Victorian design and visual culture in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* c. 1880-1902

by

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MHCS (Cultural History)

in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

SUPERVISOR: Prof. Lizé Kriel
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February 2016

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For my mother, in memoriam

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMS	Berlin Missionary Society
CMS	Church Missionary Society
HMS	Hermannsburg Missionary Society
LMS	London Missionary Society
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
RSA	Republic of South Africa
WMM	*Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
WMN	*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*
ZAR	*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (South African Republic)

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. Introduction

This study deals with aspects of the visual elements in the pages of the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a period of remarkable change in printing technology. The *Wesleyan Missionary Notices (WMN)* was the periodical through which the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) had been reporting to their supporters in Britain since 1816. It was published until 1904. The publication was a record of what the missionary traveller experienced, and a way to reach out in writing to fellow British Wesleyans.[1]

The *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* is a good example of graphic design from the Victorian era – specifically late-Victorian for the section selected for this study – with elaborately decorated cover pages, making use of exuberant and novelty style typefaces and filled with illustrations and advertising.[2] This inter-disciplinary study brings together design studies, visual culture studies and missionary studies in a cultural historical paradigm.

According to design historian P.B. Meggs:

> There is a German word, *Zeitgeist*, that does not have an English equivalent. It means the spirit of the time, and refers to the cultural trends and tastes that are characteristic of a given era. The immediacy and ephemeral nature of graphic design, combined with its link with the social, political and economic life of its culture, enable it to more closely express the *Zeitgeist* of an epoch than many other forms of human expression.[3]

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[1] Kriel, L. 2008. From private journal to published periodical: gendered writings and readings of a late Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, p. 169.

[2] Kriel, L. 2008. From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and readings of a late Victorian Wesleyan's "African Wilderness." *Book History* 11, p. 175.

[3] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. xiii.

The study explores the spirit or *Zeitgeist* of the nineteenth century's Victorian[4] culture through the visuals of the *WMN* missionary periodical. It is evident that the Victorian era had a significant impact on design. The word *Victorian* began to be used in the 1850s to express a new consciousness of the industrial era's cultures and moral standards.[5] One can readily identify one or two characteristics popularly associated with the Victorian age: "Prudish, strict, old-fashioned, out-dated, and as tightly-corseted in the mind as in the flesh" are terms sometimes suggested to be synonymous with 'Victorian', according to John Gardiner. However, he believes it to be an age full of diversity, hard to reduce to a few shallow formulae.[6] The *WMN* is also a good example of how the European Victorians visualised the far-away world through the eyes of missionaries during a time of colonial expansion throughout the British Empire.

The nineteenth century was a period of great change, with a shifting economic and political climate in Britain coinciding with changing views on imperialism and other approaches to missionising during the so-called Scramble for Africa. Subsequently, there were changes in technologies, techniques and tastes in design during the same period. This is explored in Chapter Three. Ideally, the missionary organisations wanted to keep up to date with the dynamics of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, especially when it came to reporting on their missions in the *WMN*. This study investigates whether visual and design elements in the *WMN* related to broader tendencies in design at the time and how it followed certain trends, as seen in Chapters Five and Six. According to Boardman, "As the number of new titles appearing on the market each year grew and the market became more saturated, publishers sought innovative ways to capture and keep audiences."[7]

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[4] Formally, the Victorian Era refers to the reign of Queen Victoria over Britain: 1837-1901. The concept Victorian is used in this study as a collective noun for the complex of cultural practices associated with Britain and British interactions through its imperial networks (formal as well as informal). Recognising the inevitable arbitrariness of historical periodisation, the lingering of 'Victorian' practices and attitudes well into the twentieth century, is also recognised. Nonetheless, the labelling of characteristics as Victorian was practised at the time by Victorians themselves, as well as by observers in the years after Victoria's reign, but then as a way to distinguish the Victorian from what had come thereafter.

[5] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 145.

[6] Gardiner, J. 2002, *The Victorians. An age in retrospect,* p. 3.

[7] Boardman, K. 2006, 'Charting the golden stream.' Recent work on Victorian periodicals. *Victorian Studies* (Spring), p. 513.

My methodology entails careful juxtapositioning of the historical dynamics of the last quarter of the nineteenth century (imperialism in Europe during the Scramble for Africa) with the simultaneous process of a missionary society nurturing, adapting and ultimately radically changing its image as projected through its communication tool, the *WMN* periodical. In order to make sense of the meaning of the visual elements in the periodical, one has to analyse the extent to which the illustrated material – decorative borders, imaginary landscapes on the covers, sketches and later photographs of 'heathens' and 'converts' accompanying the reportage from particular mission fields, as well as the advertisements, supported the textual content of the magazine itself.

This study looks at what was reported from the mission field in the 1880s and 1890s, and aims to determine whether this was in synergy with the visual image of the periodical and the meaning that had become associated with those particular design elements. The interplay between the imaginary landscapes invented for the cover pages and the 'real' journalistic images of actual missionaries and evangelists in the reportage from each country, mission field and mission station, is also explored.

In order to offer the perspective from the missionary field at the time (or rather, this perspective as rendered by the editors in the metropole 'at home'), most of the reportage focused on is from the Transvaal and Swaziland District, founded in the early 1880s. Selecting this particular District makes sense as it sheds light on the Transvaal's transcontinental cultural connectedness to the British world in a volatile period in its history, and thus contributes to the history of this area. It must not be forgotten that the *WMN* was edited, compiled and published 'at home', in Britain, therefore its colonies and foreign lands, including the area covered by the Transvaal and Swaziland District, were seen through secondary British eyes in the *WMN*. The strong influence that the British material culture had on the missionaries and the inhabitants of the colony is also explored.[8] This is seen in Chapter Two.

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[8] While most of the reportage in this study comes from the Transvaal and Swaziland District, it is important to take note that a few examples from outside this District (such as from the eastern Cape Colony) will also

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The relatively new Transvaal and Swaziland District still resembled a missionary frontier of sorts, where new converts could still be won for the Kingdom of God; missionaries could still allude to the possibility of mortal danger (lions and 'savages') – the kind of adventure narratives that had attracted a substantial readership since the mid-Victorian era.[9] In so far as this was attempted through text, the illustrators could count on the visual expectations of their readers to illustrate the reporting of adventurous missionary travels, as seen in Chapters Four and Five.

1.2. Research objectives

The aim of the study is to explore the relationship between the Victorian era, the missionary endeavour, and the design, style and various visual aspects found in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*. The objectives are to determine how the missionary Victorians visualised their world, and how that was translated into images, illustrations, typography and design. One is also able to study the various advertisements in the periodicals to understand Victorian material culture, as well as how much of that was used in the daily lives of the supporters of Wesleyan missionaries.

The visual design plays a vital role in any printed work, as the image is often the first thing that draws a reader's attention, and from there the viewer may decide to read further or not. The aim of this study is to suggest what these images reveal about the times from which they come. This means that the research needs to include a study of the Victorian

be referred to further on in this study. The location of these examples are of little significance to the design aspect of the periodical, since the *WMN* was compiled and published in Britain, and a single publication included reportage from several countries or districts at a time. It is therefore how the British came to visualise Africa and/or South Africa that is of significance in those examples. However, this does not mean that generally narrowing down the focus of the study to the Transvaal and Swaziland District is insignificant, as it offers a particular historical context as backdrop. Owing to the fact that this District was relatively new, only established in the early 1880s, strong ties still existed between the missionaries in the Transvaal and other regions in South Africa, some having moved to the Transvaal from these other regions. The District thus provides a focal point from where to study the role of visual images within the dialogue between the missionaries and the British Empire and between the Transvaal and the rest of South Africa in the late nineteenth century. This is explained in more detail in the second chapter.

[9] Kriel, L. 2008. From private journal to published periodical: gendered writings and readings of a late Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness". *Book History* 11, p. 181.

era's history, looking at the characteristics of the age, including the influence of the Industrial Revolution, and imperial expansion's effect on society and religion. Chapters Two to Four focus on specific historical characteristics of the time period in order give a break down of the context in which the *WMN* is set. The study also looks at the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (in Chapter Two), and the specific role that the periodical, *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* had to play, with particular focus on South Africa and Britain.

Besides the Wesleyan Methodists, numerous other denominations engaged in missionary work in the nineteenth century. While not one and the same thing, the missionaries' project coincided with the expansion of the British Empire. The missionaries' dependence on financial support from 'home' resulted in the flourishing of periodical publishing to keep supporters informed and enthusiastic. The periodicals, while relying on Victorian conventions, tried to represent a far-away world. These representations often included concepts of the imagined and exotic. The aim is to determine how these Victorian conventions were employed to represent the far-away world, and what commonplace themes occur throughout the visuals.

1.3. Justification

Andrew Porter states that "Christian missions have long been associated both with the growth of empire and with colonial rule" and that "the nature and consequences of that association have provoked animated debate".[10] The study of missions, like the study of religion has become increasingly located within the broader field of religious and cultural studies.[11] Studies on Christian missions have traditionally been researched under theological concerns of traditional missiology and mission histories. The focus of this study is not on religious or theological studies. The approach is rather cultural historical, with a focus on visual analysis.

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[10] Porter, A. 2003, quoted in, Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.). 2005, *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. ix.
[11] Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.). 2005, *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. ix.

Within the larger field of print culture, a new area for scholarship is emerging in the humanities, namely periodical studies. Literary and historical disciplines that have engaged in the study of modern culture are finding a new resource in periodicals. Periodicals should be read as texts that are different from, but comparable to, that of individual books, and are often linked to the organisation of groups,[12] such as missionary societies like the WMMS. Missionary periodicals, Terry Barringer stated in 2004, "are a neglected source for an understanding of the Victorian period and especially for understanding how the Victorians perceived and portrayed the non-European world and how attitudes changed over time".[13] This is explored further in Chapter Four.

High literature, art and advertising have mingled in periodicals from their earliest years, and the rise in cultural studies has helped distinguish periodicals as distinctive cultural objects.[14] The traditional research methods of art historians do not fully take into account the complexities of graphic design. A focus upon individual artists, organised into schools or movements, with their masterpieces and unique contributions recognised, cannot address graphic design history adequately. Often new developments are shaped by technology, such as the invention of lithography or phototypesetting. In some periods, a collective vision and imagery evolve which cannot always be attributed easily to specific individuals. Careful analysis of similarly dated works often proves that seemingly collective directions do in fact have an identifiable point of origin; however, when a collective evolution such as Victorian graphics does occur, many works typify the essence of the direction and time period.[15] It is therefore important to recognise the history of design, and that it is a visual cue to understanding the direction and culture of a specific time period, as seen in Chapter Three.

The relationship of religious belief and empire has often been ignored, while missionaries were one of the largest and most influential groups involved in the affairs of the British

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[12] Latham, S. & Scholes, R. 2006, The rise of periodical studies, *PMLA* 121(2), p. 517.

[13] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: a neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 46.

[14] Latham, S. & Scholes, R. 2006, The rise of periodical studies, *PMLA* 121(2), p. 519.

[15] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. x.

overseas.[16] A study of missionary periodicals over a period of time illustrates how ideas and images changed over time, providing a clearer understanding of the much-debated relationship between colonialism and Christianisation.[17]

1.4. Methodology

Owing to the interdisciplinary nature of the study, bringing together visual studies, missionary studies, and periodical studies in a cultural and historical context, it is necessary to implement more than one methodological approach.

According to John Tosh, one of the most enlightening ways to study the past is to focus on a specific source, such as the *WMN* as in this study, and to determine how it came into being through textual analysis, related documents from the same source, or from contemporary commentaries. However, the first task is to read these texts, as far as possible, in the specific cultural and social contexts in which they were written. This means having to regard both the specific genre to which the work belongs, as well as its relation to other genres with which readers of the time would have been familiar.[18]

The *WMN* has, as far as possible, been studied in its specific social context, relating not only to the everyday-life of the Victorian British Christian, but to its political imperial and religious context, as well as its technological and design context. A textual analysis is conducted, with related documents to the same source, such as Telford's and Findlay and Holdsworth's respective histories of the WMMS, as well as contemporary authors from the genres of cultural historical studies, periodical studies, and missionary studies. However, since the study is focused on the visual aspects of the periodical, a visual analysis is necessary with relation to the genres of design and visual communication studies.

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[16] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: a neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 46.

[17] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: a neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 47.

[18] Tosh, J. 2006, *The pursuit of history. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history,* p. 100.

According to Alan McKee, textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about other people or cultures, in order to make sense of them. He states that "when we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made".[19] Therefore, textual analysis is a way in which texts are interpreted in order to make sense of the ways in which particular cultures at specific times made sense of the world around them. However, academics who use 'textual analysis' make use of a vast range of methodologies and approaches.[20]

If textual analysis involves analysing texts, then it is important to understand what is meant by the word 'text'. According to McKee, any item that produces an interpretation of something's meaning is treated as a text. A text is therefore something from which meaning can be made.[21] McKee's understanding of 'text' is comparable to semiotics' understanding of the word 'sign', which is explained later in this chapter. Semiotics is therefore one approach to textual analysis, which forms the primary methodology for the visual analysis in this study.

There are other approaches to textual analysis apart from semiotics, such as rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, and historical analysis. This study makes use of a number of these approaches, including the use of historical and rhetorical analyses in addition to the semiotic interpretations. As Tosh already suggested, the first step is to understand the context of the text, therefore, a cultural historical approach is required to gain insight into the context of the *WMN*. This entails explaining the historical events that contextualised, and therefore influenced, the interpretation and meaning of the visuals in the *WMN*. The historical context, in various aspects, is discussed in Chapters Two to Four. Thereafter, a visual analysis follows, in Chapters Five and Six, making use of the semiotic and visual rhetorical approaches, as explained later in this chapter.

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[19] McKee, A. 2003, *Texual analysis: a beginner's guide,* p. 1.

[20] McKee, A. 2003, *Texual analysis: a beginner's guide,* pp. 1-2.

[21] McKee, A. 2003, *Texual analysis: a beginner's guide,* p. 4.

1.5. A cultural historical approach

A cultural historical approach to the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* is taken, which is supplemented with insights from the fields of periodical studies, and specifically visual communication and design.

While in 2006 Latham and Scholes insisted that periodical studies was still an "emergent field"[22] and that an own methodology was still in the making,[23] in the same year Kay Boardman illustrated that Victorian periodical studies had been well established, with an own academic society and methodological guidelines dating back to the 1960s. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Boardman described the state of periodical studies for the Victorian period as follows:

> At the moment, empirical studies that focus on aspects of material culture – such as histories of specific titles, statistics on circulation and cost, and detailed information on editors and contributors – live comfortably alongside more theoretically inclined works that focus on the text as a signifying practice contributing to charged power relations.[24]

While the notion of the text as a signifying practice appeals to the intended approach of the study, it seems from Boardman's essay that the signifying potential of the visual elements in periodicals – as perhaps the most determining meaning makers – remains underestimated. See, in this regard the following remark made by Terry Barringer in 2004: "The role of missionary magazines in disseminating visual images of exotic parts of the world can hardly be overestimated."[25]

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[22] Latham, S. & Scholes, R. 2006, The rise of periodical studies, *PMLA* 121(2), p. 517.

[23] Latham, S & Scholes, R. 2006, The rise of periodical studies, *PMLA* 121(2), p. 519: "the creation of typological descriptions and scholarly methodologies … will be a collaborative effort that takes place in an evolving set of conversations and debates across, within, and between the traditional disciplines."

[24] Boardman, K. 2006, 'Charting the golden stream.' Recent work on Victorian periodicals. *Victorian Studies* (Spring), p. 506.

[25] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs. Jellyby might have read. Missionary periodicals: a neglected source." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37 (4), p. 51.

Boardman admits, nevertheless:

> Research into Victorian periodicals must be interdisciplinary if it is to account for the generic heterogeneity of the periodicals themselves, which comprise articles, essays, fiction, poetry, biography, reviews, letters, advertisements, and often illustrations.[26]

The *WMN* is a great example of Victorian periodicals, and comprises of articles, biographies and letters from missionaries, advertisements and many illustrations and later, photographs.

Latham and Scholes emphasise the potential of focusing more strongly on advertisements and illustrations by reminding us that: "Periodical studies can be seen as a sub-field of print culture – an especially important and lively sub-field. And advertising is a vital, even crucial, part of it."[27] According to Latham and Scholes, the culture of the past is alive in advertising pages, as much as in the text that surrounds them. They add that modern culture was created from a combination of commercial and aesthetic impulses and processes, which, they believe, is most visible in magazines.[28] Chapter Six focuses on advertising, and looks at the advertisements found in the Wesleyan periodical.

The intention of this study is to adhere to the principles of the historical method. Herein, Latham and Scholes offer valuable advice too. In periodicals, they state, the changes over time that we call history can be seen in all their complexity, including the developments in literature and the arts as well as social and political events and processes.[29] A cultural or social history looks into the history of everyday life in the home, the workplace and the community.[30] Therefore, this approach is used to understand the everyday life, including the political situation, of the late nineteenth century Victorian, as well as the history of technologies and the development of periodicals that influenced the design and visuals of the *WMN*.

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[26] Boardman, K. 2006, 'Charting the golden stream.' Recent work on Victorian periodicals. *Victorian Studies* (Spring), p. 510.

[27] Latham, S & Scholes, R. 2006, The rise of periodical studies, *PMLA* 121(2), pp. 520-521.

[28] Latham, S & Scholes, R. 2006, The rise of periodical studies, *PMLA* 121(2), pp. 520-521.

[29] Latham, S & Scholes, R. 2006, The rise of periodical studies, *PMLA* 121(2), p. 520.

[30] Tosh, J. 2006, *The pursuit of history. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history,* p. 131.

However, in opting for an historical approach, the intention is not merely to extract from the *WMN* information that can support or supplement other historical sources and thus assist in compiling a trajectory of 'development' over time.[31] Boardman is adamant: "The function of a periodical as merely a repository to be plundered is well behind us now."[32] Rather, a cultural historical approach seems appropriate: a study of the process through which meaning is constructed, according to Roger Chartier.[33] For Aled Jones, it is the interaction of words and pictures that produce meaning in periodicals.[34] While not negating words at all, the implicit argument of the study is that images are an important source within missionary periodicals that have previously been understudied, and that a visual analysis of them demonstrates how they, along with texts, produced knowledge about the 'other' that underscored British notions of superiority over colonial subjects.

1.6. A visual approach

Visual culture has become a very dynamic field of study, a reflection of how the study of human culture increasingly requires identifiable visual ways of thinking and methods of analysis. The traditional role of type is to tell, narrate and describe, while the traditional role of images is to show, illustrate and supplement. A visual approach includes visual semiotics and visual rhetoric. These two methodologies are discussed, and applied in the visual analysis of the *WMN* in Chapters Five and Six.

1.6.1. *Visual semiotics*

The shortest way to define 'semiotics' is as *the study of signs.* The Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (1852 – 1913) founded semiotics, and is widely regarded as the

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[31] Tosh, J. 2006, *The pursuit of history. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history,* p. 29.

[32] Boardman, K. 2006, 'Charting the golden stream.' Recent work on Victorian periodicals. *Victorian Studies* (Spring), pp. 512-513.

[33] Chartier, R. 1982, Intellectual history or sociocultural history? The French trajectories, *in* LaCapra, D. & Kaplan, S.L. (eds.), *Modern European intellectual history. Reappraisals and new perspectives*, p. 34.

[34] Quoted in, Boardman, K. 2006, 'Charting the golden stream.' Recent work on Victorian periodicals. *Victorian Studies* (Spring), p. 512.

father of modern linguistics.[35] A sign is anything that stands for something else. Signs can be seen everywhere. Semiotics deals with 'visual signs', such as illustrations, photographs and paintings, but it also includes words, sounds and body language.[36]

When Saussure defines semiotics as 'a science that studies the life of signs within society' he not only refers to spoken or written language, but also to communication as a whole. Saussure sees the sign as a construct made up of two parts, which he calls the *signifier* and the *signified.* The signifier is the *actual* entity: the sound, work or image. The signified is the *meaning* made by the recipient of the sound, word or image. Saussure points out that the "bond between signifier and signified is arbitrary".[37] The form of the signifiers (textual or visual) are chosen because of their aptness for expressing what is to be signified. This means we can look at the prominent features of the signifiers and make decisions about what they might signify.[38] This involves the facilitation of interpretation and meaning making. The purpose of this study is to analyse the visual elements and images of the *WMN* (the signifier) to reach interpretations and understand the meanings thereof (the signified).

Semiotics began to become a major approach to cultural studies in the late 1960s, mainly as a result of the work of Roland Barthes. Barthes declared that "semiology aims to take in any system of signs whatever their substance and limits: images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations with all these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not *language,* at least systems of signification".[39]

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[35] Chandler, D. 2005, 'Semiotics for beginners: introduction' http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html. Accessed: 2012-01-23; Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 60.

[36] Lester, P.M. 2011, *Visual communication. Images with messages,* p. 52; Chandler, D. 2005, 'Semiotics for beginners: introduction.' http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html. Accessed: 2012-01-23.

[37] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 60.

[38] Kress, G. 2003, *Literacy in the new media age,* pp. 42, 44.

[39] Barthes, R. 1967, p.9 quoted in, Chandler, D. 2005, 'Semiotics for beginners: introduction.' http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html. Accessed: 2012-01-23.

1.6.1.1.   Charles Sanders Peirce's semiology

There has been some debate regarding the usefulness of Saussure's theory of semiology beyond the fundamental understanding of the structure of signs. It has been argued that Saussure had a static notion of how signs work and was uninterested in how meanings change in use.[40] Duncan Reyburn also considers Saussure's semiotics to be idealistic, in the sense that he saw language and reality as independent. By defining signs as arbitrary, Saussure seemed to define language as a rather subjective system of signification.[41]

Therefore, while acknowledging the importance of Saussure's discussion of the sign and acknowledging him as the founder of semiology, the work of Charles Sanders Peirce (1839 – 1914) is considered less idealistic and 'arbitrary' because his writings indicate that the 'real world' plays a direct role in signification. Therefore, Reyburn argues that Peirce's theory of semiotics tends to be more solid.[42] The arbitrary aspect of Saussure's sign does not help to account for the scope of its interpretation, and does not take the importance of context into account.[43] Peirce's idea of the 'semiotic' was closely linked to logic, as "a sign … is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity".[44] His semiotics is not so much a theory of language, but rather a theory about the production of meaning.[45] The production of meaning is vital in understanding and analysing the visuals in the *WMN*.

Peirce identified three types of signs, namely: iconic, symbolic and indexical. However, it is important to realise that these three types of signs are not mutually exclusive, as even

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[40] Rose, G. 2001, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, p. 77.

[41] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 64.

[42] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 64.

[43] Chandler, D. 2014, 'Semiotics for beginners: signs.' http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem02.html. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

[44] Peirce, C.S. 1931, quoted in, Chandler, D. 2014, 'Semiotics for beginners: introduction.' http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem01.html. Accessed: 2015-01-26.

[45] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 64.

the simplest image may have complex cultural meaning.[46] The signs are differentiated by the way in which the relation between the signifier and signified is understood, but may also overlap and work in relation to other signs, therefore the distinctions between them may sometimes be difficult.[47] In fact, Peirce states, "it would be difficult if not impossible to instance an absolutely pure index, or to find any sign absolutely devoid of the indexical quality".[48] It is also important to remember that signs may have multiple, rather than single meanings. One signifier may refer to many signifieds, and one signified may be referred to by many signifiers.[49]

The first type of sign is the *iconic sign,* in which the signifier closely resembles the referent.[50] 'Icon' from the Greek word, *eikenai,* means "to be like" or "to seem".[51] An iconic sign, therefore, looks like the object to which it refers in the sense of corresponding to it. One does not need any special knowledge to be able to interpret the sign.[52] The signifier represents the signified by having a likeness to it. This type of sign is often very important in visual images, particularly photographs. A photograph of a person is an iconic sign of that person. Diagrams are also iconic signs, since they show the relations between the parts of their object.[53] Photographs and illustrations in the *WMN* are iconic as they showed those 'at home' what the mission field 'looked like'.

The second type of sign is the *indexical sign,* in which the sign has a concrete and often causal relationship with its signified.[54] There is thus a direct physical or causal link

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[46] Lester, P.M. 2011, *Visual communication. Images with messages,* pp. 54-55.

[47] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 64.

[48] Pierce, C.S. 1931, quoted in, Chandler, D. 2014, 'Semiotics for beginners: signs.' http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem02.html. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

[49] Chandler, D. 2014, 'Semiotics for beginners: signs.' http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem02.html. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

[50] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 15.

[51] Lester, P.M. 2011, *Visual communication. Images with messages,* p. 55.

[52] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 65.

[53] Rose, G. 2001, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, p. 78.

[54] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: An introduction,* p. 15.

between the signifier and the referent. It is the thing that the signifier stands for. [55]
Indexical signs have a logical, common sense connection to the object they represent, instead of a direct resemblance to the object itself. The interpretation of indexical signs may take longer than that of icons, as they are learnt through everyday life experiences.[56] As Gillian Rose explains, indexical signs have an inherent relationship between the signified and signifier; however, 'inherent' is often culturally specific.[57] Examples of indexical signs include: dark, cloudy and overcast skies that are indexical of rain, and smoke which is indexical of fire.[58] The shadow cast on a sundial telling the time is an indexical sign because the shadow is directly caused by the position of the sun.[59] The photographs and illustrations in the *WMN* are often indexical of a deeper meaning or ideology, such as adventure, superiority or status.

Symbolic signs are the third type of sign, and are characterised by arbitrariness.[60] These are abstract signs that have no logical connection or representational connection between them and the things they represent. Symbols have to be taught, and therefore, social and cultural considerations influence them greatly.[61] Symbols can be words or images that stand for a larger body of ideas. For example, a cross is often used to stand for Christianity, or the South African flag often symbolises the rainbow nation. Symbolic signs gain their meanings from the cultures or contexts in which they are formed.[62] Symbolic signs have a conventionalised but evidently arbitrary relation between the signified and signifier.[63] Examples of arbitrary or symbolic signs are often found on the covers or mastheads of the *WMN,* such as an hourglass and symbols for light. Further

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[55] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 65.

[56] Lester, P.M. 2011, *Visual communication. Images with messages,* p. 55.

[57] Rose, G. 2001, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, p. 78.

[58] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 65.

[59] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 15.

[60] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 15.

[61] Lester, P.M. 2011, *Visual communication. Images with messages,* p. 56.

[62] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 65.

[63] Rose, G. 2001, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, p. 78.

examples found in the *WMN* of Peirce's signs are discussed as visual metaphors or 'themes' in Chapter Four, as well as in the analysis in Chapters Five and Six.

1.6.1.2. Roland Barthes and the two orders of signification

There are other ways of describing signs. Signs can be distinguished depending on how symbolic they are.[64] In semiotics, the terms "denotation" and "connotation" describe the relationship between the signifier and its signified, and an analytic distinction is made between two types of signifieds: a *denotative* signified and a *connotative* signified.[65]

The French critic, Roland Barthes (1915 – 1980) identifies two orders of signification. Denotation is Barthes' first order of signification and refers to the most obvious meaning of a sign, or the most literal meaning.[66] Denotation tends to be described as definitional. In the case of linguistic signs, the denotative meaning is what the dictionary attempts to provide.[67] To Barthes, to 'denote' something is to simply label it. It names it for what it is. The labeling function, therefore, communicates a fact. For example, a photograph of Buckingham Palace simply denotes a building in London.[68] Barthes suggests that signs working at the denotative level are fairly easy to decode. A related term is *diegesis*, which is the sum of the denotative meanings of an image. The term is used to offer a more complex analysis after a relatively straightforward account is given.[69] In relation to *WMN,* denotation is used to simply describe what is seen in the images.

Barthes' second order of signification implies an interaction between the sign and the reader or culture in which it is active. This is where meanings are largely contextually or

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[64] Rose, G. 2001, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, p. 79.

[65] Chandler, D. 2014, 'Semiotics for beginners: denotation, connotation and myth.' http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/sem06.html. Accessed: 2014-07-25.

[66] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 66.

[67] Chandler, D. 2014, 'Semiotics for beginners: denotation, connotation and myth.' http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/sem06.html. Accessed: 2014-07-25.

[68] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 16.

[69] Rose, G. 2001, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, pp. 79-80.

culturally determined. The second order of signification consists of three ways in which signs work, namely: connotation, myth and symbolism.[70]

Connotation, the first aspect of Barthes' three ways in which signs work, happens when some extra associations are added to the fact or denotation. These 'extra associations' mostly come from social experience.[71] Therefore, connotation describes the meaning that is interpreted when the denotative sign interacts with the thoughts, emotions and cultural environment of the reader. Understanding the context of the sign is essential to uncovering its meaning, and is also affected by tone or style, meaning the way in which the sign is conveyed.[72] Using the example from above, the photograph of Buckingham Palace connotes notions of royalty, tradition, wealth and power.[73] In Chapter Five, an example is seen in which an image depicts missionaries posing with a dead lion, which is seen on a denotative level. However, on a connotative level it implies an 'adventure with a lion'. Further connotations are seen in the images of the *WMN,* such as superiority, 'the other' and civilisation, among others, in Chapters Five and Six.

The second aspect of the three ways in which signs work according to Barthes, is referred to as *myth*. Myth here does not refer to mythology, in the usual sense of traditional stories, but to ways of thinking about people, products, places or ideas, which are structured to send particular messages to the viewer of the text.[74] Myth is, then, closely related to the notion of 'ideology' and generally supports it. Myth can be best described as a 'chain of concepts' that obscures the real meaning of something by replacing or supplanting the original meaning.[75] Myth takes hold of an existing sign, and makes it function as a signifier on another level. Myth, therefore, makes a new sign out of an

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[70] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 66.

[71] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 16.

[72] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 66-67.

[73] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 16.

[74] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 16.

[75] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 67

existing sign.[76] The notion of myth may be taken to refer to a larger perception of reality, which assumes that some ideas may be false.[77] The myth, as Barthes describes it, is when social or political messages are communicated using signs. The message involves a distortion or disregarding of the original or alternative messages, in order that myth appears exclusively true and 'natural', rather than one of a number of different possible messages.[78] In Chapter Six, examples of myth are explored in some advertisements found in the *WMN,* such as the myth of success in appearances, and myths of religious purity and cleanliness in relation to soap advertisements.

The last facet of the three ways in which signs work, is through *symbolism.* Barthes uses the word 'symbol' differently than Peirce, in that Barthes refers to the production of symbolic meaning. The object becomes symbolic when it acquires meaning that stands for something else by being used and reused according to a convention.[79] Meanings are not natural, but cultural; they are produced, and not given.[80] In the *WMN,* an example of symbolism is discussed on clothing connoting superiority and Christian conversion in Chapter Five.

An example serves to summarise all of the above: On a denotative level, the dollar sign "$" is an arbitrary *symbol* (as per Peirce's definition) for the dollar currency, used in America and other countries by convention. The dollar bill is an *iconic* sign for money, as it resembles money in paper note form. On a connotative level, money is an *indexical* sign of wealth; a *symbolic* sign (as per Barthes' definition) of power, and the *myth* of success and the *ideology* of capitalism. This methodology of visual semiotics, making use of Saussure, Peirce and Barthes' theories, is applied in the *WMN* analysis of the visual elements in Chapter Five and the advertisements in Chapter Six.

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[76] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 16.

[77] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 67-68.

[78] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 22.

[79] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 68.

[80] Bignell, J. 2002, *Media semiotics: an introduction,* p. 22.

1.6.2.   Visual rhetoric

Many contemporary semiologists consider rhetoric, or at least aspects of it, as falling under the scope of semiotics. The study of semiotics does not exclude the art of persuasion.[81] Rhetoric can be understood to mean points that rely on the persuasive power of words.[82] Semiotics explains the principles that underlie the structure of signs and their use within messages; rhetoric, the art of persuasion, suggests ways to construct fitting messages.[83] In other words, semiotics looks at *what* is communicated, and visual rhetoric studies *how* something is communicated.[84] Rhetoric operates on the basis of logical and aesthetic modes to affect interaction in both a rational and emotional way.[85] It is concerned with conveying ideas and meaning in the best possible way to make an impact on an audience.[86] The study of 'visual rhetoric' can, then, be broadly understood *as the study of the relationship of images to persuasion*. It explores the ways in which visual elements are used to influence attitudes, behaviours, beliefs and opinions of an audience. Visual rhetoric works on the basis that images deal with both the making and interpreting of images.[87] In the *WMN,* in Chapters Five and Six, it is seen how the visual elements, images, illustrations and photographs, not only reflect certain attitudes and worldviews or beliefs, but were also used to persuade their readers about certain notions, such as the idea of missions being adventurous and, therefore, appealing to young boys (also see Chapter Four).

To find answers regarding how meaning is created visually in a design or images through messages, and to determine the nature of the relationship between the figurative images

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[81] Chandler, D. 2014, 'Semiotics for beginners: rhetorical tropes.' http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/sem07.html. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

[82] Tosh, J. 2006, *The pursuit of history. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history,* p. 16.

[83] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 53.

[84] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 75, 77.

[85] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 54.

[86] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 77.

[87] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*,p. 74.

and the text, one can examine the relevance of rhetoric and explore some of its basic principles.[88] While the classical theorists of rhetoric focused on style of speech, rhetoric is not limited to speech but is also applicable to encoding and decoding all types of visual media. Because of the immense assortment of visual elements that may be considered rhetorical, a framework or approach is needed to assist in understanding the context of persuasion. This framework is called the *visual rhetorical situation* in visual rhetorical theory.[89]

1.6.2.1.   *The visual rhetorical situation*

The visual rhetorical situation may be simplified as a process of human communication. The visual rhetorical situation comprises seven elements, namely, exigence, purpose, location, timing, communicator, audience, and method.[90] As with a textual analysis, it is important to keep the context of the visual text in mind when doing a visual analysis. These elements are explained briefly, as well as how the elements are applied and kept in mind, later in the analysis of the *WMN*.

Exigence describes the *occasion* of the visual rhetoric. It explains why the visual text is needed or why it exists in the first place. The idea of **purpose** in the rhetorical situation refers to the *intention* and to uncover what the visual text wished to accomplish.[91] Exigence and purpose are similar, and can be entwined into one another. In the *WMN,* the periodical exists as a result of the missionary society, the WMMS, with multiple purposes, which are explored in later chapters of this study.

Location refers to the *physical context* or *spatial environment* that the visual text is used in. This means the format or medium – for instance, an advertisement in a periodical – as

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[88] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 53.

[89] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*,p. 77.

[90] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*,p. 78.

[91] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*,pp. 78, 80.

well as the physical place, such as city or country. The location has the ability to affect or even change the meaning of the text, as the context would differ in different places or environments.[92] Location in this sense forms an important part of the study, as the *WMN's* format as a periodical, as well as its physical locations between metropole and colony, provide the important contexts that the ensuing chapters deal with. The issue of **timing** also plays a role here, as it provides the historical setting in which the *WMN* is placed, and the role that it played in that particular era. Aspects of the late nineteenth century and Victorian culture will be studied, in order to understand the context of the visual texts.

The **communicator** refers to the author or person/s responsible for the visual text. However, it is sometimes difficult to know who is responsible for the messages portrayed, as it is often a collaborative, or even, anonymous effort. The rhetorical situation, however, acknowledges that the meaning or interpretation of a text is affected or changed depending on the authorship of the text.[93] Some attention is given to the authors (of articles, reports or letters), if known, in the *WMN,* however, in most cases the 'authors' or creators of the visuals or images are unknown. However, the WMMS is responsible for the publication of the periodical and the visuals therein. Therefore, a brief history of the missionary society is explored to gain further understanding. The fact that it was published by a missionary society, and was not a commercial publication, is taken into consideration in the visual analysis.

The **audience**, also called the reader or viewer, refers to anyone who is exposed to the visual text. There are two main types of audiences: the intended audience and unintended audience. The intended audience is those who view or receive the message more or less as the communicator intended them to, while the unintended audience is those who receive a message that is not meant for them. The interpretation of a visual text will likely be different by these two types of audiences. Aspects of social status, cultural

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[92] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*,pp. 78-79.
[93] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 79.

background, degree of wealth or poverty, education, gender, class, occupation, nationality, marital status and political affiliations will all affect the way that the audience receives a visual text. The visual rhetorical situation acknowledges that different audiences may interpret meaning differently.[94] Throughout this study, it is important to bear the audience in mind. The study takes a look at the intended and unintended audiences of the *WMN*, as well as other periodicals or reading material, with regard to class, gender, education and social status. This is dealt with specifically in Chapter Four, but the audience of the *WMN* is kept in mind throughout the analysis of the study.

The **method** or style refers to how the communicator chooses to address the audience, and especially the specific *stylistic* (rhetorical) devices used in visual rhetoric.[95] Style "can be a substantial manifestation of movements, schools, and individuals, born of philosophies, ideologies, and strategies, endemic to all things crafted by humans, whether ancient or contemporary, indigenous or industrial, folk or commercial".[96] The method corresponds to style, which is discussed further below, as one of the principles of visual rhetoric.

An awareness of these rhetorical situations helps with the analysis of the visual texts in the *WMN*. Understanding the audience of the text, the specific setting of the text, including the time, place and environment, as well as the intended message and purpose of the text, help one to identify and analyse the significance and meanings of the visual texts.[97]

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[94] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 79.

[95] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 80.

[96] Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2006, *Stylepedia. A guide to graphic design mannerisms, quirks, and conceits*, p. 8.

[97] Sproat, E., Driscoll, D.L. & Brizee, A. 2012. 'Elements of rhetorical situations.' http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/625/02/. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

1.6.2.2.   The principles of visual rhetoric

Where the rhetorical situation describes the different contextual considerations of visual rhetoric, the principles of visual rhetoric examine the elements involved in forming a strategic visual argument.[98]

The first principle of visual rhetoric is **invention *(inventio)***, which is the discovery of ideas or arguments. It is concerned with finding and selecting material in support of the subject matter relevant to the situation and understanding the communication context.[99] It is not enough to simply analyse a visual text, it is important to find information to support the arguments and interpretations, in order for them to be held credible, as in the application to the *WMN*.

Invention has three branches, namely, proof, procedures and commonplaces. **Proof** is simply something that is *reasonable* or *plausible.* Proof denotes the strategy used to communicate a particular perspective or worldview.[100] According to Aristotle, rhetoric is about "discovering all the available means of persuasion in any given situation"[101] either to instruct an audience (rational appeal), to please an audience and win it over (ethical appeal), or to move it (emotional appeal).[102] These three rhetorical appeals, as used by Aristotle, are the three types of proof, and are known as *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*. In ancient Greece, these terms corresponded with the basic components that all rhetorical situations have. However, these appeals are just as relevant today, and most visual rhetoric incorporates all of these appeals, which are therefore, seldom used in isolation.[103]

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[98] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 82.

[99] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 54.

[100] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 82.

[101] Aristotle, quoted in, Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 54.

[102] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 54.

[103] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*,p. 82; Sproat, E., Driscoll, D.L. & Brizee, A. 2012. 'Aristotle's rhetorical situation.' http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/625/03/. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

Logos is frequently translated as "logic" or "reasoning," however, it means "word" or "text" and more closely refers to the structure and content of the text itself.[104] However, the appeal does refer to the audience's ability to reason logically. Any argument that uses a premise of sound, well-structured conclusions works according to this appeal. *Logos* may use devices such as statistics, comparative analyses, illustrations, or anything that emphasises the reasonableness of a particular visual text.[105]

Ethos refers to any appeal that is based on reasonable evidence or credibility or expertise of the communicator or the sources that the communicator refers to. This appeal operates largely on a particular moral or ethical position. It requires the audience to *believe* on ethical grounds that the communicator is right.[106] *Ethos* also originally referred to the elements of a speech that reflected the particular character of the speaker or author, and also closely resembles the author's perspective.[107] Therefore, *ethos* reflects the authors' ethical position, and uses this appeal to prove their credibility to their audience.

Pathos is the appeal to the emotions of the audience. Originally it referred to the elements of a speech that appealed to the audience's sensibilities. Whereas *logos* referred to the argument of the 'text', *ethos* referred to the 'author's' perspective, and *pathos,* then, refers to the 'audience's' perspective.[108] This appeal requires the audience to *feel* that their communicator is right. This appeal can often be used to influence an audience more easily than *ethos* and *logos* because it appeals to emotions and has been known to be a manipulative, rather than merely a persuasive device. *Pathos* is arguably the most popular appeal in rhetoric because it is often considered to be the most powerful

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[104] Sproat, E., Driscoll, D.L. & Brizee, A. 2012. 'Aristotle's rhetorical situation.' http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/625/03/. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

[105] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 84.

[106] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 83.

[107] Sproat, E., Driscoll, D.L. & Brizee, A. 2012. 'Aristotle's rhetorical situation.' http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/625/03/. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

[108] Sproat, E., Driscoll, D.L. & Brizee, A. 2012. 'Aristotle's rhetorical situation.' http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/625/03/. Accessed: 2015-01-27.

appeal.[109] These three appeals cannot be ignored when analysing the visuals of the *WMN* and sensationalism, credibility and ethical stances are discussed in the visual analysis.

The second branch of invention is **procedures**, or what Aristotle called *topos* (topics), which are tried and tested ways of investigating a chosen subject. The third branch of invention is **commonplace**, which describes any topic that is common to a particular subject area. Commonplaces may also be understood as truths that are taken as a given. A stereotype or cliché is also a commonplace, as is any visual code or myth. Any visual element that produces a sense of familiarity in the audience is a commonplace.[110] Common topics and commonplaces or stereotypes are explored in the visuals of the *WMN,* such as the topic and stereotype of the exotic, which is also similar to the idea of myth.

The second principle of visual rhetoric is **arrangement *(dispositio)***, which is concerned with the discovery of ideas or arguments and organising the selected material into an effective whole.[111] The aim of the communicator is generally to arrange visual and textual information in such a way that the communication is enhanced rather than hampered. Arrangement in visual rhetoric is related to the idea of visual hierarchy, which is concerned with the importance of visual elements in terms of placement. For example, visual elements that appear larger on the page are deemed to be of more importance than those that appear as small.[112] Arrangement plays an important role when it comes to the layout out of the body copy with initial letters and on the covers and mastheads of the periodical, as well as in advertisements in the *WMN,* as certain aspects may be used to draw attention or be deemed as more important. These are discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

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[109] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 83.

[110] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 84.

[111] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 54.

[112] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 84-85.

The third principle of visual rhetoric is **style** *(eloutio)* which is concerned with the *form* or way of expressing ideas or arguments and the stylistic treatment or detailed shaping of the organised material.[113] Style focuses on the more abstract, connotative aspects of representation, such as ornamentation and adornment. Figures of speech, such as metaphors, irony, personification and synecdoche, are linguistic stylistic devices that affect the connotative meaning of rhetorical communication. In visual language, stylistic devices, including choice of font, colour, visual elements such as line, shape, and type of lighting, affect the tone or mood of an image. Style is important because the message can be altered by how those signs are presented.[114]

This principle is of particular interest because it covers the stylistic features that are referred to as figures of speech. Rhetorical figures create guidelines that not only lend credibility to arguments, but also appeal to the emotion. The essence of rhetorical figure is the move from ordinary or literal ways of speaking, with different classifications of figures of speech being adopted by writers. These include figures of contrast, figures of resemblance, figures of contiguity[115] and figures of gradation[116], of which the former two are important for this study. **Figures of contrast** include *antithesis* and *irony* and **figures of resemblance** include *metaphor* and *personification.*[117] The figures that Ehses refers to are related to speech and known in linguistics, but hold true for visual elements as well, and are used when looking at the advertisements and images found in the *WMN*. In this study, figures of resemblance probably play the biggest role, especially with regard to metaphor. Metaphors are not only meant in the linguistic figure of speech sense, but also, and mainly, in a visual sense. Visual metaphors are particularly evident in the *WMN,* and are further explored throughout the study. However, figures of contrast are also seen in

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[113] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 54.

[114] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 85.

[115] **Figures of contiguity** include *metonymy, synecdoche, periphrasis* and *puns.* (Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), pp. 55-57).

[116] **Figures of gradation** include *amplification* and *hyperbole.* (Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), pp. 55-57).

[117] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), pp. 55-57.

this study, with regard to antithesis, where images are held in juxtaposition to others, which provides the opportunity for comparison.

The last principle to be discussed is **memorability *(memoria),*** which refers to the memorisation of speech and ability of the communicator to *remember* their argument in order to relay it better to an audience.[118] However, since most visual media are in some senses fixed in time, and therefore do not rely on the memory of the communicator, visual rhetoric has memorability as its main focus. This means that there is a shift from the memory of the communicator to the *memory of the audience.* How well does a visual text stay in the memory of the audience? There are certain principles that assist in making a visual text memorable, which include coherence, simplicity and clarity, repetition and uniqueness. This is why stylistic devices and rhetorical tools are used to produce visual texts that create a message that is remembered.[119] Lester states that recognisable symbols used in visual culture can become long lasting memories with the power to change the attitudes of viewers when relating or applying them to their own situation.[120] In Chapter Five, it is seen that some covers of the *WMN* are repeated, as well as the repetition of various design elements, in order to create familiarity. In Chapter Six, similarly repetition is seen in certain advertisements, so readers remember the products advertised.

1.7. Chapter Outline

This study consists of seven chapters, including this introduction chapter and the concluding chapter. As mentioned previously, the first step to analysing a text is to understand its context. Therefore, the following three chapters focus on different aspects of the historical context of the *WMN*. The subsequent two chapters then provide a visual analysis of selected visuals from the *WMN,* including its design layout, cover designs,

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[118] Ehses, H. 1984, Representing Macbeth: a case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 55.

[119] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 85.

[120] Lester, P.M. 2011, *Visual communication. Images with messages,* p. 77.

illustrations and photographs, and lastly its advertisements.[121] The context of the first three chapters supports the analysis of the last two chapters.

Chapter Two provides the historical context concerning what was happening between South Africa and the British Empire, and how colonialism influenced the European missionaries. Jeffrey Cox talks about 'master narratives' which serve as a framework. A master narrative is the 'big picture' story behind many smaller stories. The master narrative often remains in the background, but is deployed to help explain or understand what cannot be dealt with explicitly in the smaller stories.[122] This chapter provides the master narrative of imperialism. Throughout the rest of the study, although the focus is on the visuals, the effects of colonialism and the expansion of the British Empire, are always at play in the background.

Chapter Three deals with the development of technology and what was visually possible at the time of the *WMN*. Visual communications were affected by the Industrial Revolution, which had an impact on technology. As a new supply-and-demand cycle became the force behind industrial developments, owing to new mass production demands, graphics played an important role. The nature of visual information was changed profoundly. The invention of photography (1839), and later the means of printing photographic images, expanded the meaning of visual documentation and pictorial information. This dynamic, exuberant and often chaotic century witnessed a staggering parade of new technologies, imaginative forms and new functions for graphic design.[123]

Chapter Four deals with the development of the periodical within the context of 'book history' and written communication. It looks at the history and purpose of periodicals,

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[121] About fifty examples have been selected, based on what most appropriately represented patterns or common themes in the *WMN*.

[122] Cox, J. 2005, Master narratives of imperial missions, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 3.

[123] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 126-127.

including the *WMN*. It examines the rise and influences on reading, and looks at factors that affected the type of audiences that periodicals attracted.

Chapter Five provides a visual analysis of selected examples from the *WMN,* including cover designs, the structural layout, typography, illustrations, and photographs. These elements are analysed and interpreted to bring meaning and understanding to the era. The analysis makes use of semiotics and visual rhetoric to encode and denote meaning.

Chapter Six similarly provides a visual analysis of the advertisements found in the *WMN,* and provides insight into the material culture of the British at home. It also provides a brief overview of advertising in the nineteenth century.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter. It provides a summary of the study, and the main conclusions for each chapter. It also provides the contributions the study makes in various interdisciplinary fields, as well as the further potential research that can be taken forward.

CHAPTER TWO:
IMPERIAL CONTEXT: BRITISH POLITICS AND
MISSIONISING STRATEGIES

2.1. Introduction

Historically, territorial empires are found in all periods, and are associated mostly with cities, countries or states.[1] From the nineteenth century, the missionary movement has often been associated with "an unholy historical partner described interchangeably as imperialism or colonialism".[2]

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the context in which this study is situated. The periodical investigated later on in this study, the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices (WMN),* was produced in the nineteenth century. It is imperative that this background and context be understood. When looking at the cultural context, religion cannot be ignored or treated superficially in the mainstream of historiography of South Africa. Religion overlaps with other aspects of life, and missionaries are an important topic in political history. Missionaries were often associated with British imperialism[3] and this chapter accordingly investigates the imperial context of the missionaries in South African history. Thomas Beidelman states:

> We must examine the culture of the missionaries themselves to determine how they extended their Christian beliefs into a broader framework of social life. The character of such a picture clearly varied not only with the theology but with the class, economic, and national attitudes of the missionaries.[4]

The class, economic, and national attitudes extended beyond the missionary to that of the European whites, and reflects the overall cultural mind-set.

Firstly, in this chapter, the definition and related meanings of *imperialism* must be examined and understood, as imperialism is associated so closely with British

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[1] Porter, A. 1994, *European imperialism, 1860 – 1914,* p. 1.

[2] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 33.

[3] Elphick, R. 1995, Writing religion in history: the case of South African Christianity, *in* Bredekamp,H. & Ross, R. (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African history,* pp. 11,16.

[4] Beidelman, T.O. quoted in, De Bruyn, J. & Southey, N. 1995, The treatment of Christianity and protestant missionaries in South African historiography, *in* Bredekamp, H. & Ross, R. (eds.), *Missions and Christianity in South African history,* p. 39. See also: Beidelman, T.O. 1974, Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa, *Africa* 44(3), p. 241.

nineteenth century history. Secondly, it is important that the South African background be understood in terms of colonialism. Here the focus is primarily on the area the Wesleyan missionaries had identified as the *Transvaal and Swaziland District*. Thirdly, the origin and role of the missionaries is explored, and the Methodists and other missionary societies introduced. Fourthly, the tension between the missions and empire is briefly explored, while examining the role that each had to play.

2.2. What is Imperialism?

2.2.1. Definitions

Historian D.K. Fieldhouse states that "imperialism is an umbrella word", a slippery term, which "has meant all things to all men".[5] Dictionary definitions vary according to the date of compilation and the ideological considerations of its compilers. The *Oxford English Dictionary,* published in 1933, significantly listed the first meaning of 'imperialism' as an "imperial system of government; the rule of an emperor, especially when despotic or arbitrary".[6] The *Dictionary* went on to present less archaic definitions of the word, relating to the pursuit of global expansion in recent British or American politics.[7]

Richard Koebner examines the various meanings given to the word before 1902, and suggests it had two general connotations in the 1890s in Britain. The first was that it was used of those who wished to prevent the existing British settlement colonies from becoming independent states. The second, and more common, use of the word was to indicate an expansionist attitude towards problems connected with the future control of the 'uncivilised' parts of the world, such as Africa, the Middle East and the Pacific.[8] It is the second connotation that is often portrayed in the *WMN* as

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[5] Fieldhouse, D.K. quoted in, Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 34.

[6] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 34.

[7] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 34.

[8] Koebner, R., quoted in, Fieldhouse, D.K. 1961, Imperialism: An historical revision, *The Economic History Review* 14 (2), pp. 187-188. See also: Koebner, R. 1949, The concept of economic imperialism, *Economic History Review* 2(1), pp. 1-29.

missionaries reached out to the 'uncivilised' communities in the 'wilderness' of Africa.

W.L. Langer's definition of imperialism is "the rule or control, political or economic, direct or indirect, of one state, nation or people over other similar groups, or perhaps one might better say the disposition, urge or striving to establish such rule or control".[9] According to B. Stanley, the essence of imperialism is "control by an alien national or racial group; such control may be primarily political or primarily economic, and need not imply formal territorial rule".[10] An *imperialistic regime* refers to the fact that the central authority holds the majority of power. According to most historians, the term has changed its meaning several times; according to others, it has lost all meaning.[11]

According to S. Morgenbesser, the term *imperialism* is often defined as the phenomenon of empire building throughout history. It is noted that *imperialistic* may apply to a country, or more specifically to an act of that country.[12] Examples of 'empire building' are seen in the *WMN* in the sense of the 'civilising' mission in South Africa. These are discussed in Chapter Five.

2.2.2.   *Imperialism, colonialism and colonisation*

Stanley distinguishes between imperialism, colonialism and colonisation. European imperialism most frequently took the form of colonisation, a movement to establish white settler communities in the non-European world. The alternative expression of imperialism, known as colonialism, is distinguished from colonisation by the fact that the foreign governing group does not reside in the imperialised territory. Therefore, *colonialism* may be defined as a form of imperialism in which the imperial power enforces governmental control over a territory without the need of significant human

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[9] Langer, W.L. quoted in, Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 34.

[10] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag*, p. 34.

[11] Morgenbesser, S. 1973, Imperialism: some preliminary distinctions. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 3(1), pp. 3-4.

[12] Morgenbesser, S. 1973, Imperialism: some preliminary distinctions. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 3(1), p 10.

settlement within the territory.[13] Andrew Porter defines colonialism as "the manner in which imperial powers have run colonies and other parts of their empires".[14]

Colonisation gives rise to certain problems and considerations. The colonised, or at least their culture, is often treated as inferior. The colonisers have economic advantages as they establish economic districts, and the economy of the colonised may be damaged.[15] As will be seen in the analysis of the *WMN,* the colonised (or locals) were often considered inferior to the Europeans, as reflected in several pictorial depictions in Chapter Five.

When a territory is colonised by another, there are citizens of the latter who settle in the former – some as representatives of the state, some as homesteaders, missionaries or colonisers. These citizens acquire disproportionate political and economic power over the colonised people. Colonisation therefore gives rise to or accentuates an unfair distribution of income and political power within the colonised territory.[16] In the case of the *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,* British missionaries who settled in colonised territories were often seen as superior to their local neighbours, and had authority to rule. Porter considers imperialism as the process by which either formal or informal (significant influence and control short of direct rule) empires originated and then grew.[17]

2.2.3. *Chronology*

Geographically and chronologically, the range of imperialism as a subject is too vast for this study. From at least the twelfth century, English empire building has been a recurrent process. Conquest, settlement and other kinds of economic, social and political imperialism have intermittently, if not persistently, displaced existing

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[13] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 34.

[14] Porter, A. 1994, *European imperialism, 1860 – 1914*, pp. 1-2.

[15] Morgenbesser, S. 1973, Imperialism: some preliminary distinctions. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 3(1), p 14.

[16] Morgenbesser, S. 1973, Imperialism: some preliminary distinctions. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 3(1), pp. 15-16.

[17] Porter, A. 1994, *European imperialism, 1860 – 1914*, p. 2.

communities, encouraged a cultural adaption and imposed on them a 'colonial' status.[18]

Stanley states that the period between 1870 and 1914 was defined as high imperialism.[19] Porter also states that European imperialism confines itself to the period 1860 to 1914, when European powers exclusively claimed certain territories, and made attempts to assert control within them.[20] The period from 1815 to 1914 is recognised as a time in which the mutual awareness, interconnection and interdependence of most parts of the world, which had developed since the early sixteenth century, grew at a rapid pace and reached exceptional levels. Within this general picture of increasing interdependence between different regions of the world, more specific forms of imperialism occurred, perceived as involving varying degrees of subordination and control by European powers. Between 1860 and 1914, empire building was therefore in operation in a very wide range of forms.[21]

2.2.4. Culture and society

It is important to realise the extent of the influence that British imperialism left not only on Britain's culture and society, but also on the cultures and societies throughout the British Empire. British imperialism in the second half of the nineteenth century had its effects on all things, such as on perceptions and constructions of gender, leisure, entertainment and education.[22] Popular culture has blurred the significance of Great Britain's influence on English-speaking settler cultures in the nineteenth century. An appreciation of these imperial connections is an important part of understanding the history and the material culture of these colonies,[23] and is seen in the visual elements in the *WMN*.

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[18] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 1.

[19] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the flag,* p.41.

[20] Porter, A. 1994, *European imperialism, 1860 – 1914,* p. 2.

[21] Porter, A. 1994, *European imperialism, 1860 – 1914,* p. 2.

[22] Porter, B. 2004, *The absent-minded imperialists,* p. ix.

[23] Lawrence, S. 2003. Exporting culture: archaeology and the nineteenth-century British Empire. *Historical Archaeology* 37(1), p. 20.

The total extent of the British Empire was vast. At its height, it covered a quarter of the world's habitable land area, and contained a fifth of its peoples. Its citizens and subject peoples together contained a large multitude of humanity, of almost all colours, ethnicities, religions, and 'stages of civilisation'. Only about a tenth of them looked and spoke and worshiped like the British.[24] As will be seen in the analysis of the *WMN,* the British missionaries often saw it as their job to make the locals look, speak and worship like the British. This included the appearance of clothing, learning the English language and most importantly, to convert 'heathens' to Christianity. This is dealt with in Chapter Five.

'Cultural' imperialism was a phrase first used to describe the effect of European religion brought into third world countries. When ideologies like Christianity and capitalism are seen as cultural terms, they are grouped, ideologically, as a Western culture or system. Imperialism, then, is the enforcement of a Western system on the rest of the world. Imperialism was not the only characteristic feature of nineteenth century Britain. Only an awareness of the broader context can tell us how important it was, and how deeply the fact of Britain's possession of an empire affected its domestic society and culture.[25]

The character of the British home was, as quoted by Eric Stokes, "the product of advancing industrialism, of the ascendancy of the new middle class, and the emergence of a new ethic for a new society".[26] This ethic grew out of the Methodist and Evangelical movement.[27] The link between religious moral standards and the state of the British home were knitted closely together, and is seen, in Chapter Five, in the *WMN* in the appearance of the home and buildings, as missionaries 'built up' a new civilisation.

In modern times religion has often been a divisive force that has helped separate similar peoples into different nations or cultural groups. In modern empires it

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[24] Porter, B. 2004, *The absent-minded imperialists*, p. 1.

[25] Porter, B. 2004, *The absent-minded imperialists,* pp. 9, 11, 13.

[26] Stokes, E., quoted in, Brunt, P.A. 1965, Reflections on British and Roman imperialism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7(3), pp. 268-269. See also: Stokes, E. 1959, *English Utilitarians and India,* pp. xiii & 27.

[27] Brunt, P.A. 1965, Reflections on British and Roman imperialism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7(3), pp. 268-269.

separated rulers from the ruled, and in different ways constituted barriers to understanding. Christians were not at all tolerant of other cults or religions.[28] In the case of the *WMN,* anyone who was not a Christian believer or convert was often labelled a 'heathen', and the Wesleyans set themselves apart from the unbelieving 'heathen' world. And yet there was a great deal of ruling through local elites throughout the British Empire, and therefore, tolerating and even artificially preserving indigenous cultures became necessary.[29]

In order to bring historical and cultural depth to nineteenth century British emigrants, one needs to explore the diverse material cultures of the English-speaking settlers of some parts of the British Empire. It provides a means of understanding some of the common threads derived from the nineteenth century British origins, while also illustrating the fluid and dynamic nature of colonisation as a process, and the adaptation and renegotiation that occurs within local contexts.[30]

It must be noted that material cultures cannot be mentioned without discussing the effects of industrialisation and mass production. The British Empire was a network for the distribution of mass manufactured consumer goods, as well as a provider of raw material and market for finished goods. Unique to the nineteenth century British Empire was that it conjoined with Britain's industrialising project. This subject is discussed in subsequent chapters.

2.3. Colonisation in the South African context

After examining the meanings and definitions of imperialism and gaining a better understanding of society and culture, we turn to focus our attention to South Africa, and more specifically the Transvaal, in which this study is set, and the role the British played in nineteenth century South Africa. While colonisation is not a direct subject of this study, its forces were always at play in the background, making it an important factor to examine in understanding the missionaries and their place within the colony.

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[28] Brunt, P.A. 1965, Reflections on British and Roman imperialism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7(3), p. 283.

[29] Porter, B. 2004, *The absent-minded imperialists*, p. 15.

[30] Lawrence, S. 2003, Exporting culture: archaeology and the nineteenth-century British Empire. *Historical Archaeology* 37(1), p. 21.

Nineteenth century South Africa was subjected increasingly to material influences from the British. These were indirect at first, facilitated by the mixed populations of the British settlers and the African inhabitants. The missionaries were to establish a more direct link between the African inhabitants and the colonial political economy.[31]

While the first evangelists pictured southern Africa as an empty land, they were to find it filled with tension and conflict. From the early nineteenth century, the African inhabitants of Southern Africa encountered a settler population broadly made up of three major sets of characters. The first were the British administrators and officials in the Cape Colony, mostly of high birth and rank. The second were British settlers, largely respectable middle-class citizens and growing numbers of farmers in the colony. The third were the *Boers* (translation: "farmers") of Dutch, German, and French descent, a population that had grown over a century and a half of colonial settlement.[32]

2.3.1. The Transvaal / ZAR

The term *Transvaal* is associated with the area north of the Vaal River. From 1852 to 1902, the Transvaal was either referred to as the Transvaal Republic or the South African Republic[33] or *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR).* From 1902 to 1910 it was known as the Transvaal Colony as it had been colonised by the British after the Second Anglo-Boer War (also referred to as the South African War). Finally, from 1910 to 1994, it was known as the Transvaal Province – a province of the Union of South Africa, and later the Republic of South Africa from 1961.[34] It is mainly in this

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[31] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* p. 42.

[32] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* pp. 42-43.

[33] The South African Republic is not to be confused with the Republic of South Africa. The South African Republic is the English for the Dutch name *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR),* which was its official name, but was also known as the Transvaal Republic. The Transvaal Republic and the ZAR were often used interchangeably among the British, however the ZAR was still recognised as its official name. When the Union of South Africa became a republic in 1961, the country was called the Republic of South Africa (RSA), as it is at present.

[34] For the past two decades, in South Africa's new democratic dispensation, the former Transvaal had been divided into a number of new provinces: Gauteng, North West, Mpumalanga and Limpopo.

territory that the examples dealt with in this study relate.

Hunters, traders and missionaries had first crossed the Vaal River from the British Cape Colony around 1800, to what was later known as the Transvaal. However, the first purposeful settlement of whites in the area occurred with the Great Trek.[35] The Transvaal and Orange Free State were formed as a result of the Great Treks[36] of the 1830s and 1840s. The Boers[37] were trying to avoid British jurisdiction in the Cape Colony, and had disagreed over religious rights and the treatment of black Africans.[38] The Slavery Abolishment Act passed in 1833-1834 eradicated the use of slaves throughout the British Empire and allowed 'non-whites' to be on equal footing with 'whites' with regard to civil rights. Therefore, stern measures were taken by the Government in the interests of the black population, and British missionaries also fought against the ill-treatment of Africans by the Boers. As a result, the Boer farmers found themselves deprived of the free slave labour on which they depended for the cultivation of their land. The Boers, outraged, disgruntled and under a sense of intolerable injustice,[39] resolved to trek into the wilderness, wishing to move as far as possible from the administration principles of the British.[40]

Initially the Boers fled to Natal, but the neighbouring Zulus resisted this penetration and conflicts became rife. The British were claiming jurisdiction there too and consequently Natal was annexed by the British in 1845. Frustrated, the Boers fled north and staked claims on the land between the Orange and Vaal Rivers.[41] When the Boers set out to create an independent state, which became known as the Orange Free State, the British troops followed them to subdue them. The operations were successful and British sovereignty over the Boers was re-established.[42] In 1848, Britain annexed the Orange Free State area, which became the Orange River

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[35] Keyter, E. 1992, Geskiedenis, *in* van Rensburg, P.A.J *e.a*, *Transvaal. Die goue provinsie*, p. 31.

[36] *Trek,* Dutch: a journey, a migration.

[37] *Boer,* Dutch: farmer; denoted the descendants of the Dutch-speaking settlers who had remained in the Cape Colony after it became part of the British Empire.

[38] Oliver, R. & Atmore, A. 2005, *Africa since 1800,* pp. 111-112, 114.

[39] The Boers had the conviction and religious belief that God had created the black races to be slaves for them, which they justified by direct teaching and authority of the Old Testament, and resorted to the sternest methods in reducing these races into submission. (The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), pp. 10-11.

[40] The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), p. 11.

[41] Oliver, R. & Atmore, A. 2005, *Africa since 1800,* pp. 111-112, 114.

[42] The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), p. 12.

Sovereignty, and consequently only the 'Voortrekkers' north of the Vaal River remained independent. By that time, there were three distinct groups in the Transvaal, namely the Western Transvaal (Potchefstroom), Northern Transvaal (Soutpansberg) and Eastern Transvaal (Lydenburg).[43]

Many of the Boers had not forgotten their reasons for undertaking the Great Trek to the Orange Free State in the first place, and packed their wagons and headed north eastwards beyond the Vaal River. However, it was not long before the difficulties of administering territories which were far removed from the chief British centres of South Africa (the Cape and Natal) made itself apparent.[44] Therefore, the Orange Free State once again became independent in 1854, two years after the Boer republic of the Transvaal was recognised in 1852. [45] The Transvaal Republic was from then on known as the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR)* (South African Republic).[46]

In 1852, the British Government gave the farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs and create their own laws, while the Boers pledged in return that slavery should not be permitted or practiced. However, this condition had no way of being enforced, and ended up being futile. The word "apprentice" was simply used instead of "slave".[47]

Therefore, in the mid nineteenth century, South Africa consisted of two British colonies: The Cape and Natal Colonies; and two Boer Republics: The Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic (ZAR), as well as many independent African kingdoms and chiefdoms, including the Kingdom of Zululand. The total white population was a little more than three hundred thousand while the African population was between one and two million.[48]

In 1877, the British annexed the Transvaal, claiming that they 'came to the rescue', in

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[43] Keyter, E. 1992, Geskiedenis, *in* van Rensburg, P.A.J *e.a*, *Transvaal. Die goue provinsie*, p. 31.

[44] The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), p. 12.

[45] Oliver, R. & Atmore, A. 2005, *Africa since 1800,* pp. 111-112, 114.

[46] Keyter, E. 1992, Geskiedenis, *in* van Rensburg, P.A.J *e.a*, *Transvaal. Die goue provinsie*, p. 31.

[47] The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), p. 12.

[48] Oliver, R. & Atmore, A. 2005, *Africa since 1800,* p. 114.

the Boers' hour of need,[49] saving them from a Zulu victory that might have plunged the whole of South Africa into war. The President of the Transvaal met with authorities of the British Government, and the Transvaal was re-annexed in its unprotected and disordered condition, and Britain's Government undertook the administration of the territory.[50]

In 1879 the Anglo-Zulu War ensued, resulting in a British victory, but achieved at an enormous loss of life and treasure, and it marked the end of the Zulu nation's independence. The Boers became restless under British rule, and rebelled to reassert their independence, resulting in the First Anglo-Boer War of 1880 to 1881. The British "half-heartedly" resisted, but later quietly withdrew their forces, and the Transvaal's independence was recognised.[51]

In 1881, following the Convention of Pretoria, the Transvaal Republic recovered self-government, subject to British suzerainty, but it would henceforth be known as the Transvaal Government.[52] However, the Transvaal's independence was taken back again during the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902, which led to the defeat of the two Boer republics to the British. For the second time, the Boer Republic north of the Vaal River was declared British territory. From 1902 to 1910, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State became British Colonies, respectively known as the Transvaal Colony and the Orange River Colony. The British control over all four colonies eventually resulted in the Union of South Africa in 1910.[53]

In the period that the Wesleyan *Transvaal and Swaziland District* was proclaimed, and the period on which this study focuses (1883 to 1902 as represented in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*), the Transvaal was a Boer Republic, despite being under British suzerainty. It can be argued that, despite the territory being politically independent, it was still very much a part of the British world, especially as far as

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[49] It is important to note that while The Earl Grey provides good information, it also seems to justify imperialist intervention in the Transvaal. While the article provides an almost 'eye witness' account published in 1900, it does not offer an extended length of hindsight. While The Earl Grey acknowledges some of the prejudices of the English and Boers, the general mind-set of white-authority at the time contextualises some of the imperialistic rhetoric.

[50] The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), p. 13.

[51] The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), p. 15.

[52] Keyter, E. 1992, Geskiedenis, *in* van Rensburg, P.A.J *e.a*, *Transvaal. Die goue provinsie*, p. 33.

[53] Keyter, E. 1992, Geskiedenis, *in* van Rensburg, P.A.J *e.a*, *Transvaal. Die goue provinsie*, pp. 31, 33.

consumer culture is concerned. Moreover, England was the homeland for most of the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries sent from Europe, therefore British consumer culture would have had a direct influence on them. The African inhabitants of the Transvaal who associated themselves with Wesleyanism, also made overt anti-Boer statements, as the Boers had neglected their pledges to the British for equal civil rights for non-Boers.[54] Such Africans were, therefore, more inclined to respond to the British.

2.3.2. Missionaries in the Transvaal

Missionary work in southern Africa commenced in the early eighteenth century. Early missions were initially confined to the Cape Colony, but gradually moved inland. The first whites to enter the area north of the Vaal River, later to become known as the Transvaal, were missionaries who followed the first hunters and explorers, a few years before the onset of the Great Trek.[55] The basis for missionary work in the Transvaal was in the period of 1823 until the early 1900s; however, it was only during the 1860s and 1870s that most British missionary societies started their work.[56]

There were two kinds of mission stations. There were those that were set up in the Cape Colony, established on land either bought by the missionary societies themselves or granted to them by the colonial government. Other stations were set up beyond the colony's border, such as the London Missionary Society (LMS)'s Griqua Town (originally Klaarwater) and Kuruman (originally Lattakoo), and a little later, a chain of Wesleyan stations. Most of these were the result of expressions of interest or direct requests by local African leaders for a missionary presence in their territories. Such pleas were encouraged and enthusiastically reported back to societies' headquarters.[57]

As far as is known, Reverend John Campbell from the London Missionary Society

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[54] The Earl Grey. 1900, England and the Transvaal. *The North American Review* 170(518), p. 18.
[55] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 258.
[56] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 262.
[57] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 109.

(LMS) was the first missionary to enter the Transvaal area, but he did not stay long. Shortly after Campbell left, Samuel Broadbent and Thomas Hodgson of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) started missionary work among the Rolong in western Transvaal (currently known as the North West Province) in 1823. They established a mission station near Makwassiespruit, north east of the current Wolmaransstad.[58] Another mission station was also started near Kuruman in 1832.[59]

During the 1840s, the LMS, headed by the famous missionary explorer, David Livingstone, made an effort to enter the black communities in the western Transvaal. However, after 1846, Livingstone clashed with the Boer community who began settling in the area north of the Vaal River, and therefore moved west, outside the borders of the Transvaal (as it would later become known), along with the rest of the LMS.[60]

In January 1850, the Wesleyan missionary, Joseph Ludorf, began missionary work in the vicinity of the Molopo River (south of present-day Mahikeng); however, he became involved with incidents of friction between whites and blacks. For several years, little happened in the Transvaal as far as missions were concerned. However, by the end of the 1850s, there was a noticeable revival. In the period from 1857 to 1862, three missionary societies jointly established a large number of mission stations. The three societies were the Hermannsburg Missionary Society; the Berlin Missionary Society, both associated with the German Lutheran church; and the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Colony.[61]

In 1858, six missionaries from the Hermannsburg Missionary Society (HMS) were delegated to work in the western Transvaal. Soon after the Hermannsburgers became involved in the western Transvaal, the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) started missionary work in the eastern Transvaal (currently known as the Mpumalanga Province), and had established a number of stations by the 1860s. Over the next ten

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[58] This old mission was declared a national monument in 1940.

[59] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 258.

[60] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 258.

[61] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 258.

years, the BMS expanded greatly, and established no less than twenty stations. They also extended into the northern Transvaal from 1872. Between 1877 and 1887 the BMS continued to grow, and even established a station in Johannesburg in 1887, as a tremendous influx of black people to the mines of the 'City of Gold' was seen in 1886.[62]

At about the same time as the two German missionary societies' activities in the Transvaal began, the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Colony began showing interest in the mission field. In 1861, two European missionaries were recruited,[63] and were involved in the western Transvaal (present-day Northwest Province) and northern Transvaal (present-day Limpopo Province) respectively, where both established mission stations.[64]

In 1875, there was a new missionary church on the scene, Mission Vaudoise, from a Protestant church of French-speaking Switzerland. They began working among the Tsonga. In 1883, several churches in Switzerland joined the Mission Vaudoise. The society then became known as the *Suisse Romande Mission* (The Missionary Society of the French-speaking Switzerland). After 1887, the Swiss mission expanded greatly. Before the end of the nineteenth century, there were still a number of other churches that began missionary work on a smaller scale than the larger above-mentioned missionary societies.[65]

For several decades, the two German Lutheran missionary societies dominated the Transvaal mission field. Boer authorities controlled which mission societies were allowed into the country, and therefore only admitted those considered to be loyal to

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[62] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* pp. 258-260.

[63] Henri Gonin from Switzerland was involved in the western Transvaal in 1864, and established a mission station near Rustenburg in 1866. Alexander McKidd from Scotland was involved in the northern Transvaal in 1863 and established the station Goedgedacht at the foot of the Soutpansberg. McKidd died in 1865, but was succeeded by Stephanus Hofmeyr, who continued with the mission work for many years. He worked among the black communities, and was also a spiritual leader for the whites. Later, Hofmeyr also established an outpost at Marabastad, which later moved to the Goedehoop farm.

[64] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* pp. 260-261.

[65] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 261.

the political and social order of the Republic. All British missions were, therefore, barred from the ZAR until the annexation of the Transvaal in the late 1870s. However, there were still a number of Methodist preachers who worked in isolated spots.[66] Therefore, as it has been seen, between the 1850s and the 1870s, the dominant missionary societies in the Transvaal were the Hermannsburg Missionary Society and the Berlin Missionary Society, as well as the Dutch Reformed Church.

Although there is evidence of the Methodists in the Transvaal before the 1870s, it was only from the 1870s that they became involved on a large scale. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society had pioneered work in the western Transvaal in the first half of the century; however, there had been no public involvement for several years thereafter. In 1845 a mission station had been founded at Nahamba in Swaziland, near the Transvaal border, and in 1850 a mission station was developed in Lotlhakane, south of Mafikeng (currently Mahikeng). In 1871, a station in Potchefstroom was established, but this was later sold to the Berlin Missionary Society. The WMMS opened six stations in the Transvaal in the 1870s: Pretoria, Rustenburg, Heidelberg, Lydenburg, Pilgrim's Rest and Uitkyk (near Potchefstroom).[67]

During 1880 to 1881, it was difficult for missionaries to carry on with work owing to the (First) Anglo-Boer War.[68] However, despite the fact that the Transvaal returned to Boer hands after this war, the Wesleyans would make progress in the area during the 1880s and 1890s. In the report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for the year 1883, two important matters invite attention in connection with the work in South Africa. The first was the establishment of the South African Conference, and the second was the commencement of the new Mission in the newly proclaimed *Transvaal and Swaziland District*.[69] Shortly after 1883, another six stations were established: Klerksdorp, Bloemhof, Ermelo, Johannesburg, Barberton and another station in

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[66] Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p. 361.

[67] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 261.

[68] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 261.

[69] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 327.

Kilnerton, Pretoria. The two WMMS mission stations Mafeking and Vryburg, near to the Transvaal western border, formed part of the Cape Colony.[70]

The years 1899 to 1902, the time of the Second Anglo-Boer War, were a turning point in the history of not only the Transvaal as a whole, but also for missionary operations. After this period, the number of fellowships rapidly increased, and by 1926 there were 45 organisations that did missionary work in the Transvaal.[71]

2.4. Missionaries

The Christian inclination towards missionary activity aimed at the religious conversion of peoples near and far, is not only older than imperialism's empire building, but also geographically, exceeded any of the world's formal territorial empires.[72] As a 'divinely favoured' nation, which possessed wealth, political stability and victories in her empire – as symbols of that divine favour – it was believed that Britain had a common obligation to endorse the spread of Christianity.[73] In the eyes of missionary organisers and volunteers, the Cape of Good Hope (and later, the hinterland beyond) had a compelling and romantic significance. It had been long recognised as the most important of the stations on Europeans' great commercial route to the East. For missionaries, the Cape was an obvious base and starting point for extending their work into Africa.[74]

The missionaries aimed at introducing Christianity to the African people's lives, culture and belief system, but also wanted to protect certain aspects of the African convert's 'original' culture. However, in South Africa, probably because the missionaries constituted a national minority in the Transvaal as well as in broader South African society, they clung to cultural attitudes and practices they claimed to

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[70] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 261.
[71] Changuion, L. & De Graaf, G. 1999, Kultuur en bewaringsaspekte, *in* Bergh, J.S. (red.), *Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies,* p. 262.
[72] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 1.
[73] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 10.
[74] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* pp. 75-76.

have inherited at home.[75] They not only clung onto their own cultural attitudes and practices, but in many cases tried to impose much of it onto Africans. In the *WMN,* this is seen in the example of clothing, as discussed in Chapter Five.

2.4.1. *Missionary origins*

British accounts of overseas missionaries date back a long time. Missionary societies were being formed from as early as the late 1600s and early 1700s, with a growing interest in the activities of evangelists overseas.[76]

The first British administration of the Cape was in 1795, which was also when the London Missionary Society (LMS) was founded. The LMS began work in South Africa in 1799 as one of the first missionary societies in South Africa. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) was formed in 1813, and its first missionary station in South Africa was formed in 1816 to 1817.[77]

The majority of missionaries to southern Africa were mostly men, from labouring, peasant or artisan backgrounds to the lower reaches of the bourgeoisie. Few of them had university education – some had no schooling at all. Many of them would have lived their lives as artisans, had they not been invited into the ministry. However, it was not necessary for candidates to be educated, as men who knew "mechanic arts" were also a great use in the mission. Rev. John Campbell stressed that it was not necessary for men to come from the seminary, but all that was required was men with simple hearts with a love and understanding for the gospel, and who knew the worth of souls. Men with practical skills were needed more than elevated scholar-priests, as the cast of African inhabitants were men of action rather than contemplation.[78]

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[75] Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p. 362.

[76] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* p. 49.

[77] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* p. xvii.

[78] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* pp. 80-81.

The missionary movement in Britain cannot be separated from the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the lower middle class. It was primarily from this social niche that many of the missionaries came. Many of the Methodist or LMS missionaries, working in South Africa before 1860 came from industrialising valleys, urban peripheries or proletarianised villages. Europeans may have found Africa attractive because their subordinate status was reversed there.[79] In other words, back home in Britain, the missionaries' status was not of a high ranking; however, in Africa, they ranked above the African inhabitants, and therefore, not only gained authority to rule, but also gained a higher status in life. The theme of 'superiority' is seen in the visuals of the *WMN* in Chapter Five.

Many mission station developments were destroyed in the middle of the nineteenth century as a result of the War of the Axe (1847), intermittent conflict on the Sotho frontiers (c. 1848 – 1854), the Frontier War of 1850 – 1852, and the great Cattle Killing of 1857. The Wesleyans experienced serious losses on both the north and east frontiers of the Cape Colony, before the Orange Free State was established in 1854. The recovery had been achieved by 1865; however "the feeling of depression remained".[80] Such reconstruction and new expansion as the Wesleyans undertook into the 1870s was seen as drawing missionaries, government and settlers closer together. In a very real sense, the mission stations became a defender of empire, "protecting … the British Colonists and the more peaceful tribes within the Colony".[81]

2.4.2. *The Methodists*

Methodist missions are much older than the Methodist Missionary Society. Even though missionaries saw the mission cause as one and although, as Christians, they

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[79] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* p. 81.

[80] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs empire,* p. 188.

[81] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W., quoted in Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs empire,* p. 188. See also: Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 307.

regarded themselves as one body in missionary enterprise, the development of distinct societies was for the purpose of having distinct and separate funds.[82]

The London Missionary Society (LMS) was the dominant evangelical influence in the southern regions of South Africa in the nineteenth century. It was the first in the field, and mediated most directly the formal forces of colonisation from the south. However, further up north, it was the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) that predominated. The effect of the WMMS reached far beyond the confines of the mission church. This was largely as a result of their emphasis on promoting African leadership, which ensured that its cultural forms made a deep impression on black consciousness.[83]

Methodism, which had originated as a revival within the established Church of England in the eighteenth century, was a missionary movement from the start. In theory, no difference was made, in the field, between pastor and evangelist. Methodism was aimed mainly at the growing working and middle classes, as John Wesley wanted to "awaken the masses" discouraged by the effects of industrialisation. The Wesleyan preachers took to the streets and fields, drawing many to hear spontaneous sermons with a message of salvation. When the WMMS was officially formed in 1813, it was as the "overseas" extension of a vibrant movement that had already been ministering to the most "brutal and neglected portions of the population," now extending to the "unknown continents", "jungles" and "Africas".[84]

Wesleyan missions began in 1786, when Thomas Coke, who was destined for Nova Scotia, was driven off course by a storm and ended up at Antigua in the British West Indies. There he successfully developed a mission among both the enslaved and landowners. Coke instigated another two mission stations in Sierra Leone (West Africa) in 1811 and in Ceylon (today Sri Lanka) in 1814, just prior to his death.

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[82] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* pp. 26, 55-56.

[83] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* 46-47.

[84] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* p. 47.

The WMMS formed 'spontaneously' in 1813 for the support of mission work overseas, without the formal approval or sanction of Conference. However, by 1818, the proposals put forward were approved by Conference and the WMMS was recognised as a fully constituted missionary society. Despite its name, the WMMS was not a self-regulated 'society', but rather the Methodist Church "mobilised for foreign missionary service".[85] The WMMS was involved in missions all over the world. WMMS missions in Canada were established in the 1780s, and developed its independent Conference in 1854. Work in Australia began in New South Wales in 1818, in Tasmania in 1821, in Victoria in 1838 and in Queensland in 1850. Missionaries were sent to New Zealand in 1822, to the Friendly Islands in 1826, and some years later in Fiji. The Australasian Methodist Missionary Society was organised as an auxiliary in 1822 and became an independent society in 1855.[86]

The WMMS was also involved in mission work in West Africa begun in 1811 with Coke's mission to Sierra Leone, with additional stations opened on the River Gambia in 1821 and the Gold Coast in 1834.[87] Outside of Africa, other main focus areas for the WMMS were China[88] and India.[89]

2.4.3. *Wesleyan Missionaries in South Africa and the Transvaal*

As mentioned previously, in the report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for the year 1883, two things were made known. The first was the establishment of the South

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[85] Mundus. 2002, (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society / Methodist Church Overseas Divisions Archive, http://mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/910.htm. Access: 2014-12-21.

[86] Mundus. 2002, (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society / Methodist Church Overseas Divisions Archive, http://mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/910.htm. Access: 2014-12-21.

[87] Mundus. 2002, (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society / Methodist Church Overseas Divisions Archive', http://mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/910.htm. Access: 2014-12-21.

[88] WMMS work began in China in 1853. In 1860, the Fat-shan mission was established, Han-kau in North China in 1862. By 1903, mission stations were established at Wu-chang, Han-yang, Sui-chow, Wu-hseuh and Hu-nan at Chang-sha. The two Chinese Districts were Canton and Wu-chang (including Hu-nan.) (Mundus. 2002, (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society / Methodist Church Overseas Divisions Archive, http://mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/910.htm. Access: 2014-12-21.)

[89] The first mission established in India, was at Madras in 1817. By 1903, work was underway in eight districts, including (according to the contemporaneous names) Madras, Negapatam, Haiderabad, Mysore, Calcutta, Lucknow, Bombay and Burma. (Mundus. 2002, (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society / Methodist Church Overseas Divisions Archive, http://mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/910.htm. Access: 2014-12-21.)

African Conference,[90] and the second was the commencement of the new Mission for the *Transvaal and Swaziland District*.[91] The work north of the Vaal (the new Mission for the *Transvaal and Swaziland District*) continued to be carried out funded by the Society from London.[92]

2.4.3.1.   *WMMS in South Africa*

The first WMMS missionary to arrive in South Africa was Reverend John KcKenny, who established a station at Namaqualand in the Cape Colony in 1814. In 1820, work began among the enslaved population in the Cape Colony. In 1822 missions began in Bechuanaland, and in 1841 a mission accompanied British troops to Natal.[93] [94]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were many difficulties concerning missionary work in South Africa, especially after the wars between the colonists and the indigenous populations on the Cape frontier. Many of the missionaries working in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony felt discouraged; pastors left; mission houses, school rooms and churches were deserted for many years, while churches fell into decay; and converts were scattered.[95] After the liberation of the enslaved in the 1830s, the missionaries were largely increased in South Africa, among other colonies.[96] In the 1860s, there was a great revival and much improvement was seen as evangelical services resumed and thousands of Africans were converted to Christianity. They also

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[90] The South African Conference was established in 1882, and controlled mission work in South Africa, with the exception of the Transvaal, Swaziland and Rhodesia. The South African Conference stations covered the Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, Tembuland, Pondoland and Griqualand. (Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 327.)

[91] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 327.

[92] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 211.

[93] Mundus. 2002, (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society / Methodist Church Overseas Divisions Archive, http://mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/910.htm. Access: 2014-12-21.

[94] The first Methodist missionary to settle in Natal was Reverend James Archbell in 1842, after British troops had entered Natal. Mission work began in Durban in 1847 by the Reverend W.C. Holden, who worked among the Africans and ministered to the British settlers who began to stream into Natal after 1849. Ladysmith became the head of the circuit in 1866. (Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 161).

[95] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 160.

[96] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* pp. 138-139.

acknowledged that it would be necessary to make use of more African ministers if South Africa were to become Christian.[97]

2.4.3.2.   WMMS in the Transvaal

As was discussed previously, the Boers sought to escape British jurisdiction and abandoned their farms and moved to the unexplored country north of the Vaal River. The few thousand Dutch farmers spread out over the country and hoped they might now be able to live according to their own laws, and not those of the British.[98] The general rebellion towards the British certainly made missionary work difficult for the Methodists.

In 1880, the *Transvaal and Swaziland District* was officially formed, with Reverend Owen Watkins as its chairperson. It was the largest district under the direction of the WMMS. It extended from the Vaal River on the south to the Limpopo River on the north, and from Delagoa Bay, including Swaziland, on the east, to Bechuanaland on the west. The extent of the area can be seen on the map in **Figure 1.** Prior to this, missionary operations in the Transvaal fell under the "Vaal River Mission," which was formed at the Conference of 1872. However, as will be illustrated below, there is much evidence of missionaries with the WMMS establishing mission work in the area already in the 1860s.

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[97] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* pp. 160-161.
[98] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, pp. 327-328.

Figure 1: Drawn map of the area covered by the Transvaal and Swaziland District, in *WMN* 1900.
Source: Weavind, G. 1900, Transvaal and Swaziland District. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (July), p. 203.

The area covered by Johannesburg was part of an open veld, and Pretoria was an insignificant village. The chief town in the Transvaal, and the centre of administration, was Potchefstroom, situated a little north of the Vaal River. In 1865, Potchefstroom appears in the *Minutes of Conference* as a Mission Station, and in 1867, the first appointment of a European missionary[99] is reported.[100] The first Methodist worker to enter the Transvaal and Swaziland District in the late 1860s was

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[99] This was the Reverend J. Thorne, but he only remained there a year. (Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*. Vol. IV, p. 329.)
[100] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*. Vol. IV, pp. 328-329.

the African David Magatta.[101] However, according to the *WMN,* Magatta had begun mission work in the Transvaal as early as 1836, as he had come up with the "great trek" of emigrant Boers who crossed the Vaal River. He settled in the first established town of Potchefstroom, and continued with evangelist work for many years.[102] He hailed from Magaliesburg, and had taken charge at Potchefstroom. However, owing to racism, he was cruelly attacked and banished from Potchefstroom and fled to Thaba Nchu. On the frontier, he met Paul Kruger, who was then commander of an expedition against the Zulus. Kruger listened to his story and gave him a written permit to return to Potchefstroom, and he was able to take up the ministry again. He laboured in Potchefstroom for many years, and built up a little Church, which later expanded considerably.[103]

Reverend George Blencowe visited Magatta in 1871 and saw that the area was good for mission work. He thought that the Transvaal had a prosperous future and that it would be a good place for mission stations.[104] He stated: "This country will one day be the most densely populated in South Africa. Its mineral wealth is great: iron, copper, lead, coal and gold abound. And this increase of population will be mainly persons of English parentage".[105] Blencowe's report sent to England stated: "I regard Potchefstroom as the best place for the commencement of our operations in the South African Republic. It is the commercial metropolis, and has, so far as I can learn, the largest number prepared for salvation of any place in the country".[106] In 1872, he left Ladysmith with two other ministers to begin the Vaal River mission.[107] Reverend James Calvert, a missionary who had been working in Fiji for 34 years, came to South Africa in 1870, and added stability to the councils of his fellow missionaries. He was

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[101] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 212; Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, pp. 329-330.

[102] Weavind, G. 1900, Transvaal and Swaziland District. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (July), p. 202.

[103] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 212; Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, pp. 329-330.

[104] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist foreign missions,* p. 213; Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 330.

[105] Blencowe, G., quoted in, Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 213.

[106] Blencowe, G., quoted in, Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 330.

[107] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 213.

at first appointed to Kimberley, but then came to Potchefstroom, and for four years he did much to unite the Church life in that station.[108]

Reverent George Weavind came to Pretoria, then only a village, in 1872. There was only one Methodist family there, and services were begun in an inconvenient schoolroom lent by the Government. A small chapel and a cottage for the minister were built in Pretoria and the church grew gradually. "Native work" had begun in Pretoria and in the more distant district of Waterberg. One of the missionary secretaries, Reverend John Kilner, visited South Africa in 1880. In 1877 the Transvaal had been annexed by Britain. Kilner, who could not have foreseen the First Anglo-Boer War and the resultant return of the Transvaal to the Boers in 1881, saw endless possibilities for Wesleyan extension in the territory. [109]

There were several factors, however, which would support Kilner's vision and which would have made it very difficult for the Boers to purge their state from British influence. In 1873, gold had been discovered in the northwest of Transvaal at Pilgrim's Rest and Lydenburg. Thousands of miners were quickly at work, and the usual rush to exploit the newly discovered field had begun. Blencowe went to Pilgrim's Rest in 1874 to start a mission there. The mines in this neighbourhood were later overshadowed by the greater discovery of the far richer deposits of gold at Johannesburg. Blencowe soon left the area, and it was not until 1895 that missionary work in this region resumed. The strategic centres for the Mission were elsewhere.[110]

The time had come for more rapid development of missions in the Transvaal, especially in the Pretoria vicinity. The Reverend Owen Watkins, who had been a Minister in England for many years, was already recognised as one likely to occupy the position in the Transvaal. Owing to poor health, he was advised to seek the more favourable climate of South Africa, and came to Pietermaritzburg where he served for

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[108] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 331.
[109] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* pp. 213-214.
[110] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 331.

two years.[111] Watkins and Kilner, who had been working in Natal since 1876, visited the Transvaal and it was arranged that a new District be formed.[112] The Missionary Committee agreed to send Watkins; in the Minutes of the Conference held in 1880 the name of "the Transvaal and Swaziland Mission" District appears, with Owen Watkins as its first Chairman and General Superintendent. Weavind had since returned to England on furlough, however, and quarantine regulations delayed his return.[113] The war, which broke out in 1880, also delayed operations, but as soon as it was over, Watkins came to Pretoria in 1881. Little churches were founded and sprang up all over the country, as far as the Limpopo River in the northwest. They were mostly founded by local African Christians, who had been converted at Wesleyan services in Natal or the Cape Colony.[114]

When gold was discovered in Johannesburg in 1884, people from around the world came streaming in. A colonial local preacher among them held the first Methodist service, and the missions' work spread in this new 'City of Gold,' founded in 1886, and the Church kept growing steadily. Minister after minister was sent to labour among the people as more evangelists were required. Evangelistic work was also carried out among the African mine workers, many of whom had heard the gospel for the first time.[115]

By 1885, the Methodist Church was moderately established in the Transvaal. The time had come for the further development of the centre. European missionaries were distributed as follows: R.F. Appelbe and Isaac Shimmin were sent to help Daniel Msimang at Mahamba, Swaziland; George Weavind and J.G. Benson were at Potchefstroom; A.S. Sharp was sent to Bloemhof; J.C. James was sent to Mafeking; G. Lowe was sent to Good Hope; and W.J. Underwood was associated with Watkins

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[111] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 333.

[112] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* pp. 213-214.

[113] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 333-334.

[114] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* pp. 215.

[115] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 215.

at Pretoria. There was no mention of Johannesburg since the city only sprang into being after the gold rush on the Witwatersrand in 1886.[116]

Owen Watkins had returned to England in 1891 owing to weakness, and was said to be "on death's door". George Weavind was then appointed as Acting Chairman, but it soon became apparent that Watkins would not be returning, and Weavind's appointment was confirmed later in 1891. The report of 1892 shows the Transvaal District divided into four sections, with a change in the distribution of European missionaries. The central region was managed by Weavind, and with him in Pretoria were Underwood and J.F. Rumfitt. Applebe, Benson and J.S. Morris were in charge of the English churches in Johannesburg, where J.S. Briscoe, assisted by six African ministers and evangelists, was in charge of the "native work". In the northern and eastern section, T.H. Wainman had charge at Good Hope, while C.W. Mowson was at Barberton. The south-western section was supervised by Lowe at Potchefstroom, accompanied by T.F. Watson and John White. The fourth section was that of British Bechuanaland under the direction of Sharp at Mafeking. Isaac Shimmin and G.H. Eva were at work in a further division, though it did not belong to the Transvaal, and was soon to be formed into a separate District, known as 'The Mashonaland Mission'.[117]

The *Transvaal and Swaziland District* had 35 000 adherents by 1896. However, missionary operations had naturally been suspended during the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902. Most mission stations were close to the theatre of war, and many churches were used as accommodation for the sick and wounded. In most cases, the services of the missionaries were diverted to other channels; however, some were allowed to remain at their posts and shared in the hardships with the members of the Church. After the war, however, the population had more than regained its hold and during the early decades of the next century, the Church grew steadily.[118]

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[116] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, p. 340.

[117] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, pp. 347 & 350.

[118] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 215; Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV, pp 347-348.

The British missionaries not only welcomed the final victory of the British and the annexation of the two Republics, but also welcomed the prospect of a united South Africa within the British Empire. The British missionaries were hopeful of the Boer and the Briton joining together to develop the resources of the "wonderful country that God had committed into their care".[119]

2.5. Mission versus empire

Christian missionaries are commonly held to represent the operation of cultural imperialism in modern history. For decades there has been an assertion that Christian missionaries were implicated in imperialist expansion.[120] The link between missionaries and imperialism is undeniable. According to Brian Stanley, the belief that 'the Bible and the flag' went hand in hand in the history of Western imperial expansion is becoming established.[121] The British missionary awakening was strongly connected to British expansion, if we extend that term to include geographical exploration as well as the growth of British power.[122]

The way of empire building and the increase of imperial and colonial interests included a powerful sense of national mission, but still demonstrated a limited capacity for shaping or adapting the theory and practice of Christian missions. The stronger the sense of racial distinctions, the less successful the missions were in promoting the growth of the Christian churches. The internationalisation of the missionary movement and its dynamics tended increasingly to separate national ambitions from empire and the global pursuit or fulfilment of evangelical goals.[123]

Since the Protestant Reformation, Britain had been a site of evangelical religion and the civil freedoms that it was believed to present, and now Britain had the further advantage of world power. The Christian belief in divine providence led, therefore, to

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[119] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*. Vol. IV, p. 348.
[120] Dunch, R. 2002, Beyond cultural imperialism: Cultural theory, Christian missions, and global modernity. *History and Theory* 41(3), p. 307.
[121] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 12.
[122] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the Flag,* p. 58.
[123] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* pp. 314-315.

the concept of Britain's imperial role as a 'sacred trust' to be used for the benefit of the gospel and missionary purposes. The idea of the empire as a 'God-given trust' became increasingly accepted. By the late 1890s, the notion of 'the white man's burden' was frequently defined more broadly as propagating Christian civilisation and liberal government in which Christianity itself was not the only factor.[124] Missionaries grew out of the delicate condition of English colonial interests abroad. There was an implied moral responsibility to "right the wrongs of Africa" – a responsibility that weighed heavily on the mission societies.[125] The theme of superiority is seen in Chapter Five.

Missionary men came from the gaps in a class structure undergoing reconstruction. Many of them, as we have seen, were among the lower reaches of the rising British bourgeoisie. Most of them regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as "friends and protectors of the natives." It was a position that often set them at odds with others in the colonial division of labour.[126]

2.5.1. *State aid and colonial politics*

Many of the Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century believed they were better off without state aid. Breaking ties with the state destroyed some missions, while others flourished without it. From the 1830s onwards, however, it was impossible to avoid entanglement.[127] The missions had learned that their obligation to seek a means for the conversion of the 'heathen' required them to become involved in politics and economics.[128] Generally speaking, neither mission societies nor missionaries as individuals were directly influential with their home governments or their colonial representatives, nor were they directly linked to the traders and economic interests of their home countries. In fact, the interests of missions were

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[124] Stanley, B. 1990, *The Bible and the flag,* pp. 68-69.

[125] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* p. 78.

[126] Comaroff, J. 1989, Images of Empire, contests of conscience: Models of colonial domination in South Africa. *American Ethnologist* 16(4), p. 663.

[127] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 65.

[128] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 115.

often directly opposed to those of their fellow countrymen in government or commerce.[129]

Missions were drawn unavoidably into colonial politics, whether they wanted to be or not. Many conflicts of interest arose from the missionary presence in settler societies. These often occurred between missionaries and white colonists or between missions and local governments. They were often driven to conclude that they were faced with an evil system that required means far more powerful than they possessed to bring it down.[130] Wesleyan missionaries were urged not to get involved with civil disputes and the politics of the Colony, and warned that their only business was to promote the moral and religious improvement of the people. However, missionaries also wanted effective protection and toleration in order to establish themselves on a permanent basis.[131]

The colonies, nevertheless, also had several motives for wanting missionaries. One was that missionaries could persuade Africans to establish stable, settled communities, and exchange their nomadic and hunting ways for 'civilised', settled agriculture and commerce. The missionaries had a far more immediate priority, and that was that they needed at least a constant, attentive and concentrated audience to receive their preaching.[132]

2.5.2. *Racial thought*

The development of racial thought has long been acknowledged as closely linked with the growth of Britain's empire. The explanation of significant differences between societies in terms of racial superiority was not only held to account for the growth of empires, but also provided a justification for their continued existence and explained the necessary patterns of rule applied to them. However, despite the superior views of the British Empire on other races, for the missions this exclusivity was problematic. In theory, Christians believed in the fundamental unity of humanity. There existed

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[129] Dunch, R, 2002. Beyond cultural imperialism: cultural theory, Christian missions, and global modernity. *History and Theory* 41(3), p. 308.

[130] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 80.

[131] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* pp. 85-87.

[132] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 110.

only one, divinely created, human race, with a common, rational human nature. This outlook was gradually undermined during the nineteenth century.[133]

The mission congregations, whose members were often African, were often not incorporated into a united church out of fear that they would be dominated by colonists. The missionaries were aware of the race prejudices that existed among the European colonists in South Africa, and were anxious to preserve the rights and privileges of the African Christians in the face of such tendencies.[134]

However, Brunt believes the secular concepts of the Industrial Revolution also influenced the teaching of Christian missionaries, who would at times discard the Pauline conception of the equality and brotherhood of men.[135] The British, as stated previously, often believed themselves to be a "divinely favoured" nation, owing to the wealth, success and growth of the nation as a whole. The Industrial Revolution developed technologies that put them ahead of other subordinate nations.

According to Dunch, some missionaries held condescending or racist attitudes towards the people among whom they lived. The accuracy of this observation is evident in missionary publications and missionary archives. However, many crossed the cultural divide better than others, depending on their personalities, theology, circumstances, and adaptability. Nevertheless, in general, missionaries in the imperialist era came to their fields convinced of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual superiority of what they thought of, not as their "culture", but as "civilisation". Some were also convinced of the superiority of their "race", as social notions penetrated Western culture late in the nineteenth century.[136] It is clear in several illustrations that the missionaries believed they had authority, spiritually and racially, and that part of the mission was to not only convert, but to 'civilise' the 'uncivilised'. This is discussed further in Chapter Five.

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[133] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 283.

[134] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 287.

[135] Brunt, P.A. 1965, Reflections on British and Roman imperialism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7(3), p. 284.

[136] Dunch, R. 2002, Beyond cultural imperialism: cultural theory, Christian missions, and global modernity. *History and Theory* 41(3), pp. 300-310.

As the belief in the reality and permanence of racial categories spread after 1860, so too the concept of 'race' was gradually incorporated into justifications for the growth and maintenance of empire. It was woven into the structure of imperial and colonial institutions.[137] This mindset was 'woven into' the general worldview of the missionaries, where they naturally believed they were better off, more 'civilised' and held authority, however, it was their intention to help 'the other' become better by converting, 'civilising', educating and clothing them. This is discussed further in Chapter Five.

2.6. The Anti-Imperialism of Protestant missions

Writing about the relationship between colonialism and Christianity is still permeated by disputes about the role of organised religion in sustaining white supremacy, despite an emerging consensus among historians that Christianity was a two-edged sword that could undercut as well as sustain domination.[138] There have been two accusations brought against the missionaries. The first was that they were advocates of imperialism, and the second was that they were destroyers of indigenous culture and values.[139]

Much discussion has cast those who stressed the humanitarian role of missionaries against those who condemned them as advocates of imperialism. Much of that debate was addressed to the question of "whose side was the missionary really on?" and, by extension, "whose ends did he serve?"[140] Karen Fields argues that missionaries subverted colonial political arrangements, while according to Porter, even though missions may have tried to distance themselves from empire, the possibility remains that missionaries may still have been effective imperialists.[141] Owing to the colonial

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[137] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs empire,* p. 284.

[138] Etherington, N. 1996, Recent trends in the historiography of Christianity in southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, p. 201.

[139] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs empire,* p. 316.

[140] Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J. 1986, Christianity and colonialism in South Africa. *American Ethnologist* 13(1), p. 1.

[141] Fields, K.E. 1982, Christian missionaries as anticolonial militants. *Theory and Society* 11(1), p. 95.; Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs empire,* p. 316.

government's determined onslaught on customary religious observance, the inevitable consequence was that of an equally determined onslaught on customary authority. [142]

The imperialism associated with the missionary efforts was often not of the expanding metropole, but of local communities turning missionary offerings to their own advantage.[143] The nonconformist missionaries, bearers of the Protestant ethic in the capitalist age, saw themselves as heroic figures in the creation of a new Empire of the Spirit of Africa. They also took themselves to be the conscience of British colonialism, its moral commentators. It was this self-appointed stance that was later to legitimise their occasional attacks on colonial politics.[144]

Missionaries were not only thought to be advocates of imperialism, but also destroyers of culture. Mission Christianity deliberately disintegrated African village life with tangibles such as cash crops, red-brick houses, Western medicine, tombstones, books and money. The intangibles pertained not only to Christianity's transcendent God, but also to individualism, formal schooling, the nuclear family, middle-class values and virtues, skilled trades, and ambition. Christian conversion aimed at a cultural and religious conversion. Converts transformed by their experience on Christian soil would be sent forth to become witnesses in non-Christian villages.[145] This is apparent when analysing the images and advertisements in the *WMN,* where Western tangibles and influences are integrated into the converted Africans' lifestyle.

Missionaries were responsible for the maintenance of order among the Christian faithful, and tried to carry forward the "civilising" mission.[146] The missionaries often denied African culture, and even viewed it as "heathen". Part of "Christianising" the people also meant drawing them out of their culture into a more "civilised" way of life. As will be analysed in the *WMN,* this can be seen in aspects such as clothing and architecture, among others.

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[142] Fields, K.E. 1982, Christian missionaries as anticolonial militants. *Theory and Society* 11(1), p. 95.

[143] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 321.

[144] Comaroff, J. 1989, Images of empire, contests of conscience: Models of colonial domination in South Africa. *American Ethnologist* 16(4), p. 663.

[145] Fields, K.E. 1982, Christian missionaries as anticolonial militants. *Theory and Society* 11(1), pp. 96-97.

[146] Fields, K.E. 1982, Christian missionaries as anticolonial militants. *Theory and Society* 11(1), p. 98.

Christianity gave people principled grounds for denying customary obligations of all kinds – arranged marriages, prescribed remarriages and customary labour. Christian belief could also be appealed to against the demands of the colonial regime. Yet, the missionary onslaught on customary authority was continual, and conflicts between missionaries and administrators were commonplace.[147]

Education was also a mode of control in both indigenous societies and colonial settings. One of the most important features of missionaries' work was in their contribution to education through schools and colleges. The Christian religion, particularly its Protestant forms, depended on literacy, which made it possible for converts or others to read and study the Bible, tracts and periodicals relating to the church or mission.[148] This is explored further in Chapter Four.

In considering the role of mission schools as empire-building agents, it is important to recognise that those who ran them were quite unable to prevent non-Europeans from exploiting mission education for reasons other than religious. The appeal of the missions lay in the education they provided, which was seen as helping people to obtain the white man's many advantages, opening the way to the wide range of activities associated with literate societies. However, missionary education was very limited and not always very effective. Only a small number of learners reached Standard VII, the highest level of schooling offered.[149]

Despite its limits, missionary education had a vital liberating impact, in that education gave people the ability to question imperial and colonial assumptions and subvert traditional attitudes.[150] However, practice and interpretation differed considerably between regions.[151]

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[147] Fields, K.E. 1982, Christian missionaries as anticolonial militants. *Theory and Society* 11(1), p. 99.

[148] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 317.

[149] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* pp. 317-318.

[150] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 318.

[151] Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J. 1991, *Of revelation & revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1,* p. 234.

2.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, a brief exploration of the background and context needed to understand those aspects of the nineteenth century that this study deals with, namely, British imperialism and missions in South Africa. This is the 'master narrative' which serves as the 'big picture' story behind the *WMN*'s 'smaller stories.'[152] Although the main focus is on the visuals in the *WMN*, the effects of imperialism and the British Empire are always in play in the background.

It was found that the term *imperialism* was difficult to define because its meaning has changed so many times. The notions of imperialism and colonialism as referring to Britain's expanding empire was explored, and the power struggle for control over of the nation and people. Missionaries, particularly nonconformists, would stand for the interests of the indigenous people, which often turned into a source of conflict between the missionaries and the colonial government.

The nineteenth century was indeed a period of contradiction and change, and many of these notions or ideals were held in tension. In the discussion on mission and empire this is evident. Many missions were not in support of colonial government, yet it was impossible for missionaries to escape the politics of colonialism, even though many tried to distance themselves. In the question asked, if missionaries were imperialists, it was seen that missionaries did not necessarily advocate the ways of the colonial government, yet many of their ways in the mission field were derived from 'colonial' thoughts so ingrained in the British culture back home. This was seen in the ways missionaries tried to 'civilise the natives', introduced commerce and tried to change their culture.

Andrew Porter has given a good summary pointing out the varied responses and even contradictions that the missionary's relationship with empire displayed in the nineteenth century:

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[152] Cox, J. 2005, Master narratives of imperial missions, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mised messages. Materiality, textuality, missions*, p. 3.

> The growing scale of Britain's worldwide presence made it impossible for missionaries to escape all involvement either with empire or with other facets of Britain's expansion abroad. However, that involvement was both patchy and discontinuous while also highly competitive, decidedly negative as well as optimistically engaged. Attitudes ranged from total indifference or harsh criticism of empire, through discomfort and toleration, to enthusiastic support.[153]

The continual presence and success of missionaries almost anywhere in the world depended on their value and usefulness, the willingness of local leaders and their people to co-operate with them. Missionaries soon learnt that they were not automatically welcome, and that a process of negotiation and compromise was used to win their acceptance.[154]

In the next chapter, the focus shifts from imperialism and missionaries to design techniques and technologies in the context of industrialisation in the nineteenth century. It will be established what was visually possible at the time the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* were printed. The chapter looks at the period of great change and development in technology, as well as the history and style of popular Victorian graphic design.

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[153] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* pp. 323-324.
[154] Porter, A. 2004, *Religion vs. empire,* p. 321.

CHAPTER THREE:
DESIGN TECHNIQUES AND TECHNOLOGIES

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the focus is on design techniques and technologies. The purpose of the investigation is to determine what was visually possible at the time the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* under investigation (for the period 1883 to 1902) were published. The nineteenth century was a period of great change and the developments in technology also affected printing possibilities. Victorian graphic design and style are investigated in this chapter, including popular themes and graphics from the era, as well as the development and role of graphic design elements such as typography, image and photography.

The history of graphic shows the roots of communication, which is the base for graphic design. Graphic design had hardly been recognised as a profession in the nineteenth century. The term "graphic design" was only coined in 1922 by W.A. Dwiggins, and it had been renamed several times before that.[1] The history of graphic design identifies the innovations related to the visual aspects of communication. Often new developments in graphic design are shaped by technology, such as the inventions of lithography or photography.[2] Some periods have a collective vision and imagery that cannot be attributed to specific individuals, such as the Victorian style of graphics, in which many works typify the essence of the direction and the time period. There are, however, pivotal individuals who shaped the direction of graphic design by inventing new typographic and symbolic forms, and innovative ways to arrange information in graphic space.[3]

A significant portion of analytical terms used in subsequent chapters of this study are drawn from fields of study outside graphic design.[4] They have been 'adapted' for application to design

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[1] Gowan, A. 1984, Review of: A history of graphic design by Philip B. Meggs; History of graphic design and communication: a sourcebook by Clive Ashwin. *Design Issues* 1(1), p. 88.

[2] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. x.

[3] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. x.

[4] Terms such as 'semiotics', 'visual rhetoric', 'denotation', 'connotation', 'symbolism', 'meaning' etc. are borrowed from disciplines that have a long tradition of reflection and debate, such as linguistics, communication studies,

to provide visual solutions. However, this does not mean that the field of graphic design lacks its own specific language. Much of its terminology is rooted in the pragmatic description of technical issues, such as colour, type specifications and printing processes.[5] This chapter explores these practical, technical and innovative issues related to graphic design. It also takes a look at the collective works of Victorian graphic design that typify and signify the *Zeitgeist* or spirit of the era, which is also reflected in the *WMN*.

3.2. A period of change – the impact of the Industrial Revolution

Historians generally refer to the period 1760 to 1840 in Great Britain as the Industrial Revolution, a radical process of social and economic change.[6] This revolution of industry transformed life in Great Britain, and soon spread throughout the continent and the rest of the world.[7] Many of the discoveries and inventions of the eighteenth century had now been put to use.[8] New forms of power and energy were main factors for this change from an agricultural society to an industrial one.[9] For designers, the Industrial Revolution meant an extraordinary flood of goods and new popular markets. The traditional significance of handwork and the individual craftsman shifted to the background. Transportation improved; the relationship of raw materials, fuels and labour supply changed; production centres moved; and the speed of the transmittal of stylistic and technological information was greatly increased.[10]

After 1760, dramatic changes took place in Britain. New commodities were produced and labour was organised. In the nineteenth century, technology moved from triumph to triumph with great speed, which resulted in an explosion of economic production, and productivity transformed

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philosophy and social sciences. (Noble, I. & Bestley, R. 2005, *Visual research. An introduction to research methodologies in graphic design,* p. 23.)

[5] Noble, I. & Bestley, R. 2005, *Visual research. An introduction to research methodologies in graphic design,* p. 23.

[6] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 126.

[7] Perry, M. 2001, *Western civilization. A brief history,* p. 349.

[8] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 60.

[9] Steam power, in Europe alone, increased a hundred fold during the nineteenth century; after 1870 gasoline engines and electricity began to increase energy at a rate previously unimaginable. (Kaufmann, E. 1960, Nineteenth century design. *Perspecta* 6, p. 56.)

[10] Kaufmann, E. 1960, Nineteenth century design. *Perspecta* 6, p. 56.

society. The process of industrialisation began in Western Europe, as it was much wealthier than the rest of the world, and its wealth spread across more classes of people. Contributing to its accumulating capital was the rapid expansion of trade. Britain possessed several advantages that enabled it to take the lead in the Industrial Revolution. It had capital available for investment in new industries, and its expanding middle-class provided a home market for emerging industries. Also, its overseas colonies supplied raw materials, such as cotton, for developing the textile industry.[11]

The Industrial Revolution helped modernise Europe, and eventually transformed every facet of society. Eventually, traditional rural societies, agricultural villages and handcraft manufacturing were overshadowed by the development and importance of cities and factories.[12] Essentially, with the Industrial Revolution 'civilising' society according to Western European ways became one of the important motivations behind missionary work in the colonies of the British Empire. This becomes evident in some photographs published in the *WMN,* which are discussed in Chapter Five.

Although Queen Victoria was crowned in 1837, the Victorian style actually began in the 1820s and continued in England and much of Europe until c.1900. The style was an aesthetic response to industrialisation. The Industrial Revolution brought technological change in Britain, and the once profound English sense of social, civic and artistic responsibility soon diminished. Wealth became a motivating cultural force, as the desire for unlimited comfort spread from the wealthy to the middle classes. As a result popular aesthetics were increasingly devoid of any critical standards. With contemporary aesthetic standards in decline, Victorian artists turned to the past for inspiration, with borrowed elements from medieval ruins and Gothic art and architecture from previous centuries.[13] However, nineteenth century design was characterised as being different to medieval, Renaissance and eighteenth century examples; but it was also an imitation of those very eras that characterised the design in the nineteenth century. A return to past forms

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[11] Perry, M. 2001, *Western civilization. A brief history,* pp. 349, 351.

[12] Perry, M. 2001, *Western civilization. A brief history,* pp. 365-366.

[13] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 15.

can be observed in the history of many societies, however, the nineteenth century's designers were unique in their range, enthusiasm, and thoroughness of the exploitation of history.[14]

3.2.1. *Printing possibilities*

Elizabeth Eisenstein explains how printing was an agent of change in the shift from a hearing public to a reading public between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. Initially, a literary culture created by typography was conveyed to the ear, not the eye, by classroom lectures, theatres, poetry readings or Sunday sermons. However, as the reading public became more prominent, an expressive curiosity about local news could be contented by silent perusal of journals, gazettes or newsletters. For example, the Sunday paper had, in some cases, replaced church-going. There is a tendency to forget that sermons had included news about local and foreign affairs and other mundane matters. Going beyond the eighteenth century, owing to the printing press, it was no longer necessary for sermons to include local and foreign news matters. Newsgathering and circulation were handled more efficiently by other means of support. The monthly gazette was succeeded by the weekly and finally by the daily paper. By the nineteenth century, gossiping churchgoers could often learn about local affairs by scanning columns of newsprint in silence at home.[15]

The *WMN* was also a means of conveying foreign news matters about those on foreign missionary fields. Periodicals, such as the *WMN*, provided a source of news on a broader scale in two senses. Firstly, it was able to provide more information and could contain, in more detail, the stories and letters of missionaries abroad, than mere announcements in sermons could convey. Secondly, it connected the readers with 'the world' as it reported news of all the locations where the WMMS was involved in missionary work abroad. The subsequent chapters of this study focus mostly on the accounts in the *WMN* reporting on South Africa and the Transvaal in the late nineteenth century. It must not be forgotten, however, that the *WMN* as a whole, was a periodical

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[14] Kaufmann, E. 1960, Nineteenth century design. *Perspecta* 6, p. 56.

[15] Eisenstein, E.L. 1979, *The printing press as an agent of change. Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe. Volume I,* pp, 129-131.

that reported on news from all the mission stations 'abroad', in countries and colonies throughout the British Empire, including China, India and Sierra Leone.

While Eisenstein suggests that literary culture went from a hearing public to a reading public between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, it is also worth noting that, on the other hand, the technology of printing contributed towards oral history, especially among missionaries abroad. For example, in her book the *Portable Bunyan,* Isabel Hofmeyr notes that John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* was often used by missionaries as a tool of proselytization; the story of which would be narrated, translated,[16] memorised and retold by the 'natives' to fellow local inhabitants. Therefore the technology of printing did not eliminate oral tradition, but provided a guided source that greatly influenced it.[17] However, the *WMN* was a periodical with "report backs" written by missionaries in the field intended for a literate, even elite, audience "at home" in England. It therefore played a stronger role as a newsagent, rather than forming a part of oral tradition. And yet the discussion of the reading matter amongst Wesleyan Congregationalists and in Sunday school as an oral consequence or reading practices should not be underestimated. Furthermore, the nature of the periodical and the written form is such that it is able to spread across continents and can be read by audiences it was not necessarily intended for. This is an example of intended audience and unintended audience, as discussed in Chapter One. The role of the audience is further discussed in Chapter Four.
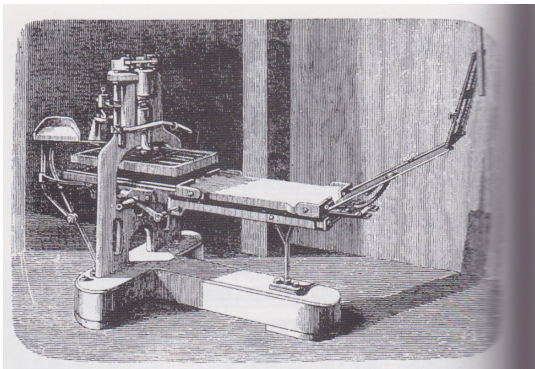
Figure 2: The printing press of all iron parts. **Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 132.

The technologies in printing made periodicals like the *WMN* possible. Therefore, it is important to investigate the history of printing briefly. Inevitably, the unyielding progress of the Industrial Revolution profoundly changed

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[16] Hofmeyr also mentions that in some cases, the oral translation of the text came before the printed version, in some of the African languages it was translated into. (Hofmeyr, I. 2004, *The Portable Bunyan,* p. 27.)

[17] Hofmeyr, I. 2004, *The Portable Bunyan,* pp. 26-27, 62, 67.

printing. Inventors applied mechanical theory and metal part to the hand press, increasing its efficiency and the size of its impression.[18] The printing press had a number of radical changes since its invention, and had several modifications and refinements over the centuries.[19] In 1800, several improvements were made to the hand press to make it stronger and more efficient, which culminated in Lord Stanhope's printing press.[20] The printing press that is seen in **Figure 2** is an engraved illustration depicting the press made completely out of cast-iron, invented in England by Charles, third Earl of Stanhope.[21]
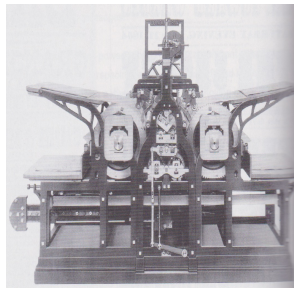
Figure 3: The first steam-powered cylinder press, 1814.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 132.

Printing was converted into high-speed factory operations with Frederick Koenig's steam-driven stop-cylinder press[22] constructed in 1814 (**Figure 3)**. It was the first steam-powered cylinder press, which caused the speed of printing to improve drastically, while the cost of printing also decreased considerably. In 1815, William Cowper obtained a patent for a printing press using curved stereotyped plates wrapped around a cylinder, which could print 2,400 sheets per hour, or could be used to print 1,200 sheets on both sides. In 1827, the *Times* commissioned Cowper and his partner, Ambrose Applegath,[23] to manufacture a four-cylinder steam-powered press, which could print 4,000 sheets per hour, on both sides. By the 1830s, the printing industry had expanded greatly. All over Europe and North America[24] book and newspaper printers were replacing their hand presses for steam-powered presses. The cost of printing lowered significantly, as the size of editions increased. Early printers mainly served the relatively limited needs of the church and scholars; however, as the

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[18] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 132.

[19] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 75.

[20] This had a compound lever action, and an enlarged platen that could print a larger sheet at one pull (Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* p. 75.)

[21] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 132-133.

[22] The pages of type fitted the machine bed, while the paper was wrapped around the cylinder as it passed over the inked type. It was able to print 800 copies per hour (Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* p. 75.).

[23] In 1848, Applegath and Cowper built a vertical rotary sheet press. Stereotyping was used to make plates that fitted round the cylinders. William Bullock developed the rotary printing press in 1865, which used stereotyped plates and printed on a continuous reel of paper (Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* p. 75.).

[24] In New York in 1845, Richard Hoe patented a rotary sheet press, on which pages of type were fitted round the cylinder (Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* p. 75.).

technology of printing continued to develop, it soon served all facets of society.[25] The church was, therefore, already acquainted with print culture from early on, even if only on a small scale.

3.3. Victorian graphic design and style

The processes unleashed through ocular-centric technologies as described in the previous section, resulted in a situation that led Nicholas Mirzoeff to proclaim that human experience has in fact become more visual: "seeing is much more than believing. It is not just a part of everyday life, it is everyday life."[26] Visual culture does not depend on pictures themselves, but the tendency to picture or visualise existence. The visual has become a place where meanings are created and contested. Western culture has consistently privileged the [spoken and written] word as the highest form of intellectual practice and seen visual representations as second-rate illustrations of ideas. But as one mode of representing reality loses ground, another takes its place, without the first disappearing.[27]

Most nineteenth-century European supporters of Christian missions had not seen "the exotic" or the foreign landscape first hand, and therefore pictures played a critical role as a source of visual representation (an iconic sign), which allowed the European mind to 'imagine' the identity of the faraway landscape. Europeans got to know foreign landscapes through pictures, such as copper engravings, woodcuts, drawings, lithographs, and later photographs.[28] By the beginning of the twentieth century, conventions of representing Empire were deeply set in the British imagination.[29] The *WMN* therefore made it possible for their readers at home to 'see' and 'imagine' the foreign landscape of the mission fields with the use of drawings, engravings, lithographs and photographs, on a denotative and 'iconic' level. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, this is initially found mainly on the cover pages of the *WMN,* and later more illustrations would be used in their reports. However, despite the lack of images in the early

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[25] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 132-133.

[26] Mirzoeff, N. 1999, *An introduction to visual culture,* p. 1.

[27] Mirzoeff, N. 1999, *An introduction to visual culture,* pp. 5-7.

[28] Stepan, N,L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature,* p. 18.

[29] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing empire. Photographs and the visualization of the British Empire,* p. 11.

editions, the letters and reports were written in such a way in order to provide an 'image' in the imagination of the reader of the foreign landscape.

As the importance of 'the visual' is made apparent, the importance of visual style is also examined. Visual styles are essential to understanding the intellectual and material cultures of a particular era. Steven Heller and Seymour Chwast define style, in its most general sense, as a specific manner of expression, design, construction, or execution. Style suggests, particularly as it relates to graphic design, the dominant visual aesthetic of a particular time and place. *Graphic style* is the surface manifestation or the 'look' of graphic design. Here, the concern is with how that 'look' developed as a result of the revolutions in industry and commerce during the nineteenth century. The Victorian style covers a period of approximately seventy-five years and has endless nuances and variations – however, upon close examination, Heller and Chwast suggest there are enough visual characteristics common to most designs of the period to justify the use of the *Victorian Style* as an umbrella-term.[30]

In studying and analysing style through the ages, historians have developed a system of classification that mostly focuses on painting, sculpture, architecture, furniture and clothing, but have not paid much attention to graphic design. However, the advertising, posters, packages, periodicals and typefaces of a period are equally indicative of the society in which they were produced. Heller and Chwast suggest that a common graphic style usually indicates popular acceptance of visual philosophies that were once inaccessible, avant-garde, or elitist.[31]

The early Victorians delighted in ornateness. After the Great Exhibition of 1851, the taste for ornamentation based on historical forms was passionately fulfilled. Victorians believed that the display of material gain pleased the eye, and ornament satisfied their need to have visible evidence of their social status. Every exaggerated embellishment contributed to the decidedly cluttered look of the style. Victorian commercial printed matter was characterised by the era's inescapable ornamentation, often imitating contemporary architectural eccentricities.[32] In the

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[30] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 9.

[31] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 9.

[32] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 15.

WMN, the Victorian 'ornateness' is seen in borders, typography, headings and initial letters, as well as in the covers and other examples discussed in Chapter Five.

Victorian layout style consisted of extreme variations of type size and weight crammed within a single headline, an invention of convenience, allowing the printer to utilise every inch of precious space. The technological advances that accompanied the Victorian style continued to alter its look throughout the century: first, as lithography and chromolithography advanced in Europe and America, and then when the camera gave birth to photoengraving. Slowly designers came to rely on standardised motifs and generic ornaments sold through printing catalogues. Victorian woodcuts and engravings, and the slab-serif and Gothic types, gave way to more organic and curvilinear forms.[33] These typefaces are discussed later in the chapter.

Although Queen Victoria may be the namesake of this era of eclectic design, it was her consort Prince Albert who really defined the design taste that characterised his times. He encouraged the Gothic revival style favoured for churches, universities and public buildings throughout England. He also conceived the Great Exhibition of Arts and Manufacturers in 1851, with its landmark centre piece, the Crystal Palace, the engineering extravaganza that celebrated the Industrial Age and typified Victoriana.[34] It was during this period that graphic design, although not yet referred to as such, was drowning in layers of excessive revivalist (Byzantine, Romanesque and Rococo) ornamentation that was both quaint and exciting.[35]

The era bridged the Industrial Revolution and the modernist twentieth century, and its distinctive graphic design is an enduring symbol of these times. Typeface and page design basked in ornamental flourish that directly related to architectural aesthetics. Graphic stylists, from job printers to book makers, adopted the decorative tropes of Victorian facades and monuments. Magazine and newspaper illustrations were meticulously detailed with ornate filigrees, often with typefaces and customized lettering that appeared to be carved as though in stone. Considering the burdensome wood and metal engraving techniques necessary to make these

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[33] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 15.

[34] "Victoriana" refers to items or material from the Victorian period (1837 – 1901), especially those particularly evocative of the design style and outlook of the time.

[35] Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2006, *Stylepedia: A guide to graphic design mannerisms, quirks, and conceits,* pp. 321-322.

eccentric creations, the results are remarkable and intricately precise. As the typographic specimens attest, it appears precision was a more important virtue than other Victorian aesthetic concerns.[36] This decorative characteristic is seen throughout the pages of the *WMN,* as is discussed in Chapter Five.

The Victorian era was a time of strong moral and religious beliefs, proper social conventions and optimism. The Victorians searched for a spirit of design with which to express their epoch. Aesthetic confusion lead to a number of often contradictory design approaches and philosophies mixed together in a chaotic fashion. The English architect, A.W.N. Pugin (1812 – 1852) fostered a fondness for the Gothic. He defined design "as a moral act that achieved the status of art through the designer's ideals and attitudes." He believed that the integrity and character of a civilisation was linked to its design.[37]

The Victorian love for complexity and preciseness was not only expressed in woodwork applied to domestic architecture and ornate, extravagant embellishments on manufactured products from silverware to large furniture; but also expressed in elaborate borders and lettering in graphic design.[38] The *WMN* made use of decorative borders and devoted much attention to the lettering of the titles on the cover pages, and also has ornate decoration and visual elements, such as elaborate initial letters, throughout the text. This is discussed further in Chapter Five.

To conclude, the Victorian love for ornate complexity and fussiness was applied to architecture, furniture, interiors, fashion, as well as graphic design, typography and commercial art.[39] In graphic design, the values of the era were sentimentality, nostalgia and a canon of idealised beauty. Traditional values of home, religion and patriotism were symbolised with sweetness and piety.[40] Typography was elaborate, borders were decorative and images were framed and drawn with a lot of detail. The Victorian look was heavily influenced by nostalgia for objects of the

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[36] Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2006, *Stylepedia: A guide to graphic design mannerisms, quirks, and conceits,* p. 322.

[37] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 138,145.

[38] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 138,145.

[39] Parkland Graphic Design Lectures. 2012, Graphic Design History: Victorian.
http://gds.parkland.edu/gds/!lectures/history/1840/victorian.html. Accessed: 2013-08-30.

[40] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 138,146.

past.[41] In Chapter Five, elaborate typography, borders and framed images and headings are seen in the *WMN*.

3.4. Typography

Alphabet and numerals have been a foundation in the Western printing tradition. The actual individual letters or numbers are simply basic marks that have no semantic meaning, but have been assigned roles as visual substitutes for speech, sound and arithmetic quantities.[42] According to Peirce's theory of signs, letters and numbers are arbitrary signs, as people need to agree to the meaning before understanding.[43] Typography, therefore, is the art and technique of arranging type (made up of letters) into printed matter, to make written language readable and appealing.[44] Traditionally, the word *typography* comes from the Greek *typos* meaning "form" and *graphein* meaning "to write".[45] It referred to the technical process of printing words and texts, through the use of metal types, with raised letterforms that could be inked and printed in a process not unlike a rubber stamp. Typography is an exact art of measurement and proportion. It involves complex visual relationships of scale and space. Letters become words. Words form sentences and paragraphs. Subtle spatial relationships are critical to legibility.[46]

3.4.1. *Invention and development of typography*

Johannes Gutenberg invented printing before the middle of the fifteenth century. What he actually invented was "typography", because he constructed the apparatus for making movable metal letters or type, and used these to produce many copies. Intricately decorated woodcut

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[41] Parkland Graphic Design Lectures. 2012, Graphic Design History: Victorian. http://gds.parkland.edu/gds/!lectures/history/1840/victorian.html. Accessed: 2013-08-30.

[42] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type & image: The language of graphic design,* p. 17.

[43] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 65.

[44] Bringhurst, R. 2005, *The elements of typographic style* (version 3.1), p. 32.

[45] Dabner, D., Calvert, S. & Casey, A. 2010. *The new graphic design school: A foundation course in principles and practice,* p. 64.

[46] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type & image: The language of graphic design,* p. 17.

initial capitals show the extraordinary mechanical skill of the craftsmen who invented the art of printing.[47]

The printing industry was one of energy and innovation in the nineteenth century. More change in this industry had been stimulated throughout the century owing to general economic expansion. There was an increasing demand for printing material of all kinds, including material for entertainment, education and commerce, as well as material for religious purposes, such as missionary periodicals. Paper manufacturing techniques,[48] type-founding and typesetting were new developments.[49] Therefore, the need for faster and cheaper typesetting encouraged innovation. Both the rates of casting and setting methods were improved.

In addition to the change in printing technology from hand presses to steam-presses, printing technology expanded and about two hundred experimental printing machines were patented in the period between 1820 and 1883.[50] In 1890, Ottmar Megenthaler invented the Linotype machine, which was a "line casting" machine used in printing.[51] Linotype was the industry standard for newspapers and magazines by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1885, Tolbert Lanston patented his Monotype machine, and by 1898 the first machines were functioning in Washington and London. The Monotype, like the Linotype machine, cast type as well as assembling it in lines, but as individual letters rather than slugs. Both the Linotype and the Monotype machines were in general use for text setting of all kinds throughout most of the

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[47] Winship, G. P. 1968, *Gutenberg to Plantin: an outline of the early history of printing*, p. 9.

[48] By the end of the eighteenth century, the technique of machine-made paper was invented and put into production in 1803. The machine was ten times faster than the rate at which handmade paper was produced. Nicholas-Louis Robert, an employee at the Didot family paper mill in France, experimented with a means of making paper by machine. His invention was taken to England, where it was improved with the help of John Gamble and the engineering skill of Brian Donkin. (Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* p. 72.)

[49] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 72.

[50] New York type founder, David Bruce, invented a device that speeded up the hand casting process, in 1838. John Mair Hepburn constructed an improved the casting machine for the German Bauer type foundry, in 1881. Foucher Frères developed the first typecasting machine to produce a finished product ready for use, in 1883. (Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* pp. 72-73.)

[51] An operator sat at the keyboard and, by pressing the keys, assembled a line of matrices from a magazine above the keyboard. The line of matrices were then cast as one piece of metal, called a "slug", by injection of molten metal. This was delivered to the gallery, while the matrices were redistributed by the machine back to the magazine ready for use again. (Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* pp. 72-73.)

twentieth century.[52] Therefore, it is through the invention and development of the printing industry that typography was invented. Today, typography is concerned with the style and the appearance of printed matter, however, initially it was simply about making type into printed matter. From there, the development of typography expanded as technologies found newer, faster and more cost-effective ways of printing type. Many of these machines were standard industry for printing during the nineteenth century, and therefore would have made the printing of periodicals, such as the *WMN*, possible. However, some of these developments were new or still in motion at the end of the nineteenth century, and were therefore probably not yet available for the printing of the *WMN*. However, it is clear from several reviews in the periodical, that the WMMS found the cost of printing to be a burden, and consequently carefully considered using newer technologies that would lessen the cost of printing.

3.4.2. The wood-type poster

Figure 4: Wood-type poster, 1854.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 131.

Problems arose for both printer and founder as the size of display types increased. The cost of large metal types were found to be excessively high, and they were brittle and heavy. Darius Wells (1800 – 1875) experimented with hand carved wooden types, and in 1827 he invented a lateral router that enabled the economical mass manufacturing of wood types for display printing. These were durable, lighter and less than half the cost of large metal types. Wood type rapidly overcame printers' initial objections and had a significant impact on poster and advertising design.[53] This relates to the principle of *arrangement* in visual rhetoric, where visual information is organised in such a way as to align with the purpose of communication. Arrangement in visual rhetoric is related to the idea of visual hierarchy, which is concerned with the importance of visual elements in terms of placement. It is convention that visual elements that appear larger on the page are deemed to

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[52] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* pp. 72-73.

[53] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 130.

be more important than smaller elements, and one would therefore be more inclined to pay attention to them first.[54] Victorian advertising design was well-known for the use of larger typography as a means of attracting attention. This is seen in some examples of advertisements in Chapter Six, such as Beecham's Pills, Pears' Soap and Cadbury's advertisements found in the *WMN*.

New wood-type fonts could also be introduced easily. The design of notices, wood-type posters and advertisements did not involve a graphic designer, in the twentieth century sense, but the compositor would select and compose the type, rules, ornaments and wood-engraved or metal-stereotyped stock illustrations that would fill the type cases. The design philosophy was to make use of the infinite typographic range of sizes, styles, weights and novel ornamental effects, since they were equipped to do so. The need to lock all the elements tightly on the press enforced a horizontal and vertical stress on the design. Design decisions were practical. Long words or copy determined condensed type, and short words or copy were set in expanded fonts. Important words were given emphasis through the use of the largest type sizes available. In **Figure 4**, an example of a wood-type poster is seen, created by Brown's Steam-power Job Printing Establishment in 1854. It shows letter spacing lines to be flush left and right, as well as centred type, creating a rhythm of horizontal lines moving down the space. The compositor managed to bring order to the design, while using a combination of novelty, sans-serif, slab-serif, fat-face and modern styles of typography.[55]

Commercial communications began shifting away from posted notices after 1870 with the growth of magazines and newspapers with space for advertising. The improvements in lithographic printing resulted in more pictorial and colourful posters, and typographic poster houses that had developed with the advent of wood-type began to decline.[56]

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[54] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual Rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at Media: An introduction to visual studies*, pp. 84-85.
[55] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 131.
[56] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 131-132.

3.4.3. Typography for an industrial age

With the increase in public education and literacy, reading matter increased accordingly. Graphic communications became more important and more widely available. As with other commodities, technology lowered the unit costs and increased production of printed materials. In turn, an eager demand for mass communication started. During the course of the nineteenth century, however, the specialisation of the factory system split graphic communications into separate design and production components. The nature of visual information was changed drastically, and the range of typographic sizes and letterform styles expanded.[57]

Before the nineteenth century, the main distribution of information was through books and newspapers. A rapid growth of printers and the faster pace and mass-communication needs of a progressively urban and industrialised society lead to production of advertising and posters. The old book typography that had slowly evolved from handwriting, no longer fulfilled these needs. A larger scale, with greater visual impact, new tactile design and expressive characters were demanded. It was no longer enough for the twenty-six letters of the alphabet to function simply as phonetic symbols. The Industrial Revolution transformed these signs into abstract visual forms.[58]

According to Meggs, this dynamic, exuberant, and often chaotic, century witnessed a staggering parade of new technologies, imaginative forms, and new functions for graphic design. It was an inventive and prolific period for new typeface designs ranging from the completely new categories of Egyptian and sans serif styles to fanciful and outrageous novelty styles.[59]

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[57] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 127.
[58] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 127.
[59] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 127.

3.4.3.1. *Victorian typography in design*

As the Victorian era progressed, the taste for ornate elaboration became a major influence on typeface and lettering design. Shadow, outlines and embellishments were applied while retaining the classical letter structure; outlandish and fantasy lettering enjoyed great popularity. The popular graphics of the Victorian era stemmed not from a design philosophy or artistic conventions, but from the prevalent attitudes of the period.[60] The visual style of typography is a combination of the long-held, deeply entrenched knowledge of the culture, and all its fashionable trends and current fads incorporated in a dynamic, fluctuating flow of living language.[61] Although Victorian design is characterised as being decorative, it was not 'decoration for decoration's sake.' John Ruskin denoted 'decorative art' as art that had a specific purpose, and therefore, it was vital to keep the purpose of the object or design in mind upon designing it.[62] With the purpose in mind, designs of 'bigger' typography was initially created for the purpose of poster advertising and, therefore, as a means to attract attention. This uses the rhetorical device of arrangement (see Chapter One) to determine which information is more important. Typography followed fashionable trends and fads, as with other Victorian style, and incorporated decoration and ornamentation into the design of novel typography. In the *WMN,* bigger typography is used for the title on the cover pages as seen in Chapter Five. Examples are also seen in advertisements in Chapter Six.

The Victorian style of different faces on a single page derives from a practical necessity. If they did not have enough of one font, they would easily include others together on one line of composition. Nonetheless, wood, metal and electrotypes produced during the Victorian era are known for their eye-catching outrageousness and eccentricity.[63] Uneven casting, bad inking, and rough press work presented many of the earliest types with irregularities that, among themselves, produced an illusory resemblance to writing. It was not until the printer freed himself from the

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[60] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 159-161.
[61] Swann, C. 1991, *Language and typography,* p. 57.
[62] Ruskin, J. 1889, John Ruskin on decorative art. *The Decorator and Furnisher* 15(1), p. 14.
[63] Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2006, *Stylepedia: A guide to graphic design mannerisms, quirks, and conceits,* p. 322.

writer, and began to model letters for himself, that the art moved on from its experimental stage.[64]

3.4.3.2.   *Innovations in Victorian typography*

Figure 5: Robert Thorne's Fat-Face type.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 127.

By the early nineteenth century, type foundries had new demands for "display" typefaces. The local jobbing printer served the advertising needs of all kinds of businesses and large poster types were needed. The creation of display types was an area of enterprise that gave British type foundries an opportunity to develop their range of typefaces.[65]

Merchants' demands for unique designs sometimes resulted in truly original display faces. Designers of new display faces brutalised the elegant eighteenth century Bodoni and Didot types, distorting and making them larger and blacker.[66] This lead to the invention of the display type known as the *Fat-Face* **(Figure 5)**, an invention accredited to Robert Thorne (1754 – 1820). Thorne's concept was to make use of a current style for the modern face, such as Bodoni, and increased the thickness of the stems to an enormous degree, while maintaining the thin strokes and the thin, unbracketed serifs, to produce a fierce blackletter of immense weight.[67] A fat-faced typestyle is a roman face whose contrast and weight have been increased by expanding the thickness of the heavy strokes. These 'bulldozer-bold fonts', as Meggs calls them were only the beginning.[68] Fat-Face types were extremely popular with advertisers. Fat Faces became emblems of the Victorian look, and were greatly admired.[69]

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[64] Reed, T.B. 2001, Old and new fashions in typography, *in* Heller, S. & Meggs, P.B. (eds.), *Texts on type. Critical writings on typography*, p. 9.

[65] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 62.

[66] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 15.

[67] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 62.

[68] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 127.

[69] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 15.; Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* p. 62.

Figure 6: Robert Thorne's Egyptian type designs.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 128.

Squared serif letters, known as Egyptian Faces, joined the Fat-Faces as one of the most original typographic forms of the century.[70] Just before Thorne's death in 1820, he had been in the process of designing a slab-serif display **(Figure 6)**, for which he coined the name "Egyptian," which seemed appropriate as there were similarities between the square black serifs and the relics of ancient Egyptian architecture. The name was perhaps inspired by a considerable amount of interest in all aspects of Egyptian culture as a result of the Rosetta Stone and other antiquities found in Egypt, which was intensified by the Napoleonic invasion and occupation. It was not long after Napoleon's French fleet was defeated in the Battle of the Nile by a British fleet, off the coast of Egypt, in 1798-99.[71] This interest in Egypt foregrounds the pervasiveness of the British imperial project, even regarding the names of typefaces.

Figure 7: Vincent Figgin's 'Antique' slab-serif typeface, c. 1815.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 128.

It was in fact Vincent Figgins (1766 – 1844) who, already in 1815, had created the first slab-serif face, which he named "Antique" **(Figure 7).**[72] Antique (Egyptians) was the second major innovation of nineteenth century type design. The Antique express a bold, machine-like feeling through slab-like rectangular serifs, even weight throughout the letters, and short ascenders and descenders. However, the name *Egyptian* remained in use for this style of slab-serif fonts.[73] The Egyptian slab letterform was a great success, and over the coming years, the slab-serif was subjected to numerous variations that condensed it into narrow vertical forms or stretched it out to forms that were much wider than they were high.[74] Out of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition came the discovery and deciphering of

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[70] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 15.

[71] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype,* p. 63; Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 129.

[72] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 63.

[73] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 129.

[74] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 63.

hieroglyphics, which lead to the realisation that there was a civilisation far older than that of Greece or Judaea, which lead to Europe's interest in antiquity – an interest in ancient civilisations and where forms of writing began.[75] 'Slab' is also a term related to architecture, and links to the idea of building up 'civilisation'.
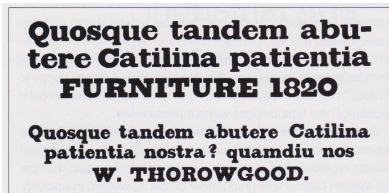

Figure 8: Henry Caslon's Ionic type specimen, mid-1840s.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 128.

As early as the 1830s, a variation of the Egyptian typeface, with slightly bracketed serifs and increased contrast between thicks and thins was called *Ionic* **(Figure 8)**. 'Bracketing' refers to the curved transition from the main strokes of a letterform to its serif. Egyptian type replaced the bracket with an abrupt angle, whereas Ionic type restored a slight bracket.[76] Once again, the nineteenth century's interest in the history of Western civilisation comes through in the typeface names. The term "Ionic"[77] denotes a classical order of architecture characterised by a column with scroll shapes (volutes) on either side of the capital.[78] The name of the typeface was probably inspired by this classical architecture, in which the curved transitions of the strokes on the letterforms connote the scroll-like shapes on the column. This imagery of Greek ionic columns and patterns with scroll shapes is typical of Victorian style design. In Chapter Five, an example of classical architecture is seen in the use of ionic-styled columns on one of the later covers of the *WMN,* which shows that interests in building up 'civilisation' is rooted in interest in early civilisations.
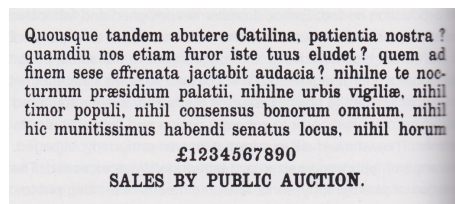
Figure 9: Specimen of an early Clarenden, 1845.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 128.

In 1845 William Thorowgood and Company copyrighted a modified Egyptian called *Clarendon* **(Figure 9)**. Similar to the Ionics, these letterforms were condensed Egyptians with stronger contrasts between thick and thin strokes and lighter serifs.[79] While Thorowgood registered the new

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[75] Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* p. 70.

[76] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 129.

[77] The name originates from classical times of ancient Greece, relating to the Ionian Islands (or Ionia), which had been inhabited by Hellenic people (the Ionians) and was colonised by the Greeks from the mainland from about the 8th C BC. (Kavanagh, K. (ed.). 2009, *South African concise Oxford dictionary*, p. 608.)

[78] Kavanagh, K. (ed.). 2009, *South African concise Oxford dictionary*, p. 608.

[79] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 129.

type, Clarendon, Robert Besley is accredited with the origination of the letterform. The Clarendon was a subtle adaptation on the Ionic, as was the Ionic on the Egyptian. Clarendon styles became widely popular after its introduction.[80] Clarendon proved to be a much-needed addition to the printers' range, as it was the first typeface to be registered under England's Designs Copyright Amendment Act. This prevented the copying of the type for three years. Among printers, the "Clarendon" came to be used as a generic term to describe boldness.[81]

The Clarendon had its origins in the Egyptian slab-serif, but displayed more refinement. It showed, as Dodds describes, the thick and thin modelling of a roman, a slight narrowness, and finely bracketed, heavy serifs. It was a bold type, as its purpose was to emphasise type (rhetoric device of arrangement). The modern roman was the text in common use, and was only produced as roman and italics. At this time, text typefaces had not been cast with a range of different weights, as now. It was the first creation of the 'bold' typeface. The intention of the new typeface was for it to be used in addition to a regular roman text typeface in order to emphasise words as required. For example, emphasis was added to words in dictionaries and similar listings, or to give more impact within the text of advertisements.[82] The variations of weight or style of type may not have a high impact on the legibility of the type, but it contributes in an important way to the tones and attitudes that may be carried from the author to the receiver.[83] Therefore, like big letters, bold letters also played an important purpose and role in visual hierarchy, as a means to highlight or emphasise more important words.

English typefounders were trying to invent every possible design variation by modifying forms or proportions and applying all manner of decoration to their alphabets. Figgins' 1815 specimen book displayed the first version of Tuscan-style letters, characterised by serifs that are extended and curved. The range of variations on the Tuscan-style was vast, and included variations with bulges, cavities and ornaments. In **Figure 10**, the top two specimens are typical of Tuscan styles,

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[80] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 68; Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 129.

[81] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 69.

[82] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* pp. 68-69.

[83] Swann, C. 1991, *Language and typography,* p. 48.

with ornamental serifs. The bottom specimen in figure 10 is an example of Antique Tuscan, with curved and slightly pointed slab-serifs. Some typography styles would project the illusion of three dimensions **(Figure 11)**, and appeared as bulky objects rather than two-dimensional signs. The first three-dimensional or perspective fonts were Fat-Faces. This proved very popular and began to show perspective typefaces for every imaginable style. Variations were often based on the depth of shading, which ranged from pencil-thin shadows to deep perspectives.

Figure 10: Typeface in Tuscan and Antique Tuscan Style.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design*, p. 128.

Figure 11: Vincent Figgins. In Shade, 1815.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design*, p. 128.

Figure 12: Vincent Figgins. Outline, 1833.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design*, p. 128.

Figure 13: William Thorowgood. Reversed Egyptian Italic, 1828.
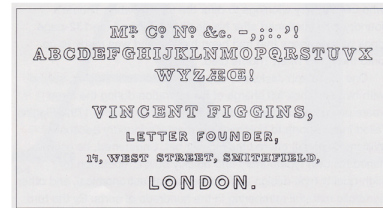**Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design*, p. 128.

Figure 14: Letters from ornamented fonts, 1838-42.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design*, p. 128.

These innovations multiplied typefaces into a series of variations, including perspectives, outline, reversing, expanding and condensing. Outline fonts had a contour line of even weight enclosing the alphabet shape **(Figure 12)**. Reverse types appeared white against a printed black background **(Figure 13)**. The mechanisation of manufacturing processes during the Industrial Revolution made the application of decoration more economical and efficient. In **Figure 14**, Woods and Shorwood's letters from ornamental fonts are an example of the fact that wide fat-faced letterforms were used as a background for pictorial and decorative elements. However, it was not just the designs of typefaces that delighted in intricacy of design, it could also be seen in furniture and household objects. Pictures, plant motifs, and decorative designs were applied to display.[84] Throughout the pages of the *WMN,* serif typefaces are used. On the cover pages

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[84] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 129.

decorative or novel typefaces are used, most of which have serifs. This is seen in Chapter Five. A roman serif typeface, as is discussed later in this chapter, is used for the main body copy in the *WMN*.

The *sans-serif* type of 1816 was another major typographic innovation of the early nineteenth century. Its most obvious characteristic is the absence of serifs. The early sans-serifs were used primarily for subtitles and descriptive material. Sans-serif types were not noticed much until the early 1830s, when several type founders introduced new styles. By mid-century, sans-serif alphabets were seeing increased use.[85] In the *WMN,* mainly serif types are used. It is only in the periodical's new design from 1900, where sans-serif typefaces are used for headings and sub-headings (see **Figures 39** to **41** in Chapter Five).

3.4.4. *Typographic roles and structures*

The designer structures typographic information by giving the units assigned roles, and the reader approaches typography with an intuitive understanding of these functions. This developed during the early history of printing.[86] Understanding these functions is important when approaching the typography in the texts of the *WMN*.

The *headline* or *title* is the most significant type in a page's hierarchy of information. Dominant size and position immediately cue the reader that this is primary information, the entry point for the page or article. A *subtitle* is distinguished from a title by smaller type size or weight, indicating secondary information that clarifies or elaborates its headline or title. *Picture captions* are the titles, explanations or descriptions of images. *Text* (also *running text* or *body copy*) is usually the longest unit of typographic material on the printed page and the major source of written information. People who read the body copy are either interested in the subject, or are prompted by the image or title to seek additional information. A *heading* is a type unit placed within the text and distinguished from it by contrast of size, weight or spatial interval. Headings

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[85] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 129-130.
[86] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type & image: The language of graphic design,* p. 17.

divide text into sections by content. It makes the text less overwhelming to the reader, and increases readership. *Drop initials* are large initial letters dropped into the text. They have been shown to increase readership because they form a focal point at the start of the text to catch the reader's eye and lead it into the copy. The consistency of these elements enables the reader to comprehend quickly the order that the designer has imposed upon the page.[87] Examples of title, headline, subtitle and drop initials in the *WMN,* are discussed in Chapter Five.

Philip Meggs notes that readers are usually conscious of type as message, but virtually ignore the visual properties. However, the visual properties establish resonance and can invite or repel potential readers.[88] The visual properties in the pages of the *WMN* play an important role, not only in understanding the message behind the notices, but also in forming an impression about the times in which they were produced.

3.4.5. *Roman lettering and legibility*

The Roman letter consists of thick and thin lines, with certain fine cross strokes at the end of the lines, known as the serifs, used to finish the straight stokes of the letter. Fashions of the Roman letter have been imparted by various modifications.[89] The earliest appearance of the Roman letter in typography was quite unoriginal. Printers merely adopted the common writing hand of their country as their model. In the first instance, their aim was to simulate the manuscripts of their national scribes. It did not enter into their plan to improve on their copy or create their own line. The Roman letter in print went on to become a dominant character in typography.[90] It is mostly seen in large bodies of text, such as in the body copy of the *WMN*.

A 'roman' type referred to the regular serif typeface – that which was not italicised or bolded. The reference to 'Rome' appeals to the 'roots' of Western civilisation. Rome's great

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[87] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type & image: The language of graphic design,* pp. 17-18.
[88] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type & image: The language of graphic design,* p. 18.
[89] Reed, T.B. 2001, Old and New Fashions in Typography, *in* Heller, S. & Meggs, P.B. (eds.), *Texts on Type. Critical writings on typography*, p. 8.
[90] Reed, T.B. 2001, Old and new fashions in typography, *in* Heller, S. & Meggs, P.B. (eds.), *Texts on type. Critical writings on typography*, p. 8.

achievement was that it transcended the Greek city-state to create a world-state that unified different nations of the Mediterranean world, which was the beginning of 'World Empire'.[91] Similarly, the roman typeface can be seen as the root of typography. The Roman character is the typography that is used to print the body copy of books and newspapers, such as in the *WMN*. The value and importance of the letter is in its legibility.[92] Decorative typefaces were typical for the Victorian style, however, the intention of using a 'plain' roman typeface for the main body of text is for the purpose of legibility. This is seen in the *WMN,* in Chapter Five.

The eye is the sovereign judge of form, and when reading, the eye travels horizontally along a perfectly straight line in a series of rapid jerks and pauses at a number of 'fixations' after a certain number of letters. When reading, the eye does not take in letters, but words, or groups of words.[93] The correct juxtaposition of letters is very important if the 'word shape' is to be perceived in its familiar and recognisable form. The spacing between words, lines and paragraphs is equally important. The line length also contributes to legibility, which is why most newspapers and periodicals make use of double columns, as a shorter line length makes the text easier to read. In summary, too much space between words, and too many words per line can provoke more regressions and slow down the reading process.[94]

Other important elements that contribute towards the legibility of type are regular alignment, balance between white and black, and an absence of big contrasts between thick and thin lettering.[95] The Western language system is to read from left to right and in lines from top to bottom. It may seem like a simple and logical system to Western eyes, however, it is a system that has been learnt from culture. Other cultures have developed different systems.[96] The *WMN* follows this Western system as its audience was primarily British and / or English-speaking.

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[91] Perry, M. 2001, *Western civilization. A brief history,* p. 85.

[92] Reed, T.B. 2001, Old and new fashions in typography, *in* Heller, S. & Meggs, P.B. (eds.), *Texts on type. Critical writings on typography*, p. 6.

[93] Reed, T.B. 2001, Old and new fashions in typography, *in* Heller, S. & Meggs, P.B. (eds.), *Texts on type. Critical writings on typography*, pp. 6-7.

[94] Swann, C. 1991, *Language and typography,* p. 33.

[95] Reed, T.B. 2001, Old and new fashions in typography, *in* Heller, S. & Meggs, P.B. (eds.), *Texts on type. Critical writings on typography*, pp. 6-7.

[96] Swann, C. 1991, *Language and typography,* p. 33.

In the case of the *WMN*, while double columns are used most of the time, it was also sometimes alternated from single to double columns. The shorter line length of double columns help improve legibility and ease of reading. However, alternating to single column helped break the text into sizable sections, making it less intimidating and allowing a reader a 'breather' in between articles or sections. The text alignment in the *WMN* was *justified*, meaning that the text aligned on both the left and right margins. Justified text made columns look neater, however, the risk is that it creates large space in between words, which can make reading more difficult. An advantage to justified text (along with *Left Aligned* text), is that it creates a 'fixed' point on the left side, making it easier for the eye to find the start of the next line and continue on its path from left to right, and top to bottom.

3.5. Images

The illustrated book in eighteenth century Britain was an expensive object, and it was limited in both distribution and effect; therefore, illustrations in magazines and newspapers were not common. The illustrated book was reserved for the possession of the rich and the elite. However, the lower classes did have some illustrated literature that was relatively cheap, but limited, but it was almost always poorly manufactured with substandard visual appeal. In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, there was some change, but it only became obvious from about the 1830s and 1840s. By then, the world of illustration stood in stark contrast to that which came before it, and the nineteenth century had manifested itself as a truly 'visual' age.[97] The production of images increased in the wake of the Industrial Revolution; newspapers, journals and books were increasingly making use of printed images in their publications, by a variety of methods, at an overwhelming rate.[98]

In the graphic arts, interests and efforts were directed more consistently towards reproductive print, improving on already well-established techniques in relief and intaglio printing, as well as the development of new graphic processes, such as lithography and later various processes of

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[97] De Freitas, L.J. 1991, The Society and illustration during two centuries. *RSA Journal* 139 (5418), p. 405.
[98] Ives, C. 2000. 'The print in the nineteenth century…The Metropolitan Museum of Art.' http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/prnt2/hd_prnt2.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

colour printing, including chromo-lithography.[99] The nineteenth century also sought new ways of combining methods of printing in order to print type and images together, while also experimenting with ways of reproducing the new art of photography in their printing methods.

While woodcuts and copper engravings had been used for illustrations for centuries, wood engraving developed in the eighteenth century and remained popular for advertising well into the twentieth century.[100] Lithography and later, colour lithography profoundly changed the nature of visual information. Images became softer, fuller and more sensuous.[101] From the 1860s, the importance of the illustration was acknowledged, as it started being used increasingly. New processes proved to be a great advantage to publishers and did much to increase the number of illustrations in books, newspapers and periodicals.[102] Illustrations appeared in the *WMN* from 1887, and is discussed in Chapter Five.

3.5.1. *Pictographs to Photographs*

Before examining the production methods of images, it is important to briefly examine how the image itself has evolved over time, since that allows one to determine the 'type' of image, which will be useful in analysing the types of images and processes used in the *WMN*. Not only did the way in which images were printed develop over time, but the ways in which images were drawn or depicted have also changed since the earliest illustrations on cave walls. Images have developed from simple line drawings to 'realistic' photographs. Images are pictures of any kind, ranging from simple pictographs to illustrations and photographs. In the earliest printed books, images were simple linear woodcuts printed in black ink together with the type. Drawn images, from the simplest pictograph to realistic illustrations, are based on visual syntax, which is the orderly and consistent arrangement of the individual parts. These individual parts include, for

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[99] De Freitas, L.J. 1991, The Society and illustration during two centuries. *RSA Journal* 139 (5418), pp. 405-406.

[100] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 74.

[101] Kaufmann, E. 1960, Nineteenth century design. *Perspecta* 6, pp. 56-57.

[102] De Freitas, L.J. 1991, The Society and illustration during two centuries. *RSA Journal* 139 (5418), p. 406.

example, dots, lines, tones, shapes and edges, which together give the image cohesiveness. The possibilities are demonstrated from simple notation to full tonal or colour representation.[103]

Figure 15: Notation. **Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image*, p. 19.

Figure 16: Pictograph. **Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image*, p. 19.

Figure 17: Silhouette. **Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image*, p. 19.
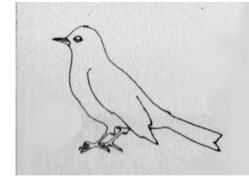
Figure 18: Contour Drawing. **Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image*, p. 19.

Figure 19: Line as tone. **Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image*, p. 19.

Figure 20: Representation. **Source:** Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image*, p. 19.

The range of images include notation, pictographs, silhouettes, contour drawing, line as tone and lastly representation. *Notation* **(Figure 15)** is linear, reductive and characterised by economy and conciseness. It is the simplest level of image making, for the essence of the subject is captured by minimal graphic means. A *pictograph* **(Figure 16)** achieves its presence through the mass and weight of shape. The primary forms of the subject are reduced to elemental geometry, which becomes universal rather than specific. The *silhouette* **(Figure 17)** differs from the pictograph because it presents a specific shape of a subject instead of a universal prototype. A *contour drawing* **(Figure 18)**, like notation, is a linear and conceptual image because imaginary outlines trace the edges or boundaries of forms in space. *Line as tone* **(Figure 19)** is the black-and-white linear patterning, which is interpreted as the seamless tone of the image. It is dependent on the ability of the human brain to construct cohesion from fragmented data. *Representation* **(Figure 20)**, whether tonal or in full colour, attempts to replicate the natural appearance of the subject in specific light conditions. The graphic means used to present an image and its information become important components of the communication. The potential for graphic interpretation of any subject is infinite, limited only by the imaginative powers of the artist.[104] In the *WMN,* cover designs and illustrations (before

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[103] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type & image: The language of graphic design,* p. 19.

[104] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type & image: The language of graphic design,* p. 19.

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photography) are mostly illustrated or engraved in detail, and a combination of both *contour drawing* and *line as tone* is used in its depictions. All the images were in black and white, many in great detail showing evidence of grey tonal value in the way line is used, therefore *line as tone* is apparent. Where illustrations or engravings of photographs were made, and later printing of photographs, images are *representations* as they attempt creating the 'natural' appearance of the subject. *Notation* is also seen in some cases, for instance, the use of diagonal lines to represent the idea of light. Examples found in the *WMN* and are discussed in subsequent chapters of this study.

3.5.2. *Image Production Methods*

Three main types of printing and image production methods existed up until the late nineteenth century. The first was *relief printing,* which was the method of printing from raised images, such as woodblock printing and letterpress printing. The second was *intaglio* printing, where the design was incised or engraved into the material, such as etching and engravings. The third was *planographic* printing, which related to a printing process in which the printing surface is flat, such as lithography and chromolithography.[105] Later, these methods were not used in complete isolation, especially with the combination of image and type in printing.[106]

Eighteenth century publications had usually been illustrated with copperplate etchings and engravings, however, the nineteenth century experimented with a broad array of techniques: well-established techniques were used or improved upon, and new techniques were developed, such as lithography, chromolithography and photomechanical reproduction methods. New ways of combining different methods were also developed in the nineteenth century.[107] These different methods are explored below and the various techniques are briefly described.

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[105] A fourth type of printing and image production was known as *stencil printing,* which included techniques such as silk-screening; however, this type of printing only came about in the early twentieth century.

[106] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition; Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, design, and visual thinking. An interactive textbook: printmaking processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

[107] Ives, C. 2000. 'The print in the nineteenth century…The Metropolitan Museum of Art.' http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/prnt2/hd_prnt2.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

3.5.2.1. *Relief Printing*

Relief printing moved westwards from China. The process involves having the spaces around an image on a flat surface cut away. Then the remaining raised surface is inked and a sheet of paper is placed over the surface and rubbed to transfer the inked image to the paper. The earliest existing dateable relief print was dated 770 A.D, however, it is unknown who invented relief printing and where and when it began. By the nineteenth century several techniques had been well developed, especially letterpress printing and woodblock printing.[108]

Letterpress printing, the invention accredited to Johannes Gutenberg, was a technique of relief printing using a printing press, which remained the normal form of printing until the nineteenth century.[109] It was printing from a hard raised image (type) under pressure, using gelatinous ink. Letterpress usually referred to printed text as opposed to illustrations,[110] however, in practice it included other forms of relief printing, such as wood engravings or stereotypes, made up of type and blocks, to include images.[111]

With woodblock printing, the material to be printed was prepared on a sheet of thin paper, using a brush and ink. Images could be drawn and calligraphy or other forms of 'hand-designed' types could be written. The block cutter then applied this thin paper to the smooth wooden block, after wetting the surface with a paste or sizing.[112] When this had dried thoroughly, the remaining paper would be rubbed off, leaving a faint inked imprint of the image, which was now reversed on the surface of the block. The block cutter would then carve around the inked image, leaving it

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[108] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 20, 23.

[109] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 61, 65.

[110] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[111] Ives, C. 2000. 'The print in the nineteenth century…The Metropolitan Museum of Art.' http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/prnt2/hd_prnt2.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

[112] A gelatinous solution used in gilding paper, stiffening textiles, and preparing plastered walls for decoration. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

in high relief. The printer would apply ink to the raised surface, and apply a sheet of paper over it in order to transfer the ink to the page.[113]

The two main forms of woodblock printing were woodcuts and wood engravings. The main difference between the two was the hardness of the wood. Woodcuts were carved into a soft plank of wood, usually working with a knife. The artist would cut away the areas that were not meant to be printed. Wood engravings were made by engraving on a block of end-grain or extremely hard wood. The hard surface enabled the artist to engrave much finer lines than was possible on the softer wood surface used for woodcuts.[114]

Woodcut pictures came into extensive use in Europe during the fourteenth century. They were created by taking impressions from a block of wood on which the design was cut, or else by daubing the figures through a stencil. These methods were used to replace the rough sketches
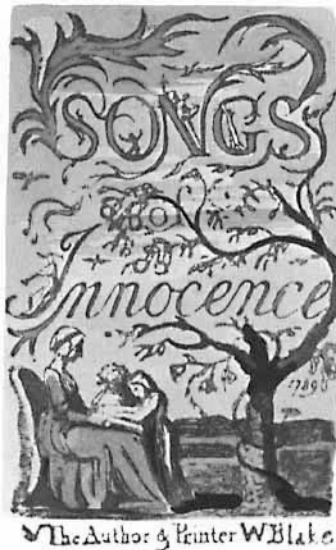

Figure 21: William Blake's title page for *Songs of Innocence,* 1789.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 120.

previously made by hand. Lettering would also be cut on the same block as a part of the picture. These pictures with lettering developed quite independently of the invention of typography.[115]

William Blake (1757 – 1827) found a way to print his poetry with illustrations as relief etchings, without the use of typography. He published his books of poetry, combining type and illustration, where each page was printed as a monochrome etching. Blake was a forerunner in combining the use of word and image. He integrated letterforms into illustrations. In **Figure 21,** on the title page for his *Songs of Innocence,* the swirls of foliage spin from the serifs of the letters, becoming leaves for the tree. Small figures are set among the letters.[116] On several of the cover designs for the *WMN,* the use of type and image were combined in a very similar

[113] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 23.
[114] Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, design, and visual thinking. interactive textbook: printmaking processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.
[115] Winship, G. P. 1968, *Gutenberg to Plantin: an outline of the early history of printing*, pp. 44-45.
[116] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 121.

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way, in which the title of the periodical is integrated into the illustration of the whole cover (See Chapter Five).

Another process of relief printing was known as stereotyping. A stereotype was a relief printing plate cast in a mould made from composed type or an original plate.[117] It was for making copies of made-up pages of text and illustrations, called "foundry forme". This important process developed in the early eighteenth century, but was only perfected in 1829. It was especially used for long print runs and multiple copies. As the reading public grew, illustrations in books and periodicals were in high demand.[118] The first issue of the *WMN* was published in January 1816,[119] therefore, these technologies were at the disposal of the missionary society from the start.

3.5.2.2.   *Intaglio (Printmaking)*

Intaglio is the group of printing and printmaking techniques in which the image is incised into a surface. The incised line or recessed area then holds the ink, opposite to relief printing. Normally, a copper or metal plate would be used as a surface and the incisions were created by etching, engraving, dry point, aquatint or mezzotint.[120]

Engraving is printing that is incised or cut down into the printing surface. A polished copper plate was often used, on which the design is engraved or etched. The unidentified artist called the "Master of Playing Cards"[121] created the earliest known copperplate engravings from the mid-fifteenth century. To produce a copperplate engraving, a drawing is scratched into a smooth

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[117] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[118] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 74.

[119] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* p. 65.

[120] Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, design, and visual thinking. An interactive textbook: printmaking processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

[121] Playing cards were among the early manifestations of block printing. Card playing was a popular pastime, despite it being outlawed and denounced by zealous churchmen. As a result, a thriving underground block-printing industry was initiated, possibly before 1400. The "Master of Playing Cards" identity was therefore protected. (Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 59.)

metal plate. Ink is then applied into the depressions, while the excess ink is wiped clean from the flat surface. Paper is then pressed against the plate to receive the ink image. With copperplate engravings, a designer could achieve remarkable overall patterns and convincing form using linear shading.[122] Shading was accomplished through the use of parallel lines or "hatching".[123]

Etching used acid to engrave or cut into the unprotected parts of a metal plate to create a design in intaglio. A metal plate would be coated with a protective layer, then the design would be 'drawn' or incised onto the coated layer using a sharp needle, exposing the metal below, after which the plate would be covered in acid to attack the parts of the design the needle had exposed. This created the sunken line that would receive the ink. As with engraving, ink was then applied into the recesses of the plate, while the excess ink was rubbed off from the top of the surface. Paper would then be applied onto the plate, and pressure applied for the ink to transfer to the paper.[124]

Dry-point is the technique where a steel needle would be used to engrave directly on a bare metal plate without using acid.[125] The sunken line would then be produced directly on the plate,[126] and the depth of line was controlled by the artists' muscle and experience.[127] A mezzotint[128] is a print made from an engraved copper or steel plate, the surface of which had been partially roughened, for shading, and partially smoothed for light areas.[129] Aquatint is the technique that created a print resembling a watercolour, produced by a copper plate etched with nitric acid. It was a

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[122] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 68-70.

[123] Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, Design, and Visual Thinking. An Interactive Textbook: Printmaking Processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

[124] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition; Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, Design, and Visual Thinking. An Interactive Textbook: Printmaking Processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

[125] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[126] This method of cutting produced a ridge along the incisions, which gave dry-point line the characteristically "soft velvety appearance" absent in the clean edged lines of an engraving or etching. (Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, Design, and Visual Thinking. An Interactive Textbook: Printmaking Processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.)

[127] Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, Design, and Visual Thinking. An Interactive Textbook: Printmaking Processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

[128] The technique was in use from the seventeenth century up until the early nineteenth century. (Kavanagh, K. (ed.). 2002, *South African Oxford dictionary*, p. 733.)

[129] Kavanagh, K. (ed.). 2002, *South African Oxford dictionary*, p. 733.

technique in use from the late eighteenth century.[130] A copperplate would be protected by a powdered ground, which was melted onto the surface of the plate. The protective layer would be acid resistant, however, and covered the plate incompletely, resulting in a grainy surface texture. As with etching, the longer the plate would be left in the acid bath, the darker and heavier the texture would be. Aquatint was often combined with line etching when subtle value gradations were desired.[131]

3.5.2.3. *Planographic Printing*

Planographic printing refers to the printing process in which the surface is flat. It is a technique in which the artist would draw directly on a flat stone or specially prepared metal plate, usually with a greasy type of crayon. While relief printing would produce what was left of the original surface, and intaglio would print what was below the surface of the plate, planographic printing printed what was drawn on the surface of the plate. Common techniques using this method were lithography and chromolithography.[132]
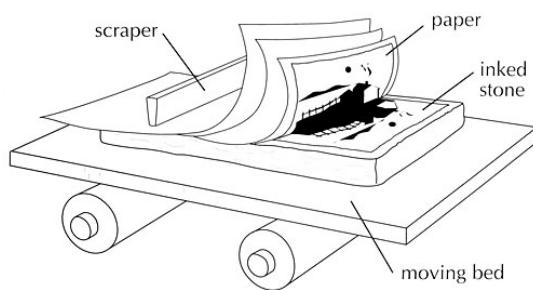

Figure 22: Lithographic technique.
Source: Stokstad, M. 2005, *Art history,* p. 951.

Lithography, from the Greek meaning literally "stone printing", was invented by the Bavarian author Aloys Senefelder (1771 – 1834) in 1796. Lithographic printing implied that an image would be printed, but it would not be raised as with relief printing, nor was it incised as in intaglio printing. Rather it was formed on the flat plane of the printing surface. Lithography was based on the simple principle that oil and water do not mix. An image would be drawn on a flat stone surface with an oil-based crayon, pen or pencil. Water would be spread over the stone to moisten all

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[130] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[131] Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, design, and visual thinking. An interactive textbook: printmaking processes.' http://char.txa.cornell.edu/media/print/print.htm. Accessed: 2014-12-30.

[132] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition; Jirousek, C. 1995, 'Art, design, and visual thinking. An interactive textbook: printmaking processes.'

areas except the oil-based image, which repels the water. Then an oil-based ink would be rolled over the stone, sticking to the image but not the wet areas of the stone. A sheet of paper would then be placed over the image and a printing press used to transfer the inked image onto the paper **(Figure 22).** Lithography is a graphic medium that allowed a more illustrative approach.[133]

Lithography was popular in England by the 1830s. A stencil process was used to print flat planes to construct a stylised representational image. Steel plates became a popular material for the use of both engravings and lithography, which ousted copperplates. Other materials for lithography also included limestone, zinc and aluminium plates.[134] Senefelder also experimented with applying colour to lithography. German printers headed up colour lithography, but in 1837 the French printer Godefroy Engelmann patented the process named *chromolithographie*. After analysing the combination of colours contained in the original subject, the printer separated them into a series of printing plates and printed the colours, one by one. The arrival of colour printing brought vast social and economic ramifications.[135]

The chromo provided a means for colourful imagery to enhance the most average advertising and publishing. Despite their naïve aesthetic prejudices, businesses realised that colour helped increase sales. For the Victorian consumer, colour printing was a metaphor for progress and affluence.[136] Since the *WMN* was not printed in colour, lithography would have been a more appropriate method for printing than chromolithography. Printing in black and white was more cost effective, especially for a cheap missionary periodical.[137]

The nineteenth century was truly an age of experimentation when it came to the production of type and illustrations, and it can be hard to determine one specific method that the *WMN* would have been using. It is possible that relief printing methods were used for the body copy, probably printed by letterpress, and the inclusion of images would probably have been woodblock

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[133] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 146-147, 150.

[134] Handover, P.M. 1960, *Printing in London. From 1476 to modern times,* p. 159; Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 152.

[135] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 147.

[136] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 27.

[137] Despite the *WMN* only being printed in black and white, it is worth noting that the 'technology of colour' was in development at the same time, and used in other printed forms at the time.

engravings or etchings where the blocks could be combined with the type when printing. On pages where there is little or no typography, such as full-page advertisements or the full-page cover designs, it is possible that metal plate engravings (intaglio printing) or lithography was used, as these methods allowed for more refined and detailed illustrations, and if typography needed to be added (such as the contents on the *WMN* cover page, as seen in Chapter Five), a second print run could be done using the letterpress method.

3.6. Photography

Photography escaped the traditional classifications of arts and crafts precisely because of its modernity. The invention of photography came as the result of decades of experimentation with visual media in an effort to find a faster, more accurate or exact means of representation than those offered by the traditional visual arts. The literal meaning of 'photography' is "writing light" and the various means of this were invented in Europe from the 1820s onwards. A new age had begun.[138]

The history of photography has conventionally been dominated by the focus on the technical evolution of photographic processes. This history often begins with the 'invention' of photography in 1839. Such an approach tends to assume that photography has some natural, fixed identity based on its technical evolution. Photographs have also been treated as transparent records of visual reality, or 'windows on the world' which allow an objective view into different times and places. However, visual perception is subject to the basis of learned schemas and cultural codes. It should be remembered, then, that photographs are selective, partial and legible within specific cultural frameworks. If the photographic image is interpreted as an analogue of visual perception, both the historical and cultural codes need to be considered. For photographs are not exclusively 'visual' images, but are types of symbolic code. Photographs are, then, invested with meanings framed by and produced within specific cultural conditions and historical

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[138] Mirzoeff, N. 1999, *An introduction to visual culture,* p. 65.

circumstances.[139] Photographs are examples of signs with meaning and connotations (as per Peirce and Barthes' theories, as discussed in Chapter One). In Chapter Five, the photographs in the *WMN* are analysed in order to determine these connotations.

Photography, with its low cost and availability popularised the visual image, and created a new relationship to past space and time. Ordinary people could now, for the first time, record their lives with certainty and create historical and cultural archives for future generations.[140] Photography played an important ideological role in British culture, specifically within British imperialism. Many historians of Britain's imperial story have drawn on its vast archive for illustrations of characters and events, and photographs in particular have been used as windows on the imperial past.[141]

In the *WMN,* the use of photography provides historical and cultural meaning within the British imperial context. Photography is seen in the text of *WMN* from 1891**.** The missionaries used photography as a way of capturing images to depict the different 'types' of people – depicting not only the difference between 'the European' and 'the native', but also the difference between 'the Christian' and 'the heathen'. Similarly, photography was also used to depict differences in clothing, housing and buildings, and other material culture, and what the African 'wilderness' landscape looked like. This is explored further in Chapter Five.

3.6.1. *Invention of photography*

While photography provides a bit of historical and cultural meaning on the past, it is also important to briefly consider the 'technical' history of photography, as without its invention, this 'window on the world' would not be possible.

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[139] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing empire. Photographs and the visualization of the British Empire,* pp. 18-19.
[140] Mirzoeff, N. 1999, *An introduction to visual culture,* p. 65.
[141] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing empire. Photographs and the visualization of the British Empire,* pp. 13, 16.

The concept behind the device for capturing images by photochemical processes was the *camera obscura* (Latin for "dark chamber"). This was a darkened room or a box with a small opening or lens on one side; light rays passing through this aperture were projected onto the opposite side, which formed a picture of the bright objects outside. All that was still needed to make the image projected into a camera obscura permanent was a light-sensitive material capable of capturing the image.[142]

Figure 23: A photolithographic print of Cardinal d'Ambroise by Joseph Niépce.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 135.

Graphic communications and photography have been closely linked, beginning with the first experiments to capture an image of nature with a camera. Joseph Niépce (1765 – 1833), a Frenchman, produced the first photographic image. He sought an automatic way of transferring drawings onto printing plates. The photolithographic print of Cardinal d'Ambroise **(Figure 23),** was the first image printed from a plate that was created by the photochemical action of light rather than by human hand. Niépce called his invention *heliogravure (sun engraving).* A photographically etched printing plate made from an engraving and subsequently used for printing marked the dawning of *photogravure.*[143]

In 1826, Niépce experimented with a pewter plate in his camera obscura[144] to make a picture directly from nature, and he successfully captured a hazy image of the sunlit buildings outside his workroom **(Figure 24)**.[145] He continued experimenting with light-sensitive materials, including silver covered copper.[146] After Niépce first exposed a plate to light in 1826, he and Louis Jacques Daguerre (1799 – 1851) worked together for nearly a decade, and Daguerre went

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[142] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 135.

[143] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 135.

[144] Camera obscura is important historically in the development of photography. It was a darkened box with a convex lens or aperture for projecting an image of an external object onto a screen inside. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

[145] Niépce put a pewter plate in the back of his camera obscura and pointed it out his workroom window. After exposing it all day, he removed it from the camera obscura, which resulted in the earliest surviving photograph on a pewter sheet of the sunlit buildings outside his workroom. (Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 137.)

[146] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 137.

on to perfect the *daguerreotype* after Niépce's death in 1833.[147] In 1839, the French Academy of Science admired the clarity and precise detail of Daguerre's prints and the incredible accuracy of the images, as is seen in the daguerreotype *Paris Boulevard* **(Figure 25)**. It was a photograph taken employing an iodine-sensitized silvered plate and mercury vapour. The technology for making pictures by machine had now been discovered. However, the *daguerreotypes* had some limitations, one of which was that they could not be reproduced. William Henry Fox Talbot (1800 – 1877) had also conducted research from 1833, and pioneered a process that formed the basis for both photography and photographic printing plates.[148] The true photograph, in which a
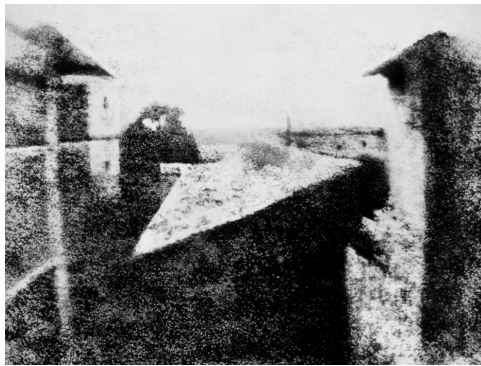
Figure 24: Joseph Niépce. The first photograph from nature, 1826.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 136.

Figure 25: Louis Jacques Daguerre, Paris Boulevard, 1839.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 136.

plate would be exposed to light to produce a negative that can be used to make an infinite number of copies, was first produced at about the same time as the daguerreotype.[149]

The success of the negative method was ensured by the refinements made to the process by the French photographer, Nadar[150] in the 1850s. However, people continued to take daguerreotypes until the late nineteenth century. The new medium had yet to establish its own standards, both technically and in terms of the image produced.[151]

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[147] Mirzoeff, N. 1999, *An introduction to visual culture,* p. 66.

[148] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 137.

[149] Mirzoeff, N. 1999, *An introduction to visual culture,* pp. 66-67.

[150] Nadar was the pseudonym of Gaspord-Felix Tournachon (1820 – 1910), a French photographer.

[151] Mirzoeff, N. 1999, *An introduction to visual culture,* pp. 66-67.

3.6.2. *The application of photography to printing*

Before it was possible to print photographs, illustrators would use photography as a research tool for capturing the 'reality' of current events. During the 1860s and 1870s, wood engravings drawn from photographs became prevalent in mass communication. As the technology to reproduce images was not yet available, publications turned to illustrators to reinvent the image in the medium of the wood engraving so that it could be reproduced in print. For example, in **Figure 26,** the photographer provided the visual evidence needed by the illustrator to document an event. In **Figure 27** the tonality of the photographer's image was recreated in the visual composition of the wood-engraved line.[152]

Figure 26: *Freedmen on the Canal Bank at Richmond,* 1865. Photograph attributed to Mathew Brady.
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 140.

Figure 27: John Macdonald, wood engraving, *Freedman on the Canal Bank at Richmond.*
Source: Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 140.

Wood engraving was the most-used process in book, magazine and newspaper illustration, owing to the fact that wood-engraving blocks could be locked into a letterpress and printed with type, while copperplate and steel engraving or lithographs had to be printed as a separate press run. However, the preparation of wood-engraved printing blocks was high in cost, and a more economical and reliable photoengraving process for preparing printing plates was sought.[153] A commercially feasible photoengraving method for translating line artwork was pioneered in 1871

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[152] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 140.

[153] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 138.

by John Calvin Moss. The steady implementation of photoengraving cut the cost and time required to produce printing blocks and achieved a better resemblance to the original.[154] The first photo relief printing firm in Paris was opened by Charles Gillot, where his father, Firmin, perfected his *Gillotage* method for the photographic transfer of images on flat surfaces into raised letterpress plates.[155]

However, the search for a method to be able to print photographs on printing presses continued. During the 1850s, Talbot experimented with ways to break up tones. It was believed a photographic printing plate could print the subtle nuances of tone found in a photograph if a screen changed continuous tones into dots of varying sizes. Tones could then be achieved despite the even ink application of the relief press. Many researchers continued to work on the problem and contributed to the evolution of the process. A major breakthrough was made in 1880 when the *New York Daily Graphic* printed the first reproduction of a photograph with a full tonal range in a newspaper. It was printed from a basic *halftone screen* invented by Stephen H. Horgan. The screen broke the image into a series of tiny dots whose varying sizes created tones.[156]

Where woodcuts and copper engravings that had been used for centuries to portray images of 'reality', the photograph now provided a more accurate record. Since the invention of photography there had been many attempts to reproduce photographs for printing. However, this process was not achieved until George Meisenbach made the process effective in 1881. Frederick Ives was among the many who attempted to improve the technique, which he did in 1888.[157] It was, therefore, fairly late in the 'life' of the *WMN* that reproducing photographs became possible. It did not take the missionary society long to apply this new technology to their publications, as in 1891 they first started reproducing photographs in their periodicals.

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[154] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 138, 140.

[155] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 138, 140.

[156] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 138, 140-141.

[157] Dodds, R. 2006, *From Gutenberg to Opentype. An illustrated history of type from the earliest letterforms to the latest digital fonts,* p. 74.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, the visual possibilities that were available as a result of technology were investigated. It has been made clear that the nineteenth century was a period of great change, and that the Industrial Revolution played a radical role not only in the changes in society, but also in the vast role of printing technologies and graphic design as a whole.

The nineteenth century was influenced by the Victorian style, which is ornate and decorative. This is seen in the typography and images of the era. In this chapter, the invention of typography and the roles it plays are explored, which provides an important context for examining the typography seen in the *WMN* in subsequent chapters. Images and printing are also discussed in this chapter, including the various types of printing methods. This is important when considering what printing methods were possible for the *WMN* publication. Finally, photography is discussed, including the invention thereof and its application to printing. Photographs are an extremely important aspect of the *WMN* from 1891, and selected examples are discussed further in Chapter Five.

The development of new technologies and printing innovations in the nineteenth century impacted on periodical and book production, as well as the reading habits of people in general. This is explored in the next chapter, in which the context of the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* is examined in relationship to other contemporaneous reading material in the nineteenth century, in order to determine the place of the *WMN* in book history.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE *WMN* IN THE CONTEXT OF BOOK HISTORY

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* are examined in the context of other contemporaneous reading material in the nineteenth century. The purpose of this chapter is to determine the place of the *WMN* in book history, as well as determining what similar reading materials were available and/or popular at the time. This chapter not only looks at the background (the *WMN* in context of the WMMS) but also looks at the parallels (in context of other periodicals, including missionary periodicals). This is important, as understanding this context helps one understand the periodical's audience. The rise in mass reading and the development of the newspaper and periodical is examined, as well as Benedict Anderson's theory of an 'imagined community' arising around the shared reading of such periodicals. The examination of other missionary periodicals and their commonplace content and visual metaphors provide a useful context for the *WMN,* including the themes of the exotic, light and dark and adventure and heroism.

The nineteenth century was a period of social change in Britain, which was especially influenced by the rise in reading and an increase in education and literacy, which in turn affected the availability, distribution and type of reading materials. This chapter deals with issues of class, as well as the role that religious institutions and missionaries played in encouraging or discouraging reading in the nineteenth century. A brief look is also taken at the rise of reading in Africa as influenced by the missionaries.

Thereafter, a brief overview of book history and the development of the text is provided. Ezra Greenspan and Jonathan Rose, in the introduction to the *Book History* journal, explain that "book history" does not only pertain to books, but includes the entire history of written communication, including books, newspapers and periodicals.[1] While the history of written communication can be traced to the earliest

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[1] Greenspan, E. & Rose, J. 1998, An introduction to "Book History". *Book History* 1, p. ix.

complex societies, the invention of typography (as seen in the previous chapter) and the development of the printed text influenced the production, circulation and reception of the material form, including the missionary text, newspapers, magazines and periodicals, which are briefly explored in this chapter. The difference between newspapers and periodicals is also examined.

A further examination regarding periodicals follows, looking at factors such as audience, price and class factors. The development and purpose of religious periodicals are examined, and then, more specifically missionary periodicals, and the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* in particular.

Finally, this chapter looks at the content commonly found in missionary periodicals. It investigates, not only the type of content used, but also finds commonplace procedures or 'topics' (a branch of the rhetorical device of invention) reported on in missionary periodicals. A number of these themes can be recognised as "visual metaphors" (rhetorical figure of comparison), making use of not only visual images (specific images to be examined in the next chapter), but also visual themes. Three such themes are: the exotic and "the Other"; light and dark; adventure and heroism.

4.2. The rise of reading in the nineteenth century

The mass reading public in nineteenth century England developed against a background of profound social change. The class structure and the occupational and geographical distribution of the people went through changes that affected the availability of reading matter, educational opportunities, as well as the conditions under which reading could be done.[2] Reading changed from the repeated and extended musing over a few traditional texts to the quicker consumption of a wider range of changing titles.[3] Readers increasingly lacked the patience and even ability to digest serious books or long bodies of writing, making the periodical a medium they

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[2] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 81.

[3] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the History of the Book,* p. 423.

became accustomed to, with information in short 'bite-sized' pieces.[4] The *WMN* news was divided into articles and letters that were 'bite-sized.'

The spread of reading varied among the classes. A major condition that encouraged the spread of reading was the notion of leisure. The place of the evening reading circle in Victorian middle-class family life was well-known.[5] However, it was only a minority of well-to-do middle class people who were able to spend full evenings with their families and books. The lower classes spent long days at their places of work. Therefore, on weekdays, few workers had time to read. Saturdays were workdays too, until the 1860s when the half-holiday was introduced. Therefore, leisure time for reading was naturally confined to Sundays – hence, the popularity of the Sunday newspaper.[6] For those who observed the Sabbath more strictly,[7] all amusements were forbidden on Sundays, and reading had to be from appropriate materials only, such as the Bible, *The pilgrim's progress,* and other approved books.[8]

In the rural areas, the working class had less opportunity for reading, and had little money to purchase reading material. Education was hard to come by, and many children were put to work after only a year or two of schooling; working hours were long for all labourers. The working classes saw few books or newspapers on their way through life; however, printed material was more easily accessible in the towns and cities, with newsvendors, coffee houses and free libraries.[9] Victorian people seldom paid the full cost for their reading matter, but put money together to subscribe to newspapers, or read them in coffee houses and reading rooms.[10] Victorian libraries were places where exchanging materials meant that many gained access to books, and

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[4] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the History of the Book,* p. 421.

[5] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 85-86.

[6] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 86-87.

[7] As mentioned previously, Eisenstein notes that the Sunday newspaper could replace church-going, for those who attended church to get local news matters previously included in the Sunday sermon, by reading the Sunday paper on their own. (Eisenstein, E.L. 1979, *The printing press as an agent of change. Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe. Volume I,* p, 131.)

[8] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 148-150.

[9] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 89-90.

[10] Rose, J. 1994, How to do things with Book History. *Victorian Studies* 37(3), pp. 464-465.

therefore ideas, which responded to a variety of trends in the cultural, educational, social, economic, political and intellectual background of their time and place.[11]

Despite the fact that it was believed that the lower classes did not read as a pastime, according to Jonathan Rose, many people from the lower classes did in fact read, and it became a necessity for them, and so books became an essential part of the material culture of most working-class homes.[12] The growth of literacy in Victorian Britain can be explained by the growth of jobs demanding literacy, the declining cost of books, newspapers and postage, and rising wages, all encouraging workers to educate themselves and their children.[13]

Masses within the working classes strove for a liberal self-education, in spite of intimidating obstacles. Their motives were many, but their main aim was intellectual independence. Therefore they resisted the ideologies imposed on them from above in order to learn for themselves.[14] The fact that working people were making an effort to educate themselves became threatening to those already educated. Culture, including the ideology supporting the British class structure, was no force for equality. The hierarchy of the classes rested on the presumption that the lower orders lacked the moral and mental capabilities to play a leading role in society. "Knowledge is power"[15] was a Victorian slogan that was embraced by generations of working class radicals, who were often denied education, knowledge and power.[16]

The growing print-market encouraged reading and influenced the consuming public, creating a 'reading class'. This meant that people from the old working classes had gained some power, and were able to move up in status, which resulted in the expansion of the middle classes. However, despite the fact that education was increasing throughout the nineteenth century, by 1840, almost half of the population in Britain was still illiterate.[17]Therefore, it was not just the literate who enjoyed access

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[11] Rose, J. 2008, One giant leap for library history. *Library Quarterly* 78(1), p. 130.

[12] Rose, J. 2001, *The intellectual life of the British working classes*, p. xi.

[13] Rose, J. 1994, How to do things with Book History. *Victorian Studies* 37(3), p. 464.

[14] Rose, J. 2001, *The intellectual life of the British working classes*, pp. 12-13.

[15] Rose, J. 2001, *The intellectual life of the British working classes*, p. 23.

[16] Rose, J. 2001, *The intellectual life of the British working classes*, pp. 20-21, 23.

[17] Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* pp. 75-76.

to literature, as reading aloud remained a common practice in some working class homes until the end of the century.[18]

Evangelical religion in England had an ambivalent attitude towards reading, which influenced the social and cultural tone of the nineteenth century. At the same time as doing much to popularise it, for specific reasons, it also did as much to discourage it. The evangelicals, believing in the supreme importance of Scripture, stressed reading as part of an enlightened life, with the Bible as the central text and other literature as guidance and assurance.[19] Religious literature was everywhere in nineteenth century England, giving people a reason to become literate.[20] Text and education played an important role in conversions and religious experience. Texts became key tools for initiating and sustaining belief. Reading matter among converts was popular despite the fact that many of them were not very literate.[21]

Opposition to secular literature and novels was common among many evangelicals, although the spread of it varied among denominations, some of which remained quite hostile. Many learned to read late in life and never read beyond the New Testament, *The pilgrim's progress* and some tracts. Novels and theatre were often considered as sinful, and works such as Shakespeare would quickly be thrown out. Literature continued to pose a real threat to the more dogmatic varieties of Wesleyanism.[22] For young Wesleyans between 1825 and 1840, a relatively large selection of reading matter was available in a Methodist household and school. However, youth were often torn between attitudes received from the church and their own literary inclinations.[23]

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[18] Rose, J. 1994, How to do things with Book History. *Victorian Studies* 37(3), pp. 464-465.

[19] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 99-100.

[20] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 103-104.

[21] Hofmeyr, I. 2005, Inventing the world: transnationalism, transmission, and Christian textualities, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* pp. 22, 25-26.

[22] Rose, J. 2001, *The intellectual life of the British working classes*, p. 31.

[23] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 117-118.

4.2.1. Reading in Africa – in the mission field

While the rate of the spread of reading varied in Britain, missionaries often encouraged the spread of reading. Protestant missionary societies adopted books, such as *The pilgrim's progress,* as key evangelical tools in the nineteenth century.[24]

According to Etherington, missionaries in Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) in the first half of the nineteenth century "scrambled to turn Africans into readers".[25] However, they realised that the best way to achieve that goal was to translate books into local languages. Various missionary societies therefore often worked together, using each other's translations, as books and tracts were translated into the Zulu language.[26]

Missionaries also attempted to teach Africans to read English. As more students grew competent in English, books on secular topics were ordered in substantial numbers, as well as religious books such as missionaries' biographies, tracts, and religious magazines for teaching purposes. Not many African adolescents advanced to the reading of these texts in English, but it was remarkable at the time that such books were read at all. Despite the limits that the Colonial Legislative Council put on African education,[27] the mission schools often reached high standards of achievement beyond the reach of the Council's power.[28]

In *The portable Bunyan,* Hofmeyr recognises that interconnections exist between missions, translation and the discipline of English and Christian literature. British Protestant mission organisations translated and disseminated the text both at home and abroad. Hofmeyr also states that when books travelled they often changed form, as they were summarised, abridged and edited into new intellectual formats. These formats were "select" configurations of older texts, made accessible to new (intended)

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[24] Hofmeyr, I. 2004, *The portable Bunyan,* p. 1.

[25] Etherington, N. 2005, The missionary writing machine in nineteenth-century KwaZula-Natal, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 38.

[26] Etherington, N. 2005, The missionary writing machine in nineteenth-century KwaZula-Natal, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 38.

[27] The Colonial Legislative Council limited African education to simple vocation and manual instruction. (Etherington, N. 2005, The missionary writing machine in nineteenth-century KwaZula-Natal, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 42).

[28] Etherington, N. 2005, The missionary writing machine in nineteenth-century KwaZula-Natal, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* pp. 41-42.

audiences. In addition, the methods of textual creation were stretched across time and space, which unfolded in different places.[29]

Africa is a continent understood as part of a broader context of imperial history in relation to Protestant missions. Therefore, African literary and intellectual traditions, nineteenth century British history, African Christianity and mission, and English literature, are woven together, as seen in the spread of reading shuttles between Britain and several regions of Africa.[30] Even though some of the *WMN* articles were written in Africa by the missionaries, the intended audience was for the British 'at home'. It may have been possible that local 'natives' read the parts of the periodical for educational or proselytising purposes, however, it was not intended for this audience, as much of the content was 'about' them rather than 'for' them.

4.3. Book history: the development of the text

In Chapter Three, the invention and development of typography and printing, which formed part of the development of the text, were discussed. The systems of representing language through graphics have evolved in different societies. The historical development of writing has enabled societies to preserve, organise and expand knowledge and pass it on to future generations, and has attempted to provide entertainment, enlightenment or instruction to the reader. The history of the book is, therefore, primarily concerned with the production, circulation and reception of texts and their material forms.[31]

The European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, known as the Enlightenment, meant that books began to stream off European presses, creating an early form of 'information overload'. In Great Britain, students were exposed to a variety of books through education.[32] However, as mentioned

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[29] Hofmeyr, I. 2004, *The portable Bunyan,* pp. 2-3.

[30] Hofmeyr, I. 2004, *The portable Bunyan,* p. 3.

[31] Perry, M. 2001, *Western civilization. A brief history,* p. 8; Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 12; Rose, J. 1994, How to do things with Book History. *Victorian Studies* 37(3), p. 462.

[32] Eddy, M.D. 2012, Natural history, natural philosophy and readership. *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* 2, pp. 297-309.

previously, "book history" not only pertains to books, but all written communication: the creation, dissemination and uses of script and print in any medium, including books, newspapers, periodicals, and manuscripts.[33]

Book history, therefore, plays an important role in 'information history', which explains its increasingly powerful growth. The consequences of the Industrial Revolution, as well as the Information Revolution, have resulted in the exploration of the social transformations brought on by writing and print technologies.[34]

4.3.1. *The missionary text*

When Jonathan Rose writes about "book history", it is not just about books, but the social history of the creation, diffusion and reception of the written word. The origins of book history can be found in the history of printing and historical bibliography.[35] It explores the social, cultural and economic history of authorship, publishing, printing, the book arts, bookselling and distribution, libraries, literacy, reading habits and reader response. Book history is a vast, varied and inter-disciplinary academic field. The role that missionaries played in the creation and distribution of text and textuality, therefore, plays a small role in the field of book history. However, church historians have discovered that religious denominations and evangelicals played an important part in pioneering mass-market publishing.[36] The *WMN* was published for a 'mass-market' (circulation of 54,000 copies in 1869).[37]

Missionary activities, such as that by the British and Foreign Bible Society launched in 1804, spurred the mechanisation of book production, the use of stereotype printing plates, and the development of mass book-distribution.[38] It is likely that most people in Britain received their basic views of foreign cultures from missionary literature,

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[33] Greenspan, E. & Rose, J. 1998, An introduction to "Book History". *Book History* 1, p. ix.

[34] Greenspan, E. & Rose, J. 1998, An introduction to "Book History". *Book History* 1, p. x.

[35] Rose, J. 1994, How to do things with Book History. *Victorian Studies* 37(3), p. 462.

[36] Greenspan, E. & Rose, J. 1998, An introduction to "Book History". *Book History* 1, pp. ix-x.

[37] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 72.

[38] Rose, J. 1994, How to do things with Book History. *Victorian Studies* 37(3), p. 463.

especially at a time when most children in Britain attended Sunday School.[39] The *WMN* played an important role in the perceptions and notions of the foreign world and people. This is further explored later in this chapter, and specific examples are analysed in Chapter Five.

Mission texts were powerful tools of control. The idea of writing was a crucial instrument in creating the modern forms of 'civilising' culture. Protestant missions became increasingly focused on the production and dissemination of texts as instruments of conversion and control.[40]

4.3.2.   *Periodical definitions*

Jane Potter, at the Oxford International Centre for Publishing Studies, uses the term 'periodical' to denote any printed text that is not a book, in that it is a 'blanket' term that encompasses words like 'magazine', 'journal', 'newspaper', 'gazette', 'bulletin', and so on.[41] The intention with defining these words is to help differentiate them from each other, and to provide a clearer understanding as to how these words are used in this study.

The *Oxford English dictionary (OED)* defines these different categories, which reflect the content and presentation that each of them employ.[42] A *periodical*[43] is a magazine or newspaper that is published at regular intervals. Magazines, journals and

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[39] Cox, J. 2005, Master narratives of imperial missions, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 8.

[40] Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.). 2005, *Mixed messages. Materality, texuality, missions,* p. x.

[41] Written information: Dr. J. Potter, Senior Lecturer in Publishing and Postgraduate Research Tutor for Publishing at Oxford International Centre of Publishing Studies, Oxford Brookes University, j.potter@brookes.ac.za, 2015-08-17.

[42] It is worth noting that while dictionary definitions help provide clarity on the differentiations between these categories, their meaning not only vary by time period, but are also inter-related to each other, and therefore are not conclusive or indisputable. Where possible, older definitions, word origins and etymology are also provided from other dictionary sources for alternative meanings according to historical context. Much of this additional information is provided in the footnotes to follow, in an effort to keep the text concise while extracting only the essentials; however, the historical information provided by additional sources cannot be ignored.

[43] The *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary* of 1965, defines a periodical as a publication, such as a magazine, that appears at fixed intervals of more than one day, usually weekly, monthly or quarterly magazines. (Marckwardt, A.H., Cassidy, F.G., Hayakawa, S.I. & McMillan, J.B. (eds.) 1965, *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary of the English language II,* p. 939.)

newspapers that are published at fixed intervals can be considered periodicals.[44] A *journal*[45] is a newspaper or magazine that deals with a particular subject or professional activity, and a *magazine*[46] is a periodical publication that contains articles and illustrations, often aimed at particular readership or on a particular subject.[47] The *WMN* would be considered a monthly magazine periodical aimed at the Wesleyan Methodists and supporters of the missions. The word 'Notices'[48] in the title may refer to its purpose more than its format, in that the purpose of the *WMN* was to notify their supporters of news and information regarding the missions. In this sense, it is similar to the twentieth century use of the word 'newsletter',[49] which is a bulletin containing news issued periodically to the members of a society or organisation.[50]

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[44] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[45] The *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary* of 1965, defines a journal as a periodical that records news or other events of current interest. Originally, according to the *OED,* a journal in late Middle English denoted a book that contained the appointed times of daily prayers. The word is derived from old French *jurnal,* from late Latin, *diurnalis,* meaning 'daily' or 'of each day', used in astronomy to refer to the daily rotation of the sun. (Marckwardt, A.H. *et al*. (eds.) 1965, *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary of the English language I,* p. 689; Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.) It is in this sense that a journal may refer to a daily personal journal. Missionaries often kept personal journals, from which excerpts were often edited and published in periodicals.

[46] The *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary* of 1965, defines a magazine as a periodical publication containing sketches, stories or essays. A 1992 edition of the *OED*, defines a magazine as an illustrated periodical that contains articles and stories. (Marckwardt, A.H. *et al*. (eds.) 1965, *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary of the English language II,* p. 765; Thompson, D. (ed.) 1992, *The pocket Oxford dictionary of current English,* p. 532.) It would appear that a journal was a type of magazine that was more formal or academic on specific topics or professions, such as medical journals. Magazines were probably less formal, and illustrated (where technology was available) with articles or stories aimed at specific groups of people, such as women for example. The *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine,* in which the *WMN* is found, has a specific target audience to those who are Wesleyan Methodists interested in matters of the church and missionaries.

[47] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[48] According to the *OED,* a *notice* is a displayed sheet or placard giving news or information, or a small advertisement or announcement in a newspaper or magazine, such as an *obituary notice.* Notices may also refer to a review of something, such as a book or play. In the *Funk and Wagnalls'* dictionary, a notice may refer to a printed notification communicating an announcement, information, instruction or warning – its purpose is to 'notify'. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition; Marckwardt, A.H. *et al*. (eds.) 1965, *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary of the English language II,* p. 865.)

[49] The word 'newsletter' originated in the 1670s from *news + letter*, however, it fell from use until it was revived in the twentieth century. (Harper, D. 2001, "newsletter". *Online etymology dictionary.* http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=newsletter&searchmode=none. Accessed: 2015-09-27.) While the newsletter refers to any published work issued periodically containing news and announcements on some subject, the introduction of technology and computers made newsletters a common application of *Desktop Publishing* and distributed through electronic mail from the late twentieth century. (Howe, D. 1996, "newsletter". *Free on-line dictionary of computing.* http://foldoc.org/newsletter. Accessed: 2015-09-27.)

[50] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

Newsletters were similar in purpose to newspapers, in that they circulated news, but typically had a smaller circulation.[51] *Newspapers* are defined as a printed publication issued at frequent intervals that circulates news for the general public.[52] The format of newspapers typically differed from that of a magazine, which consisted of folded unstapled sheets containing news issued either daily or weekly.[53] As has been seen, some definitions include newspapers as a type of periodical; however, sometimes the phrase 'periodicals and newspapers' is used in order to distinguish between newspapers and magazines.[54] For the purposes of this study, the terms 'periodicals and newspapers' are used as such, to distinguish between magazines and newspapers. The *WMN* is treated as a magazine publication and a type of periodical.[55] Therefore, the words 'magazine' and 'periodical' may be used interchangeably in this study.

4.3.3. Newspapers and periodicals

A.J. Burkart notes that it is difficult to differentiate conclusively between newspapers and periodicals, as some periodicals used the newspaper format. However, a differentiation can be made between periodical publications that were published commercially, and others that were declared periodicals of minority interests. These minority interests need not have been small, as one Church periodical could sell over 200,000 copies a month.[56]

Although the periodical has always existed alongside the newspaper, it was at first often indistinguishable from it.[57] Since the appearance of the first newspapers[58] and

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[51] Howe, D. 1996, "newsletter". *Free on-line dictionary of computing.* http://foldoc.org/newsletter. Accessed: 2015-09-27.

[52] Marckwardt, A.H. *et al.* (eds.) 1965, *Funk and Wagnalls standard dictionary of the English language. Vol. 2,* p.854

[53] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[54] Written information: Dr. J. Potter, Senior Lecturer in Publishing and Postgraduate Research Tutor for Publishing at Oxford International Centre of Publishing Studies, Oxford Brookes University, j.potter@brookes.ac.za, 2015-08-17.

[55] The word 'periodical' derived in the seventeenth century, as a noun meaning "magazine published at regular intervals." (Harper, D. 2001, "periodical". *Online etymology dictionary.* http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=periodical&searchmode=none. Accessed: 2015-09-27.)

[56] Burkart, A.J. 1964, Recent trends in periodical publishing. *The Journal of Industrial Economics* 13(1), pp. 11-12.

[57] Burkart, A.J. 1964, Recent trends in periodical publishing. *The Journal of Industrial Economics* 13(1), p. 16.

periodicals in the seventeenth century, the periodical has been a vehicle in major cultural, religious and political movements, a preferred means of scientific communication, and the most popular reading matter.[59] Formerly, periodicals published information usually only available to elite audiences, including the private communication of princes, merchants or scholars. Despite the fact that the newspaper was a popular medium, the periodical showed greater knowledge and displayed a dual tendency toward specialisation of information and popularisation as it evolved to address new topics and readership.[60] The *WMN* was a periodical with a specialised topic – a religious periodical with a special focus on missions, specifically those in which the WMMS were involved.

The newspaper represented a more basic need, containing a combination of political and business news, culture, and opinion. Papers were partly financed by advertising. Kaspar von Stieler comments in 1695 that "one reads newspapers not in order that one may become learned and skilled in judgment, but only in order to learn what is going on."[61] The *WMN,* although not a newspaper, provided news for supporters of the mission to learn what was going on in the mission field.

According to Felicity Jensz and Hanna Acke, periodicals were different to newspapers in that they were more specialised and appeared at greater intervals. In the early nineteenth century, periodicals were seen as a form closer to books, but by the end of the century, they had become a product of mass consumption culture.[62]

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[58] The word 'newspaper' was derived in the 1660s, although the thing itself is older, and previously called a gazette. (Harper, D. 2001, "newspaper". *Online etymology dictionary.* http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=newspaper&searchmode=none. Accessed: 2015-09-27.) The word 'gazette' originates from the early seventeenth century from the French *gazette,* from the Italian *gazzetta,* from the Venetian dialect *gazeta* "newspaper," also the name of a small copper Venetian coin of little value. The phrase *gazeta de la novitå* ("a halfpennyworth of news") was applied to the monthly news-sheet published in Venice by the government and sold for a *gazeta.* (Harper, D. 2001, "gazette". *Online etymology dictionary.* http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=gazette&allowed_in_frame=0. Accessed: 2015-09-27; Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

[59] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the history of the book,* p. 421.

[60] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the history of the book,* pp. 423-424.

[61] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the history of the book,* p. 424.

[62] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 9.

Periodicals were usually published monthly (such as the *WMN*), bi-monthly, or even annually, whereas newspapers were a daily or weekly occurrence.

4.3.3.1.   *The effect of newspapers on society*

Benedict Anderson suggests that the simultaneous reading of newspapers offered individuals' the wide spread tangible experience of belonging to a greater 'imagined' community of the nation.[63] The idea of the imagined community was encouraged by the reading of national newspapers in literate societies with well-developed communication structures. The effect that this mass vernacular printing had on society was its capacity to coordinate the imagination of social time and space. The modern newspaper encourages people to imagine the simultaneous occurrence of independent events that are spatially distant. According to Anderson, it is the linkage that is imagined – the linkage between the events themselves and the arbitrariness of their inclusion and juxtaposition in the same newspaper. Newspapers, therefore, coordinate individual events happening across a region, country or even a globe according to the principle of their occurrence being at the same time on the calendrical date.[64]

Another imagined linkage, according to Anderson, lies in the relationship between the newspaper as a form of book and the market. The book was in a sense the first modern-style mass-produced commodity, manufactured in the thousands, and reaching thousands more. From this perspective, Anderson believes that the newspaper is merely an 'extreme form' of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of temporary popularity. The newspaper is used on the day for which it was produced, therefore creating the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper-as-fiction.[65]

Anderson states that it is an *imagined* community because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them; however, in each of their minds, lives the 'image' of their communion.

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[63] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the history of the book,* p. 425; Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* pp. 71-80.
[64] Tomlinson, J. 2008, *Cultural imperialism: a critical introduction,* p. 82; Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* p. 33.
[65] Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* p. 34

It is the self-consciousness of belonging to a wider community that is larger than 'face-to-face' contact.[66] Therefore, the newspaper created a sense of imagined community, because people of the same nation, city or community group could simultaneously participate in the 'shared' experience of the day's events. A local newspaper also provided a tangible experience of belonging to a wider community. The 'imagined community' of the *WMN* was between the Wesleyan missionary supporters or the 'friends of the mission' (discussed later in this chapter).

However, an imagined community not only existed between people from the same location, such as a nation or city, but also between different classes.[67] Newspapers played an important role in education and provided affordable material for young boys to practise their reading. Many boys, especially of lower classes, were only able to attend a year or two of school, before they started to work in the family business. Even after school, it was thought that the newspaper would help young boys create the habit of reading, and not relapse into illiteracy after learning the basics of reading at school.[68]

4.4. Periodicals

"Periodical" in the British sense, according to Woodward and Pilling, is "a publication in any medium in successive parts bearing numerical or chronological designations and intended to be continued indefinitely",[69] meaning it is published at regular intervals.[70] With readers increasing and time restraining their ability to read long books, the periodical was a good medium for them to read smaller bodies of writing at a time. The periodical combined and developed earlier practices and developments, forming something qualitatively new. Public accessibility and periodicity are two characteristics that the periodical shares with magazines and

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[66] Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* pp. 5-6.

[67] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 349.

[68] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 349, 353.

[69] Woodward & Pilling., quoted in, Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and Periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the History of the Book,* p. 422.

[70] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

newspapers.[71] The fact that periodicals were constantly updated brought an element of immediacy and interactivity, enabling readers to respond to published texts, and loosening the "fixity" associated with print.[72] The element of immediacy contributed to the imagined community.

The periodical press flourished in the nineteenth century: factors such as class, audience and price influenced this development. Religious and missionary periodicals also flourished in the nineteenth century, and played an important role in society.

4.4.1. *Religious periodicals*

The *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* did not stand in isolation, as missionary periodicals became a popular print publication among missionary societies. Missionary societies generated large amounts of printed material, making the work of historians difficult, as historian Norman Etherington complains that there is simply too much to read. However, this output was designed to raise the spirits of the supporters at home, while also getting them to donate in an attempt to help fund missions.[73] The *Evangelical Magazine* was launched as early as July 1793. Its early issues outlined the formation of the London Missionary Society (LMS), and ran for two centuries. The LMS published Annual Reports from 1795, the *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* from 1837. The Baptist Missionary Society published *Periodical Accounts* from 1800 and the *Missionary Herald* from 1819. The periodical *Proceedings,* published by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), dates from 1800/1801. This was largely a Protestant phenomenon, although Catholics also produced a few titles.[74]

While some periodicals were generalist and focused on worldwide mission, others were specifically focused on certain areas. Most missionary periodicals served only one denomination, although some were determinedly and self-consciously non- or

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[71] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and Periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the History of the Book,* pp. 421-422.

[72] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and Periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the History of the Book,* pp. 431-432.

[73] Etherington, N. 2005, The missionary writing machine in nineteenth-century KwaZula-Natal, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 37.

[74] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read in missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 47.

inter-denominational.[75] Reverent Josiah Pratt of the CMS was the founder and editor of the *Missionary Register* for 25 years. In an advertisement of 1813 it stated:

> It is the wish of the editors of this work to furnish a brief but satisfactory view of the progress of Divine Truth throughout the world … While particular attention is paid to the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, the principal transaction of all similar institutions will be recorded; and they will be left to report these transactions chiefly in their own words.[76]

In 1873 about forty per cent of all periodicals were published under religious umbrellas, either by the various denominational publishing societies themselves or by commercial houses with which they were linked. By the early 1880s, leading cheap religious weeklies circulated up to 1,500,000 copies a week.[77] The *WMN* served the Wesleyan Methodist denomination, although their news was not focused on one area or location, but on all the countries in which the WMMS missionaries served. For the purposes of this study, content and examples from the Transvaal and Swaziland District, South Africa form the main focus.

4.4.2. Audience, price and class

Missionary periodicals provide interesting case studies demonstrating traces of gender, class, race and religious denomination and changing attitudes. They also offer studies in public relations and the management of a supporter base.[78]

4.4.2.1. Audience

A common trend for missionary periodicals was that they often catered for specific interest groups. Some periodicals targeted women, or specific social classes or education levels, especially in the case of the larger missionary societies. The Church Missionary Society catered for the middle classes with the illustrated *Church*

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[75] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 47.

[76] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), pp. 47-48.

[77] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 361.

[78] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 47.

Missionary Gleaner (London, 1850 – 1921), as well as for an "intelligent and thinking mind" with the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (London, 1849 – 1906).[79]

Material for children was also popular, like quizzes and puzzles, as well as tests of scriptural and missionary knowledge.[80] After mid-century, another trend developed, that of juvenile periodicals. Until that time, children's periodicals had only been produced by the religious societies and distributed mainly through Sunday Schools. However, with the spread of elementary education, commercial interests realised their opportunity to create annual secular juvenile papers[81] from the mid-1850s onwards.[82]

Apart from the weekly newspapers, 'family' periodicals were also some of the most wide spread papers.[83] Two of these leading periodicals from the 1850s to the 1880s, was the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal.* Both periodicals published mostly short stories and full-length novels. These were always escapist, as the masses never cared to read much about people in their own walk of life. Instead they consumed, year after year, fiction that dealt with the "aristocracy of wealth or blood, whose lives were crammed with crises and no little sin".[84] These family papers were not only focused on fiction, they also had columns such as "Answers to correspondents" that provided an insightful view of the ordinary Victorian reader's everyday perplexities, especially those to do with courtship and marriage.[85]

According to Nicholas Mirzoeff, men tended to be the main audience for newspaper reading, and the father was notorious for reading newspaper clips at mealtimes to

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[79] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p.11; Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 50.

[80] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), pp. 49-50.

[81] Some of these titles included the *Boy's Journal,* the *Boy's Own Magazine,* the *Boy's Own Journal,* and the *Boy's Penny Magazine*. (Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 362.)

[82] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 362.

[83] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 360.

[84] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 360.

[85] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 360-361.

prevent conversation. It was the masculine manner of avoiding the private realm of the home.[86] The target audience for the *WMN,* however, was not just Methodist Englishmen, but also respectable men and women of the late Victorian middle-classes. On rare occasions (although not from the Transvaal), the *WMN* published articles written by women missionaries, and this would imply that there were female readers.[87] However, as will be shown in further detail later, many periodical articles, including *WMN* ones*,* related to masculine themes of heroism and adventure, therefore appealing to a male audience.

Much of the content of missionary periodicals was made up of letters from missionaries. These letters created a sense of close relationship with their readers, as they were addressed to 'friends of the mission'. Therefore, the audience of missionary periodicals consisted mostly of supporters of the mission. However, some letters were directly addressed to family or the secretary of the society. The letters would often be edited and summarised by the editors. Articles were also sometimes included from other publications.[88] The audience of missionary periodicals were mostly supporters and 'friends' who were known to the missionaries; however, some of their audience was also extended to people beyond 'friends of the mission'.

The size of the readership varied, depending on the size of the missionary society. Smaller missionary societies had a readership ranging from a couple of hundred to a few thousand, whereas larger societies' circulation numbers were in the hundreds of thousands.[89] The *WMN* had a relatively large circulation, with just over fifty thousand copies circulated (in 1869).[90]

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[86] Mirzoeff, N. 2003, Newspapers. *Art Journal* (Summer), p. 24.

[87] Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, pp. 177,186,189.

[88] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 231.

[89] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 11.

[90] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 72.

4.4.2.2.   Pricing

Periodicals were relatively cheap to produce compared to newspapers, as they were less frequently published, and as such they could be printed on printing presses that were used for general printing, rather than a specialised high-speed machine. Even though periodicals where cheaper to produce than newspapers, it is unrealistic to give an average breakdown of costs because periodicals varied. Costs varied according to the method of printing, type of paper, the number of copies printed, the ratio of illustrations to type matter and similar factors.[91]

As already noted, some periodicals targeted specific social classes or education levels. The prices, therefore, depended mostly on the target audience. Prices ranged from a halfpenny, with bulk discounts for distributions to Sunday School children and the working classes; to more expensive annual volumes costing several guineas,[92] designed to appeal to the social and spiritual elitist. Some titles were published in both a cheap penny edition and a more stylish and expensive edition.[93] Sometimes there were revealing comments that highlighted editorial assumptions about the class and education of their readers.[94]

4.4.2.2.1.   Newspaper pricing

In Britain, high taxation was enforced by the government, which had a real impact on the production and sales of newspapers. It restricted the potential for development as well as the patterns of publications.[95] The prices were steep, which made it difficult to keep the prices of newspapers and periodicals low. However, these "Taxes on

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[91] Burkart, A.J. 1964, Recent trends in periodical publishing. *The Journal of Industrial Economics* 13(1), p. 12.

[92] Such as the *Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual.* (Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 48.)

[93] Such as the *Illustrated Missionary News* (Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 48.)

[94] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 48.

[95] By 1815, the rates of duty had been raised to: paper duty 3*d* (three pennies) per pound in weight; stamp duty 4*d* a sheet; and advertising duty 3*s* 6*d* (three shillings and sixpence) for an advertisement. (King, E. 2007, "British newspapers 1800 – 1860" *19ᵗʰ century British newspapers.* Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning. http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/topicguide/bncn_05.htm. Accessed: 2014-03-20.)

Knowledge" as they were characterised, were gradually relaxed. In the years 1833 to 1836, advertising duty and paper duty were halved, while the stamp duty was reduced from 4*d* to 1*d*. Advertising duty was abolished in 1853; the stamp duty in 1855, and finally, the duty on paper in 1861.[96] In 1861, the newspaper stamp (except for postal services) was removed. It was the first time, since the reign of Queen Anne (1702 – 1714), that the press was completely free of economic restrictions.[97]

Prices of daily papers published in London averaged 5*d*, which could not be afforded by the average worker. Many of these people would only view a daily newspaper in coffeehouses or public houses. After 1861, once the battle against taxes was won, determination grew for a cheap newspaper press.[98] The *Daily Telegraph* was reduced to a penny in 1856, followed by a number of other distinguished newspapers. However, the cheapening process did not stop there, as in 1868 Cassell's *Echo* was reduced to the unheard-of price of a half-penny, and in 1881, the *Evening News* came out at the same price. Soon, daily newspapers were no longer beyond the reach of the majority of middle-class buyers,[99] although the working-class did not buy them for some time.[100] It was only in the 1890s that the daily newspaper started circulating widely among the working classes, and most notably with the *Daily Mail* from 1896.[101] Both the pricing and content of newspapers and periodicals determined the type of audience.

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[96] King, E. 2007, "British newspapers 1800 – 1860" *19th century British newspapers*. Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning. http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/topicguide/bncn_05.htm. Accessed: 2014-03-20; Brown, L. 1992, The British Press 1800 – 1860, *in* Griffiths, D. (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press, 1422 – 1992,* pp. 24-25.

[97] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 354.

[98] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 348-349.

[99] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 354-355.

[100] Despite the reduced price of daily newspapers, workers did not buy them for some thirty or forty years after the penny daily came into being, because the papers themselves made no great effort to attract lower-class readers. They remained papers for the upper and the substantial middle classes, devoting most of their space to weightly reported political news, and paying little attention to topics of mass interest, such as sport or crime. (Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 355.)

[101] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 355.

4.4.2.2.2. *Cheap periodicals*

With the elimination of many obstacles periodicals became increasingly cheap, and penny newspapers and weeklies made an appearance. Inexpensive newspapers and monthly or weekly periodicals provided a wide audience with news, entertainment, practical information, and fiction, along with a growing number of advertisements and illustrations. Income from advertising was the key to cheap print, as it allowed publishers to sell below cost.[102] The annulment of the paper duty in 1861 advanced all periodicals and larger audiences could be reached at lower costs. Prices seldom reached above 6*d* for a monthly publication. And with the introduction of rotary presses and typesetting machines, periodical printing became one of the most highly mechanised of all English mass-production industries.[103]

The cost of publishing was always a burden on Missionary Society funds, as was often made evident in the complaints expressed in editorials. In December 1870, the editor of *The Gospel Missionary* explains changes to both the format of the periodical, and the implied costs, to an "improved shape and larger size. The Society still publishes its magazine at a loss and nothing but a much larger circulation can make up the deficiency." However, despite the high prices, the benefits outweighed the cost, and periodicals from missionary societies continued to be published.[104]

While the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* were sold for a penny and considered an affordable 'penny periodical,' the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine (WMM)* was a monthly publication and sold for 6*d,* as it was a larger publication that focused on more than just mission, but contained content on all Wesleyan Methodist matters. The penny-periodical, *WMN,* was included in this larger publication. Advertisements are seen in both the *WMN* and *WMM,* which would have helped with costs. These advertisements are seen in Chapter Six.

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[102] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the history of the book,* pp. 426-427.

[103] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, pp. 357-358.

[104] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), pp. 50-51.

4.4.3. *Missionary periodicals*

The large number of missionary organisations in Britain in the nineteenth century led to an array of media in order to spread news and information about their work. Media was used as a form of propaganda in order to reach a multitude of people and to get them involved in the support of the missionary endeavour. Of these forms of media, the most lasting and versatile was the missionary periodical.[105]

Many missionary societies were established by different church denominations, and even within denominations. The purpose, however, of separate societies was so that each missionary enterprise could manage its own funds and administration.[106] The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) was established in 1813, three years before the first publication of the *WMN*. According to Barringer, missionary periodicals became popular among missionary societies and commercial publishers in the mid-nineteenth century and the last decades of the nineteenth century. Missionary societies published periodicals to update their society and supporters, and to generate support in prayer, money and recruits.[107] This was the exact purpose of the *WMN*.

The missionary periodical's formal properties can be distinguished as periodicity, format and size, layout and fonts, use of a masthead, printed form, use of pictures, and types and lengths of articles. The *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (*WMN*) was published periodically during the nineteenth century. The frequency of the publication was monthly, starting in 1816 and ending in 1904. In media theory, currency refers to the fact that publications are expected to cover recent events in their reporting. A single publication such as a book can cover one recent event, but a periodical could cover more recent events more often. It may have taken up to three months for a letter to arrive from a missionary to be published, but the periodical still met the criterion of

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[105] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 9.

[106] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist Foreign Missions,* pp. 55-56.

[107] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), pp. 46-47.

currency. The goal of missionary periodicals was to provide 'friends of the mission' a means to follow the recent activities of missionaries on a regular basis.[108]

Continuity in format and layout was also important, as it created a sense of familiarity, recognition, reliability and emotional attachment. Periodicals generally retained much of their formatting, changing only a few times to keep up to date with the changing technologies and needs of their audiences, but while keeping familiar features throughout. The periodical in general (including the *WMN*) usually had the size of a small booklet and the usual number of pages for each issue varied slightly from month to month, according to its content, but mostly kept the same format throughout. Any changes in format would normally be announced in the previous issue or in the editorial of the current issue in order to prepare readers for the change. The fact that the editor thought it as necessary to announce a change shows that stability with regard to format was highly cherished, because it made the periodical recognisable and familiar, and thereby also trustworthy.[109] When the *WMN* came to an end in 1904, the editors announced in the editorial that the *Notices* would continue under a new name, as *Foreign Field of the Wesleyan Methodist*. The changes that the *WMN* underwent are discussed further in Chapter Five.

The periodical's masthead or cover page was another important feature. The masthead or cover page helped create stability and familiarity, and helped in making the publication immediately recognisable and distinguishable from other periodicals. Even when the masthead or cover page changed, there were still elements of continuity – to evoke the feeling of familiarity. The change of masthead can be interpreted as an attempt to modernise the external appearance of the publication, and to adapt it to contemporary preferences. Editors were well aware that this aspect influenced whether their publication would be perceived as a reliable source of knowledge.[110] The cover page and mastheads in the *WMN* are discussed in the next chapter.

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[108] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, pp. 226-227.

[109] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, pp. 227-228.

[110] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, pp. 228, 230.

The *WMN* made use of a cover page instead of a masthead until 1887. From 1883 till 1890, the cover page/masthead changed four times, but all elements of familiarity were contained and the content layout was kept similar, while only elements such as lettering, borders, images and symbols were changed. With the introduction of images into the *Notices* from 1887, cover pages were reduced to mastheads in order to compensate for higher costs. This is discussed further in the next chapter.

Periodicity allowed stories to be serialised or continued in following issues. This made longer articles possible and also added a sense of suspense that kept readers interested. The periodical form of the publication also enabled readers to develop a close relationship with the missionaries through their letters, following their accounts on a regular basis. Authors of missionary periodicals made use of immediate relations with their receivers, especially as they addressed their readers as "friends of the mission". The missionaries and their deeds served as an example and role models for their readers. [111] This also created a sense of 'imagined' or shared community.

4.4.3.1.   The origin and purpose of the Wesleyan Missionary Notices

In 1815, a year before the commencement of the *WMN*, the need for a publication is explained in the report of the Methodist Missionary Society for the Newcastle upon Tyne District. The need was not only to communicate with people, but to help raise the funds, previously raised mostly by Rev. Dr. Thomas Coke,[112] in an effort to continue with the mission he and his fellow missionaries had taken on.[113] Coke collected a large portion of the money required for the missionary society. However, after his death and as the required resources increased, the society found it necessary to ask the aid of supporters and friends, in a more systematic manner. [114]

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[111] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, pp. 230-231.

[112] Thomas Coke played an important role in the formation of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, who was preceded by John Wesley.

[113] Methodist Missionary Society for the Newcastle upon Tyne District. 1815, The first report of the Methodist Missionary Society for the Newcastle upon Tyne District. *Cowen Tracts,* p. 2.

[114] Methodist Missionary Society for the Newcastle upon Tyne District. 1815, The first report of the Methodist Missionary Society for the Newcastle upon Tyne District. *Cowen Tracts,* p. 6.

Before the formation of the *Notices*, an Annual Report was written on the state of the missions. This was published by the Society and in connection with the Reverend John Wesley at the Wesleyan Methodist Conference Office in 1813. The report was addressed in particular to those generous supporters who helped contribute financially to their cause, as well as to the caring public at large. The report included details of the missions in more than twenty countries, and reported on the growth of the work in each.[115]

At the Conference of 1815, the Missionary Committee deliberated on the best means of providing preachers and people with "regular and early communication of missionary intelligence". In accordance with this, the *Missionary Notices* was started, and the first one was published in January 1816 at the price of two pence.[116] The *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (*WMN*) were published in London from 1816 until 1904. The periodical's frequency was monthly, and circulated about 54,000 copies (in 1869). The price of the monthly publication was one penny (1*d*), but free to subscribers who donated a minimum of one shilling (1*s*) per week.[117]

In the *WMN* for 1893, a message appeared urging readers who wished to be informed month by month of the progress of the work carried out by the WMMS, to read *Work and Workers in the Mission Field.* It was advertised as a "high-class missionary magazine"; well-illustrated, priced at 3*d*.[118] *Work and Workers* was a manifestation of a new style of periodical made possible by new printing techniques, and it ran alongside the *WMN* from 1892 to 1904. It was described as "[a] magazine for the literate public, the glossy, illustrated quarto pages of which underlined the venerable presentation of the *Missionary Notices*".[119] *Foreign Field of the Wesleyan Methodist Church* was the missionary periodical that continued both the *WMN* and *Work and Workers* from 1904 to 1932.

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[115] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of the Wesleyan Methodist foreign missions,* pp. 62-63.

[116] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of the Wesleyan Methodist foreign missions,* p. 65.

[117] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 72.

[118] Anonym. 1893, May meeting arrangements. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* p. 74.

[119] Seton, D. s.a. 'Missionary Periodical Database: *Work and Workers in the Mission Field.'* http://divdl.library.yale.edu/missionperiodicals/viewdetail.aspx?id=257. Accessed: 2015-02-01.

4.5. Content of missionary periodicals

The content of the popular religious periodicals reflected the editors' awareness of society's craving for wonder and romance, as found in contemporary novels and fictional stories. In objection to fiction, 'true fact' story material in religious periodicals offered a substitute under headings such as "The works of God displayed". The *Methodist Magazine* had a section titled, "The providence of God asserted", in which short 'factual' narratives were printed, such as "The dreadful death of a profane man in the County of Bucks", "Preservation of the Moravian Brethren in North America from a general massacre", and "Conservation and preservation of a poor woman". If the fervent reader was prohibited from reading sensational fiction or historical romance (against which a hostility existed in the missionary supporters' sphere), their cravings for the emotions of pity, horror and fear was to some extent met in such accounts.[120] This is Aristotle's appeal of *pathos* (rhetorical device), which appeals to the readers' emotions. The appeal of *ethos* (or credibility) is also seen as they tried to persuade their audience that 'true fact' narratives were better than 'misleading' fiction stories.

Many missionary periodicals included poems and hymns, which rarely achieved much literary excellence. However, they are an underused source for the study of popular Victorian piety and attitudes.[121] Poetry from approved poets like Heber and Montgomery, Wordsworth and Bernard Barton featured.[122] Missionary periodicals integrated the use of other media, such as photographs and copies of sketches, reprints of missionary lectures, letters and reports.[123] The illustrations and photographs in missionary periodicals provide one with much insight into the thoughts and ideas of the time. This is particularly evident in the *WMN* – illustrations were introduced in 1887 and photographs in 1891 (see Chapter Five).

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[120] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 122.
[121] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 47.
[122] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 122.
[123] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 9.

Printed letters were an important and regular feature in missionary periodicals. Letters often served as an important, if not the main article, and even carried the word 'letter' in their titles. Missionaries were expected to write letters as a means of accounting for their work; they were an important and direct form of communication between the society and the missionary. Letters were an efficient way of informing readers about the advances and setbacks in the spreading of the Gospel in the mission fields. Letters were handwritten by the missionaries, and then typeset by editors.[124] In most cases, as in the *WMN*, the letters were edited in order to control the type of content and desired message.[125]

Letters fulfilled two main purposes. Firstly, they were supposed to create an authentic connection with readers, and therefore the content can be seen as an authoritative source of knowledge. Secondly, they created an emotional attachment, especially to the missionaries who wrote often, and created a form of belonging on the part of the respective missionaries. After it became standard practice for missionary letters to be published, missionaries started intentionally addressing their letters to the public, or friends of the mission. Instead of communication between each missionary and the society's secretary, letters were now often directed to an unlimited number of people who supported the missionary society morally and/or financially. However, this correspondence, as published in the periodical, was less of an exchange and more of a one-sided account.[126] With letters being a common form of 'correspondence' in the *WMN,* a sense of immediacy and interactivity is created between the missionary writer and the supporter reader.

Despite letters being edited before publication, a feeling of connectivity could still be found, linking the readers to the missionaries and creating a shared sense of identity and purpose. Reading the missionaries' greetings, wishes and appeals, as well as their accounts of life and work in the mission field, was the closest that the 'friends of the

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[124] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 231.

[125] In her article from 2008, *From private journal to published periodical,* Lize Kriel juxtaposes and compares the differences between the actual letters or journal entries written by the missionaries of WMMS, to that which was published in the *WMN* periodical, and how the latter was often an edited version in order to convey specific messages or ideas.

[126] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, pp. 232-233.

mission' could come to experience these remote regions.[127] The 'friends of the mission' is similar to what Benedict Anderson calls an *imagined community,* as a shared sense of identity and purpose linked the periodical and the missionaries via their letters (the *imagined* "linkage"), with the supporters of the mission.[128]

Letters served as connectors between two distant points, with a bridge between the sender and the receiver. In the *WMN*, the letters covered the distance between the missionary and the 'friend of the mission' in London, creating the sense of immediacy, closeness, understanding, compassion and familiarity. Missionaries were, therefore, eyewitnesses, as they were the ones who had actually seen, heard and experienced the situation in the mission fields. The letter bridged the gap for the readers at home, who had not seen the foreign land and mission field with their own eyes.[129] As shown earlier, according to Benedict Anderson, the newspaper functioned as a connector, linking and bringing together various independent events from around the globe into one editorial space. Likewise, the letter in the periodical functioned as a connector between two distant points, and the link creates a sense of shared ('imagined') community connecting missionary and supporter, "at home" and "abroad" and in metropolis and colony.[130]

The focus of this study is the letters in the *WMN* received from missionaries working in the Transvaal and Swaziland District. The connection between metropolis and colony was evident, despite the political complexities with regard to the Transvaal (as seen in Chapter Two). In most cases, British missionaries were sent to colonies within the British Empire. The Transvaal was a British colony for only a short period from the late 1870s, and then independence was given back to the Boers, making the Transvaal a republic again. However, it remained under British suzerainty until its annexation in 1902. Therefore, despite the fact that the Transvaal was not a British colony during the time of the study (1883 – 1902), the connection between the British and Transvaal was still evident, as British missionaries continued to work in the area

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[127] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, pp. 233-234.

[128] Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* p. 33.

[129] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 233.

[130] Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined communities,* p. 33.

and British material culture was still influential, in the sense of the 'civilising mission' (examples of clothing and architecture are discussed in Chapter Five). The connection between metropolis and colony was a way for the British "at home" to see and 'experience' the foreign fields of the colony, which grew into a fascination with the 'exotic'.

4.5.1. Topics in missionary periodicals

There are many recurring topics of discourse in missionary periodicals, including the biblical commission to spread the Gospel, the conversion of 'heathens,' the spiritual state of the world, and the founding of mission stations. Metaphorical images that were used in missionary periodicals included darkness and light, war, sowing and reaping, journeys and adventures, amongst other commonplace metaphorical 'images'. A form of argumentation used in missionary periodicals was the call for action to the helpless and the 'other' living in poverty.[131]

The missionary periodicals depicted a number of voices, such as the European missionary, the indigenous missionary (usually referred to as 'helpers' or native evangelists), actual or potential converts, and those categorised as 'heathens'. Missionaries, particularly the European, had their own voice as authors. At times, although not often, the voice of converts and even 'heathens' would be reported by the missionaries. Sometimes converts could be authors too, but more often than not, their speech was reported by missionaries.[132]

The kinds of activities that were often reported by the missionaries included preaching, praying, visiting people, talking, singing, reading the Bible, holding services, baptising, translating, travelling, learning languages, celebrating Christmas, erecting buildings, handing out medicine, giving money, writing letters and diaries, and other occupations of the daily missionary life. [133]

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[131] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 236.
[132] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 236.
[133] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 236.

Missionary periodicals often made note of, or re-used each other's material within their contents.[134] Throughout the nineteenth century, the concern for good literature resulted in the production of the "extract", which was a short piece taken from an original work. Many recognised that books from earlier times could seldom be read in their complete form without "peril to the soul";[135] yet those same classics held sound qualities that should not be withheld from the virtuous. Therefore, the old eighteenth century practice of printing pieces of good literature from various individual authors and "elegant extracts" from a whole range of literature, now became a way of controlling what was considered good to read from 'other texts' of literature.[136]

The use of media in missionary periodicals opens the question regarding how missionaries made use of the available technologies to attain the results they wanted. Missionary periodicals informed people of historical events, people and places. However, as has been noted, biases would often take place in the editing phase, which would determine what was left out, and what was left in, and the one who controlled this could influence and shape missionary intelligence.[137]

Missionary periodicals were made for a varied readership with content designed to entertain, edify and inform supporters and friends of the missionary endeavour. Missionary periodicals formed a rich source of information on foreign peoples and lands; however, information about non-Europeans was often based on various 'commonplace' stereotypes.[138] These stereotypes are often expressed in the form of visual metaphors, which are explored next.

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[134] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 48.

[135] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 126.

[136] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 126.

[137] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 10.

[138] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 12.

4.5.2. *Visual metaphors*

A metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to something to which it is not literally applicable; it is, therefore symbolic of something else.[139] Hanno Ehses explains that a metaphor is a figure of resemblance, a tool of comparison. There is an implied comparison between two things of unlike nature.[140] According to grammar and composition expert, Richard Nordqist, a visual metaphor is "the representation of a person, place, thing or idea by way of a visual image that suggests a particular association or point of similarity".[141] Visual metaphors are used for rhetorical purposes, where a technique of juxtaposing or merging certain images with another image or element is employed to suggest comparable qualities.[142] Charles Forceville states that a pictorial or visual metaphor occurs when one visual element, which he calls a tenor or a target, is compared to another visual element, which he calls the vehicle or source. According to him, the vehicle visually transfers, or maps, the meaning onto the tenor, resulting in the metaphor.[143] This is similar to semiotics' 'signifier' and 'signified'.

The visual metaphor is therefore a means of creating meaning visually. It is the path that leads from the text of an image to a concept. This relates to the process of signification, which is the coding dimension that comes before the message transfer and communicative interaction.[144] Exploring visual metaphors is important in this study, as it provides a tool for understanding the symbolism behind images. The visual metaphor can also be seen as a 'sign' as it is the vehicle by which an idea is carried to the mind. The symbolic sign, according to Peirce's sign types, is when an image stands for a larger idea. However, it is important to keep in mind that his sign

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[139] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[140] Ehses, H.J. 1984, Representing Macbeth: A case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 56.

[141] Nordquist, R. 2015, 'Visual metaphor – definitions and examples.' http://grammar.about.com/od/tz/g/vismeterm.htm. Accessed: 2014-01-13.

[142] Kaplan, S. 2005, Visual metaphors in print advertising for fashion products, *in* Smith, K.L. *et al.* (eds.), *Handbook of visual communication,* pp. 167-168.

[143] Forceville, C. 1996, *Pictorial metaphor in advertising,* pp. 127-131.

[144] Ehses, H.J. 1984, Representing Macbeth: A case study in visual rhetoric. *Design Issues* 1 (1), p. 53.

types overlap. Therefore, more than one sign type is often at play in the same image.[145]

In the following section, three common visual metaphors are explored. These visual metaphors are explored as common themes (ideology), as the ideas and meanings reoccur, not just in the *WMN,* but in other periodicals and texts of the time. These themes are explored on a broader scale, while in Chapter Five, specific examples from the *WMN* are analysed.

4.5.2.1.   Themes of the exotic and "the other"

The exotic can be defined as a characteristic that is constructed of a distant or foreign country or person. It is something striking or attractive merely because it is out of the ordinary or not ordinarily encountered.[146] Exoticism became a trend in European art and design as their trade with overseas countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries introduced them to different communities and societies. Great Britain's massive imperial control over lands in China, India, Africa and the Pacific was also a major influence. By the mid-nineteenth century, 'non-Western' forms and ornamental motifs were found on many European decorative arts.[147]

The periodical, as the first mass medium, made visible the commodification of culture. Commercialisation fostered journalistic sensationalism and sobriety alike. Bolder design was used as a means of sensationalism to make up for the inherent redundancy of event-based content, which had become increasingly bland.[148] Exotic designs were used as a way of increasing sensationalism. Although missionary periodicals were often sanitised for the family audience who mirrored the values of the Victorian home, there were sometimes more sensational and exotic images amongst the bland and comfortable ones. Missionary periodicals were intended to

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[145] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 64-65.

[146] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[147] Oshinsky, S.J. 2004, 'Exoticism in the decorative arts' in *Heibrunn Timeline of Art History,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/oxot/hd_exot.htm. Accessed: 2015-01-13.

[148] Wald, J. 2007, Periodicals and Periodicity, *in* Eliot, S. & Rose, J. (eds.), *A companion to the History of the Book,* pp. 425, 427.

reach large audiences and to be commercially viable; therefore sensationalism (*pathos* appeal) was used as a tool to achieve these outcomes.[149]

In the missionary periodicals, the aim was to combine news of foreign and home missions, of which writers and supporters were very aware. This adds the dimension that periodicals bring a perception and presentation of "the other", in which the comparisons and contrasts of gender, race and class attitudes are interplayed in their writings.[150] Many of the illustrations used in missionary periodicals depicted these ideas of the exotic and "the other". A few examples of this can be seen on some of the cover pages of the *WMN*, where palm trees and images of 'wilderness' are depicted and convey the theme of the exotic; illustrations of indigenous people likewise displayed the theme of "the other". Missionary periodicals, such as the *WMN,* also provided a 'window' for Europeans 'at home' to see what 'the foreign' looked like. Since most Europeans could not experience the foreign in reality, curiosity and fascination grew for what was different and 'other'. According to the *Oxford's* denotative definition, "the other" is "that which is distinct from, different from, or opposite to something or oneself".[151] The 'foreign' helped construct a notion of the 'home' culture through a process of 'Othering', where the self is compared to the characteristics of an 'Other' culture.[152] These examples are analysed further in Chapter Five.

The study of the geography of cultures was deeply entangled with empire building. Imperialist ideas contributed to and helped shaped understandings of cultures and colonised people. These ideas were shaped by Western identities, but coloniser and colonised identities were relational and interdependent. The ideas of what it meant to be Western were shaped by the ideas of what it meant to be non-Western.[153] In other words, 'the other' was defined based on what was different to or opposite to what was considered Western. An example of Western clothing is seen in Chapter Five.

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[149] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 10.

[150] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: A neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), pp. 48-49.

[151] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition

[152] Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* pp. 59-60.

[153] Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* p. 59.

Identity is as much defined by what we are *not* as by what we *are.* Groups are often formed based on these identities. Belonging in a group depends on the characteristics chosen as significant by which membership is defined. In geography, groups of 'us' and 'them' are formed based not only on territorial boundaries, but also on issues of differentiation. The unequal relationships between groups are exposed. The subordinate group is seen as 'objects' by the dominant group, and are devalued and disliked. On the other hand, the exclusion of these groups made them desirable to many based on their forbidden and unobtainable identities, therefore, increasing the fascination with 'otherness'.[154]

While Europeans were fascinated with indigenous peoples, they were still seen as lower orders of humanity, and even sometimes a separate species they called 'Noble Savages'. They were depicted as the opposite of Europeans: unclad, openly sexual, illiterate and the opposite of the virtues of Western civilisation.[155] The Europeans were the 'us' group, whereas the foreign or indigenous peoples were the 'them' group. In the *WMN,* the separation between 'us' and 'them' is seen in that the Europeans believed themselves to be the dominant group, and the indigenous people were subordinate to them (see Chapter Five).

4.5.2.2.   *Themes of light and dark*

The use of the metaphorical images of darkness and light are abundant in the missionary periodical. Themes of darkness and light come from certain Scripture passages such as Luke 2:32 and John 8:12 where Jesus is called the light of the world, and Isaiah 9:2:[156] "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined."[157] These Scriptures would be alluded to regularly in the periodicals, together with Matthew 4:16, a passage parallel to Isaiah 9:2, and the second part of 1 John 1:5, stating, "God is light, in him there is no darkness at all". The Biblical origin of the

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[154] Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* pp. 60-62.

[155] Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* p. 63.

[156] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 237.

[157] Isaiah 9:2 (King James Version)

symbolism of light in the language of missionary publications is often explicitly stated. But often the reference to the Bible remains implicit when metaphors of darkness and light are used in descriptions of certain converts, or of general conditions in the 'heathen world.'[158]

Missionaries use darkness to denote heathenism, while light symbolises Christianity, God, Jesus and the Gospel (Peirce's 'symbolic' and 'indexical' signs). This duality is linked to a clear division between evil and wrong versus good and right.[159] The visual representation of duality in the metaphors of light and darkness reduced the complexities of the relationship between Christianity and 'heathenism' and therefore, also between Christians and non-Christians. It made the boundaries between the two seem clear-cut, while assigning positive values to the one group and denouncing the other.[160]

Metaphorical images of light and dark were also found in images and illustrations, showing light and dark, for example, light shining from behind a cross. This further emphasised that the world was dark and evil, and the only remedy was Christianity.[161] An example of this is analysed in the next chapter.

Not only was the contrast of light and dark seen in the symbolism of Christianity as good versus evil, but it was also a visual metaphor for 'the Dark Continent', where Africa was seen as a fearful dark place, in contrast to white, civilised Europe. The missionaries were therefore bringing the light of Christianity. One of the British attitudes toward Africa was that it was seen as a corrupt and evil centre, possessed by demonic "darkness, exemplified by slavery and cannibalism".[162] It was therefore, their duty to exorcise these demons. Missionary accounts were full of the metaphor of bringing in light. A few titles included *Daybreak in the Dark Continent* and *Dawn in*

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[158] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 237.

[159] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 237.

[160] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 238.

[161] Acke, H. 2013, Missionary periodical as a genre, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 238.

[162] Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* p. 71.

the Dark Continent, as well as literary accounts, such as the novel *Heart of darkness* (1899) by Joseph Conrad.[163] Similar to the theme of the exotic, light and dark was also seen in skin colour, which was especially evident in examples of soap advertisements showing the need to 'clean' the black body. This is discussed further in Chapter Six.

Patrick Brantlinger argues that "Africa grew dark" as Victorian explorers, missionaries, and scientists flooded it with light, because the light was refracted through an imperialist ideology that urged the abolition of "savage customs" in the name of civilization".[164] Therefore, the 'Dark Continent' was a myth and invention of the Victorians. It was part of a larger discourse about empire, which was shaped by political and economic pressures.[165] Roland Barthes's second order of signification deals with the idea of the myth. The understanding of myth is seen as a chain of concepts that obscure the real meaning of something by replacing the real meaning. Myths refer to a larger perception of reality that assumes that some ideas are true or false. Visual metaphors can be interpreted by making use of semiotics as a means to interpret signs and uncover both myth and ideologies. This enables one to explore the prejudices that lie beneath the surface of things, which is vital in a visual analysis.[166]

4.5.2.3. *Themes of adventure and heroism*

Mission travel and the idea of adventure were inseparably bound together in late Victorian imperial discourse. Missionaries were the evangelical warriors and heroes in the adventure stories of their periodicals. In the high period of late nineteenth century expansionism, the popular tales of imperial heroism and adventure were shaping the ideologies of Empire. However, the missionary presses were also influenced by this popular heroic genre to deliver their message, despite their initial

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[163] Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* p. 71.

[164] Brantlinger, P. 1985, quoted in, Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* p. 71.

[165] Brantlinger, P. 1985, quoted in, Crang, M. 1998, *Cultural geography,* p. 71.

[166] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual Semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 67-68.

inherent opposition towards it.[167] Heroism also links to the missionaries' notions of superiority.

The marketplace after 1867 was in need of a new kind of text, one that was short and targeted at more specific interests. Magazines won their audience with short sensational tales with illustrations.[168] The most popular publications were made up of adventure stories. To contest this overflow of "pernicious literature", the Religious Tract Society in 1879 began the *Boy's Own Paper,* which tried "to illustrate by practical example the noblest types of manhood and the truest Christian devotion".[169]

Missionary publications were in direct competition with the secular press of the day, to win the hearts and minds of non-believers and bring them to Christianity. Every form of publication – from the short illustrated tract, weekly or monthly periodicals or newsletters, to missionary memoirs and autobiographies – was created to serve this purpose. Therefore, they matched the popular genres, and their price and format closely resembled that of the secular publications, including their illustrations and covers, making the two almost indistinguishable. This is why it is important to look at parallel literature to the *WMN.* Popular secular adventure tales of exploration, soldiering and hunting in various parts of the Empire became increasingly influential on missionary publications. As a result, tales of missionary adventure and admirable heroism were used to represent many regions of mission endeavour,[170] including Africa, India, China and the South Pacific.

The public fascination with the exploration in the "Dark Continent" from the 1840s onwards, ensured that Africa was frequently represented in both secular and mission texts, with heroic, adventure tales. The emphasis on heroism and danger is particularly seen in late nineteenth century imperial narratives and letters. In these tales, ordinary European settlers become imperial adventurers, soldiers and hunters.

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[167] Griffiths, G. 2005, Popular imperial adventure fiction and the discourse of missionary texts, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 51.
[168] Griffiths, G. 2005, Popular imperial adventure fiction and the discourse of missionary texts, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. 53.
[169] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 362.
[170] Griffiths, G. 2005, Popular imperial adventure fiction and the discourse of missionary texts, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* pp. 53-54.

By the 1870s, the adventure element dominated texts. Even in mission writings, the goal of conversion and evangelism sometimes seemed to come secondary to descriptions of exotic African customs, of hunting for game and dangerous river crossings. The message often conveyed was that missions were exciting, for adventurous boy readers of any age. Thus missionaries attempted to lure boy readers away from the increasingly popular secular stories, replacing them with their own adventure accounts for Christian purposes.[171]

Illustrations also became increasingly popular in mission periodicals, depicting the wild, dangerous and adventurous life of the missionary. There are numerous pictures of wild animals, such as elephants, hippos and crocodiles; people crossing rivers with their wagons and cattle; and hunters posing with their guns and the dead wild animals they shot. An example of a lion hunter in *WMN* is discussed in the next chapter, and other similar examples are seen.

4.6. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the contemporaneous literature – especially periodicals – that existed parallel to the *WMN* and how the developments in 'book history' play a role in the analysis of the *WMN*. It examines the rise of mass reading, and the development of newspapers and periodicals. Anderson's theory of an imagined community arising around the shared reading of periodicals is evident from the *WMN*.

One can conclude that three factors played a role in the development and success of periodicals, which included the price, the content and the technology. The formula for popular periodicals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was threefold: a price of 6*d* or lower; a great deal of light fiction and amusing non-fiction; and as many illustrations as possible. Illustrations and visuals played an important role in adding value to periodicals, such as the *WMN*. However, the formula alone would not have sent periodical circulation to the heights it achieved at the end of the Victorian era. It

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[171] Griffiths, G. 2005, Popular imperial adventure fiction and the discourse of missionary texts, *in* Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.), *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* pp. 54-55.

had to be applied, and improved upon, by editors with a special genius for knowing what the mass public wanted and their specific audiences.[172]

The rise of reading and education, as well as class, price and audience factors contributed towards the development and growth of the periodical. Religious and missionary periodicals were used as tools for converting and sustaining Christian belief, but also served as a way to gain supporters in missions, and to help raise funds for missions. The content and themes of missionary periodicals in the nineteenth century, including illustrations, tells one much about the ideas and thoughts of the Victorian European. The examination of other missionary periodicals and their typical content and visual metaphors provide useful context for the *WMN* and the themes of the exotic, light and dark and adventure and heroism. Examples of these illustrations, contents and themes are analysed in the next chapter.

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[172] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 363.

CHAPTER FIVE:
VISUAL ELEMENTS IN THE *WMN*: 1883 - 1902

5.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with examples selected from the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* from 1883 to 1902. Owing to the extent of the time period chosen, it would not be possible to look at every page, cover and illustration. This period shows great change in its design as it evolved with new trends, inventions and technology. The cover page, alone, changed nine times from 1883 to 1902. Therefore a selection of about 35 examples, consisting of cover pages or mastheads, layout of sections and pages, as well as illustrations and photographs from the *WMN* are analysed,[1] while relating them to the cultural context (and the periodical as a whole, when possible) in which they appeared.

Steven Heller and Louise Fili define the art of graphic design as the development of form and concept. According to them, graphic design is rooted in the understanding of, and borrowing from, historical materials. The alphabets, advertisements, ornaments and letterheads from history should be considered a body of evidence that connects us to the past.[2] The *WMN* provide an abundant supply of evidence that connects us to the nineteenth century – the Victorian era. It includes the alphabets, typefaces, advertisements, decorative borders, initial caps, illustrations and photographs that comprise some of the earliest language of graphic design.

This chapter undertakes a visual exploration of specific illustrations, photographs and other visual media found in the periodical, while also relating them to broader thematic trends and ideological frameworks.[3] The methodology in this chapter mainly consists of semiotics, especially using the studies of Peirce and Barthes, as explained in the first chapter, while visual rhetoric is used in specific applications.

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[1] As there are too many examples to include them all, the most appropriate examples are chosen that represent patterns or common themes from the *WMN*. These examples are not necessarily analysed in a

[2] Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2011, *Vintage type and graphics. An eclectic collection of typography, ornament, letterheads, and trademarks from 1896 – 1936*, p. 8.

[3] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 26.

5.2. A brief overview of the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* from 1883 to 1902

A brief overview of the *WMN* is provided as it changed in design, style and format between 1883 and 1902. It is important to try new ideas and change old designs to keep a publication fresh, although not too often that it appears strange. Publications are designed to follow a certain style to give them identity.[4] The *WMN* is a good example of a publication that changed its design to "keep up with the times" as technology advanced and to satisfy the new curiosities and expectations of its readers. Yet it also maintained familiarity and a certain identity, often by introducing change slowly.

The first set of cover designs from 1883 changed slightly from month to month, but kept to the same template and format. The monthly change was usually just the use of a different picture – often of one of the foreign locations – however, some images were repeated or rotated after a few months. Four of these covers are briefly explored. The second change to the cover design was in 1884. These covers also changed month to month, while still keeping to the same overall design format. This was followed by the third change in cover design in 1886. In 1886 a new cost- and space-saving format was introduced, which consisted of a masthead with the title on the first page, instead of the full-page cover design.

In 1887, illustrations were introduced into the periodical, as a result of the "increased demand for diagrams and curiosities."[5] It appears that, owing to cost, illustrations in the text substituted the fully illustrated cover page. In 1889 the design changed again, but still consisted of a masthead with a heading for its title and less decoration than previously. The significant change in 1889 was a full-page advertisement placed on the back page. Previously, the back page was either blank, or contained "Contributions" or "Announcements."

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[4] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 2.
[5] Anonym. 1889. Editorial notices. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), p. 1.

The design of the cover page was changed in 1890, returning to the full-page cover design with the "Contents" on the cover. The full-page advertisement remained on the back page. In addition to the back page advertisement, a second full page advertisement was on occasion found on the page adjacent to the "Contributions" page. Illustrations had become a regular feature in the periodicals and were becoming more popular and were used more frequently. At the end of 1891, the first printed photographs were used.

From 1892, a new design was used in which a full-page cover was used for the whole year's periodicals. The cover design was plain, containing only text which included the title, series, volume and publishing information, as well as the year of publication, written as: "For the Year, 1892." Despite the lack of detail and pictures on the cover; illustrations, maps and photographs still appeared frequently in the subsequent pages. With one cover for the entire year, monthly sections used the same design that was used in 1889, which consisted of a simple masthead that had the title, and two straight lines as a divider between the heading and the text. This design pattern was continued in 1893.

In 1894, the use of a masthead remained and the design stayed the same, except that the paragraph divider was now slightly more decorated. This minor change would have had a low impact on the readers. This design remained up until the end of 1899, after which a complete redesign was done in 1900. This new design was more elaborate, and an 'ornamental' feel was created throughout the pages of the periodical. While the idea of a masthead remained, it took up more space on the page than before, taking up approximately a quarter of the front page. The masthead contained the title of the notices in a new calligraphic font with the information about the series. The sub-headings were designed similarly, and were often contained within a decorated frame, with illustrations such as flowers forming part of the border. It appears to be the first time that major emphasis was placed on the sub-headings. The layout contained new drop caps, with each subsequent subheading in differing decorative frames, some of which contained rather decorative patterns or drawings surrounding the text frame. This design is seen in 1901 and 1902.

5.3. Designing for periodicals

It is important to understand some of the basics of periodical publishing when studying the format and graphics used in the *WMN*. According to Jan V. White, some of the basics that make a publication successful include organisation, neatness and most importantly, content. The graphics are the outward, visible manifestation of these basics. According to White, the graphics are not simply an added element to make a story look "pretty," but are "an organising element of the editorial product, growing out of the thoughts contained within it, giving them visible form."[6]

Publication design is an effective mix of text and image designed to catch the attention of the reader and hold it, making the reading experience easy and enjoyable.[7] In the *WMN,* the mixture of text and image is clearly seen. Initially, images mostly exist on the cover pages with text for the title and table of contents; as technology developed, first illustrations, then photographs, appeared amongst the text, sometimes at the expense of the cover design. The images used in text often helped support the story or report, giving the readers a visual 'window' into the missionaries' world.

5.3.1.   *The cover*

The cover is often considered to be one of the most important features of any publication, because it is an "attention-grabber" and "curiosity-arouser" that gets the attention of the readers and tempts them to look inside.[8] The aim of the front cover is to invite the reader to purchase it and engage with its contents.[9] The cover is what a reader sees first, and it is what registers foremost in the viewer's mind. The content is equally important, but it requires intellectual effort and time to examine, remember and visualise, whereas the cover is more accessible. The cover is a symbol of welcoming and familiarity, so that readers actually look forward to receiving the next

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[6] White, J. V. 1976, *Designing … for magazines*, p. x.

[7] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 1.

[8] White, J. V. 1976, *Designing … for magazines*, p. 1.

[9] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 1.

issue.[10] The cover itself can be considered an iconic sign, as it makes the publication recognisable, and readers recognise it as belonging to the *WMN*.

While there is no precise formula[11] for any one publication, according to White, covers are generally made up of four elements. The first is the basic format of the page, which is the normal arrangement of the page, which stays the same issue to issue, but changes from time to time. The second element is the logo or title of the publication, as well as supplementary information such as the date, price and issue number. The third element is the illustrations, which vary in subject and graphic treatment from issue to issue. The last element is the content for that issue, varying in words and position if the format allows.[12] In the *WMN,* the basic format of the page remained the same for certain periods of time, but changed to something new every few years. While the *WMN* never had a "logo" as such, the title of the publication was made apparent in a bold manner to emphasise its title. In the early 1880s, the title would be specifically designed for the cover page, however, as times changed and cover page formats changed, the title at times changed to a simple enlarged heading in the masthead. Elaborate illustrations appeared on the covers of the early editions, after which they were often in the text. On most of the full-page covers of the *WMN* there was also a brief table of contents.

5.3.1.1. *Borders and patterns*

Typical Victorian houses were characterised by elaborate scroll-work facades and other eccentric embellishment.[13] This influence is seen in *WMN* cover pages from 1886 to 1888, where the 'Contents' is framed in a border embellished with scrolls on the corners and the top and bottom of the frame, as seen in the January 1886 *WMN* cover **(Figure 28)**.

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[10] White, J. V. 1976, *Designing … for magazines*, pp. 1-2.

[11] The elements of the cover design depends on the goals and characteristics of that particular publication. (White, J.V. 1976, *Designing … for magazines,* p.3.)

[12] White, J.V. 1976, *Designing … for magazines*, p. 3.

[13] Heller, S. & Anderson, G. 2007, *New vintage type. Classic fonts for the digital age,* p. 12.
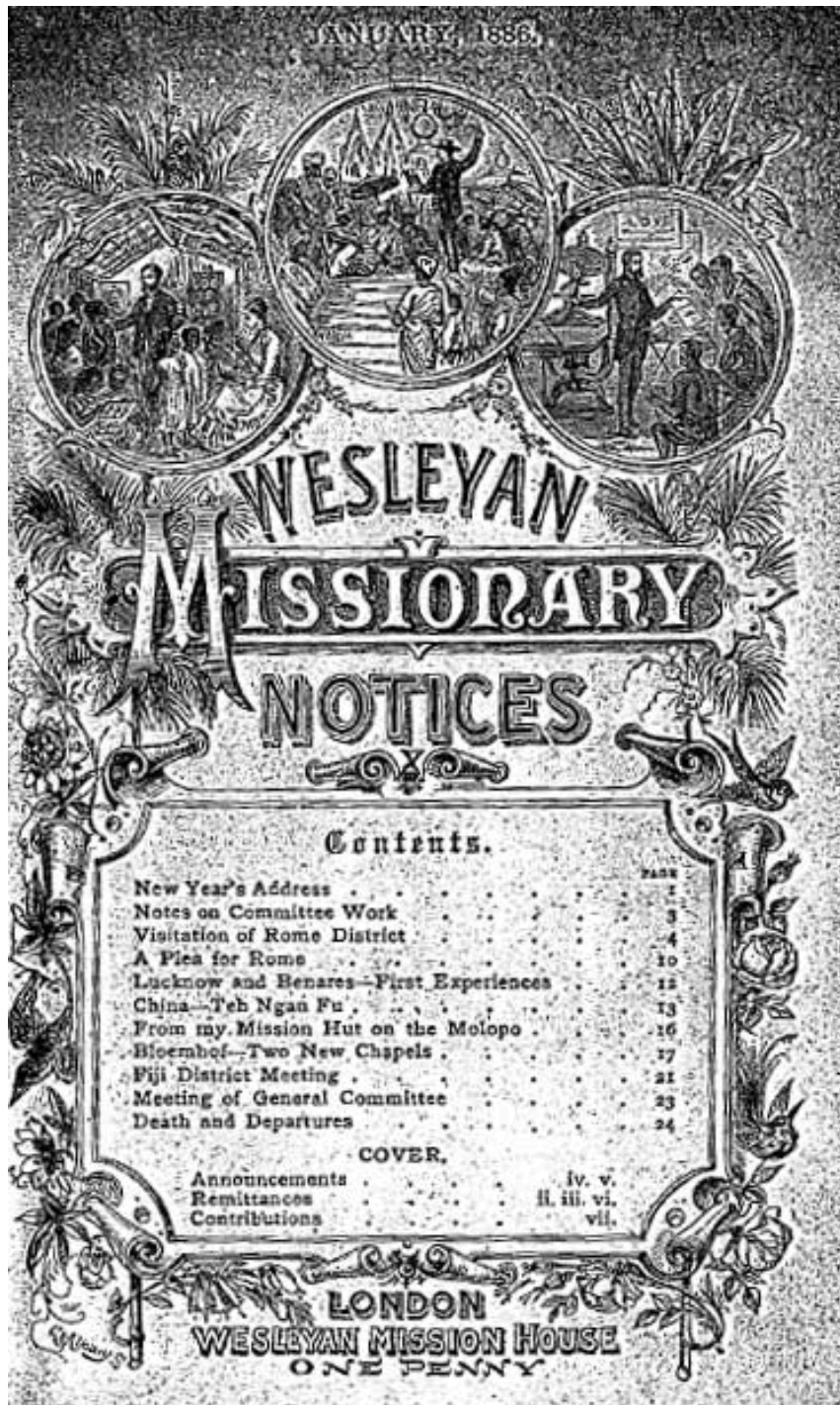
Figure 28: *WMN* cover design, January 1886.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), 1886.
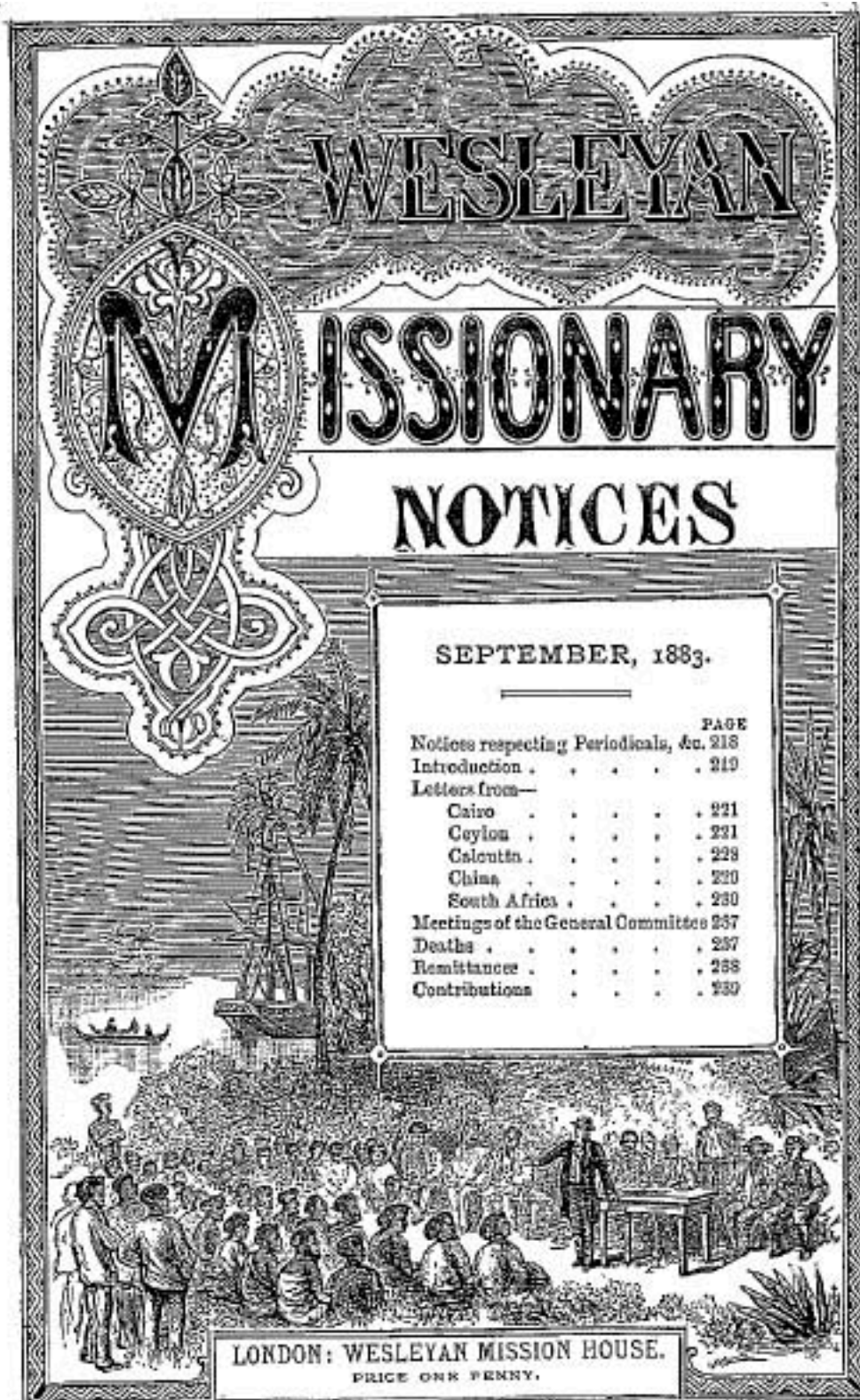
Figure 29: *WMN* cover design, September 1883.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), 1883.

Decoration is central to all kinds of design, and decorative borders and initial capitals have been a primary element of the printer's visual lexicon. The use of decorative material is determined by the aesthetic essence of the structure. For instance, a page that makes use of Art Nouveau lettering is sympathetic to naturalistic, curvilinear ornament. Type designers have spent much time creating families of borders, cornices, and frames. Craftsmen would arduously engrave intricate designs, meandering patterns and eccentric arabesques.[14]

Decorative and ornamental borders and flourishes are found throughout the *WMN*. For example, on the cover designs from 1883, there is a zig-zag type border **(Figure 29)**, which may be influenced by or reflective of the local patterns some African communities would use to decorate their dwellings, beaded adornments or clothing. However, it was not uncommon to see such borders throughout Europe, as can be compared with the example from the Amsterdam Type Foundry c. 1890s **(Figure 30)**. Towards the end of the *WMN*'s publication, the entire format changed. The new style made use of many ornamental type flourishes as borders and corners of dividers, as can be seen in the masthead of the *WMN* for 1900 **(Figure 31)**. The new style had more of an Art Nouveau feeling, as the ornamentation appears more free-flowing, making use of natural elements such as leaves, flowers and curved lines. This masthead is very typical of Art Nouveau, with the use of the roots, stem and leaves, as well as the flowers.[15] According to Marilyn Stokstad, Art Nouveau was a movement which started in the early 1890s.[16] It affected all aspects of European art, architecture and design. It was a rejection of the new industrial society and sought aesthetic forms that would retain the preindustrial sense of beauty. Artists and designers drew inspiration from nature, such as vines, leaves, flowers, snakes and

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[14] Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2011, *Vintage type and graphics. An eclectic collection of typography, ornament, letterheads, and trademarks from 1896 – 1936.*, p. 131.

[15] An hourglass is also seen in the masthead, which is a symbol of time and death. The symbolism is drawn from its form: the two compartments that represent the high and the low, or heaven and earth. (Schuon, F. 2009, *Logic and transcendence: a new translation with selected letters* (ed. J.S. Cutsinger)*, p. 143.) The symbolism is discussed briefly further on.

[16] Stokstand says that Art Nouveau lasted for about a decade, however it lasted for close to two decades, usually dated up to about 1918. However, Steven Heller and Louise Fili in *Stylepedia* explain that in little over a decade Art Nouveau had run its natural course, and that by the early twentieth century "Art Nouveau was … no longer nouveau." It had become so popular that it had lost its uniqueness. Despite this argument, it still continued to appear in advertising media, motifs for furniture, wallpaper and even architecture, albeit 'old-fashioned,' up until about World War I, which put an abrupt end to all things eccentric. After the war, other styles had emerged and flourished as alternatives to Art Nouveau. (Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2006, *Stylepedia,* p. 43.)

winged insects. It was a style that was meant to be graceful and organic, with curvilinear designs.[17] The Art Nouveau style and the Victorian style had many elements in common. The border on the *WMN* cover from 1884 to 1885 consists of a flowing vine with leaves at the top, and detailed flower cornices at the bottom (see **Figure 34**).

Figure 30: *Zwart-Grijs Randen* No. 3. (Black and Grey Border No. 3.), by "Lettergieterij 'Amsterdam' voorheen n. Tetterode" (Amsterdam Type Foundry, before known as Tetterode). c. 1890s.
Source: Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2011, *Vintage type and graphics,* p. 137.

Figure 31: *WMN Masthead,* January 1900.
Source: 'Masthead', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), 1900, p. 1.

5.3.1.2.   The title and typography

Type is one of the primary tools of a publication design, as it can radically change the look of the publication, and can therefore also alter the reader's experience. Type is a tool of communication and an art of commerce. According to Frost, when the right typeface and size are used, the reading experience can be made effortless, whereas

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[17] Stokstand, M. 2005, *Art history,* pp. 1003-1004.

bad choices may result in readers giving up without realising why it is such a strain.[18] In Chapter Three, it was seen that line length played an important role in making reading easier, hence the *WMN*'s use of double columns from time to time.

The diversely styled alphabets dating back to the end of the nineteenth century had one purpose, and that was to attract the eye. While type was still a means of spreading the word, it was also a device for establishing mood and style. In literature and official documents, it was sufficient that a typeface was legible; however, in advertising or cover pages, a typeface had to have a distinct personality that demanded attention.[19] Therefore, rhetorically, the typeface serves as role of hierarchy in the arrangement of the design.

In the days of letterpress, there were other factors involved in choosing a typeface. The actual process of printing meant that great care had to be taken over the choice of type to ensure image clarity. Letterpress is a contact process where the type hammers into the paper at a high speed, therefore a font needed to be able to stand up to those pressures and still print legibly. The type was cast in metal and the metal block on which it was cast would determine the size of the type.[20] However, it is unlikely that the typography made use of in the titles on the *WMN* cover pages made use of letterpress type, it is possible that the titles were illustrated and engraved and created as a part of the cover image, probably printed using a lithographic process. It was not uncommon for typefaces to be illustrated as part of a larger design, as was seen in the example of Blake's *Songs of Innocence* in Chapter Three **(Figure 21)**. It is also clear that the lettering was probably influenced and copied from popular typefaces from the Victorian era. The lettering in the title in **Figure 29,** for instance, can be compared with the lettering in **Figures 32** and **33.** However, the body copy text of the *WMN* content was probably dependent on the letterpress, and the typeface used would be limited to a number of factors, and most importantly it had to print legibly.

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[18] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 3.

[19] Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2011, *Vintage type and graphics. An eclectic collection of typography, ornament, letterheads, and trademarks from 1896 – 1936*, p. 11.

[20] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, pp. 83, 85.

Chapter Three explained how different families of type developed, and how typefaces are also categorised by their style type, such as *Serif, Slab-Serif, Sans Serif, Script* and *Decorative*.[21] The typeface used in the *WMN* body copy could be categorised as a serif font, also known as a roman typeface. The roman typeface, known for its legibility, became well-known for its specific use in newspapers and periodicals. Newspapers prefer roman typefaces because they are narrower and fit more words per line.[22] It was accepted that the legibility of letters was improved with the use of serifs,[23] and was therefore preferred by publications such as *WMN*.

Figure 1̶3̶2: *Washington Series,* by the American Type Founders Company, c. 1887-1889.
Source: Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2011, *Vintage type and graphics,* p. 40.
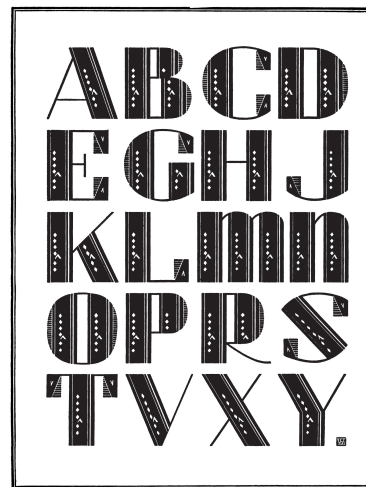
Figure 33: Decorative Typeface from late nineteenth century.
Source: Heller, S. & Fili, L. 2011, *Vintage type and graphics,* p. 112.

Decorative fonts (see **Figure 33**) cover a wide range and have a "fun feel". Decorative fonts would not usually be used for more than a few words, as they are difficult to read in larger bodies of type. However, they add emphasis or impact to a headline or caption, or decorate or illustrate concepts. Decorative fonts are used sparingly, but in the right circumstance they can add to the message being conveyed.[24] The new display of typefaces introduced in the nineteenth century was often blatant,

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[21] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 92.
[22] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* pp. 291-292.
[23] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 92.
[24] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 92, 94.

bizarre and designed for use in the increasingly competitive world of commerce.[25] The typefaces used in the title-piece of the *WMN* (see **Figures 28** and **29**) would be considered decorative fonts, as they would not be ideal for body copy, and were designed to stand out. The style of the typefaces compared to typefaces used for advertising and commercial purposes, where the aim was to attract the eye so that readers would recognise it as a logotype or brand mark, and immediately associate it with the missionary periodical. Therefore, the title-piece of the *WMN* is not only iconic of typography used in Victorian advertisements, but rhetorically, it acts as an element of hierarchy in the cover page arrangement, confirming that the periodical's title was deemed important.

The title-piece is the publication's name and plays a crucial part in its marketing. The title-piece is the presentation of the brand name and should be recognisable before it is read.[26] The title of the publication on the front cover often forms a logotype as the trademark of the publication. It is the symbol that ought to come to mind immediately when the publication is mentioned. This logotype would normally be found placed at the top of the front page, especially if the publication was sold on newsstands, in which case having the title at the top is important for it to be noticed among other publications.[27] Great emphasis is given to the title-piece of the *WMN* on the full-page cover page designs. While it was not a "logo", it did serve to attract attention and form a brand mark that would be familiar. However, each time the cover design changed, so did the title-piece. This was possibly an attempt to create something new each time the cover was redesigned, in the hope of attracting new readers and showing progress.

The use of typography in the *WMN* title-piece is iconic of Victorian type, in that it makes use of elaborate ornamentation. Victorian typography is harmonious with most other artistic endeavours seen during the nineteenth century. Its obsessive ornamentation echoed England's need to come to terms with the evils of industrialisation, and was used as a way to mask the intimidating "industrial monsters

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[25] Turnbull, A.T. & Baird, R.N. 1980, *The graphics of communication: typography, layout, design, production*, pp. 97-98.
[26] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 21.
[27] White, J. V. 1976, *Designing…for magazines*, pp. 6-7.

and its dark spreading shadow".[28] It also served as a way to mediate between the old vintage principles and the shock of the new. Changes in modern life were very intimidating, so Victorian ornamental design, and type in particular, was a way to bridge the gap between the old and the new, the known and unknown.[29]

Most Victorian type was designed to imitate fashion, but as it grew increasingly eccentric, and elaborate, it became its own fashion. The common notion was that Victorian type design was eclectically over-decorated. However, the Victorian style comprises a combination of different typefaces, ornaments and other typographic elements, rather than the typeface design itself. The mix of type and image is vast and ever changing, and the display and ornament of the Victorian aesthetic is a popular style.[30] The title-piece in the *WMN* not only made use of elaborate ornamental typography, but also used combinations of a variety of typefaces, typical of Victorian typography.

In 1883 the title-piece **(Figure 29)** all in uppercase, consists of three different typefaces, with each word displayed on a separate line in its own font. "*Wesleyan*" is written in a decorative bold serif font in black with a white outline. "*Missionary*" is a decorative font in black with a simple pattern formed with white markings. The "*M*" has also been made into a monogram, in its own highly decorated frame. "*Notices*" is written in a bold serif that has curled serifs, similar to the typeface seen in **Figure 32**. The title-piece on the covers from 1884 to 1885, as seen in **Figure 34,** is made up of two typefaces. "*Wesleyan*" and "*Notices*" are both written in the same outlined calligraphic-style typeface in sentence case, while "*Missionary*" is uppercase in a different decorative serif typeface, and once again the "*M*" is emphasised as it is larger than the other letters.

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[28]White, J. V. 1976, *Designing ... for magazines*, p. 3.

[29] White, J. V. 1976, *Designing ... for magazines*, p. 3.

[29] Heller, S. & Anderson, G. 2007, *New vintage type. Classic fonts for the digital age,* pp. 12-13.

[30] Heller, S. & Anderson, G. 2007, *New vintage type. Classic fonts for the digital age,* p. 13.

Figure 34: *WMN* cover design, April 1884.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), 1884.

From 1886 to 1888, the title-piece **(Figure 28)**, once again used three different typefaces. "*Wesleyan"* is written in a light sans serif typeface and its line of text has been slightly curved above the "*Missionary"* which is framed in a decorative border and "*Notices*" is in a heavier sans serif typeface with a white outline. The "*M*" has been emphasised into its own monogram as it had been with earlier designs. Therefore, despite the change, there is an element of continuation.

5.3.1.3.   *The Table of Contents*

The table of contents is used by editors to lead readers deeper into the publication. It underlies the inherent importance of the material covered by the publication, therefore, not only does it need to appear important, but it should also be easy to find, strategically positioned where the reader cannot miss it.[31] In many of the *WMN* publications, the Contents is found centred on the cover page, so that readers can see the contents before opening its pages. For example, in 1883, the Contents is framed within a white box under the title of the publication, and stands out as a main feature on the page **(Figure 29)**. The title within the box consists of the month, followed by the year, such as "September, 1883" followed underneath by the sections and contents with the page number to the right. 1n 1884 to 1885, there appears to be no formal use of a contents page, as there are no contents found on the cover page nor the following pages. However, from 1886 to 1888, the Contents features again on the cover page, as seen in **Figure 28**, which shows the Contents framed with illustrations on the bottom half of the cover, underneath the title. In the contents box, the title "Contents" is displayed in a calligraphic-type typeface – also seen as sub-headings throughout the publication – underneath which the contents are listed with the page number to the right. The *WMN* table of contents would typically include notices respecting the periodical, an introduction, announcements or anniversaries, departures and deaths; the main content comprised reports or letters from the colonies and remittances and contributions concluded the publication.

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[31] White, J. V. 1976, *Designing … for magazines*, p. 33.

5.3.2. Graphic elements in the content

While the aim of the front cover is to invite the reader to pick up the publication, the inside has to continue that experience by offering content that is interesting, educational or entertaining. Publication design involves a number of differing elements including headlines, body text, pictures, graphics, typefaces and white space. These elements help form the publication's style. When studying a publication's style, the technical limitations of the production process are taken into consideration, as well as the fashion of the time.[32]

5.3.2.1. Initial letters and decorative elements

Initial letters, also called drop letters, are display-sized letters integrated into the body copy. They serve a dual function. The first is to add a bit of decoration to an area that would otherwise be dull; the second is to bridge the gap between headings and text.[33] Turnbull and Baird mention two types of initial letters. The first is *rising initials,* where a word or two of the text is in capital letters or small caps following the initial, and the initial rests on the first line. The second is *set-in initials* where the initial rests on a lower line of the text, and caps generally do not follow.[34] An example of a *set-in initial* is seen in **Figure 35**, where the "G" rests on the second line of the text, but the first word has also been capitalised.[35] There is a wider range of initial letters, especially in the *WMN.* The initial letters are of varying designs, and were not always decorative in nature. An initial was often the only decorative element amongst pages of body copy, especially before illustrations were added.

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[32] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, pp. 1-2.

[33] Turnbull, A.T. & Baird, R.N. 1980, *The graphics of communication: typography, layout, design, production*, p. 113.

[34] Turnbull, A.T. & Baird, R.N. 1980, *The graphics of communication: typography, layout, design, production*, p. 113.

[35] Appelbe, R.F. 1889, A thousand miles into the interior of South Africa. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 274.

A THOUSAND MILES INTO THE INTERIOR OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE REV. R. F. APPELBE.

GASITSIOE, chief of the Bangwaketse, a people living at Kanye, a town seventy miles north of Mafikeng, had killed himself with brandy. In accordance with the custom of the Bechuana, a message of condolence was sent from Montsioa, chief of Baralofi. Such a message is valued according to the number of the messengers. Three of Montsioa's sons, thirty horsemen, three carts and two wagons full of people conveyed to Gasitsioe's relatives the condolences of Montsion. Having wished for a long time to visit the country north of Mafikeng, I took this opportunity of going. We left Mafikeng on Tuesday morning, July 23rd. I was accompanied by one of the chief's sons, and travelled in a cart drawn by six mules. We found water at Ramatlhabama river, fifteen miles from Mafikeng, and after that saw no more until we reached Kanye. At sunset we *bivouacked* in a little wood; immense camp fires were kindled; kettles filled from water bottles soon sang merry and inspiring tunes, and soon all were cheered and satisfied with coffee, bread and meat.

Soon was heard the well-known cry, " Tlañ Mo thapeloñ," " Come to prayer." Round an immense fire we all gathered to the number of about seventy persons. We sang an evening hymn, and then I commended all to the care of the " Keeper of Israel."

As the night was cold, we piled more wood upon the fires, and wrapped in our blankets we stretched ourselves upon the ground before the fires to sleep. Making an early start we reached Kanye in the afternoon. Kanye is a large town, and has a population of about fifteen thousand people; the place is situated upon the top of a hill some two hundred or three hundred feet high. My host was the Rev. James Good, of the London Missionary Society. He has been at work amongst the people for close upon eighteen years. When he first came there were but few Christians, but now they may be reckoned by hundreds. He has one

Figure 35: A page from *WMN,* September 1889.
Source: Appelbe, R.F. 1889, A thousand miles into the interior of South Africa. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 274.

Figure 36: A double-spread page from *WMN,* April 1890.
Source: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* April 1890, pp. 228-229.

Figure 37:
Decorative initial letter, in *WMN* April 1890.
Source: Mowson, C. W. 1890, Klerksdorp new native church. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 228.

Initial letters not only provide a gap connecting the heading and the text, but are also one of the earliest ways of providing an entry point into the article or text. Initial letters often consisted of big monastic scripts, which were highly decorated and illuminated, showing readers where to start reading.[36] Two decorative initial letters, a "T"[37] and "D"[38], can be found in the double-spread layout in **Figure 36.** A close up of the "T" is seen in **Figure 37.** They display the fancy capital letter in a block surrounded by arabesque patterns of twines or leaves. This specific drop letter was one of the most popular ones used in the *WMN*.

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[36] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 98.

[37] Mowson, C. W. 1890, Klerksdorp new native church. *Wesleyan missionary notices* (April), p. 228.

[38] Bossi, A. 1890, Inaugurations of Methodist services in a primitive Christian church. *Wesleyan missionary notices* (April), p. 229.

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The initial letter's highly decorative form was once a sacred icon of manuscript culture, and gradually found its way into secular texts, especially journalism, and spread widely in the use of newsletters and reports.[39] In **Figure 38**, another example of an initial letter from April 1890 is seen, where the initial letter is displayed as significantly bigger than those normally used, and more elaborately decorated. The letter "W"[40] is displayed boldly with a combination of thick and thinner strokes, with the detailed illustration of a flower wrapped around the strokes of the letter. The purpose of the initial letter is, as Turnbull and Baird explain, to add decoration and display in an otherwise plain page, and virtually acts as an image that leads the eye into the text.[41] Kostelnick and Hassett also state that a page that has a large heading or initial letter would draw a reader in to that part of the text, and the reader would therefore infer that it has greater importance. If the print were small and had no emphasis, it may have been interpreted as less important because it lacks perceptual impact.[42] In visual rhetoric, the initial letter, therefore, also serves the role of hierarchy in the arrangement, as it indicates what is most important, or where one should begin reading.

Figure 38: An elaborately decorated initial letter, in *WMN* April 1890.
Source: Langdon, S. 1890, The Uva Missions. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 184.

5.3.2.2.   *Headings as display*

Headings play an important part in publication design, as they signal the entry points and lead the reader's eye around the page. The *WMN* mostly made use of simple single column headings varying in style, depending on the requirements of the copy. The main headings were written in capital letters, with the deck or subheading either in uppercase or sentence case. Headings were kept simple without any decorative

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[39] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 69.

[40] Langdon, S. 1890, The Uva Missions. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 184.

[41] Turnbull, A.T. & Baird, R.N. 1980, *The graphics of communication: typography, layout, design, production*, p. 113.

[42] Kostelnick, C. & Hassett, M. 2003, *Shaping information. The rhetoric of visual communication*, p. 52.

elements, other than the occasional decorative initial letter just beneath them. The most commonly used heading style is seen on the left-hand side of the page of **Figure 36**, which displays the single line headings "Klerksdorp new native church" (1890).[43] Another common heading style in the *WMN* was the multi-deck heading, as seen in **Figure 36** on the right-hand side of the page with three separate lines, where the second and third lines act as subheadings.[44] In general, the multi-deck heading was popular in earlier publications. A multi-deck heading is one with several separate headings relating to the same story, which is not to be confused with how many lines a heading has.[45] Another, less common heading style, was the multi-line heading, where one heading was displayed over two or more lines, such as the heading "A thousand miles into the interior of South Africa" (1889)[46] displayed over two lines, and followed by the authors' names in the by-line text below **(Figure 35)**.

Figure 39: Section heading for the 'Transvaal & Swaziland District' in *WMN,* February 1900.
Source: Anonym. 1900, Our missionary districts: Transvaal & Swaziland District. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (July), p. 202.

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[43] Mowson, C. W. 1890, Klerksdorp new native church. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,*(April), p. 228.

[44] Bossi, A. 1890, Inaugurations of Methodist services in a primitive Christian church. *Wesleyan Methodist Notices* (April), p. 229

[45] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 69.

[46] Appelbe, B.F. 1889, A thousand miles into the interior of South Africa. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 274.

Figure 40: Subheading for 'The Missionary Committee' section, in *WMN*, January 1900.
Source: Anonym. 1900, The Missionary Committee. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), p. 258.

Figure 41: Subheading for 'Letters from Abroad' in *WMN,* January 1900.
Source: Anonym. 1900, Letters from Abroad. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), p. 300.

While little elaboration was given in the headlines and subheadings of the *WMN* during the 1880s and 1890s, much attention was given to the decoration of headings and subheadings in the new layout from 1900. **Figure 39** shows a main heading for a section.[47] It appears larger and more elaborately decorated than the other subheadings **(Figures 40** and **41).** The main heading is decorated with detailed curvilinear flower forms, in an Art Nouveau style. Therefore, one can understand that it is meant to stand out from the rest and take priority in hierarchy. **Figures 40** and **41** show subheadings with decorated frames and ornamental flourishes.[48] Whereas in the previous two decades the initial letter would be the main element attracting attention, from 1900 the headings and subheadings were used to draw the readers' attention, even though similar initial letters were still used (see **Figure 37**). Headlines, chapter or section headings and classification titles serve to attract the reader to the text of the message. The headline also summarises or directly suggests the content of the message. The headline may work in conjunction with the illustration – if there is an illustration – however, illustrations can be interpreted individually, whereas words are more specific in meaning, and therefore may grab the attention if they are emphasised

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[47] Anonym. 1900, Our missionary districts: Transvaal & Swaziland District. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (July), p. 202.

[48] Anonym. 1900, The Missionary Committee. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), p. 258; Anonym. 1900, Letters from abroad. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), p. 300.

in a heading.[49] As mentioned previously, the headlines in the *WMN* in the 1880s and 1890s did not attempt to attract attention. Rather, the headlines summarised the articles, and told the reader the subject of the content. They also provided important information, such as the author, usually under the main headline. After that, the *WMN* relied more on the initial letter to attract attention to the article. However, the headings and subheadings used from 1900, as elaborate and decorated as they were, appear to be standard headings that were used month after month (such as "Letters from Abroad", **Figure 41**), and therefore did not summarise or provide much information about the article that followed. This was perhaps a cost-effective way of adding more decoration to the page, without having to create new headings for each article.

5.3.2.3.   *Pictures: images, illustrations and photographs*

A vital element of any publication is the images, whether these are photographs or graphics, or a combination of both. Pictures are vital in telling a story, and not only help form the style of a publication, but also give the publication its visual identity.[50] In Chapter Three, it was seen how illustrations became increasingly popular, especially with the advances in technology. With the innovations in the printing press, illustrations became cheaper and easier to reproduce, becoming increasingly popular in periodicals and newspapers. The types of illustrations also advanced from simple wood-block engraving illustrations to photographic engravings and eventually, the printing of photographs.

Missionary periodicals, despite being "rarely inventive in format or protocol",[51] kept up with mass media trends. They often based their publication upon other products in the market. By the middle of the 1880s, a number of missionary periodicals were making use of the technology that printed photographs on paper.[52] However, the

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[49] Turnbull, A.T. & Baird, R.N. 1980, *The graphics of communication: typography, layout, design, production*, p. 271.

[50] Frost, C. 2003, *Designing for newspapers and magazines*, p. 3.

[51] Altholz, J.L. 1991, quoted in, Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 11.

[52] Jensz, F. & Acke, H. 2013, Introduction, *in* Jensz, F. & Acke, H. (eds.), *Missions and media. The politics of missionary periodicals in the long nineteenth century*, p. 11.

WMN only made use of this technology in the early 1890s. Despite being behind some other periodicals, the *WMN* showed progress and change, and implemented new technologies when possible.

The iconography of missionary periodicals, in the form of woodcuts and engravings, and then later photographs, is an important aspect of study. The role that missionary periodicals play in circulating visual images of the exotic parts of the world cannot be overestimated.[53] Many missionaries and periodicals were swift in taking photographs and spreading images, however, some publications were more cautious.[54] The Brethren *Echoes of Service*, for example, stated in the Preface of the 1898 volume,

> This year we have ventured to add illustrations … For the supply of photographs we have generally been indebted to friends or to workers in other lands who have taken with them a small photographic apparatus. Though there is a danger connected with the use of pictures, we trust that those which have appeared have only been helpful by bringing before us labourers, natives and places in different countries and by fostering intelligent and prayerful interest. Young ones in families also, we doubt, not have had their minds directed by these pictures to many lands and we trust that in the hearts of some who know the Lord desires have been implanted to serve Him in years to come.[55]

In the *WMN,* the use of images in the text only became common after 1887. Before then, the main image, often the only one, was the one on the front cover. The image on the front covers was important, in that it gave the overall impression of the publication, and communicated strong messages about the missionaries, the colonisers and the colonised. After 1887, pictures were provided to illustrate the stories and articles published. The earlier illustrations used in the *WMN* were often drawings, lithographs or engravings. It was not until the 1890s that photographs appeared in the *WMN.* This may have been owing to the fact that transporting photographic equipment to and in the field was a difficult task[56], or simply because of financial reasons. In the next section, a more detailed look is taken at images.

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[53] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: a neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 51.

[54] Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: a neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 52.

[55] Quoted in, Barringer, T. 2004, What Mrs Jellyby might have read missionary periodicals: a neglected source. *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37(4), p. 52.

[56] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 28.

5.4. Decoding the *WMN*: symbolism and meaning

As discussed in the first chapter, denotation is Roland Barthes's first order of signification and refers to the most literal meaning.[57] Barthes suggests that signs working at a denotative level are easy to decode or to sum up the meanings of an image.[58] However, according to Barthes's second order of signification (connotation, myth and symbolism), signs and meanings are largely contextually or culturally determined.[59] This methodology, along with the semiotics of Peirce and visual rhetoric, will now be applied to decode the images and graphic content of the *WMN* to determine their symbolism and meaning.

5.4.1. *Picturing empire*

James R. Ryan, in *Picturing empire,* argues that photographs from late nineteenth century imperial Britain, were composed, reproduced, circulated and arranged for consumption within particular social circles in Britain. From these photographs one can uncover much about the imaginative landscapes of imperial culture, as well as the physical spaces or people pictured within their frame. Ryan notes that in this way they themselves are representations of the knowledge and power that shaped the reality of Empire. It was through a variety of cultural texts that the British Empire was constructed in the Victorian imagination.[60] In a similar way, before the use of photographs, illustrations were created and used that depicted much about the imaginative or perceived landscapes, spaces and the people of imperial culture. This is especially apparent in several cover illustrations of the *WMN.*

The first covers that are analysed date from 1883. The *WMN* produced a number of covers in this year, using illustrations to depict the different British colonies that the

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[57] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 66.

[58] Rose, G. 2001, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, pp. 79-80.

[59] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual semiotics, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, p. 66.

[60] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, pp. 19–20.

missionaries would be sent to. The first illustration is from March 1883 (**Figure 42**), which depicts Africa.[61] Symbolic and indexical signs are apparent. This can be seen in the use of black African people (representing Africa) sitting around the well-dressed white missionary (representing Europe), the woman with the baby on her back (symbolic of African culture where mothers carry their babies on their backs, rather than pushed in a pram), and the outdoor *bushveld* setting such as the camp fire and the plant species in the background (representing the foreign wilderness and 'non-civilisation'). The missionary is the only one on a chair and he is on the left hand side of the picture, which is important because we read from left to right. His body language is confident and he holds up his hand as a symbol of authority. The light of the fire is symbolic of the light the missionaries bring into the 'dark continent'. The table of contents indicate that there are letters from South Africa and Western Africa in this issue, but letters from other colonies, such as China and Ceylon, were also included. This indicates that the issue did not focus specifically on the illustrated destination but it set the scene of 'the exotic'.

Catherine Hall explains this authority of the English by defining the difference between the English and the British subject. The people of South Africa, or any other British colony, were British subjects; however, British subjects were denied the right to rule, and it was the English who defined its codes of belonging. A considerable body of opinion concluded that black people were essentially different from whites, and therefore could not expect the same rights, with some saying that "black people were born to be mastered".[62] Hall explains two different notions of 'us' and 'them' between the English and British subject. The first was one of potential equality, in which the white 'us' believed the black 'them' had the potential to become like 'us', through the process of 'civilisation'. The other notion was hierarchically ordered, in that 'we' must always master 'them'. [63] The missionary, as a symbol of the authority of the European white man, is evident in many of the illustrations, and the 'civilising mission' was a big part of their purpose. In **Figure 42**, the missionary represents the

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[61] 'Cover page'. 1883, *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).
[62] Hall, C. 2002, *Civilising subjects: colony and metropole in the English imagination, 1830-1867,* p. 25.
[63] Hall, C. 2002, *Civilising subjects: colony and metropole in the English imagination, 1830-1867,* p. 25.

'us' and is set apart on the chair from 'them' on the ground. He is preaching with the hope of converting 'them' into 'us'.
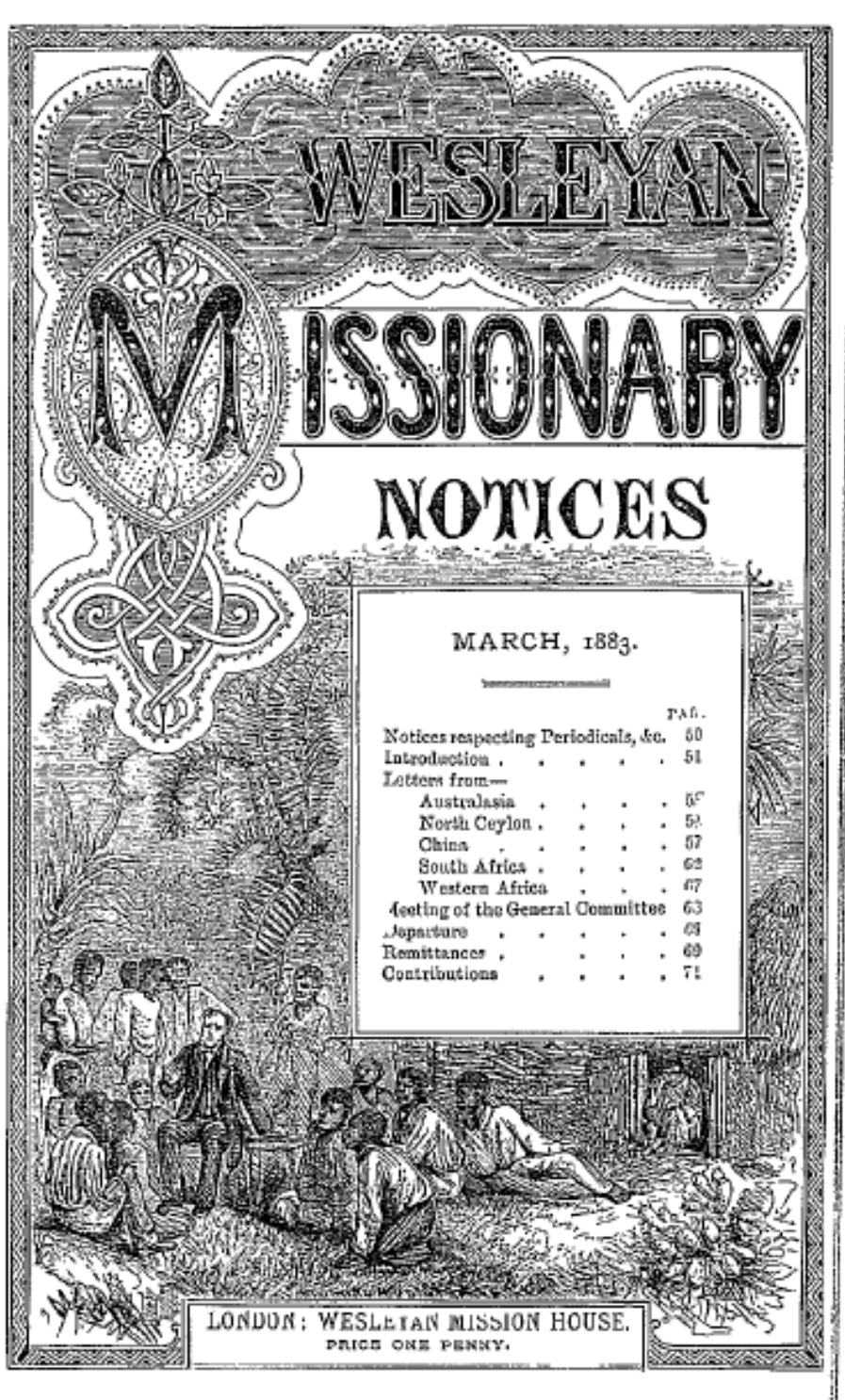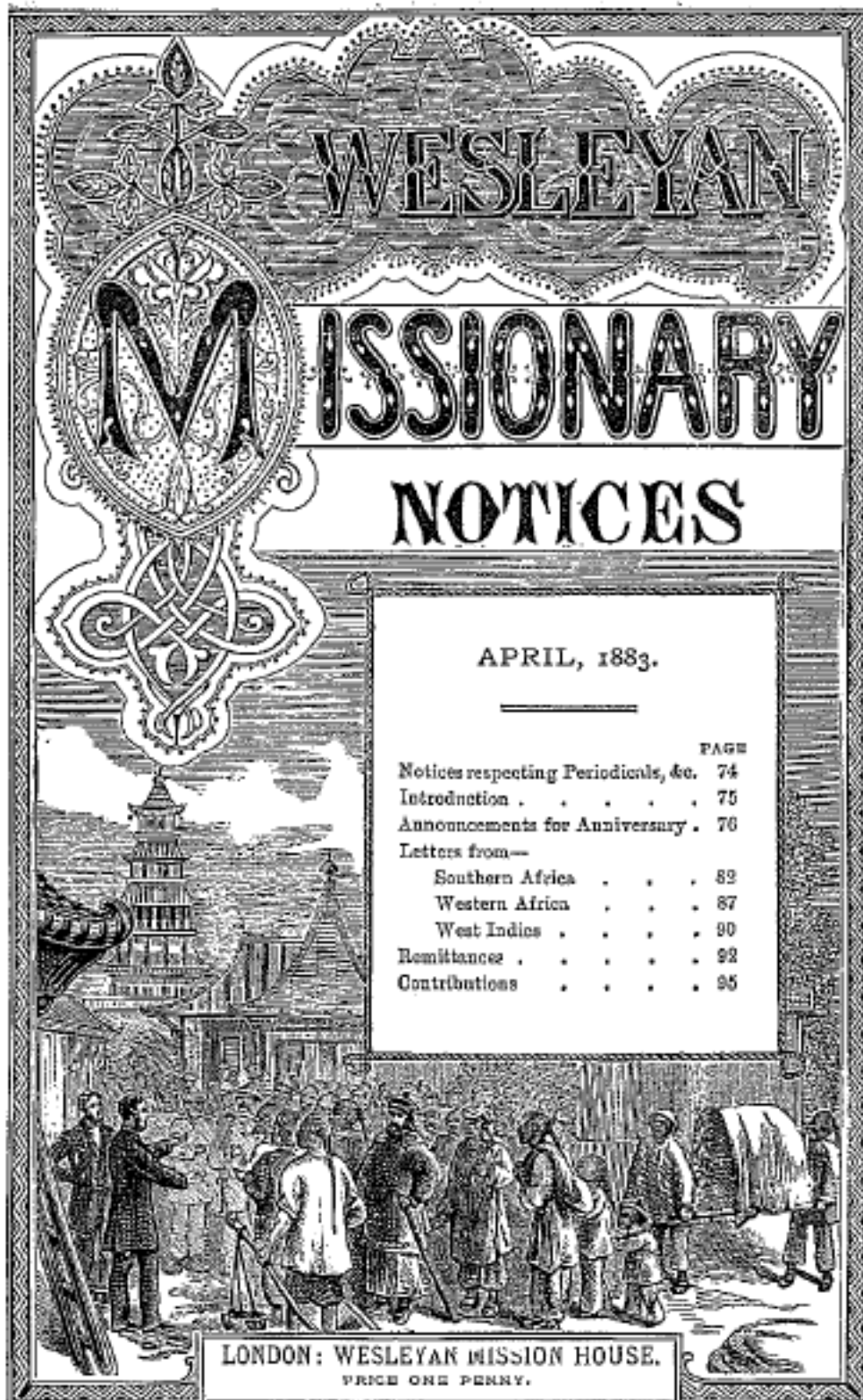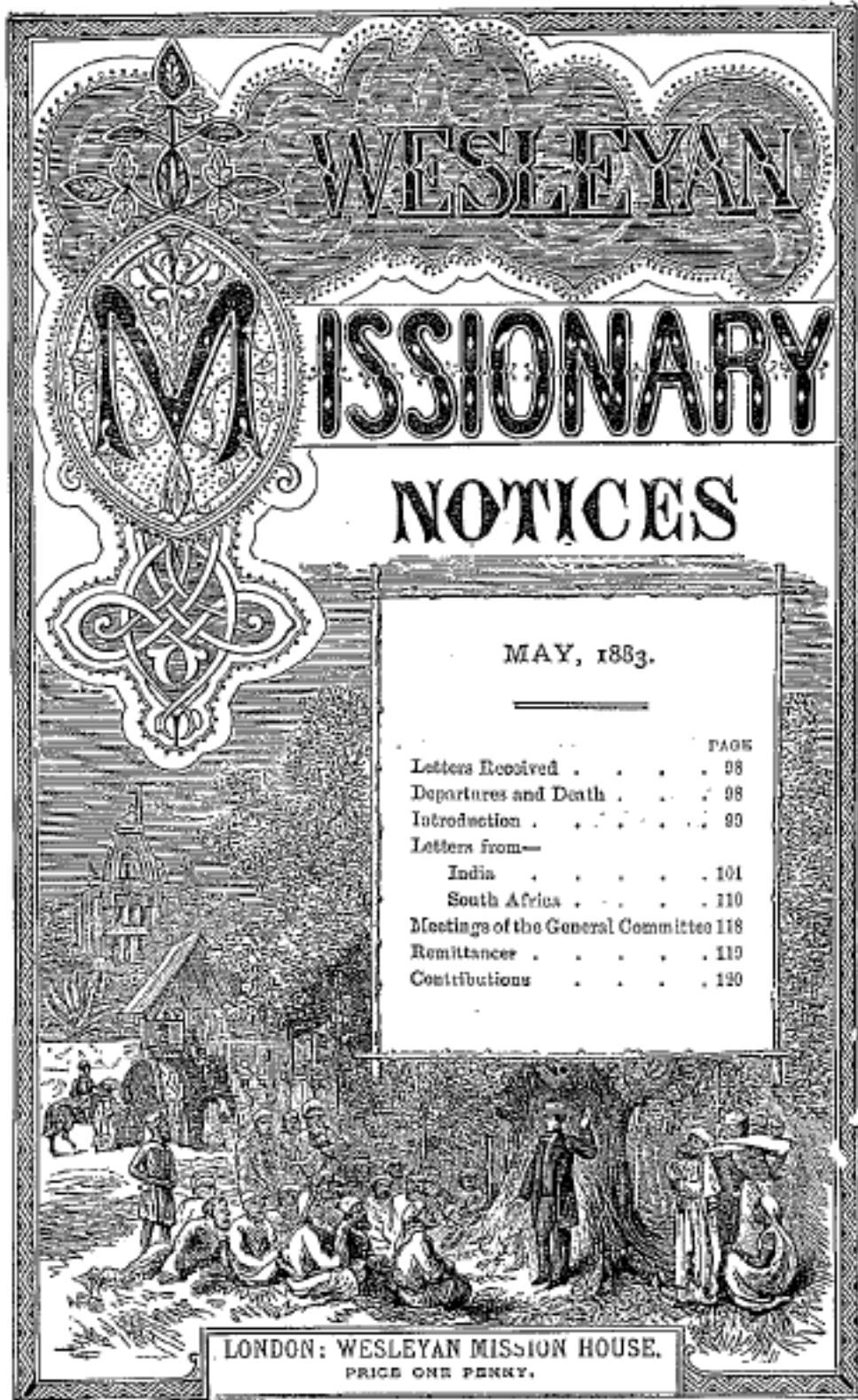

Figure 42: Front page cover design for *WMN* depicting Africa, March 1883.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), 1883.

The depiction of Africa was also attempted through many illustrations in the *WMN*. Illustrations of homesteads,[64] or what would be called 'kraals' **(Figure 43),** depicted 'primitive' houses made of dried grass (straw) set out in the open landscape of the 'wilderness'. Depictions of the people were illustrated, for example, an old 'Bechuana' (Motswana) woman,[65] holding a locally-manufactured clay pot on her head, wearing local clothing **(Figure 44)**. In **Figure 45,** another depiction of the African 'wilderness' is seen where missionaries are setting up camp out in the open land. The mountain in the background and the open area add to the 'wilderness' feel. One missionary is seen lighting a fire under a pot, while another appears to be carrying water in a bucket, probably obtained from the nearest river. Their wagon is seen on the right hand side of the frame. Illustrations such as these were used to give the European reader a 'view' into the 'primitive' wilderness of Africa, but also to show that the missionaries came into this colonial land to build up 'civilisation' and bring light into it.

Figure 43: An illustration of an African homestead or 'kraal', from *WMN* September 1889.
Source: Appelbe, R.F. 1889, A thousand miles into the interior of South Africa. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 274.

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[64] Appelbe, R.F. 1889, A thousand miles into the interior of South Africa. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 274.

[65] Appelbe, R.F. 1889, A thousand miles into the interior of South Africa. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 275.

Figure 44: Depiction of an old African woman, in *WMN,* September 1889.
Source: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* September 1889, p. 275.

Figure 45: Illustration of missionaries setting up camp at *Asvogel Koppie,* in *WMN* January 1891.
Source: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* January 1891, p. 59.

In the subsequent months of 1883, other mission fields in the British imperial realm were also illustrated on the *WMN* covers, including China (**Figure 46**), India (**Figure 47**) and Ceylon (today Sri Lanka) (**Figure 29**). In **Figure 46**, the images are iconic of figures of Chinese men dressed in robes according to local tradition and long braided hair, as well as the images of Buddhist Temples that were commonplace in China. The temples' iconography kept with styles according to the local tradition, which consisted of multi-tiered roofs, and were highly decorative. In **Figure 47**, signs that are iconic of India can be seen in the Shiva temple with typical Hindu spire; decorated elephant with ornaments usually used in temple festivals; and men dressed in clothing such as the *Dhoti*, and women to the side wearing *Saris.* The missionary always stands out in his western dress and he commands the attention of the 'natives'.

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Figure 46: Front page cover design for *WMN* depicting China, April 1883.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), 1883.

Figure 47: Front page cover design for *WMN* depicting India, May 1883.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (May), 1883.

Conventions of representing Empire were deeply set in the British imagination.[66] As Benedict Anderson notes, nations are in part imagined communities with invented traditions, manufactured myths and shared perceptions of the social order, which is often never more than basic categories and oversimplified stereotypes. The British Empire, according to David Cannadine, was not merely a geopolitical entity, but also a culturally created and imaginatively constructed entity. How then did the British imagine and visualise their vast and varied imperium, not only geographically but also sociologically?[67] The British visualised the empire through the depictions given by missionaries, travellers and hunters. They viewed themselves as the ones with authority: civilised, and moral, and therefore better than their colonial subordinates.

The term 'imperialism' is used to describe the process by which Empire was pictured, fashioned, maintained and extended. Like Cannadine, Ryan notes that imperialism involved not only territorial acquisition, political ambition and economic interests, but also cultural formations, attitudes, beliefs and practices.[68] Historian John MacKenzie describes imperialism as an extensive and persistent set of cultural attitudes towards the rest of the world. These attitudes are formed to varying degrees by militarism, patriotism, a belief in racial superiority and loyalty to a 'civilising mission'.[69]

The Britons tried to understand and visualise these diverse colonies and varied populations across the seas as "an entire interactive system, one vast interconnected world".[70] When trying to comprehend the unfamiliar, the Britons' 'inner predisposition' was to begin with what they knew, namely, the social structure of their own home country. It has been commonplace to suggest that Britons saw their society (and, by extension, that of what became their settler dominions) as superior. And by comparison, Britons saw society in their 'dark', 'tropical' and 'oriental' colonies as inferior. However, Britons generally thought of themselves as belonging to an unequal society characterised by tiered gradations sanctioned by tradition and religion, which extended from the monarch at the top to the humblest subject at the

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[66] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 11.
[67] Cannadine, D. 2001, *Ornamentalism. How the British saw their Empire*, p. 3.
[68] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 12.
[69] MacKenzie, J, cited in, Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, pp. 12–13.
[70] Cannadine, D. 2001, *Ornamentalism. How the British saw their Empire*, p. 3.

bottom. Therefore, they were likely to envisage the social structure of their empire by analogy to what they knew of 'home'.[71] This is seen on the covers of *WMN* from 1886, such as the January cover (see **Figure 28**) where three images are seen at the top of the cover depicting three scenes of the British missionary preaching or teaching to an audience of locals. In each of the three scenes, the missionary stands above his subjects, suggesting that they are inferior to him.

5.4.2. *Picturing the exotic and 'the other'*

Figure 48: Image of palm trees depicting the Bahamas, in the *WMN* 1900.
Source: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* January 1900, p. 136.

The front cover from September 1883 **(Figure 29)** depicts the island country of Ceylon (now known as Sri Lanka) off the southeast coast of India. The use of palm trees can clearly be seen as a means to depict the faraway, and is an icon still used today to depict the 'island lifestyle'. This is also seen in a photograph depicting the Bahamas **(Figure 48),** from the January issue of *WMN* in 1900. The palm tree not only depicts the island, but is also still an indexical symbol of 'paradise', 'tropical' and 'island lifestyle'. Palm trees, tall and graceful plants, have long symbolised the origins of civilisation in Asia or the biblical desert lands of the Middle East. According to Nancy Leys Stepan, it has been acclaimed as the most noble of tropical plants, as its mere presence became accountable for much of the aesthetic impact that tropical landscapes had on the human imagination. Over time, the palm tree became the universal sign of the tropics.[72]

However, in the late nineteenth century, the palm tree depicted more than just a tropical island, it was a universal symbol for any place that was foreign, faraway and

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[71] Cannadine, D. 2001, *Ornamentalism. How the British saw their Empire*, pp. 3-5.

[72] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 19.

exotic. This is seen in other front covers of the *WMN,* which also made use of palm trees to depict the exotic nature of other colonies **(Figures 49** and **50). Figure 49** of the March 1885 cover shows a landscape illustration of Abeokuta, a Nigerian city. The tropical picturesque view is used in the fore, middle and background with a frame of trees and people on both sides. The illustration shows some local people looking out onto the landscape, with palm trees framing the image on the left. The panoramic view also denotes ownership. In **Figure 50,** a general depiction of the 'faraway' is seen in a single image, including depictions of Hindu and Buddhist temples, along with a large palm tree in the foreground and tiny palm trees in the background. In the late nineteenth century, the palm tree was indexical of the exotic and foreign in general.

Most Britons followed the standard pattern of human behaviour and thinking when contemplating and understanding the unfamiliar.[73] Images containing depictions of palm trees were popular and distributed widely in the nineteenth century. Illustrated books of travel and natural history increased because of the demands of a self-improving, literate public fascinated by imperial adventures and faraway places, and by the advances in the technology of reproducing images.[74]

Stepan states that:

> When we go to the tropics, perhaps as eco-tourists to see the jungle (or, as we call it today, the rain-forest), we imagine ourselves stepping back in time, into a purer or less spoilt place than our own; we hope to see plants and animals quite unlike, and more exotic than, those familiar to us; we expect somehow to come closer to nature in the tropics or to find that objects, or ourselves, achieve there a kind of transcendence.[75]

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[73] Cannadine, D. 2001, *Ornamentalism. How the British saw their Empire*, pp. 3-4.
[74] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 20.
[75] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 11.

MARCH, 1885.

Wesleyan Missionary Notices

ABEOKUTA.

LONDON: WESLEYAN MISSION HOUSE
PRICE ONE PENNY.
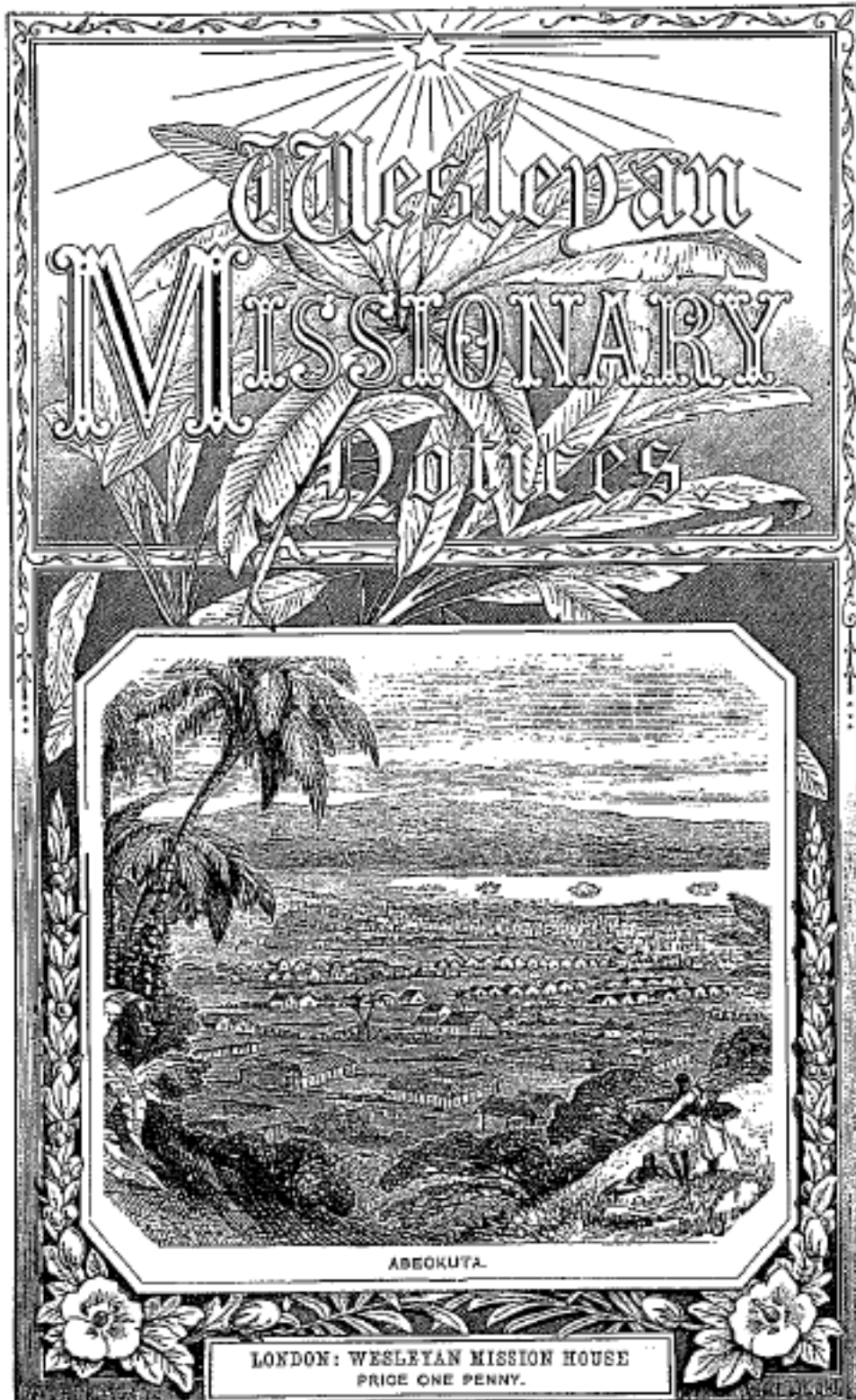
Figure 49: Cover page for *WMN* March 1885, depicting palm trees as exotic.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), 1885.

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MARCH, 1890.

SEVENTH SERIES.   VOLUME TWO.

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY NOTICES

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LONDON
WESLEYAN MISSION HOUSE.
PRICE ONE PENNY.
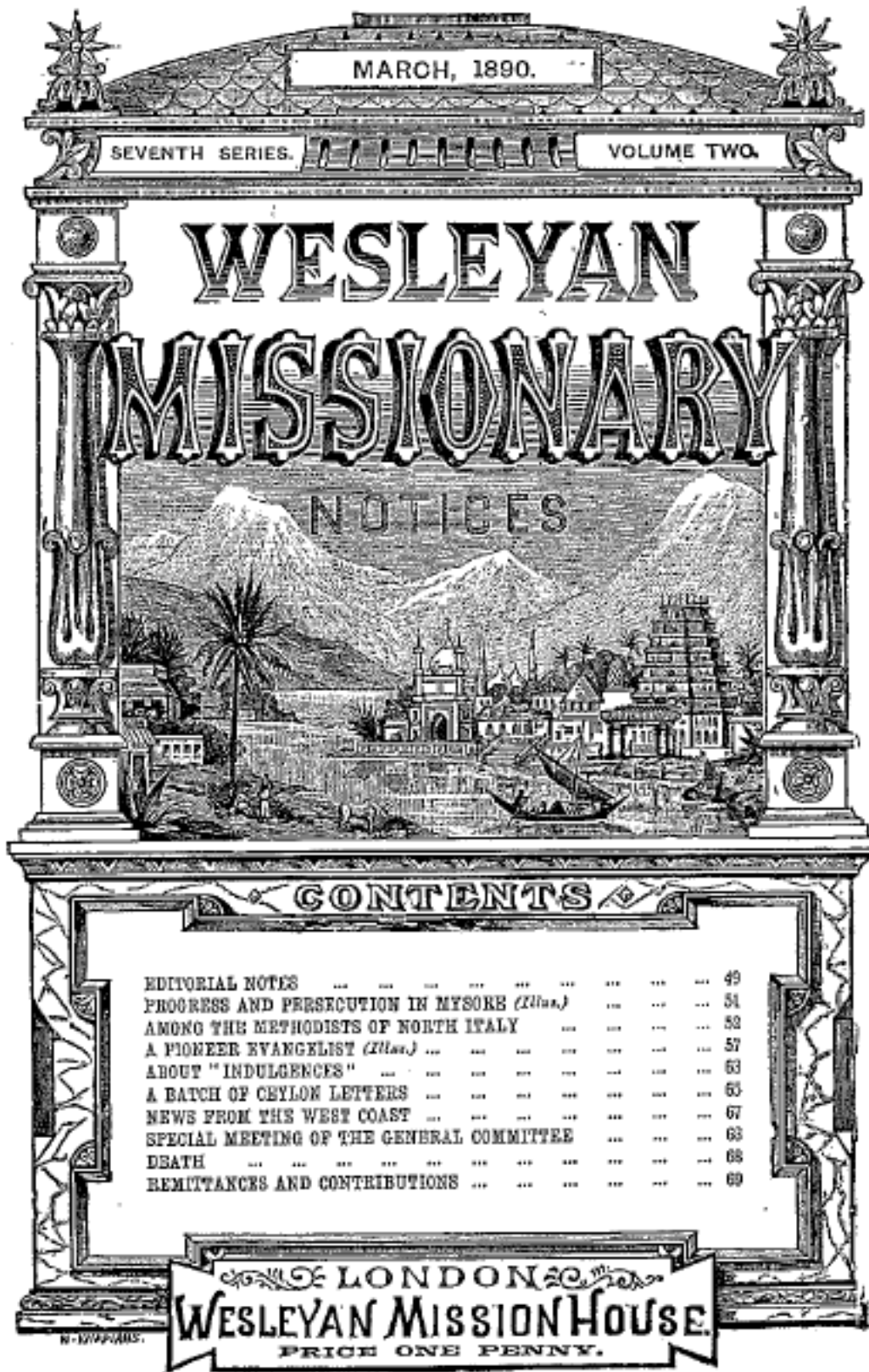
Figure 50: Cover page for *WMN* March 1890.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), 1890.

Stepan shows how the 'tropical' came to constitute more than just a geographical concept; it signified a place of radical otherness to the temperate world with which it contrasted and which it helped constitute. By the 1830s, India and Africa had come to be considered tropical, like other places that were not tropical in a geographical sense **(Figures 49** and **50)**. The notion of a distinctive tropical nature was also tied to political empire and the geopolitical concerns of the day.[76] The tropics were seen primarily as exotic, untamed nature charged with meaning, waiting for discovery, interpretation or exploitation.[77]

Most Europeans never saw the tropics with their own eyes, and therefore relied on the images and objects gathered in greenhouses, zoos and exhibitions. World exhibitions were especially popular in the nineteenth century, show-casing all sorts of natural and cultural exotica, including human 'tribes', for display and entertainment. Most of all, though, Europeans got to know about the tropics through pictures, such as copper engravings, woodcuts, drawings, lithographs and photographs. Therefore, the identity of 'tropical nature' in the European mind depended upon its visual representation.[78]

The 'exotic' was therefore not just a representation of strange plant species, but of all things different and opposite to what was known. This included the depiction of 'the Other' (as discussed in Chapter Four) or African people. While the European still believed the white man to be superior, there was a definite fascination and curiosity about the otherness of the black African. Many illustrations depicted the African people in their traditional clothing or settings, such as the example of the old African woman dressed in cloth and holding a clay pot on her head **(Figure 44)**. It was not uncommon for African people to carry goods on their heads. The picture is also framed in an exotic plant species, adding to the exotic affect the artist wished to convey.

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[76] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 17.

[77] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 12.

[78] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 18.

5.4.3. Exploring adventure, wilderness and danger

Asa Briggs explains that "many Victorians in England wanted somehow or other to hold on to the concept of there being an *ought* in life as well as an *is*".[79] In an article where Lize Kriel juxtaposes the published writings of the *WMN* with the private journals of the missionaries, she states that the *ought* was a prominent feature in the public and official publications, more than in the private journals and letters. This was likely because the missionaries wished to portray what life ought to look like, as well as to make them look more adventurous, more masculine, less domestic and more heroic.[80]

As was discussed in Chapter Four, travel reportage, published by both evangelical missionaries and travelling explorers, had been popular publications for consumption by British readers throughout the nineteenth century. The travel and missionary accounts of the 1860s and 1870s, as James Duncan states, "constructed an Africa suitable both to the needs of nineteenth-century imperial interests and to a European readership longing for tales of exotic worlds being mastered by heroic males".[81] The *WMN* did not merely report about evangelism, but also told heroic tales of adventure of living and surviving in the wilderness of Africa, amongst wild animals and dangerous conditions. The depiction of a crocodile on the Limpopo River **(Figure 51)** depicted the dangers to which missionaries were exposed.[82]

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[79] Briggs, A., quoted in, Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, p. 171.

[80] Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, p. 171.

[81] Duncan, J, quoted in, Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, pp. 173-174.

[82] Anonym. 1891, British South Africa: The chartered Company and the Missionary Society. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), p. 61.

ON THE LIMPOPO RIVER.

Figure 51: Illustration in the *WMN* of a crocodile on the Limpopo River, January 1891.
Source: Anonym. 1891, British South Africa: The Chartered Company and the Missionary Society. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (January), p. 61.

British exploration in the 'age of Empire' was always characterised by a sense of mission. By definition, exploration is both purposeful and seeking. The wider purpose envisioned by explorers and missionaries was to mark the beginning of the 'civilisation' of Africa.[83] While Africa was seen as disorderly and threatening, it also presented Europe as a colonial prospect, "where wilderness could be taken for unruly fertility and could be read as a blank space for improvement".[84]

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[83] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 30.

[84] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 42.
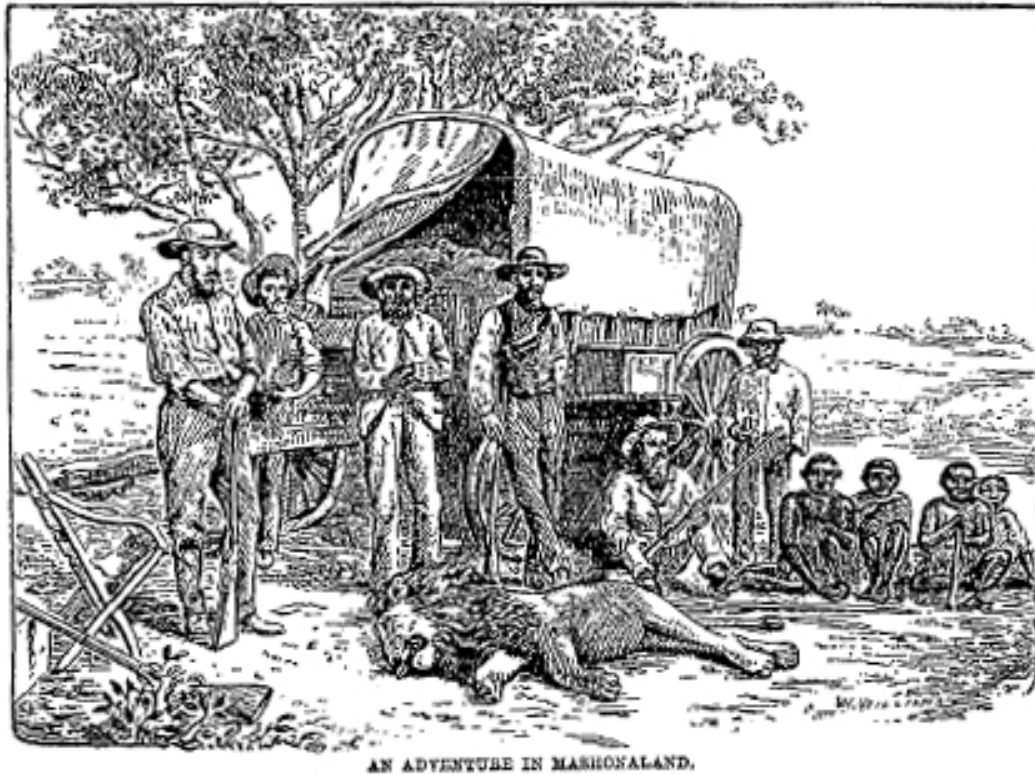
Figure 52: Illustration depicting an adventure with a lion, in *WMN*, March 1892.
Source: Shimmin, I. 1892, An adventure with a lion in Mashonaland. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 59.

Another example can be found in the *WMN* in 1892 which shows an adventure with a lion in Mashonaland **(Figure 52).** Isaac Shimmin wrote: "The life of a pioneer missionary is not without an occasional incident of novelty and danger." He then proceeded to tell the story of how they managed to hunt down and kill a lion that had come to attack oxen near a village, which was described as "a very wild and thickly wooded part of the country".[85] Shimmin explained the story of the next few days in every detail, and ended by saying "[t]he roar, the charge … and the killing of the lion, happened almost together, and before we could breathe the danger was past."[86] He ended his article addressed at his people back home, telling them:

> I see by the *Notices* that the good people at home are praying for us amid the perils of this new land. The dangers are very real; but He that keepeth Israel will answer His children's prayer. From the mouth of the lion, and from the

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[85] Shimmin, I. 1892, An adventure with a lion in Mashonaland. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 58.

[86] Shimmin, I. 1892, An adventure with a lion in Mashonaland. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 61.

pestilence that walketh in darkness will He deliver us, and give us glorious success in this dark corner of Africa.[87]

It is clear that the missionaries viewed the incident as an heroic adventure and an incident of novelty. They wanted their readers to understand that missionary work was a journey of excitement and adventure, but also wanted them to see 'very real' dangers that came with living in Africa. However, they also saw it as a place of darkness, as Shimmin's called it, "this dark corner of Africa".

5.4.4. *Exploring darkness and death*

To the British public, the image of Africa as 'the dark continent' was a powerful one. Photographs by British explorers tended to reinforce the established image of the African interior as a place of disease, death and barbarism.[88] According to John Tosh, the 'dark continent' was a common Victorian nickname for Africa. It referred to both the dark colour of Africans' skin, as well as to the fact that little was known about the interior of the continent by those in the West.[89] The image of 'the dark continent', according to Ryan, came from various impressions circulating in Europe since its earliest contacts with West Africa in the fifteenth century. The notion began to set in the mid-nineteenth century when Britain started seeing opportunities in Africa for market based commerce and more permanent imperial prospects. By mid-century, British explorers left Britain with common images and assumptions already in mind about the nature of Africa.[90]

However, as discussed in Chapter Four, there was hope for "this dark corner of Africa", as the missionaries were there to bring the 'light' of Christianity to the dark continent. It is interesting to see that the title-pieces used from 1884 to 1885 have a star motif symbolic of light "shining" over the title **(Figures 34** and **49)**. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the theme of light was commonplace in missionary periodicals. The light rays are an indexical sign signifying goodness and the light of

[87] Shimmin, I. 1892, An adventure with a lion in Mashonaland. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 62.
[88] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 30.
[89] Tosh, J. 2006, *The pursuit of history,* p. 49.
[90] Ryan, J.R. 1997, *Picturing Empire. Photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, p. 38.

Christ. Missionaries believed it was their calling to spread the light of Christ to the rest of the dark 'heathen' world, and especially in the 'dark continent' of Africa. William Morris, the late-nineteenth century artist and designer, exalted ornamentation as a high form of spiritual expression. And since ornamentation was used as a way for Victorians to deal with the 'evils' of modern life and industrialisation,[91] it is then not surprising that a missionary-focused periodical would make use of such ornamentation and decoration.

The symbolic hourglass, in the *WMN* masthead of 1900 **(Figure 31)** as mentioned previously in footnote, is an analogy of the dichotomies of darkness and light, earth and heaven, and death and life. In the hourglass, one compartment empties, while the other one fills.[92] In the image in the masthead, the bottom compartment is a black shade ('darkness'), while the top compartment is half white ('light') at the top and half black towards the neck, illustrating the movement of sand through the hourglass from top to bottom. Darkness denotes the sinful or worldly nature of man; but as seen before, it was also often associated with the continent of Africa. The hourglass, a symbol of time and death denoted the urgency of the missionaries' cause: to convert the 'heathen' as soon as possible, because of the fact that death is inevitable. The hourglass is one of the iconic symbols often attached to the Latin expression *Memento Mori*[93] literally meaning, "remember (that you have) to die".[94] However, the promise of resurrection is signified when the hourglass is turned upside down, reversing the pole of attraction[95] causing movement toward the 'higher' component. It is therefore when the soul is turned away (upside down) from the world, it moves away from

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[91] Heller, S. & Anderson, G. 2007, *New vintage type. Classic fonts for the digital age,* p. 6.

[92] Schuon, F. 2009, *Logic and transcendence: a new translation with selected letters* (ed. J.S. Cutsinger)*,* p. 147.

[93] The expression developed in the European Christian art context, emphasising heaven, hell and salvation of the soul in the afterlife. (Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri. 2007, "Final farewell: the culture of death and the afterlife." http://web.archive.org/web/20100606051921/http://maa.missouri.edu/exhibitions/finalfarewell/mementointro.html. Accessed: 2015-10-05).

[94] Soanes, C. & Stevenson, A. 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

[95] The movement of the sand (down) indicates a pole of attraction, that of the lower. The heavenly attraction should be represented by an ascending movement of the sand towards the upper compartment. Since this is physically impossible, the act of turning the hourglass upside down symbolises this. (Schuon, F. 2009, *Logic and transcendence: a new translation with selected letters* (ed. J.S. Cutsinger)*,* p. 143.)

death, earth and darkness into life, heaven and light.[96] In Africa, the European missionaries were alert to the dangers of 'darkest Africa' and that disease and death were easily 'around the corner', and that was, therefore, a continual reminder of the urgency and need of their cause.

5.5. Images and photographs in *WMN*

W.J.T. Mitchell, in his seminal book *Picture theory*, argues that words and images, while different from each other, cannot be separated from one another easily.[97] The visual exists in complex tension with the verbal, therefore, books often include pictures, and pictures often either incorporate words, such as the use of captions, or else subtly connect to them. Images can somehow 'speak' to profound human emotions across time and space, which suggests a verbal dimension to visual experience.[98]

Meggs suggests that the interaction of word and picture come together to reinforce and extend one another. Traditionally, the word was dominant and images were used to illustrate or interpret the text.[99] Roland Barthes notes that, "Formerly, the image illustrated the text (made it clearer); today, the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination."[100] Although word-dominant relationships can still be found, text can be a powerful vehicle to alter the meaning of an image or to connote and interpret it. Words have the ability to direct the audience towards an interpretation.[101]

This connotative power is not limited to the ability of words to connote images, because words can connote other words, and images can connote other images reproduced in proximity.[102] In the next section, some of the images and photographs used in the *WMN* are used together with the text, where possible, to provide a

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[96] Schuon, F. 2009, *Logic and transcendence: a new translation with selected letters* (ed. J.S. Cutsinger)*,* p. 143.

[97] Mitchell, W.J.T, cited by, Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 18.

[98] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature*, p. 18.

[99] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image. The language of graphic design*, p. 41.

[100] Barthes, R., quoted in, Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image. The language of graphic design*, p. 41.

[101] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image. The language of graphic design*, p. 41.

[102] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image. The language of graphic design*, p. 42.

connotative interpretation and meaning, with the aim of understanding how British nineteenth century culture came with the missionaries' world in South Africa.

5.5.1. *Image as metaphor and antithesis*

The earlier discussion of visual rhetoric in Chapter One established that language is a systematic means of communicating ideas through signs with recognised meaning. Language is the principle communications system, and its grammar and rhetoric are the primary model for other forms of communication, including art and hybrid forms that combine pictorial and verbal information. Figures of speech show a relationship or resemblance between two important parallels in visual communication. A *metaphor* points out resemblance, therefore, a connection can be found.[103] An example of image as metaphor was seen in **Figures 34** and **49,** where the image of a star shape with light rays shines from behind the title-piece on the cover page. The light rays resemble Christianity and the good, as opposed to 'heathenism' and evil.

The figure of speech in which an opposition or contrast of ideas is expressed by parallelism of words or images that are opposites, or strongly contrasted with each other, is *antithesis.* An example of this is seen in **Figure 34**, on the April 1884 cover, on which an image of "The Temple of Sun, Pekin" (now Beijing, China), along with the star with rays symbolic of light at the top of the cover. It appears strange that there is an image of a Chinese temple or altar, dedicated to the sun or a solar deity, on the cover of a Christian periodical. A connotative interpretation would be that the missionaries are going into 'heathen' places to spread the light of Christianity. Alternatively, on a more denotative level, it may simply be an image to show one of China's landmarks. However, considering a good part of the intended audience of the *WMN* were Christian Methodist 'friends' and supporters of the missionaries, the purpose of the image may have been to convince them of the need for missionaries in lands such as China, and therefore persuade them into supporting them in a financial or spiritual capacity.

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[103] Meggs, P.B. 1992, *Type and image. The language of graphic design*, p. 31.

This juxtaposition can also be seen in the representation of the attire worn by the Christians (Europeans) and the 'heathens' (Natives). **Figure 53** is a double-spread page from *WMN* in the year 1893, which includes two photographs of two groups of people. The first photograph is of Christian Africans who have been converted from their 'heathenism'. The proof of their conversion is seen in their attire, as they are dressed smartly in European influenced clothing, like the British missionaries would wear. The second photograph is of 'Heathen Natives', which shows a group of people dressed in blankets and head scarfs and smoking indigenous pipes.[104]
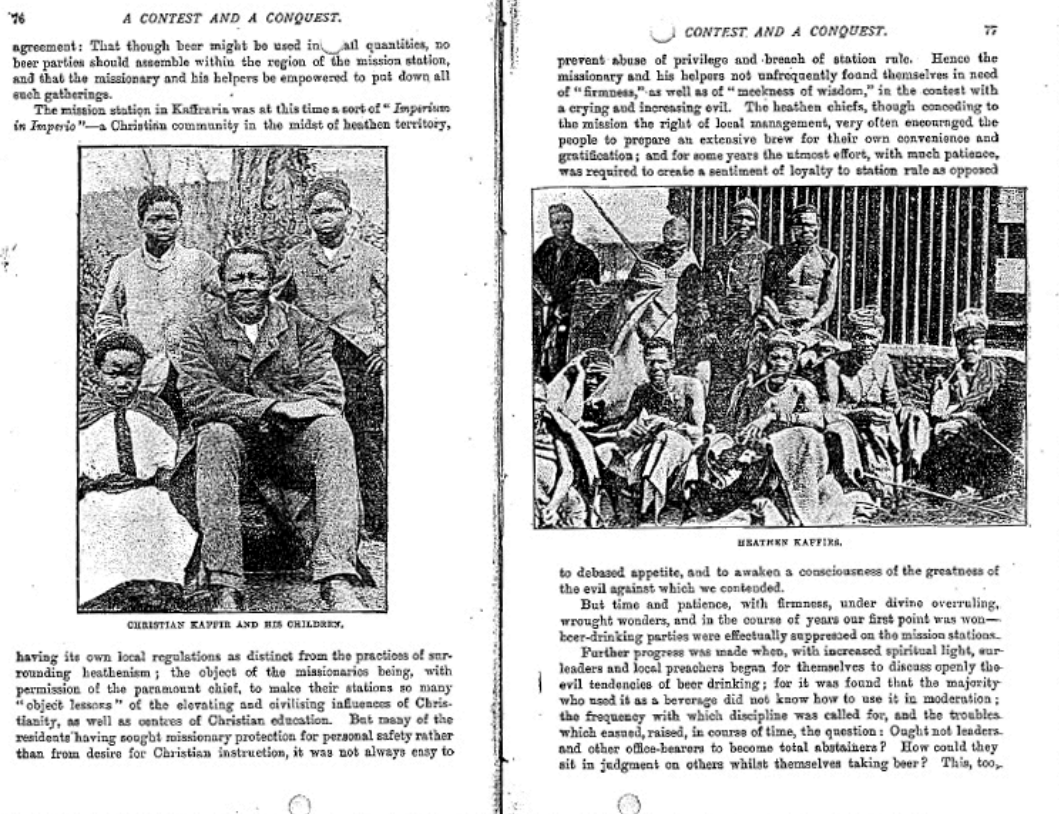
Figure 53: The juxtaposition of two images depicting the dress codes of the Christians and 'heathens' in *WMN,* 1893.
Source: Gedye, E. 1893, A contest and a conquest. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (c.March), pp. 76-77.

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[104] Gedye, E. 1893, A contest and a conquest. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (c.March), pp. 76-77.

5.5.2. *Clothing empire and colonial subjects*

As seen in **Figure 53**, the clothing of empire is a topic worth exploring further. This was just one example in the *WMN* where the attire of the European missionary stands out among his colonial subjects. While the primary objective of the missionary was to convert the locals to Christianity, it would appear that a secondary objective was to 'civilise' them by getting them to exchange their traditional attire for 'proper' clothing.

A quotation from a South African report from the London Missionary Society from 1914 says, "Christianity does not seem to be looked on as a life to be lived, but rather as a garment to be worn, which may be put on or taken off as the occasion requires".[105] Missionaries set their sights on *total* transformation altering all aspects of the converted selves. Their divine duty was to raise the soul by overcoming the ordinary, to nurture the spiritual by addressing the physicality of everyday life.[106]

To be understood in the nineteenth-century British sense, the social order and various classes had to find their proper level in the world. This was shaped by an *ethos* of separation where the poor were separated from the affluent, and the 'civilised' were distinguished from the 'uncivilised'. Likewise, the 'heathens' were separated from the Christians. The civilising mission was founded on the conviction that commodities and commerce might shape new desires, new exertions, new forms of wealth, and even a new society, and that civilisation could therefore be promoted so that Africans would learn to want and use objects of European provenance in a refined Christian manner.[107] In this respect, the evangelists shared one thing with other early European colonisers, which was an impulse to not merely make non-Western peoples want Western objects, but to have them use those objects in specific ways. Imperialists tried to implant new cultures of consumption and being.[108]

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[105] Quoted in, Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 218.

[106] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, pp. 218-219.

[107] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 219.

[108] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 219.

In the nineteenth century, there was a strong religious sensibility attuned to what was moral and theological. The missionary's purpose in conversion was to 'clean it', 'cure it', and 'clothe it' in the very essence of civility. The Protestant missionary made the effort to cover African 'nakedness' and re-dress their 'savagery' by dressing them in European fashions. They did this by making them aware of the ethics (*ethos*) and aesthetics of refined attire, and by placing in them a newly embodied sense (*pathos*) of self-worth, taste, and personhood.[109] The missionaries therefore used logic to explain the significance of the new attire, and emotion to boost their sense of self-worth.

Furthermore, "the very idea of fashion affirmed the modernist assumption that identity was something apart from one's person; … something that had to be continually 'put on' and 'shown off'".[110] This made clothing a main focus in colonial evangelism. It made the "native" body a terrain on which the battle for selfhood was to be fought and personal identity was to be reformed, replaced and reinhabited.[111] The missionaries and converts possibly shared notions of how conversion and the adoption of new dress were linked to one another, and missionaries may have used the New Testament language of 'putting off' the old life and 'putting on' Christ,[112] to justify the importance of a new type of clothing.[113]

5.5.2.1.　The converted soul

Christian cultures aligned 'clothedness' with godliness; a person who was improperly dressed would not easily enter the Kingdom of Heaven.[114] "Church clothing was important, and it was an outrage to think that congregations could dress as they

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[109] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 220.

[110] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 220.

[111] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 220.

[112] Ephesians 4:22-24; Colossians 3:5-17

[113] Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p. 364.

[114] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 223.

pleased for Sunday worship."[115] A tension between the inner and outer realities, between the things of the spirit and the things of the outside world, lay at the centre of the civilising mission.[116] For missionaries, body and soul were one. The outward transformation of the body was a visible sign that proved successful conversion of the mind and soul.[117]

All Victorians understood, even if only subliminally, that dress reflected not only what they did, but also who they were. Dress is therefore a symbolic language. Even in Britain, there were strict dress codes for different classes. It was believed to be a duty, rather than a pleasure, to dress according to the state of life that God had called them.[118] This was especially true on the mission fields in colonial countries, as clothing made visible the transformation that swept over the local people. The Christian values attached to the wearing of clothing, lead missionaries to perceive the locals' willingness to adopt clothing as a sign of religious conversion.[119]

Clothes did not 'make' a person's identity in any simple way, but certainly created an image. They served as symbols that allowed observers to perceive the distinctions claimed by wearers. [120] The missionaries believed that clothing brought with it a new moral economy of the body and the mind.[121] There was a connection between the clothed body and the converted soul. Clothing provided a way in which African Christians could visibly display religious convictions, social status and moral stances.[122] Anthropologists dealing with Christianity and colonialisation often

[115] Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p.359.

[116] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 223.

[117] Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p.364.

[118] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 255.

[119] Küchler, S & Were, G. 2003, Clothing and innovation: A Pacific perspective. *Anthropology Today* 19 (2), p. 3.

[120] Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p.360.

[121] Küchler, S & Were, G. 2003, Clothing and innovation: A Pacific perspective. *Anthropology Today* 19 (2), p. 3.

[122] Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p.360.

maintained that the adoption of clothing brought with it innovations in social relations and domesticity.[123]

While clothing was a fitting medium for signalling an inner improvement of self, unless it was worn in such a way that gave evidence of moral awakening that was more than skin-deep, clothing remained nothing but an overlay. Therefore, while it could serve as a visible sign of a transformed soul, it might also be no more than a covering or even a deception.[124] Nonetheless, outward appearances were very important to Victorians, as reflected in their clothing and their homes and living spaces. As with clothing, Victorians would make their entrance halls and drawing rooms (the most likely rooms to be seen by guests) look better than the rest of the house. This was an indication that many reflected an image that spoke of a status above their means, and it was not a true reflection of who they were. When the "style of living" was in striking contrast to their "everyday existence" it was considered deceptive and immoral.[125] In the same way, Africans used clothing to boost their status rather than as a sign of true transformation and conversion.

In a society with permeable class boundaries, clothes were important, and every detail was examined and decoded. A person should never dress above their station, as it was a great evil to confuse the boundaries by pretending to be one class when one was in fact another.[126] Even on the mission field in Africa, there was a certain sense of hierarchy, where the European missionary thought himself to be higher than the local African.

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[123] Küchler, S & Were, G. 2003, Clothing and innovation: A Pacific perspective. *Anthropology Today* 19 (2), p. 3.

[124] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 223.

[125] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 131-132.

[126] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 255-256.

5.5.2.2.   The 'heathen' body

Missionary Edwin Gedye used three photographs[127] published in the *WMN* of November 1891 to illustrate the dress codes among the 'heathens' and 'Christians'. In the first photograph (**Figure 54**), he describes two 'heathen boys' who were 'indecently' dressed:

> The first is a presentation of two heathen youths as they often appear, smeared in white clay, and fantastically, but *indecently,* dressed in dancing costume, which consists of girdle, necklace, and head gear, all made of stiff reeds; and so arranged as to rise and spread out in fan-like form when the wearers are engaged in the dance. [Emphasis added.][128]

Gedye further described this particular aspect of 'heathenism' as being "connected to various *disgusting* rites by which youths are initiated into the position and privileges of heathen manhood" [Emphasis added].[129] It is clear that not only were the 'heathen' practices seen as "disgusting" but that their "indecent" clothing was also an indexical sign of their 'heathenism'.

The second photograph (**Figure 55**) described by Gedye, was of an African Christian wedding group. Gedye stated that the photograph "speaks for itself", and that "[y]ou will perceive that at this stage of their progress there is a considerable tendency to exaggerated conformity to European dress and costumes". On the third photograph (**Figure 56**), a picture of Gedye's African colleague and his family, he commented that "we look upon it as a model native picture, illustrating the position to which hundreds of the heathen have already been raised by the amelioring influences of Christian civilisation, and to which the Fingoe nation are gradually but surely rising".[130]

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[127] The Gedye examples are from the Eastern Cape, and not the Transvaal and Swaziland District. As it was explained earlier in the study, the actual location of the examples are less relevant, as it deals with the British missionaries' view on the African's clothing. Gedye's examples are good examples of how Europeans saw the traditional dress codes of locals as 'heathen' wear and how they tried to conform their dress code to European standards upon conversion to Christianity.

[128] Gedye, E. 1891, Heathen and Christian Fingoes. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), p. 268.

[129] Gedye, E. 1891, Heathen and Christian Fingoes. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), p. 268.

[130] Gedye, E. 1891, Heathen and Christian Fingoes. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), pp. 269-270.

Gedye, like many other missionaries, took the dress of the missionised as a physical indication of their progress, in terms of converting them to Christianity. This is illustrated in these three photographs, as mentioned by Gedye:

> Let me ask you to look at No. 1 and then at No. 3, and you have a vivid illustration of what we find the natives; and what by God's grace, is being made of them: nor are these isolated instances, but fair samples of the thousands of heathen yet remaining even in our Colonies and of what is being done for them by scores and by hundreds.[131]

BOYS DRESSED FOR HEATHEN DANCE.

Figure 54: Young boys dressed for 'heathen dance', in *WMN*, November 1891.
Source: Gedye, E. 1891, Heathen and Christian Fingoes. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), p. 268.

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[131] Gedye, E. 1891, Heathen and Christian Fingoes. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), p. 270.

NATIVE CHRISTIANS : WEDDING GROUP.

Figure 55: Native Christians: wedding group, in *WMN*, November 1891.
Source: Gedye, E. 1891, Heathen and Christian Fingoes. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), p.269.

NATIVE MINISTER AND FAMILY

Figure 56: Native minister and family, in *WMN*, November 1891.
Source: Gedye, E. 1891, Heathen and Christian Fingoes. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), p. 271.

The connection between the clothed body and the converted soul was particularly reflected in the missionaries' desire to cover the Africans' "nakedness". To the European missionary, the African's "nakedness" was a sign of degeneracy and disorder, the wild and dirty. These were familiar signs in European conceptions of the continent as the dark, dangerous and diseased Africa.[132] Missionaries' dreams of dressing the naked 'heathen' in 'proper' attire were planned accordingly.

Strictly speaking, the Africans were not naked, nevertheless their scanty dress was thought to be "disgusting". To the missionaries and Europeans, only refined fabrics and manufactured textiles felt proper on their bodies; and skin garments were not considered clothing at all – it was ill-fitting and immodest. The evangelists felt that they had to make the Africans aware of their unabashed nakedness and sinfulness; if they were to be saved, their identity had to be reconstructed. Western clothing was the "social skin of civility"[133], which was to become a sign of this metamorphosis.[134]

5.5.3. *Architecture and building civilisation*

A new cover design for the *WMN* of February 1890 is seen in **Figure 57** and was used throughout 1890 and 1891. This new full-page cover design comes after a few years of having employed no cover, other than a masthead, and it is fully illustrated, as were many of the earlier covers. As already discussed, most of the earlier covers displayed images of colonised people in compositions with the European missionary. The new cover depicted a colonial landscape, but framed in an architectural facade, which gave great emphasis to the page layout. At the bottom, surrounding the "Contents" box, is a base that is illustrated to look like marble; just above it, the image of the colonial landscape is framed by two pillars, looking similar in style to classic columns, but more decorated. The columns are very decorative, which would have been typical of Victorian architecture in Europe. At the top of the cover, the page is framed by a dome shaped roof. The architecture displayed on the cover is grandiose, but it is an

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[132] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 224.

[133] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p.227.

[134] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, pp. 226-227.

indication of how the focus had now changed, not only to that of architecture, but also to that of 'building up civilisation' in foreign wildernesses. Architecture has connotations of stability, order, tradition and symbols of power.

Not only are the missionaries' desire to build up civilisation evident on the cover pages, but it is also clear in the content of the *WMN* where more reports are seen of new church buildings or missionary stations. For instance, in the *WMN* for the year 1892, a photograph (**Figure 58**) of the first Methodist parsonage in Mashonaland is seen, displaying the early developments of architecture and building in South Africa. In its description, Rev. Isaac Shimmin admitted its appearance as not very appealing to the eye, nor of architectural beauty; however, he proclaimed that it was a good start to begin 'civilisation'.[135]

> This is the first Wesleyan building in Mashonaland. Although to the critical eye its appearance may not be pleasing, and it must be confessed that architectural beauty is not its strong point, yet it answers to its purpose very well. It is built of mud and poles, with thatch roof. As the thatch was not sufficient to keep out the heavy rain, we had to cover it with the wagon-sail, a common expedient this part of the world.[136]
>
> In fifty years' time, when the great Methodist magnates of Mashonaland will have beautiful villas and rich parks, it will do them good to look back to my humble parsonage, and trace the beginnings of things. Including the luxury of one door and three windows (no glass), the building cost about thirty pounds – a very small sum in this dear country.[137]

There were two foci of domesticity on the missionary front – one at the colony and the other at the metropole. These were often in opposition with each other. At the colony, it involved the impact of vernacular designs on European evangelists and colonisers. At the metropole, it involved the effort by bourgeois reformers to mobilise Africa in the cause of remaking 'civilisation' under the classes in Britain.[138] Many of the locals, especially those who were trained in European construction by the London

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[135] Shimmin, I. 1892, The Methodist parsonage. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 203.

[136] Shimmin, I. 1892, The Methodist parsonage. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 203.

[137] Shimmin, I. 1892, The Methodist parsonage. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 203.

[138] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 310.

Missionary Society and the WMMS, began to appropriate British designs and materials and incorporated them into vernacular built forms.[139]

The efforts it took missionaries to change belief were often linked to the efforts of remaking a place, and it is evident that this missionary activity played out in Africa in many parts of the continent. As missionaries endeavoured to introduce Christian beliefs, they also worked to create new ways of dwelling that brought their moral ideals from their home country. Efforts were made to change the houses that people lived in, to reconfigure the structure of families, and to bring in new forms of clothing and adornment and new ideas of work and play. The missionaries aimed not only to work at changing the beliefs of those they aimed to convert, but also wanted to change their form and manner of living in the world.[140]

The form and appearance of houses of Christians were important to the evangelists, as investing in their family dwellings proclaimed them as pillars of the community. While they never became quite like Victorian residences in England, their owners tried to replicate the social and cultural patterns of bourgeois British family life. Less affluent families could not normally afford to build, or live, on this scale; however, if their circumstances allowed, they built small colonial-styled cottages that took on the same paradigmatic design and the same social models were formed. The majority of people had fenced compounds of multiple clay-brick buildings, each with its hearth and courtyards.[141]

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[139] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 303.

[140] Crossland, Z. 2013, Signs of mission: Material semeiosis and nineteenth-century Tswana architecture. *Signs and Society* 1(1), pp.79-80.

[141] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 307.
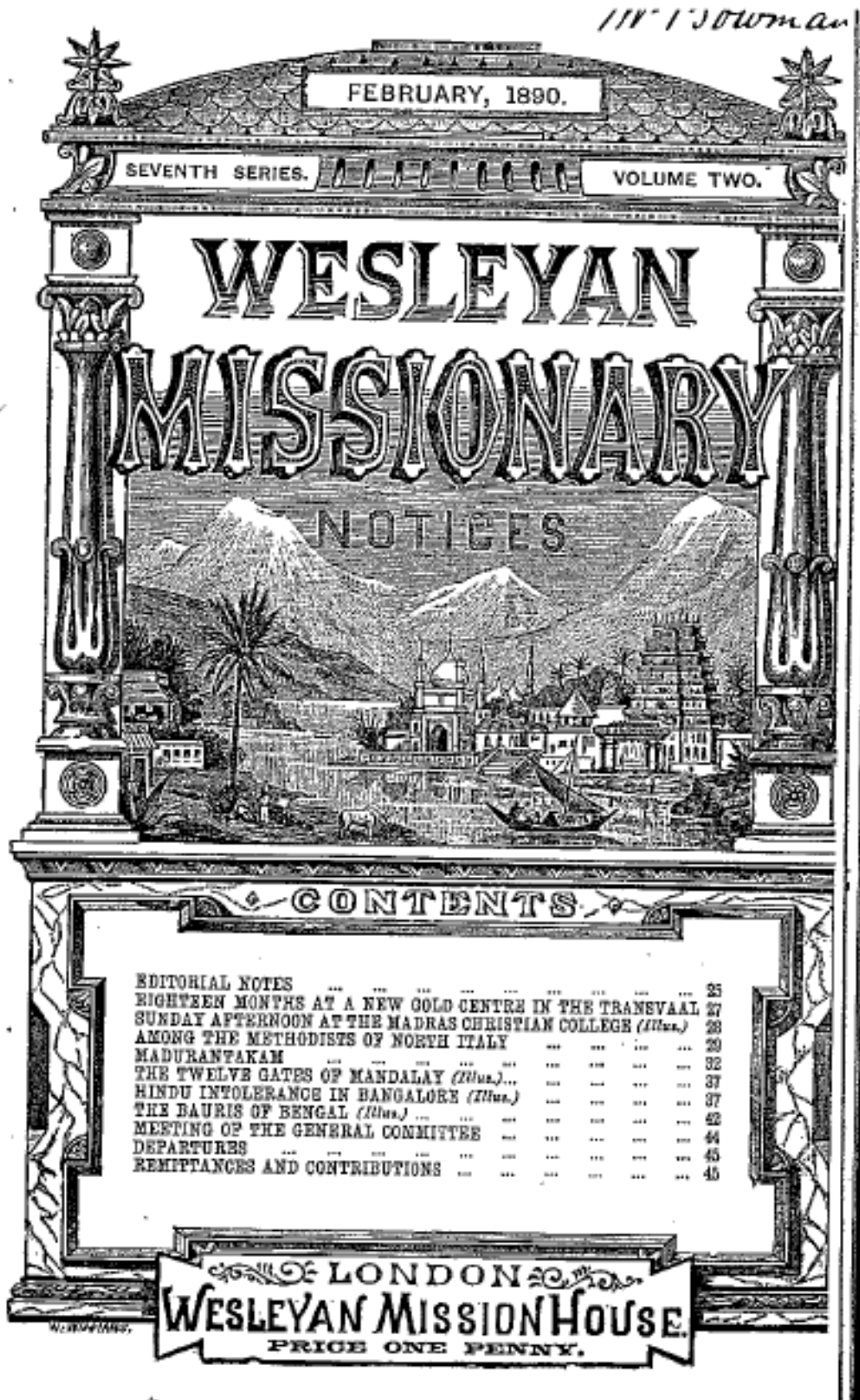
Figure 57: *WMN cover design,* February 1890.
Source: 'Cover page', *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February), 1890.
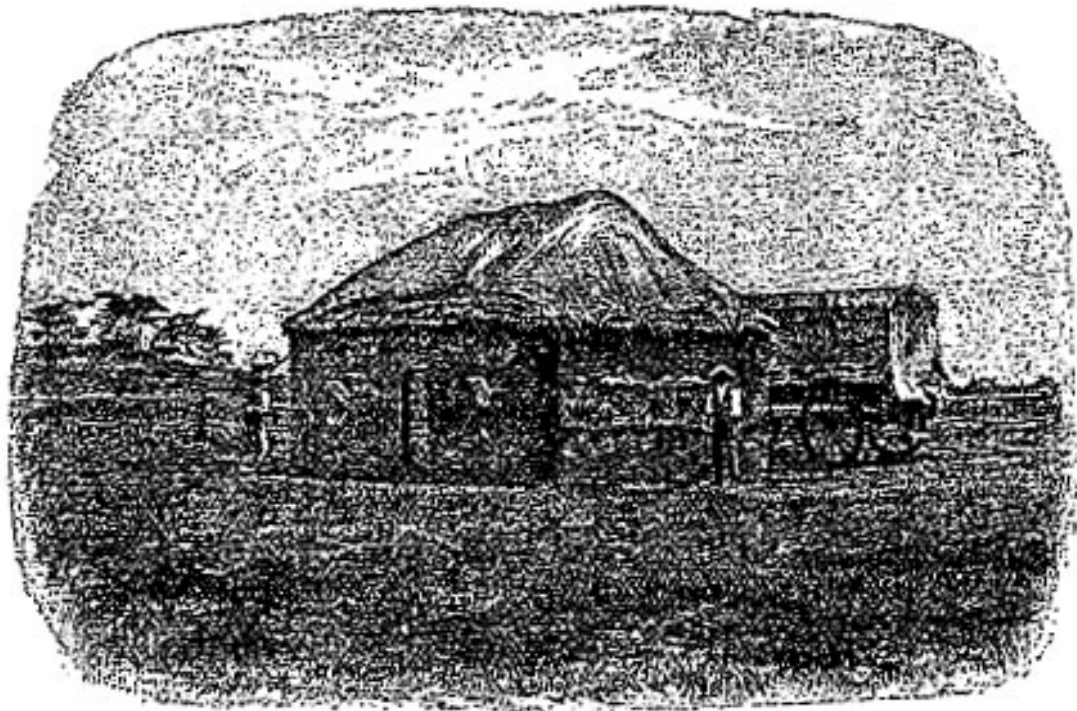
THE FIRST METHODIST PARSONAGE IN MASHONALAND.

Figure 58: The first Methodist parsonage in Mashonaland, in *WMN*, 1892.
Source: Shimmin, I. 1892, The Methodist parsonage. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September), p. 202.

In the colony, many of the evangelists relied on indigenous construction techniques when putting up their dwellings. Many of them thatched their roofs, usually with local help. The reliance on vernacular design went even further, and many houses were built in the manner of the locals, but the interior was divided into rooms. The structure "was more picturesque than symmetrical, [being] made of poles, plastered [with clay] on both sides, and thatched with reeds."[142] Even though the inside was divided, the kitchen was outside, as were the cooking areas in all local homesteads. An imitation architecture was emerging that combined European outer shapes and inner divisions with a range of local design elements and materials.[143] Over time, the mutual appropriation of aesthetic forms by Europeans and locals, lead to a steady convergence in colonial housing styles. This was not just a convergence of facades, but it entailed the way in which space was constructed and lived in. However, despite

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[142] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, pp. 310-311.

[143] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, pp. 311-312.

this convergence, the development of a distinctly hybrid architecture was not fully resolved, as were most tensions of colonial encounters. There would always remain a clear conceptual line between African and European social and material designs.[144]

The desire for the growth of 'civilisation' was seen in the homes and domesticity of the missionaries, as well as in the town landscape, as roads conditions improved and public buildings such as schools and churches became important. The method for creating these structures became more modern as building supplies became more accessible. This is seen in **Figures 59** and **60** where two churches had been built within about 150 miles of each other, "The Ayliff and Fingo Memorial Church" (**Figure 59**), in Peddie and "The Ayliff Memorial Church" (**Figure 60**) in Butterworth.[145] Both these churches were opened and dedicated in November of 1894, and both stood as memorials to the late Rev. John Ayliff.[146]

The idea of a memorial first originated in Ford Peddie, where the original Fingo (Mfengu) Church was erected by the 'Fingoes'[147] under the leadership of Ayliff. This original church had "now been superseded by the new memorial building".[148] Therefore, it could definitely be considered as an improvement on what was previously there. A block of buildings, including school-rooms and boarding-houses was also erected. The buildings took ten years to complete, finally brought to completion on 1 November 1894 when the church was dedicated.[149]

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[144] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 313.

[145] The Peddie and Butterworth churches are both examples from the Eastern Cape and not the Transvaal and Swaziland District, however, the reportage on the erection of these churches in the *WMN* are great examples of how the missionaries saw 'civilising' Africa as part of their 'missionising' duty.

[146] Anonym. 1895, Ayliff Memorials, Peddie and Butterworth, South Africa. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 33.

[147] The Mfengu people are a Bantu people, and were known to the English as "Fingoes" named after their territory of Fingoland (Mfenguland) found in the region that later became known as the Transkei.

[148] Anonym. 1895, Ayliff Memorials, Peddie and Butterworth, South Africa. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 33.

[149] Anonym. 1895, Ayliff Memorials, Peddie and Butterworth, South Africa. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 33.
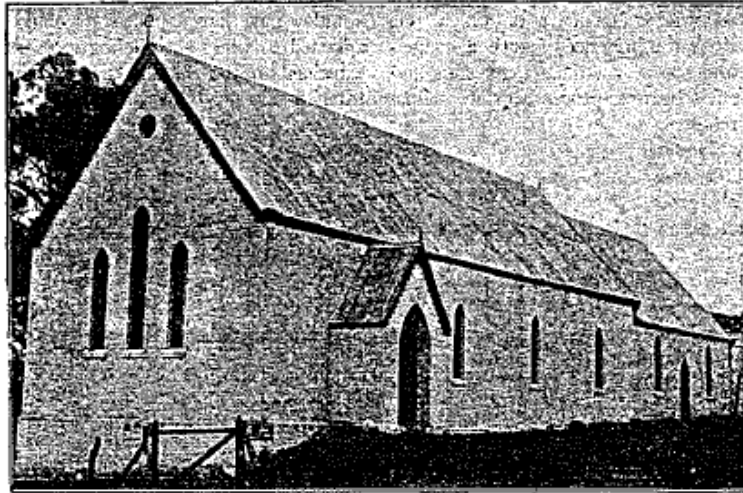
AYLIFF AND FINGO MEMORIAL CHURCH, PEDDIE.
(Opened November 1st, 1894.)

Figure 59: Ayliff and Fingo Memorial Church, Peddie.
Source: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices,* c. January - February 1895, p. 20.
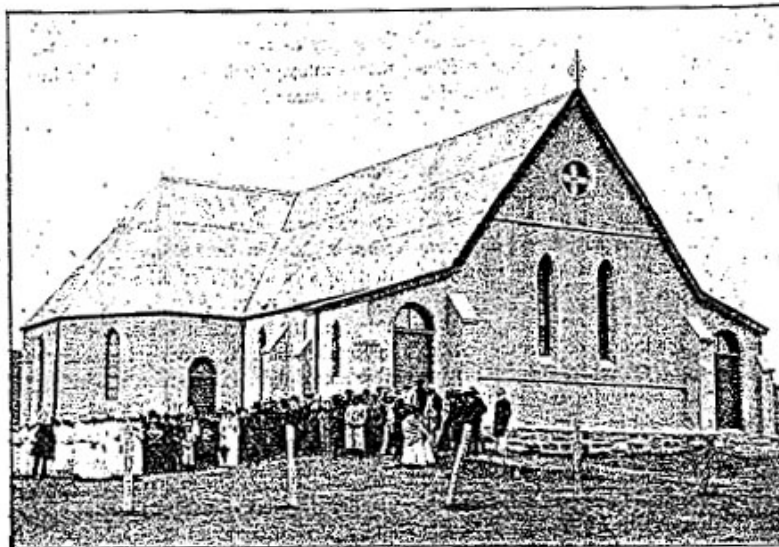
AYLIFF MEMORIAL CHURCH, BUTTERWORTH, TRANSKEI, SOUTH AFRICA.
(Opened November 9th, 1894.)

Figure 60: Ayliff Memorial Church, Butterworth, Transkei, South Africa, in *WMN*, March 1895.
Source: Anonym. 1895, Ayliff Memorials, Peddie and Butterworth, South Africa. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 34.

The author also mentioned, referring to their journey from Peddie to Butterworth for the opening of the second church, how the roads and conditions had improved as well as how 'civilisation' has developed, making for easy and pleasant travel:

> But how different travel is now, in comparison with the aforetimes, when some of us have been delayed by swollen rivers, breakdown of waggons, sticking in bogholes, and other vicissitudes of slow waggon travel! Some portions of the road even now might be bettered by the due attention of the several Divisional Councils, but on the whole the three days of actual travel were accomplished in comfort and without excessive fatigue: splendid bridges spanning the river torrents, good accommodation for man and horse at the several roadside hotels, and agreeable companionship *en route,* all combined to make the trip a pleasant episode, and a striking contrast to the days of the lumbering bullock waggon over unmade roads and the extended picnic in the wilderness, often with inconvenient struggling through wind and rain and storm.[150]

Another example of a building of a church, was the first brick church built in the Waterberg Mission at Olverton, Transvaal **(Figure 61)**. A photograph of the 'old church' appears in the article **(Figure 62).** The minister and author mentions that his first great need upon reappointment was for a new church to be built from bricks. In due course, he began to exert himself at the task, and got the people to make bricks. As soon as the bricks were finished, the building of the church commenced with the foundation stone being laid on 4 September 1894.[151] A photograph of the building process is seen in **Figure 63**, and the author also describes the building process as follows:

> The work now proceeded rapidly, each man on the station lending a hand and having a "mind to work." The brick layers consisted of the native minister, a local preacher and myself. The labourers were the men of the station. Some carried bricks, some wrought the clay, and others collected water from the river … It was first my intention to have a thatched roof, but when I found that by erecting gables I could put on an iron roof at little more cost than a grass one, I changed my plans … All was now finished, save the plastering. Although the brick on the outside are well burnt, it is necessary in this country to plaster the walls with lime

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150 Anonym. 1895, Ayliff Memorials, Peddie and Butterworth, South Africa. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March), p. 33.

151 Anonym. 1895, First brick church in Waterberg Mission, Transvaal. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 49.

and sand, as the rain would otherwise soak through the walls… The day of the opening was December 9th.[152]

NEW CHURCH, OLVERTON, TRANSVAAL.

Figure 61: New brick church at Olverton, Transvaal, in *WMN*, April 1895.
Source: Anonym. 1895, First brick church in Waterberg Mission, Transvaal. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 51.

OLD CHURCH, OLVERTON, TRANSVAAL.

Figure 62: The old church at Olverton, Transvaal, in *WMN*, April 1895.
Source: Anonym. 1895, First brick church in Waterberg Mission, Transvaal. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 50.

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[152] Anonym. 1895, First brick church in Waterberg Mission, Transvaal. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), pp. 49-50.
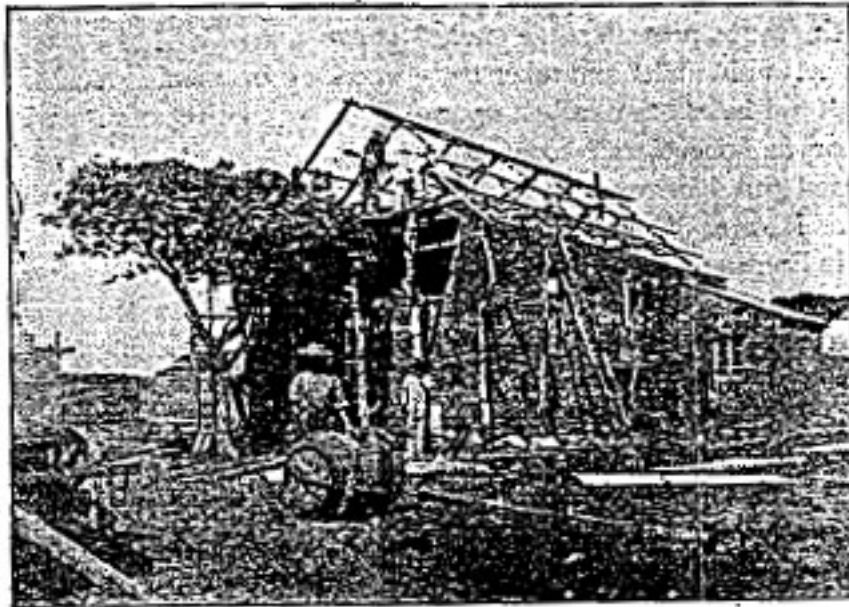
BUILDING THE NEW CHURCH

Figure 63: Photograph of the construction process of the new church at Olverton, Transvaal, in *WMN*, April 1895.
Source: Anonym. 1895, First brick church in Waterberg Mission, Transvaal. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 51.

The author went on to compare this new church building to those back at home in Britain for the sake of the readers. He stated that this church building may not have been as great as the buildings back home. It is clear that the British Victorians were aware of the appearance of things, and that even missionaries made comparisons to the high standards of Victorians back home. The author states:

> As the friends at home look at the photo of our church they will be struck with its modesty, and wonder what there is to boast about. Let them remember that it was done by one white man assisted by unskilled natives who never built a wall in their lives. Every fraction of clay and drop of water had to be drawn with ox-waggons from the river, nearly half a mile away, and the work was done in the driest and hottest season of the year.[153]

Despite the church's modesty, its good position on rising ground meant that it could be seen from villages that were up to fifteen miles away, and was therefore "a beacon shining in the darkness".[154] The light versus darkness metaphor comes into play

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[153] Anonym. 1895, First brick church in Waterberg Mission, Transvaal. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 50.

[154] Anonym. 1895, First brick church in Waterberg Mission, Transvaal. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), pp. 50-51.

again, as the missionaries believed that they and their new church were the light "shining in the darkness" of Africa. It is significant that three photographs were used in the article to visualise the progress, starting from the 'before photo' (the old church, **figure 62),** then a photograph from during the process (the construction, **figure 63),** and ending finally with the 'after photo' (the new brick church, **figure 61).** Clearly the missionaries attempted to show their readers exactly how they were building up 'civilisation', and how they were agents of change.

Figure 64: Illustration of the exterior of the chapel at Johannesburg, in *WMN*, April 1890.
Source: James, J.C. 1890, Chapel-building in Johannesburg. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 276.

Another example, where it is evident that appearances were important in terms of building structures, is in the chapel building in Johannesburg in 1890 **(Figure 64)**, where a more 'extravagant' chapel was erected. The building of this chapel occurred five years prior to the previous examples, and yet its development was far ahead of the others. It would appear, however, that the city of Johannesburg was on its way to 'civilisation' faster than the rest of the smaller towns and regions in the Transvaal. This was likely owing to the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand and Britain's, along with the rest of the world's, sudden interest in this city (as discussed in Chapter Two). Therefore, there was probably a higher level of affluence and

resources available to the missionaries working in Johannesburg and they realised the need to keep up the pace at which development was taking place in the city.

INTERIOR OF SCHOOL-CHAPEL.
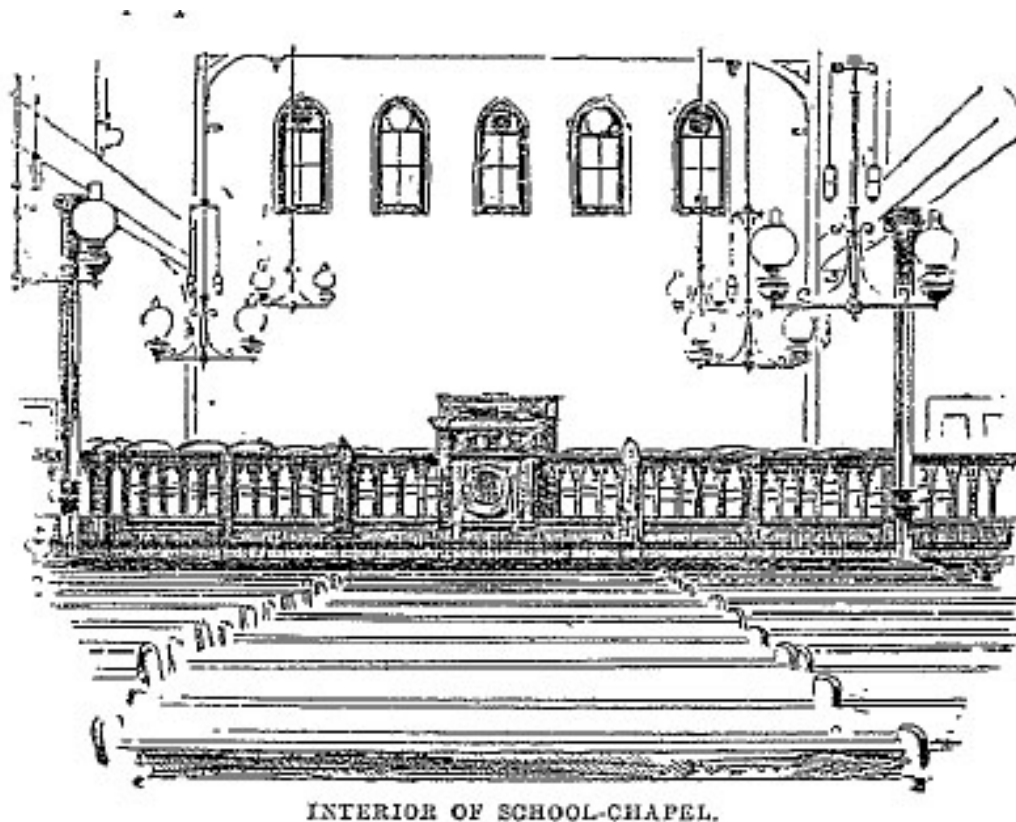
Figure 65: Illustration of the interior of the chapel at Johannesburg, in *WMN*, April 1890.
Source: James, J.C. 1890, Chapel-building in Johannesburg. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 278.

The chapel was not only ahead of others in terms of building and structure, but its extravagance and appearance was comparable to no other. However, despite the fact that the development of 'civilisation' appeared to be ahead, there are no photographs of the Chapel in the *WMN,* as it only began printing photographs in 1891. There are indeed two illustrations depicting the exterior (**Figure 64),** as well as the interior **(Figure 38)**. Reverend J.C. James also provided a description of the exterior and the interior of the "school-chapel" in Johannesburg as follows:

> The exterior of the building strikes one as being un-chapel-like. And it is so in fact. It was intended only for a school-room, and should have been superseded ere this by the chapel proper … In the selection of the plan the prevailing thought was its adaptability for educational purposes … The greatest attention was directed to the subject of light and fresh air, hence the many windows and ventilators. There are twenty-eight windows in all, including five small coloured-glass windows at the back, and five smaller ones in the front of the building over the main

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entrance … In the roof are eighteen ventilators, specially constructed for the escape of hot, impure atmosphere. These are essentials to all public buildings in tropical climates … The building rests upon a good foundation of prepared sandstone, which in front has the elevation of three feet. This gives the appearance of substantialness, and adds attractiveness … Upon this foundation a structure of brick-work is raised. Between each window small buttresses are built into the wall … There are cornices above, and mouldings beneath each window, with chamfered edges…The two finials on the roof are devices of the architect for ornamentally finishing the gable ends.[155]

The interior is more chapel-like. The central roof rests upon eight iron columns. The upper ceiling is tastefully finished with binders of ornamental wood-work. The seats are rather primitive for a new building. They are plain pine-wood forms, fairly comfortable, and all free … The platform extends nearly the whole width of the building. Around the platform, supporting the rail, there is some rude gothic ornamentation … The light is supplied by twelve chandeliers, six with three burners, and six with two. The building accommodates five hundred and fifty people, though not unfrequently six hundred hear the gospel preached within its walls on Sabbath evenings.[156]

Where money afforded and building materials were available, missionaries would build churches or schools that compared with those in Britain. The use of stained-glass or coloured windows in the chapel added to the aesthetics of the building, and was a luxury that was not always afforded by other missionaries. Some houses or church buildings had no glass for the windows. It is also apparent that the style of the building was influenced by the popular architectural styles in Europe at the time, with the use of window buttresses built into the walls, and cornices above and mouldings below each window with chamfered edges. There was an emphasis on the ornamental details of the building, such as the gable and two finials on the roof. The Victorian period was known for its emphasis on ornamental details, and this was definitely an influence in the description of the exterior of the chapel. The emphasis on decoration and ornamentation is also evident in the description of the interior, with the use of chandeliers for lighting, ornamental wood-work on the upper ceilings and gothic ornamentation on the railings.

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[155] James, J.C. 1890, Chapel-building in Johannesburg. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), pp. 276-277.

[156] James, J.C. 1890, Chapel-building in Johannesburg. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April), p. 277.

A STREET IN JOHANNESBURG.

Figure 66: Photograph of a street in Johannesburg, in *WMN*, August 1900.
Source: Weavind, G. 1900, Transvaal and Swaziland District. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (August), p. 227.

A photograph in the August 1900 issue of the *WMN* shows a street of Johannesburg **(Figure 66).** Before 1886, there was no WMMS mission station in Johannesburg, but when gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand, "it was as if the city of Johannesburg sprang into being".[157]   After Johannesburg leapt to life in 1886, the WMMS kept pace with its growth, and sent minister after minister to work among the people.[158] Reverend George Weavind reported in the *WMN* in 1900, that the work progressed steadily year after year. He stated that "the Society has largely increased, schools have been opened everywhere, and in many instances improved, and the brethren who have thus laboured have been able to rejoice in *visible* success"

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[157] Findlay, G.G. & Holdsworth, W.W. (eds.), 1922, *The history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.* Vol. IV. p340.

[158] Telford, J. s.a., *A short history of Wesleyan Methodist foreign missions,* p. 214.

[Emphasis added].[159] The photograph of the street in Johannesburg (**Figure 66)** was a visible sign of success in terms of building 'civilisation'.

5.6. Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has provided a brief overview of the *WMN* from 1883 to 1902. In selected examples, the design and visuals, including illustrations and photographs were analysed using semiotics and visual rhetoric. Various covers were analysed, along with graphic elements such us borders, initial letters and headings and other decorative elements. These elements revealed much about periodical design as well as the influences of the material cultures between colony and metropole.

Furthermore, the *WMN* was decoded in terms of symbolism and meaning. Illustrations were analysed, revealing how the British pictured the Empire, the exotic and 'the Other'. Images also revealed how missionaries wished to convey a sense of adventure and danger in the wilderness. Photographs were analysed that reveal that clothing was a visible sign of conversion and that architecture played a great role in the missionaries' aim to build up and 'civilise' the landscape and people of the colony. These myths of 'exotic adventure' fed into the ideologies of colonialism and capitalism. The next chapter turns its attention to advertising, and looks into the ideologies of colonialism and capitalism as seen in the material culture of the era. An analysis of some of the advertisements in the *WMN* makes connections between the material products and the role they played in society – both 'at home' and on the mission field.

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[159] Weavind, G. 1900, Transvaal and Swaziland District. *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (August), pp. 226-227.

CHAPTER SIX:
VISUAL ANALYSIS OF ADVERTISEMENTS IN *WMN*

6.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses upon advertisements within the *WMN* and the ideologies behind them, examining the relationship between material products advertised in the *WMN* and the role that these products played in Britain and the mission field. Firstly, this chapter looks into the background of advertising and the important role it plays in determining the material culture of an era. The role and purpose of advertising is briefly investigated, as well as the importance of determining the target audience. The rise of editorial advertising leading up to the nineteenth century is also examined. Secondly, this chapter provides an analysis of some of the advertisements in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, and makes connections between the material products and the role they played in society 'at home' and what they meant to those in the mission field. The focus is placed on advertisements of soap, cocoa, medicinal remedies and luxury goods. In this chapter, the object of analysis is not just the *WMN,* but also includes the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine (WMM)* – the magazine in which the *WMN* was bound.

The analysis of advertisements as visual culture draws upon existing literature, theory and analysis of images in the *WMN* as well as other contemporary images and advertisements to discuss the ideologies shaping advertisements, and how these images might be read in Britain as well as in the missionary field.

6.2. The role of advertising

Advertising is the activity or profession of drawing attention to commercial products or services by means of producing advertisements.[1] Advertising has played an important role in creating and shaping the 'consumer society' since the 1880s. Mass markets for mass-produced products were constructed by making use of technical

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[1] Soanes, C. & Stevenson, A. 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

innovations in transport, communication, manufacturing, processing, and through national advertising and branding. It was through advertising and branding that mass marketers were able to successfully manipulate consumers into buying products for which they did not necessarily have a need.[2]

Jennifer Wicke sees advertising in England by the middle of the nineteenth century as a "formative cultural discourse", which included the public's "collective aspirations and values".[3] Likewise, John W. Dodds makes similar observations and states that advertisements give clues to understanding a people and bring one closer to the tangibilities and immediacies of their everyday life.[4] It is for this reason that the advertisements in the *WMN* are important to analyse, as the commodities and means by which they are advertised, bring one closer to understanding the material culture and values of the people.

Consumer behaviour, in the nineteenth century, showed that consumers habituated their purchases to the brands they chose to buy, which would remain unchanged. Therefore, the influences – including the effect of advertising – surrounding the initial purchase was particularly important for the seller.[5] Advertising not only aimed at informing potential customers about their products, but was also used to persuade retailers to stock them.[6]

6.3. The rise of editorial and advertising design

According to Roy Church, the perception of when the period of 'modern advertising' began depends on the definition used. When arguing from the standpoint that advertising does not differ from that of simple announcement with unadorned

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[2] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), p. 622.

[3] Wicke, J., quoted in, Fenstermaker, J. J. 1992, Thomas Carlyle, popular advertising, and the commercial spirit in Victorian England. *Studies in Popular Culture* 15(1), pp. 26-27.

[4] Dodds, J. W., quoted in, Fenstermaker, J. J. 1992, Thomas Carlyle, popular advertising, and the commercial spirit in Victorian England. *Studies in Popular Culture* 15(1), p. 27.

[5] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), p. 623.

[6] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), p. 627.

information, then it can be traced back to the late seventeenth century in Britain, coinciding with the increasing appearance of newspapers. Advertisements would, for example, announce special events, such as the arrival of a shipload or consignment, an opening or an anniversary. Commercial advertising became a trend in the early nineteenth century, and a decline in the practice of using special events as the only occasion when advertising was used, resulted in the growth of advertising products for longer periods. It is this development of advertising, from special event to routine activity, which may be interpreted as the origin of modern commercial advertising.[7] The nineteenth century use of commercial advertising is seen in the advertisements for products, such as household consumables, like soap, cocoa and silverware, in the later issues of the *WMN*. The advertisements are 'valid' for longer periods, unlike special announcement advertisements. As a result, it was possible for these advertisements to be re-used in subsequent issues or other periodicals. An example of this is the Beechams' Pills advertisement, which is discussed later in this chapter.

The development and growth of modern advertising and the advertising industry since the eighteenth century is first seen with the Industrial Revolution between the years 1800 and 1855. At that time, advertising became regarded as a 'commercial weapon', as technology advanced which lead to a rise in mass production and mass marketing. The growth of advertising is also seen in what was known as the 'period of great expansion' from 1855 to 1914, in which the removal of taxation on newspaper advertising allowed the growth of the advertising industry, which became increasingly professional.[8] The advertising 'spectacle' after the first half of the nineteenth century was marked by the Great Exhibition of 1851, which initiated the process of 'commodification'; one result of this was that products acquired a potentially heightened appeal to middle-class consumers. The representation of commodities defined marketing as image making, through which images were used to sell products, which in turn influenced the evolution of national, class and gender identities.[9]

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[7] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), p. 628.
[8] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), p. 626.
[9] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), p. 629.

The first advertisement telegram received via the London District Telegraph Company was in 1864 for Messrs Gabriel dentists. They were so proud of their commercial strategies that they sponsored the frontispiece of one of the first manuals of advertising technique published in the country. Also in 1864, the National Provincial Depot in Bristol sent out telegrams to many potential customers. Firms considered this an effective way of creating new clients. Most of the techniques used today for circulating commercial information were founded during the nineteenth century.[10]

Most advertising in the 1840s took place on the streets of the city. On the sidewalks, men wearing sandwich boards[11] and handbills[12] dispersed for products and events of every description. By mid-century, manufacturers also began to pioneer the use of pictorial advertising, and advertising appeared on all available wall space and fences. Despite the variety and sometimes chaos[13] of advertising in the streets, most advertisements, especially after mid-century, were in newspapers and periodicals.[14] Advertising agents had been running since the end of the eighteenth century, but with the massive expansion in periodical publishing in the 1850s and 1860s, many more sprang up.[15]

Although England is known as having originated the Victorian style, other growing commercial centres in Europe and America felt its influence, which spread to all classes through the printed mass media. The excesses created by the Industrial Revolution lead to increased competition in the marketplace, as sellers sought to educate buyers to the virtues of products and services. The advancements of the simultaneous printing of text and image promoted the new medium called advertising,

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[10] Sweet, M. 2001. *Inventing the Victorians*, pp. 38-39.

[11] The sandwich board was a pair of advertisement boards connected by straps by which they were hung over a person's shoulders, thereby creating an advertisement seen from both the front and behind. (Soanes, C. & Stevenson, A. 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

[12] A small printed advertisement or other notice or announcement distributed by hand. (Soanes, C. & Stevenson, A. 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

[13] It was not uncommon for printed advertisement posters to be placed on top of other poster advertisements on walls, making it look messy.

[14] Fenstermaker, J. J. 1992, Thomas Carlyle, popular advertising, and the commercial spirit in Victorian England. *Studies in Popular Culture* 15(1), pp. 27, 29; McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 210.

[15] Sweet, M. 2001. *Inventing the Victorians*, pp. 49.

which soon became the hailer for announcing the rewards of the Victorian lifestyle.[16] Starting in the 1840s, the increasing use of woodcut engraving increased more frequent and effective use of images in editorial and advertising communication.[17] By 1845, the high-speed steam press had increased the volume of printed matter to the extent that many townscapes were littered with advertisements and posters covering every inch of available wall space. By the 1860s, academically trained craftsmen and artisans had entered the commercial arts, with the result that printed matter became visually more appealing and conceptually more sophisticated.[18]

By the mid-nineteenth-century, the most popular products advertised were consumer goods such as drinks, prepared or processed food, and cleaning materials – products that required consumers to experience the product in order to judge the level of satisfaction compared to those offered by competing suppliers.[19]

6.4. Advertising and Target Audience

Advertising is a one-way form of communication in which language is used in a specialised form to gain acceptance from the public. Advertising enjoys a public popularity, despite the many outcries from critics. For maximum appeal, advertising has to stay within the socially acceptable register of its target audience. A vital element in 'attention-getting' is the use of pictorial images to communicate a specific message. Therefore, the combination of image and language, in typographic form, is a frequent device for constructing messages in advertising.[20] The use of visual rhetorical devices can be determined, such as whether an advertisement is appealing to the intended audience, and what methods are used to hold the reader's attention. Also, the way the advertisement is arranged to produce visual-hierarchy, and what makes it memorable to the audience, can be determined.[21]

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[16] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: from Victorian to digital,* p. 15.

[17] Meggs, P.B. 1998, *A history of graphic design,* p. 138.

[18] Heller, S. & Chwast, S. 2000, *Graphic style: From Victorian to digital,* p. 15.

[19] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in nineteenth-century Britain: reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), pp. 627, 629.

[20] Swann, C. 1991, *Language and typography,* pp. 68-70.

[21] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 79-80, 85-86.

The target audience of the *WMN* in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was respectable late Victorian middle-class Methodists. They were also patriotic Englishmen and women. They read religious tracts, but also enjoyed reading the adventure stories of the great African explorers.[22] This might suggest that many of the readers were males who sought the stories of adventure and danger. Nicolas Mirzoeff also notes, as seen in a previous chapter, that newspapers often primarily had a male audience.[23] However, the advertisements suggest that the readers of the *WMN* were not only males. The list of contributors to the funding for mission, as published in the *WMN,* suggest an avid female readership.[24] Despite the consumer goods advertised being aimed at women, it was not only women who used such products. Owen Watkins[25] reported in his private diary that he knew the medicinal value of cocoa and the comfort of soap, and did not trek when it was "washing day". Despite women being included as part of the target audience of the *WMN*, stories about baking, washing and nursing were not published.[26] For the reading public in England, capitalist consumption was separated from travel accounts of faraway Africa.[27] The placement or location of an advertisement in any publication needs to be considered in terms of aligning the advertisement's target audience with that of the specific publication. At first consideration, the placement of the advertisements in the *WMN* may seem out of line, since the advertisements seem to be aimed at women while the periodical's reports tend to be more masculine in genre. However, it is seen that the products advertised were also used by men, and that the *WMN* also had female readers. It was ideal then that the audience consisted of both genders for the periodical and for the advertisements in the *WMN*. The kind of products advertised appealed to Wesleyan ideals of Christian domesticity. They were 'home-making' products so to

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[22] Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, p. 177.

[23] Mirzoeff, N. 2003, Newspapers. *Art Journal* (Summer), p. 24.

[24] Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. 1893, Contributions. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (October), p. 215.

[25] Owen Watkins was one of the main leaders of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Transvaal, South Africa. He wrote a large number of the letters for the *WMN*.

[26] The extracts from Watkins Private Journal on these products were not published in the *WMN's* "Journal of a journey to Mashonaland, Part II" (Watkins, O. 1891, Private Journal (6 July), p. 18; Watkins, O. 1891, Private Journal (17 September), p. 107; Watkins, O. 1891, Journal of a journey to Mashonaland, Part II. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November), pp.245-253.)

[27] Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, pp. 186,189.

speak, and thus they would have appealed to the missionary-supporting Christian household.

After the costs of newspapers and periodicals came down, "penny periodicals" became affordable and popular among the working classes.[28] The *WMN* was one such "penny periodical". However, some of the advertisements in the *WMN* were aimed at the more affluent buyers, and may not have appealed to all their readers.

6.5. Advertisements and ideology in *WMN*

"An advertisement is a single thing – a single communication – a transfer of meaning or a concept. The ad must thus present a unified impression. It can do so via a large illustration and headline, or it may invite the reader to delve into the text."[29] There are a number of advertisements from the *WMN* from around the 1890s from which many concepts and meanings can be derived. As has already been mentioned, advertising can be used to determine much about the culture of an era, which is the purpose of the following analysis.

Victorian advertising used signs of domesticity in Britain, with images such as children bathing, men shaving, women laced into corsets and maids serving nightcaps. At the same time, advertising mass-marketed scenes of empire and European attitudes through advertising imagery and commodity culture.[30]

6.5.1. Advertising stripping

In individual issues of Victorian magazines, advertising pages were usually found in the front or the back of the issue, and were often printed entirely separately from the text, usually on cheap paper. This was done intentionally, so that when the issues were published and bound at a later stage, the advertisements could be removed or stripped from the rest of the issue. The result created a good-looking volume or book

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[28] Altick, R. 1957, *The English common reader. A social history of the mass reading public 1800 – 1900*, p. 357.

[29] Turnbull, A.T. & Baird, R.N. 1980, *The graphics of communication: typography, layout, design, production*, p. 271.

[30] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 209.

that could be sold. Regrettably, this practice has created a great loss for researchers, as the advertisements that appeared with each issue may have provided useful information about the tastes and styles of the era.[31]

It was fortuitous that the copies of the *WMN* that were consulted in the Cory Library, in Grahamstown, had been bound with advertisements still in place, however, it is possible that some may be missing. The advertisements that are still available prove to be a great source for understanding some of the material culture connected with the Wesleyan missionising community of the time.

A few pages of advertising appear in the front of *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine (WMM),* **Figure 67** depicting the issue dated March 1889. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the *WMM* was a magazine for Methodists in general, and the *WMN* was included within the magazine. The advertising in the front, behind the cover page of the *WMM*, looked similar to a "classifieds" section of a newspaper, including several different advertisements in the page layout (**Figures 68** and **69).** Some advertisements included were those for "Beecham's Pills", "Kaye's Worsdell's Pills" and other medical remedies, as well as advertisements for food products such as "Neil's Infant's and Invalid's Food", "Edward's Desiccated Soups", "Borwick's Baking Powder" and "WM. Polson's Corn Flour".[32] These advertisements are examined together with the advertising in the *WMN,* in the rest of this chapter.

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[31] Lauterbach, E. 1967, Victorian advertising and magazine stripping. *Victorian Studies* 10(4), p. 431.
[32] Advertisements, 1889. *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (March); Advertisements, 1889. *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (June).

Figure 67: Cover page for *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine (WMM)* with Epps's Cocoa advertisement, March 1889.
Source: Cover page, 1889. *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (March).

Figure 68: *WMM's* "Classified" advertisements, March 1889.
Source: Advertisements, 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (March).

Figure 69: *WMM's* "Classified" advertisements, June 1889.
Source: Advertisements, 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (June).

6.5.2. Soap brands

The first advertisement is one for Pears' Soap[33] **(Figure 70),** on the back cover of the March 1890 *WMN* edition. The advertisement used the painting entitled "Sunday Morning" (1823) **(Figure 71),** by the early nineteenth century English artist, Michael William Sharp. An undated engraving of this was made by Charles Heath the elder **(Figure 72).**[34] However, the advertisement cites that it was based on the painting by Sharp.

The illustration depicts a woman washing the face of a young boy in the courtyard of a cottage. There is water running from a pump into a bucket. Although it is not as clearly visible in the advertisement as it fades out the edges, one can see in the painting itself that there is a jug, soap and pieces of fabric on a stool in the foreground at the left.[35]

Until about 1885, soap was sold in bars by weight and was advertised to housewives who did their own laundry. Soap brand names were not used until about 1885. It was only when W.H. Lever began to sell soap in one-pound bars, ready wrapped, that a brand became recognisable to middle-class customers. Lever wrote a handbook, *Sunlight Soap and how to use it,* to promote his brand to the working-classes and the lower end of the middle-class market. Pears' Soap began advertising at about the same time, aimed at middle-class customers. [36]

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[33] Pears' Soap "Sunday Morning" advertisement, 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).

[34] National Trust Collections. s.a. 'Sunday Morning (after Michael William Sharp), Charles Heath the elder (1785 – London 1848) 725619.' http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/objects/725619, Accessed: 2014-11-24.

[35] The British Museum. s.a. 'British Museum – Sunday Morning.' http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3380735&partId=1, Accessed: 2014-11-24.

[36] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 121.

Figure 70: Pears' Soap "Sunday Morning" advertisement.
Source: Pears' Soap "Sunday Morning" advertisement, 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).

Figure 71: *Sunday Morning,* painting by Michael William Sharp, 1823.
Source: National Trust Collections. s.a. "Sunday Morning (after Michael William Sharp), Charles Heath the elder (1785 – London 1848) 725619." www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/objects/725619, Accessed: 2014-11-24.

Figure 72: *Sunday Morning,* etching by Charles Heath the elder, undated.
Source: The British Museum. s.a. "British Museum – Sunday Morning." http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3380735&partId=1, Accessed: 2014-11-24.

For the pious and religious in the Victorian era, cleanliness was important, and the lack thereof brought social stigma. Housewives who simply could not afford to be as clean as they wished, brought a "sense of degradation … cleanliness is a costly thing, and a troublesome thing".[37] Not only was it frowned upon in terms of social standing, but also in a religious sense. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, first stated "Cleanliness is next to Godliness".[38] Good Methodists, and soon the general population, had a moral as well as physical duty to keep themselves, and their houses, clean. It was believed that keeping clean signified a decent household and reflected family respectability. There was a link between morality and cleanliness; between housekeeping and virtue. For instance, the daily cleaning and whitening of the front steps of the home meant that respectable people lived there. Methodists had a moral duty to clean houses and whiten front steps.[39] If things did not look clean on the outside, they were not clean on the inside. The same applied to personal cleanliness. In Chapter Five, it was similarly seen that clothing was an outward reflection of the inside.

The same could be thought about a person's soul. Cleanliness was not only a physical indication of being clean, but also a spiritual indication of being pure. The Methodists were religious and Bible believing, and Scripture made indications towards the idea of being washed clean by the blood of the Lamb. For example, in the *King James Version* of Revelation 7:14,[40] the verse states that those who "have washed their robes, and made white in the blood of the Lamb",[41] referring to the washing of garments to make them white. The Methodists may have understood the spiritual metaphor, that the cleansing signified a spiritual cleansing by the Spirit. This is explained in the Matthew Henry Commentary as the blood of the Lamb that washed away sin, and made the soul pure and clean in the sight of God, and that it was only

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[37] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 121.

[38] Wesley, J., quoted in Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 77.

[39] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 77-78.

[40] "And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." (*King James Version*, Public Domain.)

[41] Another cross reference verse includes: Isaiah 1:18: "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." (*King James Version*, Public Domain); Other cross reference verses include: Hebrews 9:14; Hebrews 13:12; 1 John 1:7; 1 Peter 1:18-19 and Revelation 3:4-5.

this blood that made the robes of the saints white and clean.[42] Therefore, it was a spiritual cleansing by blood rather than a physical cleansing by soap. In the nineteenth century, however, the Victorians were just as conscious of the physical cleansing, and believed that it was an outward indication of the inner spiritual cleansing. The idea of being "washed white" came across in many spheres, from white washed front steps, to white washed linen and then white washed souls.

In an era so focused on appearances and comparisons, cleanliness played an important role. Soap brands may have used this concept to their advantage to sell their products, particularly aiming their advertising (and particularly this Pears' advertisement placed in the Christian periodical) towards the Christian audience, linking their soap brand to the Christians' moral obligation towards cleanliness. In the "Sunday Morning" Pears' advertisement, it may be implied that the woman (probably the boy's mother) is not merely washing the boy's face, but that she is cleaning his mouth out with soap, as punishment for bad speech. The title "Sunday Morning" is also an indexical sign or reference to Christianity, as Sunday morning would usually be reserved for attending church. For those who adhered to the Sabbath strictly, considered it a sacred day on which much leisure activities was banned, therefore bad speech on this particular day would be cause for punishment.

This advertisement employed Aristotle's' *ethos* appeal (as seen in Chapter One), as it uses a moral appeal to persuade its audience that physical cleanliness was equal to goodness and purity, and that this cleanliness could be achieved with the use of the advertised Pears' Soap.

In a second advertisement for soap products in the *WMN,* this time for "Hudson's Soap Powder" **(Figure 73)**, there is an image of a woman doing the washing in a tub in what may be the scullery or a working-class interior. One of the subheadings on the advertisement, just above the image, reads, "Reduces the hours of labour",[43] while under the image there is a verse that reads:

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[42] Henry, M. 1706, *Revelation 7.* In *Matthew Henry commentary on the whole Bible (complete).* Retrieved from http://www.biblestudytools.com/commentaries/matthew-henry-complete/revelation/7, Accessed: 2015-01-01.

[43] Hudson's Soap advertisement, 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April).

Figure 73: *Hudson's Soap Powder* advertisement.
Source: Hudson's Soap advertisement, 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April).

Though you Rub! Rub! Rub!
And you Scrub! Scrub! Scrub!
You'll find that it's not in your power
In the old-fashioned way to do in a day
What Hudson's will do in an hour.[44]

This advertisement appeals to the housewife who wishes to save time on her washing. It was not uncommon for housewives to spend an entire day doing their washing, owing to the very long processes involved, leaving them no time for their other household chores. It was usual that washing was done on a Monday – after all the clothing and linen were soaked overnight on Sunday – in order that the wet laundry could be hung to dry for the remainder of the week. In advertisements, washing day (Monday) would often be referred to as "Blue Monday". The "blue" referred to the blue dye that would be used, as one of the last processes of the laundry procedure, on white linen and fabrics to keep them "white" and prevent them turning yellow, often caused by the soap used in the washing process.[45] The importance of keeping garments "white" and appearing clean, and the extra efforts made to achieve that appearance, are striking.

Advertisements of soap products would have been aimed at housewives who would do their own laundry, telling them how much time they would save by using the soap product.[46] The importance of cleaning was already established, and most middle-class families would already have had soap products they used for their "washing day", therefore, soap manufacturers would distinguish themselves by appealing to the housewife who wanted to save time. Any product that would reduce their washing time from a day to an hour would have been appealing to women.

As previously stated, consumer goods such as cleaning materials require consumers to experience them in order to judge the level of satisfaction, compared to those offered by competitors. Therefore, these products were advertised not by descriptions of the items, but by descriptions of the effects which they would have provided in use, such as saving time. This was the development of persuasive rather than informative

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[44] Hudson's Soap advertisement, 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (April).

[45] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 121-127.

[46] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 119-121.

advertising that had become more prominent during the second half of the nineteenth century.[47] Therefore, the time reducing strategy would become a common appeal used by advertisers. This advertisement makes use of Aristotle's *logos* appeal (as seen in Chapter One), using reason and logic to appeal to people who want to save time.

As previously mentioned, Asa Briggs explains that "many Victorians in England wanted somehow or other to hold on to the concept of there being an *ought* in life as well as an *is*".[48] In advertising, this concept of an *ought* is often signified, where advertisers communicate a message about what their life *ought* to be or *ought* to look like, and that their particular brand or product could help them achieve the life they ought to have. Just as in the "Sunday Morning" Pears' Soap advertisement, the message communicated is that one *ought* to have a cleanlier life, both inwards (spiritually) and in outward appearances (physically). Because outward appearances were indicative of the inner state, Pears' Soap was the ideal solution to having a cleanlier and purer life. In the Hudson's Soap Powder advertisement, the *is* being communicated is that many women would spend many hours doing their washing, but they *ought* to save that time for other more important tasks, and that is only made possible by using Hudson's Soap Powder.

Time was one of the great preoccupations of the nineteenth century. It was unlikely that an eighteenth century children's book would begin with a rabbit with a pocket watch, much less a worried one shouting "Oh dear! Oh dear! Shall be too late!"[49] It was not coincidental that the nineteenth century's obsession with time coincided with the high period of factory work and the expansion of the railway. The Industrial Revolution had increased the pace of life. Factory workers were called to work shifts at specific times, and train schedules made every minute important. Household tasks to be performed in an orderly fashion and set routines proved just as important. Every minute of the day was important, and each time of the year, month and day held its own number of responsibilities. The way time was used was just as important as the

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[47] Church, R. 2000, Advertising consumer goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations. *The Economic History Review* 53(4), p. 629.

[48] Interview with Asa Briggs in, Pallares-Burke, M.L.G. (ed.). 2002, *The new history: confessions and conversations*, p. 37.

[49] From Lewis Carroll's children's book, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (commonly shortened to 'Alice in Wonderland') published in 1865.

way money was used, as to waste time was considered as foolish as wasting money. Good housekeeping therefore meant good timekeeping. Dinner being served late was a sign of bad housekeeping, and a good wife would not leave her husband waiting for his meal. A late dinner indicated a wife either lacked in ability or in love.[50] The Hudson's Soap Powder advertisement, therefore, appeals to the wise housewife who knew the importance of saving time. "Washing day" would often result in late dinners, and therefore a soap brand that could save time and allow time for other responsibilities, would improve a housewife's standing as a responsible and wise woman, which in turn indicated a good Christian household.

6.5.2.1.   *Soaps in the context of missionaries and colonisation*

Soap branding invested in Victorian cleaning rituals to market themselves globally as the 'God-given sign' of Britain's evolutionary superiority.[51] Soap was credited with bringing moral salvation to the "great unwashed" and magically embodied the spiritual ingredient of the imperial mission itself.[52] The same cleanliness that was brought to the Wesleyans in Britain, had to be provided to African converts who had to not only dress themselves in western clothes, but also 'cleanse' themselves as a symbol of their conversion and cleansing from the darkness of Africa, as seen in Chapter Five.

Many in the missionary community felt that the 'rampant heathen body' posed as a danger to the delicate order of the evangelical frontier. The image of the unwashed "greasy native" not only had connotations of "dirtiness"[53] but also the "disease" of Africa. The desire for cleanliness was one of morality and necessity, to cleanse not only the hearts of working people across the globe, but also the hands of the ailments

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[50] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 156, 231-232, 361.

[51] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 207.

[52] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 211.

[53] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 224.

caused by the dirt and grime of 'uncivilised' conditions, polluted labour and 'unhygienic' habits.[54]

The Africans' habit of covering the whole body with a layer of goat's fat or animal lard, as a moisturising 'cosmetic' to protect their skins from the parching air, was detested. To the evangelists, if not all Europeans, the "greasy native" suggested stickiness and connoted a body that refused to separate itself from the world, and that left "greasy marks upon everything". The imagery of bestial bodies was firmly rooted in the British imperial imagination, portrayed as dirty primitives clothed in animal skins embodying "the dark landscape of Africa". In the imagery of the missionary, the "lubricated wild man" stood opposed to the "clean, comfortable and well-dressed believer". [55] Soap advertisements often exaggerated the cleaning potential for the product's magical ability to white-wash black people. Soap advertisements often depicted a black person as a symbol of the 'uncivilised' and uncleansed soul-washing.[56]

It is worth noting that the advertisements in the *WMN* that have been analysed[57] do not contain images depicting black people. The advertisers may have thought it inappropriate in a Christian periodical and carefully chose advertisements that were more philanthropic. The Pears' Soap "Sunday Morning" advertisement would be better suited to the Christian audience.

However, many of the ideologies reflected in soap advertisements existed amongst the missionaries. Missionaries may have had a more philanthropic approach and yet it has been seen that the missionary European still believed himself to be superior to the African. The 'civilising mission' attempted to 'develop' the Africans, encouraging

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[54] Ramamurthy, A. 2003, *Imperial persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British advertising,* p. 24; McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 211.
[55] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, pp. 224-225.
[56] Ramamurthy, A. 2003, *Imperial persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British advertising,* p. 24.
[57] There were no advertisements depicting black people in the sections, available to the author, from 1883 to 1902 of the *WMN*. It cannot be stated explicitly that there were no such advertisements without seeing the whole periodical, although from what has been seen, it seems unlikely.

them to mimic European dress and behaviour under the paternal guidance of the European.[58]

Soap advertising, in particular the Pears' Soap campaign, took the lead in reflecting Britain's commodity culture and 'civilising mission'.[59] The company released a number of advertisements highlighting the attitudes towards Africa and Empire. One example is a Pears' Soap advertisement **(Figure 74)** which was released in *The Graphic* in December 1884 depicting a black boy washing himself white. The image became popular as it was used in several of their advertisements and numerous copies of it exist both in black and white and in colour. The black child sits in amazement in the second frame after having scrubbed himself white. The white boy, fully clothed – a symbol of 'civilisation' – speaks to the black child in an authoritative manner in the first frame. These two boys represent Africa and Europe, with the washing and teaching acting as visual metaphors for Europe's desire to civilise and control Africa politically and economically. The white boy is also seen as a symbol of the merchant trader selling British consumer goods and values across Africa.[60]

From the outset, soap took the shape as a commodity of social purification entwined with the semiotics of imperial racism and class denigration.[61] McClintock states:

> For the elite, a sun-darkened skin stained by outdoor manual work was the visible stigma not only of a class obliged to work under the elements for a living but also of far-off, benighted races marked by God's disfavor.[62]

The soap commodity promised to magically regenerate black people "by washing from the skin the very stigma of racial and class degeneration".[63] It was not only a domestic commodity and a symbol of imperial progress, but branded itself with the transforming power for the 'civilising mission'.[64]

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[58] Ramamurthy, A. 2003, *Imperial persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British advertising,* pp. 71, 85 & 86.

[59] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 208.

[60] Ramamurthy, A. 2003, *Imperial persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British advertising,* pp. 26-29.

[61] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 212.

[62] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 212.

[63] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 214.

[64] McClintock, A. 1995, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest,* p. 220.
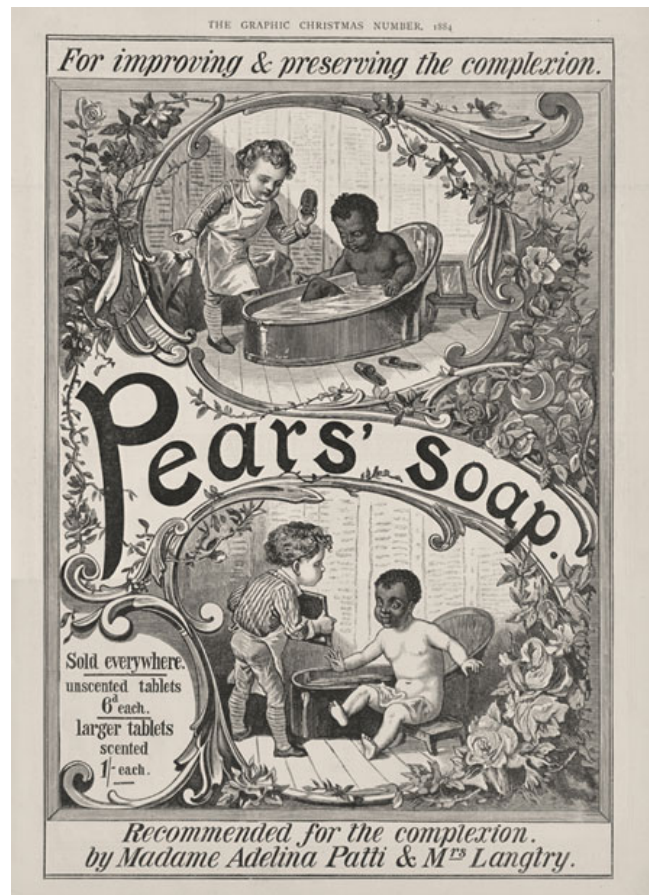
Figure 74: Pears' Soap advertisement.
Source: 'Pears' Soap advertisement', 1884. *The Graphic* (December).

6.5.3. *The appearance of luxury*

The advertisement in **Figure 75** for "The People's Watch and Jewellery Company" advertises two of their products as their "Guinea Speciality". The top half of the advertisement advertises their Electro Plate, which was the process when an article was plated or coated with a layer of metal, such as silver or gold, by the process of Electrolysis.[65] Underneath an illustration of the electro plate, the following text describes the article:

> The above illustration faithfully represents one of our Specialities in Electro Plate: it consists of three Glasses and two Electro Spoons, the whole being mounted on Best Electro Stand. It may be used for either Jams, Jellies, or Biscuits. It is an article which gives great satisfaction, and is splendidly adapted for Birthday or Wedding Presents. We honestly assert it to be worth fully 25 per

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[65] Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

cent more. Will be forwarded (Carriage Paid), to any part of the United Kingdom on the receipt of P.O.O. for £1 1s.[66]

In the bottom half of the advertisement, the company advertises their meat carvers. Underneath the advertisement, there is another description of the product:
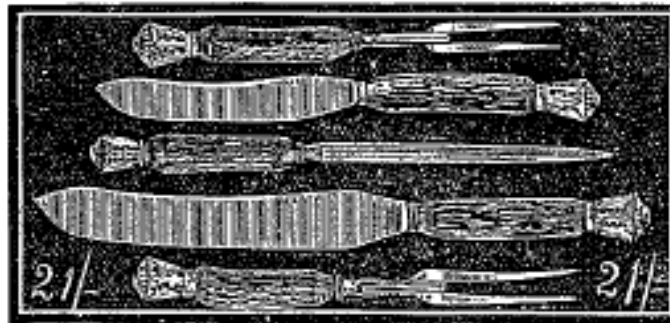
> This illustration only faintly conveys an idea as to the wonderful value of this Our Own Speciality in Best Cutlery. We can truly [say] they are unequalled at the price anywhere. Each case contains MEAT CARVERS, GAME CARVERS, and STEEL, all of which are made of best steel and the handles are genuine Stag Horn and mounted with Nickel Silver Engraved Caps. The five articles are fitted in a well made velvet-lined case (with Lid) and form one of the most unique and useful presents ever brought before the public. We guarantee the goods finest Sheffield make and finished in such a manner that will prove their superb value. Sent to any part of the United Kingdom (Carriage Paid) on receipt of P.O.O for £1 1s.[67]

It is interesting to note that the advertisement emphasises that it is "Our Guinea Speciality", and besides each side of each image "21-/" (21 shillings) is displayed, indicating the cost of the product, which is again mentioned in the descriptions as "£1 1s" (one pound and one shilling.) In England the Guinea coin, equal to 21 shillings, only remained in circulation until 1813, but the term remained in use and tended to be used only for luxury goods, and it denoted a high value of money.[68]

In **Figure 75**, the first item advertised is an electro plate, which consisted of items such as "Electro Spoons" and an "Electro Stand", which were items coated or plated with a metal. Although it does not specify which type of metal it is plated with, it would not have been uncommon for it to be plated with silver. It also became common for items such as silver cutlery to be plated. Solid silver cutlery was luxurious and too expensive for lower income classes, however, one could obtain silver plated cutlery that had the appearance of 'luxury'. The "People's Shop" was known for being accessible and affordable to the common man. Electroplate gave the cheaper ware the appearance of solid gold or silver. Average middle class goods, owing to industrial processes, had now become more affordable and thus more readily

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[66] 'The People's Watch & Jewellery Company advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September).
[67] 'The People's Watch & Jewellery Company advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September).
[68] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 397.

available. Such goods had the appearance of being luxurious, and now even lower income people could afford the look of respectability. Objects were, therefore, important and useful, for what they told about their owners. The appearance of objects was important for those wanting to maintain their position in society.[69] The appearance of belonging to a better class was obtained by having possessions.

In addition to this advertisement, two similar advertisements **(Figures 76** and **77)** are seen in the front of *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine,* advertising lace curtains by "Saml. Peach & Son's." for 21 shillings (a Guinea) for "the drawing room".[70] According to Flanders, "the drawing room was the centre of the house, literally and spiritually. It was the status indicator, the mark of gentility, the room from where the woman governed her domain." The drawing room was one of the outward indicators that reflected the husband's success in the world and had to live up to his success.[71] The advertisement of expensive and luxurious curtains for one's drawing room shows that the outward appearances of objects is seen as an important thing. Curtains as these would have been successful for "showing off" the family's social status, in the room that was meant for this purpose.

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[69] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 144-145.
[70] 'Saml. Peach & Son's lace curtains advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (March); 'Saml. Peach & Son's lace flouncings advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (July).
[71] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 131.

Figure 75: *The People's Watch & Jewellery Company* advertisement.
Source: 'The People's Watch & Jewellery Company advertisement', 1889, *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (September).

Figure 76: *Saml. Peach & Son's* lace curtains advertisement.
Source: 'Saml. Peach & Son's lace curtains advertisement', *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (March), 1889.

Figure 77: *Saml Peach & Son's* lace flouncings advertisement.
Source: 'Saml. Peach & Son's lace flouncings advertisement', *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (July), 1889.

However, since outward appearance was so important, it was not uncommon that many people in lower income groups would make their entrance halls and drawing rooms look 'upper class', while the rest of the house could not live up to the same standards. Although this was common, it was frowned upon and even thought to be a great sin if some rooms were over-decorated while other rooms were skimped upon, as it was not a true reflection of or in relation to one's income. As Flanders puts it: "Not living up to one's income was bad; trying too hard was worse; the greatest sin of all was living above one's income".[72] Decoration itself was not bad, but extravagance was immoral, and "the greatest good was knowing one's place and living up to it precisely". Anything less would have been considered a lie and an untrue testimony of a family's social status.[73]

The correlation between the aspirations seen in the advertisements and the missionising project was similar. Converts must look converted, and churches must look like vestiges of civilisation. The tension between the inner virtues and outer appearances lay at the core of the civilising mission from the start. The visible outer wear and clothing, as seen in Chapter 5, showed the outward transformation and proved the successful conversion of a transformed soul. Homes and hearts were transformed together.[74] In summary, John Mackenzie stated in 1858:

> [A Christian] cannot continue to live in the habits of the heathen. The African who believes that Jesus is preparing for him a glorious mansion in Heaven, will endeavor to build for himself a decent house on earth; and he who anticipates being hereafter attired in the pure white robe of the Redeemer's righteousness, will now throw aside the filthy garments of the heathen.[75]

What the Victorians were aspiring to in their consumption of goods in Britain, was also what they were trying to achieve in the lives of 'heathens' abroad, but with the

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[72] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 132.

[73] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, pp. 131-132.

[74] Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, pp. 223, 274; Ruether, K. 2002, Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), p. 364.

[75] Mackenzie, J. 1858, quoted in, Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J. 1997, *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2*, p. 274.

threshold that maintained the difference between the superior missioniser and the submissive missionised.

6.5.4. *Medicinal Remedies*

One of the most common type of advertisements in the late nineteenth century was for all sorts of medicinal remedies to cure almost any sickness, disease or ailment. One of the most popular advertisements of this time was for "Beecham's Pills". In the *WMN* this advertisement is repeated a number of times throughout a number of issues, usually a full-page advertisement across from the "Contributions" section, or as the second page after the cover. This is an example where the advertisement is used more than once, indicating that it is for a mass-produced product, rather than a once off announcement or advertisement. There are also two different half-page advertisements in the "Classifieds" advertisement section of *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*.

The full-page advertisement in the *WMN* **(Figure 78),** has the product's name, "Beecham's Pills", in an uppercase display typeface within a bordered box near both the top and bottom of the page. The name is repeated several times along both sides of the advertisement, giving great emphasis to the product name.[76] The rhetorical device used here is repetition, used as a means to make something memorable. The more one encounters a particular visual rhetorical text or reference to a larger visual rhetorical campaign, the more likely it is that one will remember it.[77] The repetition of the product's name makes the name "Beecham's Pills" memorable, and the name stays in the viewer's mind long after the advertisement is seen.

Along with the repetition of the product's name, the phrase "Worth a Guinea a Box" is seen at least twice in the advertisement, once in the middle of the page, framed within a box and once as a heading just above the description of the product. However, the product is not actually sold for a Guinea, but sold in boxes costing 1s. 1½ d. or 2s. 9d. per box. Right at the top of the advertisement is the phrase,

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[76] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).

[77] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 85-86.

"A WONDERFUL MEDICINE!!" indicating how invaluable the product is.[78] Stating that the medicine is "worth a Guinea a box" indicates that the product is thought to be, or at least advertised to be, good value at an affordable price.

Figure 78: *Beecham's Pills* advertisement.
Source: 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).

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[78] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).

As was typical in the nineteenth century, Beecham Pills claimed to be able to cure almost all ailments and sicknesses, as seen in its description:

> Beecham's Pills are universally admitted to be worth a Guinea a Box for Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Drowsiness, Cold Chills, Flushing of Heat, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Costiveness, Scurvy, Blotches on the Skin, Disturbed Sleep, Frightful Dreams, and all Nervous and Trembling Sensations &c. The first dose will give relief for twenty minutes … Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one Box of these Pills, and they will be acknowledged to be worth a Guinea a Box.[79]

Figure 79: *Beecham's Pills* advertisement.
Source: 'Beecham's Pills advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (July).

On the first half-page advertisement, in the *WMM* of July 1889 **(Figure 79)**, the repetition of the product name is eliminated, but it is emphasised by its large type size that looks more like a logo, as focus is drawn to the name. However, the advertisement is otherwise very similar to the previous one described, as it still states "A WONDERFUL MEDICINE" above, and emphasises the phrase "Worth a Guinea

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[79] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).

a Box", while using the same wording for its description.[80] Instead of repetition, the rhetorical devices used are visual hierarchy in the arrangement, in which the product name appears much larger than the rest of the text, which makes it stand out and grab the attention of the reader. When advertisements appear in a "classifieds" layout among other advertisements, it is key to use a device that would catch viewers' attention quickly and draw them into the advertisement. The different look of the name, making it appear more like a logo, also adds to the memorability, as its uniqueness makes it stand out from the rest and easier to remember.[81]

The advertisement in general appears to be aimed to all people, however, the advertisement in the *WMN* **(Figure 77)** also specifically targets the female audience in the next part of the description stating that no female should be without these pills:

> For Females of all ages these Pills are invaluable. No Female should be without them. There is no Medicine found to equal Beecham's Pills for removing Obstruction or Irregularity of the System. If taken according to the Directions given with each Box, they will soon restore Females of all ages to sound and robust health.[82]

Similarly, in the first advertisement in the July 1889 issue of the *WMM,* females receive a specific mention, stating that for females these pills are a priceless treasure beyond all wealth and that it is the banisher of all pain and the key to health.[83]

Interestingly, the target audience is changed to men in the second Beecham's Pills advertisement in the June 1889 issue of the *WMM* **(Figure 80)**, while the female audience is not forgotten as they are addressed in the second part of the advertisement. However, more focus is given to men, as the headline states, "Overworked business men" with an image to the left of two working business men. It is not immediately apparent that this is a Beecham's Pills advertisement; it reads more like a short newspaper article with a headline, and the product name "Beecham's Pills" is only used in the following description targeting men:

> The tax on the nervous energy of the successful business man of to-day is something tremendous. Not one of these men would think of imposing on another

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[80] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (July).

[81] Reyburn, D. 2013, Visual rhetoric, *in* Reid, J. (ed.), *Looking at media: an introduction to visual studies*, pp. 85-86.

[82] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).

[83] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (July).

one-quarter of the burden they will cheerfully assume themselves. Fortunately, in BEECHAM'S PILLS medical science has provided an agent that will enable nature to keep the supply of nervous energy equal to the fearful demand. The first sign of overwork shows itself in a weak stomach and a disordered liver. BEECHAM'S PILLS act like magic on these two organs, restoring the one almost *immediately* to a robust condition, and regulating and purifying the other instantly. They are 'Worth a guinea a box.'[84]

Figure 80: *Beecham's Pills* advertisement, for overworked business men.
Source: 'Beecham Pills advertisement', *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (June), 1889.

Ideologies relating to gender identity can be seen here, where men were hard workers in offices and had responsibilities as successful business men, while women were considered weaker and not "of sound and robust health". [85]

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[84] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (June).
[85] 'Beecham Pills advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (March).
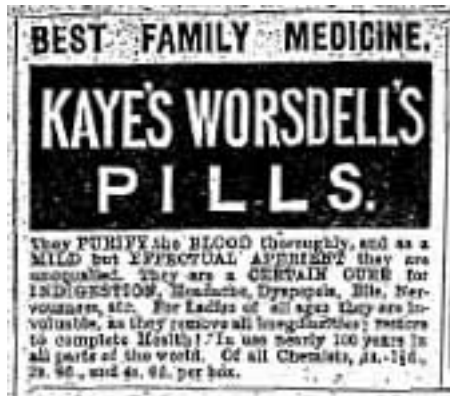
Figure 81: *Kaye's Worsdell's Pills* advertisement.
Source: 'Kaye's Worsdell's Pills advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (March).

Beecham's Pills were not the only products being advertised to cure many kinds of ailments. Another advertisement, which appeared in both the March and June issues of the *WMM* in 1889, was for "Kaye's Worsdell's Pills" **(Figure 81).** These were described as being the "Best family medicine", while also targeting the female audience in the second part of the text, in a similar way to the Beecham's Pills advertisement:

> They PURIFY the BLOOD thoroughly, and as a MILD but EFFECTUAL APERIENT they are unequalled. They are a CERTAIN CURE for INDIGESTION, Headache, Dyspepsia, Bile, Nervousness, etc. For ladies of all ages they are invaluable as they remove all irregularities; restore to complete health! In use nearly 100 years in all parts of the world. Of all Chemists, 1s. 2½d., 2s. 9d., and 4s. 6d. per box.[86]

Other advertisements for medicinal remedies included "Hayman's Balsam of Horehound" for the relief from coughs and colds; "Comfort for the Feet", a corn plaster that removes pain speedily; "Matthew's Fuller Earth", a skin remedy; and three "Rowland's" products including "Rowland's Macassar Oil" for glossy hair; "Rowland's Kalydor", another skin remedy; and "Rowland's Odonto", a dental product for teeth whitening and prevention of decay.[87] Therefore, it was not uncommon for a range of products to be advertising "cures" and "remedies" for a variety, if not all, ailments, sicknesses and other health conditions. Most of these advertisements can be seen in **Figures 68** and **69.**

Medicine was one area of knowledge that was important in the emerging definition of 'tropical nature' in European thought. Medicine saw a comeback of a classical geographical approach to disease. It explained illnesses in terms of place and environment, which resulted in a new awareness of the special features of tropical medicine eventually being defined. In medicine, the West Indies had come to be considered tropical by the middle of the eighteenth century, when European

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[86] 'Kaye's Worsdell's Pills advertisement', 1889. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (March).
[87] 'Advertisements', 1889. *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (March & June).

physicians first began to articulate their ideas about the dangers of the diseases they encountered there. By the 1830s, India and Africa had come to be considered tropical in their disease characteristics as well. Almost by definition, tropical medicine was a colonial medicine, and tropical diseases were diseases of colonial people, a belief that came with the simultaneous expansion of Europe overseas into tropical colonies. Pictures of sores and other horrible signs of tropical disease were shown in medical textbooks, but many pictures circulated beyond professional medical circles to the newspapers and popular publications feeding public interest in colonial empires.[88] The fear of disease was a common thought for the readers of the *WMN,* as the dangers of missionary work in "darkest Africa" were made known. Missionaries sometimes reported on delays or changes to plans owing to sickness, with some even returning to England to recover, making not only the 'realities' of mission work obvious, but also the 'dangers' and 'costs' associated with it. While it is not made known much in the *WMN* if missionaries used medicinal remedies, such as Beecham's Pills, with the constant awareness of disease, it can be assumed that they would at least be prepared for common illnesses that could be treated with medications known to them. In terms of the periodical, it would be a good place for pharmaceutical companies to place advertisements to target an audience already aware of the danger of illness and disease. Pharmaceutical companies could therefore advertise their patent medicines as easy solutions that were at least available to them, if not to those on the missionary field.

6.5.5. *Domestic Consumables*

As has already been discussed, the two outer layers of advertising in the *WMM* contained advertisements of an abundance of manufactured goods, including cocoa, food products, pills, books, lace curtains and more. The advertisements helped sponsor the work of spreading the Methodist gospel all over the British empire. Kriel, in her juxtaposition of a missionary's private journal and public periodical, notes that the published accounts, in contrast with the private journal, are somewhat silent about consumer items. It would seem that the public account had to uphold the image of constant struggle for survival in the wilderness, and that the access to and use of

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[88] Stepan, N.L. 2001, *Picturing tropical nature,* pp. 16-17, 27-28.

consumer products, such as cocoa, would give the impression of a much more comfortable lifestyle.[89] Despite the lack of mention of consumable goods in the text of the *WMN,* perhaps because they were considered too feminine and domestic, the advertisements often communicated messages about domesticity, the roles of women in society and the general comforts and routines of home and life.

The development of modern advertising towards the end of the nineteenth century was interwoven with the onset of mass production and intensive industrialisation. This period was when many popular trade brands originated, and advertisements, posters and packaging carried ideologies of European supremacy, along with colour, class and gender hierarchies.[90] By the end of the nineteenth century, some of the world's biggest consumer brands were established, such as Campbell Soup, first canned in 1869, and Henry John Heinz pickles starting in 1869, with the first Heinz Ketchup bottled in 1876. Other well-established brands included Philadelphia Cream Cheese (1880), Maxwell House coffee (1892), Del Monte canned fruit (1892), Cadbury's Milk Chocolate (1897), Nabisco Cereal (1898) and Quaker Oats (1901).[91] For the most part, this section focuses on the advertising of cocoa, as seen in the advertisements in the *WMN* and ideologies associated with them. Other domestic consumables advertised in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* **(Figures 68 & 69)** are for 'Borwick's baking powder', 'Neil's infants' and invalid's food', 'Edwards' desiccated soups' and 'WM Polson's corn flour'.

6.5.5.1.   *Cocoa: a history*

Cocoa as a drink originated with the meso-American Olmecs,[92] who had farmed the cocoa tree three thousand years before it came to the Mayas,[93] and from there it went

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[89] Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, pp. 175-176.

[90] Pieterse, J. N. 1992. *White on black. Images of Africa and blacks in western popular culture,* p. 188.

[91] Sweet, M. 2001. *Inventing the Victorians*, p. 48.

[92] People inhabiting the coast of Veracruz and western Tabasco on the Gulf of Mexico (*c.* 1200–400 BC), who established what was probably the first Meso-American civilization. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

[93] The Maya civilization developed over an extensive area of southern Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize from the 2nd millennium BC, reaching its peak *c.* AD 300– *c.* 900. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

to the Aztecs.[94] It was drunk mainly by Aztec rulers and priests during sacred ceremonies, as the cocoa seed was believed to have mystical properties. In the mid-sixteenth century, chocolate[95] came to Spain when the cocoa seed was given as a gift to King Philip II. [96] Initially, not many people outside of Spain and Portugal came into contact with chocolate, as all chocolate was consumed by the Spanish aristocracy and not exported. Chocolate drinking spread throughout the courts of Europe about a century later as supplies of sugar and cocoa increased. It became the preferred beverage of the rich and royal. The drink was time-consuming to make, and its expensive exotic ingredients had to be imported from faraway continents.[97] Chocolate was a symbol of wealth and power in Europe because only the rich could afford to drink it.[98] Increased demand spurred the Spanish to spread cultivation of the "chocolate nut tree" throughout their expanding empire.[99]

Chocolate reached England in the mid-seventeenth century, just as coffee and tea – two other 'exotic' beverages – were introduced. These beverages were all consumed hot and sweet, according to Jim Gay, an authority on the history and manufacture of chocolate:[100]

> All these beverages were sweetened with cane sugar. The British didn't start growing sugar on Barbados until the 1640s. First comes sugar, then comes

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[94] Members of the American Indian people dominant in Mexico before the Spanish conquest of the 16th century. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.)

[95] The use of the word 'chocolate' here is not to be confused with the current day understanding of 'chocolate'. The word originated in the early seventeenth century in the sense of 'a drink made with chocolate', which was derived from the Nahuatl *chocolatl* meaning 'food made from cacao seeds'. However, the Spanish explorers often confused it with the Nahuatl word *cacahuatl* which referred to a drink made from cacao, and as a result the word 'chocolate' denoted a drink made from cacao. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition; OxfordWords, 2012. 'Ten facts about the word 'chocolate'.' *Oxford University Press.* Retrieved from http://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/2012/09/ten-facts-about-the-word-chocolate/ Accessed: 31 August 2015.)

[96] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[97] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[98] Kerr, J. 2007. All about chocolate: history of chocolate. *The Field Museum.* Retrieved from http://archive.fieldmuseum.org/chocolate/history_intro.html. Accessed: 31 August 2015.

[99] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[100] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

chocolate and coffee and tea . . . all of them introduced to the British in the late 1640s.[101]

The Europeans did not favour the taste of the bitter cocoa drink until sugar and spices were added to the mix. [102]

By the start of the eighteenth century, the British were drinking chocolate with water and brandy, with milk, or with port or sherry. All three versions used sugar and spices and were frothed with a chocolate mill. Later chocolate became available as grated powder and sugar ready to be stirred into boiling water, and mixed with whatever ingredients one preferred, and frothed with the little hand mill.[103]

In England, chocolate was sold ground and pressed into small cakes of two or four ounces, and wrapped in paper. It was sold in small quantities on account of its high cost. Once England had conquered Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655, they had their own island with flourishing cocoa plantations and chocolate became more widely available, although still expensive owing to the high import duties.[104] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Europeans transplanted the cocoa trees to colonies near the equator, which had the warm climates required for the trees' growth.[105]

It was only in the nineteenth century that the price of chocolate fell, and hot cocoa could be afforded by more people. Chocolate was also perceived to have medicinal values, making it a natural product sometimes sold in chemists. It was considered nourishing for the sick, and also helped with digestion. It was believed to promote longevity, help lung ailments, energise the body and suppress coughs.[106] By the late eighteenth century, some of the wealthy were eating chocolate as food, however, it

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[101] Gay, J., quoted in, Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[102] Satre, L.J. 2005. *Chocolate on trial: slavery, politics, and the ethics of business*, p. 14.

[103] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[104] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[105] Satre, L.J. 2005. *Chocolate on trial: slavery, politics, and the ethics of business*, pp. 13-14.

[106] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

was a gritty chocolate that was shaved and cooked in puddings, pies and tarts, and served at the finest tables as part of the dessert course.[107] Chocolate beverages became easier and cheaper to make when a Dutch chemist, Casparus van Houten, invented a hydraulic press in 1828 that made the process of producing cocoa more efficient, which also reduced the costs of chocolate. This lead to cocoa becoming accessible for mass consumption.[108] However, chocolate did not really become a food until the middle of the nineteenth century, when chocolate bars came into existence. In 1847, an English chocolate maker, J.S. Fry and Sons, developed the first moulded chocolate bar. In 1867, a Swiss, Henri Nestlé, discovered how to make powered milk by evaporation; in 1879 another Swiss, Daniel Peter, came up with the idea of blending Nestlé's powdered milk with chocolate, making an "instant" hot cocoa formula.[109] In a Cadbury's advertisement (date unknown) for the new "Cadbury's 'Cup' Chocolate" **(Figure 82),** it is stated:

> Here is a new kind of drinking chocolate – Cadbury's 'Cup' Chocolate. It is prepared in the form of soft flakes that dissolve with remarkable ease, and you will find it as full of the true chocolate flavour as the best you have drunk elsewhere.[110]

Despite the history and foreign origins of cocoa, the English took pride in their superior manufacture of cocoa. An advertisement from 1890 **(Figure 83)** states, "The typical cocoa of English Manufacture, absolutely pure. No chemicals used (as in the so called pure foreign cocoas)".[111]

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[107] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[108] Satre, L.J. 2005. *Chocolate on trial: slavery, politics, and the ethics of business*, p. 14.

[109] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

[110] 'Advert for Cadbury's 'Cup' Chocolate.' s.a. http://www.art.com/asp/sp.asp?frameSku=12775181_8880731-30702568&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

[111] 'Cadbury's, Cocoa Drinking Chocolate, UK, 1890.' s.a. http://www.art.com/products/p14323596-sa-i3038800/cadbury-s-…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

Figure 82: *Cadbury's 'Cup' Chocolate* advertisement.
Source: 'Advert for Cadbury's 'Cup' Chocolate stretched canvas print.' s.a.
http://www.art.com/asp/sp.asp?frameSku=12775181_8880731-
30702568&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

Figure 83: *Cadbury's Cocoa Drinking Chocolate* advertisement, 1890.
Source: 'Cadbury's, Cocoa Drinking Chocolate, UK, 1890.' s.a.
http://www.art.com/products/p14323596-sa-i3038800/cadbury-s-
…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99,
Accessed: 2014-12-14.

6.5.5.2. Cocoa: an analysis

Figure 84: *Cadbury's Cocoa* advertisement.
Source: 'Cadbury's Cocoa advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February).

In the Cadbury's Cocoa advertisement **(Figure 84)**, an image of a young child is seen holding a tray with a chocolate pot and a decorated cup and saucer filled with the steaming hot cocoa beverage. The chocolate pot has a stirring stick protruding from the lid, which would have been used to froth the chocolate that had settled before serving. A similar advertisement published in *The Graphic* in 1887 **(Figure 85)** provides a clearer visual of the image, than the one in the *WMN*. In it one can see that the small child is young boy, who is seen in his waistcoat and elaborate bowtie.[112] An advertisement from 1888, which looks much the same, is called "Cadbury's cocoa small child with hot chocolate " by *Victorian Adverts* and is described as containing an image of a "boy with tray, jug of hot chocolate, bow and ruffles, stripey top"[113] with an apron, which could be the uniform of a young page boy
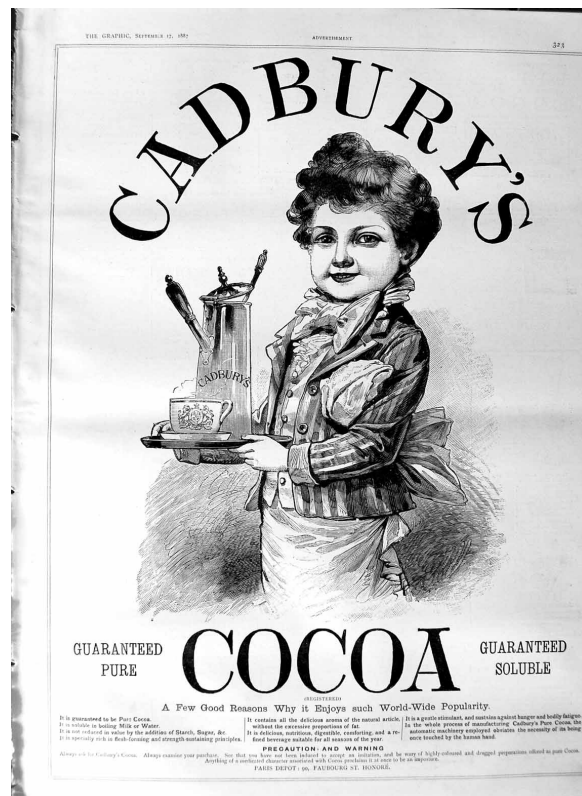
Figure 85: 'Cadbury's cocoa drinking chocolate advertisement', 1887.
Source: 'Cadbury's cocoa drinking chocolate advertisement', 1887. *The Graphic* (September), p. 323.

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[112] 'Cadbury's cocoa drinking chocolate advertisement', 1887. *The Graphic* (September), p. 323.

[113] Victorian adverts, 2012. "Cadbury's cocoa small child with hot chocolate – 1888." http://www.victorianadverts.com/catalog/index.php?main_page=product_info&cPath=0&products_id=536&zenid=f9479debae0fd40fd32d1237fd832f4b. Accessed: 2015-08-31.

A page was a boy or young man, usually in uniform employed as an attendant to run errands.[114] He is carrying a tray, which shows him as a "server of chocolate"[115] which indicates that he is not only working in the service of someone in a higher class, but also that the chocolate beverage is 'worthy of being served'. Even though cocoa was mass produced and available to ordinary people by the nineteenth century, it previously had been a status symbol of wealth or royalty in Europe. The advertisement is not necessarily pointing to an audience that is 'high class' or wealthy, but rather suggests that the ordinary person or family is now of a status that is worthy of the best cocoa – a luxury product at an affordable price. In a society where class and status were so important, it again suggested the importance of an appearance of luxury and status in the very products that were consumed.

The subheading on the advertisement, reads "ABSOLUTELY PURE, therefore, BEST" and denotes purity as goodness. Purity is both physical and moral. Cadbury's was a Quaker owned firm. The Quakers (officially the Society of Friends)[116] had emerged as a Christian religious body in the seventeenth century.[117] The Cadbury family's strong beliefs carried into campaigns that aimed at ending poverty. By providing tea, coffee and chocolate as an alternative to alcohol, John Cadbury[118] believed that he was helping alleviate some of the alcohol-related causes of poverty.[119] A core mission of the Cadbury's company was built on Quaker (or Christian) ideologies of doing good and providing for the less fortunate. The Cadbury's promise of purity was not just a moral one, but also a physical one, based on the pure ingredients of their product.

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114 Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition.

115 Ramamurthy, A. 2003, *Imperial persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British advertising,* p. 68.

116 The Quakers were a Christian movement founded by George Fox c. 1650 and was devoted to peaceful principles. Central to the Quakers' belief is the doctrine of the 'Inner Light', or sense of Christ's direct working in the soul. (Soares, C. & Stevenson, A. (eds.) 2010, *Oxford dictionary of English,* Kindle edition).

117 Satre, L.J. 2005. *Chocolate on trial: slavery, politics, and the ethics of business*, p. 14.

118 John Cadbury opened his shop in Birmingham in 1824 selling tea and coffee, as well as hops and mustard. He sold cocoa and chocolate that he prepared himself with mortar and pestle. His sons Richard and George took over the business, which had become a cocoa factory, in 1861 after he retired. (Mondelez Australia, 2015. 'The story of Cadbury.' https://www.cadbury.com.au/about-cadbury/the-story-of-cadbury.aspx. Accessed: 2015-09-04.)

119 Mondelez Australia, 2015. 'The story of Cadbury.' https://www.cadbury.com.au/about-cadbury/the-story-of-cadbury.aspx. Accessed: 2015-09-04.

The description provides a brief explanation of how the cocoa was prepared, making it absolutely pure. It also states when it can be served and the benefits thereof. The description reads:

> CADBURY'S COCOA is closely allied to milk in the large proportion of fresh-forming and strength-sustaining elements it contains. It is prepared on the principle of excluding the superabundance of fatty indigestible matter with Cocoa abounds - supplying a refined thin infusion of absolutely pure Cocoa, exhilarating and refreshing, for Breakfast, Luncheon, Tea or Supper - given staying power and imparting new life and vigour to growing Children, and those of delicate constitutions.[120]

In 1866, Cadbury's introduced an innovative processing technique, launching their 'Cadbury Cocoa Essence' **(Figure 86),** Britain's first unadulterated cocoa. Before this, Cadbury's, much like other cocoas, contained high amounts of cocoa butter, making it necessary to add starches to disguise the taste and texture. George Cadbury heard about and invested in one of van Houten's cocoa presses, which pressed the cocoa butter out, making a purer cocoa essence that no longer required additives. It was extensively advertised as 'Absolutely Pure. Therefore Best'.[121]

Figure 86: Cadbury's cocoa essence – 'Absolutely pure'.
Source: MondelezUK, 2012. 'The history of chocolate.'
https://www.cadbury.co.uk/the-story#1850-1900. Accessed: 2015-09-04.

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[120] 'Cadbury's Cocoa Advertisement', 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February).

[121] MondelezUK, 2012. 'The history of chocolate.' https://www.cadbury.co.uk/the-story#1850-1900. Accessed: 2015-09-04.

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The description states it can be served for breakfast, luncheon, tea or supper. If it were at "tea time", it would not be uncommon for the more prosperous class families to have the servant bring the tea tray into the parlour (or sitting room.)[122] Earlier in the century, supper was served at five o'clock and tea would be had later in the evening, however, later in the century as supper was served later in the evening, tea time was transferred to five o'clock.[123] The advertisement suggests that Cadbury's Cocoa can be had at "tea time" instead of tea or coffee, or at any mealtime.

Figure 87: *Cadbury's Cocoa* "Best beverage for children" advertisement. Date unknown.
Source: 'Cadburys Cocoa Giclee Print.' s.a.
http://www.art.com/products/p20447769339-sa-i7287952/cadbur…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

However, it was most common for hot cocoa to be served at breakfast, which may have been carried over from earlier centuries. Hot cocoa, in earlier centuries, was expensive and its preparation was a tedious process. It involved roasting the cocoa beans, removing the shells and grinding them to a paste, and mixing them with other dried and ground ingredients such as chilli pepper, vanilla, flowers and spices. The result was dissolved in water, and was poured back and forth from one vessel to another, until it formed a foamy froth. Often it would be sweetened with sugar. It was drunk at breakfast, as it gave an energy boost. It was thought to be a healthy "nutritious liquid food" that could keep a man going for the whole day without eating anything else. It was believed that the beverage stimulated the senses in general, and was even considered widely as an aphrodisiac. For this reason, it was therefore not an appropriate drink for children.[124] However, because the Cadbury's Cocoa is advertised as being absolutely pure, it states that it is good for "imparting new life and vigour to growing children" and it was therefore appropriate for children to drink. This is also seen in the use of an

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[122] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 116.

[123] Flanders, J. 2003, *The Victorian house. Domestic life from childbirth to deathbed*, p. 107.

[124] Theobold, M.M. 2012, A cup of hot chocolate: S'good for what ails ya. *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter). Retrieved from http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter12/chocolate.cfm, Accessed: 12 December 2014.

image of a young child on the *WMN* advertisement **(Figure 84).** The idea of cocoa being good for children is also emphasised in another Cadbury's Cocoa advertisements with the heading "The best beverage for children" and a young girl drinking cocoa **(Figure 87)**.[125] While this advertisement does not appear in the *WMN*, taking note of additional contemporary advertisements helps emphasise the ideas the advertisers wished to portray, and provides an even better glimpse into the material culture of the era.
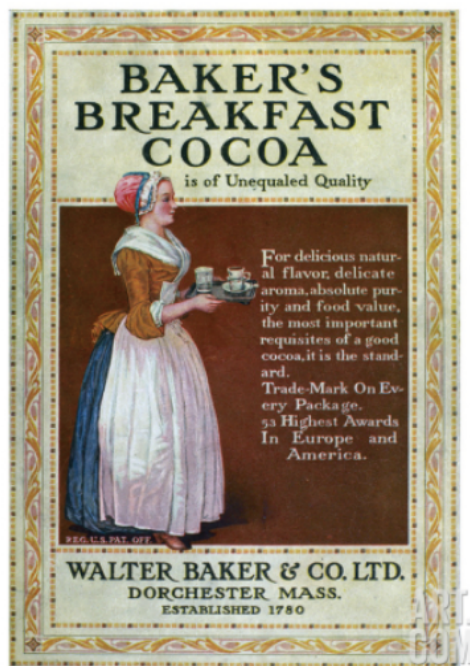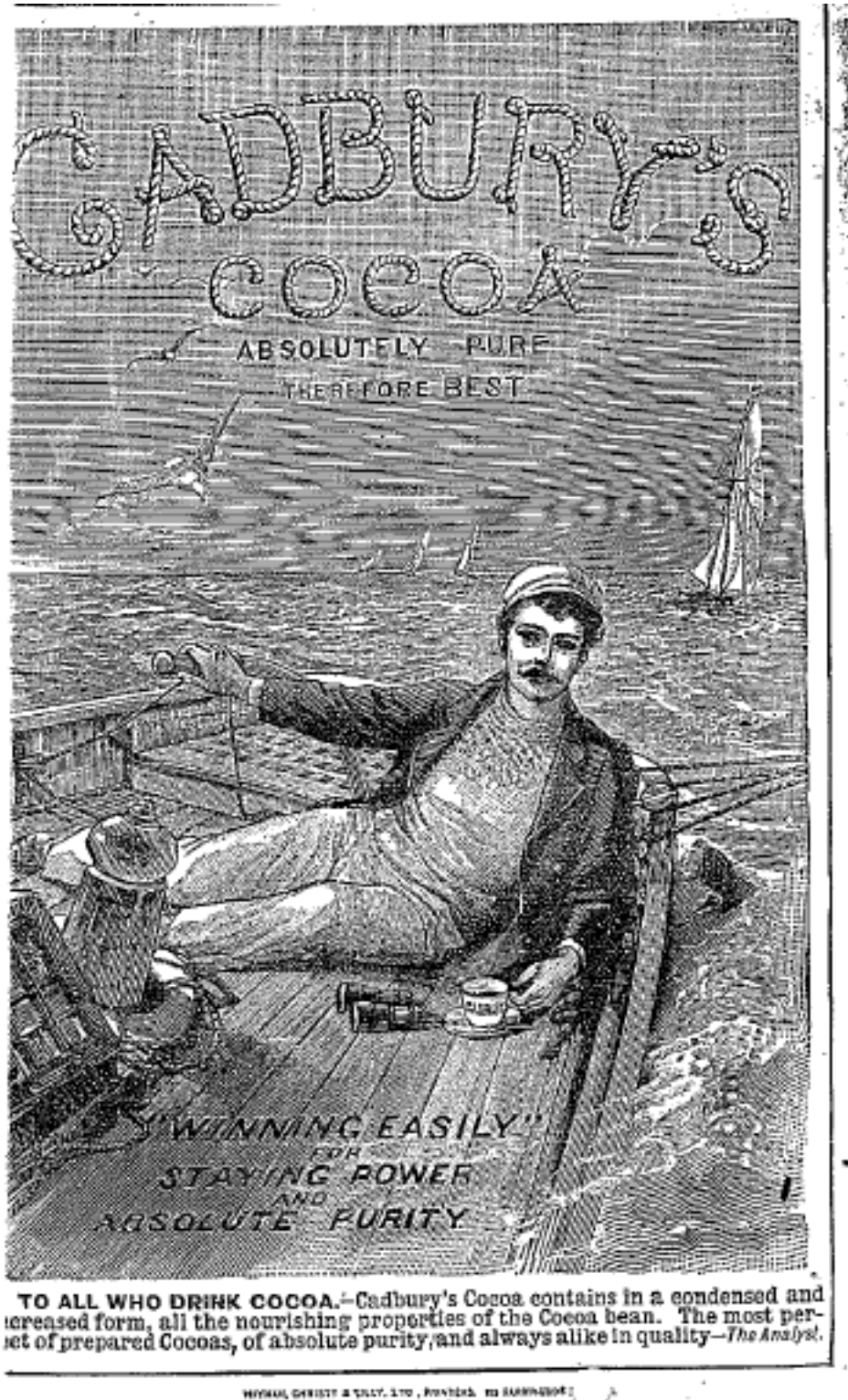
The *WMN* advertisement for *Cadbury's Cocoa* (**Figure 84**) also claims to be "exhilarating and refreshing", "sustaining" with "staying power", making it a good beverage choice for breakfast to keep one sustained throughout the day.[126] The American "Baker's Breakfast Cocoa" advertisement c. 1900 **(Figure 88),** emphasises the notion of cocoa being a breakfast beverage, as a maid servant brings a tray of cocoa with "delicious nature flavor, delicate aroma, absolute purity and food value" to the breakfast table.[127]

Figure 88: *Baker's Breakfast Cocoa,* c.1900. **Source:** 'Ads - Cocoa, c1900 Art Print.' s.a. http://www.art.com/products/p14881913478-sa-i6814864/ads-co…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

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[125] 'Cadburys Cocoa Giclee Print.' s.a. http://www.art.com/products/p20447769339-sa-i7287952/cadbur…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

[126] 'Cadbury's Cocoa Advertisement,' 1890. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (February).

[127] 'Ads - Cocoa, c1900 Art Print.' s.a. http://www.art.com/products/p14881913478-sa-i6814864/ads-co…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

Figure 89: *Cadbury's Cocoa* advertisement.
Source: 'Cadbury's Cocoa advertisement', 1891. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November).
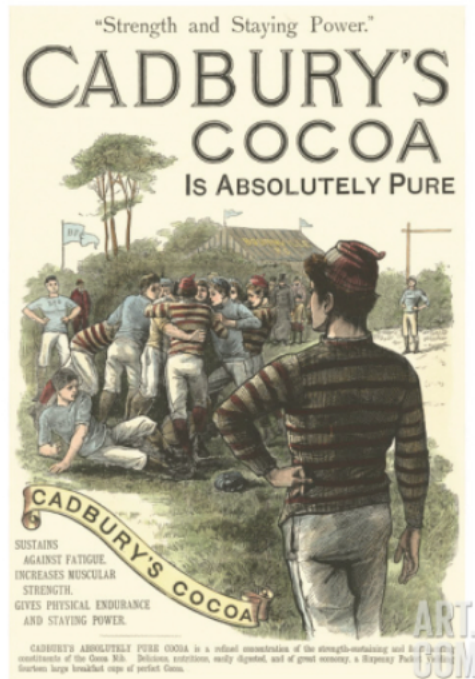
Figure 90: *Cadbury's Cocoa* Advertisement for Sportsmen.
Source: 'Cadbury's Cocoa Premium Giclee Print'. s.a. http://www.art.com/products/p2098808409-sa-i5326634/vision-s…ID=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

In a second advertisement for Cadbury's Cocoa's in *WMN* from November 1891 **(Figure 89)**, there is a gentleman reclining on a sailing boat with a cup of Cadbury's Cocoa and his binoculars, with the wording "'WINNING EASILY' for STAYING POWER and ABSOLUTE PURITY" on the deck of the boat, suggesting that Cadbury's Cocoa has all the nourishing properties to give men the 'staying power' they need to win.[128] In another Cadbury's advertisement from the same era **(Figure 90)**, the same message is implied. There is an illustration of rugby players, with the text: "Cadbury's Cocoa sustains against fatigue, increases muscular strength, gives physical endurance and staying power." In the first Cadbury's Cocoa advertisement in the *WMN* **(Figure 84)**, the drink is advertised to be enjoyed at home at any time of day, not just breakfast, and is also good for nourishing children and indicates that it has some medicinal value. In the second Cadbury's Cocoa advertisement in *WMN* **(Figure 89)**, the gentleman is taking part in a race for pleasure where winning is desired, and Cadbury's Cocoa is advertised as an energy boosting drink that is good for those who need to "win" in gentlemen's sport, as is also seen in the advertisement with the rugby players.

Until the nineteenth century, cocoa was regarded as a medicine that seemingly cured bodily ailments.[129] It is not surprising then that Cadbury's Cocoa is advertised to help those with "delicate constitutions" in **Figure 84.** Missionaries were also aware of the

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[128] 'Cadbury's Cocoa Advertisement', 1891. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (November).

[129] Satre, L.J. 2005. *Chocolate on trial: slavery, politics, and the ethics of business*, p. 14.

medicinal value of cocoa as it was used to nurse fellow travellers when they were sick with fever.[130]

Cadbury was not the only company advertising cocoa to the Methodists. At the top and bottom of the front cover for the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* is an 'advertisement' for Epps's Cocoa **(Figure 67)**. While it is not a typical advertisement, such as those we have been examining, it is likely that Epps's Cocoa was a sponsor of the magazine, therefore the name and slogan feature on the front page. At the top the slogan states "Grateful comforting" while at the bottom it reads "Boiling water or milk". The idea of the instant hot cocoa drink is seen again, where one just has to add boiling water or milk to the powdered cocoa to make an instant hot beverage that is "comforting" and makes one "grateful".

Since the Epps's Cocoa is not a typical advertisement, not much information is given on the product. It was probably well-known, and therefore the simple use of the name and slogan on the front cover was sufficient for readers to make the association. However, a short written Epps's advertisement or excerpt is found in *The Tablet* from 21 October 1871 that provides more information about the product:

> BREAKFAST. — EPPS'S COCOA. — GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING. — "By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern 'the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Epps has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors" Service Gazette. Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk. Each packet is labelled— "jartxs EPPS & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, London." Also, makers of Epps's Milky Cocoa (Cocoa and Condensed Milk).[131]

Again, it is made apparent that Epps's Cocoa can be made instantly by simply adding boiling water or milk. It is also made clear that cocoa is a beverage for breakfast, and its medicinal value is emphasised.

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[130] Kriel, L. 2008, From Private Journal to Published Periodical: Gendered Writings and Reading of a Late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African Wilderness." *Book History* 11, pp. 186,189.

[131] *The Tablet*, 21 October 1871, p. 15. Retrieved online from: 'Breakfast – Epps's Cocoa – Grateful and Comforting, from *The Tablet* Archives, 21 October 1871, p.15.' 2011, http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/21st-october-1871/15/breakfast-eppss-cocoa-grateful-and-comforting-by-a. Accessed: 2015-12-15.

Although there is no visual associated with this Epps's sponsored advertisement in the *WMM*, nor in the excerpt from *The Tablet*, the imagery for some of their other advertisements often contained visuals associated with the British Empire. This was at the height of the British Empire and its power and prestige were unmatched anywhere in the world. Companies and advertisers would therefore often use imagery, whether subtly or otherwise, associated with this powerful Empire in order to sell their products. This is seen in two examples of Epp's advertisements, which are briefly analysed, to show the link between the material product and the British Empire.

In one Epps's Cocoa advertisement **(Figure 91)** there is an image of John Bull, a national symbol of prosperous England, sitting on top of the world, making the imperial associations for the Epps company. John Bull is an imaginary figure who symbolises the national personification of Great Britain and England in particular, similar to the American 'Uncle Sam'. He is usually depicted in political cartoons and caricatures as a prosperous farmer of the eighteenth century, as a stout, middle-aged man in a tailcoat with breeches and a Union Jack waistcoat, dressed in the fashion of the Regency period, and also wearing a low top hat on his head. His size represented prosperity in an age where plump faces were a sign of good health.[132] John Bull, therefore, represents a prosperous and jovial man, who is thought to be doing well for himself, and whose power and influence stretches over the whole globe. The advertisement suggests that if one drank Epps's cocoa powder, one would then perhaps share some of his good fortune and success. The slogan also states that it is "the most nutritious", therefore drinking Epps's cocoa would keep one in good health in order for one to gain good fortune and success.[133] The advertisement makes use of the indexical and symbolic sign signifying wealth and prosperity, and appeals to the myth of success (according to Peirce and Barthes' theories, as discussed in Chapter One).

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[132] Benson, J. 2014, 'John Bull, symbol of the English and Englishness'. http://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/John-Bull/ Accessed: 2014-12-15.

[133] 'British Empire: Resources: Media: Advertising: Posters & Packaging: Epps's Cocoa Powder'. s.a. http://www.britishempire.co.uk/media/advertising/eppsscocoapack.htm, Accessed: 2014-12-15.

Figure 91: *Epps's Cocoa,* John Bull advertisement.
Source: 'British Empire: Resources: Media: Advertising: Posters & Packaging: Epps's Cocoa Powder'. s.a.
http://www.britishempire.co.uk/media/advertising/eppsscocoapack.htm, Accessed: 2014-12-15.

Figure 92: *Epps's Cocoa*
Advertisement.
Source: 'Advert, Epps's Cocoa Giclee
Print'. s.a.
http://www.art.com/products/p3060196
5019-sa-i8997237/advert-
…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A
11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE
99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

In the second example of an Epps's Cocoa advertisement **(Figure 92)**, there are two children. One is a young white girl, typically dressed in white frills, holding the Epps's Chocolate Confectionary package. The other is a smiling young black boy well-dressed in the European attire of suit and tie, and holding a top hat.[134] At the time, the image of the two races together shows their interest and fascination with foreign people, as well as the fact that Britain has conquered or converted foreign races and nationalities. The boy is 'converted' by wearing proper European attire. As was seen in Chapter Five, the European missionaries were always attempting to dress their subjects in European attire as a sign of their conversion and civilisation.

Even though the black boy has mimicked the European dress and behaviour, and has the appearance of achieving Westernised status, it is still clear that the white girl is the one offering the instruction, as she points her finger in tuition, and smiles intently as he looks at her instruction. The boy and girl represent Africa and Europe respectively, as in the Pears' Soap advertisement **(Figure 73)**, but he is represented in a more respectable way as a successful 'Europeanised' inhabitant of Africa.[135] However, he is not portrayed as equal to her, as Europe remains to be superior as the teacher and guide. The association of Epps's Cocoa with this imagery and message might have been owing to the fact that Epps's Cocoa was distributed around the world and brought comfort to those in Britain and in the imperial countries. The wide distribution of the product would also speak of its

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[134] 'Advert, Epps's Cocoa Giclee Print.' s.a. http://www.art.com/products/p30601965019-sa-i8997237/advert-…D=175080&dimVals=175080&ui=A11E03091F304CBF80EA6D5F6371BE99, Accessed: 2014-12-14.

[135] Ramamurthy, A. 2003, *Imperial persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British advertising,* pp. 86 – 87.

success. Therefore, it is not surprising that Epps's would advertise or sponsor a magazine or organisation associated with missionaries and imperialism. The missionaries' civilising mission to build up Africa into its own controlled version of Europe was seen as their secondary mission, besides evangelising. However, the missionary, as was seen in Chapter Five, was often depicted as the superior white man with authority over the Africans. Missionaries may have been traditional philanthropists, and respected the Africans, especially their converts. However, they were still of the mind-set that they were superior to them as European white men from an advanced civilisation.

Despite the fact that Epps's Cocoa was "comforting" to all around the world, this was not the message that missionary societies wished to portray in their report writing of the *WMN*, even though the missionary, Owen Watkins, privately reported that he found cocoa to be comforting, and a product for which he was "thankful". [136] As mentioned previously, it may have been too "domestic" and "feminine" to report on such comforts, but rather, missionaries wanted to portray a more "masculine" message that spoke of the dangers and adventures of being in a foreign land. Everyday "comforts" were to be enjoyed at home, and were not reported on in the texts of the *WMN* because the house and home were the realm of the wife, while the adventures of the foreign missionary field were the duties of the husband.[137] However, the missionaries themselves were merely the storytellers, and not the audience. Since the audience who would actually be reading the periodicals were the English back home, the advertisements of consumables such as cocoa, soap and cutlery, were appropriate, perhaps reminding them of their good fortune at home of being able to indulge in comforts and luxuries while reading about the adventures and dangers of those in "darkest Africa".

Other advertisements for domestic consumables in the front pages of the *WMM*, as mentioned previously, included "Borwick's Baking Powder", "Neil's Infants and Invalid's Food", "Edward's Desiccated Soups" and "W.M. Polson's Corn Flour".

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[136] Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, pp. 186, 189.

[137] Kriel, L. 2008, From private journal to published periodical: Gendered writings and reading of a late-Victorian Wesleyan's "African wilderness." *Book History* 11, pp. 175-176, 180.

These products were advertised as being "the best money can buy" or "used in the Queen's household for many years," indicating not only the domestic value of the products, but also the class status. For instance, mothers who could afford to buy infant's food, rather than prepare the food herself, would have been from a more prosperous family. Puddings and cakes made using W.M. Polson's Corn Flour would be equivalent to those that were served to the Queen herself, therefore making the product majestic. It appears that advertisements for domestic products dealt less with the product itself than about the status using it would give one. In Victorian England, the domestic realm of the home was one of the main indicators of a family's prosperity and wealth.

6.6. Conclusion

Advertising and images generate meanings, which are produced through complex social relationships, and interpreted within the context in which they are seen. Some of the factors that have impacted on meaning include class, gender and regional and cultural identity, as well as the political and social events of the respective location and time period.[138] Victorian advertising offers evidence supporting the belief that money – what it represents and what it can purchase – is the key to solving all problems, big or small. Being able to purchase such products "proved" one's success by way of outward appearances. The key word is *success,* as the myth of success was equivalent to *respectability.*[139]

The advertisements in the *WMN* and the *WMM* and the commodities that they advertised supported a number of ideologies of the time that related to capitalism and colonialism, and which in turn related to the myths of empire, appearances, success and respectability. These ideologies functioned as natural systems of belief in Victorian Britain.[140] Colonialism supported the myths of the empire as superior and racial differentiation; capitalism played on myths around class and social relations in

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[138] Sturken, M. & Cartwright, L. 2001, *Practices of looking: an introduction to visual culture,* pp. 45, 47.
[139] Fenstermaker, J.J. 1992, Thomas Carlyle, popular advertising, and the commercial spirit in Victorian England. *Studies in Popular Culture* 15(1), pp. 33 - 34.
[140] Sturken, M. & Cartwright, L. 2001, *Practices of looking: an introduction to visual culture,* pp. 45, 47.

the rise of industrialism, and supported the myths that appearances and being a good Christian were a reflection of success or wealth, which was an indication of class respectability.

Advertising has played an important role in society for many years. Advertising has changed and affected the everyday lives of people because it has a social role and economic function. It has been said to encourage excessive materialism and extravagant consumption, persuading people they "can have it all". It has also played a role in promoting status and power, persuading people that owning certain commodities will uplift their social status and be a symbol of success.[141] This has been especially evident in the advertising in the *WMN* and *WMM,* in a society in which outward appearances were important, products were advertised as a way of 'showing off' one's status.

Through new products, advertising has been said to make consumers dissatisfied with their current possessions, status or lifestyles. Advertising often promotes consumption as a way of life, in which goods become an overvalued means of acquiring social status.[142] As new technologies developed in the nineteenth century, advertisers made use of the opportunity to promote products that would change consumers' current lifestyle or status. They would promote products that would make their life easier or save them time, making consumers dissatisfied with their current way of life. An example of this was seen in the Hudson's soap powder advertisement, which not only promoted a product that cleaned clothing, but by using their product, consumers could save time and spend less hours doing washing. Such persuasion is not always negative, as the consumption of some products may indeed improve people's lifestyles. However, overvaluing certain products or lifestyles may also result in false promotions and disappointing outcomes.

Much consumer advertising amounts to overvaluing and romanticising goods. According to Lantos, this romantic attitude becomes problematic as a social effect, as

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[141] Lantos, G.P. 1987, Advertising: looking glass or molder of the masses? *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 6 (May), p. 104.

[142] Lantos, G.P. 1987, Advertising: looking glass or molder of the masses? *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 6 (May), p. 104.

people are displaced to objects, and the self is perceived not as an element in community, but as an exchange of commodity.[143] Ironically, it is not only the advertisements of goods in the *WMN* that were romanticised, but the whole notion of the colonial missionary life, which was portrayed as adventurous exploration of the 'exotic, wild and dark' Africa. In the Cadbury's Cocoa advertisements, the product is romanticised as having "winning power", even for athletes, and Epps's Cocoa associates itself with the wealth and success of the British Empire; at the same time, the Shimmin's story of the lion hunt, for example, is also romanticised as being the everyday lifestyle of missionaries living in the wilderness.

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[143] Lantos, G.P. 1987, Advertising: Looking Glass or Molder of the Masses? *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 6 (May), pp. 104-105.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

CONCLUSION

7.1. Summary of the study

The aim of this study was to research and analyse aspects of the design and visual elements in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices (WMN)* from the late nineteenth century, focusing on the time period from 1883 to 1902. The purpose of the *WMN* was to keep record of what the missionary explorers experienced, and to reach out to their fellow British Wesleyan supporters and 'friends of the mission'.

The *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* proved to be a good example of graphic design of the late Victorian style, with elaborately illustrated cover pages and decorative design elements. It made use of novelty style typefaces in its cover designs and used illustrations from 1887 and photographs from 1891 onwards. It also had a number of advertisements, which provide much insight into the material culture and mind-set of the Victorian Britons. The study is of an interdisciplinary nature, bringing together visual studies, missionary studies and periodical studies, within a cultural historical context.

The first step in analysing the text was to understand the context in which it was written and published. Three of the chapters, therefore, focused on different aspects of the historical context of the late nineteenth century. Following that, a visual analysis was done on selected visuals from the *WMN,* looking at the graphic design and advertising found in the publication.

The first chapter following the introduction, **Chapter Two,** focused on the imperial project, looking at the changing British politics and their impact on missionising strategies. This contextualised the political-historical position of South Africa within the British Empire, and explained the master narrative against which this whole study should be read. The differences between and meanings of 'imperialism,' 'colonialism' and 'colonisation' was scrutinised. Furthermore, an understanding of the British Empire was provided, and what it meant to culture and society at the time. Narrowing

down the context, the study then focused on colonisation in South Africa, and especially focused on the Transvaal. This was the area that the WMMS' Transvaal and Swaziland District covered, and much of the content analysed in the *WMN* was from this district.

While the Transvaal was technically not a British colony at the time of the study (1883-1902), the influence of the British is very much evident, particularly with relation to the missionaries and their material culture, which is seen in the sense of the 'civilising mission' (of which examples of clothing and architecture are seen in Chapter Five). Major missionary work by the WMMS in the Transvaal only picked up after the 1870s, owing to the reluctance of the Boer Republic beforehand to accommodate British missionaries. However, there were instances of independent WMMS missionaries working in the region as early as the 1830s. The rest of the chapter looked at the relationship between the Protestant church, and therefore missionaries, and colonialism. While some were anti-imperialists, others were advocates of imperialism. The need to position oneself in relation to imperialism itself had an impact on culture and education in the mission field.

Chapter Three dealt with the design techniques and technologies, and showed what was visually possible at the time in which the study is set. It was acknowledged that the nineteenth century was a period of change, with many new innovations in Britain. The development of technology and the impact of the Industrial Revolution greatly influenced visual communication. One of the biggest innovations was that of new printing possibilities, as a new supply-and-demand cycle became the force behind industrial developments, enforcing the constant development of printers to print faster and cost less. The new mass production demand affected the role that graphics played. A Victorian Style was developed, mostly as a reaction to the Industrial Revolution, and whilst society protested against the industrialisation of culture, they certainly made use of the new technologies in printing and typography. Typeface and page design basked in ornamental flourishes influenced by architectural aesthetics. Illustrations were detailed with ornate filigrees and elaborately decorative elements, with customised typefaces made to stand out and attract attention.

The nineteenth century also saw many developments in the creation and printing of images. In the eighteenth century, illustrations in newspaper and periodicals were expensive and limited to the elite; but the production of images grew exponentially following the Industrial Revolution, and an increase in the use of printed images in publications is seen. Relief printing was followed by letterpress printing and woodblock printing. Intaglio included methods such as etching and engraving, and planographic printing included lithographic and chromo-lithographic processes. Lithography was the newest technique, and was popular in the nineteenth century. However, publishers often combined techniques in order to print both type and image on the same page. The nineteenth century also saw the invention of photography, and later, the means of printing photographic images, which expanded the possibilities for visual communication. The century proved to be a dynamic and exuberant one, with the steady development of new technologies and new creative and imaginative styles and functions for graphic design.

Chapter Four dealt with the development of periodicals in the context of 'book history'. As Jonathan Rose explains, 'book history' refers to the broader development of the text and written communication, and not just the history of books. The chapter looked at the rise of reading in the nineteenth century in Britain, and how the different classes were affected by the increasing demands of literacy and the role that education played. On the mission field, in Africa, missionaries were also attempting to educate and teach the local inhabitants to read. This was believed to be best accomplished in the translating of texts into the African languages.

The chapter then looked at missionary texts and the proselytising role they played in the evangelical realm. Narrowing the book history context to that of newspapers, magazines and periodicals, their differences were explained, as well as the effects they had on society. The focus was then turned specifically on periodicals. Audience, price and class factors were considered and how they not only influenced the production of periodicals, but also how they were received. Some periodicals were targeted at specific groups, such as women or children, while missionary periodicals were largely targeted at church-goers who were interested in the work of the missions and the spreading of the Gospel.

Periodicals were initially quite expensive, mostly owing to the high taxation enforced by the government. Once these tax duties were removed, it became possible to produce publications that were more affordable for the middle and working classes. Cheap "penny periodicals" and newspapers were introduced. A penny was also the cost of the monthly *WMN*. Missionary periodicals, including *WMN,* were created by missionary societies in order to spread news and information on their work, as well as serve as a means to raise funds for the missionary endeavour.

Finally, the chapter looked at the contents of missionary periodicals. While missionary periodicals included poems, hymns, and extracts of approved literature, letters from the missionaries themselves written to their supporters or 'friends of the mission' were very important content. The topics found in missionary periodicals were then investigated as metaphorical images, which were used not only to describe the missionary situation, but also as a means to entertain readers and to keep them interested in the 'tales' of missionaries.

Three metaphorical images or themes were explored. Firstly, that of the exotic and 'the Other' in which readers were fascinated and curious about the foreign and exotic aspects of the mission field, which were often sensationalised. The second visual metaphor was the theme of light and dark, specifically in terms of the dualism between good versus evil or Christianity versus 'heathenism'. This was also apparent in the view of Africa as the 'dark continent' to which the missionaries were bringing the light of Christianity. The final visual metaphor was the theme of adventure and heroism, where missionaries told exciting 'tales' about their adventures in the wilderness and darkness of Africa.

Chapter Five provided a visual analysis on selected aspects from the *WMN,* including cover designs, the structural layout, typography, illustrations and photographs. These elements were analysed and interpreted to bring meaning and understanding to the era. First a brief overview of the *WMN* was provided, tracking the changes that took place over the period of 1883 to 1902. An analysis on the design aspects of the periodical was made, starting with the cover, which was the periodical's predominant feature. Elements such as the borders and patterns and the typography of the title-pieces were examined in relation to the style of the period. Graphic elements

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within the content were also examined, such as the decorative initial letters and headings for display.

The chapter continued with the decoding of selected images and illustrations to find symbolism and meaning. Firstly, the way in which Empire was pictured was explored. Some cover pages depicted colonial locations such as Africa, China, India and Ceylon. The theme of the exotic and 'the Other' was also further explored, with specific examples such as the palm tree and illustrations of individuals typified in local dress. The theme of adventure, wilderness and danger was also further explored with specific examples from the *WMN,* wherein the missionaries described the dangers of living in the wilderness.

When the *WMN* started printing photographs in their periodical, two common themes were seen, namely clothing and architecture. Photographs of Christian natives in 'proper' European clothing were juxtaposed with photographs of 'heathens,' showing that clothing was an outward symbol of an inward change. The second common topic was architecture, which manifested on the cover design and in the photographs of homesteads, 'kraals'*,* church and school buildings. This linked to the missionaries' secondary aim to 'civilise' the colonial 'wilderness'. The chapter concluded with the illustrations of a Johannesburg chapel, which was far more extravagant and ahead of its time, compared to the previous examples.

Chapter Six provided a visual analysis of the advertisements found in the *WMN,* and offered insight into the material culture of the British at home. It started with a short introduction into the role of advertising and the rise of editorial and advertising design. It was shown how some advertisements appealed to specific classes, or to specific groups of people, such as housewives and mothers. An analysis of the advertisements in the *WMN* was then done, pointing out certain symbolisms and meanings.

The first section analysed advertisements for soap brands. These included the 'Pears' Soap "Sunday Morning" advertisement' and the 'Hudson's Soap advertisement'. While the Pears' Soap advertisement showed symbols of cleanliness and purity in more than just a physical sense, but also in a religious sense, the Hudson's Soap

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advertisement appealed to the busy housewife who wished to save time by reducing the hours spent on laundry. The advertisement relied on the effect the product would have on the consumer, rather than on the product itself.

The second section looked at the advertisements for silverware and luxurious household items. The first example to be discussed was the 'The People's Watch and Jewellery Company' advertising electro-plated cutlery, such as meat carvers. In the advertisement, emphasis was placed on the phrase "Our Guinea Speciality" indicating the affordability of 'luxury' made possible by new technology. The appearance of objects was important for those who wanted to maintain their position in society, and the appearance of belonging to a better class was obtained by having 'luxurious' possessions. The second advertisement was that of 'Saml. Peach and Son's' for lace curtains and flouncings. The product was also advertised as 21s (a guinea) for particular use in the drawing room. Therefore, not only was the product an expensive item, it was meant for use of "keeping up appearances", as the drawing room was the room that reflected the success of the family. Therefore, the importance of outward appearances and "showing off" the family's social status was seen.

The next section looked at advertisements on medicinal remedies. The first advertisement was that of Beecham's Pills. It was seen how the medicine was advertised as "magic" pills that cure any and every ailment. The second advertisement for Kaye's Worsdell's Pills provided a similar message in that it was the 'best family medicine' and that it was a 'certain cure' for a number of ailments.

The last section analysed advertisements of domestic consumables. It focused on the two branded products "Cadbury's Cocoa" and "Epps's Cocoa". A number of symbolisms were found, from the general comforts and routines of domestic life, to that of winning and staying power for sportsmen, to associations with empire and success. The common theme in Victorian advertising was the belief that money, and what it represented and what it could purchase, was not only the key to solving all problems, but proving one's success by way of outward appearances.

7.2. Contributions of the study

This study has contributed to a number of fields that were brought in relation to one another. These include book history, periodical studies, missionary history, history of imperialism and colonialism, Victorian history, design history and industrialisation. The transnational history was explored between Britain in relation to South Africa and European missionaries operating in foreign colonies. British consumption has a history which is also part of the history of Africa (and Asia).

Christian missions have been associated with the growth of empire and colonial rule,[1] and the study of missions is typically located in the broader fields of religious and cultural studies.[2] The focus of the study has not been on religious or theological studies, but rather on cultural history with a focus on visual analysis. However, some common religious thoughts and beliefs, especially pertaining to the Wesleyan Methodist Christians, were made apparent upon visual analysis.

The study contributed to historical studies from a visual point of view. This has included the fields of advertising and design history, the history of industrialisation and the development of technology, the history of Victorian style and its influences, a history of Victorian England as well as the history of South Africa and the Transvaal in the late nineteenth century. This study contributes to the studies of nineteenth century imperialism and the relationship between Britain and a-then-colonial South Africa.

The study also contributes to periodical studies, an emerging field in the humanities, as the nature of the study material, the *WMN,* is in the form of a 'penny periodical' which was published monthly. Periodical studies is within the larger field of print culture and book history, and therefore contributes greatly to the study of text.

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[1] Porter, A. 2003, quoted in, Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.). 2005, *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. ix.
[2] Scott, J.S. & Griffiths, G. (eds.). 2005, *Mixed messages. Materiality, textuality, missions,* p. ix.

The visual analysis made use of several methodologies, including cultural and historical context, visual semiotics and visual rhetoric, which revealed a number of ideologies, symbolisms, mythologies and connotations. Ideologies of imperialism are seen when looking at images in the *WMN,* which link to the notions and mythologies of superiority in racial and geographic matters ('white vs. black'/'Europe vs. Africa). Mythologies regarding wealth and class are seen in the symbolism of objects that connoted the importance of outward appearances. Advertisements revealed the 'appearance of luxury' that was an important aspect of society at the time. Also with regard to missions, clothing was an outer symbol of an inward conversion and transformation. Architecture symbolised the development of 'civilisation', which in turn had its own set of ideologies of what was considered 'civil' or not by two separate cultures. This visual analysis also contributes to the field of visual studies.

In conclusion, this study interlinked studies in literature, visual arts and missions within a historical context and with a unique focus on the complexities of the visual image and graphic design.

7.3. Scope for further research

The fact that this study contributes to a field that is still relatively new, implies many options for further research that could follow from here. While this study focused on selected and isolated examples in the *WMN,* it is also possible to do a more chronological study, giving clearer indications of when change occurred in the periodical, and for what reasons. The periodical was in existence from 1816 until 1904, which provides a vast amount of information. There is also scope for in-depth studies focusing on particular shorter periods of time.

Another area that could be given further attention is that of the audience or readership of missionary periodicals, and specifically in the case of the *WMN,* in order to gain a better sense of the actual readership of the *WMN.*

Another interesting aspect would be to consider the multiple 'voices' that speak to the periodical's audience. Usually the analysis of journals considers the multiple voices of the editor, the contributing missionaries, the readers writing in and the Christian

converts given voice by the different missionaries. There is also now the added 'voice' of the advertisers, and along with that, the visual imaging in the periodical affirms that the reader also encounters the 'voice' of photographers, illustrators, engravers, lettersetters and so on. The advertisements were a bit of an uncontrollable content of the magazines, as the Society needed the income from advertising. While advertisers like Cadbury were known for their philanthropic ventures, the images in the advertisements and the advertisements themselves (and the ideologies that come with them) were not necessarily chosen by the *WMN*. This affirms how many voices are indeed speaking to the potential reader of the *WMN*. With this, attention can be given to the sourcing of advertisements, in the sense of who made the actual decisions regarding the selection and placement of advertising material, and to what extent payment affected this decision-making. There is also another distinction around selection and decision-making, with regards to the imagery or iconography: the editors would have had little control over the imagery in advertisements, although the editors may have supported the ideologies that underlie the advertisements, they did not create the images for their audience.

Another area of interest regarding imagery is the possible re-use of images and the source of some of the images, such as the woodcuts and engraved illustrations. It would be of interest to know whether the images were original, based on photographs or drawings by the missionaries themselves; or if they were general and stereotypical illustrations generated by artists and re-used to save costs or even exchanged with or sold (the woodcut or engraved plate) to other periodical publishers.

Other research possibilities would be to explore the periodical *Work and Workers in the Mission Field,* which ran alongside the *WMN* for a short period, but was described as a more high class, 'glossy' version. Similarly, the periodical *Foreign Fields of the Wesleyan Methodist Church* was also described as a newer up to date version of the *WMN,* of which it was a continuation. It would be interesting to see if these periodicals live up to these high-rated descriptions.

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