it will be very unfortunate if the French Government should be led to feel that the Americans and the British are united together in opposition to their Colonial Policy and that the Protestant of France have lined themselves up with the combination of American and

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

British in the attempt to interfere with the French Colonial Policy.”¹²⁶ The IMC leadership did not want to complicate the local tensions between French Protestants and secular administrators. In an earlier letter, the President of the IMC suggested that Mott bring up that the American Presbyterian Council had already brought the issue to Washington and that failure to honor the religious freedom of American missionaries would result in damaged foreign relations between the US and France.¹²⁷ By the time of the meeting, the organization agreed that the issue would be presented as a strictly American issue. In that, the current regulation would make it difficult for American mission societies to enter French West Africa, John Mott agreed to present the case as such.¹²⁸

The IMC then translated the regulation and sent it to affected missionary societies. In return, they asked for information about how the new regulation was disturbing missionary work on the ground.¹²⁹ After his meeting with French officials at the Washington Naval Conference in 1921, Mott stated, “If what we have done proves to be fruitless, my advice is that we leave the matter open a little longer and then... we take

¹²⁶ Correspondence between Fennell Turner and A.L. Warnshuis concerning missionary education in French Africa, 10 June 1922, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹²⁷ Correspondence between Dr. Mott, Dr. Warnshuis, and Pastor Daniel Couve – copy of the French regulations on missions in the colonies, June 1922, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Correspondence between George King and J.H. Oldham concerning missionary education in French Africa, 8 June 1922, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

it up with our own State Department and have them deal with it as a governmental matter or organize a strong deputation to take it up with a higher official of the French Government.”¹³⁰ He went on to say that because of the strong influence of religious public opinion in American and the strong relationship between the US and France, French officials might be persuaded to give concessions to Protestant missions for the sake of international relations.¹³¹ While this was naive of Mott, it reveals the idealism of the IMC’s advocacy. They viewed themselves as an important part of international negotiations of colonial policy.

Bishop King of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in Britain, echoing Couve, noted that the “French language alone is to be taught in schools, to the exclusion of the vernacular.”¹³² He connected the loss of vernacular to the forfeiture of missionary method, which utilized vernacular to achieve literacy. Protestant missionaries viewed literacy as an important part of evangelism and tutelage, as new converts could actively participate in Christianity through reading the Bible. To IMC Protestants, this was more than an international relations issue it was of eternal importance because the ability to read the Bible in one’s own language was imperative to spirituality.

¹³⁰ Correspondence between Dr. Mott, Dr. Warnshuis, and Pastor Daniel Couve – copy of the French regulations on missions in the colonies, June 1922, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Correspondence between George King and J.H. Oldham concerning missionary education in French Africa, 8 June 1922, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

The IMC conducted meetings, interviews and wrote letters to the administration both in Senegal and abroad over the issue of colonial education. In 1923, Joseph Oldham, and the IMC leadership were meeting with French colonial administrators, in an attempt to convince them that the new policy was not sound. In the name of international co-operation, they suggested the creation of a new policy shaped by the educational knowledge of all countries.¹³³ This sequence of meeting took place while the organization was collecting information from the field on how the new regulation affected missionary activity within the colonies.

In response to their request, Bishop King of the SPG, on behalf of an unregistered Protestant mission, which was supported by Churches in the West Indies, voiced their concern. They “pointed out that this decree will cut at the root of all their educational work in the Mission for being supported by the West Indian Church and manned by coloured or African clergy, they cannot command a sufficient number of teachers who have any knowledge of French and the decree will mean the closing of their schools.”¹³⁴ The new regulation, according to Bishop would completely undo all they had achieved because their staff was local Senegalese Christians and black missionaries from the West Indies.¹³⁵ This was a common concern for missionary organizations in AOF who did not have strong European ties and depended heavily on the local populations for staffing and support. These missions were deeply connected to local traditions and an example of

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

what Isichei called synthesis through tutelage.¹³⁶ They and the IMC viewed the new regulation as attempting to disrupt their work, as an integral part of the community. Furthermore, the concern for this non-white, non-American/European mission revealed that this was not simply a turf war between Western European colonial policies. Their concern was that not only were these Christians unable to practice their religion “freely” but that they may even be forced to leave. The IMC promoted these missions in the case for missionary and religious freedoms against the 1922 regulation.

Members of the IMC linked education and tutelage in a similar fashion as the French administration linked French literacy and civilization. These conflicting definitions of the purpose of education drove the debates over regulation, language, and tutelage. During the late-1920s, Gibson attempted to merge the regulation with missionary concepts in order to advocate greater missionary involvement in empire. Her practical solutions sparked both debate and critiques of the French colonial education system. The in-depth exchange from 1929 through 1931 over the place of missionary education in the current system, particularly to fulfill the moral education requirement, which occurred between Betty Gibson and Reverend William Platt, the head of the British Foreign Bible Society in Togo and Dahomey, reveals critiques of the regulation and how the IMC continued to define their place in empire. These discussions over education shifted to new methods of creative advocacy, in which the IMC interpreted parts of the regulation to assert their role in colonial education. During the late-1920s,

¹³⁶ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids, Mich. : Lawrenceville, N.J: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995) 72-74.

while the debates over how to influence governments to change the law continued, Gibson sought to define the role as missionary educators as a clear fulfillment of the moral education of the French secular education system. As a part of her research for the publication they were writing on African education, she proposed that Protestant missionaries could utilize the concept of morality to support their use of religious texts in the classroom.

Gibson was preparing a report of Oldham to use at an international conference on educational policy in 1931. Along the way, she began to formulate how exactly missionaries already fulfilled French concepts of education by offering a true moral education. She stated, "I have a clear impression that French opinion generally is against the 'intrusion' of religion into education and that Scripture lessons and definite religious teachings must be kept out of school hours... Emphasis is laid on 'moral' teaching which is also intended to permeate all subjects, as we feel Christianity must do."¹³⁷ Gibson proposed that Christian education fulfilled the idea of morality permeating every aspect of education and that although the French were adverse to the idea there was no official regulation.¹³⁸ She suggested the use of Christian Bible and catechism lessons to fulfill the moral requirement. Although there was not explicit law banning it, the French administration was against the "intrusion" of religion into education and thus the use of

¹³⁷ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and William Platt concerning missionary education in French West Africa, 8 December 1930, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹³⁸ Ibid.

scriptures in education.¹³⁹ Gibson also proposed the use of vernacular at the early stages of education, admitting there was tension between Colonial administration and Missionary pedagogy.¹⁴⁰ She concluded that if regulation depended on the application of the local official, it might be possible to instruct missionary educators to use these methods as long as schools produce French literate students. Platt responded in detail, with a strong critique of the current French education system and regulation, which reveal the tensions between religious and secular.

Reverend William Platt begins his critical expose of the AOF education system by asserting that it had failed to achieve any local adaptation. “The new Governor General of FWA M. Bréviét ...” he stated, “disagrees with those at home who would duplicate every administrateur with a priest... there is no need for Africa; he (Bréviét) believes, to go through the religious evolution which Europe has experienced, she can go straight from Naturisms to free thought.”¹⁴¹ He goes on to argue that Bréviét’s personal goal is religious eradication. Upon elaboration, he concluded that although there had been policies that attempted to adapt education to local Senegalese life, it was unsuccessful in achieving any pervasive adaptation. He viewed the issue to be the obsession with language acquisition over other educational goals, in that teachers failed children for mistakes in their French accent not lack of knowledge.¹⁴² Platt considered this as a

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and William Platt concerning missionary education in French West Africa, 31 January 1931, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁴² Ibid.

prioritization of Frenchness over education and thus a failure to adapt the education system to local needs.

The purpose if colonial education was French literacy and assimilation, according to Platt “the idea of the average official (in the AOF) is that education really means knowledge of the French language and ability to write and talk it.”¹⁴³ He called into question the legitimacy of French claims of education and adherence to international views of European tutelage, ironically noting “the direct method of teaching French breaks down in the early years and the Director of Education has admitted on occasion that his African teachers do interpret at times and that Native language thus creeps into Official Schools.”¹⁴⁴ While this disconnect between policy and practice, through lax or inconsistent enforcement of regulation, could be used to the advantage of missionaries, more commonly, it was a place of tension between schools and officials. Platt did not view the current system of education as effective or achieving the tutelage of Senegalese students. Instead, he saw secular education as restricted the rights of local Christians and missionaries. It was common for British missionaries to openly criticize the French system of education and their wide use of French language, but the internal missionary rhetoric of religious rights for indigenous Senegalese and the importance of literacy in their own language was foundational to the IMC identity. As they shaped and reshaped their purpose in empire, the issue of tutelage became a central focus.

¹⁴³ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and William Platt concerning missionary education in French West Africa, 31 January 1931, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

According to IMC missionaries, tutelage, paternal instruction was the purpose of education. They viewed the regulation as a sign that France had prioritized cultural and linguistic assimilation over educational goals, and thus the needs of local communities in Senegal. The French administration sought to expand their empire through an educated colonial working class through regulation of education. In contrast, IMC missionaries sought to expand their moral empire through indigenous literacy, proselytization, and the extension of Protestant missions into French West Africa. In this way, they viewed themselves within a larger narrative of social justice, of which the training of indigenous population through education was an integral part.

The IMC used the concept of tutelage and discourse over moral education to assert their place in empire. The internal discussion over utilizing moral education to assert Christianity into the curriculum shows not only the ongoing debate surrounding French education regulation, but also how the organization framed their place in empire. Protestant missionaries within the IMC viewed the tutelage of local communities through literacy and morality as the purpose of education. In contrast, they interpreted the policies of the administration in French West Africa as revealing that their purpose of education was narrowly the comprehension of French language and acquisition of French culture, thus the policy of assimilation. Furthermore, this policy was colored by the secularization of France and its colonies. IMC leadership created a binary view that set the religious and secular views of colonialism against one another. A viewpoint that allowed them to assert themselves as champions of freedom, for both European missionaries, and Senegalese Christians.

Instead of creating a synthesis, Gibson exposed the perceived flaws of the French education system. Missionary leaders like Platt and Oldham viewed the French system of education as inherently flawed because it explicitly rejected the Anglo-Saxon pedagogy that emphasized the use of indigenous languages during the early stages of education, such as the Stokes-Phelps Report. Instead, it sought to transpose indigenous cultures into French culture. The IMC failed to convince the French administration of their “error” and began to shift their methods of advocacy.

As noted, during the early years of the IMC, their method of advocacy was to address political leaders through political means and pressures; this meant many letters, meetings, and conferences. In this way, they facilitated and pressed political discourse between government officials on issues pertaining to Protestant missions. As the organization grew in influence and size, it shifted to a less official method of advocacy, the use of colonial relationships. The negotiations surrounding missionary fees between the colonial administration and the IMC during 1932-35, illustrated the shift from official to personal spheres, the tensions between secular officials and religious leaders, and the solidification of the IMC identity within empire.

During the early 1930's there was a gradual shift from official negotiations with the organization and government officials to interpersonal relationships. For instance, Henri Labouret during 1930s, through his personal influence in Senegal successfully settled the issue of fees for missionary workers entering Senegal and the rest of French

West Africa.¹⁴⁵ Labouret was able to advocate the IMC and local missionaries because of his relationships and status within France's African colonies. It was his relationship with the then President of the IMC, J.H. Oldham, and the current governor general of Senegal, which allowed him to be the bridge between the local missionaries and colonial administration. This kind of tactic was encouraged within the organization on both an international and local level. It was during the early 1930 that the organization shifted from advocacy through official means to the use of personal relationships in the empire.

Negotiation of entrance fees paid by missionaries revealed the conflicting views of the importance of missionaries. According to the IMC, their missionaries were agents of civilization and necessary to the success of imperialism. This shift in negotiation also marked the change in the organization from political advocacy through official means to use of personal relationship to pressure persons of authority. This new method emphasized avoiding confrontation between local officials and missionaries, and the use of interpersonal connections to evade national politics.

The French Government required reparation money for missionaries, fees required by the French colonial government differed in the amount from colony to colony, but the purpose was to cover the cost of a ticket home if they deported the person in question. The policy applied to all foreigners in the colonies. IMC missions viewed the cost to be too great a burden on the mission and began negotiations. Their argument was

¹⁴⁵ Correspondence between JH Oldham and Henri Labouret concerning education in French Africa, 23-29 June 1932, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

that missionaries were an integral part of the empire, they were not profiting from their stay in Senegal, and the higher costs restricted the number of missionaries able to serve in AOF. The last reason being significant because missionaries “prevented moral decay” within the colonies.

The past the elaborate plans of the IMC members did not result in achieving a new educational policy in French West Africa, it helped to shift the methods and purpose of the organization. While the issue of educational policy continued to be central to organizational debates in the IMC, during the 1930s the matter of entrance fees reveals the shift the method of advocacy the organization used. This shift was due to tensions between missionaries and French colonial administrators caused in part by official negotiations. The IMC also saw little change from the French through top down negotiations.

Many of the personal relationships used were those of Joseph H. Oldham. An influential leader in the international religious community. He was an avid promoter of the social justice as the purpose of missions, particularly the necessity of education in Africa.¹⁴⁶ His personal drive fueled much of the debates surrounding the regulation of 1922. Most intriguing was his close friendship with former colonial official and professor of Ethnography Henri Labouret, who was a product of the colonialism and well-connected within the colonial world, as a French military officer, appointed Director of

¹⁴⁶ Kathleen Bliss, “The Legacy of J. H. Oldham,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 8, no. 1 (1984): 22.

the AOF and professional ethnographer.¹⁴⁷ He wrote extensively on African cultures and was instrumental, with Oldham, in the founding of International African Institute in 1926. During the 1930s, Loubet took up the case of the IMC to local officials, whom he had personal influence over, on a number of occasions. The most pivotal being the issue of entrance fees for missionaries.

In 1929, the matter of missionaries being required to pay an entrance fee to the French colonial government became a primary concern of the IMC in the AOF. The issue was monetary. Although the amount differed from colony to colony within French West Africa, the general requirement was a fee, which served as a deposit, paid by the mission or the entering missionary for passage out of the country if an issue should arise. In some cases, this totaled to nine hundred pounds for one mission.¹⁴⁸ The missions complained that the large amount sought to limit their numbers and cripple their work.¹⁴⁹ Whether or not the official purpose of the fee was to elevate the cost of deportation on the local administration or restrict the number of religious workers in the colonies is unclear. The important issue is the perceived unnecessary burden the fees caused. The issue came down to the need for missionaries in these colonies, there were not traders or merchants, but agents of social justice and civilization. Therefore, according to the IMC, they should

¹⁴⁷ Ed Van Hoven, "Representing Social Hierarchy. Administrators-Ethnographers in the French Sudan: Delafosse, Monteil, and Labouret," *Cahiers D'études Africaines* 30, no. 118 (1990): 182.

¹⁴⁸ Correspondence between JH Oldham and Henri Labouret concerning education in French Africa, 23-29 June 1932, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

be allowed an exemption, which would solidify their place in empire as an integral part of colonialism.

By request of Oldham, Henri Labouret addressed the issue with the Governor General Joseph Jules Bréviét in Dakar during a trip there in 1932. Oldham expressed that he did “not think that much would be gained by approaching the Foreign Office in a matter of this kind. It is very doubtful whether they would be willing to take it up, and if they did, whether it would be effective with the French Government.”¹⁵⁰ Although Labouret had reservations about the possibility of changing the policy, he agreed to broach the issue with his personal relationships in office.¹⁵¹ In a letter from his office they promised, “M. Labouret will be paying a visit this year to French West Africa... (he) has real sympathy with Protestant missionary work and will, I know, do everything that he can to facilitate progress in the French colonies.”¹⁵² Oldham, like many in the IMC began to doubt the effectiveness of the organization approaching the officials in France and sought another avenue of advocacy. The matter settled during the meeting, resulting in the AOF administration who agreed to allow missionary societies exemption from the fee if they agree to cover the cost of their workers leaving the colonies.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Correspondence between William Platt and J.H. Oldham concerning missionary education in French Africa, 10 January 1929, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Labouret's success was an example of how effective personal connections were for advocacy, rather than official negotiations with government officials. Gibson remarked,

“You do realise of course that M. Labouret's was a purely personal intervention by reason of acquaintance with Dr. Oldham. As Dr. Oldham explained ... he felt that this was probably the most effective way in which the matter could be brought to the attention of the French Government, but being private representations no officials use can be made of the answer given nor claims based upon it.”¹⁵⁴

The IMC extended this policy by advising their missionaries to practice avoidance. Platt suggested “An excellent motto for French colonies is ... do not disturb the Administrator. The moment you seek advice or talk of schools and sometimes even seek permission he must take note of your activity. Much the better course is to work quietly on .. ask no advice and offer no reports.”¹⁵⁵ This was a twofold policy; first missionaries should avoid direct conflict or negotiation with local officials over issues and instead contact the IMC to advocate them through personal relationships, and second, missionaries should utilize the gaps and inconsistency of the application policy, to avoid adhering to the policies until the administration directly enforces them. Using these tactics, missionaries noted less tension between them and colonial officials and more leniency toward ignoring missionary disregard to policies.¹⁵⁶ In Senegal, the West Indies

¹⁵⁴ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and Ernest Grimwood concerning missionary fees in French Africa, 23 September 1932, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁵⁵ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and William Platt concerning missionary fees in French West Africa, 31 January 1931, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁵⁶ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and Pastor E. Allégret concerning missionary in French Africa, May-August 1934, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary*

Wesleyan mission expanded to thirty-two schools with over fifteen hundred indigenous students.¹⁵⁷ IMC missionaries used these tactics in other parts of Africa, reporting success in French Sudan, Madagascar, and the Congo.¹⁵⁸ This not only reveals the way in which colonialism functioned on the ground, through disorganization and lack of application of colonial policy, but shows how the organization developed from idealism to practical political advocacy.

This shift, from official advocacy through meeting with government administrators to the use to personal relationships within the empire and the avoidance of conflict on a local level, solidified the self-identification of the organization as champions of rights and advocates for Protestant Christians. In this way, the IMC revealed how institutions of empire were products of multiple layered negotiations, both locally and internationally. This also allows an international context for local tensions and negotiations between interest groups, such as the IMC, and colonial administrations. The shift from advocacy through official means to the use of personal relationships and the avoidance of conflict reveals the way that the organization used its unique international status to influence the concrete experience of colonial spaces. The advocacy of the 1930s

Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945 (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁵⁷ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and Henri Labouret concerning Education in French Africa, January 1931, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

¹⁵⁸ Correspondence between Betty Gibson and Pastor E. Allégret concerning missionary in French Africa, May-August 1934, IMC, *The Joint International Missionary Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (IMC/CBMS) Archives: Africa and India, 1910-1945* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation Co., 1978).

was markedly different from the initial years of the IMC. Its members eluded conflict and international politics by creating a web of colonial connections and influences.

In conclusion, the development of the International Missionary Council as an organization produced a unique Protestant group identity. This identity allowed its members to view their particular role in empire in an international context, not only religiously, but also as tutors of civilization and guardians of moral decay. Shaped by the French colonial education regulation of 1922, the foundation of the organization advocated Protestant unity and tutelage of indigenous people through education. They, as thus, set themselves against the new regulation that sought to define the purpose of education not as tutelage but as continued European dominance. As an international organization, the IMC drew from a multiplicity of viewpoints to draw contrasts and comparisons between colonial projects, most vividly between France and Britain. They argued that Protestantism filled the need in a way that no other group could. In short, they sought to reform empire eternally using tutelage to fulfill the Great Commission.

Furthermore, the IMC produced missionary self-knowledge, which defined itself in contrast to Catholic and secular republican identities, as agents of social justice within imperialism. Debates within the IMC strove to define the purpose and legitimize the role of missionaries in empire building. They argued that missionaries brought civilization, education, and morality through direct tutelage. Other groups could not fill this role because the others allowed themselves to be distracted by inconsequential goals, such as republican colonial officials who prioritized language acquisition over knowledge and

learning. This allows historians to understand better how participant groups in empire viewed their role within.

CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION

One of the most lasting effects of missions in empire, beyond their introduction of foreign religion, was their role in education. Contested and discursive within Senegal, Protestant missionaries viewed the institution of schools as central to their work. For those within the International Missionary Council, education encompassed moral and spiritual training important to the creation of citizens. Thus, Protestant IMC missionaries in Senegalese education participated in empire as a means to proselytize, which ideologically was synonymous with modernization and social progress. The IMC, as an international organization dedicated itself to the expansion of Protestantism throughout colonial spaces and the prevention of the expansion of secularism, within the French Empire this issue was especially prominent. The IMC sought to expand Protestant missions through missionary education in Senegal to prevent what they deemed as restriction of “religious freedoms” and the spread secular education. Drawing comparisons between the French and British empires, they advocated a uniform colonial education pedagogy that used local vernacular at the early stages of education and allowed Christian morality to permeate the curriculum. In this way, they asserted themselves as an integral part of empire and defined the purpose of colonialization as tutelage.

During the end of the war, as France sought to further regulate and expand their education system in Senegal. Protestant missionaries pushed to establish their place within empire as tutelage. They, as educators, asserted tutelage as the civilizing mission as France shifted from the official policy of assimilation to association. Protestant missionaries used the 1919 Treaty of Versailles to argue for an international agreement on the purpose of colonialism. This created more tension between French administrators and missionaries.

The IMC, established in 1921, was an international advocate for Protestant missionary unity, freedom and expansion. Within Senegal, the organization sought to assert itself as an important piece of colonial education. Senegal was a prime space for expansion because of the French secular education system. Protestants viewed secularism as one of the greatest 20th century obstacles of missions. They further defined education as an integral part of tutelage, which should produce moral educated citizens. In this way, they tied education and Christian morality to the. This came in conflict with France's concept of imperialism creating tension between missionaries and the colonial government.

In a 1923 pamphlet published by the IMC, they reprinted policies relating to missionary freedom. In the section for French West Africa, they highlighted the restriction of languages used in worship, as it did not fulfill their interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles article 22, "conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience

and religion.”¹⁵⁹ Instead, they interpreted the 1919 treaty as an international agreement in which tutelage was the moral obligation of “advanced nations”.¹⁶⁰ As champions of freedom and morality, they positioned themselves within empire as agents of tutelage. They as thus, asserted missions as an important part of both tutelage.

After the war, Protestant missionaries asserted themselves into Senegalese education, the IMC sought to create an international pedagogy that utilized local vernacular without restriction. They interpreted French colonial policy was assimilatory and centered on the acquisition of the French language. They instead argued that Protestant missionaries were the only group capable of fulfilling the true purpose of colonialism, the moral and intellectual tutelage of “child nations”. Along with tutelage, Protestant missionaries developed a group identity as integral to empire while reforming it to fit their interpretation of the civilizing mission.

The IMC viewed their place in international politics as guiding toward international peace. Within local colonies, such as Senegal they viewed their place as tutelage through moral education. This wider connection between international cooperation and European tutelage of their colonies played a prominent role in empire. Their paternalistic approach to empire defined the role between educator and student as one of parent-child. In this way, while attempting to undermine aspects of colonialism, Protestant missionaries reinforced social and cultural hierarchies. They advocated the

¹⁵⁹ International Missionary Council, *Treaties, Acts & Regulations Relating to Missionary Freedom*. (London, 1923) 6, 50-51.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 5.

expansion of Protestant missions to prevent the spread of secularism, as they believed it would restrict freedom and cause widespread degradation.

The issue of language played a key role within the debate of colonial education. Protestant missionaries asserted the importance of local vernaculars in order prevent 'enculturation'. They also tied the importance of education in local vernacular to literacy and spirituality. Ironically, this was another form of enculturation, as they asserted European concepts of Christian worship on new converts, in that literacy was necessary for spiritual understanding. Education was a pillar of Protestant missions. The IMC framed these issues as social justice and religious freedom.

This study began with questions surrounding the writings and policies of President Léopold Sédar Senghor. In articulating his anti-colonial theory of Negritude he argued, "above all the values of our traditional society, whose living and most vigorous expression was the Negro-African languages. I provoked a scandal in Dakar when in 1937 I advocated the 'return to the sources', the vernacular languages."¹⁶¹ The issue of use of vernacular in education became that of self-identity for Senghor. Although, while President he continually blocked the development of an official indigenous language or the use of vernacular in education. His only action was the creation of six official languages of Senegal, without ranking.¹⁶² Instead, he continued to support the widespread

¹⁶¹ Leopold Sedar Senghor, "Negritude and Marxism," in *Africa in Prose* eds. Oscar Ronald Dathorne and Willfried Feuser (Penguin Books, 1969).

¹⁶² Donal Brian Cruise O'Brien, "The Shadow-Politics of Wolofisation," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 36, no. 1 (1998): 40–41.

use of French, although in the 1980s only twenty-five per cent of the population was literate.¹⁶³ In this way, his policy reflected the tension created by language regulation in Senegal, Wolof was widely used but as the only ‘approved local vernacular’, it was as much a product of colonial education as French. Instead, Senghor continued to encourage the official use of French to keep Senegal in the global Francophone network. Thus, under his presidency the language of education remained French. Senghor received a religious education and self-identified as Catholic throughout his life. Religious education created, with language, another layer of post-colonial national identities.

While this thesis did not explore the Catholic response to the 1922 regulation, due to the scope and source base of the study, a comparison between Catholic and Protestant responses would be useful to further understand tensions between religious and secular in French West Africa. It would also be useful to trace the student movements, both Catholic and French, which were strongly rooted in their religions. Elizabeth Foster is currently pursuing Catholic student organization during the years just before and after decolonization in sub-Saharan West Africa.

Another aspect of further study is understanding how international missionary organizations, such as the IMC functioned during and after decolonization, to understand what extent these organizations supported decolonization and attempted to ‘Africanize’ local missions. Protestant missions, with its deep ties to imperialism, has often been

¹⁶³ Ibid, 37; Fiona Mclaughlin, “Dakar Wolof and the Configuration of an Urban Identity,” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (December 2001): 159.

critiqued as being a form of post-colonialism. Yet, many local Protestant leaders actively participated in anti-colonial movements. The tension between paternal relationships between the indigenous church and American-European churches was a prominent part of the late years of the IMC before it integrated into the World Council of Churches in 1961.

The issues of colonial education reveals how closely tied empire and missions become. Missionaries were the first and primary educators of colonial spaces, specifically Protestants as institution builders. Colonial administration funded and regulated these centers of education, while they resented their presence. This tension shaped colonial spaces, which in turn, shaped the 20th century international missionary movement. Ideologically, Protestant missions differed greatly from secular administrations, as they did not attempt to integrate along national lines. As members of international religious networks, missionaries viewed themselves as agents of civilization and global Christianity. They sought to shape colonialism into a tool for international missions and in turn were reshaped by colonial interactions.

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